Foreign Interventions and Domestic Initiatives in the Development of Education for Librarianship and Information Management, with Iraq as a Case Study

Ian M. Johnson

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of
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for the award of the degree of
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Abstract

This study aimed to identify the influences on the development and sustainability of education for librarianship and information management. It analysed the factors that contribute to the development of education for librarianship and information management, drawing on theories of change management and the transfer of innovation, and the contextual factors suggested by theories of comparative librarianship.

The investigation of these factors focused on a case study of developments in Iraq up to 2003. It examined education for librarianship and information management against the background of the creation of the country's library and information services, and the broader context of its national, economic, and social development. It also considered trends in international perspectives on library development, and the advice and assistance offered to Iraq. To provide a benchmark for developments in Iraq, it contrasted developments there with brief summaries of parallel developments in other Arab countries and in the cognate field of education for archives and records management in Iraq. It drew evidence from the published literature, previously unexplored archival material, and discussions with some of the participants.

From an evaluation of the evidence, the study developed models of the value chain in developing education in the field, illustrating the complex interactions that need to be considered. These represent the generic factors that appear critical to the sustainable development of education for librarianship and information management not only in developing countries but also in countries that are seeking to strengthen the foundations of education in this field.

The conclusions also pointed to a number of specific issues that fostered or hindered development in Iraq, including trends in international assistance. The study calls for further work including investigating the impact of traditional and cultural attitudes on the development of education in the field, and understanding of how future generations of LIS professionals in Iraq could develop as change agents.

Keywords: Librarianship; Information Studies; Education; publishing; Iraq; Arab; Development; International assistance; planning; evaluation

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Acknowledgements

In 1981, a direct approach was made by Al-Mustansiriyah University to the then College of Librarianship Wales seeking collaboration in developing a programme of working experience for their students in British libraries. Because fieldwork placements were one of my responsibilities, and probably also because the College's Principal (who normally took a close personal interest in requests for collaboration with foreign institutions) was at that time on an extended secondment overseas, the request landed on my desk. I am grateful to Donald Mason, then Acting Principal, for his encouragement to pursue this approach, and for suggesting that I should try to arrange to visit Baghdad to explore the request; to Ms. Struan Bell of the British Council for negotiating the support that made a short visit to Baghdad possible, despite the ongoing war with Iran; and to Richard Jarvis, then local Representative of the British Council, who hosted my visit. As the guest of Al-Mustansiriyah University, I was made most welcome by the Head of Department of Librarianship, Dr. Nazar Qassim, and his colleagues, and the visit led to several other contacts between the College and institutions in Iraq.

Whilst en route to and from Baghdad, I followed up other contacts between the College and fellow professionals in Jordan. These visits laid the foundations for a career with a previously unanticipated dimension. Dr. Yves Courrier, Senior Programme Specialist in Unesco's Division of the General Information Programme, subsequently invited me to participate in a meeting with LIS educators from the Arab world that encouraged me to maintain an interest in the development of librarianship and professional education in the region. This led, *inter alia*, to my involvement in a project led by Simmons College (Boston, U.S.A.) Graduate School of Library and Information Science to develop and deliver a training program for the professional updating of librarians and archivists in Iraq, funded by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities in 2004/6, which provided an opportunity to renew contacts with other Iraqi colleagues.

Some of the ideas discussed in this thesis have evolved during the preparation of conference presentations and other papers about other international development efforts in the field. Some of the facts may be challenged by Iraqis familiar with sources that I could not access, but I trust that

they will find this study provides some fresh insights into and perspectives on developments in their country.

Declaration

This is to certify that I am responsible for the work submitted in this thesis, that it is my own original work except as specified in references or in footnotes, and that neither the thesis nor the original work contained therein has been submitted to this or any other institution for a higher degree.

Ian Johnson
Aberdeen, 22nd September 2016

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Abbreviations Used in the Text

AFESD - Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development
AFLI - Arab Federation for Libraries and Information
ALA – American Library Association
ALECSO – Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation
APTI - Arab Petroleum Training Institute
ARLO - Arab Literacy and Adult Education Organisation
ASFEC - Arab States Fundamental Education Training and Production Centre
AUB - American University in Beirut
BCE/CE – Before the Common or Christian Era
CAFRAD - African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development
CASIS - Consortium of African Schools of Information Science
CASTARAB - Conference of Ministers of Arab Member States Responsible for the Application of Science and Technology to Development
CPRS – U.K. government's Central Policy Review Staff
DBA – Department de la Documentation, des Bibliothèques et des Archives (Unesco's Department of Documentation, Libraries and Archives, from 1966 to 1978)
DTCD - United Nations Department for Technical Cooperation
ECA – (United Nations) Economic Commission for Africa
E.S.I. - L'École des Sciences de l'Information (Rabat, Morocco)
FAO - Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FASRC – Federation of Arab Scientific Research Councils
GDP – Gross Domestic Product
GNP – Gross National Product
GPA – Grade Point Average
GSIDC - Gulf States Information Documentation Centre
IBI - United Nations' Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics
ICTs – Information and Communication Technologies
IDCAS - Industrial Development Centre for Arab States
IDRC - International Development Research Centre
IFAP - Unesco's Information for All Programme (2001 - ?)
IFLA – International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions
IIP - Unesco's Intergovernmental Informatics Programme (1986 - 2000)
ILO – International Labour Organization
INLA - Iraq National Library and Archives
IRC - Instructional Resource Centre
IRRT - American Library Association's International Relations Round Table
IIE - Institute of International Education, Inc.
LAS - League of Arab States
LIS – Library, Information and archive Services/Work
NATIS – National Information Systems
NCC – (Iraqi) National Computer Centre
NCCMD - (Iraqi) National Centre for Consulting and Management Development
ODA – U.K. Overseas Development Administration (now UKAid)
OWI - United States Office for War Information
PGI – Programme General de l'Information (Unesco's General Information Programme, 1979 - 2000)
RAMP – Unesco's Records and Archives Management Programme (1981 - 1998)
RCC – Revolutionary Command Council
SDC – (Iraqi) Scientific Documentation Centre
Sida - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SLIS – School(s) of Librarianship, archival and Information Studies/Sciences
U.N. – United Nations
UNCSTD - United Nations Commission on Science and Technology for Development
UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
UNECWA - United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia (1973-1985)
UNESCWA - United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (from 1985)
Unesco – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIDO - United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNISIST - United Nations Information System in Science and Technology
U.S./U.S.A. – United States of America
USAid - United States Agency for International Development
USIA - United States Information Agency
USIS - United States Information Service
WHO - World Health Organisation
WHO-EMRO - World Health Organisation, Eastern Mediterranean Regional Office
Y.M.C.A. - Young Men's Christian Association

Chapter 1
Background and Rationale for the Study

"It may not seem so at first sight, but training constitutes the most difficult and sometimes the most costly to solve of all the library problems; it takes longest and is the most urgent, it is the least spectacular and yet is the most lasting in its effects." (Sabor 1965)

Preamble

This study examines the establishment and development of the library, documentation and information services that play a vital role in facilitating national development, and particularly in the creation of the specialist human resources that plan and manage them. It takes Iraq as a case study.

In 1981, the researcher was invited to visit Baghdad to discuss collaboration between Al-Mustansiriyah University and the then College of Librarianship Wales. An initial, narrowly focused search of the professional literature undertaken before the visit suggested that foreign technical assistance over the previous 25 years had resulted in the establishment of a postgraduate Diploma program[1] in the University of Baghdad, taught by a small group of part-time staff. The literature also indicated that the School of Library Science at Al-Mustansiriyah University was more recently established, and that its small undergraduate cohort was similarly taught by part-time staff. On arrival in Baghdad, it seemed that the postgraduate program had been discontinued, and the teaching staffs had been concentrated as a full-time cadre at Al-Mustansiriyah University, where there were now substantial numbers of undergraduates. Something had clearly changed, but why had these developments taken place? How had events been shaped by domestic circumstances and policies, and what part had international assistance played?

During the previous year, the researcher had made a study visit to the U.S.A., where — quite incidental to the focus of that visit — he encountered several graduate schools of library science that were struggling to adapt to new information technologies. Some of them closed quite soon afterwards. Those two

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[1] In this study, to distinguish between a combination of courses that may be required to achieve an academic award and an individual course that forms a subsidiary study within such a combination, American terminology is used and the term 'program' normally refers to the combination of courses, usually at one academic level, offered by a single institution. The normal British spelling — 'programme' — is used to refer to other defined plans.

visits left an abiding interest in what it is that enables schools and departments teaching LIS to survive and prosper. Over the next few years, as the researcher became involved in other international activities, that interest focused more and more on how those issues played out in Schools in the developing countries.

The visit to Iraq had stimulated a lasting interest in the developments that were taking place there, and the researcher had continued to follow them, as best he could. Iraq's deteriorating international links and domestic circumstances combined with other pressures on the researcher — not least the responsibility for managing the growth of a School of Librarianship and Information Studies through the diversification of its knowledge base — to defer closer examination of these issues. In the aftermath of the invasion of Iraq in 2003, renewed contact with the staff of Iraq's (by then) several Schools of Librarianship and Information Studies (SLIS) revealed that their programs had continued to develop, despite the increasingly difficult circumstances that they faced during the intervening 20 years. Published reports about library development in Iraq were still evidently incomplete or out of date; for example, in 1988, Ahmed published a report about education for librarianship that covered only developments that had taken place before 1969! Moreover, most reports about Iraq proved no different from most reports from Schools of Librarianship in developed as well as developing countries, which tend to be rather factual — "stuff happened" — with little explanation of the context in which changes took place or critical analysis of any alternative courses of action that might have been available. What had provided the foundations for the continuing progress in Iraq? Did Iraq's experience offer lessons for other developing countries and the international agencies that seek to assist them?

These are not new questions. Almost 50 years ago, one of the leading contributors to early international developments in education for librarianship observed that:

> "International cooperation in library training already in fact exists and has been the object of sustained effort for a number of years. The studies and reports to which it has given rise are numerous, some merely informative, others highly critical... However, the contributions are isolated reports by those who either received or gave the aid. There is no general survey outlining the total experience, pointing out the shortcomings and suggesting conclusions that would serve as a valid basis in planning future international action." (Sabor 1965)

The implementation of the study that she suggested as necessary remains outstanding. The main purpose of this study is therefore to begin to examine the factors contributing to the development of education for library and information work. While a general survey is not practicable, and its results and conclusions would probably be superficial, the experience of a single developing country does lend itself to closer examination, and this study is therefore focused on one such country, Iraq. Although it concentrates on the history of relatively recent developments there, it accords with Shera's (1952) view that the study of library history allows librarians not only to understand the present but also to fulfil their social responsibility more effectively. The study also addresses the continuing responsibility of advanced societies to foster progress in less developed countries. That goal will be served by raising awareness of the results of the study through publication following its completion.

Introduction to the Object of Study

Iraq's land area, nearly 440,000 sq.km. (c.170,000 square miles), makes it one of the largest countries bordering on the Arabian Gulf. Although desert accounts for a large proportion (over 40 per cent) of its land area, Iraq was traditionally an agricultural economy, sustained by the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris. However, it also has the good fortune to sit over major oil deposits, amongst the largest proven oil reserves in the world, making it potentially a very wealthy state.

Iraq's economic circumstances are not entirely unique amongst independent developing countries, particularly those where valuable mineral resources can be exploited and/or where there were institutional legacies from a former colonial government. Indeed, 'developing countries' are sometimes referred to as 'middle or low income countries' and Iraq's circumstances moved from the latter to the former category during the second and third quarters of the twentieth century. The history of the development of libraries and education for librarianship in Iraq then was substantial, and some of what was accomplished has been documented in the public domain, particularly in English. It presented an opportunity to begin to assess the factors that stimulated the initial development of its library and information workforce, and also whether there were other identifiable factors evident during the later period that contributed to the continuing development of professional education — and that may have a wider relevance.

In Antiquity, Iraq's population may at one time have been as much as 26 million, but it had declined substantially before the modern era (Kadhim 1959). From some 3.5 million in the 1930s, the population has since grown again — to around 14 million by the early 1980's. At the end of 1989, it was estimated by the United Nations at over 18 million, and more recent estimates suggest that it had risen to 24 million by 2003. A high fertility rate and a young population suggest that the underlying rate of growth will remain high.

As the population has grown, the potential for employment has been a major factor in the process of urbanisation. There has been a general trend for people from the less prosperous regions to migrate to the major cities. From a predominantly rural or nomadic population, it evolved during the twentieth century into a highly urbanised society. Almost half of the population is now to be found in the four main cities, Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, and Kirkuk, and in total around 75% of the population are now estimated to live in urban areas.

Just as the social structure in Iraq has been affected by changes in its economy — and it has evolved dramatically in recent years — the changes in the economy also stimulated demand for the growth and development of the education system. A key element in the livelihood strategies of the urbanised population in developing countries is access to labour market opportunities, and this depends *inter alia* on the education available to them and the skills that they can develop (Rakodi 2002). Since Iraq became an independent state in 1932, successive governments have therefore expanded oil production and devoted the revenues *inter alia* to industrial development and the improvement of education. Iraq was making good progress in this respect:

> "…[S]tarting perhaps in the 1950s and continuing until the first half of the 1980s, there was a surge in the educational output and potential in Iraq. The country had some of the Arab world's best facilities for higher education, and attracted students from many parts of the world as a result. A great number of Iraqis completed their postgraduate education in Western European and North American universities." (Al-Ali 2004)

The criteria of modernity, according to Szyliowicz (1973), are citizens' ability to live and function in a technologically advanced society which is flexible enough to respond to the evolving, self-sustaining transformation of its values and institutions. However, the fiscal and diplomatic consequences of the governing regime's belligerent international policies ensured that during the 1980s and 1990s:

> "The Herculean effort … that lifted Iraq out of poverty and ignorance has therefore been undone in extremely painful and tragic circumstances." (Al-Ali 2004)

This general evaluation seemed likely to have been equally valid for education for librarianship (Johnson 2005). Iraq appeared to have been, initially at least, a success story in developing professional education for library and information work. Iraq's professional education for library and information work first took the form of short courses by foreign consultants in the 1950s, but appeared to have then progressed to a relatively advanced state through continued external assistance and subsequent indigenous efforts before the political isolation of the country began in the 1980s.

Political and administrative changes may cause policy shifts at all levels, and can even cancel out previous achievements, and the ascent to power of Saddam Hussein rendered the political situation in Iraq increasingly unstable and unsettled (Zado 1990), and it remains so today. The consequences of this became apparent when the onset of Iraq's diplomatic and economic problems in the 1980s and 1990s coincided with the emergence of ubiquitous applications of computing in libraries and information services. In Iraq during this period, funds for investment in libraries and information services and access to international resources were increasingly limited by the country's circumstances, with a seemingly inevitable impact on professional education for the field.

Before its government became economically and politically isolated from much of the world, Iraq had developed a large School of Librarianship in Baghdad, and the basis of an international centre for archives studies. Notwithstanding the increasingly difficult circumstances during the last decades of the twentieth century, education for the information sector continued to make progress, as indicated by the establishment of additional SLIS in Basra and Mosul, higher degree programs, programs for the education of paraprofessional library staff in Baghdad and Mosul, and a centre for records management studies in Baghdad. These later achievements were made largely without foreign assistance, whereas in many other countries technical assistance projects were still being started but never finished. Indeed, in contrast to the progress in Iraq, elsewhere:

> "stories abound concerning development projects which commenced with a lot of enthusiasm and much excitement, but whose life span came to a crushing halt once the funding ran out, or the foreign facilitators left…" (Wormell 2002)

Introduction to the Purpose of the Study

Political developments, particularly during the second half of the twentieth century, have created a world of almost 200 independent nation states, two-thirds of which could be described in socio-economic terms as 'developing'. During that period, information began to be seen as a valuable resource in a country's development. In developing countries such as Iraq, planning the availability, organisation and utilization of information, and the communications networks and human skills required for an efficient and effective infrastructure, should therefore have become an essential element in the modernisation of the economy and society (Al-Werdi 1983). The present study, which includes the first substantial review in English of the development of Iraqi librarianship for 20 years, does not seek to demonstrate the value of information in development; rather it pre-supposes that its potential contribution makes it a necessary element, and simply seeks to illustrate the way in which this contribution was manifested in Iraq and to shed light on how the country's progress in producing the necessary professional cadre was achieved.

During the second half of the twentieth century, international assistance was a noticeable feature in the development of library and information services in Iraq and other less developed countries. Nonetheless, one of the problems with international agencies' library development projects has been that there is regrettably little evidence available to demonstrate whether or not it was this foreign assistance that created the motivation and the critical mass of expertise in the beneficiary country that is required to sustain continuing development as compared with other phenomena. Gunton (1962), for example, drawing on his experience as British Council Librarian in several developing countries, commented that it was not easy to discern to what extent the task of librarians in developing library services was assisted by phenomena such as good communications, or an expanding economy.

The problem was that, as White (1970) explained: "While the published record is growing bulky, most of it has been produced since the [second world] war, and the pace of movement has left too little time for reporting results and too little for digesting them." After reviewing the role of USAid, Brewster (1976) suggested that five related areas of inquiry into post-war overseas library technical assistance were necessary:

1. "An evaluation and qualitative measurement of these library development efforts, either on an individual project level, on a countrywide or regional basis, or on the basis of agency sponsorship appears to be in order. There are in fact two steps that must be taken in this process. First, it is necessary to design a method or tool for the measurement and evaluation of these library development efforts. Only when this had been achieved can the examination process continue. This process might take the form of investigating the library project from the point of view of the host country's educational and library needs, the country's stage of library development before and after project introduction, and the contribution of the visiting foreign library consultant.

2. Such a qualitative investigation requires deeper analysis of the factors influencing library activities of major sponsors... The archives of the… agencies, would provide the kind of primary data needed to measure certain aspects of library program effectiveness…

3. It has been demonstrated that library technical assistance has taken two major paths: a) library education or training; and b) the establishment of libraries and attendant administrative responsibilities such as collection development or reorganization. Very often these two categories have been carried out by the same person, within the same institution, but no comparison has been made of the effectiveness of one type of assistance with the other...

4. Closely related to the above problem is the need for comparison of personal and professional behaviour exhibited, cultural and role shock experienced, attitudes and expectations held, as well as perceived achievements of these library advisors...

5. Finally, further investigation is needed to determine the impact of this advisory/expert role ... to prepare librarians for such overseas work. The question of how these experiences have been absorbed… remains unanswered."

The Research Questions

In essence, this study is a first attempt to address these issues. Primarily, the research aimed to examine the value and impact of different contributions to the development of LIS education. As a retrospective study, it might also reasonably be expected to consider whether the impact changed and was sustained during different stages in these developments. However, as Brewster noted, to do so, it was also necessary to identify or devise an appropriate method. The research therefore seeks answers to the following questions:

• What were the factors that underlay the development of education for librarianship and information management in Iraq?
• What was the relative contribution of factors that were external and internal to Iraq?
• What method or tool could be used to evaluate the impact of contributions to the development of education for librarianship and information management?

The Objectives of the Study

Creswell (2003) and other experienced researchers advise the use of specific objectives in order to guide the direction of the research effort and to maintain a

sharp focus on the output of useful findings. Towards the achievement of the study's aims, once the research questions were identified, the objectives of this study were defined as:

- To review existing approaches to comparing and evaluating developments in education for librarianship and information management
- To review the main trends in the international guidance and support for LIS education offered to countries where librarianship and information management was less well developed
- To review the main trends in in the needs and demand for library and information management expertise in Iraq
- To review the main trends in the development of education and training for librarianship and information management in Iraq
- To review the main trends in other factors internal to Iraq that influenced the development of education for librarianship and information management there
- To identify the main trends in the international guidance and support offered to Iraq to meet the demand for library and information management expertise
- To briefly compare developments in a cognate field in Iraq — archives and records management services and the related professional and technical education — as an internal benchmark for the development of education for librarianship and information management there
- To briefly compare the main strands of similar developments in the Arab world as a whole to provide an external benchmark for developments in Iraq
- To evaluate the relative impact of internal and external influences on the development of LIS education in Iraq.

Chapter 2
A Brief Review of the Literature

Introduction

The primary focus of this research is to identify factors that contributed to the effective development of Schools of Librarianship, Information and Archival Studies (SLIS) in Iraq. Its broader aim is to seek to identify factors that may contribute to the development of SLIS and their contribution to society, particularly but not exclusively in the developing countries, and to provide a framework other countries could use to begin to evaluate their situation and how they might progress.

This chapter presents an overview of previous work related to the themes of this study. It briefly reviews the literature that illustrates the development of library and information work in the Arab world, before turning to the particular focus of this research — Iraq and the development there of library, archival and information studies and particularly the related educational provision. It also briefly outlines previous reviews of international development policy and assistance, with a particular emphasis on the development of library and information services, and on education in library, archival and information studies, and describes the issues that have been encountered in attempting to evaluate its impact.

Library and Information Services in the Arab World

The 'Arab world' is generally taken to comprise the states located in northern Africa and in western Asia (see figure 2.1) that share classical Arabic as a common written language (although it must be acknowledged that there are significant variations between countries not only in the colloquial languages but also in the meaning of some LIS professional terminology). This study uses interchangeably the terms 'Arab world', 'Arab countries', or 'Arab region', which in common usage refer to those lands in which the principal language is Arabic, and 'Arab states', which sometimes describes those countries that are eligible for membership of the League of Arab States. In this study, the 'Arab world' generally refers to the Arab states bordering the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf. It ignores several geographically peripheral, Arabic-speaking countries that were not members of the Arab League

during the majority of the period examined (Mauritania, joined 1973; Somalia, 1974; Djibouti, 1977; Comoros 1993; and Eritrea, which has only observer status), and where there was little library provision during most of the period covered by this study, and no local provision for professional education in librarianship.

Figure 2.1 The Arabic-speaking world
Source: http://www.friendshipcaravan.org

The term 'Gulf states' here usually refers to the 6 Member States of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates), although the term is sometimes used — as it is by some other authors — in its geographic sense to refer to all the states that have coastal territory bordering on the Arabian Gulf. The 'Middle East' is a geographically undefined area, usually taken to mean the Arab states that lie from Egypt east of the Mediterranean littoral, although — again following the usage of other writers — it may encompass the non-Arabic-speaking nations of Iran and Turkey, where Islam is the predominant religion, as it is in the Arabic-speaking states, and where there are (or were) some similarities in the script and orthography.

International agencies initially chose not to identify the Arabic-speaking nations as a discrete group. The Arab states were invited to participate in their activities according to the geographically determined continent in which they were located, and thus expected to participate in reviews of economic and social challenges and attempted solutions for them within the broader context of those of African or Asian countries. For example, Unesco's early activities in the LIS and other fields remained quite inconsistent in their recognition of the Arab states as a linguistic, cultural, and political entity until the 1960s. Moreover, it was not until the 1990s, shortly before its collapse, that FID initiated moved

towards establishing an Arab regional group, and only in 2007 that IFLA finally established a Language Centre for Arabic Speaking Libraries.

Role models for the early international assistance in library development in the Arab states came from the industrialised countries outside the region, but from time to time linguistic, cultural and historic ties focused the search for local models on their neighbours. Behavioural scientists such as Rogers (2003) have explained that the factors that influence individuals to adopt new ideas include the visibility of acceptable examples of its successful implementation. Thus, various writers about library development have essayed comparisons between Iraq and one or more other Arab countries (e.g. Al-Kindilchie 1977; Sharif 1977; Dyab 1983; Al-Kindilchie & Al-Samirrai 1989; Francis 1993).

However, claims for the interchange of experience and comparability between them are not always appropriate because each Arab country is unique in some ways. For example, although the Arab states have largely similar cultures, customs and traditions, these have been moderated by their differing tribal origins, their recent domination by differing colonial powers, and increasingly nationalist and political differentiation which:

> "affected the intellectual, cultural, educational, social and economic life of the country. Teaching institutions and libraries were also affected ..." (Zado 1990)

Nonetheless, Iraq's experience as a developing nation is not unique in the Arab world. Substantial oil deposits have been discovered in many of the other Arab states. Thus, one commentator on the challenges for the United Arab Emirates of an experience similar to Iraq's in its transformation from a nomadic/agrarian society to a post-industrial society noted that:

> "The influx of oil revenues created a wide gap between the immense speed of modernization and construction of infrastructure, and the skills, experience and qualifications of national manpower." (Taryam 1987)

Moreover, while the international investment in the development of libraries, information and archives services in Iraq was more generous in financial terms and sustained over a more prolonged period than the assistance provided for most other Arab states (Khoury 1972), international guidance and motivation in the field was generally directed at the Arabic-speaking countries collectively.

Some comparisons with the situation in the rest of the Arab world may, therefore, provide a benchmark against which the state of affairs in Iraq could be

assessed, and may shed further light on the influences on the development of LIS education and practice:

> "Because case studies catch the dynamics of unfolding situations, it is advisable to commence with a very wide field of focus, an open phase, without selectivity or pre-judgement." (Cohen, Mannion, & Morrison 2000)

A number of writers have attempted comparative studies of the library scene in one or more Arab countries (e.g. Al-Kindilchie 1977), but these have tended to be descriptive rather than analytical. Studies of the Arab world as a whole are fewer, and suffered from the problems of access to information that resulted from the limited output of Arab writers, and the weakness of the international book trade in the region. Two notable exceptions are international surveys of education for librarianship in the Arab world by Sharif (1977) and Miski (1993), but even these have gaps in their coverage, and their analyses of the situation show little attempt to understand the contributory, contextual issues.

Library and Information Services in Iraq

Sixty years ago, Thompson (1954) commented that: "The most eloquent pages in any study of Middle East librarianship are those on which nothing is written." Generally, there is still little evidence available to demonstrate whether it is factors such as a country's economic and social development, the introduction of ideas or expectations as a result of international technical assistance, the creation a critical mass of indigenous expertise, or some other factor that sustains continuing development in LIS education.

None of the commentaries on the library education work that formed part of the activities of the international organisations have paid any great attention to the Arab world in general or specifically examined developments in Iraq, despite the evidently significant progress of the information sector there:

> "It is not that the library development of …the Middle East… is in itself particularly impressive when compared to that of the more advanced metropolitan countries, but when examined in the light of the library situation which prevailed in these regions at the end of World War II, the change is little short of miraculous." (Dean 1972)

The development of the information sector in Iraq in particular benefitted from substantial international assistance. During the period covered by this study, Iraq's library systems apparently completed a process "telescoping into a few decades what it has taken developed countries a couple of centuries to achieve" (Asheim 1996). It therefore seemed useful to try to understand the

foundations for Iraq's progress, and to identify the factors that appear to have been critical to its successful autonomous national development of LIS education. However, a significant challenge was to first delineate the history of library development in Iraq, which has not previously been reviewed comprehensively or in any depth, at least in studies written in English.

The history of librarianship and information work in Iraq has been documented in Arabic by Qazanchi (1972; 2001). There appears to be only one brief account, also in Arabic, that focuses solely on the early development of professional education (Al Amin 1977). Another paper in Arabic, by Qassim (1976), appears to be the only one that may discuss crucial developments in the 1970s, when a large school of librarianship was created in Al-Mustansiriyah University. Some later developments were discussed in papers in Arabic by Saleh (1981; 1985) and Al-Werdi (1987). An account published in Jordan attempted to review the situation in several countries including Iraq (Al Sabbagh & Husib 1992). A similar presentation was made by Jirjees — an Iraqi then working outside the country — at a workshop in Lebanon (IFLA 2002), but remained unpublished after a revised version was presented at another conference a decade later, in which the challenges then affecting SLIS in several countries in the region were outlined (Ateek & Jirjees 2013). Although the later version referred to several other documents about the development of professional education, there appear to be no other papers in Arabic that examine the influences of the economic and diplomatic problems that have beset Iraq since 1980. This is perhaps unsurprising in the light of the limited number of Arabic language outlets for published output from the relatively small number of Arab scholars in the field. However, in the case of Iraq, it is probably also necessary to acknowledge the possibility of reluctance by those still living in the country to publish any critical account that might be interpreted as reflecting badly on the regime for fear of retribution.

Rehman, Al-Ansari, and Yusuf (2002), in a study of faculty in the Gulf States, drew attention to the effort required to write in other languages. Despite this challenge, there is a substantial number of books, reports, and journal articles in western European languages that touch on librarianship in Iraq, although much of what is available generally presents an account that is at best fragmented and at times contradictory and confusing. Some reports about professional education were seriously out of date by the time they appeared in print. For example,

Ahmed published a paper in Germany in 1988 that reported developments that had taken place only up to 1969 as if they reflected the current situation.

Most of the early Iraqi LIS students in western countries focused their research papers on aspects of professional practice and the challenges of the Iraqi, Arab, or Muslim context. Only five major studies that examined the development of librarianship in Iraq seem to have been prepared in English, partly because of the difficulty in accessing source material, partly perhaps because the professional workforce had not reached a sufficiently advanced state of academic development before the country became economically and politically isolated, and probably partly because of the limited opportunities for Iraqis to study abroad since 1980. None of them focused exclusively on professional education.

Kadhim's (1959) Master's thesis appears to be the earliest substantial account in English by an Iraqi, and provided much factual information about the state of Iraqi libraries prior to the introduction of professional education, but also shed some light on early foreign interventions, interviewing some of those involved. Although lacking any accounts from personal interviews, Chilmeran's (1962) Master's thesis went over the same ground, but provided much more detail. Zado's Master's and doctoral theses (1979; 1990) examined the deficiencies of information services in Iraq, and the possibility of their development within the framework of the Unesco's NATIS/UNISIST concepts of national planning, testing the opinion of a small group of librarians, library users, and administrators of institutions that hosted libraries. Al-Werdi's (1983) doctoral thesis examined the development of library and information services, based on an extensive literature survey, as well as personal interviews with leading professionals, government officials, potential library and information personnel and users, visits and on-site observations conducted in 1981. Neither of these studies offered any substantial consideration of the impact on education for librarianship of the broader developments taking place in the country and externally, nor of its impact on the development of professional services in te country.

Other accounts of the development of library services and education for librarianship in Iraq have mostly been short. Brief early accounts were published in English outlining the training activities of consultants supported by Unesco, commencing in the 1950s, and in some cases their final mission reports were

also published. Passing references to professional education and training in Iraq in the 1950s and 1960s can be found in papers on library service developments in the country or on professional education in the Arab world. Sharify published the first summary history of education for librarianship in Iraq in 1963 (as part of a paper in English covering the situation in several Arab states), but it was some years before the first substantial consultants' reports were published (Srivastava 1969; 1970), signalling the establishment of the country's first School of Librarianship. The published reports were heavily edited versions of the original drafts. Indeed, Srivastava's final draft report (1973) was not deemed suitable for publication by Unesco, and its contents were previously known, in part, only through the publication in a journal of a personal *apologia* (Srivastava 1974). Later educational developments were again reported in English only as part of a wider summary of developments in the Arab states (e.g. Sharif 1977), and without significant analysis of the underlying factors. No other account appeared in English until after further significant changes had occurred later in the decade. The first of these factual reports enjoyed only limited circulation (Johnson 1981).

A brief historical review and description of the then current situation that appeared in the public domain in the late 1980s (Al-Werdi 1987) revealed further changes in the structure of education for library and information sciences. The subsequent literature contains only passing references by foreign (e.g. Ahmed 1988) or Iraqi commentators (e.g. Al-Kindilichie 1994), and also sheds little light on the development of the curriculum or teaching approaches, or the human and material resources available to support them.

International Assistance for Developing Library and Information Services

The provision of libraries, and the development of librarianship, were natural, early manifestations of international activities intended to promote development. As Urquhart observed:

> "To librarians, national boundaries are handicaps to be overcome..."
> (Urquhart 1977)

Commencing in the late 1940s, international development agencies, governmental and non-governmental, provided substantial advice and assistance to support the development of library and information services in countries with less developed economies and social structures. Identifying the scale and distribution of international technical assistance for library development is almost

impossible. Setting aside the variety of inter-governmental, national, and non-governmental organisations involved, and the way in which they sometimes collaborated in the funding of specific projects, it is also the case that funding for the development of libraries, information centres and archives is often subsumed within the budget of a larger project, such as the development of a university, a college, or a research centre. The budget for Unesco's Libraries Department and its successors (DBA, PGI, etc.) was a small fraction of Unesco's regular budget, but its expenditure was bolstered by subventions from UNDP, other Unesco departments, and other U.N. agencies and transfers in respect of work undertaken on their behalf. 'Books' work represented a significant proportion of the British Council's expenditure, but the Council's direct grant in aid from the British government was frequently supplemented by transfers from government departments, the Overseas Development Administration, etc., and by fees from other international agencies, for example for assistance to students enrolled in British SLIS. Some of the budget of USIS was expenditure incurred in support of the U.S. government's propaganda activities. ALECSO frequently relied on subventions from other agencies. The relevant expenditure of other agencies, including the former U.S.S.R. and its satellite stats, has not been explored. This study will, therefore, not attempt to indicate the overall level of expenditure on library development in Iraq, but will review the general thrust of assistance and point to significant grants or programmes of technical assistance provided to Iraq that are relevant to this study's focus.

Brewster (1976) and Coombs (1988) described the origins of government involvement in library development assistance, which lay largely in the reconstruction of those countries whose economies were destroyed in World War II, and in the cultural diplomacy that was initiated by the U.S.A. and Britain before that war and reinforced during it to counter enemy propaganda. Carter (1964) described the origins and focus of Unesco's library programme, and papers or conference papers by various other staff members have been published reporting on related activities or explaining its policies (e.g. Petersen 1949, 1953; Evans 1954, 1955; Penna 1966, 1976; Roberts 1975; Lohner 1980). In a major independent study, Parker (1985) illustrated how Unesco's approach to international library development planning evolved during its first 40 years. In addition, numerous accounts and critiques by others who interacted

with Unesco's library work have appeared in print (e.g. Milam 1947; Gardner 1957; Liebaers 1980; Lancaster 1991; Large 1991; Johnson 1994, 1997).

The recent digitisation of selected Unesco documents has made a number of Committee papers, and mission reports, more readily available online, as well as internal evaluations of its activities such as Roberts's (1988) report on PGI, and that by Couture and Lajeunesse (1994) on RAMP. As a general rule, other archived Unesco Secretariat correspondence and administrative files are opened for research after 20 years, while the personnel files of Unesco staff and contracted consultants, along with certain other confidential files, remain closed for 50 years, the number of years being counted from the most recent item in the file. Thus, when Meheiddine (1989) examined Unesco's role in the transfer of scientific information in the Arab world, she could only have seen some of documents covering the period until the mid-1960s, and Keresztesi's (1977) study of its role in library education and training was conducted before archived material on Unesco's activity in Iraq was openly available. Only now is access to Unesco's archives beginning to offer the opportunity for researchers to fully evaluate the impact of the Organization's work over an extended period. A number of recent studies by external researchers have drawn on Unesco archives to examine its overall approach to, for example, the field of culture (Maurel 2001), and publishing (Giton 2013; Lembrecht 2014). Intrator (2013) has reviewed aspects of Unesco's role in the post-war reconstruction of libraries in Europe, and there have been some studies that have focused on particular aspects of Unesco's work in individual countries (e.g. Bhatt 2004). However, there has not yet been any other scholarly examination of Unesco's overall approach to the field of library, archival and information work, and none has yet examined Unesco's relationships with the Arab world as a whole.

The need to embed library and information services in a country's planning procedures for educational and scientific development was gradually recognised by Unesco, and evolved into the NATIS (National Information Systems) and UNISIST (United Nations Information System In Science and Technology) programmes that were subsequently merged under the aegis of the General Information Programme (PGI), encouraged by polemics from, for example, Havard Williams (1979). However, the few attempts to place library development in a single country within the broader international context have been limited in depth (e.g. Sewell & Istasi 1986).

There have been few, if any, objective attempts to evaluate international cooperation *per se*, although there has been a long-standing awareness of issues such as:

- timing, balance, and priorities in development
- working relations with national and local officials
- adapting and communicating modern techniques in less developed countries
- engaging official and popular participation
- evaluating the effectiveness of development measures (Opler 1954).

Nonetheless, only a few empirical assessments of technical assistance projects have been made that appear to be independent of the donor agencies (e.g. Tesdell 1958; Vrancken 1963; Bouri 1993; Kamel 1999). Publications on cooperation and collaboration in the LIS field, largely opinion based, have pointed to the way in which they are said to facilitate access to a pool of resources and services; offer the opportunity to develop a "level playing field"; and enhance "risk-sharing capacity, collaborative technical expertise, and unified lobbying potential" (Hiremath 2001). However, there still appears to be scope for validating many key claims for these benefits by evaluating the impact on participants.

According to Dyer (1981), success for both the beneficiary and donor organisations and the consultant employed to implement a technical assistance project depends upon a common perception of the problem, shared objectives, and agreement on the preferred approach to the problem. However, objective reviews of the role and effectiveness of foreign consultants in international technical assistance projects remain rare. Although consultants who undertook missions for the international agencies often published reports or summaries in, for example, Unesco serial publications (e.g. Saunders 1954; Bonny 1958c), these were usually authorised, matter of fact statements. The few unofficial accounts that appeared in independent journals (e.g. Srivastava 1974; Jacso & Razzaq 1986) have to be mined for observations on their experience, although these were usually not self-critical and can only be regarded as personal opinion. Parker (1986; 1988) has published collections of papers on aspects of international library development consultancy, but these tended to be opinion rather than evidence based. Otherwise, much of the LIS literature on the use of consultants emanates from the U.S.A. (where their main employment seems to have been in assisting in a task which, for most librarians, is a one-off

experience — preparing a brief for the design of a new library building and monitoring its construction), but is similar in nature.

The Development of Education for Library and Information Service

There are numerous descriptions of the history of LIS education (e.g. Bramley 1975). Much of the literature about developments in the field has, however, focused narrowly on changes in the curriculum and the implications of making them, or on the level of education at which it is desirable that the subject be taught.

During the second half of the twentieth century, in both the advanced economies and the less developed countries, the demand for information management skills grew in response to increasing demands for information, the challenges of making effective use of the increasing body of information available, and increasingly diverse opportunities for employment that required the application of information management expertise. Support for the development of the professional workforce for libraries and information services was one of the earliest forms of international activity, and was one of the most common during the last half-century. However, neither papers about the activities of major national agencies nor the substantial overviews of their work in library development (Brewster 1976; Coombs 1988) paid particular attention to education for librarianship. Keresztesi's (1977) thesis is the only examination of Unesco's general contribution to the development of education for librarianship.

Technical assistance projects and cooperative activities intended to support the development of Schools of Librarianship and Information Sciences have been regularly and now sometimes widely reported. For example, in recent years, new technology has also enabled both Unesco and USAid to digitise the already published reports on most of their completed projects and make them available on the Web, both immediately on completion and as a retrospective record of their activities. However, most of these reports were not intended to critically analyse and evaluate the projects; rather they were confirmation to the beneficiary governments that an approved project had been completed, and/or suggestions for future joint activities. In this respect, they differ little from many other aspects of the discipline. Shera once endorsed a categorisation of library literature which suggested that the reader would encounter: "Glad Tidings,

Testimony and Research, finding precious little of the last" (Beals 1942, quoted by Shera 1964). Regrettably this is true of the subject of this investigation. Much of the literature found not only in these official reports, but also in theses, monographs, and journal articles written by participants or commentators, consists of descriptive material "and presentations of rather tiresome collections of ill-digested data from which conclusions were rarely drawn, or, if drawn, had comparatively little significance" (Dean 1972).

Much of the commentary that does exist is opinion rather than empirically based. Even so, there is little evidence that participants indulged in post-project reflection, perhaps because the benefits were taken for granted or more probably because this was not required by their contract with the donor agency or employer. Such accounts as have appeared have tended to be descriptive reports of what has been done, rather than a critical analysis of why it was necessary, the context within which it was undertaken, and an objective evaluation of the outcome. Some of this is perhaps inevitable as most development assistance was short-term, and little or no provision was made for impact assessment because the differences that had been achieved were often not expected to be evident for some years. It would, in any case, be challenging to devise empirical texts that could distinguish between the knowledge received during formal education or training and subsequent experiential learning.

In a paper on the relationship between the United States and Mexico, Rodriguez (2003) concluded that "a study of greater depth would have to be made to cover, analyze and evaluate the results of that cooperation", an observation that has a wider resonance. This study aims to initiate such a process, albeit in a different geographical sphere. It will examine the body of historical evidence on the relationship between Iraqi and other organisations in the development of education of librarianship in Iraq, and demonstrate that it lends itself to contemporary analysis and evaluation.

Because of their changing professional context, Schools of Librarianship and Information Sciences (SLIS), and particularly Schools in the developing nations, have found themselves continually expected to implement curricular change. 'Official' guidelines on the development of professional education for librarianship and information sciences (LIS) were published by Unesco (e.g. Danton 1949; Neelameghan 1978; Saunders 1978; Large 1987), based on the authors' substantial experience but subjective opinions. The International Federation of

Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) played a similar role by publishing a statement of best practice in Schools of Librarianship (e.g. IFLA 1976), while the former International Federation for Information and Documentation (FID)[2] established a curriculum documentation centre to facilitate knowledge transfer (Dhyani 1990), and both bodies organised regional and international workshops to provide an exchange of experience between teachers in the field. In addition, other experienced or self-professed experts in developing SLIS and their curricula pointed to factors likely to underpin the development of Schools of Librarianship in the developed (e.g. Stieg 1992; Haycock 2010) and developing (e.g. Downs 1958; Dean 1972) countries. None of these guidelines were mandatory, and indeed there was no requirement for any agency or government even to consider their advice.

The closure of SLIS in the U.S.A. and the U.K. during the 1980s prompted discussions and analyses that were examined to determine what they might reveal about factors that could contribute to the development and sustainability of SLIS, but individually proved narrow in their conclusions on the probable causes for failure. Paris (1988; 1991) and others, for example, pointed to the self-imposed isolation of SLIS from their institutional environment, a lack of leadership, and a seeming inability to respond to a changing environment, in which other disciplines emerged as competitors for students and research funding. Papers gathered by Intner and Vandergrift (1990) further reinforced the importance of leadership. Haywood (1991) drew attention to the political pressures on the SLIS in Britain. Stieg (1992) surveyed the challenges facing SLIS in the U.S.A. and added some new contextual issues, such as the declining income of some SLIS, and the decline in the income of librarians which made attracting students more difficult. Ostler, Dahlin and Willardson (1995) instead ascribed the problems mainly to inadequate attention to the intellectual history and theoretical foundations of the profession, and the consequent lack of principles to guide any reform of the curriculum. Their study purports to examine the influence of external forces on the SLIS, but mainly focused on the paradigm shift stemming from the growth of the Internet and the emergence of the digital library which made programs' resource requirements more expensive, particularly programs teaching small cohorts. They pointed to the potential

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[2] FID ceased to function in 2000, and was formally declared bankrupt and closed down in 2001.

benefits of strategic planning that would enable SLIS to adapt to change, but failed to explore whether any SLIS had adopted such an approach or indicate what such a process might lead to. More recently, Haycock (2010) confirmed the opinion of Deans of SLIS in the U.S.A. on factors that might influence the sustainability of SLIS, in a survey based on terms derived from the previous, limited studies.

There are some notable experiential contributions to the LIS literature about the less developed countries as concerns evolved about the need for development and the effectiveness of international development assistance. Briquet de Lemos (1979; 1980), for example, ably presented the challenges of library development from the perspective of a less developed country. Gassol de Horowitz (1984) contributed an analysis of the problems and issues that librarianship as a profession needs to address in the arena of Third-World development and their implications for professional education. Lancaster (1983) was one of the first to question the relevance of the approach that Unesco had adopted to address these challenges.

A number of writers have reviewed the development of education for librarianship in developing countries, noting some of the issues that they faced, without explaining why they exist or pointing to viable solutions and what action needs to be taken by whom to achieve them. Downs (1958) and Dean (1972), for example, described the issues involved the issues they encountered in establishing SLIS in less developed countries. While acknowledging "the importance of matching the level of library training advocated with the level of local technological achievement and, secondly, the necessity of organising the content of courses to reflect the essential individuality of each specific country" (Dean 1972), they did not go into detail about what that might involve. Srivastava (1974) did, however, offer a personal perspective on some of the interpersonal skills that he had needed to bring to bear in Iraq.

Sharif (1977) and Miski (1993) reviewed the then current state of LIS education across the Arab world as a whole, identifying challenges that were being encountered, but neither of these examined in depth the origins and subsequent development of SLIS in any of the Arab countries. Other studies in English have made similar reviews on a regional or national basis.

Since the 1980s, criticisms have begun to appear of curricula that were derived from study abroad, or the legacy of efforts by foreign consultants to

establish or advise on the development of SLIS (e.g. Goldstein 1982; Mchombu 1986). These claimed to have focused on curricular relevance to the local environment, but often only considered this against the backdrop of actual and potential library and information services provision in a country. They did not explore why and how those curricula were introduced or the context in which that took place — the broad range of factors that contributed to the introduction or development of the SLIS.

The Education of LIS Students from or in Developing Countries

The earliest form of education for library staff in developing countries was usually provided by expatriates temporarily resident in their country. This was formalised in the activities of the agencies that became more prominent after the Second World War, which tended to expect consultants assigned to carry out overseas missions to train local people to be able to sustain the activities that they had initiated and the procedures that they had put in place. A number of these consultants clearly reflected on their experience in providing training, and drew attention to the difficulties of working through translators (e.g. Saunders 1954), and the absence of instructional materials in local languages (e.g. Bonny 1958c). There appear to be no first-hand accounts by the trainees of such programs.

The first Arab students to be educated in LIS were sent to SLIS in the country of their colonial overlords, commencing early in the twentieth century, and after the Second World War to countries in which aid donors were based — mainly the U.K. or the U.S.A. Unesco continued these arrangements, but its ability to extend significantly the range of countries involved was constrained by the availability of LIS education programs, and prospective students' familiarity with the requisite foreign language, as well as any conditions prescribed by the donors of available funds. The introduction of foreign students into homogenous indigenous groups of students and the demands of an unfamiliar education system presented new challenges for LIS educators and provoked a debate not only about how to deal with this (American Library Schools 1958), but also about the different options for educating students from less developed countries and their advantages and disadvantages (e.g. Marco 1970; Rochester 1986). A particular concern was whether programs in foreign countries could achieve one of the key purposes of education:

> "...enabling those so educated to adapt to the dynamics of change and allowing them to view international developments from a national perspective." (Francis, 1990)

Such concerns led to many early writers about education for librarianship in developing countries criticising sending students to other, more advanced countries, although that argument did evolve into an understanding that it may be necessary in the absence of local educational facilities. The consensus that emerged was that, when there were sufficient jobs available to absorb its graduates, a national school should be established (e.g. A Library Education Policy 1969). Thus, when the international professional associations began to take an active interest in the challenges facing developing nations, IFLA (1976) began to publish guidelines for the operation of SLIS, which proved to be rather more idealistic than realistic in the context of the less developed countries.

Initially, the students' views on studying in a foreign country were rarely documented, and could be immature and lacking objectivity (e.g. Ndegwa 1980), but towards the end of the century they began to be sought both informally (Johnson 1992) and through structured surveys (see several chapters in Tallman & Ojiambo 1990).

Approaches to Evaluating International Development Assistance

Early views of development assistance undoubtedly stressed catching up with, and generally imitating, the economically advanced nations of Western Europe and North America. This continues to be reflected in the LIS professional literature, in which information poverty has been linked with material poverty and technological deficiencies, aggravated by linguistic barriers (e.g. Haider & Bawden 2006).

Burnell (2002) outlined how development aid is now largely provided by or supported by governments, and takes several forms, including various forms of technical cooperation (activities such as the assignment of 'experts' to assist in the introduction of current practices, and sometimes supplemented by scholarships for training local staff, and the provision of books, journals and other materials) which now account for around half of all bilateral aid. Recent approaches to international development in general have been broadly based, with a greater sensitivity to local needs and capacities (Dodds 2002).

In the field of development work generally, critical evaluation of projects has become increasingly seen as essential, and there is a growing literature on the

application of evaluation techniques. The cycle of innovating, testing a product or process and its outcomes, and refining it, followed by its distribution and marketing, is a widely accepted model of development in industry, but attempts to adapt this to the development and evaluation of social and educational projects and programmes to improve their relevance and effectiveness have proved difficult. A particular problem is to isolate the many variables that could affect the implementation of development assistance. This led Leonard, Jenny and Nwali (1971), who reviewed the criteria for U.N. development assistance and the methods of evaluating it, to conclude, *inter alia*, that it was difficult to distinguish between the impact of external and internal contributions to development. However, a later review of the impact of external assistance for the development of education, while accepting that the evidence of a positive contribution was indicative rather than conclusive, observed that "External assistance seems most appropriate where there is already in place a locally developed strategy with political support and community involvement with some evidence of small scale success" (Lewin 1993). Despite the methodological challenges, the pressure on agencies to justify investing in development assistance from governments' tax income or public and private donations became such that evaluation has become a *sine qua non* in the requirements imposed on organisations and individuals undertaking development projects (Estrella*,* et al. 2000; European Commission 2009). A heightened focus on demonstrating results has increased the demand for understanding how to evaluate impact (Wavell*,* et al. 2002), while the more complex nature of international aid programmes have made it more challenging to attribute effects to a particular intervention, leading to attempts to develop new, sophisticated tools such as Quantitative Comparative Analysis (Schatz & Welle 2016).

In the 1960s, the attention of some scholars in the LIS field in the U.S.A. and Britain began to focus on the merits of comparative methodologies, which had been evolving in education and other social sciences for about one hundred years. These involved examining the contextual variables in developments as a contributor to isolating and identifying significant factors. A number of discussion papers were published (e.g. Dane 1954; Foskett 1965; White 1966), followed by a major textbook (Danton 1973), and a handbook pointing to likely sources of information about LIS in a range of countries (Simsova & MacKee 1970; 1975). There seem to have been no substantial attempts to implement these ideas; they

became confused with parallel but separate discussions about the internationalisation of LIS education (e.g. Carroll 1970); and interest in them withered.

Subsequently, different approaches were tried. Lau (1988), for example, demonstrated a statistically significant link between the level of library provision in countries and the level of their economic development, but was not able to claim that the state of their economies had been dependent on the library provision. However, there appears to have been little analysis undertaken to test the validity in the LIS field of the opinions that have been expressed on approaches to library development. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) terminated an extensive programme of research that had failed to establish an indisputable link between the provision of information services and their impact on a country's development (Menou 1993). However, none of the studies supported by IDRC considered the impact of the contextual issues that had been suggested as significant by the promoters of comparative librarianship. Nonetheless, generally, little objective research appears to have been undertaken since then to evaluate the impact of external assistance on the development of education for librarianship, archival and information studies, other than Keresztesi's (1977) thesis about Unesco's work in the LIS field, and Couture's (1993) review of Unesco's archives programme, RAMP.

Roche (1999) provided a general framework for development agencies to assess the impact of their work, and Heeks and Molla (2009) developed this further to facilitate an objective assessment of the development agencies' current panacea — the introduction of ICTs in developing countries — which threatens to become a surrogate for development, or used as a placebo. This approach, based on Porter's (1985) value chain theory, appears to not have been used in the LIS field. More narrowly focussed approaches, such as the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), devised by Davis (1989), have, however, been applied to the introduction of ICTs in library and information services (Izuagbe, Hamzat & Joseph 2016). Building on earlier theories, these aim to examine the contribution that perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use make to the adoption of innovations, concepts that also became elements in Rogers's (2003) work on the diffusion of ideas.

Gaps in the Literature

Most of the accounts of library development and education for librarianship in Iraq that were written in English by Iraqis were published during the 1970s and 1980s. It is by no means certain that foreign contributions to Iraq's library development could be fully acknowledged then. During the Saddam regime, the Arab nationalist elements of the Ba'ath party's policies were given full rein, and acknowledging foreign efforts may not have been considered appropriate. Foreign contacts were limited, even discouraged, and with them the potential for the publication of reports was diminished. Although Kadhim (1959) had observed that "the causes and effects must be examined and understood", most accounts of library developments in English, written by Iraqis and foreigners, reveal no critical analysis. There is no substantial discussion in English of the factors underlying the development of professional education for librarianship and information work in Iraq during its formative years, and there was almost total silence on the subject for the final 10-20 years of the twentieth century because of the country's isolation.

Although the policies and practices of the international agencies that assisted or could have assisted developments in the field have been examined in general terms, their relations with Iraq, and specifically their activities in the LIS field in Iraq have not been examined in any detail. What was in the public domain comprised officially sanctioned statements by employees of the organisations concerned, or reflections on their experiences by consultants whose openness and objectivity has to be held in suspicion because of their past and potential future relationships with the organisations concerned. And, as Ballard (1980) commented: "A particular deficiency in the literature is that one seldom reads of failures." Only in recent years has substantial access to the relevant organisations' archives been possible, and no one had yet examined them to try to disinter the facts behind the facades.

Evidence about the internal circumstances of the country has had to be drawn mainly from the work of scholars and others who have described other aspects of the development of the country. The general history of modern Iraq has been reviewed, for example, by expatriates who worked as officials in the country's administration (Longrigg 1953) or as educators (Penrose & Penrose 1978), as well as by more recent historians (e.g. Farouk-Sluglett & Sluglett 2001; Marr 2004). In considering any opinion expressed in these, care has to be

taken to allow for the possibility that the authors' perspectives may have been distorted by former colonialist attitudes or by the revisionist approach that is regrettably fashionable among some current historians. In addition, some information and insights can be drawn from doctoral theses completed in the U.K. and U.S.A. that have examined various aspects of the development of the country and its education system (e.g. Toma 1939; Tesdell 1958; Al-Dahwi 1977; Bakir 1984; Al-Khaizaran 2007).

Several writers have referred to the alleged impact of traditional attitudes (e.g. Hover 2007), religious beliefs (e.g. Buchanan 1997; Siddiqui 1998), and local culture (Elmendorf 1971; Menou 1983) on library development in the Arab world, but only one has approached these issues from a theoretical perspective (Birdsall 1971), and few (e.g. Smith 1965) have commented on their implications for LIS education. Khanal (2012) appears to offer the only substantial examination of postcolonial theory in the LIS field.

Thus, there was both opportunity and necessity for an objective and critical study that aimed to review and evaluate the contributions to education for librarianship in Iraq of the interventions in the field by the international development agencies and the country's government, taking account of not only the interaction between these interventions but also the impact of changes in international and national policy and circumstances.

Chapter 3
Towards a Methodology
for Evaluating the
Development of Education for Librarianship

The development of library services "must be founded not merely upon interest, but upon a thorough knowledge of their contexts in the human society of which they form a part." (Burnett 1973)

Introduction

Historical studies of library development and the role played by international technical assistance are relatively rare. Those that exist tend to focus on the policies and activities of the organisations providing the assistance, such as Unesco (Keresztesi 1977; Parker 1985; Bhatt 2004), the British Council (Coombs 1988), and USAid[3] (Brewster 1974). This study takes a different and apparently unique approach in seeking to examine the collective impact of the various development agencies in the context of one country over an extended period of time, with a particular focus on the development of education for information managers in library, documentation and archives services.

Brewster (1976) pointed to the absence of any recognised method for investigating a country's library development, a methodological gap that remains to be filled. The issues that require to be addressed are complex, given the need to examine the role of international agencies and national governments, and the interaction between them; as well as the way in which changes in education for librarianship evolved or were managed. Developing a complete understanding of what shaped policies and events requires the broader contextual issues to be defined and explored. Together, these create an additional challenge in analysing and evaluating the evidence. This chapter therefore necessarily discusses at some length the research method adopted for this study, the reasons underlying this choice of approach, and how this addressed the study's aims.

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[3] In the post-war years, the overseas agencies of the U.S. government were subject to frequent reorganisation and changes in nomenclature. In this thesis, for simplicity and consistency, they are generally referred to as USAid, to denote the agency which funded technical assistance; the U.S. Information Agency, USIA, which was concerned with public relations and propaganda; and the U.S. Information Service, USIS, which operated libraries, usually under the aegis of USIA.

Delimiting Development

It is not intended to enter into a debate about what constitutes development. Development has been variously defined, representing the gradual evolution of a phenomenon to a more elaborate form or its full-grown state, or a process in which someone or something is created or changed through the systematic application of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific requirements. Rather, this study simply concurs with the essence of a view expressed by Briquet de Lemos (1981) who argued that knowledge and its organization are two key elements in development, and that:

> "Underdevelopment is an accident of history and is the product of two factors, both of which are the primary concern of librarians. These are illiteracy and poor economic growth. The provision of books is a major step towards curing the first, and the provision of information is a necessity towards ending the second." (Briquet de Lemos 1981)

Nor is it the place of this study to enter the debate about what is meant by 'advanced', 'developed', or 'industrialised'; and 'less developed', 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' countries. In this study these terms are used interchangeably. In some senses, every country is a developing country. This study shares Parker's (1970) professional perspective that some nations should perhaps be thought of not as 'developing countries' but as countries with less developed library services. It also acknowledges that there may be libraries, archives and information services in some countries that appear less developed than others in the same country, but recognises that, while their circumstances could be the result of deliberate decisions or unintentional neglect by the government or the host organisation, they could equally likely be a manifestation of local traditions in the management, operation and use of libraries.

Delimiting the Focus on Education for Librarianship

Education that prepares people for practicing librarianship and other forms of information work necessarily covers a wide range of subjects, and those who teach it face many other challenges. Educators in the field claim that librarianship or library science is an academic discipline that has its own unique features. Again, this study does not seek to challenge or support that belief, but recognises that it is also true that it draws on and requires an understanding of many other disciplines — a fact that is often used, together with librarians' continuous interaction with information needs, provision and use in other

disciplines, to advance the argument that LIS education is best taught as a postgraduate program. Nonetheless, education for librarianship has usually evolved in the context of developing library provision, from on-the-job training of individuals to short courses for small groups before mutating into a formal program in an academic institution at a level that reflects the general level of educational provision in a country.

Teaching LIS involves familiarising students with the tools and techniques with which they are likely to engage in their daily work; providing an understanding of the role that effective leadership and management play in securing and efficiently deploying the resources required to ensure the delivery of the service; and inculcating a sense of the professional philosophy that underpins the role of libraries, information and archive services in facilitating the flow of information in society.

An increasing recognition that teaching librarianship requires a balanced amalgamation of knowledge from several other disciplines with aspects of knowledge about the transmission and organisation of information has helped to identify elements that are common to librarianship, information science and archives and records management. The growing complexity of the discipline has also led, as it has in other disciplines, to the delegation of more routine tasks to subordinate technicians, and to a similar evolution in their training and education. However, the curricular focus, whether on the role of professionals to design and manage systems or on the role of technicians to implement the procedures involved, tends to be constrained by a working environment in which many libraries, information centres, and archives have very few staff, or even only one member of staff, who find that they have to engage with a wide range of professional and technical tasks.

Students need not only to grasp the practicalities, but must also recognise the underlying concepts, if they are to be adequately prepared to adapt to the local circumstances in which they find themselves and to an environment that is likely to be constantly changing. For example, globalisation of the information sector through the creation of a networked environment and digitised information sources has recently brought fresh challenges. Together with the movement towards the harmonisation of education for librarianship with the cognate studies of information science and records and archives management, these advances in the body of knowledge with which professionals are expected

to be familiar have increased the pressure for selectivity and/or specialisation in the LIS curriculum, while at the same time placing a premium on ensuring that the pedagogy prepares students for a career lifetime of continual learning and change.

From time to time, LIS educators in developing countries have debated the legacy of a curriculum introduced by foreign experts tasked with developing a new SLIS, or derived by indigenous academics from studying (in) countries with more advanced state of library development. This, however, is neither a study of the balance between the tools and techniques of librarianship and information management that are globally available and their local availability and potential relevance to local circumstances, nor is it a review of the need for curricular change in Iraq. Rather, it is a study of the process of the evolution of an element of Iraq's economic and social infrastructure, a part that is itself a potentially significant element in underpinning the wider national agenda for social and economic development. It is an examination of the provision made for LIS education and the interplay between that provision and the context that shaped it.

Scholars in the field of international library development have commended the need for a fully informed understanding of a local context. Jackson (1982), for example, expected that:

> "In order to fully understand the role or state of affairs of librarianship as a whole or in part, one must be able to put the library problem in context… the absorption of background information on countries being studied is a first step…"

In any country, and particularly in a developing country such as that on which this study is focused, the context is provided by the international professional environment — the global, general level of library provision and the leading edge of professional practice — and the local environment in which the development of libraries takes place. In addition to reporting basic information about the main strands in Iraq's development of LIS education, this study therefore also needs to examine the broader context of the country's social, educational, and cultural development; the factors influencing LIS development which Danton (1973) identified as including culture, politics, external agencies, social background, ideology, geography, economy, moral conditions, climate, race, religion, language, and the communication media. As well as particular features in the history of LIS education, such as the range and nature of

provision and the scale of resources, it is therefore also necessary to evaluate not only the the governmental, organisational, legal and financial framework within which libraries and information services operate, but also the implications for the human resources required, their deployment, and management.

International Cooperation and Collaboration in Library Development

This is also a study of the role and effectiveness of international assistance in the development of eduction for librarianship. During the second half of the twentieth century, there were a significant number of international projects intended to assist the development of SLIS, but there are public accounts of only a small minority of the projects that were undertaken. These projects were mostly short-term in duration because the agencies' commitment was determined by the need to reconcile diplomatic pressures with their limited budgets, and typically involved efforts by an individual 'expert'. However, there is regrettably little objective evidence available to demonstrate whether or not such foreign assistance created the motivation and the critical mass of expertise in the beneficiary country that is required to sustain continuing development (Johnson 2005).

More recently, the international agencies have increasingly sought to encourage collaboration between SLIS to assist those in less developed environments, particularly after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. (Aman 1992a; Kajberg 2004). This extended to LIS education the collaboration between libraries that is a long established approach to coping with the demand on finite budgets caused by the 'information explosion' during the twentieth century, as did the concept of 'library twinning' (Doyle & Scarry 1994). However, as Johnson (2007) observed:

> "whilst there have been generalised studies of academic cooperation (e.g. Eldridge, 2000), much of the evaluation of such activities has been based on opinion drawn from individual's experience, and librarianship has not been subject to the evaluation of collaborative activities that have been widely undertaken in fields such as business management or research policy. Whilst these opinions may eventually be proved valid, they have not yet been tested by rigorous investigation, using recognised research methodologies, and there is, in particular, little empirical evidence about how librarianship and information work benefit from cooperation and collaboration, perhaps because the benefits are taken for granted or deemed to be self-evident."

In one of the few analytical papers examining the field of library cooperation, Shachaf (2003) reviewed the factors that have influenced the life cycle of the

formal consortia within which much contemporary collaboration between libraries has been conducted. She stated that consortia evolve through 5 stages. These could be appled to understanding the evolution of international assistance for SLIS, as follows:

- *The Embryonic Stage*. Recognition of the need for skilled manpower, characterized by informal, and sometimes voluntary training in basic operational practices. These efforts provide the basis upon which work towards establishing formal professional education can begin.
- *Early Development*. A partnership is established, linking donor agency, national government, beneficiary institution(s), and the individual(s) or institution(s) selected to deliver assistance. This defines its relationships, processes, and funding arrangements. The partnership sometimes employs intensive assessment of its predecessors, and usually works towards an understanding of the best structure, budgets, and relationships that fit within their current context, as well as identifying the activities required to fulfil their agreed aim(s).
- *Development*. Efforts are focused on effectiveness and efficiency, extending the number and range of activities, and securing the funds and the knowledge and skills base to ensure future viability.
- *Maturation*. The partnership is stable, with a clear identity and clear boundaries. This stage can exist for many years, during which minor changes in membership, activities, goals, and budgets may occur. Evaluation, quality assessment, and statistical measurements are employed.
- *Disbanding*. Disbanding occurs when the beneficiary institution is judged to have achieved a self-sustaining capacity, but could follow any of the other four stages of development if, for any reason, the aims of any of the partnership's partners change, or the partnership's viability weakens.

Managing Organisational Change and Culture to Add Value

This research aimed to identify how LIS education was developed through these stages to achieve an effective contribution not only to the improvement of library, information and archive services but also to national development. Development of LIS education does not just happen. It is the introduction of new concepts and changes in practices. Those initial processes require to be managed. To secure the sustainability and enhancement of the LIS program, further strategies must then be implemented.

It is clear that the LIS sector's strategic management has been subject to little objective assessment, and there appear to be no comprehensive studies of change management in the field of education for library, information and archival studies, providing both the opportunity and the necessity for this study. Research, therefore, briefly reviewed theories of change management and the transmission of ideas in other sectors, and identified the range of evidence that

might impinge on how these processes occur in the LIS field, before gathering data on the changes that had occurred as LIS education in Iraq developed.

Studies of change and innovation management focused initially on developing strategies to ensure that commercial companies remained competitive in a challenging business environment. The theoretical approaches that emerged were subsequently adapted by the public sector to facilitate a response to demands to continue to provide relevant services in an era when government expenditure was being restrained and society's expectations were changing.

Porter (1980) stated that there are five external forces influencing change in organisations, which could be interpreted in terms of LIS education as follows:

- *Competition* — e.g. from other SLIS in the same or another country
- *Entry* — e.g. of changing technologies
- *Substitution* — e.g. evolution of cognate disciplines
- *Supplier power* — e.g. the influence of prospective students, their advisers, and sources of funding
- *Customer power* — e.g. the expectations of graduates, and the requirements of prospective employers

Tushman, Newman, and Romanelli (1988) developed these ideas further, observing that there are 3 types of disruption that trigger transformational change in organisations:

- changes in product life cycle that require different strategies
- changes in legal, political, economic, and technological conditions
- changes in the organisation's size, the strategy for its portfolio of products, and its executive management.

Changes such as these have been increasingly common in the information sector throughout the twentieth century (and seem likely to continue), making it imperative that SLIS acquire new competencies. Some SLIS have attempted to adapt to changing conditions by moving into new, unfamiliar areas, in a voluntary reorientation or enforced fundamental change, but any change comes with a degree of risk. Any innovation, such as the introduction of a new product, a change to an organisation's structure, or the implementation of a new information system has an impact on the culture of an organisation.

An organisation's culture has two basic components – a set of core beliefs and values, and certain identifiable characteristics of behaviour and style which distinguish one organisation from another. Together they make up the personality of the organisation, and the organisation must ensure that its staff's vision and commitment, and the leadership and management style are

interlinked to sustain this. Fowler (1993) noted that the objective of many organisations is to move from a static or rigid culture to one that is flexible and adaptable, exactly the challenge with which SLIS were confronted by the spread of computer-based systems that increasingly affected the operations of library, information and archival services from the 1970s.

Cummings and Worley (2015) noted that efforts to implement a new strategy can fail because an organisation's culture is unsuited to the change. A culture that was once a source of strength for an organisation can become a major liability in implementing a new activity. On the other hand, adaptation which is limited to selected parts of the organisation can simply and effectively re-align the organisational culture to accommodate the new activity. Organisational transformation may occur in response to major changes in the organisation's environment, or can be undertaken in anticipation of changes. Kotter and Schlesinger (1979) observed that, in a rapidly changing environment, managers needed to increase their skills in diagnosing any likely resistance to change and in choosing appropriate methods for overcoming it. Any change in organisational culture must be well planned if it is to overcome attitudes and behaviours that have developed over time, and new structures would not be effective until supporting procedures are in place. Pettigrew and Whipp (1993) noted five factors essential to accomplishing change successfully and achieving sustainability: environmental assessment; leading change; linking strategic and operational change; recognising human resources as assets and liabilities; and coherence. Stamper (1988) noted that in order to achieve effective cultural change there must be a willingness from management to communicate its relevance to the core beliefs and values of the company through a variety of means. Sarabia and Sarabia (2007) argued that change enabling an organisation to deal with unfamiliar problems needed to be followed by a period of reflection to absorb the changes before further change is introduced, and suggested that this required what they describe as 'altruistic leadership', in which the introduction of further new knowledge is deliberately deferred.

Porter (1985) put forward the concept of the Value Chain as a means of focussing on those activities that make a real contribution to adding value to an organisation's products and services. It sets out a systematic approach for examining the value contributed by core activities related directly to the product

and support activities. In the context of SLIS, these could be interpreted as follows:

- Primary activities:
  - ➢ *Inbound logistics (Student recruitment and enrolment)*
  - ➢ *Operations (Teaching)*
  - ➢ *Outbound logistics (Graduate employment)*
  - ➢ *Marketing, sales and service (Research, publication, continuing education activities, professional service)*
- Support activities:
  - ➢ *Human resource development (faculty recruitment and development)*
  - ➢ *Organisational infrastructure (leadership and institutional networking)*
  - ➢ *Technology development (learning resources – books, journals, computers, ICT network and services)*

None of these activities are independent of each other, but are interdependent, and successful development of a SLIS often arises not from the activities themselves but from reinforcing the linkages between them. Porter points to Total Quality Management — the regular application of self-critical quality assurance and quality control processes to the activities of an organisation — as a means to achieve continual improvement of these linkages and thus the organisation's progressive development. In the context of the development of SLIS, there appeared to be no previous use of Porter's models, although quality assurance in LIS education has become the focus of some international interest (e.g. Miwa & Miyahara 2015).

Lynch (1997) noted that all products and services could be considered as a 'package of attributes' — attributes that may include physical qualities but also intangible factors — and commented that: "It is the creation of this package of attributes which lies at the heart of the value chain." He identified several attributes that form such a package. In terms of how a SLIS might develop its ability to create and sustain an external perception of its value to its institution and to society at large, these attributes could be interpreted as follows:

- *Innovation* — the development of new programs and delivery formats in response to or in anticipation of professional opinion and practices
- *Exploitation* — using the 'strategic assets' of the SLIS such as the knowledge base of its faculty or its technical resources to contribute to institutional, professional, and national problem solving, and continuing professional development
- *Reputation* — external involvement in quality assurance reviews of the product(s) of the SLIS, as well as through the immediate and long-term experience of the graduates and their employers
- *Relationships* — the institutional, professional, and other external networks that a SLIS establishes and nourishes to enhance the perception that the

SLIS itself fosters for the relevance and quality of its product(s): programs, graduates, research outputs, and continuing education activities.

Transmission and Diffusion of New Concepts and Practices in Library and Information Services and Education

Any historical study such as this is necessarily concerned with the local absorption and embedding of new professional, social and cultural processes and the extent to which the actions of individual and collective actors are defined and enabled. Archaeologists, historians, and sociologists have long debated whether or not geographically, racially or linguistically separate peoples developed similar ideas and practices independently although sometimes almost simultaneously, or whether and how some transmission and sharing of concepts might have taken place. No records exist from the early history of human settlement and civilisation to resolve that debate one way or the other, but it does seem certain that the growing opportunities for exchange of information in a society that became increasingly mobile and technologically equipped, particularly during the last millennium, seem likely to have facilitated some diffusion of ideas, policies and practices in LIS work, at least as much as in any other sphere of human activity. A particular aim of this thesis is to examine how that diffusion took place in LIS education in Iraq, who was involved, their motives, and the circumstances in which it took place, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century.

The issues involved in managing innovative changes have been addressed in studies of the transmission and diffusion of new ideas, policies and practices in terms of their effect not only within organisations but also the society that they serve. Arensberg and Niehoff (1964), for example, argued that change would be accepted if it fitted into the local culture (and if it was seen to be technically superior), but it might have to be in a different form from the original. An understanding of cultural differences would:

> "provide insights into practical issues when library professionals move across boundaries. They also point to serious theoretical and intellectual problems connected to the process of globalisation or internationalisation. These issues become more and more serious as the process of internationalisation takes speed. It is of course true that we also witness a process especially due to multiculturalism and the technological development that tend to decrease the national differences, but many of these differences are very much embedded in local and national value systems and they will probably live on for many decades to come." (Pors 2007)

It seems clear that, to be successful, solutions to the problems of the developing countries must be in accord with the unique beliefs and behaviours of

the intended beneficiary. However, many of the social theorists who have discussed the management of change have focused on more practical issues. Djelic (1998), for example, identified various pre-conditions for a successful change in social and economic arrangements:

- globalisation of roles, norms and values
- existence of a cross-national agency to lead the change
- recognition of the need for change by the community subject to change
- adoption of the transferred concept or system as their own by the community subject to change.

The motivations for adopting changes were explored by Jeyeraj and Sabherwal (2008), who posited a taxonomy of three distinct processes by which individuals adopt innovations: Conscious Quest, Requisite Compliance, and Asserted Trial. The Conscious Quest process, driven by the adopter with no social influence and no mandate, seems to result in "full adoption." In contrast, in Requisite Compliance and Asserted Trial processes the adopter encounters considerable pressure, either from a contextual mandate (Requisite Compliance) or from influencers (Asserted Trial), and both seem to result in "partial adoption."

Rogers (2003) and other communication theorists have made major contributions to our understanding of the transfer and diffusion of innovations. They have also identified the key role played by some individuals or organisations who may be characterised as 'innovators', whilst those who follow may be described as 'early or late adopters', or even as 'laggards'. Rogers's 'innovators' could be seen to be similar to those individuals who lead the adoption of innovations in the 'conscious quest' described by Jeyeraj and Sabherwal (2008).

Rogers (2003) identified five characteristics that determine the rate at which changes are likely to be adopted:

- the relative advantage(s) of the new approach compared with whatever is being replaced
- the compatibility of the new approach with the needs, experiences and values of the person or group considering a replacement
- the degree of complexity in understanding and implementing the new approach
- the extent with which a new approach can be tested without a major commitment
- the visibility of the results to others affected by the new approach.

At its simplest, the process of innovation could be represented as shown in Figure 3.1:

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    │                      Organisation                        │
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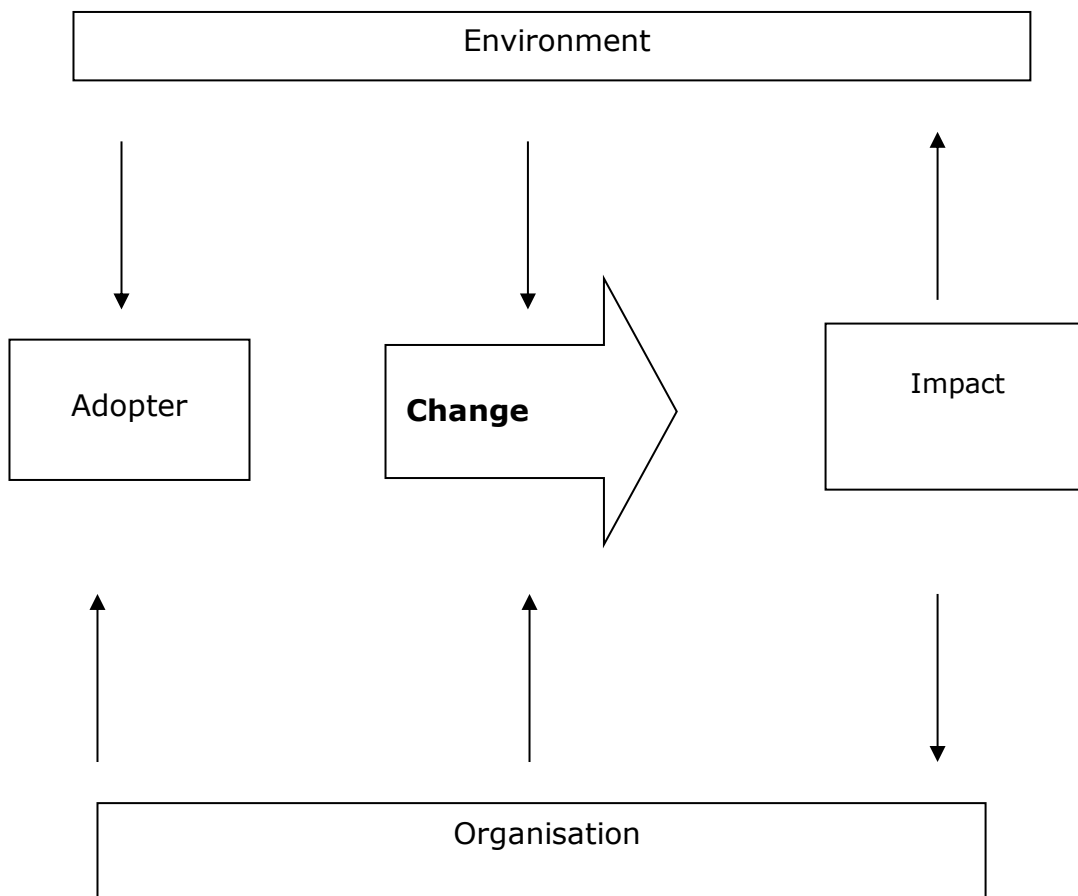
Figure 3.1: The transmission and adoption on new concepts and practices

These theoretical approaches, and others not mentioned in this brief summary, provide some signals of issues that need to be considered by those involved in the introduction of new ideas and practices in LIS in a country, and contribute to a framework within which their transfer can be assessed. However, while the issues surrounding the transfer of ideas and practices into different contexts can perhaps be easily understood, their translation or re-interpretation, and their final transformation are more complex problems, partly because their time-frames differ; transfer can be accomplished quickly, but transformation cannot. Asheim (1966), for example, recognised that heart and mind changes may require not months but years.

Research into the diffusion of innovation also notes the significance of communication channels in transferring awareness and understanding of innovations (Rogers 2003). He pointed out that confidence is clearly likely to be engendered by reports of advances in the same country or region. Whilst there

are many channels through which advances in LIS professional policy and practice could be communicated (Johnson 2004), professional journals clearly could have a significant role to play in the process of transferring innovative concepts and practices. Madkour (1975) identified 3 fundamental obstacles impeding the transformation and modernisation of information services in developing countries: the small volume of material being published; its limited geographic dissemination; and linguistic barriers. However, international studies also show a low level of practitioner reading of professional journals, and especially those that are research-oriented (McDonald & Feather 1995; Turner 2002).

Although there are numerous reports of the work of foreign experts in laying the foundations for library development and LIS professional education in particular countries or regions, few studies have examined the the factors influencing the adoption and acceptance of changes in librarianship. Such an approach has however, been used to consider the more recent adoption of information technologies in the Arab world (e.g. Straub, Loch, & Hill 2001). A few studies have made claims for the historic transfer of concepts and practices between countries or civilisations (e.g. Green 1988; Zulu 1993), while others have discussed postcolonial legacies in aspects of library development (e.g. Ignatow et al. 2012). No researchers appear to have applied the theories of innovation transfer and diffusion to the development of education for library, archive and information work in a particular country.

Implementing a Case Study

Unesco was evidently a major contributor to library development throughout the world. However, in his study of the contribution of Unesco to library education in general, Keresztesi[4] (1977) commented on the lack of any previous in-depth studies of Unesco's activities, and concluded that:

> "Gauging the impact of Unesco's various educational and training efforts would be the most urgent, and at the same time, probably the most difficult research task. This is uncharted territory for which first the criteria, methods, and tools of measurement would have to be developed, and then they would have to be applied to a few representative countries. A case study method would seem to be the most manageable approach here."

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[4] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Collings (1971) also described case studies as facilitating analysis in depth of a type of library or a key factor in library development, such as library education in a particular country. A case study approach would be an appropriate research strategy for studying developments in Iraq, because:

- "It is concerned with a rich and vivid description of events relevant to the case.
- It provides a chronological narrative of events relevant to the case.
- It blends a description of events with the analysis of them.
- It focuses on individual actors or groups of actors, and seeks to understand their perceptions of events.
- It highlights specific events that are relevant to the case." (Hitchcock & Hughes 1995)

Defining the Case

Stake (1994) argued that case study is not a methodological choice but rather "a choice of object to be studied." Bryer (1999) subsequently commented that the definition of case study research is "fraught with confusion." However, Hammersley and Gomm (2000) clearly believed that "all research is case study: there is always some unit, or set of units, in relation to which data are collected and/ or analysed."

A number of writers have noted that the central problem that researchers have in undertaking case study research is the problem of clearly identifying 'the case' (Yin 1994; Hitchcock and Hughes 1995). There are different understandings of what constitutes a 'case'. For Yin (1994), the case is defined as "a contemporary single unit or phenomenon of study." Appleton (2002) however, takes a broader view, suggesting that anything can be a case as long as the researcher can depict it clearly. It is, she suggests, the phenomenon of interest and the context that constitute the case, a definition that fits well with this study.

However defined, there is a need to bound 'the case' (Stake 1994). Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) write that cases may have:

- Temporal characteristics which will help to define their nature;
- Geographical parameters allowing for their definition;
- Boundaries which allow for definition;
- Characteristics of the group that may be:
  - ➢ *defined by an individual in a particular context;*
  - ➢ *defined by role or function;*
  - ➢ *shaped by organisational or institutional arrangements.*

The case in this study has clear boundaries. It is focused on interpreting those issues that, based on previous expert opinion, appeared to be critical to

successful development of educational programs in library and information studies. It will concentrate on the development of education for LIS work in Iraq, mainly during the period from 1945 to 1981, although the impact of earlier events and issues arising between 1981 and 2003 will also be adduced to provide additional insights. Whilst examining the broad panorama of the development of the library and information services in Iraq, a particular focus in this study will be on expounding the role of certain organisations and individuals, and analysing a number of key events in the development of human resources for the information professions.

It is, in effect, what Silverman (2005) described as a 'purposive sample', which allowed the researcher to choose a 'case' because it illustrates a process in which he is interested. However, the case study approach distances the researcher from interpretations and judgements that might otherwise be made solely on the basis of personal experience, and provides a basis for understanding subsequent studies.

Evidence for the Case Study: Comparative Methodology and International Library Studies

Understanding how and why education for librarianship evolved in Iraq clearly needs to take account of the fact that, as Foskett (1977) argued:

> "The dynamics of a single system cannot be fully understood by examining that system in isolation, … [F]or the way it functions depends on its reaction with its environment as much as on the interactions between its own parts."

The requirement then is to identify the range of evidence that would facilitate such an examination, to collect it, and to analyse and interpret it. Researchers in other social sciences have developed comparative methodologies to analyse the economic, political and social contexts within which a particular phenomenon had evolved. From time to time, a few people interested in international library development have taken an interest in developing a similar theoretical approach. Kotei (1976), for example, pointed out that a search for causal relationships in any sphere of social organisation such as librarianship must derive from a clear understanding of the premises from which the study is being conducted. Closely allied to this, according to Jackson (1981), is understanding the information needs of the population and how these are met by existing library systems. Familiarity with library tradition and history is also essential for understanding events.

Comparative studies of processes in social and cultural differentiation and assimilation are increasingly recognised as a key to understanding the basis of previous and current processes of constructing, organizing, and institutionalizing social and cultural orders and organizations (Siegrist 2006). As a social-scientific method, comparison does not consist of relating observable facts, but in tracing the relationships presumed to exist between different phenomena, aspects of complex sets of interlinked situations, levels of socio-cultural systems, or problems and varying problem solutions by searching out the empirical manifestations of conjectured relationships with a view to ascertaining their validity. Comparative methodology is a research technique that had previously been recommended for use in international studies in librarianship because "it constitutes an important approach to the search for cause and effect in library development, and to the understanding of library problems" (Collings 1971). It is valued by experts working in the field, one of whom commented that "In this work of evaluation and analysis, the most important tool, and the most appropriate for use in the international context, is the comparative method" (Parker 1974).

Jackson (1981) stated that "The absorption of background information on countries being studied is a first step in utilizing comparative librarianship." The range of background factors that require to be considered in such a study of LIS professional education could be adapted from those suggested as generally necessary to provide a broad political, economic, cultural, educational, and professional context to librarianship by Collings (1970), Simsova and McKee (1970), and Danton (1973). These include a brief review of the policies and practices of the international agencies that assisted in the development of libraries and education for librarianship; and of the circumstances in the country: the national economic, political and administrative context within which libraries and information services evolved and operated; the general educational and social trends; the evolution of local publishing; and the consequent scale and nature of library, archive and information services.

Regrettably, interest in developing the theoretical underpinnings of comparative librarianship withered fairly quickly. It had made little progress beyond defining the evidential basis for comparison. Given the lack of a clear definition of the fundamental purpose of the comparison, the demanding range of evidence required, the absence of an explanation of how these interacted, and a

failure to define how the results of any comparison might be evaluated, it is unsurprising that its use in LIS has been limited. Moreover, the terms 'international librarianship' and 'comparative librarianship' have been used as if they were interchangeable. In reality, 'international librarianship' and 'comparative librarianship' are separate topics, the former tending to comprise descriptive (and sometimes patronising) accounts of libraries and librarianship in foreign countries, while the latter seeks to produce critical, analytical and evaluative studies of a country and its library service(s) intended to provide not only an understanding of the reasons for the situation and an explanation of differences, but also conclusions about how progress could be made within the local circumstances. Regrettably, many papers that purport to be comparative studies of libraries and librarianship still conform to the criticism that Danton (1973) directed at the literature of this sub-field, when he wrote that "most of the literature described as 'comparative librarianship' is thin, largely narrative and descriptive, and often neither comparative nor in conformity with even minimal standards of scholarly investigation…" The term 'comparative librarianship' continues to be widely misapplied to descriptive but context-free reports of two or more library services in different countries.

Some studies of education for librarianship have touched on the development of education generally (e.g. Zado 1990), and pointed to some consequences for library development without exploring them in depth. There have been several examples in papers from Latin America and Africa of criticisms of the legacy curricula that SLIS in developing countries derived from individual faculty members studying in an advanced country or from the efforts of consultants provided for the SLIS by international agencies. However, there appear to be no studies that have claimed to use elements of the comparative approach to examine the broader context of the *development* of education in librarianship.

The Comparative Approach in a Single Case Study

The use of a single case study has been well documented as appropriate for exploratory research (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996), and for adding to existing experience and understanding (Stake 1994). It therefore seemed an acceptable approach to the proposed examination of the development of education for librarianship in Iraq, but could the comparative method be applied within a single case study?

The four basic steps in comparative librarianship have been identified as description, juxtaposition, comparison, and interpretation (Powell & Connaway 2004, following Bereday 1964). How would these be applied in a single case study?

The 'description' in this study focuses on the information sector in Iraq and related professional and technical education. Society today is what it is because of what preceded it, and — to be fully informed — we need to understand how it reached its present situation. This could only be provided by undertaking a historical review of events. To provide further insights into an evolving situation, the 'description' has been structured by considering developments within some key periods in Iraqi history, defined by changes in the nature of the country's government or by circumstances precipitated by the government's actions:

- from pre-history through to the withdrawal of the Ottoman regime in 1914/18
- through the period of the British administration during the wartime occupation and the post-war League of Nations' 'Mandate' between 1914 and 1932
- during the first years of independence under the Hashemite Kingdom from 1932 to 1958
- through the period of the first Republican government from 1958 to 1968
- through the Ba'athist Republic from 1968 until shortly before the beginning of the war with Iran in 1980
- during the economic difficulties arising from the war that affected the country from 1980 to 1990
- and finally through the period of the country's increasing isolation after the invasion of Kuwait in 1990 until the start of the Second Gulf War in 2003.

Although the evolution of international interest in and changes in assistance for LIS in the developing countries did not entirely proceed in parallel with this framework, they were sufficiently coterminous that any variations seemed unlikely to be a source of confusion.

Up until the start of the war with Iran, the development of librarianship and information work in Iraq is relatively well documented. Thereafter, the record is less substantial. A review of what has been discovered about developments in the 1980s and 1990s is included here because the achievements made then appeared to derive from the results of the earlier efforts, but it is acknowledged that further insights may be obtained when circumstances change and permit a fuller examination of developments during the final decades of the twentieth century.

In presenting information in this case study, 'juxtaposition' and 'comparison' would be imposed by a systematic consideration, within each of these periods, of the themes that are required for a comparative study, suggested by the proponents of comparative librarianship.

Although it has not been possible to find strictly comparable data sets about, for example, the number of students in higher education, the size of the university libraries' collections and staff, and the number of students of librarianship at different periods throughout their history, sufficient data is available to indicate general trends and to be able to point to the complex nature of the circumstances bearing upon them. Parker (1974) believed that the absence of adequate reliable data is an obstacle to comparative studies, but this seems to reflect a narrow, quantitative perspective on comparisons, and should not inhibit an enquiry that primarily seeks to examine cause and effect.

'Interpretation' would be applied in two ways. The gaps in the evidence, as will be described later, were sometimes such that the researcher had to impose his own perception of the sequence of events and the interplay between events and between people and events. However, 'interpretative awareness' (Sandberg 2005) was applied throughout the study to check and control the quality and consistency of the researcher's interpretation. The search for structure was approached by reviewing the variety of information revealed as sources were read, focusing on the evaluating the relationship between the author and subject in each source, until the structure was stabilised. Finally, as will be discussed later in this chapter, continual efforts could be made to analyse the impact of the various factors that were observed in play during the different periods noted above, and to summarise them and draw some final conclusions.

Overall, therefore, it was concluded that using elements of the comparative method in a single case study would be a viable and appropriate method of approaching the subject.

The Use of Historic Data and Qualitative Evidence

This thesis presents a historical case study. It is acknowledged that "Comparative librarianship frequently uses historical data, but it differs from library history in that it is concerned primarily with providing a clearer view of current library problems and the process of library development" (Collings 1971).

Historical comparison is a multi-perspective and interactive way of reconstructing and representing specific events and series of events in the past.

Published historic data about library development in Iraq is often inconsistent and possibly sometimes unreliable. The quantitative data that appears in this study has been taken mainly from secondary sources. It is only intended to illustrate trends, and should be seen as generally indicative rather than confirmed evidence. More systematic collection of quantitative data bearing on the problem was impractical because most individuals who had participated in developments over such a long period were no longer alive, excluding the possibility of gathering any data by questionnaire survey, and because of various constraints on access to archival and contemporary data sources in Iraq.

The qualitative approach that was, in the circumstances, inescapable is, however, quite appropriate because of the exploratory nature of the research, and the complexity of the issues being addressed. It meets the intention of the research:

> "to focus on exploring, in as much detail as possible, smaller numbers of instances or examples which are seen as being interesting or illuminating, and aims to achieve 'depth' rather than 'breadth'." (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2001)

Moreover, as Yin (1989) argues, qualitative research approaches such as case studies are to be preferred for answering the 'how' and 'why' questions. By investigating the history of education for librarianship and information studies in Iraq, it is possible to establish 'how' development took place. Putting developments in Iraq in a broader professional context and in their national and international economic, political and social contexts makes it possible to understand more about 'why' developments took place.

Data Collection Methods

Most of the studies of library development in Iraq previously published in the English language appeared to have been repetitive and cumulative; that is to say that they depended largely on evidence from a few sources in the public domain and easily available. Few looked beyond the superficial, often recording events but failing to expose their full context, and most lacked penetrating analysis. They thus added little to what was previously known.

Moreover, as White (1970) commented: "Much good experience in library development is either recorded in obscure sources or not recorded at all." Given the nature of the evidence required to fulfil the objectives set for this research,

the study needed to be underpinned by a comprehensive search for evidence. A wide-ranging search for information has therefore encompassed published and unpublished sources, including a selective examination of relevant background texts, including, for example, those dealing with the history and development of Iraq, and others dealing with trends in international assistance.

The research model discussed by Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2001) identifies two 'families' of methodologies; qualitative/ quantitative, and fieldwork/ deskwork. Within these are four 'research approaches': action research, case studies, experiments and surveys. Lastly they give four 'research techniques'; documents, interviews, observation, and questionnaires. This qualitative case study is based largely on deskwork examining documents, but these have been supplemented, to a very limited extent, by interviews (partially through correspondence) as well as by the researcher's own observations at a critical time in some of the developments that are the subject of the study.

A key strength of the case study method involves using multiple sources and techniques in the data gathering process. Yin (1994) identifies six main sources of evidence, which are all brought to bear in this study in varying degrees. The author has had several opportunities during the last 30 years to engage in 'direct observation' of education for librarianship and information sciences in Iraq through an early-career, working visit to Baghdad as well as later participating in other Arab states in workshops and conferences with Iraqi colleagues. The preparation of this study has, however, depended primarily on a critical reading of 'documentation', the results of a search for published literature and archived records, which has provided further insights into aspects of the challenges faced in Iraq and elsewhere. This has been supplemented by numerous semi-structured 'systematic interviews' with some of the participants in the events under review. In addition, a limited amount of direct correspondence with 'participant observers' has been possible. The researcher also had a personal involvement as 'participant observer' in a minor role, albeit one that was subsequently overtaken by events. However, overall, the research design permitted an un-prejudiced analysis to be made of a real life context over which the investigator had no control, an approach suggested as important by Merriam (1988) and Yin (1994).

Key issues in any research are reliability and validity: the extent to which a procedure gives the same results however and whenever it is carried out, and

the extent to which it gives the correct answer (Rice-Lively 1994). Although the concepts of reliability and validity are not universally accepted in qualitative research (Walcott 1990), they cannot be entirely ignored (Gorman & Clayton 1997), and they can be achieved by careful attention to possible sources of bias, by the use of triangulation, and by other means of control (Chatman 1992).

The comparative approach involves using a number of methods of collecting data or information to provide corroborative triangulation so that if findings yielded by different data collection methods are consistent, the validity of those findings is increased. Babbie (2004) argues that the more sources point to the same set of facts, the more credibility can be attached to the accuracy of the findings, providing the form of triangulation expected in any case study (Creswell 1998). The author's 'prolonged engagement' with this study over many years facilitated the use of multiple data collection methods, and the assembly of a wide variety of evidence. This can be seen as providing a form of 'triangulation' which, according to Yin (1994), allows the researcher to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and behavioural issues. It enables the development of a more complete holistic and contextual portrayal of real life situations (Jick 1979), achieving the rounded and in-depth perspective that establishing the validity of the conclusions of this research requires.

Literature Search

The literature search sought to bring together published documents relevant to and detailing the development of library and information services in Iraq and the rest of the Arab world, concentrating on the second half of the twentieth century and with a particular emphasis on aspects relevant to professional education in the field.

The search for published literature and archived documents is described in detail in Volume 2 — Development of Librarianship, Archival and Information Work in the Arab World: A Bibliography with Especial Emphasis on Iraq.

Considering the Roles Played by Individuals

To review the impact of the foreign interventions and also domestic initiatives, it was necessary to consider — as recommended by Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) — the characteristics of the case that were shaped by organisations or individuals; i.e. not only the underlying policies of the international agencies and the Iraqi government, but also the experience and

attitudes of the individuals implementing them. For the most part, the individuals who played a part in the development of Iraq's library and information services have left little of the documentary evidence that might have facilitated discourse analysis to examine their expressed opinions and the underlying stance. Formal biographical studies and even extended obituaries of most of the individuals mentioned in this study are largely non-existent, and few left extensive archives of their personal papers. Brief biographies of many of these individuals have therefore been developed to facilitate the application of prosopography, a research approach invented as a tool of political history, and now increasingly employed by social historians as a tool for uncovering and analysing deeper interests and connections. Prosopography provides an alternative approach to understanding their professional stance and personal motivation, based on identifying the common characteristics of groups of individuals such as those who appear in this study by means of a collective study of their lives. The collation of data that is sometimes scarce and often scattered or difficult to find should contribute to an interpretation of the roles of those who played a significant part in developments in Iraq.

The careers and qualifications of many of the individuals mentoned in the research were mainly discovered through searches on the Web. These brief summaries — focused mainly on the academic background of the individuals and their changing roles in society, together with any other pertinent information — are presented in Appendix 5 of this volume. For historical purposes, photographs of many of them have been also included, where possible usually representing them at around the time of their involvement in events.

Personal Recollections and Collections

Some information and insights from individuals involved in developments in Iraq was gathered third-hand. Keresztesi (1977) had corresponded with some of the participants in the activities supported by Unesco up to that time. Although the correspondence may have been retained amongst his personal papers when he retired, these were in store in the U.S.A. and inaccessible. The manner of their disposal after his death is not known. Sharif (1977) had made personal visits to all the Schools of Librarianship that then existed in the Arab world and presented the results in his thesis. Al-Werdi's (1983) thesis was based on personal interviews with leading professionals, government officials, potential

library and information personnel and users, visits and on-site observations in Iraq. Some of Zado's (1990) work is supported by a small survey of librarians, library users, and administrators of institutions that hosted libraries in Iraq. Bhatt (1999; 2004), however, does not appear to have made contact with any of the actors in the Unesco activities that he reviewed, several of whom were still alive and living in India at the time when he prepared his thesis.

To supplement the documented records of these earlier academic contributions, and other studies of developments in Iraq in other disciplines, contacts were made, in some instances, with participants still alive; in other cases, with relatives or organisations where they had worked. For example, notes were made by the author based on semi-structured conversations with a number of Iraqi librarians and educators, focused on verifying and complementing what had been published, and particularly about events in Iraq during the 1980s and 1990s for which there is little published evidence. The 'interviews' for this research were undertaken during a number of meetings with 'participant-observers' in the events — senior members of the Iraqi academic and library and information professions, during their visits to the U.K. in early 2004 and at workshops in Jordan in June 2004 and July 2005 and in the United Arab Emirates in July 2006. The information that they were able to provide seemed likely to be useful in verifying comments in the published literature, or in offering possible explanations about gaps that had been perceived.

The usual method with interviews is to prepare a schedule of topics for discussion and to tape record the interview so that accuracy is maintained. However, these 'interviews' mostly took place in the early period after the overthrow of the Saddam regime, when the potential for the respondents to be suffering trauma from the period of isolation and its violent termination could not be ignored. The researcher also recognised the possible reticence of professionals who had been isolated for many years, and their possibly coloured attitudes to providing information to a citizen of a country whose army had recently invaded their homeland or to providing information about the activities of a regime whose activities had engendered mixed feelings in Iraq. Accordingly, the 'interviews' took the form of ostensibly informal conversations, which seemed a more humane approach than a structured interview, and may have prompted a more spontaneous response from the participants to questions that were seemingly casual but actually intended to address specific gaps in knowledge of the recent

state of affairs. Shortly afterwards, the researcher recorded structured notes of the information that had been offered voluntarily in conversation.

Writing notes at the end of the day on information transmitted by respondents and opinions expressed by them or formed by the interviewer has been accepted as an appropriate method of data gathering to supplement other data gathering procedures (Bryman 2004). It was recognised that these conversations and exchanges with participants took place some time after many of the events described, and their nature did not offer the respondents the opportunity to verify factual matters. The answers to the researcher's enquiries were not subject to later verification by the respondents. The evidence from these interviews that has been incorporated in this study has been attributed to the respondents, and validated from other sources wherever possible.

In addition, by email or telephone, the author managed to contact a number of individuals whose work in Iraq is mentioned in this study: Russell Bowden, Robert Coté, John Ferguson, Tony Evans, and Simon Francis; all of whom kindly offered their recollections and/or copies of their reports. Dr. Jassim Jirjees, one of the students in the first cohort to take the Higher Diploma in Library Science in Baghdad University (in 1972) provided a copy of a paper that he had written that included information about the development of education for librarianship in Iraq, and pointed to further sources in Arabic that had not been discovered in the literature search.

Finally, the author is grateful for the assistance of the living relatives of the first two Unesco library development consultants to provide training for Iraqi librarians, Cyril Saunders and Harold Bonny. One of Mr. Bonny's sons was particularly helpful in providing copies of his father's reports, a number of which could not be traced in the Unesco archives (to which they have subsequently been transferred). Dr. Angus Fowler provided background material about his grandfather's close friend, Kenneth Mackenzie, and the eponymous bookshop in Baghdad.

Reviewing the Literature and Other Evidence

Fink (1998) defines a literature review as "a systematic, explicit, and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating, and interpreting the existing body of work produced by researchers, scholars, and practitioners." This literature review took the form of an inductive study of the evidence, based on a

critical analysis of the collection of research data. From the many published documents, a rather random scatter of archival resources, and a few interviews, a coherent picture had to be compiled by synthesising the researcher's notes.

Fabb and Durant (1993) identify two techniques of reading books and journal articles: scanning every page quickly to pick out relevant matter, and skimming the text by reading the first line of every paragraph and everything prominent. An initial review of the readily available literature, about 10% of the total number of items eventually read, used a combination of these approaches to assist in defining the subject area and in deciding on the feasibility and relevance of the proposed research, corresponding to the first point above, and recognising that a "key issue in case study is the selection of information" (Cohen, Mannion, & Morrison 2000).

A subsequent critical re-reading of that literature observed that it contained first-hand accounts and secondary reports; descriptive material and the results of empirical research; and experience-based judgements and more subjective opinion. This understanding informed the approach to the main body of the literature, which was further informed by the evidence from archival and personal recollections. The researcher's early training in 'speed reading' techniques subsequently enabled a large body of potential sources of evidence to be scanned rapidly to accumulate a body of relevant facts and issues. Making sense of the evidence required a continuous effort to understand connections among people, places, and events, complicated by numerous political, organizational, social, and cultural factors. This produced an analytical, descriptive review that provides a more coherent and critical account than has been available in published sources in English, as well as facilitating the necessary "interpretations of trends associated with study findings and conclusions" (Fink 1998).

Stevens, et al. (1993, quoted in Blaxter, Hughes & Tight 2001) described the functions of a literature review as, *inter alia*:

- to give reasons why the topic is of sufficient importance for it to be researched.
- to provide the reader with a brief account and discussion of the literature on the issues relevant to the topic.
- to provide a conceptual and theoretical context in which the topic for research can be situated.

In this study, the importance of the topic is set out in the rationale, but is also implicit in the description of the aims of the international agencies and the Iraqi government, and the evolution of their policies and practical support. The presentation of the evidence in each chapter follows the four basic steps in comparative librarianship identified earlier as description, juxtaposition, comparison, and interpretation (Powell 2004). The developments in the aid agencies, in Iraq and in other Arab states are set out in such detail as is necessary to inform readers of this study who cannot be expected to be familiar with them. The construction of the case study thus provided an underpinning for the theorising stage of the research by identifying, as recommended by Kvale (1996), not only the "what: obtaining a pre-knowledge of the subject matter to be investigated." but also the "why: clarifying the purpose of the study."

Nonetheless, the researcher has had to acknowledge that the need to gather and synthesise a wide and highly fragmented range of source material to develop a better understanding of the situation pertaining in the wider Arab world and in international library development has resulted in a surfeit of information. In this thesis, only the information essential to the case has been presented. The rest will appear as a monograph and/or as papers in appropriate journals.

Analysis of the Evidence

Very little research has been undertaken to evaluate the interaction of the variables outlined above on the successful development of education for librarianship and information studies. Parker (1974) observed that the methodology of comparative librarianship remained largely untried and untested, and that remains the case today. However, as the demand for understanding the underpinning for and impact of professional developments becomes more pressing, not for theoretical reasons but to help advance the arguments for investment in services that have become more complex, the traditional boundaries within which research in librarianship has been organized may inhibit progress. Today, as in other fields, researchers must often cross conventional disciplinary lines, and this study set out to do so in attempting an analysis of those factors that appear to have been critical to Iraq's success in developing professional education for librarianship and information studies.

Cresswell (2003) advises that any qualitative research requires continuous review of the evidence as it is gathered, and its organisation into themes. But

what might those themes be? Discussions of comparative librarianship appear to have paid little attention to the practicalities of presenting the results of a comparative study to meet Collings's (1971) expectation that it should explain cause and effect. However, a number of approaches suggested themselves.

As the proponents of comparative librarianship argued, social actions such as library development always occur within a context. Adopting a model from Johnson's (2009) analysis of information behaviour, it can be said that any context has three facets, including the situation in which individuals are immersed, actions that have specific effects on events, and significant frameworks such as belief systems.

The role of management and the way in which the role of each functional managerial position was carried out had been identified by Rockart (1979) as one element in a framework of Critical Success Factors (CSFs) (Bullen & Rockart 1981) for defining areas where high performance in information acquisition and use is required to achieve a goal, to resolve a problem or, as in this case study, to validate assumptions. Gladwell (2000) emphasised the need to focus on individual actors or groups of actors, and their perceptions of events, as recommended by Hitchcock and Hughes (1995). He particularly reinforced Rogers's (2003) views on the way in which a few key individuals can have a significant influence as opinion leaders and change agents. They need the skills of persuasion, and need to be well-connected, with a wide personal communication network that includes the influential people in their sector of society. Thus, they can have a strong influence in identifying opportunities for promoting change and taking a new product or service beyond a 'tipping point'.

Gladwell (2000) also observed that getting a 'social epidemic' started involves transferring ideas through differing groups in society — those defined by students of the communication of ideas as innovators, early adopters, early majority, the late majority, and finally the laggards. The first two groups are visionaries and risk takers, whereas the early majority avoid risks and are pragmatists. There is a chasm between the first two groups and the rest. This is where a secondary set of 'connecters' — who might include, for example, the former students of LIS teachers — have a role in generating the 'epidemic'. They transfer the idea from one group to another. Gladwell also stressed that the benefits to be derived from making changes need to be readily recognisable, so that they can be promoted in a simple way to make the changes irresistible.

Johnson's (2009) 'context' is open to the closer focus offered by applying the taxonomy known as S.T.E.P. — Social, Technical, Economic, Political — first devised by Aguilar (1965) for evaluating the results of environmental scanning undertaken to define the situation in which individuals or institutions are immersed as part of the strategic planning function. It accords with elements (e.g. social background, communication media, economy, politics) identified by Danton (1973) and others as influencing library development. Some of Aguilar's terms are open to wide-ranging definition. For example, 'Social' could be interpreted to include factors such as education and literacy, while 'Economic' could refer to the state of the national economy, the funding allocated to institutions, or personal incomes. 'Political' could be taken to include governance and legal issues, while 'Technical' could refer to the publishing industry as well as the new Information and Communication Technologies. Notwithstanding this semantic inexactitude, these are important elements, as emphasised by Rockart (1970), that must be understood in assessing how the development of a SLIS took place against a background of environmental changes over which it had little control.

Rockart identified two other factors which lend themselves to adaptation for the purpose of this study. He noted that each institution, i.e. each SLIS, has a sub-set of CSFs that are determined by the characteristics of the information sector in the country that it serves. Among these he noted that the optimal strategy of an organisation is defined by its individual situation determined by its geography, history and current competition (Rockart 1979; Bullen & Rockart 1981). In doing so, he concurs with Danton's (1973) statement that the analysis should recognise the geographic situation of the subject being studied, the history of library development in the locality, and interaction with external agencies and movements.

Johnson's (2009) comment on the significance of frameworks such as belief systems reinforced Buckland and Gathegi's (1991) argument that stressed that effectiveness in international research and theory development requires accounting for such contextual factors as differences in culture and language. Danton (1973) had earlier referred to a wider range of factors that included not only culture and language, but also race, ideology, and religion.

Key elements underpinning education for information	• The scale and nature of library, archive and information service provision
	• Governance and funding of educational institutions
	• Human resources – students, teachers
	• Learning resources
	• Teachers' knowledge and skills, beliefs and values

The situation in which the information sector is immersed	• Local traditions, culture, language, race, and religion
	• Economic context
	• Government and political context
	• Information needs
	• Trends in education and literacy
	• Reading culture and levels of information literacy
	• Other social trends
	• Publishing and the book trade
	• Technical environment – evolution of new media and ICTs
	• International relations
	• Globalisation of professional norms, roles, and values
	• Comparators, e.g. cognate disciplines, and similar institutions or countries

Events, actions and other factors that have specific effects in mobilising change in the information sector	• Connections and interaction among people and movements
	• Reflection on unfamiliar problems
	• Recognition of the need for change
	• Relative advantage(s) of change(s) perceived
	• Voluntary reorientation or enforced fundamental change
	• Policies and practices led by international agencies
	• Policies and practices driven by national planning and/or legislative action
	• Areas of activity becoming critical for organisations
	• Actions shaped by organisational or institutional strategies
	• Changes in product life cycle shaped by demand and expectations
	• Emergence of alternative services and suppliers
	• Evolution of cognate disciplines
	• Need to build or maintain reputation
	• Conscious quest for change
	• Leadership instilled by attitudes and experience of an individual, or defined by the role of each functional managerial position
	• Actions prompted by recruitment of new staff, including changes in executive management
	• Staff development
	• Exploitation of 'strategic assets'

Overcoming resistance to change in the information sector	• Recognising the degree of complexity of the proposed change(s)
	• Assessing compatibility of change(s) with needs, experiences and values of all those affected
	• Making the likely results of change(s) visible to all affected
	• Building a network of supportive and influential relationships
	• Adopting change(s) subject to modification

Recognising when innovations become embedded in the information sector	• Historical boundaries which allow for definition
	• Existence of innovators, early adopters, majority adopters, and laggards
	• Existence of a secondary set of 'connecters'
	• Tipping point(s)

Figure 3.2: A framework for reviewing influences on the development of education for librarianship, information science, and archives studies

Johnson's (2009) taxonomy did not, however, address the temporal element implicit in any historical study of changes. This had been identified by Rockart as one of the CSFs, who had noted that there are areas of activity which become critical for organisations at particular points in time (Rockart 1979; Bullen & Rockart 1981). Rockart's initial concept was subsequently affirmed in Rogers's (2003) definition of the five stages through which innovation occurs — knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation, and Gladwell's (2000) discussion of how innovations occur and become embedded. It was further extended by Shachaf's (2003) modelling of the life cycle of collaborative activities. Just as Johnson (2009) had referred to actions that have specific effects on events, Gladwell observed that 'tipping points' occur when those actions stimulate a transition from one situation to another. After the 'tipping point' is reached, successful ideas, products and services begin to be adopted quickly, and behave as 'epidemics'.

Summarizing these approaches to the management of change and to the diffusion of concepts and practices provides a provisional framework which could be used to focus a review of the evidence. This is presented in figure 3.2.

Although such a range of variables complicate investigation and theory development, ignoring them entails the risk of producing irrelevant results. These are ideal tools for analysing the issues examined by this study because they are not a standard set of measures, but are related to the specifics of a particular situation and can thus be used in a single case study. They are not dependent on the availability of quantitative date, and accord with the principal elements of comparative studies in focussing not only on events, but also on the related circumstances, as well as taking account of the role played by individuals, as revealed through prosopography. In this study, they have been used to condition the researcher's analysis, to try to explain the linkages, if any, between these contextual factors and events or behaviour, and the conditions under which they may apply.

The analysis in this study is thus tailored to the context, noting particular challenges and opportunities that were present at different stages in the development of education for librarianship in Iraq. It effects a continual review of the evidence, as advised by Cresswell (2003), presented in the context of a particular period at the end of each chapter, and a final, summary discussion of these themes. In some senses, this may be compared to the development of

grounded theory in eliciting theories and propositions directly from data, while recognising that circumstances — both historical and contemporary — prohibit testing the hypothesis that emerges.

Comparative Analysis

As has been noted, the approach in the study is not only descriptive but also analytical. The purpose is to identify and evaluate influences on the development of education for librarianship through a process that concludes with delimiting and writing the theory, as proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In the social sciences, where much of the research in this field resides, the common approach is to observe events and/or gather evidence from participants about what has happened, and thence to try to trace and explain the cause.

The approach to analysis in this study took note of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), part of a new generation of theoretical approaches to assessing causality and impact, originally developed from the late 1980s onwards to undertake complex comparisons of countries or societies (Ragin 1987). It requires in-depth qualitative knowledge of each case, which is obtained using a range of qualitative research methods such as ethnography, semi-structured interviews, observation, or literature reviews, as well as quantitative data from surveys, etc., and seeks connections between influencing factors (or 'conditions') and outcomes. It assumes that multiple 'conditions' can lead to the same outcome, and that a single 'condition' does not usually produce an effect on its own. Rather, it acknowledges that 'conditions' interact and combine to produce an effect, and this effect is also contingent on the wider context. Ideally, these 'conditions' are tested for their relative influence through a systematic comparison (using specialist computer software) among a number of cases that aimed to achieve the same outcome to identify conditions that occur in conjunction with an outcome, and thus establish whether an intervention made a difference, how and to what extent (Schatz & Welle 2016).

While this research fulfils many of the requirements of QCA, planned experiments to monitor the effects of particular variables were not practicable, because of the difficulty of establishing control group(s). In this case, the passage of time, the researcher's distance from the object of study, and other factors prohibit obtaining much of the quantitative data that might have been relevant. Indeed, QCA seems more suited to conducting an immediate analysis of

the outcome(s) of a specific development project, and to meeting the needs of development agencies and their appointed service providers for informing the providers of the funding and the intended beneficiaries of the impact of the project than to undertaking a longitudinal study such as this. Comparative analysis in this case could, nonetheless, offer something akin to a control group, examining the same phenomena in differing circumstances.

> "The essence of the method is the examination of the ways in which a subject has been treated in several various circumstances, to discover first what have been the similarities, and second what have been the differences; and to learn, particularly from the difference, how the subject may be pursued in the future." (Foskett 1980)

One comparator has been sought in the developments in the cognate field of archives studies. In the context of Iraq, where legacy collections of archives of international importance are to be found, comprising the records of the numerous administrations as well as of the beliefs and scientific systems of several societies during the country's history, this discipline has a particular significance. In a wider context, it is also relevant because of the movement towards the harmonisation of education for librarianship, information science and archives studies that was taken up and promoted by Unesco in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Another comparator that was identified is the broader regional context. During the second half of the twentieth century, various national and international agencies provided support to underdeveloped nations for the development of library and information services and education for librarianship. While assistance was provided to individual countries such as Iraq, an understanding of the main trends in agencies' approaches to LIS development problems in the Arab world and the relevance of their guidance could provide an external benchmark for their activities and impact in Iraq. Where appropriate, activities influencing other Arab states or developments taking place in them during these periods have also been indicated. The aim of noting comparable developments in the Arab world in this review is not to be exhaustive, which is impracticable in the context of a thesis. It is in keeping with the use of the other comparators, which it must be emphasised, are intended solely to draw attention to particular circumstances or events that illustrate Iraq's relative situation, the influence of external peers, or its distinctive response.

Plan of the Work

Chapter 1 summarised the researcher's motivation to investigate this topic and the rationale for the selection of Iraq as a focus for that interest. Chapter 2 briefly reviewed the nature of existing knowledge about: international interest in the development of LIS education; the development of library and information services and LIS education in Iraq; and the gaps in our present knowledge. Chapter 3 presented a review of the methodologies and epistemologies of previous literature on international library development, and the salient factors that have been identified in them.

The evolution of library, archive and information services (LIS) in Iraq is generally regarded as having its origins in the creation of writing more than seven thousand years ago. Iraq's early cultural history will be briefly reviewed in Chapter 4, intended to focus on influences on the origins of libraries and revealing aspects of attitudes and library practices that seem to have persisted into the modern era.

The principal focus of this research is, however, the development of modern LIS and LIS education. Fundamental changes began following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. The development of LIS education in Iraq during the twentieth century conveniently parallels identifiable periods in the country's history, defined by changes in the nature of the country's government, or by circumstances precipitated by the government's actions. Chapters 5 and 6 outline the creation of 'modern' libraries during the British administration during the wartime occupation and during the Hashemite Kingdom under the post-war League of Nations' 'Mandate' and as an independent state, the latter period being when the first significant foreign interventions in library staff training took place. The first major efforts to develop professional library staff are similarly reviewed in Chapter 7, covering Iraq's first decade as a Republic. The consolidation of locally-based professional education and training for librarianship that took place during the first decade of Ba'athist government is considered in Chapter 8. Chapters 9 and 10 explore the limited evidence that is available about continuing developments during the long war with Iran and the period of international isolation that resulted from the United Nations' embargo following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. This study terminates with the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Within each of these chapters, a similar structure will be adopted to offset what Perrault and Gregory (2002) described as a considerable barrier to effective understanding: "the lack of background knowledge." The actual or potential impact of events and the country's domestic circumstances will be indicated through a brief review of the Iraq's history. Guidance and support offered for the development of LIS and LIS education will be explored through an examination of the policies and activities of the major inter-governmental and governmental agencies, the private foundations and professional associations active in international development, particularly in Iraq. The internal context will be provided through summaries of the state of Iraq's economic circumstances, and reviews of the principal policies of its governments such as those which affected its education system, the publishing industry, and the development of library and information services, with an emphasis on the nature and scale of provision and the issues encountered. The evolution of training for library work and the establishment of formal LIS education programs will be examined in the light of the context in which developments took place, and to illustrate the role of foreign interventions and domestic circumstances and initiatives. Brief reviews of developments in the cognate field of archives and records management will be introduced to provide internal comparisons. As an external benchmark for developments in Iraq, the principal pan-Arab activities of the development agencies will be noted, and parallels will be briefly drawn between developments elsewhere in the region and comparable manifestations of the same phenomena in Iraq. The factors evidently influencing developments during each period will be summarised at the end of each chapter.

Chapter 11 presents an overview of the influences on the development of librarianship and professional education that have emerged in the course of this study, and draws tentative conclusions about the factors that appear to have influenced development in Iraq. In discussing the significance of this study, and noting its limitations, Chapter 12 does not oversimplify, but avoids the stringent analysis more appropriate to a more mature research area. It identifies a new approach to research in librarianship and information studies, and concludes by identifying specific gaps in a broad research agenda.

The text has been written bearing in mind that its potential readers could come from a variety of backgrounds, and the writer seeks the forebearance of

readers for explanatory comments and footnotes that some may find unnecessary.

A particular challenge, to which some attention has already been drawn, has been the fragmented nature of the evidence about the developments that have taken place. This resulted in an initial text that was perhaps more heavily referenced than might have been the case in a situation in which the facts were already well established. In providing a précis of the facts sufficient to support the analysis, much of the detail and the associated evidence has necessarily been omitted. Hopefully, the extensive bibliography that accompanies this study (and some notes earlier in this chapter) will be of value in indicating to future researchers where relevant source material can be found.

Chapter 4
Iraq's Social and Cultural Traditions: the History and Development of Literacy, Publishing, Archives, and Libraries

"Books are written in Cairo, printed in Beirut, and read in Baghdad"
(Traditional Arab saying)

Introduction

Most scholars of the early history of libraries in Iraq seem to exhibit little interest in events before the first Caliphate[5] or after the Mongol incursions in the thirteenth century (e.g. Hessel & Peiss 1955). Moreover as Al-Tikriti (2009) has argued, in the wider sense of the term, observers of, publicists for, and inheritors of the British legacy may have understated the long-standing ties which have characterized the overlapping geographic realms that currently make up the State of Iraq. The history of Iraq cannot be isolated from developments across a vast, homogenous region that had no man-made and few natural boundaries. During the Roman Empire, for example, Mesopotamia was an ill-defined province. The early Arab geographers referred to the fertile lands as *al-Sawad*. At the same time, they distinguished between *al-Iraq* as the south and *al-Jazira* as the north, although they defined no clear boundary between these zones (Duri 1942).

It is frequently stated that 'Iraq' did not exist until it was created in the wake of the First World War. In the sense of the nation-state with its current borders, this statement is accurate. Contemporary writers about libraries have generally focused their work narrowly within the borders of modern Iraq (e.g. Jirjees & Al-Mardi 1993). However, it must be acknowledged that, throughout its history until the creation of the modern state, the territory that we now know as Iraq was

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[5] Following the death of the Prophet Muhammad in CE 632, the early leaders of the Muslim Arabs were described as *Khalifat Rasul Allah*, the political successors to the Messenger of God. The Caliph was the person considered to be a religious successor to the Prophet, and leader of the entire Muslim community, but the title later came to signify that the holder was also ruler of a geographic area. After the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols and the death of the last Abbasid Caliph in CE 1258, the title was adopted by surviving members of the Abbasid clan in Cairo, but their role was confined to ceremonial and religious matters under the patronage of the Mamluk Sultanate that ruled Egypt until it was conquered by the Ottomans in CE 1517. As the Ottoman Empire grew in size and strength, Ottoman Sultans began to claim Caliphal authority. The last Sultan was deposed in CE 1922, and the Turkish Grand National Assembly abolished the institution of the Caliphate in CE 1924, as part of the country's aim to become a secular, democratic state.

dominated by communities of diverse origins, whose knowledge and some of whose traditions would have been transmitted explicitly or implicitly to the resident community and their successors.

It would not be appropriate here to examine the reasons for the limited approach of scholars in these fields, but it is clear that (at least in the English language) there is currently no single history, based on recent scholarship, that adequately encompasses the development of the library tradition in Iraq.

Albin (1985) pointed out that while the value of books, reading and writing has been recognised by Muslims since the creation of the *Qur'an*, the book as a social, economic and cultural artefact has been largely ignored by scholars of the Islamic world, who have tended to focus on bibliographical studies, the art of calligraphy, the challenges of reproducing Arabic characters in print and electronically, and the spread of printing rather than the evolution of the publishing industry. He suggested that studying the history of the book as a medium for the transmission of Islamic civilisation might shed new perspectives on that civilisation. This study adopts a similar philosophy — that studying the nature and operation of Iraq's early libraries and archives would provide a firmer understanding of the heritage that underpins current attitudes towards libraries and information services. It might also help to shape a new paradigm for LIS education that is, and is seen to be, locally relevant in a society that is increasingly exposed to global changes, and that has outgrown its recent legacy of the Western conception of library development that prevailed for most of the last century.

This chapter, therefore, attempts a brief review of developments in the transmission of information that took place in the country from prehistoric times to the start of the modern era, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed. Because of the range of scripts and languages used in the region, it is necessarily based on secondary sources. Above all, however, it is an attempt to bring the various elements together in a coherent manner, and particularly to draw attention to early steps in the development of specialist manpower for libraries and archives and experiences that have and may still be shaping indigenous attitudes.

Iraq from Pre-History to the End of the Assyrian Empire

Iraq is traversed by the 'twin rivers,' the Tigris and the Euphrates, whose warm and fertile agricultural basin encouraged settlement from the earliest times

by various tribes of Semitic origin. Mesopotamia, the region that now encompasses Iraq, formed the eastern part of the 'fertile crescent,' a region stretching from the mouth of the twin rivers in the Persian Gulf to the delta of the River Nile, bounded in the north by a watershed in the mountains that lie between Syria and Turkey.
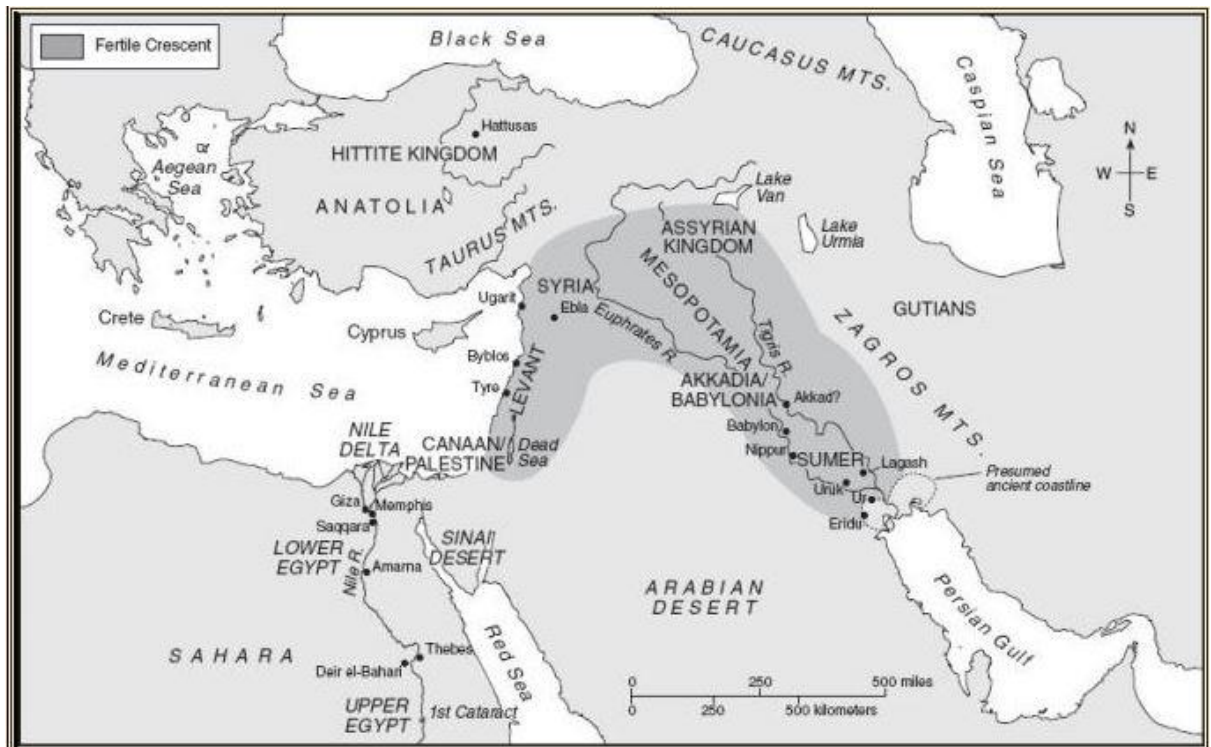
Figure 4.1: Ancient Middle East
Source: http://iAppSofts.com (retrieved 1st July 2013)

Around 4000 BCE, the formerly nomadic population began to create large urban centres, such as Uruk, a Sumerian city on the banks of the Euphrates from whose name the Arabic name of the present day country (*al-Iraq*) seems to have been derived. The independent city-states that emerged during the period of urbanisation in Mesopotamia fell under the control of the Akkadians, the first major power in the region. Their Empire stretched to the Mediterranean and down the eastern shores of the Arabian Gulf, surviving for nearly 1,500 years. After the fall of the Akkadian Empire in c.2080 BCE, the region eventually coalesced into two separate nations; Assyria in the north, and Babylonia in the south. However, the Assyrian Empire disintegrated soon after the death of Assurbanipal in c.627 BCE, and the Babylonian Kingdom survived for less than a further hundred years until it too became part of the Persian Empire in 539 BCE.

The Origins of Writing, Archives and Libraries

The successful management of any business or State requires the creation and maintenance of records of its activity. Writing appears to have developed independently in Mesopotamia, from a system of counters or tokens that began to be used in about 8000 BCE to keep track of goods and economic transactions. Some of the earliest tablets bearing the cuneiform, pictographic script have been dated from as early as 3100 BCE (Harris 1995), while the earliest known non-pictorial script has been dated from the fifteenth century BCE.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the archiving of state and other records was soon established in the region (Al-Werdi 1983). The first literary texts have been dated to about 2500 BCE (Postgate 1992). By the beginning of the second millennium BCE, there were recognisable libraries whose collections included the religious, mythological, and historical texts from which the rulers derived their legitimacy and authority. Temple libraries also contained works on the sciences, which were often closely related to the religion (Johnson 1970).

At many excavated sites, the archive store was adjacent to what appears to have been a *scriptorium* where the scribes and archivist/librarians worked (Veenhof 1997). Tablets found at various Sumerian sites in Iraq prove the existence of a flourishing system of *edubbas* (schools for scribes), where cuneiform writing was taught (Posner 1972a; Pearce 1995). The first training centres date from perhaps BCE 2600 (Black 2004), while the first school with a systematic curricula and a specialized staff seems to have been established as early as the eighteenth century BCE (Al-Werdi 1983).

Scribes were recruited from among the children, male and female, of the upper classes. The scribe-librarians were expected not only to transcribe but also to translate texts in their care. They were necessarily multi-lingual, and had clearly devised ways of organising a multi-lingual collection. The first description of a 'librarian' or 'archivist' may appear in Akkadian cuneiform tablets, probably from the seventeenth century BCE. There is evidence that a clear distinction was made between the ways in which the archives and the libraries were organised, and that there were catalogues of the libraries, and regulations about their use (Weitemeyer 1956). The Assyrian libraries were not only large, but some were apparently open to the public and well used (Johnson 1970). The preservation and security of the collections was assured in various ways (Arksey 1977; Veenhof 1997).

Libraries were established in many of the Christian monastic institutions that were founded throughout the Levant as the religion spread (Harris 1995). Churches were established almost everywhere in Iraq, particularly in central and southern Iraq, from as early the first century CE. Some of the early foundations were known to have had substantial collections of manuscripts, and became notable for their libraries.

Technical and cultural changes had begun to sweep through the region at around the time the Assyrian Empire collapsed. Papyrus seems to have been in use in Egypt since the third millennium BCE (Hannawi 2012), but it was only in the sixth century BCE that it replaced clay tablets in the Levant, when it was found to be more suited to recording the characters of the Aramaic language[6] that had com become the principal, international language of communication throughout the ancient Near East (Chilmeran 1962; Al-Werdi 1983).

The "Golden Age of Islam" — Iraq at the Centre of the Arab World

The early Arabs were a largely nomadic and pastoral society of Semitic origin. By the ninth century BCE, the Arab settlers were well established in Mesopotamia, along with Persians, Kurds, nomadic Bedouins, and many other ethnic groups (Duri 1942). After the death of the Prophet, the peninsular Arabs seized control of the Middle East. In CE 662, the Ummayid Caliphs made their capital at Damascus, and their empire spread west through North Africa and east along the 'silk road' into modern Uzbekistan and the fringes of modern Russia, China, and India. In CE 749/50, the Abbasid dynasty seized control of the Arab empire, and the Caliph Mansur transferred its capital to Baghdad.

The development of books and libraries drew their inspiration from the world into which the Arabs moved just as much as from their own efforts (Mackensen 1937b). Materials on which the Arabs could write were scarce and expensive. Consequently, initially, it was not a noticeably literate society. The earliest of the Arabs' records of public affairs were written in Latin or Greek by Christian scribes (Mackensen 1937a).

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[6] Aramaic is a Semitic language, which was brought into Mesopotamia by settlers around the beginning of the first millennium BCE. It became the *lingua franca* of the Middle East until superseded by Arabic, although modern versions remain in use in parts of the region today. The Aramaic script was widely adopted for other languages, and is the origin of both the Arabic and Hebrew scripts.
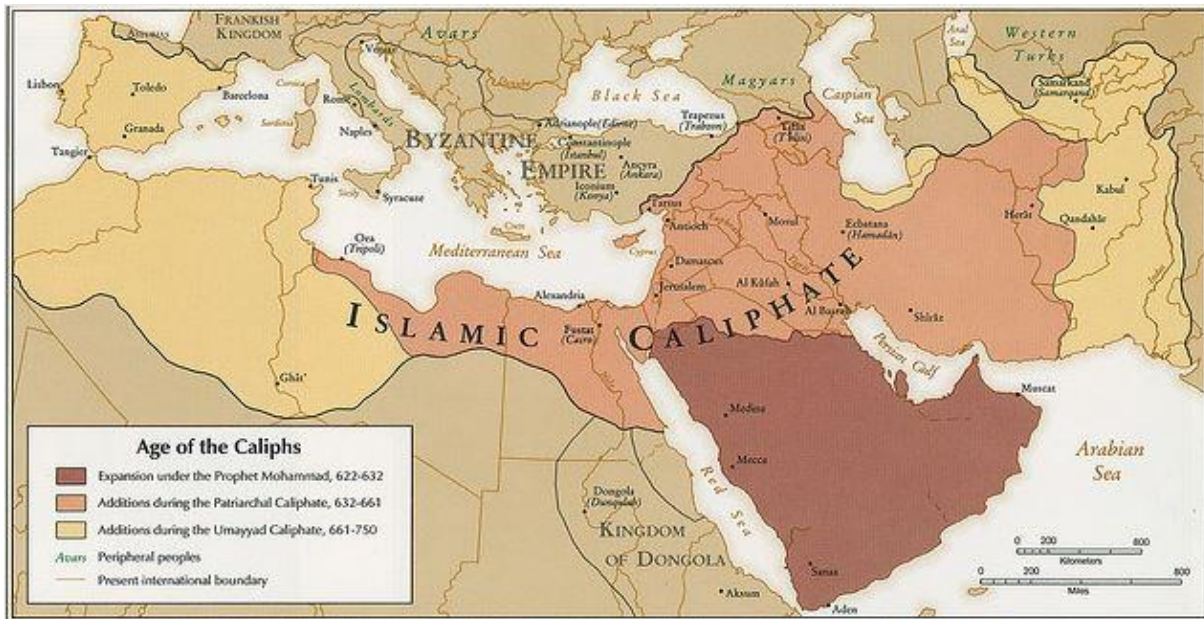
Figure 4.2: The Arab Empire at its fullest extent
Source: United States, Central Intelligence Agency (retrieved from Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at Boston Public Library, 1st July 2013)

Although the Arabs tolerated the religions of the people they conquered, they welcomed converts to Islam. Proselytizing required the Prophet's sayings to be disseminated. To enable the faithful to read the Qur'an, the education system evolved naturally in association with the mosques without any compulsion, beginning with teaching reading and elementary schools, called *kuttabs*, were established by patrons in the tenth century (Bukhsh 1927). A century later, the first form of secondary or higher education, privately endowed seminaries called madrasas, were established. Before printing made books readily available, the teachers generally had to dictate the text of a lecture, setting a tradition which seems to have been difficult to dislodge. However, they often sought to check that their students had followed and understood their arguments, and students were permitted to ask questions, discuss what they had learned, and — if they had evidence to support their opinion — challenge the teachers (Bukhsh 1927; Hitti 1956; Sibai 1984). The creation of libraries took place naturally alongside these places of learning (Adeleye 1983; Aicha 1986). Teachers' freedom to teach was subject to only one check — "No one was allowed to use the book of another at a public lecture without written permission." (Hell 1926).

The gradual cessation of wars of conquest gave an impulse to industry and commerce. The ensuing wealth transformed Baghdad into the centre of a brilliant intellectual civilisation, and science and the literary arts flourished under the

Abbasids' rule. The Prophet had recommended his followers to acquire knowledge from all possible sources, and there was thus a predisposition to assimilate, adapt, and reproduce the intellectual and aesthetic heritage of the neighbouring Persian and Byzantine empires (Hamadeh 1962). Ancient Greek manuscripts were being translated as early as the seventh century CE (Mazal 1989). The first translations of scientific and philosophical texts into Arabic were made by Syrian Christians (Wakim 1944; Bakir 1984). As Pinto (1929) remarked "Among few peoples... has the cult of books and literary tradition had such importance in the spiritual and cultural life as with the Arabs." Within a few decades, Arab scholars were able to access knowledge that had accumulated over centuries in the East and West (Chilmeran 1962). Prior to CE 850, the emphasis in book production was on translations into Arabic of works originally published in other languages, but the next 400 years was a period of creativity, which Taher (1992) implies was stimulated by the existence of libraries.

Libraries began as *khazain*, the chests in which books were kept, but, as collections grew larger, rooms were devoted to them and they "became the hallmark of culture and indispensible means for its promotion and dissemination" (Chejne 1969). Alongside them, 'literary salons' emerged in ninth century Iraq,. There, the discussion of poetry and other books was the primary source of entertainment for elite members of society, serving also as a means for educating the young (Ali 2010).

Papyrus, Parchment, and Paper

Further changes in technology made the reproduction of texts less expensive, (Hamadeh 1962). It has been generally held that paper reached the Middle East through trade with Asia. Paper first seems to have been used in China in the first century CE. Although Blum (1939) believed that it was not until the middle of the eighth century that paper was imported as far west as Persia, a paper mill was established in Baghdad in CE 793/4 (Sibai 1980), and paper had replaced parchment and papyrus in the Arab world by the end of the tenth century.

Arab Publishing, Bookselling, and Bibliography

A book trade is known to have been well established in Baghdad during the ninth century (Al-Musawi 2012). There was clearly a need to bring some order into the growing publishing activities. The oldest extant bibliography in Arabic was prepared during that century, and the first extant bibliography of Arabic

books, the '*Kitab al Fihrist'* was produced in Baghdad in the tenth century CE (Chelbi 1994). It seems to have been classified and catalogued according to systems prevailing in libraries at the time (Hussain 1960).

The technique of block printing had originated in China in the eleventh century CE, but Roper (1995) has stated that, although the technique was used in the medieval Arab world, it was apparently never used for printing books.

Arab Libraries

In describing libraries in Iraq during the Caliphate, it must be acknowledged that most modern studies have tended to cover the Arab or Muslim world as a whole. They are often incidental to the main thrust of a text, and lacking in contemporary corroboration (Inayatullah 1938). The original sources of information on libraries in Iraq are scattered and scarce.

According to Khan (1996), the development of libraries by the Arabs was prompted by:

- a recognition of the importance of knowledge, prompted by the injunction in the Qur'an (Surat al-Alaq 96:1) that Muslims should read
- an interest in the knowledge of other races expressed in their support for translations
- the love of study
- ownership of books as a sign of an individual's learning and social status
- a love of books and collecting them
- the charitable bequests of book collections to institutions and their libraries
- the establishment of literary societies
- the growth of educational institutions
- the initiation of the book trade
- the development of paper.

Libraries that belonged to mosques certainly prospered as books began to be donated or bequeathed to preserve them and/or to make them accessible (Hamadeh 1962; Al Shorbaji 1994).

The prototypes of modern libraries began to appear during the Caliphate, independently of the mosques, with the foundation of new kinds of educational institutions. The first public library in Baghdad, the *Bayt al-Hikma* (House of Wisdom), was founded around the beginning of the ninth century CE. Libraries of books related to the subjects that were taught in the *madrasas* are known to have existed in the eighth century (Mackensen 1932). Particularly notable were those founded in the later period of the Arab empire, such as that at the *Nizamiyah Madrasa*, which was founded in east Baghdad around CE 1064/67 by Nizam Al-Mulk, the vizier to the Seljuk sultans Alp Arslan and Melik Shah. It was

the largest and most famous of several that he is reported to have founded, the others being in Basra and Mosul and in cities in Persia (Bakir 1984; Cakin 1984; Sibai 1984; Elayyan 1990). The *Al-Mustansiriyah Madrasa* in central Baghdad was established by the Caliph Al-Mustansir in CE 1232/34, with a library of 80,000 volumes and a large endowment (Chilmeran 1962; Dawood n.d.). It was intended to eclipse the *Nizamiyah* (Le Strange 1900). The collections of both are these *madrasas* were built up by further donations and were said to have grown to 400,000 volumes (Mackensen 1932; Al-Werdi 1983; Sardar 1988b). While the size of many of the early libraries and private collections appears to have been substantial, Padovar (1939) has suggested that the size of some of them may have been exaggerated by early writers.

Such public benevolence was a form of personal commemoration (Fischel 1937). According to an Arab saying, 'people follow their rulers,' and the Caliphs' example of establishing libraries was soon adopted. Books were expensive, and only uch a wealthy individual could afford to buy books. Other people might be able to rent them from a *warraq* (Sibai 1984), but libraries represented a generous way of making them more widely available and spreading learning. It was seen as a civic duty to make books available to the community, and libraries open to the public were established throughout the Arab world.

Specialist collections also began to be established. The collections built up by some libraries emphasised the special interests of their founders (Hussain 1960), while others served institutional purposes. The first medical school's library was established in Baghdad in CE 931 (Al Kindilichie 1977).

The librarians were chosen from those perhaps best placed to mediate the role of information in an era in which "… libraries represented reconciliation between faith and reason, between old beliefs and new knowledge" (Bashiruddin 1967). They were among the elite of society. The position of librarian was a prestigious one, and leading figures — selected because they had already attained a reputation as scholars of religion, science, or literature, or were skilled calligraphers — were employed to take responsibility for the collection and translation of books (Al-Werdi 1983; Sibai 1984). Librarians were appointed to take responsibility for recording what was in the collection, added to it, or borrowed from it (Sibai 1984). They were also expected to organise the collections, and to produce bibliographical guides, as well as guiding users because the collections were not well catalogued and indexed. When books were

loaned, it was sometimes for a fixed period, and sometimes a deposit was taken to assure its return (Heffening & Pearson 1991). Most mosques' libraries were inside the courtyard (Sibai 1980), but buildings specifically intended to act as libraries were constructed as early as the tenth century.

Arab Archives

While some modern scholars have suggested that documentary evidence may not have been important during the Caliphates, this is contradicted by reports of the scale and range of archival collections, both state and private. The administration of the Arab Caliphates relied extensively on the use of written documents. The Abbasid's central administrative apparatus in Baghdad, with its numerous specialised bureaus, seems to have been one of the main producers of documents, and it must have possessed some of the largest archives of its era. However, the archival collections were largely destroyed or dispersed, and few documents issued by and written for the central administration have survived in their original form (van Berkel 2014).

Much of what is known about archival practices during this period has to be gleaned from several style guides designed to teach the scribes/secretaries what they should know. From the ninth century onwards, qualifications for the secretaries responsible for this work began to be spelled out in the administrative manuals (Posner 1972b).

When the Arabs overran the Persian and Byzantine regimes, they were unfamiliar with the art of administration and forced to rely on the use of existing institutions, practices, and personnel, initially retaining Persian and Greek, respectively, as administrative languages. Officials must have been acutely aware of the necessity of keeping records, but only the right records. After the capital moved to Baghdad, a procedure for sending documents to a storehouse for final classification and indexing every 3 years was put in place, but may not have been entirely effective because of dilatory bureaucrats. The state also made provision for keeping pertinent records on the establishment of *waqfs,* because they covered significant amounts of property and freed most from taxation (Posner 1972b). Hospitals established during the Caliphate are known to have kept patients' records (Al-Ghazal 2009-2010).

From Iraq's 'Dark Ages' to the Dawn of the Modern Era

From the middle of the ninth century, when Baghdad was occupied by the Persian Buyids, the Caliphate went into a long, slow decline, and, in the medieval period, it became fatally weakened. The decline of the Caliphate took many forms and had many causes.

The Mongols invaded the Middle East several times, and famously sacked Baghdad in CE 1258 under the command of Hulagu Khan[7] (Harris 1995). The Mongols have been accused of destroying the Abbasid's archives (Pérotin 1970) and Baghdad's 4 famous libraries (Khoury 1972), but it is not clear which libraries were destroyed, or indeed what fate their contents suffered. The political and military upheavals throughout the period from the tenth to the thirteenth century had left the Middle East subject to increasing Turkish influence (Gabrieli 1961). In 1534, Suleiman the Magnificent led a successful invasion of Iraq, but it did not become a permanent part of the Ottoman Empire until after Sultan Murad IV besieged and sacked Baghdad in 1638 (Saef 1986).
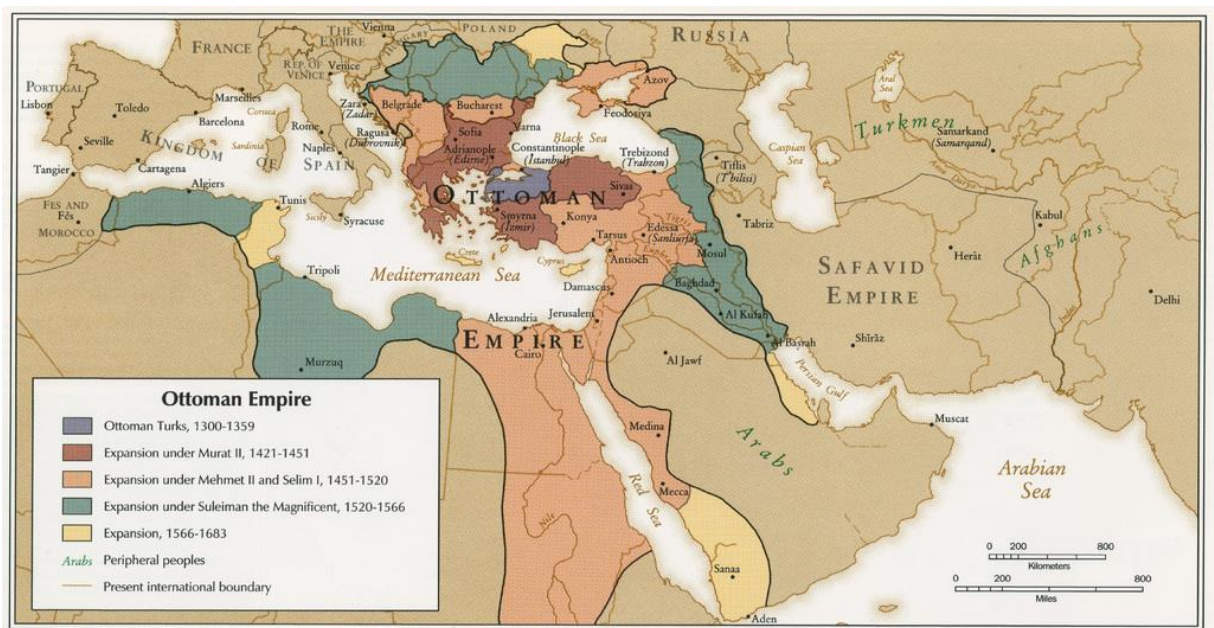
Figure 4.3: The Ottoman Empire
Source: United States, Central Intelligence Agency (retrieved from Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at Boston Public Library, 1st July 2013)

From the late seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire went into decline for some 200 years. The Mongol and Turkic incursions had destroyed most of Iraq's human, natural and capital resources, and rendered it of little interest to the Empire's administrators (Sharif 1977). By the middle of the nineteenth century,

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[7] See resumé in Appendix 5.

however, the Ottoman rulers had begun to recognise the need to introduce some reforms in their Empire. Iraq, however, remained isolated from modern communications until the second half of the nineteenth century when, as result of foreign initiatives, postal services were finally established and international telegraph lines began to cross the country (Longrigg 1925).

Education in the Ottoman Empire

After the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate, the *kuttab* schools were said to have not changed, and teachers were quite ignorant (Szyliowicz 1973). The Arab world "gradually relapsed into a state of intellectual stagnation" (Sibai 1980). However, as Al-Qaysi (1958) remarked, an examination of the last period of Ottoman rule in Iraq suggests that it was slowly becoming more enlightened. In the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire adopted a French model for its education system (Diskin 1971). The foundations of the modern education system were finally laid in 1846/47, and its structure was decreed in 1869, at about the same time that a new structure of local government was introduced. What compelled the Ottoman government to develop the provincial education systems was a recognition that they could not recruit enough Turks to operate the imperial bureaucracy.

Figure 4.4: Midhat Pasha
Source: flickr

Longrigg[8] (1925), who had worked in the British administration in Iraq, described Turkish officials in the second half of the nineteenth century as "literate, but not otherwise educated" and "remote from a spirit of public service." An exception was Midhat Pasha,[9] the energetic *Vali* (Governor) of the Baghdad Vilayet between 1869 and 1872. He introduced the first modern schools in the country. The Ottomans gradually established public schools throughout Iraq, but, by 1913, there were still only 160 primary schools in the 3 *Vilayets*

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[8] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[9] See resumé in Appendix 5.

that became Iraq. Regulations laid in 1891 stated that books necessary for studies should be provided to students free of charge (Diskin 1971). Al-Badry (1964) reported that, when a school was established in Samarra by the Ottoman government in the nineteenth century, it was given a library. However, it is not clear whether the donor was the authorities or a private individual. In the final years of the nineteenth century, the literacy level has been variously estimated as no more than 5%-10% (Longrigg 1925).

Akrawi (1942) argued that, during the Ottoman period, the state schools did not have a major influence on Iraqi life. A more progressive influence was the schools founded by the Christian and Jewish communities in the areas where they were concentrated. After the 'Young Turks' revolution in 1908, the atmosphere was more open to new ideas. Two of the American Dutch Reformed Church's missionaries, John Van Ess[10] and his wife, Dorothy, opened new schools for boys and girls in Basra in 1912 and 1914 respectively (Tejirian & Simon 2012).

Figure 4.5: John van Ess
Source: Courtesy of Mr. C. Gosselink

During the nineteenth century, higher education in the Ottoman Empire existed only in Istanbul (Khoury 1972). Before the end of the nineteenth century, few Iraqis had completed higher education there or in Beirut or France.

Printing and Publishing during the Ottoman Empire

With the exception of the new schools, education in the Ottoman Empire was essentially religious and narrowly limited. Perhaps for this reason, there was little demand for reading material and for printing presses, which were not introduced in the Levant until some 200 years after they began to be used in Europe (Bakr, Labib & Kandil 1985).

Religious minorities were permitted to establish presses within the Empire at the end of the fifteenth century (Szyliowicz 1992; Coşgel, Miceli & Rubin 2012). However, all the books known to have been printed in Arabic before the

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[10] See resumé in Appendix 5.

eighteenth century were produced outwith the Empire. The old mode of transmitting information was threatened by printing (Messick 1997). The introduction of printing presses met with some opposition from religious figures, and the copyists/calligraphers were said to have opposed the introduction of printing because it threatened their livelihood (Szyliowicz 1992). In 1727, the Ottoman government finally gave approval for Muslims to engage in printing. The number of books produced in the Ottoman Empire remained low by European standards, but in the late Ottoman Empire, whereas political and economic progress remained slow, the publishing industry made remarkable progress as more and more private presses were established.

In 1816, the new Mamluk Governor of Iraq, Dawood Pasha[11] is said to have brought a lithographic press to Baghdad to print a newspaper, *Jurnal al-Iraq* (Partington 1978; Albin 1981), but this is disputed because there are no extant copies and no mention in the Ottoman archives or in contemporary travellers' accounts (Ceylan 2008; Al-Rawi 2012), as are claims that a book was printed in Baghdad in 1821 (Al-Rawi 2012). Typographic presses certainly began to be in use in Iraq from 1860. The Ottoman Provincial Law of 1864 approved the establishment of printing houses in the *Vilayets,* and Midhat Pasha brought a press from Paris to Baghdad in 1869. There were 3 government and 10 private presses in operation in the country by 1914, when they were all closed on the outbreak of war (Al-Qaysi 1970).

The number of books published in Iraq was slowly increasing. Adwan (1984) reported that 261 have been identified as having been published between 1856 and 1899, and 219 between 1901 and 1919. There is some evidence of books published in one Ottoman city being sold in another part of the Empire, and several bookshops were established in Baghdad before the war (Ayalon 2010).

The Ottoman Press Law of 1909 stipulated that editors should be college graduates or at least graduates of the senior secondary school or a *madrasa*. It required 2 copies of each newspaper or magazine to be supplied to the highest local administrative authorities: one deposited with the *Vali*; the other with the *Vilayet's* Attorney General. It could be said to have established the principle of depositing copies with the authorities that was built into later Iraqi legislation for deposit in the Ministry and, later, the National Library.

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[11] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Ottoman Libraries

As the importance of mosques as intellectual and scholarly centres declined, their libraries suffered from neglect, theft, accidental damage, and natural disasters (Sibai 1984). The irrigation system that had been the foundation of Iraq's agricultural success and economic prosperity had been destroyed in the civil wars that preceded the Mongol invasion, and the libraries of Baghdad were further despoiled by floods. Some libraries in Iraq may have escaped earlier depredations, but their devastation was allegedly completed by the Turks (Thompson 1983). After the Ottomans captured Baghdad in 1534, books from the palaces and libraries were said to have been taken as the spoils of war, many to become an important part of the imperial library in Istanbul (Harris 1995). Erünsal (2014), however, discounts claims that thousands of manuscripts relating to *waqfs* were plundered by the Ottomans from the conquered Arab countries, pointing to the Ottomans' respect for religiously significant items, the problems of transporting such large quantities, and the evidence that few of the manuscripts now in Istanbul bear any indications that they originally belonged in *waqf* libraries in the conquered territories. Rather, he argues that the blame for the loss of collections in countries such as Iraq should be shared by other foreign invaders, neglectful guardians of the collections, and acquisitive Westerners — the sale of manuscripts to Europeans to which Pinto (1929) also drew attention. Whatever their fate, not one in a thousand of the books described in *Al-Fihrist* is known to have survived to the present day (Harris 1995).

Although the political and economic stability throughout the Ottoman Empire during the middle of the sixteenth century was also accompanied by a cultural revival, cultural stagnation set in after Suleiman's death. The creation of libraries was mainly supported by *waqf* foundations during this period, principally in association with educational institutions, because the state was relatively weak (Amameric & Rukanci 2009). Some mosque libraries and a number of other, small libraries are also known to have been founded in Baghdad between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, but their collections were not on the same scale as in the previous era. For example, the Qablaniya Mosque, which was founded in Baghdad in the late seventeenth century had only 600 volumes in its library (Sibai 1984).

Public libraries such as those then being founded in Western Europe and North America were practically non-existent in the late Ottoman Empire, but

public reading rooms for books and newspapers, including foreign newspapers, were established in various parts of the Empire in the late nineteenth century (Strauss 2004), although no mention has yet been found of any in Iraq. In 1909, a number of libraries could still be found attached to mosques in Iraq (Pinto 1929). At the end of the nineteenth century, there were more libraries reported to exist in Mosul and Kirkuk than in Baghdad, according to one study of the Turkish archives. The book collections in the libraries in Baghdad were larger than those elsewhere, and they had more significant numbers of manuscripts, but they were still very small, with only a few hundred items in each library (Amameric & Rukanci 2009). Indeed, before the advent of printing, few libraries had more than 2,000 books (Erünsal 1993). Although Turkish literature flourished in the Azeri dialect in Iraq, where it owed much to Arabic and Persian traditions, the few libraries were predominantly in the mosques, and these were mainly stores of religious books and manuscripts that were little used (Ra'oof 1980). The possession of books on scientific and secular subjects had come to be regarded by some people as basically harmful to religious dogma (Sibai 1980).

The first higher education institution was introduced in Iraq to serve the needs of the Ottoman administration. The College of Law was the earliest of the modern institutions that were eventually to become the constituent Colleges of the University of Baghdad. It was founded in 1908 to prepare staff for government posts, providing training in judicial and administrative procedures (Chilmeran 1962). There appears no evidence that any significant provision was made for a library to support teaching.

The Ottoman administrative system had remained arthritic, and was unable to modernise the management and administration of libraries with the speed that technical and social changes necessitated. There is only limited evidence (or little that has been discovered so far) about the existence, management and operation of libraries and archives in Iraq during the Ottoman period. The Ottoman archives that were taken over by the British administration after 1914, and gathered together from various provincial collections into central collections in Baghdad by the Saddam regime in the 1980s, appear to have not yet been fully catalogued in accordance with modern archival practice, let alone examined by LIS scholars. Much of what is known about library and archival practices in Iraq during the Ottoman era has therefore had to be derived from the work of a handful of Turkish scholars working in the archives in Istanbul. It is possibly only

to allude to their findings about the practices prevailing at the heart of the Empire and to suggest that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, those in Iraq were likely to be analogous. Erünsal (1999), for example, mentions that the librarian of a major library in Istanbul was to leave to travel to Baghdad in the sixteenth century, but the purpose of his journey is not revealed.

Information about the organisation and operation of libraries during the Ottoman period can be found scattered among the foundation deeds, the detailed financial accounts and other records of the *waqf*. Arrangements varied according to the circumstances of the libraries, some being held within the mosque or *madrasa*, while others were set up in independent buildings. In the former instances, a librarian might not have been appointed, or a single post might have been created, with all other duties being undertaken by the staff of the institution. Over the four centuries of the Ottoman Empire, increases in the size of some libraries and the number and range of their staff can be observed, as the libraries evolved from being an extension of the function of prayer and learning to the point where prayer and learning became incidental functions of semi-independent libraries whose staff sometime included teachers of the *Qur'an* and Islamic Law, as well as assorted maintenance staff (Erünsal 1999).

The *waqf* deeds usually stipulated qualifications expected of persons appointed as librarians, sometimes specified simply in terms of personal, religious, or scholarly qualities, and sometimes in terms of related knowledge and skills, e.g. in bibliography or preservation. As the role of the librarian evolved from being little more than a custodian of the collection, more emphasis was placed on the appointees' ability to interact effectively with the libraries' users (Erünsal 1999). The inconsistencies of the information in the manuscripts and the consequent complexities and variations in their bibliographic descriptions required that librarians had to be highly educated to respond to scholars' enquiries about whether a book was to be found in a library's collection. Lists of collections were initially intended to exercise control over the collection rather than as a guide to librarians and readers (Erünsal 2008). The design of library buildings clearly received some thought. Design features sought to ensure that the collections were shielded from strong sunlight, and that the buildings were well ventilated (Erünsal 2008). From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the willingness to lend books became less common, because of the losses being suffered (Erünsal 1984; 1993). Bookcases and buildings were designed with the

security of the collection in mind (Erünsal 2008). Most libraries were subject to periodic inspections, carried out by the staff or independent assessors to compare the collection against the catalogue and note items that were missing or for which a less valuable copy had been substituted (Erünsal 1989).

During the Ottoman period, many scholars were associated with the same libraries throughout their lives, and:

> "Individuals of no outstanding personal qualities, social background or political acumen tended to rise up to a librarianship and to live from the modest compensation offered by such a post. … On the other hand, individuals who had risen to the zenith of society and whose impact on the literary elite was considerable usually accepted a librarianship as an honorarium, usually during the final years of their careers." (Petry 1974)
> "The inclination to treat the library as his own personal collection and spend his time reading books, and the reluctance to perform the more mundane duties of a librarian impeded the development of the profession." (Erünsal 2008)

During the eighteenth century, teaching became one of the functions of some libraries, and teachers were added to their staff (Erünsal 1984). During the later years of the Ottoman Empire, the need to acquire Western knowledge led to the creation of new schools and colleges, and their libraries contained books in West European languages. The librarians were chosen from the new elite who could read Western languages, not because they could understand the needs of the library and its readers. "The new librarian, like the old, was book-centred not reader-centred" (Icimsoy & Erünsal 2004).

However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was beginning to be some awareness in the Ottoman government that the problems of many libraries and archives were not solely the consequences of their financial circumstances and the poor salaries offered to librarians. Guidelines for the operation and management of *waqf* libraries tended to emerge from the specific and inviolable wishes of the founders of individual libraries. The foundation libraries declined because it was not possible to introduce new practices, and attempts to rationalise collections and modernise practices were fruitless.

To try to remedy the problems affecting the *waqf* foundation libraries, the Ministry of Education issued a set of instructions in 1879, on how they should be run. In 1881, this was extended to provide for regular inspections. The Ministry made recommendations in 1882 about the minimum competences required of the *waqf* foundation librarians. By 1884, it had been decided that personnel could only be appointed as librarians after passing an examination that tested at least

their literacy and numeracy (Erünsal 2008). Whilst it seems that these were transformed into regulations, no evidence has yet appeared about whether they were enforced (Erünsal 2004), or about the demand for trained personnel.

Ottoman Archives

Attention to administration by Iraq's Seljuk rulers led them to recognise the need for records and archives and to follow patterns established in Persia, as did even the region's Mongol rulers, perhaps after they recognised the necessity of restoring law and order and financial controls (Posner 1972b). The Ottomans seem to have taken further steps to regularise arrangements. The Ottoman Imperial Registry was certainly in existence by the fifteenth century. Suleiman the Magnificent's long reign saw an expansion of the state bureaucracy and its archives in the sixteenth century and the professionalization of records management.

There have been few studies of the scribes (*kâtib*) who maintained the records in the Registry, but there was clearly a formal system of unpaid apprenticeship. Although this could last for several years, it offered a new route to social mobility for the sons of well-connected families (Fleischer 1986-87). It could be an attractive profession; some scribes were amply rewarded, both in terms of their stipends and the financial opportunities that their contacts brought them (Fleischer 1994). The formal remuneration of the scribes in the Ottoman bureaucracy seemed to vary according to their class background rather than professional expertise. They were often given a lifetime concession (*timar*) to collect tax income from a state property rather than a salary, but the value of the *timars* varied (Howard 1986).

The administrative reforms that were introduced in Iraq by Midhat Pasha included the appointment in each of the three *Vilayets* of a director of correspondence and keeper of the provincial archives (*mektubchi*), the third most senior official in each province. Government offices established in Baghdad included the House of Records (*Al-Dafterkhana*), although the methods for managing the documents were said to be antiquated (Al-Werdi 1983).

Discussion and Evaluation
Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

Perhaps 10,000 years elapsed between the first human settlement in the 'Fertile Crescent' and the end of the Ottoman Empire. Recognisable archives

began to be formed about half-way through that period, reflecting an evolving pattern of settlement, with forms of governance and economic activity in Mesopotamia that were increasingly dependent on written records of state and business activities. The appearance of these archives was followed shortly afterwards by the formation of collections of mythological, religious and historical literature which could be separately described as 'libraries'. During the Arab Caliphate, religious literature became significant as an adjunct to Islamic proselytising; the intellectual curiosity of the age was fed by and contributed to the growth of specialist literature; and the generosity encouraged by the Islamic religion prompted the wealthy members of society to support libraries open to an increasingly literate public.

The search for competent administrators of libraries and archives began, as usual, after the collections had grown. During the Mesopotamian civilisations, familiarity with the skills required for organising and managing these collections was seen as an adjunct of the work of the scribes, and the inception of the *edubbas* marks the beginnings of formalising education for information work. Initially initiation in the required skills seems to have been restricted to the families of the elite, but the growing demand for them suggests that the trainees may have had to be recruited from a widening social circle. During the Caliphate, when the knowledge held in collections became noticeably more important, this mutated into the appointment of librarians who were known as eminent scholars. The Ottoman practice of rewarding the imperial scribes on an *ad hoc* basis, in which some were more favoured than others, has as yet not been sufficiently documented to determine whether their remuneration reflected their social standing, particular expertise, or special services.

In both Mesopotamian society and during the Caliphate, the archivists and librarians who were responsible for the management of the collections seemingly enjoyed high status. Even as late as the Ottoman era, archivists continued to be drawn from the upper classes of society, while libraries and librarians seem to have played a less significant role in society. Could it have been the increasingly ready availability of printed books that transformed perceptions of librarians and of copyright? Or could it have been the activities of European missionaries and scholars that reinforced the misperception of the authorities that "the running of a library is a mere technique of administration that can be done as a part-time job by professors or so-called administrators" (Stummvoll 1953)? Further study

would be necessary to explore this phenomenon, attempt to explain the reasons for this, and perhaps seek to provide an understanding of some of the actions necessary to reverse the evident lack of status and influence enjoyed by librarians in Iraq in the late twentieth century.

It is clear that training to embed some insights into and consistency in professional practices was recognised as necessary and consequently provided in designated centres from as early as the foundation of the *edubbas* in ancient Mesopotamia, and that these practices were codified to some extent throughout the various periods covered in this chapter, for example in the regulations promulgated Ottoman Imperial Registry. Nonetheless, there appears to be little evidence of any particular professional philosophy emerging, or of any attempt to promote one. Further study is required to assemble evidence on the training that the scribe-librarians received from the Akkadian to the Ottoman eras, and to determine how professional techniques in the acquisition, organisation, preservation and conservation of texts evolved in the early Middle East.

The Situation in which Education for Information was Immersed

The significance and irrational power of the social phenomenon that we call 'tradition' has been a long-running debate, perhaps initiated by the eighteenth century political theorist and philosopher, Edmund Burke.[12] Although the debate may not have reached a final resolution, tradition, as represented in collective memory of things past, has nonetheless had a significant part to play in shaping attitudes towards planned or emerging changes, whether in society at large or in professional practices, and must therefore be a factor to be considered in examining the development of libraries. Jackson (1982), for example, has stated firmly that "familiarity with library traditions and history is essential for understanding contemporary events." The aim of considering the early history of Iraq and the surrounding region with which it shared a common past was to provide that underpinning for this study. At first sight, this might appear unnecessary. The early history of libraries and archives in Iraq has been the subject of numerous books and journal articles. However, many proved to be out of date in some respects, and most of those published in English have been limited in scope and have ignored the emergence of professional education.

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[12] See resumé in Appendix 5.

The urbanisation of the early nomadic population was itself a reflection of growing wealth in society, and in turn a driver for greater economic activity. The emergence of imperial powers added to concentrations of wealth, from which Iraq was a noticeable beneficiary during the apogee of the Arab Caliphate's influence. The damage inflicted during Mongol and Turkic incursions had an effect on Iraq's economy lasting throughout the Ottoman Empire. These periods of economic growth and decline are matched by the pattern of creation of libraries, and the attention given to the role and expertise of librarians.

There appears to be no evidence of any democracy emerging in Mesopotamian society; rather, government appears to have been monarchical, perhaps theocratic, and eventually Iraq was dominated by imperial powers until the early twentieth century. Within these societies, the creation of archives and libraries depended initially on the needs and interests of a relatively small elite and access to them was generally limited. Eventually, the spread of literacy encouraged by proselytising of Islam, the generosity encouraged by that religion, and recognition of the benefits of expanding knowledge engendered a more public spirited approach to access to information.

Literacy and the skills of organising and using libraries were initially the prerogative of the Mesopotamian elite, but increasing volumes of recorded information and recognition of the benefits of being able to use it prompted the emergence of formal training for the scribe-librarians in the *edubbas*. During the Caliphate, literacy became more widespread and fostered the growth of 'literary circles' and new sciences. During the Ottoman empire, the few state schools taught in Turkish, and only while the private schools taught in Arabic or other languages, but few people became familiar with the use of libraries.

De Vleeschauwer (1963) believed that the uniform use of cuneiform implied the probability that the organisation of libraries and archives was also uniform across the region, and it does seem likely that this formed part of the scribes' training in the *edubba*. Zulu (1993) went further, and drew attention to evidence that suggested that, in the second millennium BCE, there was a similarity in some of the methods of library organisation in use in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. Pinto (1946) had earlier acknowledged the widespread existence of library catalogues, noting that a catalogue of the library of an Egyptian Pharaoh, dating from the fifteenth century BCE, had been found at Amarna, but also drew attention to another catalogue, detailing the library of a Hittite King of the

thirteenth century BCE. Shubert (1993) carefully contradicted some scholars' suggestions that the organisation of the Library of Assurbanipal somehow influenced the organisation of the Great Library of Alexandria, and Du Toit (2002) argued that it is incorrect to claim that it could feature rightfully as a progenitor of modem library practice, as asserted by some traditional scholarship.

No conclusions can be drawn safely about whether the practice of creating catalogues (and other library and archival practices) originated independently in ancient Mesopotamia or through the transmission of ideas from other contemporary civilisations. The archives and libraries that were established in Mesopotamia were simply repositories that were a by-product of the prevailing culture. Efforts to classify the contents of the media in broadly defined subject collections and to create tools that facilitated the identification and retrieval of specific items that took place in ancient Mesopotamia, and during the Caliphate, were probably simply necessitated by the growth of collections and by recognition that access to their contents was essential to the functioning of society.

There also appears to be no evidence, or at least none that has come to light so far, that demonstrates whether the practices that formed the basis of early training programs were imported from outwith the region or how they were transmitted and shared across the region. In terms of the aim of this study to discern and evaluate any external drivers for these developments, the study of this early period has been frustrated by the frequent absence of any real distinction between foreign and indigenous communities in the region. Even those that were the most significant societies in the Middle East, the Akkadians, the Arabs and the Turks, were originally of nomadic origin. Until it became an independent state in the twentieth century CE, the territory now known as Iraq was continually subject to incursions by different ethnic groups, some of whom settled there and took advantage of the skills of the existing residents or integrated them into their own practices to an extent that their contribution to social development cannot be disaggregated. Green (1988), for example, has argued that library history in Arab societies is linked to interaction among civilizations. Inayatullah (1938) described the culture that emerged in the region that the Arabs occupied during the Caliphate as a composite civilisation, to which its various peoples had contributed ideas and ideals that had encouraged

intellectual curiosity, and fresh lines of thought and action. Implicitly, he was also accepting that any incomers who may have been the originators of developments had become such integral parts of the settled community that the efforts of particular ethnic groups were indistinguishable. However, the only external factor that can clearly be seen to have influenced the growth of libraries was the religions that were brought into Iraq from other parts of the region — not only Islam, but also Christianity and Judaism, whose adherents' translation of foreign works into Arabic stimulated the emergence of independent Arab scientific and philosophical writing, and hence the inclusion of all this material in the growing number of libraries.

The Arab world inherited from its classical era a system of ideas and a way of life, but the introduction of printing represented the beginning of a new challenge to the social, political and cultural traditions that had persisted almost throughout the period of Ottoman rule. Szyliowicz (1992) described printing as "a social phenomenon whose every aspect is determined by the structure of power and the nature of the cultural, social and other societal sub-systems within which it operates," and pointed out in a more contemporary context that:

> "Any technology embodies values which cannot be controlled and which will inevitably affect the existing culture directly and indirectly. Given the nature of the contemporary debate in the Muslim world and the degree to which Islamic states are engaged in transferring modern technologies from abroad, [their] significance ... extends well beyond the realm of the intellectual and possesses important implications for policy makers and others concerned with the future shape of their societies." (Szyliowicz 1992)

Printing reduced costs, and preserved books because they exist in multiple copies, but it also encouraged the proliferation of libraries, and facilitated the dissemination of knowledge in a manner that threatened the old order of society. For example, manuscript texts were transmitted orally to students; the increased availability of texts in printed form offered greater potential for students to gain knowledge and insights beyond the teacher's control (Schulze 1997), and presumably made them less dependent on libraries and librarians.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Had Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in Education for Information

With urbanisation, the early societies in the Middle East evolved more complex forms of commerce and government. The need for access to records of this activity would have become more pressing as the quantity of records increased, and methods of organising them for retrieval would have come to be

seen as essential. From that point onwards, the need for transmission from one generation to the next of the knowledge and skills involved would have become self-evident.

Although translations of early records have identified individuals who worked as librarians in Mesopotamian and Arab society, and the duties they undertook, there is insufficient evidence to ascribe to any one of them the responsibility for initiating a particular practice or initiating a program of training or education in library practice.

Overcoming Resistance to Change in Education for Information

When the technology of printing eventually reached the Arab world from Europe, the resistance to its widespread introduction was not just because it was a manifestation of and vehicle for Westernisation. Those seeking to introduce printing in the Ottoman Empire had to overcome a complex mix of Islamic religious concerns, resistance from the copyists whose livelihoods were threatened, and fear for the dissemination of subversive content, as well as the technical complexity of the script. Opposition seems to have been eroded by the importation of Arabic books printed in Europe, the authorisation given to Christians and Jews to operate presses within the Empire, and ultimately by recognition that the unique nature of manuscripts made the knowledge in them vulnerable to loss. It is not clear whether librarians helped to promote the arguments in favour of printing, or whether their education equipped them to do so.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in Education for Information

Writing and reading became critical skills for the elite of the societies that dominated Iraq during the earliest part of this period. Nonetheless, literacy did not become universal. During the Caliphate, it was spread of Islam that played a part in the dynamics of social change, as the expectation that adherents of Islam should be able not only to memorise and recite their prayers but also to read the *Qur'an,* or at least recognise *Qur'anic* phrases and sayings, fostered the emergence of the *kuttub* schools and influenced the spread of literacy and the use of libraries. However, the use of libraries was still essentially seen as the realm of scholars, and the evidence for the continuation of the formal training initiated in the *edubbas* is scant until the Ottoman reforms began.

Roper (1995) argued that printing had direct effects in stimulating a cultural revival, a new self-awareness, and political movements of a nationalist character. While that might have been true in Istanbul, where the intellectual life of the Empire was centred, there is only limited evidence of any such effect in Iraq, manifested in the emergence of newspapers, perhaps because of the small number of literate and affluent individuals there who might have become newspaper readers and book buyers, and because the pedagogical methods in use discouraged individual learning and use of libraries. The effect of the introduction of printing was also moderated by the state's reluctance to permit it, and then by its not infrequent efforts to control its output for religious or political reasons. The case for freedom of access to information that was to become a part of the library profession's core beliefs appears to have had few advocates at this time.

Chapter 5
The Emergence of Modern Libraries
during the British Administration and 'Mandate',
1914-1932

"The new Iraq was poor, weak, and divided, most of her population conservative and ignorant, her material advance dependent on foreign skills" (Al-Arif 1985).

Introduction

The reforms that had begun to take shape slowly in Iraq during the Ottoman regime were brought to a halt by the start of the First World War, but were given a new and different impetus as Iraq was gradually brought under British control. This chapter outlines the beginnings of interest in librarianship as an international phenomenon, notes how the first modern libraries emerged in Iraq as a result of the actions of individuals, and explains the traditional library practices in them. It also explains how the British administration — despite the financial constraints under which it had to work — guided the re-establishment of the country's economic and social foundations, and transferred responsibility, particularly for the education system, to the Iraqis. The chapter provides an explanation for the continuing absence of a culture of independent reading and library use

Significant Events in Iraq's History

At the beginning of the twentieth century, before World War I, the British and the Germans were the leading contenders for influence in Iraq. Fear of a German-dominated Berlin-to-Baghdad railway, and concerns for the defence of India and the protection of Muslim pilgrims, as well as commercial considerations, had stimulated a growing British interest in Mesopotamia.

In October 1914, the Ottoman Empire had declared war against Russia, thus setting itself alongside Germany and its allies in a war with Britain and France and their allies. Shortly after the European war had begun, troops from British India had been stationed on Abadan Island to protect the oil refinery there, and in November they moved to occupy Basra. The Iraqi tribes took little part in

subsequent campaign against the Ottoman forces, although a notable part was played by one Iraqi, Nuri Al-Said[13] (Gabrieli 1961).

Figure 5.1: Nuri al-Said
Source: http://www.salaam.co.uk

In March 1917, within days of 'liberating' Baghdad, the commander of the British troops, made a proclamation promising to return to Iraq some control over its own affairs (Harris 1958; Diskin 1971). By the time a peace agreement was reached between the Western allies and the Ottoman Empire at the end of October 1918, the British Army had wrested control of the Mosul *Vilayet* from the Turks, but it was not brought immediately under the control of the British administration that had been established in Baghdad, because northern Iraq had been intended to be a territory administered by the French under the terms of the so-called 'Sykes-Picot agreement' (Khalidi 2004). In April 1920, it was agreed by the League of Nations that a 'Mandate' to administer the former Ottoman *Vilayets* in territories designated as Iraq and 'Palestine' (modern Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian territories) should be assigned to Britain. Following further discussions, the Mosul *Vilayet* was finally incorporated in the Iraq mandate in 1926.

As a result of these decisions:

"As with much of the Middle East, [Iraq's] borders were defined on the basis of European tactical and economic concerns, with only minimal reference to the ethnic, religious, and tribal associations of the new states' inhabitants." (Seymour 2004)

In 1921, British army officers and officials decided, at a conference in Cairo, to create the Kingdom of Iraq as a step towards self-government, as required by the 'Mandate', and installed as King of Iraq Faisal, a peninsular Arab who had played in leading role in the campaign against the Turks. This established the

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[13] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Hashemite dynasty that was to rule the country on and off through almost forty turbulent years.

Figure 5.2: King Faisal I of Iraq (1883 - 1933)

Source: http://www.4dw.net/royalark/Iraq/iraq2.htm

The 'Mandate' was intended to be a transitional arrangement to secure the development of Turkey's former colonies. It was clear from early in the 'Mandate' that the Faisal's government was keen to develop the country, but finance was a problem. Iraq's own resources were, initially, slender, and the concept of a budget for assisting overseas development had not yet evolved in Britain, whose economy had in any case been weakened by the war.

The civil administration of Iraq was initially directed by no more than 450 British officials, plus a support staff of Indians. Despite these small numbers, the high cost of ruling Iraq obliged the British government to withdraw 80% of the British officials and 98% of their Indian support staff between 1921 and 1931, replacing them by Iraqis, and devolving power gradually to an Iraqi government and civil service (Franzén 2008). The ongoing costs were no doubt a factor that led to the British decision in 1929 to terminate the 'Mandate'. After little more than a decade, the transfer of administrative responsibilities from British to Iraqi officials had been such that the British representative to the League of Nations was delegated to support granting independence to Iraq (Colonial Office 1931). This was finally implemented on 3rd October 1932 (Jarman 1992), and Iraq joined the League of Nations, sponsored by the British at the insistence of the Iraqis (Abou-Khadra 1957).

The Origins of International Interest in Library Development

During the nineteenth century, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, and at a time when significant improvements were taking place in transport and communication systems, Western educationalists and librarians began to stress the benefits of international inter-dependence. The International Office of Bibliography, the forerunner of the International Federation for Documentation

(Federation Internationale de Documentation, FID), had been founded in Belgium with the aim of trying to create a Universal Bibliographic Catalogue. It was reconstituted as the International Institute of Bibliography in 1895.

The League of Nations established a Commission on Intellectual Cooperation in 1922/3, focused on bibliography, inter-university relations, and intellectual property. Within a year of its creation, the Commission established a 'Sub-Committee for Science and Bibliography' (Rossi 1935; Wormann 1968), and in 1927 asked a *Comité d'experts bibliothécaires* to identify the problems in the field (Rossi 1935).

At an international conference in Prague in 1926, a French Librarian, Gabriel Henriot, proposed the establishment of a permanent international library committee that could take care of the international relations among libraries and create the necessary conditions for international co-operation between librarians. The following year, in Edinburgh, it was agreed to establish the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA). The Librarian of the League of Nations was elected as IFLA's first Honorary Secretary (Pafford 1935a). By 1932, IFLA had established a Sub-Committee on Professional Education.

Internal Developments Affecting the Potential for Library and Information Services in Iraq

Throughout the period of the 'Mandate', the British government was expected to provide regular reports to the League of Nations, and this section notes some of the administrative changes set in train, and the limitations imposed by the state of the economy. It summarises the efforts to re-establish and expand the education system to provide a literate workforce, including the revival of education for girls, but highlights the quality issues that became evident in primary and secondary education, as well as noting the limited steps that were taken to enhance the provision of higher education. A modest expansion of printing and publishing took place, reflecting the demand for school textbooks and the revival of newspapers.

Government

Under the British 'Mandate', an Arab Council of State, advised by British officials, became responsible for the administration of the country (Longrigg 1953; Zado 1990). The Iraqi elite consolidated their position without stimulating the economic structures needed to assimilate social change (Kingston 1996).

Even after independence, the Iraqi administration needed to be assisted by small teams of British specialist advisors and technicians in developing the economy and the public services. These teams, initially large in the early days of the 'Mandate', gradually diminished in size.

The country was divided into 14 provinces (*Liwas*) that remain largely the same today, although 4 new *Liwas* have since been designated (Figure 5.3).
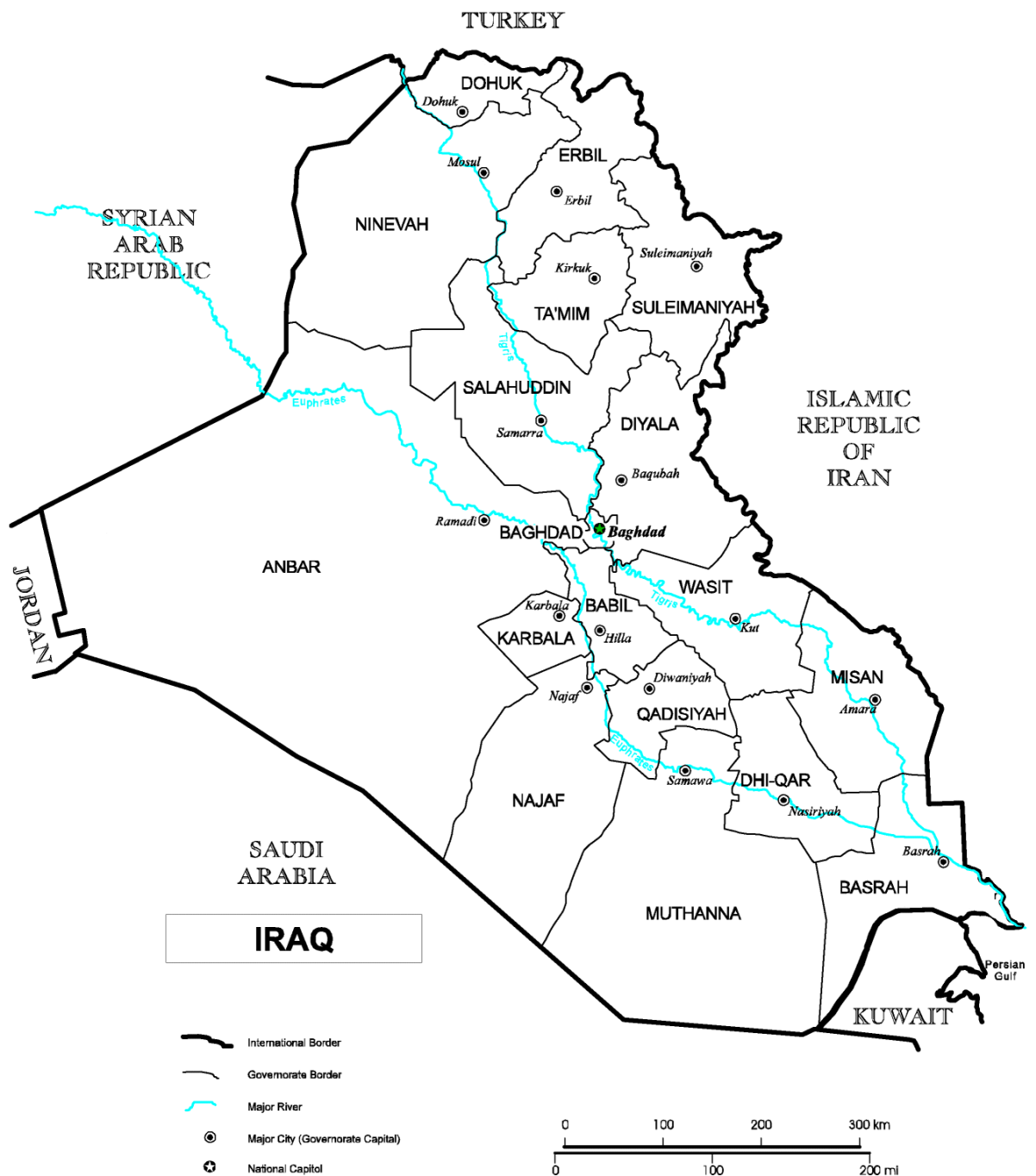
Figure 5.3: Iraq - Modern administrative divisions (*Liwas*) and their principal cities
Source: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iraq/maps-admin.htm [Retrieved 25 April 2012]

The Iraqi Economy

Oil was first discovered in 1923, and the government began to receive a trickle of oil revenues from 1927. By 1931, the government was preparing to put in place a 5-year development scheme to spend the oil revenues on public works (Colonial Office 1932). However, oil production did not begin actively until 1934.

The Growth of Primary Education and Literacy

Before the British 'Mandate' began, education accounted for only 2.3% of the state budget set by the Turkish regime. The embryonic education system established by the Ottoman authorities in Iraq was damaged during the war and left with few teachers and poor facilities. The education system was then rebuilt by the British, based on their experience in India and Egypt, where they had recognised the need for instruction to be in the vernacular language (Akrawi 1942). During the summer of 1915, surplus text books were secured from the American Mission School, and others imported from Egypt and India, while teachers were selected and trained, enabling new primary schools to open in Basra in the autumn (Diskin 1971). It was 1919, however, before the British administration believed that the provision of books was adequate.

In 1919, the first new secondary school was opened, in Baghdad. The proportion of Iraqis receiving education was still minute, and a source for concern as the British sought to transfer responsibility to the local population:

> "The dearth of men who might be called in any modern sense 'educated'
> has become more apparent as the need for them, since the introduction of self-
> government, is more urgent." (Jarman 1992)

As early as May 1919, the Civil Commissioner announced his intention, as part of a plan to initiate Iraqis into modern methods of administration, and from 1923, the Ministry of Education was effectively run by Iraqis. However, teaching methods changed little, encouraging the individual to memorise rather than to be creative, and destroying the individual's inclination to search for possible alternative solutions to a given problem. As one Unesco expert described it, "instruction had suffered from the Middle East disease: 'understand' means 'to be able to recite the textbook' " (Unesco 1954d). Partly perhaps as a consequence of the poor teaching in the primary schools, only a minority of pupils continued into secondary education.

Figure 5.4: Sati al Husri
Source: unknown

The growth of education created a continual shortage of books in the schools, and, because of the shortage, the Training College was obliged to provide teachers with enough knowledge to last them for their career (Colonial Office 1931a). The provision of educational buildings and facilities distracted attention from the internal problems of the education system. Sati Al-Husri,[14] the first Iraqi Director General of Education, apparently favoured independent learning methods (Bashkin 2009), but seems to have given little attention to developing new approaches to pedagogy or providing the necessary learning resources.

Printing, Publishing and Bookselling in Iraq

Before 1914, only 2 or 3 books had been published each year in Iraq. The output of the Iraqi publishing industry was still modest in the early 1920s. Although textbooks for schools initially had to be imported, they began to be printed locally.

As was noted in an earlier chapter, bookshops had a relatively long history in Iraq. In 1920, Kenneth Mackenzie[15] established the Government Bookstore in Baghdad. Writing to her step-mother, Gertrude Bell remarked that:

> "We have here a very enterprising man called Mackenzie who has established a flourishing and quite excellent bookshop. He was a bookseller before the war and he knows about books. His shop is one of the most remarkable things in Baghdad — everybody buys there." (Bell Archive, letter, 7th November 1923)

Mackenzie bought the bookstore from the Iraqi Government in 1926, and Mackenzie and Mackenzie became a major supplier of books, particularly English language books, for Iraq and indeed for much of the Middle East, and was also well known to foreign archaeologists (A. Fowler, personal communication, 16th March 2016). In the early 1930s, two notable Arabic bookshops were also

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[14] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[15] See resumé in Appendix 5.

established in Baghdad: *Zawra*, owned by Husayn al-Fulfili, and the even more famous *Al-Muthanna*.[16] Bookshops were also to be found in other cities.

The British administration began to publish an Arabic newspaper *'Al Arab'* and the *Baghdad Times*, established in January 1918, initially to cater for British troops (UK Colonial Office 1919). Other newspapers began to re-appear in Baghdad and other cities (Longrigg 1953). However, many were short-lived (Ayalon 1995).

Developments in Library, Archive, and Information Services

This section notes that the first new libraries to be created were the result of initiatives by private individuals, and explains how most of them became the responsibility of the government. It also discusses the treatment of some of Iraq's collections of ancient manuscripts, and the steps taken to re-institute the keeping of government records.

'Mrs. Forbes' and the Maktabat al Salam

Public libraries in the modern sense seem to have been little known in the Arab World as a whole before the 1940s. In contrast, in Iraq, the first public library in the modern era was established in the 1920s with the assistance of Gertrude Bell (Bashkin 2009). Although Miss Bell's involvement with the 'Baghdad Public Library' has been only briefly noted by a few of her western biographers, and its later significance has generally escaped their attention, a myth has arisen that she founded it. However, in a letter to her stepmother in November 1919, she wrote that:

> "I have also attended a meeting for the promotion of a public library for the native population. The scheme was started by the wife of one of the judicial officers, Mrs Forbes; I met her at the meeting for the first time - she seems a nice woman." (Bell Archive, letter: 2nd November 1919)

Figure 5.5: Muriel Forbes in 1916
Source: Courtesy of Mr. D.H.F. Forbes

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[16] The *Al Muthanna* bookshop was founded in Al-Mutannabi Street in the 1930s by Kassim M. Al-Rajab, who still owned and managed it in the 1960s. Fifty years later, it remained in family ownership, having being taken over first by Kassim's son, Anas Al-Rajab (1948 – 2013), and then by his grandsons, Ibrahim and Malik.

The identity of 'Mrs. Forbes' has hitherto remained a mystery. Research for this study has concluded that she was the former Muriel Jessie Handyside, whose husband, Henry Flavelle Forbes, was then the President of the Court of Appeal in Iraq [See Appendix 1].

The library was initially to be called the *Mustansiriyah* Library after one of the great medieval centres of scholarship, but was eventually named *Maktabat Al-Salam,* the 'Peace Library', when it opened in April 1920 (Aje 1977; Mahon and Scharff 1987). Dagher (1951) acknowledged that it had been initiated by Mrs. Forbes, but claimed that "on her death, it was left in the care of Miss Gertrude Bell." This appears to be based on a misunderstanding. Mr. and Mrs. Forbes had simply left Iraq in June 1920 to take home leave in Britain, before he returned to his post as a Judge with the Imperial (Indian) Civil Service in the Punjab. It seems possible that Miss Bell could have been elected President at a meeting of the library's subscribers shortly before their departure or perhaps at the annual meeting early in the following year. However, Miss Bell does not mention the library again in letters surviving from between 1919 and June 1921 when she mentions, for the first time, that she had been elected President of the 'Baghdad Public Library' Committee (Bell Archive, letter: 23rd June 1921).

Most western authors writing about Gertrude Bell's life and work have failed not only to acknowledge Muriel Forbes's role, but also to recognise the future significance of the *Maktabat Al-Salam*, which subsequently became the basis of the National Library. The latter oversight is perhaps partly because of changes in the name by which it became known or referred to. In her correspondence, Miss Bell sometimes referred to the *Maktabat Al-Salam* as the Baghdad Public Library. Kalia (1979) seems to have been so confused by the variations in name and the changes in location that he even suggested that the Ministry of Education set up another public library in 1921, and later merged the *Maktabat Al-Salam* with it. Mahon and Scharff (1987) added to the confusion; when describing a public library which had opened in c.1920, they referred to it as the 'General Library'.

Gertrude Bell and the Baghdad Public Library

Subsequently, Miss Bell was very active in the library's development. Miss Bell's surviving correspondence does not make clear whether she continued to serve as President until her death, but she appears to have remained actively involved with the Committee throughout her time in Baghdad (Bell Archive,

letters: 30th June 1921; 6th August 1921; 25th May 1922; 24th September 1922). In one of her letters to her family in England, which were always written in a very informal style, she refers to it a "little Arab lending library" (Bell Archive, letter: 12th April 1922), but perhaps because meetings of the Library Committee were sometimes conducted in Arabic (Bell Archive, letter: 3rd December 1924).

Figure 5.6: Gertrude Bell in 1921
Source: nothingiswrittenfilm.blogspot.com

Miss Bell actively and successfully solicited free copies of books for the public library from publishers in Britain, and was fully engaged in promoting its use, writing articles for the review that was published from the Library (Bell Archive, letter: 4th December 1922). She was also involved in organising local fund raising events for the Library (Bell Archive, letters: 12th April 1922; 13th February 1923; 1st March 1923). Her surviving correspondence does not explain how its original premises were obtained, or where they were, but one of the fund-raising events, in April 1922, was intended to support an extension to the library, and perhaps help it to obtain more suitable premises (*Baghdad Times*, 11th April 1922, p.2).

Figure 5.7: Anastas Al-Karmali
Source: *Alefyaa.* Accessed 19th September 2013 - http://www.alefyaa.com/?p=8499

A priest and school teacher in a monastery in Baghdad, Anastas Al-Karmali17 became the first manager or librarian of the Maktabat Al-Salam in about 1920. Subsequently he was one of many people who participated in the development of the Library's collection by donating printed materials, said to be from his private collection, while others in foreign languages remained in the library of the monastery. He is said to have been the first Iraqi to take an interest in a modern approach to libraries (Awad 1966; Al-Hilaly 1972).

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17 See resumé in Appendix 5.

Bell was clearly supportive of the Library. A notable Lebanese-American writer, Ameen Rihani,18 visited Baghdad in 1922, where he was entertained at her home and at a reception in the Maktabat Al-Salam (Winstone 1978). In her opening remarks at the latter event, as President of the Library Committee, Miss Bell is reported to have spoken of "the good work that could be done by instilling knowledge by means of the library, through which the thoughts and aspirations of clever men were brought to the attention of less learned" (Baghdad Times, 27th September 1922, p.2). Writing some time after the event, Rihani (1928) said that he had formed the impression that Bell's remarks expressed her sincere beliefs.

However, the maintenance of the library was a challenge. Initially, it was a private, subscription library, supported by donated money and books. It seems doomed to fail before it began, because it was dependent on the support of the small number of Iraqis (and resident foreigners) who were literate in English, and a British community that declined in number as the government reduced the expatriate staff to cut the costs of the 'Mandate'. Following the discussions about its financial difficulties, the Maktabat Al-Salam was taken over by or given to the Ministry of Education in 1924 (Al Amin 1970). In 1929, its collection of 4,283 books was shifted to the premises of the former Al-Mamoonia or Al-Mansuria Madrasa where it was renamed as Al-Maktabatil Aammah or the Public Library (Hashmi 1983). In 1931, the Ministry merged the Y.M.C.A. Library and the Al-Maarif Library with the Public Library (Dagher 1951).

Further Public Library Development in Iraq

In 1926, the Baghdad Public Library was said to be one of only 2 public libraries in the country (Jarman 1992). The second may have been a 'public' library in Samarra reported to have been run by the anti-British 'Shahab' club during the 'Mandate', which was closed some time around 1960 when the collection was stolen. (Al-Badry 1964).

A third public library was established in Mosul in 1930. It was later described in a brief Unesco report as a pilot project, allegedly an initiative of the Ministry of Education, intended as a model for similar institutions elsewhere in the country (Mosul 1956). However, it is not been possible to determine the purpose underlying the initiative. The building was paid for personally by the acting

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18 See resumé in Appendix 5.

Mudir, Haj Husein Hadeed, while the town council paid for the furniture and equipment. A collection of 700 books was transferred from the Liwa Directorate of Education, which then assumed responsibility for adding to the collection (Chilmeran 1962).

School Books and Libraries in Iraq

The American mission school for boys in Basra, John van Ess's 'School of High Hope', became very popular after the British occupation of Basra, because of the increased demand to learn English (Bergman 1982). When the school was relocated in the 1920s or 1930s, its enlarged site permitted a library to be established (Van Ess 1974), but influential Muslims, influenced by the growing nationalist spirit, increasingly preferred to send their children to the state schools (Tejirian & Simon 2012) despite their shortcomings, which the British authorities in Iraq criticised in 1929, commenting that:

> "every school has a library of reference books and, in the secondary and higher schools, these libraries are provided in addition with modern Arabic books and Arabic periodicals. But Arabic literature is an unexplored country to the students, and also, it is to be feared, to many of the teachers." (Jarman 1992)

The Origins of Higher Education and Academic Libraries in Iraq

Although all countries in the Arab World have traditionally placed great emphasis on education, the British found Iraq desperately short of highly educated personnel. The development of higher education within the country had to be deferred, however, until sufficient pupils completed their secondary education.

The College of Law in Baghdad had been closed at some point during the War. It was reopened on 7th November 1918, with Henry Flavelle Forbes, a British Judge, as its initial, temporary, Director [See Appendix 1]. In 1919, some Arabic books were ordered from Beirut for the College. This may have been the first attempt to address an underlying problem there. In 1922, it was noted that only a low standard of education was required for admission to the Law School (Jarman 1992). These problems appear to have been successfully addressed. By 1928, the standards at the Law School were reported to be approaching university standards (Jarman 1992).

Other, separate Colleges were founded when the need in each field became pressing (Al Rahim 1978). The College of Engineering was established in 1921; the Higher Teachers Training College, whose 5 year course was aimed at

producing secondary school teachers (Jarman 1992), and the Lower College of Education in 1923 (Al Musawi 2004).

The idea of establishing a University in Iraq, which was first mooted in the Council of Ministers in 1921. In 1922, a scheme was initiated by the King for the organisation of a university at Bab Al-Mu'azzam in Baghdad, but there were insufficient students qualified for admission. Nonetheless, a start was made on the construction of the university with the building of a new Theological College, the funds for which came largely from the 'Department of the *Waqf'* (Iannuzzi 1965). The building's plans were drawn up by James Wilson,[19] Head of the Iraqi Ministry of Public Works and included a large library as well as a lecture hall and offices (Bagdad 1923; Conway 1927; Smith 1976). The *waqf* income declined and, in 1925, the Engineering School was transferred to the vacant upper floor of the building (Jarman 1992).

Figure 5.8: Sir Harry Sinderson
Source: College of Medicine, University of Baghdad

Before the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, successive *Valis*, beginning with Midhat Pasha, and most substantial groups of European expatriates, had established hospitals or dispensaries in Baghdad. The British Administration founded a Department of Health to address the evident public health issues, and a British Doctor, Sir Harry Sinderson,[20] initiated the Royal Medical School in 1927. When its new building opened in 1930, it included "a small, suitably stocked reference library" (Isaacs 1976). or whether the library there had not been equipped and stocked with books.

The first 9 Iraqi government scholarships to study abroad were awarded in 1921 (Bashkin 2009). Funds were limited, and few students were qualified to be sent abroad. During the entire period of the 'Mandate', only 178 Iraqis were funded by the Iraqi authorities to study abroad at University (Colonial Office 1931a). In 1924, for example, there were just 2 government funded students in

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[19] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[20] See resumé in Appendix 5.

the U.S.A. However, there were then 4 Iraqi students in Oxford, 2 in German universities, and 120 in Beirut, all studying at their own families' expense (U.K. Naval 1944).

Development of the Iraq Museum Library

Although some government departments may have had small collections of books, the first recognisable specialist library was, almost inevitably, focused on a topic that had been the subject of an increasing number of publications since the middle of the nineteenth century — Iraq's history and archaeology. In 1926, Gertrude Bell, Honorary Director General of the Department of Antiquities, secured 2 rooms in a former Ottoman barracks from the government for its Museum. A letter to her stepmother reveals her enthusiasm for the project:

> "I feel sure you will be glad to hear that I have got the building I wanted of all others for my museum... I am going to lodge the Library of the American School, which will be a great advantage to us, besides being very gratifying to them, … It will be a real Museum, rather like the British Museum only a little smaller." (Bell Archive, letter dated 3rd March 1926).

Figure 5.9: Albert Clay
Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1925

Albert Clay,[21] Laffan Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature at Yale University, had founded the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) in Iraq and its library in Baghdad in 1923 (Bernhardsson 2005). Clay intended the School and its library to be established in close proximity to the proposed new Museum, but it was initially agreed that it would be housed in the U.S. Consulate. The arrangement to house the library in the Consulate proved unsatisfactory. By 1925, it had not been practicable to unpack the books sent to Iraq in 1923 (Barton 1925). Miss Bell advised the American School's Visiting Professor in Iraq for 1925-26, Raymond Dougherty,[22] that a site in the centre of the city was unlikely to be made available to ASOR, and offered a room in the new Museum to house the library (Dougherty 1926c; Annual meeting 1927).

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[21] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[22] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Dougherty completed arrangements for the library to be moved into the new room before he left Baghdad in April, 1926 (Dougherty 1926b).

Figure 5.10: Raymond Dougherty
Source: Yale University

By the end of the 1920s, the Ministry of Education was spending 500 Rupees annually (about £2,400) on purchasing books for the Museum (Colonial Office 1929a). A Rockefeller Foundation grant enabled several important libraries of Semitic scholars to be purchased to support research at the School (Rockefeller 1936). The growing library collection was thus stored in increasingly crowded conditions.

Iraqi Manuscript Collections and Records Management

Several major collections of religious and historic manuscripts were maintained throughout Iraq. Family chroniclers had kept records since the Mongol period. These included the *waqf* endowments set up to provide for charitable projects, and other records of landholdings. However, Ottoman officials were said to have removed most of the *Awqaf's* records, so there was no complete register of *waqf* properties (Colonial Office 1931a). In a footnote to his translation of Pinto's (1929) paper, Krenkow noted that the Iraqi government had ordered that the manuscripts still held by the *waqfs* should be collected into the "state library", but that it was estimated that less than 10% of the originals had been saved. Rassam (1976) confirmed that some 5,000 manuscripts in the *Awqaf* Library were those that had been gathered in 1928 from mosques and *madrasas* and some private collections.

Ottoman and British colonial administrations played some part in influencing early efforts to regularise arrangements for government records.

Discussion and Evaluation
Introduction

This chapter has demonstrated how the Mandates granted by the League of Nations were more enlightened and progressive, being aimed at supporting the preparation of the newly created states for an independent existence. However,

just as had happened in settling the colonial boundaries in Africa, the territorial boundaries of the new state of Iraq were created by foreign politicians and civil servants with little awareness of the ethnic and religious complexities of the region, with consequences that were inevitable once the Ottomans' authority was shattered.

Khalidi (2004) argued that the British presence in Iraq was resisted by the Arabs from the beginning, pointing out, for example, that, when the British incursion in the south was resisted by the Turks, it was an army made up in large part of Arab conscripts that inflicted a major defeat on the British army at Kut in 1916, and that the Arabs had rebelled against the British forces occupying Iraq in 1920. Similarly the Kurds' disappointment at the failure to establish an independent homeland resulted in continual protests and insurrection. Faced with governing a country that had limited economic resources at a time when its own economy was weak, the British gradually and gladly handed responsibility for the government to Iraqis so that independence could be granted to the country as soon as reasonably possible.

Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

Most libraries during this period were to be found attached to mosques, and almost all were insubstantial. Al-Karmali's appointment could be seen to have been, in some ways, an echo of the tradition of appointing scholars as librarians. Other than Al-Karmali's alleged interest in modern library practices, there is little evidence of any kind of 'modern' professional activity during this period. The practices of library management in Iraq seem to have changed little since the thirteenth century, although it must be acknowledged that there were likely to have been few Iraqis, if any, with experience of alternative approaches.

The Situation in which Education for Information was Immersed

In the first half of the twentieth century, the only options for Iraqis to gain insights into the professional practices of the western industrialised nations during this period would have been attendance at an overseas School of Librarianship and/or attachments to libraries for work experience. Before 1945, the only full-time School of Librarianship in Britain was one at University College London, established in 1919. Although a number of students from the British Protectorate of Egypt are known to have attended it by the 1930s, no evidence has yet emerged of any Iraqi students there at that time. There were so few

modern libraries in Iraq (and so few Iraqis qualified for admission to university studies) that it seems unlikely that the need for such formal education for their librarians or archivists was ever recognised by the British administration or in the priorities of the Iraqi government.

Interest among librarians about international approaches to professional practices and education was beginning to develop, but international exploration of different systems was confined almost entirely to the industrialised countries of Europe and North America.

British efforts to re-establish a public education system in Iraq were inhibited by the lack of teachers, buildings and books. Financial resources for development were limited during the 'Mandate', and the number of pupils attending and completing schools made little impression on the overall level of literacy in the population. The education system was aimed at developing functionaries for the state, and pedagogical methods did little to encourage interest in independent reading and the use of the few libraries that existed.

The pedagogical style based on rote learning from textbooks has rightly been criticised as unlikely to stimulate an interest in reading or a local demand for libraries. However, it is important to acknowledge that teaching through memorization was only a manifestation of other problems; a symptom rather than the cause. Iraq's education system was confronted by intractable problems arising from the inability of the government to match resources to the potential pupil numbers, and a continual shortage of buildings, adequately trained teachers, and books remained throughout the twentieth century.

Where there is a high incidence of illiteracy, and/or the educational system emphasises rote learning and memorisation of lectures, little recognition is given to the value of books and libraries. The under-development of school libraries had an inevitable impact on reading and 'library consciousness'. Prior to entering College, most students in Iraq had little or no chance of owning books or making independent use of a library.

There were few affluent and highly educated people who might be natural book buyers, providing little encouragement for the development of the local publishing industry or an international book trade. However, it does seem that, among the elite members of Iraqi society, there was some appreciation of the value of books and libraries. Some evidence can perhaps be seen in the

willingness of the Ministry of Education, then under Iraqi control, to accede to the takeover of the *Maktabat al-Salam*.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Had Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in Education for Information

Most of the significant libraries that were established in Iraq during the 'Mandate' were the result of initiatives by individual foreigners, none of whom were librarians. It was British administrators who addressed the need not only for books for the primary schools but also for libraries in the College of Law, the Medical School, and the Iraq Museum. Although there was an element of artifice in Gertrude Bell's resolve that the Iraq Museum should house the library of the American School, because she had other plans for her own collection, her vision for the Iraq Museum Library was evidently based on the simple belief that the objects should not be separated from the books.

Overcoming Resistance to Change in Education for Information

Archaeologically and historically, Iraq occupies a significant position in world history. It was clearly important to her that scholars working in the museum should be able to easily refer to the publications that described the artefacts that were increasingly being discovered throughout the country. A similar manifestation of empathy for local needs could be found in Sinderson's determination that Iraqi medical staff should be familiar with the diseases that they were most likely to encounter.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in Education for Information

The arrival of British administrators stimulated social changes in Iraq that had made a faltering start during the final years of the Ottoman regime. During the 'Mandate', several initiatives were taken by expatriates that introduced new kinds of library services in Iraq. The private efforts of Muriel Forbes, Gertrude Bell, and Sir Harry Sinderson certainly laid the foundations for a modern library system, albeit one that initially catered for the literate minority. These seem to have stimulated some action by the local community, but whether new approaches were entirely accepted is debatable. There was certainly a shortage of financial resources and of the human resources required to plan a coherent and comprehensive library development programme and to implement it.

Chapter 6
The Initiation of a Professional Workforce during the Kingdom of Iraq, 1932-1958

"… some kind of library tradition must exist before a library school is established." (Dean 1974)

Introduction

This chapter first describes the initial development of Iraq as an independent state during the Hashemite Kingdom. It considers the growing involvement of the main international governmental and inter-governmental agencies in library development, particularly in the Arab world and in Iraq. Next it reviews relevant elements in Iraq's infrastructure — the state of government, the management of the economy, and the size and nature of the publishing industry — and examines how these issues underlie the growth and increasing diversity in the country's libraries and archives services, noting the assistance that was provided to support their development. It examines the growing awareness of the need for library staff to be trained in modern practices, and outlines the first steps taken to meet this need.

Significant Events in Iraq's History

The British 'Mandate' had made an impact on Iraq in deepening the drive for modernisation and developing the oil resources to pay for it, in Arabizing the administration, and implicitly by stimulating the nationalist movement (Marr 2004). Although the British handed power to King Faisal's government in 1932, they continued to exert influence, mainly in the fields of foreign policy and military security (Franzén 2008). The government generally had to accept increasing responsibility for the situation in the country, but proved ill-equipped to govern. With a frequently changing cabinet of ministers, for much of the time it was under the almost dictatorial control of Nuri al Said (Shaw 1993).

In May 1948, Britain finally gave up the influence that it had held onto since the 'Mandate', after riots in protest against the terms of the 1947 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty (Bustani 1958). The 'Mandate' given to Britain by the League of Nations for development of the former Ottoman *Vilayet* of Jordan had been amended in 1925 to define Palestine and 'Trans-Jordan' as separate states. Following disagreement about U.N. proposals for the creation of separate Jewish and Arab

states to replace the British 'Mandate' of Palestine, the State of Israel was declared; and the first, brief Arab-Israeli war took place. These developments and the stance taken in and after subsequent Arab-Israeli conflicts have since coloured diplomatic relations and public perceptions of Britain and the U.S.A. in the Arab States.

The foundation, in 1955, of the Middle East Treaty Organization (popularly known first as the Baghdad Pact and later as the Central Treaty Organization - CENTO) not only alienated Iraq from most other Arab states, but also stoked internal dissent (El-Biali 1966). The federation of Jordan and Iraq as the Arab Union was terminated after only a matter of months by a military coup in Iraq in July 1958.

Developments in International Agencies' Relations with Iraq

This section of the chapter reviews the aims and activities of the main inter-governmental and governmental agencies that provided assistance for the development of Iraq's libraries, information and archives services. It outlines Unesco's initial involvement in low-level library training in the Arab world, and the early signals that it received that something more substantial was needed. It explains the initial delay in the interaction between Unesco and Iraq in the period immediately after Unesco's foundation, and documents how Unesco gradually became involved in considering the particular issues faced by the information sector in the Arab world as a discrete entity. It explains the slow evolution of the British Council's operations in Iraq from a simple provider of lending libraries intended to promote British culture and values to a more active interventionist role in assisting library development. It illustrates how a similar approach by U.S. government agencies, intended to counter largely illusory Soviet attempts to influence affairs in the Middle East, was complemented by the integration of support for libraries in a few broadly based projects contracted out to third party American institutions.

Unesco and Library Training in the Arab World

In the Charter of the United Nations, the Member States pledged to cooperate "in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character" (Article 1, paragraph 3). Acceptance of a U.S. proposal for an 'Expanded Technical Assistance Programme' to provide forms of assistance that included advice, training, demonstration projects, and dissemination of

technical information through the United Nations and its specialised agencies made additional funds available to Unesco from 1949, based on voluntary contributions from Member States (United Nations 1949). In the books and libraries field, Unesco's response to the United Nation's request for proposals to ways of using these new funds seems to have been to continue its bibliographic work, and to continue to provide information on scientific literature. The development of libraries *per se* was not mentioned. However, the United Nations itself proposed 'dissemination of technical information' and budgeted for this, intending Unesco to be the distributor.

Figure 6.1: Jaime Torres Bodet
Source: http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/t/torres_bodet.htm

Despite the new funding programme, the Unesco Director-General, Jaime Torres Bodet,[23] felt obliged to resign in 1952 in protest at reductions in the Unesco's regular budget. Bodet's successor, Luther Evans,[24] was also from a library background; an American, chosen perhaps because, although the U.S. government was reducing its expenditure on foreign aid at that time, it was maintaining its support for Unesco.

Unesco's work with libraries initially focused on 3 main activities:

• development of public library service
• encouragement of support for research and scholarship, particularly the development of bibliographic and documentation services, and of research libraries and documentation centres
promotion of the international free flow of materials.

In its early days, Unesco was strongly oriented towards the reconstruction of public libraries in Europe. The Member States of the new Organisation were quick to point out that not only was a shortage of materials a universal problem, but that there were also more fundamental problems in library services that required to be addressed in the less developed countries. Unesco was not unaware of the need to engage with Member States in the Middle East, but faced a particular

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[23] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[24] See resumé in Appendix 5.

challenge. John Marshall,25 Associate Director of the Rockefeller Foundation's Humanities Division met with Edward Carter26 of Unesco during visits in Europe in 1951, and heard that the difficulty of recruiting personnel with the knowledge of languages and literatures of the Middle East considered necessary to undertake projects there was such that he had recommended that technical assistance funds should instead be used to take groups of librarians from those countries for training missions abroad (Marshall 1951).

Unesco initially struggled to recognize the Arab world as an entity, inviting the Arabic-speaking Member States to nominate participants in activities intended either for states in the African continent or for those to the East of the Suez Canal. This perhaps reflected some sentiment in the region; at that time for example, some Iraqis tended to regard Egyptians as more African than Arab. Thus, delegates from the 6 North African Arab countries attended the International Seminar on the Development of Public Libraries in Africa, which was held in Ibadan in 1953. They suggested that, at that time, one regional school of librarianship would meet the needs of the Arab countries in Africa for preparing leaders who could then train their own staff.

The participants in the conference also recommended that training for librarians become part of Unesco's Fundamental Education projects (Development 1954). Subsequently, Unesco's first practical engagement with training librarians from the Arab world began at the Arab States Fundamental Education Training and Production Centre (ASFEC) in Egypt as an initiative of the librarian, Dorothy Collings,27 who had been a speaker at the Ibadan seminar. The course was intended to support the "setting up of libraries and organising reading rooms" (Hurbli 1959) as an optional part of ASFEC's program to train fieldworkers for rural welfare and community development. It has not proved possible to establish whether any Iraqis volunteered to take this added element of the program, but small community libraries were certainly established by the Unesco fundamental education projects in Iraq and in the other community development projects initiated by the Iraqi government (Freeman 1958).

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[25] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[26] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[27] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Figure 6.2: Dorothy Collings
Source: Department of Library and Information Studies, University of the West Indies

Collings's initiative may have forestalled action on other proposals. David Wilder,[28] then Librarian at the American University in Beirut (AUB), noted in correspondence with Carter that he had been taking soundings about establishing a course in librarianship at AUB, and perhaps at other universities in the region, but had concluded that the region was not yet ready for fully trained professional librarians, and welcomed the proposal that ASFEC would begin a training program (Unesco 1959e).

Arab States Conference on the Exchange of Publications 1957

Iraq was one of the founding members of the Arab League, officially called the League of Arab States, which was formed in 1945 to strengthen and coordinate the political, cultural, economic, and social programs of its members. The League's Cultural Committee was supported by a small Cultural Department. In 1948, the Cultural Committee seems to have begun to take an interest in improving bibliographical coverage in the region, but with little effect (Al-Wakil 1967). Later it began to try to promote the publication of books on subjects of interest in the Arab world in 1953 (*Iraq Times* 7 October 1953). Its interest led to plans for the Arab States Conference on the Exchange of Publications, held in Damascus in June 1957.

Unesco believed that national planning needed to take account of the importance of international cooperation in the free flow of information, as well as making provision for the protection of copyright and other intellectual property rights in a way that is appropriate for the developed countries but assists the development of the less wealthy countries (Arntz 1974). It was recognised that the development of an international book trade in the Arab world had been inhibited by a variety of factors (Unesco 1972a), but the Arabs' inclusion in

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[28] See resumé in Appendix 5.

regional activities in Africa and Asia initially dispersed the representation of the particular needs of this linguistic and cultural group. It took some time for these organisations to recognise the Arabs as a single entity, and it was not until the Conference in Damascus in 1957 that Unesco first supported a regional meeting to address related problems specific to the Arab world took place.

This became the first effort by the international development agencies to address any of the issues constraining development in the book and libraries sector in the context of the Arabic-speaking world. Des Raj Kalia,[29] who had recently become Chief Librarian at ASFEC, acted as *Rapporteur* at the meeting on behalf of Unesco (Kalia 1957a). He subsequently undertook a study of the encouragement of reading in Arab countries and the availability of publications in Arabic, which was presented at Unesco's Beirut seminar on library development in 1959. He estimated that there were about 5,000 titles being published in Arabic each year, but only 6,000 remained in print at any time (Kalia 1959). He also undertook a survey of public library development in the Palestinian refugee camps in the Levant. His report on that mission included a recommendation that a peripatetic group of teachers should be established by Unesco or the League of Arab States to provide a regular programme of intensive training courses for senior library staff (Kalia 1957b; Choudhary 2002).

Establishing British Institutes and the British Council in Iraq

The initial purpose of the British Council was to distribute books and periodicals to fourteen European countries, but its role, scope and function expanded considerably in 1937, at the request of the Foreign Office. During the 1939-1945 war, the British government attached increasing importance to sustaining good relations with neutral countries, paying particular attention to the Middle East. The establishment of a 'British Institute' in Baghdad was sanctioned (British Council 1946d) in November 1939, a Director was appointed (White 1965), and it opened in February 1940 (Coombs 1988) in House 10/3/1, Al-Wazia,30 near the South Gate of ancient Baghdad (U.K. Foreign Office 1940a). To distinguish between the Council and the Institute, they maintained separate premises. The Council's offices in Baghdad were originally in White Lodge on the West Bank of the river, but in about April 1941, transferred to

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[29] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[30] Most streets in Baghdad do not have names. Their addresses are represented as numbers denoting a district, street, and building.

Rashid Street in the city centre (British Council 1947b). However, the Council's efforts to distance itself from the official representative of the British government were not recognised by all Iraqis, and insurgents set fire to the Council's office in Baghdad in May 1941, during the 30-day 'war' between the British forces based in the country and the revolutionary, pro-German regime that had temporarily ousted the Emir. The disturbances also caused severe losses at the British Institute and library. Although replacement book supplies were disrupted until late autumn (British Council 1946a), the library was re-opened in July that year (British Council 1946d).

British Institutes were centres of British studies, interpreting British culture abroad. Each typically contained a small library providing general collections for the use of students, particularly the Institute's English language students, and English-speaking residents. There were no London-appointed librarians and few locally employed ones (Adam 1955). British Institutes (and libraries) were also opened in Mosul (February 1942), Basra (January 1944) and Kirkuk (July 1944) (Iraq Times 4 July 1944; British Council 1945; British Council 1946d; White 1965).

The Council opened in Mosul in the premises of the former French Consulate in the Djobat al Agaidat quarter of the city. In May 1942, a British Institute was established in separate premises (British Council 1945). In 1943, commenting on a report by a visiting British academic, the Representative acknowledged that the library in Mosul was "deplorably small", and that there was no adequate "information library." He also pointed out that no periodicals had been received for 10 months, and that the situation was aggravated by the absence of a general bookshop in the city (British Council 1945).

The libraries of the British Institute and reading rooms of the British Information Services were highly valued by the then Ambassador, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, as a means of reaching the public in the aftermath of the 'Golden Square' revolt in 1941, according to his correspondence with Freya Stark31 (Stark 1961).

From 1946, the Cabinet agreed to continue to support the Council, but only for a fixed period. Moreover, until the early 1950s, the Council was subjected to annual budget reductions; first as a result of the austerity necessary after the

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[31] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Second World War, and then because of the cost of the Korean War (Adam 1955). The Council's budget was reduced by 42% between 1949 and 1954 (O'Connor & Roman 1994), the decline in real funding being exacerbated by the devaluation of Sterling in 1949. The Council's policy switched from the presentation of books to the organisation of its own libraries, which, although often still located within the Institutes, were developed to support a wider range of students, research workers, and professionals (Adam 1945).

In 1946, it was proposed by the Council's Middle East Department that Lionel McColvin[32] should spend 2 weeks in the Middle East (en route to Australia) to survey and advise on the Council's libraries (British Council 1948b). His tour was eventually extended to 25 days, visiting Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and Iran. Few comments on his tour can be found.[33] He did, however, in a conference paper that he gave shortly after his return, include some general remarks about the Council libraries that he had visited. Overall, he judged that they were "good libraries, small but effective" (McColvin 1947; British Council 1948b).

Figure 6.3: Lionel McColvin
Source: Library Association

The library in Kirkuk was closed in 1949 because of the financial pressures on the Council, and because it had been identified as a failure, and the collection in the library was given to the local Public Library (British Council 1948c; British

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[32] See resumé in Appendix 5.

[33] McColvin's report on his tour of the Middle East in 1947 appears to have not been preserved by the British Council or Westminster Council. Although the Library Association took an interest in the activities of relevant international governmental and non-governmental agencies, it did not have an international Special Interest Group until the mid-1960s, so there was no medium other than the Association's Council through which McColvin could report. His return was mentioned in the Minutes of a meeting of the Association's Council, but his mission was not deemed of sufficient significance to merit a mention in its annual report for 1947.

Council 1955). The remaining libraries were not large: that in Baghdad had a collection of 4,200 books and subscribed to 42 periodicals; in Mosul, there were 2,200 books and 25 periodicals, while in Basra there were 3,600 books and 29 periodicals (Barnicot 1951).

British Information Services Reading Rooms

In addition to the presence of the British Institutes, a further complicating factor in the early years of the British Council may have been the existence of the reading rooms provided by the British Information Services, which at the end of the war became the responsibility of the Foreign Office. Immediately after the war, the British Information Service in Iraq was reported to comprise only a small library in Baghdad (Barnicot 1947), but by the late 1940s, the British Information Services had established about 40 public reading rooms throughout the country (British Council 1961). Their collections of books and periodicals mainly aimed to present British policy and institutions, the way of life, the achievements of British industry, and the advantages of trade with Britain. The British Information Services' 'libraries' that McColvin saw in the Middle East, he described as "badly situated, badly stocked, and innocent of professional librarianship" (McColvin 1947). A debate about the merits of separate services appears to have continued for some years (British Council 1951) until the British Information Services were largely merged with the Council's libraries in 1956 (British Council 1960b).

Staffing the British Council Libraries in Iraq

In Baghdad, 'books' work was originally the responsibility of the 'Functional Officer', who appears to have carried out an operational role including the day to day administration of the office, while the Director (later re-designated as Representative) dealt with policy and public relations. A quarterly report on 'books' activity by the local Functional Officer in June 1944 (not in the archived file) appears to have led to a suggestion from Headquarters that the appointment of a Librarian might be desirable (British Council 1946e). In October 1944, it was further suggested by the Functional Officer in Baghdad that a Librarian could not only take on the 'books' work, but also respond to a request from the Iraqi government for assistance in the re-organisation of the public libraries (British Council 1946e). Approval in principle was successfully sought in early 1945 for a full-time post of Books Officer in Baghdad (British Council

1946d), but the post was not filled immediately because of the post-war budget cuts (British Council 1946e). In April 1945, the Council in Baghdad instead sought to make a local appointment as a 'Librarian'. The low level of professional expertise expected there can be seen in in its search for a person with "some knowledge of the arts, as well as administrative experience" (British Council 1946e).

Because its own existence seemed to be finite, the British Council tended to seek to employ some of its staff on fixed-term contracts. In 1949, 17 of the 31 Books and Libraries staff then overseas were on such fixed-term contracts. Recruiting to posts with no job security was not easy. There was still no specific expectation in the job description for these posts that they were expected to do any more than manage the Council's own libraries (British Council 1954).

Problems, even within the internal operation and management of the libraries, were, however, becoming apparent. In 1948, the Representative's annual report pointed to the lack of a qualified librarian in Iraq (British Council 1955). In 1953, the Functional Officer commented that he was hoping to benefit from advice from Cyril Saunders,[34] a British librarian then in Iraq on a Unesco mission (British Council 1960b). There was further evidence of growing demand for library services, and the need for the libraries to be given "a serious overhaul" (British Council 1956b).

The 1950's saw a growing recognition by the British government that 'trade follows the book' (O'Connor & Roman 1994). Concerned about the growing influence of other countries, the Cabinet instituted an independent review by a committee chaired by Lord Drogheda[35] of all the British overseas information services. The constraints on the Council's budget were eased, and the Council was also finally recognized as a permanent adjunct of government in 1955 (Lee 1998).

In March 1955, the appointment of a professionally qualified Librarian in Iraq was again agreed in principle (British Council 1960b). In 1956, approval was finally given for a Librarian to be posted to the country (British Council 1956b), and in January 1957, the first London appointed Librarian arrived in Baghdad (British Council 1960b). The British Council's Representative in Iraq, John Jardine, may have been expecting a stereotypical librarian who would simply

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[34] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[35] See resumé in Appendix 5.

manage the Baghdad library, but Ferguson (in a telephone conversation with the author on 9th June 2010 explained that he) believed that his role was to represent the best of British librarianship and to take an active approach to promoting library development in Iraq along similar lines.

In October 1957, as the quality of services improved and work increased, Ferguson was able to appoint Russell Bowden[36] as Senior Assistant Librarian, and Sheila Mann, the wife of the Director of the British Institute, as Assistant Librarian. Neither were qualified as librarians, but their appointment freed Ferguson to visit almost all the libraries in Baghdad during the year, both as a courtesy and to familiarise himself with local issues. Some of these visits were made accompanying groups of students from courses being run by Harold Bonny[37] (British Council 1960b), a British librarian working in the region for Unesco.

Figure 6.4: Russell Bowden
Source: Russell Bowden

Establishing USIS Libraries in Iraq

A U.S. Office for War Information (OWI) centre in Baghdad became operational in 1944, three years before the first U.S. Embassy was opened in Iraq (Rugh 2006). Its original aim was to coordinate the flow of information to the American people, but it took on a new role in establishing overseas offices to inform other people about the U.S.A. After the OWI was taken over by the Department of State in 1946 (U.S. Information Agency 1967a), its library in Baghdad thus came under the aegis of the agency eventually known as the United States Information Service (USIS) (USIS 1955).

In 1950, a visit was made to Iraq by Helen Wessells[38] as part of a regional consultancy mission for USIA to assess what technical assistance would be useful

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[36] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[37] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[38] See resumé in Appendix 5.

and practicable (Phillips 1967). It appears that the USIS had a Librarian, Constance Stone, in Baghdad by 1951 or 1952 (British Council 1960b; Phillips 1967; Stone 1953). Like the British Council in Iraq and USIS libraries elsewhere, the USIS in Iraq became a target during politically inspired riots, in 1947, 1951, and 1952 (British Council 1956b; Rugh 2006; Bashkin 2009). In 1956, there was a significant increase in USIS's local staff at its main library and a new 'College Reading Room' was planned to open in May 1957 at Waziriyah, in a building close to the Higher Teachers Training College and the College of Commerce. It would provide supplementary reading geared to courses in the proposed University, a reference section, and possibly also a gramophone record library (U.S. Information Agency 1957b). In 1957, a large new USIS Library was opened in Baghdad, and a lending service was initiated (*Iraq Times* 14 October 1957, p.8). A new USIA Centre in Basra opened in 1957, and in April 1958, USIS opened a new reading room in Kirkuk.

The Soviet Union and Information Provision in the Arab World

The Soviet Union had managed to establish trading relationships with the newly independent Iraq during the 1930s, but only with some difficulty in the face of British opposition (Joffe 1966). The aim of the U.S.S.R. was to encourage a Soviet style political, economic, and social system (Dawisha 1975). One way was through books in Arabic published in the U.S.S.R. However, there is no indication of their availability in Iraq, or whether any of those in Arabic were in the fields of printing, bibliography, or library science (U.S. Information Agency 1955).

Internal Developments Affecting Provision of Libraries, Information, and Archives Services

Libraries do not exist in isolation. They emerge to serve a particular need, and in the less developed countries rely almost exclusively on government for their regular support. The nature and stability of government can have a significant influence on library development, and thus the starting point for this section is a brief review of the political and administrative competence of the Iraqi government. A government's ability to support library and information services is ultimately dependent on the state of the country's economy, and some attention is therefore focussed on the Iraqi government's management of the income derived from the oil industry. Finally, this section acknowledges how

the size and nature of the publishing industry reflected the levels of literacy and affluence in the country and its interaction with the nascent library services.

Government

The Iraqi government was unstable, with 34 changes in the Cabinet between 1932 and 1958. There were, however, significant changes in the ruling class. By the 1930s and 1940s, a small majority of Cabinet members had studied in Europe and America. Deficiencies in the Iraqi civil service were still evident in the 1950s (Adams 1958). Personnel reforms were enacted by law in 1956, but were expected to take years to implement. Because of weaknesses in planning and central coordination, central government services even gave the impression of operating independently of each other and of the *Liwas* (United Nations 1957).

The Iraqi Economy

Between 1948 and 1955, oil production increased almost 10-fold (Adams 1958). Nonetheless, in 1954, the annual GDP per capita in Iraq was still only $85, compared with $1,500 in the U.S.A. (United Nations 1959).

The post-war years were characterised by domestic tension and instability in Iraq. Conditions favoured the wealthier classes, who were were resistant to any changes that threatened their position. For the majority, living conditions were poor, education was limited, and healthcare was neglected.

Nuri Al-Said was convinced that economic betterment was the path to the social reconstruction of Iraq (Adams 1958), and lent his support to the creation of a semi-independent Development Board[39] (Cooke 1952; United Nations 1959; El-Biali 1966; U.S. Department of State 1979). Revenue increased so rapidly that the Board (and its successors in the 1960s) managed to spend only about half of the funds allocated for its use, mainly because of the shortage of skilled manpower (Al-Shaikhly 1974).

The appointment of foreigners to the Development Board was intended to minimise the effects of local political corruption (Raphaeli 1966). One was Sir John Miller,[40] formerly Controller of the British Council's Finance Division, who became Secretary General of the Development Board (UK Ministry of Education

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[39] The establishment of the Development Board ensured that funds allocated for capital investments in new buildings and other infrastructure projects were not scattered through the various Ministries, limiting not only the possibility for corruption in purchasing but also the misuse of capital funds to meet the Ministries' operating costs.
[40] See resumé in Appendix 5.

1951). Another British administrator invited by Nuri Al-Said to be one of the Board's external members was Lord Salter,[41] author of a major report written for the Board in which he observed that shortages of skilled labour were likely to prove more limiting factors in the pace of Iraq's development than financial resources (Salter & Payton 1955). Seasonal labour migration within the Middle East was a long established phenomenon, but it became increasingly necessary to supplement this 'local' labour force by recruiting in India and Pakistan, with an increasing proportion of semi-skilled and professionally qualified migrants (Seccombe 1983).

From 1956, circumstances permitted a shift in the allocation of funds by the Board from physical development to aspects of social development (United Nations 1957; Raphaeli 1966). However, the Development Board tended to not spend money on new buildings and not on continuing activities that would have to be administered by other Departments (Penrose & Penrose 1978; Al-Arif 1985).

Printing and Publishing in Iraq

In the 1930s, the Ministry of Education became an important publisher through its employment of factual and creative writers for its textbooks and other publications, and its Department of Cultural Relations encouraged the translation and publication of books and dissertations relevant to Arab culture (Bashkin 2009). The growth of the book publishing industry in Iraq was probably inhibited because the needs of the small literate and affluent elite for recreational and informational reading were largely met by imported texts. Between 1920 and 1945, some 1,904 books were published in Iraq (Adwan 1984). In the period immediately after the Second World War, the local publishing industry was becoming more established, but its output remained limited, totalling about 3,204 books between 1946 and 1957 (Adwan 1984). There were some notable deficiencies. In the early 1950s, there was no local publishing for children, other than unattractive textbooks (Stone 1953). commercial and industrial organisations (U.S. Department of State 1961d).

Records of the number of daily newspapers and less frequent newspapers and magazines published in Iraq vary. Newspapers proliferated again in the 1950s, but standards of journalism were poor (Marshall 1951a; Longrigg 1953).

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[41] See resumé in Appendix 5.

In 1957, there were reported to be 30 daily newspapers in the country, but their combined total circulation was estimated at 100,000 copies (Harris 1958).

The Book Trade

For most of the 1940s, Mackenzie's was the only bookshop in Baghdad dealing solely in English books and periodicals. There were several other shops where English books could be purchased, but they sold other goods as well because the sale of books and magazines did not bring them enough income. In 1952, Mackenzies' was one of at least 3 western bookshops in Baghdad, as well as 3 Arabic shops (Pocket Guide 1950), including the equally famous *Al-Muthanna* shop (Al-Musawi 2012). Until the 1940s, most Arabic publications had to be imported (Bashkin 2009). The acquisition of modern information from other Arab countries was, however, still hampered by poor bibliographic coverage in the region (McNiff 1963).

Development of Libraries, Information, and Archives Services

Key factors in the development of libraries, information and archival services are the level of literacy and the establishment of a reading culture. This section therefore first examines the efforts in expanding primary education, the impact of the typical pedagogical style, and the neglect of school libraries. It then considers the support made available to neo-literates through the provision of public libraries, and the opportunities for heuristic development in the libraries of the growing system of higher education. Finally, it examines the diversity of specialist libraries that emerged to support the demands of an increasingly complex economy and society; outlines the moves towards the creation of the National Library; and gives some attention to the initial efforts to preserve ancient manuscripts and to create archival collections from records of recent government activity.

The Growth of Primary Education and Literacy

Compulsory education was introduced in 1940, providing 6 years' schooling — but only wherever the facilities were available. Despite a considerable increase of government spending on education, the literacy rate of the population as a whole remained very low in the late 1940s.

The large and rapidly growing child population stretched the country's capacity to develop a quality education system. Attempts to institute widespread elementary education encountered much parental opposition, because of the

potential loss of income from the children's work (Eban 1947; U.S. Foreign Operations Administration 1955). The pace of development of new schools was limited not only by a lack of qualified staff, but also by shortages of buildings and equipment and the overall constraint of the funds available. (Matthews & Akrawi 1949; Iannuzzi 1965; Knowles 1977; Saef 1986). The number of secondary school pupils, about 14,000 in 1940 (Dawisha 2009), rose to about 63,000 by the end of the 1950s (United Nations 1959).

Several private schools were established for expatriates or religious communities. One of the most significant of the private schools was the 'Baghdad College', established by American Jesuit Fathers in 1932.

Quality Issues - Teachers, Teaching, Textbooks, and Libraries

Although students who had completed the first 3 years of secondary education were eligible to enrol to train as primary teachers (Al-Shaikhly 1974), insufficient came forward to meet the growing demand, and the government began to employ Egyptian and Palestinian teachers, many of whom preferred didactic pedagogy, an authoritarian approach that discouraged their pupils from questioning the contents of their lectures (Penrose & Penrose 1978). The Iraqi government was not unaware that it had problems, and in 1932 invited a small group of American Professors, led by Paul Monroe,[42] Director of the International Institute of the Teachers' College, Columbia University, to review the country's education system. In a telling comment that, regrettably, was lost amongst a section devoted to textbooks, the group recommended, *inter alia*, that:

> "Much supplementary material needs to be prepared. No great purpose is served in teaching children to read, if they do not read. If there is no material of interest available, the skill in reading is soon lost… The entire reading textbook material... is far too meagre material with which to train a child to read." (Monroe, et al. 1932)

Figure 6.5: Paul Monroe
Source: Columbia University

The group was particularly forthright on the need for school libraries:

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[42] See resumé in Appendix 5.

"Several subsidiary aspects of secondary education need emphasis. There is a great need for increased library facilities. Such library matter should include supplementary reading matter on all subjects, a variety of textbooks in the various subjects both in English and Arabic, and general literary material. At several points in this report, we have commented on the futility of teaching people to read when there is nothing to read. We believe that the introduction of libraries into secondary schools would do much to remedy this in the communities where they are established." (Monroe, et al. 1932)

Concerns about pedagogy were ignored because of political struggles in the Ministry (Simon 2004), and little change resulted from the Commission's report. Lionel Smith[43] (1931), then the (British) Inspector General in the Iraqi Ministry of Education, posited that the problems of the education system were so deep-rooted that it would require a social revolution to overcome them.

Figure 6.6: Dr. Matta Akrawi
Source: American University of Beirut, Jafet Library, Archives and Special Collections

A further review was prepared for the American Council on Education in 1949 by an international team, which included Dr. Matta Akrawi[44] (then Director General of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education). Their report commented that children in primary school were not encouraged to enquire for more information than presented by the teacher, and teaching in secondary schools did not place enough emphasis on developing understanding (Matthews & Akrawi 1949).

School Libraries in Iraq

It was in the private schools that the children of the Iraqi elite would probably have had their first experience of modern library service. For example, there was library in the American School for Boys, which was established in Baghdad in 1924. The library was started by the teachers from their own collections, and then built up by, *inter alia*, purchases from second-hand book stores when they were on leave in the U.S.A. The school's former pupils who went on to Colleges or Universities with larger libraries often wrote to the teacher-librarian about the

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[43] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[44] See resumé in Appendix 5.

benefits they had received from reading the library's books and magazines (Staudt 2012).

A library was installed in Baghdad College within a few months of its foundation in 1932, in a room about twice the size of a classroom. The first teacher with designated duties as Librarian was appointed in 1934. The role of Assistant Librarian was described by one of them in an email to the researcher as "more akin to an extra-curricular responsibility" (Coté 2014). Throughout its existence as a Jesuit institution, the library was managed by one or more Jesuit teacher-librarians, none of whom ever held a degree in library science, assisted by pupils selected from volunteers (Baghdad College n.d.; MacDonnell 1994, 2003).

In 1944, the Ministry of Education's budget for all its school libraries was only ID6,000 (about £220,000) (*Iraq Times* 23 November 1944). Unsurprisingly, school libraries in Iraq were still small and little used. Only the old-established schools might have as many as 1,000 books (Matthews & Akrawi 1949).

American assistance was also available. Mossa (1979) reported that the first Instructional Resource Centre (IRC) was provided for a technical secondary school in Baghdad in 1955/56 by USAid. In April 1957, USAid promised Bonny $50,000 (about £350,000) for a mobile library scheme for Baghdad secondary schools. Dr. Kazmi had argued that Bonny had breached protocol by soliciting this, but his opinion might have been coloured by the fact that he wanted mobile libraries for the fundamental education project in rural areas (Unesco 1957b). No report has yet been found to indicate the outcome of this offer and the subsequent dispute.

There was some evidence that the Ministry was considering taking some action to improve the school libraries. In May 1957, an American educational consultant commented once more in a report to the Ministry of Education on the adverse effects of the use of memorisation in teaching. As part of the solution, he proposed the establishment of an advisory committee on school libraries, with 9 members: 3 primary school teachers, 3 secondary school teachers, 1 faculty member from the Lower Teachers Training College and 1 from the Higher Teachers Training College, and 1 from the Ministry. However, he said nothing about a requirement for them to have experience or competence in library matters (Tidwell 1957), and it is not clear whether his suggestion was immediately adopted.

Early in 1958, at the request of Dr Al-Jalili, Harold Bonny delivered 2 short courses for teacher librarians (1958a), which he supported by preparing a textbook of library practice for schools. The courses took place in Basra and in Mosul in January (Bonny 1958a, 1958d, 1958e). Initially produced as typescript, the booklet was subsequently formally printed by the Ministry (Bonny 1959a).

Changes were also implemented in the Ministry of Education's organisation. The Ministry had been organized as 4 major Departments, with the Director-General of Technical Affairs responsible, *inter alia*, for the production of textbooks (Zeki 1953). In 1958, a Royal Decree (number 29) set out a new structure for the Ministry of Education, which defined the role of a number of departments within the Directorate General of Technical Affairs, including:

- Directorate of Programs, Books and Means of Elucidation — responsible inter alia for textbooks and other aids to learning.
- Directorate of School and Public Libraries — "administered by a director experienced in the affairs of libraries and books. He will be responsible for elementary and secondary school libraries; for providing books and magazines to meet their particular demands and standards. He will also administer the distribution of school pamphlets." (U.S. Department of State 1961f)

Subsequently, Nihad Abdul Majid (Al-Nassiri),[45] who was reported in 1956 to be Director of the Baghdad Public Library, was appointed to the new post of Director of School and Public Libraries in the Ministry of Education (Unesco 1960e). Later reports indicate that he did not neglect his added duties. Progress, however, was slow, and Unesco probably did little to help when it rejected a request for a Technical Assistance Fellowship in school libraries in 1958 (Unesco 1958b). In 1958, William Dix,[46] although visiting Iraq to review the potential involvement of the Ford Foundation in Baghdad University's libraries, noted that:

> "The Minister of Education is especially interested in doing something about school libraries. I have suggested... the possibility of having enough courses offered in the Higher Teachers College to produce a supply of teacher librarians... I have a feeling that the situation may be ripe for Ford to do something useful here in conjunction with other teacher-training activities." (Ford 1968)

That suggestion appears to have been ignored by Ministry and or by the Foundation.

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[45] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[46] See resumé in Appendix 5.

The Growth of Higher Education and Academic Libraries in Iraq

In 1939, the British Council made its first, small gifts of books to the libraries of the Royal Medical School and the Higher Teachers Training College (British Council 1939a). In 1940/41, the Council presented books to the College of Engineering and the Technical School, as well as to the Higher Teachers' Training College and the Medical School (British Council 1945). McColvin (1947) later commented favourably on the Medical School's Library, which he said had benefitted from the Council's support.

During the 1940s, proposals for further Colleges appeared (British Council 1947c), and several were established before the end of the Hashemite period (Al Musawi 2004), notably the College of Arts and Sciences in 1949 (Al Kindilichie 1973). In 1952, the Iraqi government abolished tuition fees in the Colleges, and by 1958 the number of students had risen to 8,568 (Dawisha 2009). Draft legislation to establish a University was first expected to be put before the Iraqi Parliament in 1951/2.

Reports vary in detail, but the College libraries appear to have been small, and there was little for the University to build on. In a note sent to Unesco in March 1950, outlining the scope of technical assistance requested for the Faculty of Science, Dr. Al-Duri,[47] Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, which already had one of the largest collections of all the Colleges, commented that the Faculty needed "a good reference library" (Unesco 1951).

Cyril Saunders and the College Libraries

Subsequently, however, the first Unesco library project in Iraq focused on the development of the libraries of the Higher Teachers' Training College. A request was made by Ministry of Education in April 1952 for expert technical assistance in "reorganising the Higher Teachers' Training College Library, establishing a system of library improvements and training local people in library services." This may not have been unconnected with the fact that Dr. Akrawi, the former Head of the Higher Teachers Training College, was then employed by Unesco in a senior position in Paris.

Luther Evans is said to have personally redefined the Iraqi proposal to include 'running a school of librarianship'. The initial request for a 6-month assignment was extended to 12 months by Unesco officials who envisaged work in 3 phases:

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[47] See resumé in Appendix 5.

- organisation and development of a modern library service for the Higher Teachers' Training College
- extension services to 3 other Unesco technical education projects in Iraq (fundamental education, technical education, and science teaching)
- creation and management of a library training school (Carter 1952; Unesco 1962c).

Figure 6.7: Luther Evans
Source: Library of Congress

By mid-October, however, not only had the project been approved, but Cyril Saunders had also been identified to be the expert. After his formal approval by the Iraqi government, he was given a one-year contract commencing in November. He arrived in Baghdad on 10th December 1952.

The Library of the Higher Teachers Training College had some 14,000-18,000 volumes, and about one-third of the collection was in Arabic. It was mostly in locked, glazed bookcases, and the acquisition fund was only about £500 (about £12,000) (Saunders 1954; Unesco 1955e). settled into his new role quickly, re-organising the catalogue, establishing new administrative routines, and training the staff in these new approaches. These tasks seem to have occupied him until November, when his initial contract expired. The Ministry was pleased and wanted Saunders to stay for a second year.

Further steps towards the Creation of the University of Baghdad

In 1935, the Monroe Commission had argued that Iraq was still not ready for a university, but in 1943 a Ministry of Education Committee made proposals for a University. Various visiting experts offered their support, but these were ignored. In 1947, Arthur Morgan prepared a further report on the proposed university for the Iraqi government (Morgan 1947).

It was notable that overseas universities were attracting increasing numbers of Iraqi students, particularly for postgraduate study. Between 1921/22 and 1949/50, the Ministry of Education only sent 1,295 students abroad (Qubain 1958). By the mid-1950s, more than 2,000 Iraqis were studying abroad at any one time (Salter & Payton 1955).

Figure 6.8: Sir Ronald Adam; Portrait by Reginald Grenville Eves
Source: Imperial War Museum Collections, IWM ART LD 404

The Ministry of Education suffered from frequent changes in leadership, and struggled to determine policy after receiving a plethora of advice (Salter & Payton 1955). Nonetheless, commentators in the press suggested that they should seek further foreign, expert advice about creating a university (*Iraq Times* 29 January 1953). A group of British Professors[48] supported by the British Council, finally visited the Colleges in April and May 1953 (*Baghdad Diary* 14 April 1953; British Council 1956b). Saunders met the British Professors to discuss library provision in the proposed university, and subsequently sent a copy of their report to Unesco in Paris. The Professors' report contained brief comments on each of the existing College's libraries. While they recognised that in many cases the libraries were still being built up, often with small financial allocations, they noticed that the separate existence of the Colleges had led to much unnecessary duplication, and they saw a need for trained librarians to develop the collections. They firmly stated that "No university can function properly without a central university library with a liberal budget and a staff of trained librarians", and recommended that the Chief Librarian of the proposed new University should have the status and qualifications of at least an Associate Professor (Charlton, et al. 1953b).

Figure 6.9: Edward Carter

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[48] The group comprised: H.B. Charlton, S.J. Davies, H.A.R. Gibb, and L. Dudley Stamp. See resumés in Appendix 5.

Source: Edwin Smith/RIBA Library Photographs Collection

Carter believed that he could use the Professors' report and the success of Saunders's work in Iraq to influence the Unesco Director General against the negative advice about library development that he was apparently receiving from the Technical Assistance staff. He had the paragraphs from the report relating to libraries retyped, and forwarded them to his superior, Jean Thomas,[49] then Director of Cultural Activities, with a suggestion that it should be passed up to Luther Evans, to try to counter the low priority attached to library development by the Technical Assistance Department. It is not clear what action Mr. Thomas took, but one copy of the extracted paragraphs and Carter's handwritten covering note to Mr. Thomas were found in a Technical Assistance Department file but without any indication of the outcome (Charlton, et al. 1953a).

Saunders's Second Year

It was eventually agreed that a second phase of the project could be linked to science and technical education, and Saunders was eventually re-employed for 9 months. His work on reorganising libraries and training their staff was thus extended to several other Colleges that were to become part of Baghdad University. He first moved into the College of Arts and Science's Science Library (Saunders 1954). There he not only reorganised the existing Library, but was also involved in planning a new Science Library, for which the Development Board had allocated £30,000 (about £700,000) (Unesco 1955e). Saunders's work was not appreciated by all. A Dutch teacher of mathematics noted that Saunders was told by a library staff member when he started work in the Science Library that "You can do all you like, but after you have left I go over again to my own system." The same Dutch teacher was also unhappy that Saunders, even though he was not entirely familiar with the subjects that he was classifying, had changed the library from a collection that was simply shelved alphabetically by the author's surname to one arranged by the Dewey classification scheme, accessed by a catalogue (Unesco 1954d).

After the Science Library, Saunders moved on to work in the College's Arts Library, where he seems to have completed his self-assigned tasks by March 1954 (Unesco 1954). By early summer, he was at work in the Engineering College Library.

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[49] See resumé in Appendix 5.

He had expected to leave Iraq at the end of August 1954. In early July, however, Carter wrote to inform him that he had found funds to continue his employment until the end of December 1954. Saunders spent the rest of the summer 1954 working in the library of the College of Economics (Unesco Personnel file 1961). In a memo to Unesco from Baghdad dated 21 September 1954, Malcolm Adiseshiah[50] commented that the Iraqi government wanted Saunders to remain in 1955 to complete the Colleges' union catalogue, work in the Law Library, and survey the public libraries. However, this proposal did not appear in the Iraqi's formal request for Technical Assistance submitted a few weeks later.
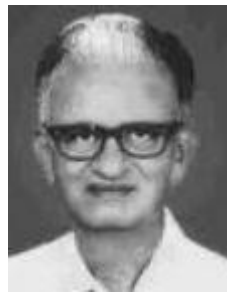
Figure 6.10: Malcolm Adiseshiah
Source: Malcolm and Elizabeth Adiseshiah Trust

Carter wanted to re-employ him in 1955, and tried to find funds within the Regular budget (Unesco 1955d). However, the 1954 General Conference gave priority to public library development in setting Unesco's budget for 1955, effectively bringing the funding for Saunders's mission to an end (Unesco Personnel file 1961). He finally left Baghdad in early November, to take his accrued annual leave, and met with Carter in Paris for a de-briefing meeting later that month, on his way home (Unesco 1962a).

Public Library Development in Iraq

After the British 'Mandate' was terminated, public libraries were founded in major cities in the country (Al-Werdi 1983). Sometime before 1942, a public library seems to have been established in Basra, making it apparently only the third state funded library in the country. In addition, in a few of the smaller towns, some local people had banded together to open small private libraries open to the public (Akrawi 1942). This may be a reference to the public libraries

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[50] See resumé in Appendix 5.

that, according to Al-Kindilichie (1977), had been established, probably in the provincial capitals — Amara in Maysan *Liwa* in 1937 and Diwaniyah in Qadissiya in 1938, and also in Al-Kadhemie (now a suburb of Baghdad) in 1947. Faraj (2012) has also reported that public libraries were established in Kirkuk in 1937, in Erbil in 1943, and in Sulaimaniyah in 1944. It is not clear which of these libraries were state supported. However, by 1944, the Ministry of Education's annual acquisitions budget for its public libraries was ID4,000 (about £150,000) (*Iraq Times* 23 November 1944).

Initially, most public libraries were small. They were also little used, partly because of the low level of literacy, but also perhaps because the collections were dependent on the output of the small Arab-language publishing industry. Collections were generally in closed access, and a deposit of about ID1 (about £23) was required to borrow an item. Few had catalogues, and those that existed were generally inaccurate. Instead, lists of recent additions were pasted on the library walls (Stone 1953).

McColvin visited the "public library at the Teachers' Training College" (i.e. the Baghdad Public Library) which he was told was one of 14 then supported by the Ministry of Education. He commented that it was "not a good example of its kind, but there is definitely an interest in libraries — interest that only needs to be helped in order to flourish" (McColvin 1947). After 1948, public library provision was extended across the whole country with the establishment of a central library and branches in each of the *Liwas* (Al Amin 1970).

The 1950s was a period of steady expansion and reorganisation. In 1955, Harry Campbell,[51] in an informal letter to 'Bobby' [Carter] after a short visit to Baghdad, mentioned a proposed reorganisation of government departmental remits affecting 40-50 public libraries outside Baghdad (Unesco 1959d). The establishment and maintenance of public libraries certainly became the responsibility of the *Liwas*, under the authority of the Ministry of Local Government's Directorate of Libraries and Institutes, but the Directorate was staffed by three civil servants whose only role was receiving and filing the monthly and annual reports of the libraries. Technical supervision rested with the Ministry of Culture and Information's Directorate-General of Cultural Affairs (Al-Werdi 1983).

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[51] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Between 1955 and 1960, the Development Board allocated ID350,000 (about £7 to £8 million) for the construction of public libraries (Qubain 1958). For example, 4 new libraries were opened in the Baghdad *Liwa* alone in May 1957; 5 had been established in the previous 3 years (New 1957). However, the 12 libraries in the *Liwa* were said to have a total stock of only 11,000 volumes. They were visited by 52,000 people during the year (Fahmi 1957).

Mobile libraries

The construction programme was mainly focused on the urban areas, but the rural population was not entirely neglected. In his half-yearly report to Unesco in June 1953, Saunders reported that he planned to visit the Unesco Fundamental Education project at Dujaila, and had already proposed assisting the Project Head to start a travelling library (Unesco 1955e). By February 1954, Saunders's contact at Dujaila, Mr. Chitra, had secured a jeep and it was about to be fitted out for use as a 'mobile library' (Unesco 1962a).

Harold Bonny and Public Library Development

The Iraqi authorities were apparently aware at an early stage of the lack of expertise to underpin public library development. In October 1944, the British Council's 'Functional Officer' in Baghdad noted that a request had been received from the Iraqi government for assistance in the re-organisation of the public libraries (British Council 1946e). However, it appears to have been some years before any external agency offered such support.

Unesco received similar requests from several governments and proposed a regional project, based in Jordan, but also involving Iraq and Afghanistan. In May 1955, a Unesco Assistant Director General visited Baghdad, and reported that the Ministry of Education had welcomed the offer (Unesco 1958a). In August 1955, Harold Bonny was approved by the Iraqi government for appointment as the expert (Unesco 1965d).

Figure 6.11: Harold Bonny
Source: Courtesy of Mr. D. Bonny

Bonny visited Baghdad on 30th-31st July 1956 while travelling from Jordan to Afghanistan. During that visit, Dr. Kadhim, the Director General of the Ministry of Education, explained to Bonny that his role would have a wide remit: to make suggestions regarding the Baghdad Public Library; assist the 14 *Liwas*' public libraries; organise training courses; and also advise on the proposed 'Iraq University' (Bonny 1956; 1957a).

Bonny arrived in Baghdad on 28th March. He spent the next 12 months there, except for a period of leave during the summer, and 10 days in Jordan in December (Bonny 1957j). Bonny's Final Report (1958b) [see Appendix 2] notes that he provided operational advice for the public libraries in Baghdad, Hilla, and Baquba during 1957 (Bonny 1958b), and in Basra and Mosul in 1958. He conducted a one-month training course for public librarians in November 1957 at the Higher Teachers Training College (1957h). His efforts to support public library development included attempting to raise awareness amongst a broader audience. In June 1957, the British Institute announced an evening talk by Ferguson and Bonny on "the library in the community" (*Baghdad Diary* 5 June 1957).

His proposals for future development of the public libraries included a full-time training school, and the establishment of a Library Board and a model public library along the lines of those developed by Unesco in Delhi and elsewhere (Bonny 1957j). Recognising the need for continuing development, the Ministry of Education was already asking Unesco in October 1957 to extend Bonny's contract for a year from March 1958 (Unesco 1957b). This was not possible because of his other commitments. Bonny finally left Iraq on 27th March 1958.

Figure 6.12: Everett Petersen
Source: Stockholms Digitala Stadsmuseet

In a letter to Everett Petersen,[52] then Chief of Unesco's Libraries Division, on 7th April 1958, he commented that:

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[52] See resumé in Appendix 5.

"I left Baghdad with considerable regret. There had been a considerable enlivening of interest during recent months. Although there had been difficulties, particularly transport, these were outweighed by the interest and enthusiasm of the people I dealt with." (Unesco 1958a)

In his letter to Petersen on 7th April 1958, Bonny reminded him that the Iraqi authorities were interested in a project for a model public library (Unesco 1958a). Bonny's proposals for the public libraries' development had also included a full-time training school (Bonny 1957j). Replying on 28th April, Petersen expressed the opinion that Unesco could not support both the model public library and the development of a library school, and reaffirmed a preference for the latter (Unesco 1959d).

Harold Bonny and the College Libraries

Harold Bonny was primarily expected to support public library development. Nonetheless, in implementing his brief from the government, he also played a significant role in the development of the new Baghdad University Central Library. He found that the College libraries had considerable collections of books, but their use was restricted because they were not on open access. The Librarians had little training, status, or responsibility.

He tried to visit each of the College libraries once each week, and began re-organising them on an open access basis. In particular, he turned his attention to the College of Commerce and Economics, whose library he completely reorganised on open-access lines, seeking to make it a model for the others (Bonny 1958b), an achievement for which some credit was later given to (or taken by) Dr. Hisham Al-Chawaf[53] (Ford 1968). In September, he also found the time and energy to deliver a 4-week training course for 15 librarians from several Colleges (Bonny 1957e; 1958b). He commented later (1958b) that the College library staff were "generally more highly trained in librarianship than the public librarians", and regretted that he was unable to devote more time to them (1957b). He also urged (1958e) that especial attention be given to the establishment and staffing of the University Library, pointing out that its successful establishment would have an important impact on the development of other libraries in Iraq.

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[53] See resumé in Appendix 5.

The University of Arizona and USAid for Abu Ghraib College of Agriculture

The Iraq College of Agriculture had been opened in 1950 in former Turkish Army barracks at Abu Ghraib (Russel & Buehrer 1960; U.S. Department of State 1961b). American support had commenced in 1951, and a library of some kind may have been established in 1952 (Badr 1965). In response to an Iraqi request for assistance made in 1952, an agreement was reached on the terms of support for the development of the School from 1953. USAid placed a major emphasis on contracting with universities and private agencies to deliver technical assistance (U.S. Department of State 1960f), partly as a matter of principle, and partly because USAid was experiencing increasing difficulty in recruiting qualified personnel for overseas assignments. Thus, what was probably the first American foreign aid project in Iraq to include library technical assistance was undertaken by the University of Arizona (Brewster 1976). The first teachers arrived from Arizona in January 1953. Subsequently a further 685 books were provided from contract funds, and 200-300 were presented by Arizona staff during the contract period. However, USAid preferred that the College should buy most of the books that it required, as it was believed that the Iraqis had the funds to do so (Russel & Buehrer 1960). It was only in 1956 that USAid began to plan to expand the University of Arizona's contract in response to Iraqi proposals for, *inter alia*, improving the library (U.S. Department of State 1960b). A new Library was opened in October 1957, and long term plans envisaged further provision as student numbers expanded (Russel & Buehrer 1960).

In 1957, Donald Powell[54] was seconded to develop the College Library. When he arrived in August, he found that the 'library' was a barely organised assortment of books in the "airless enclosed porch of an old army barracks". By the time he left, just before Christmas 1957, he was clear that the task of reorganising the library had been started, but was by no means completed (Powell 1958).

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[54] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Figure 6.13: Donald Powell
Source: University of Arizona

In 1958, responsibility for the College was transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to the newly created University of Baghdad (U.S. Department of State 1961e). The attitude of some students after the 1958 Revolution caused difficulties for the American staff and, in December, student demonstrations at the College forced the temporary withdrawal of the University of Arizona's staff (U.S. Department of State 1961e). Arrangements for Powell to return to Iraq from January to June 1959 were cancelled, and the USAid contract ended in June 1959 (Russel & Buehrer 1960).

The Creation of Universities in Baghdad

Towards the end of 1953, after considering the British Professors' report (Charlton, et al. 1953b), the Iraqi government announced that it would be introducing funding for the University into the budget for 1954/55 (Funds 1953; *Iraq Times,* 24th November 1953). In June 1955, the Development Board commissioned several world-famous architects to fulfil the aim of Nuri al Said's government to endow the Iraqi capital with a series of grand modernist constructions, including a huge University campus to be designed by Walter Gropius and his partners (Pieri 2012), and which included a new university central library (Gropius 1960).

However, the first university in the country, *Al-Hikma* ('Wisdom') University, was based on a decision made by the New England Province of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) to extend the educational work that they were undertaking in Baghdad College. It opened in 1956 at Zaafarania, on the then southern outskirts of Baghdad (Macdonnell 1994).

In the same year, the government pressed ahead with its own plans to amalgamate the existing Colleges, enacting Royal Decree number 60 of 1956 to establish the University of Baghdad (Al-Arif 1985). Shortly afterwards, on 21st August 1957, Dr. Akrawi was recalled from his post at Unesco and appointed the

University of Baghdad's first President. Dr. Akrawi instituted a review to determine whether each of the Colleges was fit to become part of the University, but the review was never completed because of the revolution (Penrose & Penrose 1978). The new government simply passed a Law (no. 28) in 1958 which incorporated all the Colleges in the University.

Further Development of the Iraq Museum Library

It is generally accepted that a library was formally established by the Directorate of Antiquities in the Iraqi Museum in 1933 (Dagher 1951; Zado 1990, citing Awad 1955), probably referring to its inclusion in the plan for the new Museum building that was completed in 1934.

Figure 6.14: Gurgis Awad
Source: Arab Encyclopaedia. Accessed November 6, 2013. http://www.arab-ency.com/index.php?module=pnEncyclopedia&func=display_term&id=161980&m=1

In 1936, Gurgis Awad[55] became Chief Librarian of the Directorate General of Antiquities, effectively Director of the Library at the Iraq Museum, which at that time had a collection of about 800 books (Al-Azab 1986). In 1937, arrangements were concluded with the Department of Antiquities whereby the entire ASOR Library was housed adequately in the Museum, where it was to be in the charge of a competent librarian and could be made available to qualified users (Speiser 1937). After a visit in 1950, Marshall noted that it had an "admirably organized and fully-catalogued library of 20,000 volumes."

Other Specialist Information Services in Iraq

As Iraq's economy began to develop, attention there turned to the provision of scientific and technical information. The library of the Iraqi Academy was established in 1947 (Sheniti 1966). In April 1951, the Iraqi government requested Unesco support for the Natural History Museum, including the supply of books and journals, explaining that it wanted to enlarge the library (Unesco 1951). Some government departments also had fledgling library services. For example, an organisation chart of the Ministry of Agriculture showed the

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[55] See resumé in Appendix 5.

existence of a library there in 1955 (U.S. Department of State 1961e). One brief report mentions that an Iraqi student, Ghazi Majeed Al-Kawaz, was studying agronomy at the University of Tennessee but also taking courses in library science (Views 1959). However, no reports of his provenance or offering any further insight into his subsequent career have been found.

Most support for special library projects came initially under the aegis of the U.N. program for economic development, but Unesco began to give some attention to a broader range of special libraries and documentation work during the 1950s, bringing together its interests in stimulating awareness of the value of libraries and its broader activities in enhancing education, science and culture (Carter 1952). In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the task of disseminating information about scientific papers published in the Middle East was initially undertaken by Unesco's Middle East Science Cooperation Office in Cairo. This produced and circulated abstracts from over 80 journals published in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Sudan (Bibliographical 1950; Pérez-Vitoria 1959; Phillips 1967). Later, the Arab Regional Scientific and Technical Documentation Centre was established by Unesco in Cairo in 1954, and occupied space in the National Centre for Research.

In June 1956, the Middle East Science Cooperation Office arranged for a ten-day regional course for training scientific documentalists to be conducted by a Spanish expert, Augusto Pérez Vitoria[56] (Unesco 1960b). He toured the Levant earlier that year to raise awareness of the Office's new scientific documentation centre and to try to secure maximum attendance at the course. He was in Baghdad for little more than 3 days, visiting the Directorate General of Industry, the Higher Teachers Training College, and Colleges of Science, Agriculture and Engineering, giving lectures at most of these institutions (Pérez-Vitoria 1956). The Chief Librarian of the College of Medicine and Pharmacy had already been nominated for a place on the course that he planned to run in Cairo, and was probably the Iraqi who subsequently attended it (Seminar 1957).

Progress towards a National Library in Iraq

In accordance with Ottoman laws that remained virtually unchanged until 1931, two copies of each issue of a newspaper, periodical, or journal, but not books, had to be sent to the Ministry (Bashkin 2009). Legal deposit later required

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[56] See resumé in Appendix 5.

2 copies of books to be sent to the 'Ministry of Propaganda', one to the police, and 2 to the Ministry of Education. The latter frequently failed to pass one of these copies to the Baghdad Public Library (Unesco 1966c).

The *Maktabat Al-Salam* had been taken over by the government in 1924 (Al-Amin 1970). Abdul Latif Al-Kumaili, National Librarian in around 1976, confirmed that the National Library was founded in April 1920 (Aje 1977), i.e. when the *Maktabat al-Salam* came into existence, although Al-Kindilichie (1975; 1977) claimed that the National Library opened in 1924, i.e. the date when it came under the control of the Ministry of Education. Nonetheless, from 1929 when it was relocated to the premises of the former *Al-Mamoonia* or *Al-Mansuria madrasa*, it was officially known only as the Baghdad Public Library (Hashmi 1983). Kadhim (1959) claimed that the Baghdad Public Library was established by the Ministry of 'Public Instruction', but gave the date as 1931. That was when the Ministry merged the Y.M.C.A. Library and the *Al-Maarif* Library with the Baghdad Public Library (Dagher 1951).

Following a visit to Baghdad in 1955, Harry Campbell mentioned that the Baghdad Public Library was already being referred to as the 'National Library' (Unesco 1959d). The informal adoption of the title 'National Library' possibly arose from discussions between the British Embassy and the Iraqi government surrounding the use of £150,000 (about £3.5 million) that Iraq had agreed, in 1955, to pay into a joint Anglo-Iraqi Trust Fund to be used for the benefit of Iraq in settlement of outstanding claims for damage to British property during Rashid Ali's brief pro-German wartime revolt against the Iraqi monarchy (British Council 1967).

It was first proposed that the construction of an Anglo-Iraqi Cultural Club and British Library in Baghdad would be financed from the Fund (British Council 1961). The Iraqi government also offered to pay a further £150,000 to help found the Club, to be named the 'Al-Kindi Club'[57] (British Council 1967). Part of the agreement depended on the availability of land for the Club. According to John Ferguson, who was the British Council's Librarian in Iraq at the time (telephone conversation, 9th June 2010), some land had originally been purchased by the British government at a relatively low cost to provide a site for the construction of a new Embassy, but it was later acknowledged that it could

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[57] For an explanation of the suggested choice of name, see the resumé of Al-Kindi in Appendix 5.

be put to an alternative use. In May 1956, the British Council Representative in Baghdad, John Jardine, wrote to Harry Campbell to let him know that he had been suggesting to Cabinet Ministers that the National Library might be built adjacent to the 'British Library'. At that time, the government was planning a major new civic centre, including the Royal Palace, a new Museum, etc., as part of Nuri al-Said's plan to enrich the capital architecturally. The Minister of Finance was prepared to allocate land [for the 'British Library'], and Jardine was confident that he could win the essential agreement of the Minister of Education for the proposed National Library (Unesco 1960e). In 1956/57, the British Government agreed to give the land to the Iraqi government as the site for the National Library. In return the Iraqi government agreed to lease back part of the land, at a peppercorn rent, for the proposed Anglo-Iraqi Cultural Club and British Institute Library.

The Iraqi offer to contribute an additional £150,000 (about £3.5 million) towards the cost of the Anglo-Iraqi Cultural Club building was subsequently withdrawn because of the political situation in the Arab world that resulted from the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. Nonetheless, in 1957, Ferguson was still working on plans for a National Library project, and seeking support for its implementation. The scheme that Ferguson envisaged would have:

- been a copyright and research library
- included stack space for 1,000,000 volumes
- provided interim facilities for the University pending the construction of its own library
- been a central lending library for the city
- provided space for a schools' library service and mobile units
- housed a School of Librarianship (British Council 1960b).

Ferguson began discussions about the Library began with an architect, Robert Pearce Hubbard.[58] Preliminary plans and a scale model had been prepared by 1958, but a Revolution intervened, and army tanks occupied the proposed construction site. However, after the 1958 Revolution, the concept of the Anglo-Iraqi Cultural Club seems to have collapsed, because of the changed political environment. In September 1958, correspondence from the British Council's Acting Representative implied that the proposal for the Club had been abandoned

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[58] See Hubbard's resumé in Appendix 5, which also includes a note about the plans for the Library

(British Council 1961). Ferguson confirmed to the author that his involvement in the planning of the National Library ended at the same time.

Manuscript Collections in Iraq

In the early 1950s, the Iraq Museum Library had a collection of 2,243 ancient manuscripts (Zeki 1953). Numerous other libraries throughout the country were reported to have had collections of manuscripts and rare books (Dagher 1951). The importance of these and other countries' collections of early manuscripts had received the attention of the Arab League soon after its foundation. It began to make microfilms of manuscripts in Arab collections in 1947, and by the mid-1950s, some 2.1 million pages had been filmed. Then, under instruction from the Unesco General Conference, 3 surveys were undertaken in 1955/6, to find out which libraries in the Arab world had collections of manuscripts, whether they were catalogued, and what condition they were in. One of the surveys, covering Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria was undertaken by Gurgis Awad (Awad 1956b; 1956c).

Records Management in Iraq

In 1957, the organisational structure of the Ministry of Education already included a Records and Archives Section (U.S. Department of State 1961b). A Royal Decree of 1958 revising the organisational structure for the Ministry confirmed that the British model of records management in government had been adopted, including within the Directorate General of Technical Affairs a 'Files and records section'. Its management was to "be administered by an employee who will be responsible for all the files, records, and reports entrusted to his section; for the registering of all the in-coming and out-going correspondence and for their distribution to the departments concerned" (U.S. Department of State 1961f).

The Labour Market and Professional Skills

This section explores some of the new professional practices that were introduced, and how awareness of potential solutions to the challenges faced by Iraqi libraries was transmitted. It outlines the challenges in developing the human resources required by more complex library services, and the first attempts to gain recognition of these in Iraq through the establishment of a professional association.

Developments in Professional Practice in Iraq

As the collection of the Baghdad Public Library expanded, its original simple subject organisation became inadequate, and in 1938/39 it was reclassified using the Dewey Decimal Classification, which was chosen, despite its recognised limited suitability for the Arab world, because Iraqi graduates of foreign universities were familiar with it. Separate catalogues were maintained for books in Arabic and Roman scripts (Al Amin 1970). In 1957, a British Council report noted that Harold Bonny had estimated that c.50,000 catalogue entries in the College libraries were incorrect because of a lack of understanding of cataloguing principles (British Council 1960b), suggesting that Saunders's training may have been misdirected or ineffective.

It is possible that the only Arabic text on library organisation that was readily available in Iraq was a book written by Nihad Abdul Majid (Al Nassiri) (1955), but it is not clear what experience he was able to bring to its compilation. Language was a significant barrier. Any relevant textbooks in Arabic would have been published in other countries and difficult to identify, let alone obtain. Bonny (1958c) made a point of arguing the case for materials that not only focussed more on library techniques but were also linguistically more appropriate, and particularly highlighted "the need for professional literature in the vernacular." In the absence of any other instructional material, Bonny himself wrote '*An Introduction to Library Work in Schools and Teacher Training Colleges*' (Bonny 1957h), a 34-page hand-out which was translated into Arabic. This was so general in its nature that he recommended (1958e) that it should be distributed not only to the Teacher Training Colleges but also to the public libraries.

Manpower Issues

Sheniti (1966) has described the consequences of the ambiguous attitudes towards libraries that existed in the Arab world until the 1940s, commenting that:

> ..." the establishment of libraries in various institutions was a measure that met with full approval. Nevertheless in most cases the addition of a library was regarded as a matter of prestige or a marginal and extra-curricular activity... Staff that were difficult to place, for various reasons, were often transferred to this quiet corner and forgotten there."

Government agencies also frequently and necessarily employed many people with no relevant training for the job that they were supposed to undertake (Adams 1958). For example, the Higher Teachers' Training College Librarian,

Miss Zaheda Ibrahim, was a graduate in Law, and the data in her Unesco Fellowship application file suggests that she may have been appointed as Librarian at the College immediately after graduating.

Another significant problem was highlighted by Saunders in a letter to Unesco on 7th October 1953, explaining that:

> "Under the present system of employment, they are appointed to these jobs by the Government without reference to their inclination or aptitude for the work. This applies to most government appointments in Iraq; they can, and often are, transferred at a month's notice to an entirely different job." (Unesco 1959d)

Underlying these problems were historic attitudes towards libraries and the recruitment of their staff. Up to the 1950s, libraries were largely considered centres for housing and safeguarding the cultural heritage. Senior posts tended to be offered to scholars whose lack of modern technical and professional knowledge had made them not only cling to obsolete methods but also reject new concepts and techniques. These older librarians may have been an obstacle to library development, acting as a body of resistance to the new methods required as the demand for libraries and information services began to grow. Kalia (1957b), for example, recognised that most of the senior library staff in the 3 countries that he visited in 1957 were "advanced in age" and that it would be difficult to send them for a regular library school course.

Towards an Iraqi Library Association

In a society such as Iraq, where the social system had only recently begun to rebuild and develop, professional groups were highly motivated towards establishing their identity. In the late 1950s, several professional groups such as doctors, teachers, and engineers began to organise (Ahmed 1977). During July/August 1954, when Saunders delivered a 3-week course for public librarians from the *Liwas*, the participants appear to have made a spontaneous suggestion of forming an association (Unesco Personnel file 1961). In his periodic report for June to August 1954 (which was missing from the Unesco archive files), Saunders apparently mentioned this suggestion. In responding, Carter reflected Unesco's emerging interest in special libraries, and suggested that it be broadened to include documentalists, so as not to divide what would for some years remain a small profession in a developing country (Unesco 1962c). Little seems to have been done to implement the suggestion. No professional association for librarians was established, and Bonny reported on the serious

difficulties arising from "the lack of opportunities for librarians to meet and exchange ideas" (Bonny 1958b).

Developments in Education for Library, Information and Archives Work

This section describes the first opportunities provided for Iraqi librarians to make extended study visits overseas, and then to attend formal courses in librarianship. It also describes some of the efforts that were made by visiting consultants to deliver extended courses in the country, and the debate about whether the time was ripe for a more formal educational program in the country.

First Overseas Training for College Library Staff

Pafford (1935a) had observed that "It has been widely recognised from early times that it is good for a novice to see the work of a master-craftsman in different places." This philosophy was built into Unesco's early library development efforts, alongside occasional opportunities for individuals to participate in short specialised conferences, seminars and workshops.

In 1950, Gurgis Awad became the first Iraqi librarian to receive a Unesco Fellowship (Unesco, 1956c). He spent 5 months in the U.S.A., commencing with a period of study at the University of Chicago's School of Librarianship, followed by visits to major public and academic libraries, before spending a week each in London and Paris visiting libraries on his way home. An account of his impressions of American libraries was published as a small book in Iraq (Awad 1951). A subsequent commentator noted that the Library of the Department of Antiquities was small but well organised, and "headed by a man who is aware of the possibilities of library service" (Stone 1953). However, it may be significant that Carter called for a more reflective report from him. Although Awad had previously written several descriptions of libraries in Iraq and their collections (Awad 1945; 1946; 1947; 1948a; 1948b; 1949), he was perhaps unaccustomed to critically evaluating them.

Saunders's project budget allowed for a Fellowship for one year to be made available for the Head of the Higher Teachers Training College Library to receive formal training and to visit libraries. In March 1954, Miss Zaheda Ibrahim Mohammed (born 1926), the College Librarian, went to Australia to commence a 12-month Fellowship, intended to include a period of study and practical attachments rather than a formal course leading to a degree or diploma. The aim

of the programme seems to have been to prepare her to replace Saunders (Unesco 1954a). It had originally been intended that the formal training would be in Sweden or Denmark, because Unesco had funds in their currencies, and Carter had to fight to ensure that she was placed in an English-speaking country. Sweden and Denmark were eventually rejected because of the language problem, and Australia was selected and accepted as her destination, because of the availability of funds in its currency. She initially appears to have found it interesting, but became ill and had to return home in July to convalesce (Unesco Fellowships 1956a). She made a full recovery from her illness, and from September 1959, became Supervisor of the Central Library of the newly formed University of Baghdad.

The original plan for Saunders's project had also included a second Fellowship, intended for the Chief Assistant in the Library of the Higher Teachers' Training College, but that proposal had been deleted. It was some years before another Unesco Fellowship was granted to one of the College's library staff. Saleh Ahmed Saleh (born 1929), another Law graduate who had been working in the Library since 1948, had been a student on Saunders's course in 1954, gaining high marks, and being described by Saunders as "an excellent pupil." His was one of the first Unesco scholarships that enabled an Iraqi to go abroad for an entire academic year to take a postgraduate course in Librarianship, in his case the postgraduate Diploma program at the Northwestern Polytechnic in London in 1957/58, followed by 3-months observation/experience in Britain and/or Denmark (Unesco, Fellowships 1956a). There appears to be no recurrence of his name in the English-language literature to indicate how his career developed.

Another Unesco Fellowship awarded at around the same time was linked to Bonny's project, and enabled Miss Suhayla Habib Daghistani, Assistant Librarian at Queen Alia College, to study in the U.K., allegedly with a focus on public libraries (Unesco 1956a; 1956b). Miss Daghistani had worked in the College since 1946. Some time after her return from the postgraduate Diploma program at Newcastle College of Commerce, she became the College's Librarian (Gjelsness 1968).

Developing the staff at Abu Ghraib College had also received some attention. Sajida Ibrahim Hakki, then the Librarian, attended some of Bonny's courses, which were expected by Powell to have a beneficial effect. Dix later recommended her for a Ford Foundation Fellowship, but argued that it should be

held back for a year, because Donald Powell was initially expected to return to the College in October 1958 to continue his task of developing the Library. It seems that she subsequently was never offered the Fellowship or declined it. In 1957, the College Registrar went to Arizona for graduate studies, accompanied by his wife who was planning to take some undergraduate library science courses funded by a University of Arizona scholarship (U.S. Department of State 1961e).

Training Library Staff in Iraq

From the early 1950s, Unesco began to stimulate the development of professional education for librarianship in the Middle East. In 1951, Danton's[59] (1949) book 'Education for Librarianship', one of the first of Unesco's Public Library Manuals, was translated into Arabic. The Secretary of the Unesco National Commission for Iraq later told Petersen that the Arabic version of Danton's book was the only Unesco publication that had aroused interest in Iraq before it was published, and several copies sent to the Ministry of Education were distributed to the staff of the Baghdad Public Library (Unesco 1959d; 1960e).

As part of his assignment in Baghdad, Saunders was expected to initiate a course in librarianship — in the Higher Teachers Training College, or elsewhere, as required by the Iraqi authorities (Unesco 1962c). By February 1953, he was able to report that the first course would begin in March and run until May or early June. He expected it to be attended by about 20 people — librarians from various libraries in Baghdad, and students from the Higher Teachers Training College who had attended some talks he had already given about libraries. The 'library school' eventually commenced on 4th or 5th March, with 25 students of both sexes, including 10 who were said to be in charge of local libraries or their assistants, and 15 final-year students from the English Section of the College (Unesco 1955e). Saunders was soon able to comment that:

> "most of the [library] staff are interested in this work, one or two, including Miss Ibrahim, the Librarian, really keen" (letter to Carter, 25th March 1953)

The course had a strong practical element, but was intended to stimulate an understanding of the relevant principles. It comprised 2 lectures and one demonstration class each week, each of one-hour duration, for four months (Saunders 1954). The practical demonstrations took place in the Higher Teachers Training College library (Unesco 1962c). Writing shortly after completing his

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[59] See resumé in Appendix 5.

second course, Saunders claimed to be spending 2 days each week on his lectures, but this presumably included the preparation time (Saunders 1954). The course received good indirect feedback from those attending. Twenty-one of the participants passed the final test in June. Two passed with merit and were recommended for further training (Unesco 1959d). Unesco Headquarters staff were concerned about the elementary level of the course, but Saunders believed it was appropriate to the trainees' existing level of understanding (Unesco 1955e).

A bare comment in the *Unesco Bulletin* records that he conducted a second course in 1954 with 20 participants (Unesco 1955c). The cursory nature of the public report was perhaps because the course was not as successful as its predecessor in at least one respect. The 1954 course, which began in February and ended on 15th June, was attended by 9 librarians and assistants, but the College students who participated were unable to complete it because their teaching practice period had been delayed by floods (Saunders 1954; Unesco 1962a).

The final year College students who participated in both the courses were said to have been interested in the subject by some informal talks about libraries that Saunders had given to students. The course examination was taken into account in their final assessment. Saunders saw them as apostles for libraries as they spread out over the country after graduation, encouraged to establish or improve libraries in the schools to which they were appointed (Sharify 1963).

Conversations between Saunders and the Secretary of the Unesco National Commission led to the initiation of a short course for public librarians from the *Liwas*, which was approved by the Ministry of Education, and scheduled for three weeks in July/August 1954. Gurgis Awad agreed to act as interpreter (Saunders 1954). An undated newspaper clipping of a photograph retained in the Unesco archives shows Saunders with a group of the *Liwa* librarians during a course held at Queen Alia College. This appears to be one of the few surviving confirmations that it took place (Unesco 1962a; Unesco 1962c).

Even before the project began, it was publicly announced by Unesco that it "should also be of assistance in the establishment of a school of librarianship" (Unesco 1952). Despite the difficulty in securing an extension for Saunders's project, it had been anticipated that, in the second phase of the project, a specialist would be sent to serve as head of a school of librarianship (Unesco

1962c). Despite Luther Evan's aspiration, and Saunders's efforts and their seeming success, this proposal was not pursued at the time.

There was no doubt, however, that the need for training was appreciated by the Iraqi authorities. In 1953, the report of the delegation of British University Professors had provided a reminder, *inter alia*, of the need for trained librarians in the College libraries (Unesco 1959d), and the Iraqi government appears to have responded favourably. However, in a letter in October 1953, Saunders noted that, although 2 people had been awarded Iraqi government scholarships to study librarianship abroad, he was unhappy that personal influence had evidently been applied in the selection process; those selected (whom he did not name) had not attended the course that he had just completed (Unesco 1955e).

A further effort to train Iraqis for library work was made in 1954, when the United Nations Community Development programme in Iraq organised its first training program for community development workers — teachers, social workers, and agricultural technicians. The program was taught at the College of Arts over a 7-month period, and included 10 sessions on 'the library' out of a total of 372 (El Abd 1959). The provision of teaching about 'the library' is not so evident in the outlines of subsequent courses, although it may have been subsumed in units on 'adult education' or 'literacy' (United Nations 1959). It has not been established who the instructors were.

Harold Bonny, was also tasked "to assist the Iraqi authorities in … the training of qualified staff" (Bonny 1958c), and he seems to have set out his plans to do so at an early stage (Bonny 1957d), submitting a three-page '*Training Scheme for Librarians*', to the Ministry of Education in May (Bonny 1957d; Sharify 1963). In August 1957, Unesco Headquarters seems to have been in some discussions about the possibility of American assistance for establishing a Library School in Iraq. At least one senior Iraqi administrator was said to be in favour of making such a request, and Bonny sought advice from Unesco Headquarters on framing the proposal. This may have resulted in the approach that he claimed to have made to the Ford Foundation early the following year, but the archive files investigated do not make the origins and evolution of this proposal any clearer.

Bonny (1958b) conducted several courses in Baghdad in 1957/58. The first course, for College librarians, was held at the College of Commerce and Economics in Baghdad for four weeks in September 1957 (Bonny 1957e),

attended by 15 students. It is not clear whether any of the participants had previously attended one of Saunders's courses, or whether they were new to the subject.

Writing almost 20 years later, Al-Amin (1977) presented this as the first efforts by the University of Baghdad to organise training courses for its own staff and those of other libraries, and indicated that the subjects covered included book selection, cataloguing and classification, and Arabic and foreign references. Although lectures and seminars had to be undertaken with consecutive translations between English and Arabic, the differing levels of the students' experience appear to have been a more serious impediment to progress. Moreover, Bonny was himself aware that the courses were too intensive, and had "endeavoured to cover a year's work in one month" (Bonny 1957b)

On 4th December 1957, in his letter to Congalton, Bonny claimed to have "just finished a 4 solid week course for librarians from all over Iraq" (Unesco 1958a). This course, for public librarians, had taken place at the Higher Teachers Training College in November (Bonny 1957h). The 18 participants on this course were each presented with copies of a British textbook, but: "this was of no great use to those lacking a good knowledge of English" (Sharify 1963).

As well as inculcating techniques, Bonny was also concerned to motivate the students and appears confident that he had succeeded. In a comment that anticipates the now widely recognised need to develop solutions that reflect their local context, he noted that:

> "the students appreciated ...that libraries in the Middle East need not necessarily be a copy of a Western institution. Although libraries existed here many years ago, they know that they can rebuild on the experiences of the West; but they know, also, that they have the opportunity to develop services in accordance with their own culture and tradition." (Bonny 1958c)

There were few libraries sufficiently well-equipped and well managed to act as demonstrations of good practice, other than the libraries of the foreign cultural services. Although the courses in Baghdad were able to include visits to the British Council and USIS libraries to demonstrate modern library practice, Bonny reported on the serious difficulties arising from "the shortage of qualified personnel and the lack of training facilities" (Bonny 1958c).

One of Unesco's initiatives had been the production of films promoting public libraries, made in response to a request made by the members of the Malmo Seminar. The government of Sweden and Unesco collaborated in the production

of the first film, '*The Road to Books*', on Swedish public libraries with commentary in several languages (Petersen 1953). A copy was sent to Unesco's Baghdad office in February 1953, but an Arabic version does not seem to have been made. The following year, Unesco made another film, '*Books for All*', about the Delhi public library project. In some of his courses, Bonny made use of films of major libraries to demonstrate their services, probably including the Unesco film, but the commentary (in English) was too fast for the students to appreciate them fully. The lesson was not heeded. A quarter century later, a Unesco directory of audio visual materials to support teaching records management and archives administration included only one videotape in Arabic - a Jordanian film about the role of libraries in general (White 1982).

In his last few months in Iraq, the first quarter of 1958, Bonny remained busy. His Annual Report for 1958 (Bonny 1958d, 1958e) deals mainly with his work in Afghanistan, but also records his work in Iraq during that year, confirming that he was the author of a short note on '*Library training in Iraq*' that appeared anonymously in the '*Unesco Bulletin for Libraries*' that year (Bonny 1958c).

Between 1957 and 1966, Unesco undertook a major project to encourage the '*Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values*'. At an early stage, the Advisory Committee for the project recommended the development of specialist libraries of material concerning countries with different cultural backgrounds, and the acquisition of such material by public libraries. It had been discussed at a meeting of the Arab National Unesco Commissions in Fez in January/February 1958, at which representatives of 8 countries including Iraq were present. They noted the important role that public libraries could play, but suggested that there should be a meeting of specialists from the Arab world to progress ideas, at which they expected one element of the discussions to be focused on the possibility of creating a regional centre for training librarians (Libraries 1958).

It may have been awareness of these discussions that encouraged Bonny, in his final report, to discuss the options that were open to the Iraqi government in setting out a long term plan for training librarians. He advised that Fellowships for study overseas should be used for advanced or specialist training because they would clearly be limited in number. In-service training would be valuable, but inhibited by the availability of suitable libraries. Short training courses, such

as those conducted by himself and Saunders, were valuable as an introductory step before the creation of a school of librarianship. Given the immediate need to build up a large body of qualified librarians, he argued that the most effective way of achieving this in the shortest possible time was the establishment of such a school, initially offering a one-year course at an "intermediate" level. He further observed that:

> "A Library Training School in Iraq would have the added advantage of building up a school of library thought based on your own tradition and culture; and contribute to the compilation of the much needed bibliographical aids and professional literature in Arabic." Bonny (1958b)

In a letter written from Kabul on 7th April 1958, he reminded Petersen that Dr. Akrawi "understood the need for a library school" (Unesco 1958a). On 15th April 1958, in another letter to Petersen, Bonny argued that the next step should be to establish a library school, and commented that the Iraqi authorities recognised the need. He observed that:

> "Unless a library training school can be established, the library problem in Iraq is likely, with the rapid development of the country, to be an increasing one. A library training school, having continuity and being geared to the needs of the country, would be the most economical and efficacious solution."

Although aware that Dr. Kazmi was pre-occupied with the new University Library, Bonny seemed sufficiently confident that he supported the concept, and suggested that, if it seemed a possibility, Dr. Kazmi should pursue the matter when the Iraqi request for assistance for 1959/60 was being prepared. Petersen responded (Unesco 1959d) that it was for the Iraqi authorities to submit a request for funding. On 28th April, in a further letter, Petersen indicated that Unesco would be unable to support both a pilot public library project and the library school, and that he thought it best to concentrate on the library school which, in his opinion, was a higher priority (Unesco 1958a).

Reflecting a year after completing his mission in Iraq, Bonny remained confirmed in his early beliefs. Looking to the future, he commented that:

> "Iraq has a large library potential. The most satisfactory way of coping with this is the establishment of a library training school to ensure the continued supply of trained librarians... My considered opinion is that future library assistance in Iraq should be directed towards the establishment of a library training school. Iraq itself has sufficient student personnel to warrant this, but it would also be of great value to neighbouring Arab countries.
>
> The enlivening of interest during my last few months there made it impossible to cope with all the requests for assistance, particularly in such important institutions as the Directorate General of Industry.

The authorities in Iraq have a full appreciation of the need for and the value of libraries. The government also has finance to implement plans and as a result, there is a rapid development of education and industry. Library development is likely to parallel this and there is the opportunity to ensure the continuance of a corps of trained personnel." (Bonny 1958e)

Nonetheless, once again, no further action seems to have been taken. The reasoning was not made clear, but some opposition within the Ministry of Education is revealed in a confidential memo to Kenneth Iverson, the Ford Foundation's Representative, in May 1958 in which Dix observed that:

"At some time it would probably be desirable to establish a library school in Baghdad University, but I'd move slowly on this and learn more from the Ankara experiment, for example. Bonny, the Unesco specialist who was here last year, proposed a library school in his report to the Minister of Education of March 1958, but Dr. Jalili, Director of Cultural Activities, in whose hands implementation of the report rests, told Dalton[60] and me that he had no intention of doing anything about a library school soon." (Dix 1958c; Ford 1968)

According to the British Council Representative's report for 1957/58, it was hoped that John Ferguson would sustain the program of courses after Bonny's departure. He claimed that Ferguson had lectured twice each week on library methods and organisations for the courses for College Librarians and for the Librarians from the *Liwas* (British Council 1960b). However, speaking to the author in 2010, Ferguson had no recollection of any involvement with Bonny's courses. Although the Ministry had encouraged Bonny to offer courses for teacher librarians, the subsequent failure, in practice, of the students who completed the course for school librarians organised by the Director of School and Public Libraries probably did little to encourage further developments.

Discussion and Evaluation

In a statement by one of the first Iraqis known to have studied librarianship in the U.S.A. that was remarkably prescient at such an early stage in both her career and modern Iraq's library development, Kadhim (1959) commented that:

"It is not enough to say only that Iraq has too few libraries, that those libraries serve a minority of the population, that there is a shortage of librarians, and that library materials fall short of need in both quantity and quality. These are undebatable facts. If the situation is to be seen in its true light, however, the causes and effects must be examined and understood. All of the human factors of the society which either promote or discourage library development must be considered."

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[60] See resumé in Appendix 5.

In keeping with the aims of the research, this section therefore aimed to evaluate the external and internal influences on the development of librarianship in Iraq during Iraq's first quarter century as an independent state.

Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

Most progress was made in expanding the network of public libraries, and libraries were established in the new higher education Colleges, but their collections were small and staff lacked appropriate education and training. The British administration had laid the foundations of specialist libraries in government departments, and the need for specialist expertise in the management of documentation was slowly beginning to be recognised, but the Iraqi government had not yet achieved the development of a significant scientific-industrial economy, and thus, as Sharify (1963) observed:

> "the very slow development of the library movement... should take into consideration the fact that there was little need felt for technical information..."

Al Nahari (1982) observed that low salaries for librarians, and thus a shortage of suitably qualified personnel, can be readily identified as the direct consequences of this. In a developing country such as Iraq, with no official policy on library and information services, and inadequate library infrastructures, the need for trained librarians received little attention. The activities of foreign consultants seem to have stimulated the Ministry of Education to take advantage of the opportunity to provide in-country training activities for groups of librarians who were beyond some of these consultants' original brief.

Given the lack of recognition of librarianship as a career, it is scarcely surprising that there appear to be few recorded instances of Iraqis studying library science abroad during this period. Nonetheless, Saunders, Bonny, and Powell convinced the Iraqi authorities to accept the concept of staff from the institutions to which they were attached undertaking overseas training in the subject, and possibly made other individuals aware of and interested in the potential for studying the subject at university level abroad. They perhaps also raised the subject's profile with those officials responsible for approving requests for state scholarships to study abroad.

The foreign consultants recognised that the absence of a strong professional cadre was an inevitable hindrance to maintaining progress in Iraq (Bonny 1958b), and did what they could by delivering rudimentary short-term training programs in modern librarianship in the country. Those provided by Saunders

and Bonny, introduced formal knowledge from Britain in place of local practices, but the instructors acknowledged that the courses were ill-adapted to the real needs of the country as they inevitably reflected experience and practices in their own country, and there was a shortage of instructional material in Arabic.

The emerging needs of Iraq's libraries for appropriately skilled staff began to be addressed only when the authorities were able to invoke the foreign technical assistance necessary to organise the libraries and recognised that some complementary training was necessary to sustain the changes introduced by foreign consultants. While the Iraqi authorities appear to have had a clear appreciation that the number of fully qualified personnel needed at this time was limited, this put them at odds with a more idealistic and probably unrealistic aspirations of some Unesco managers in Paris.

There was strong support amongst many of the foreigners directly involved in library development in the Middle East in the 1950s — Wilder, Bonny and Kalia — for the development of some kind of School of Librarianship in the region. Ferguson, possibly encouraged by Bonny, although no direct evidence for that has been found, even included space for it in the initial brief for the new Iraqi National Library. Bonny and Kalia appear to have been divided in their views about how those manpower needs might best be met. Moreover, neither they nor staff at Unesco headquarters appear to have recognised the Iraqi authorities' preference for a substantial, tangible manifestation of development such as a model public library rather than what would inevitably have been a school of librarianship where a small number of students would have been taught a subject that had limited appeal and application. Only Wilder was in the region long enough to temper his enthusiasm with a realist appreciation of what was really needed and might be practicable, given the scale of library provision and the status of librarians (Unesco 1959e).

Such disagreement is invariably an excuse for inaction. Perhaps equally significantly, the seeming differences between the ability of Akrawi and Carter to influence decisions within Unesco begins to draw attention to the significant roles that individuals can play in library development.

The foreign consultants do seem to have prompted the publication in Iraq of a new form of LIS professional literature. Gurgis Awad and many other scholars appear to have written descriptions of the history and collections of extant libraries in Iraq, but the first book on modern library practice written by an Iraqi

appears to be attributable to Nihad Abdul Majid, the first holder of the new post of Director of School and Public Libraries, possibly building on the pamphlet produced by Bonny.

Few Iraqis studied librarianship abroad during the Kingdom of Iraq, but studying abroad had to be the basis for educating the few professionals required to lead initial developments. This was not without its challenges. There were few examples to motivate Iraqis to study librarianship, and little or no demand for their skills once they had completed a formal qualification course. Moreover, the foreign study environment was far from perfect. Prior to the 1950s, little attention had been given in Britain to the challenges of educating librarians in the less developed countries. By the end of the decade, increasing contact with foreign students was creating some concerns amongst the Schools of Librarianship in the U.S.A. about the relevance of their courses and their ability to cope with the personal and academic needs of their foreign students (American 1958; Collings 1959; Lohrer & Jackson 1959).

The Situation in which the Information Sector was Immersed

The effect of foreign interventions was that Iraqi library practices in the second half of the twentieth century began to be based on Anglo-American librarianship. However, as well as inculcating techniques, Bonny was also concerned to motivate the students towards appropriate developments, and appears confident that he had succeeded. In a comment that anticipates the now widely recognised need to develop solutions that reflect libraries' local context, he noted that:

> "the students appreciated …that libraries in the Middle East need not necessarily be a copy of a Western institution. Although libraries existed here many years ago, they know that they can rebuild on the experiences of the West; but they know, also, that they have the opportunity to develop services in accordance with their own culture and tradition." (Bonny 1958c)

One of the more significant features of Iraq's progress during the early years of its independence was the establishment and operation of the Development Board. While the first plans to manage the income from the oil industry appeared during the 'Mandate', the establishment of the Board appears to have been driven by Nuri al Said to create a break with some local traditions. The initial diversion of most of the country's income into an institution structured to prevent corruption, coupled with the Board's policy of investment only in physical infrastructure, underpinned a planned approach to the development of the

country. The government was committed to modernisation, represented principally in visible physical manifestations such as proposed new civic centre in which they were persuaded to include a national library building by the British Embassy and British Council. However, the later rebalancing of the allocation of the oil income between the infrastructure and the growing operating costs of the public services contributed a further, laudable example of economic management.

During the early period of the Hashemite Kingdom, before a revival of the British government's interest in the Middle East, Iraq's development depended almost entirely on its own, limited resources. Although the involvement of well-informed and influential Iraqis in reviews of the education system seem to have not been followed by any serious attempts at reforming the pedagogy at any level of education to stimulate independent reading and 'library consciousness', perhaps because of the intractable problems arising from the shortage of human and learning resources. However, it is important to recognise that, despite the continuing high incidence of illiteracy in Iraq, steps were taken to provide a new focus on school libraries within the Ministry of Education.

The under-development of school libraries had an inevitable detrimental impact on 'library consciousness'. As the country moved towards the second half of the twentieth century, the expansion of education was accompanied by frequent advice from visiting American educationalists (e.g. Monroe, et al. 1932; Tidwell 1957) on the need to improve the library services in schools. However, as an Iraqi official pointed out to Tesdell (1958), an international expert's advice was of little value unless the expert stayed long enough to learn the reasons for present practices, to understand the complex obstacles facing any attempts at reform, and to help in implementing recommendations. The advice that was offered appears to have been generally ignored, perhaps understandably, as it does not appear to have been based on a complete understanding of the underlying problems of the education system. However, towards the end of the Hashemite Kingdom, some steps towards reform were taken, with the appointment of the first Director of School and Public Libraries, and the efforts made my him to improve school library services. Iraq's ability to respond to foreigners' advice was constrained by the continuing limitations on the availability of accommodation and the training that could be provided for teaching and school library staff as a result of the rapid expansion of an

education system that remained structurally deficient. Even the examples of library provision in the foreign schools in Iraq do not seem to have been followed up by the state school teachers who visited them, probably because their standards were recognised as unattainable in the prevailing circumstances.

In higher education, there was a recognition of the need to improve library provision and foreign consultants were invited to provide assistance, but their achievements were limited by the time available and the fundamental problems that they encountered and barely had time to fully understand.

Ignatow, et al. (2012) have argued that in order to meaningfully contribute to development, public libraries must be seen to generate and distribute cultural, social, and economic capital. In a country such as Iraq, public libraries offered visible reinforcement for the state's efforts to create the more literate society required to underpin a changing economy. Beyond that, the libraries met the aspirations of the neo-literates, the emerging middle class, to engage in cultural pursuits. Iraqi society was not entirely ready for some of social changes that were taking place, but the development of public libraries was one that could be adopted and adapted with enthusiasm. They could be seen, not as a threat to the established social order, but as the revival of an ancient tradition. Before broadcast media became widely available, the new public libraries offered an emerging middle class access to a vehicle for enlightenment, entertainment and discussion in circumstances comparable to the 'literary salons' that had flourished in elite society during the Caliphate.

As basic educational provision began to spread through the country, the Iraqi government recognised the need to extend library provision for the newly literate, particularly as increasing oil revenues began to make this possible. The state initially required only literate and bilingual clerks to assist in the processes of government, but the later enlargement of the functions of the independent state demanded more technical and professional skills and a higher level of education. The resulting new indigenous intelligentsia had their feet in two cultures because they had been educated in a different environment, briefly but perhaps not long enough to fully understand why library provision was more advanced and what was needed to re-create that environment. The consequent lack of a coherent, strategic library development policy at this time is, moreover, demonstrated by the division of responsibility between two government departments.

Constraints on teaching methods continued to be reflected in the slow growth of the publishing industry in Iraq. The population in Iraq that was literate, able to afford to buy books, and accustomed to doing so was limited. Many factors inhibited the growth of an international book trade between the Arab countries, and further reduced the choice of titles available for purchase in Iraq. This further contributed to slow growth of the publishing industry and book trade in Iraq. Small gifts of books to selected schools by USAid and other foreign agencies made little impact: although in Arabic, their content was probably largely unsuitable.

Thus, in the immediate post-independence period, technical, educational, and social change affected only a small part of the population of Iraq. For the political elite of the country, projects such as increasing educational opportunities and providing public libraries served their own needs as well as providing a visible means of satisfying popular expectations of social advancement. While the Iraqi authorities were able to provide the capital for a steady programme of investment in new buildings, and the recurring funds to expand collections, library use was inhibited by the inability of government to formulate and implement the long term policies required to overcome the limited availability of books in Arabic and to change pedagogical practices.

In the immediate post-war years, potential donors of technical assistance such as the Arab League and the British government were financially constrained and also lacked the necessary human resources, while the American and Soviet governments appeared more committed to countering each other's propaganda, and Unesco was focused on the reconstruction of war damaged countries. It was only towards the end of this period that increases in Member States' support for Unesco, and the introduction of the United Nations' Expanded Technical Assistance programme, released the financial support for a more active programme of interventions in library development and make Unesco the principal donor of assistance to Iraq.

The political turmoil in the region that followed the creation of the state of Israel, occupying much of the territory of the former Palestine 'Mandate', was the foundation for the continuing mistrust of the British and American government sponsored agencies in the Arab states in the Middle East. Although the British Council established libraries in its Institutes in Iraq in the 1940s, they were devoid of professional staffing, and not expected to provide assistance to the

emerging network of libraries in Iraq. Indeed, the demand from Iraq was for professional support to manage the Council's own libraries there. It might have been expected that the brief *coup d'état* would have compelled the British government to prioritise counter-propaganda efforts to win the support of the Iraqi public. That seems to have been the case for expanding the British Information Services. In contrast, the continuing delay in assigning a British, qualified librarian to Iraq suggests that a succession of British Council Representatives — in whose hands the decision ultimately lay — did not have the same confidence in the libraries' likely influence on the attitudes of the Iraqi society as the Foreign Office's Ambassadors did in the propaganda efforts of the British Information Services.

In any case, it seems quite clear that, at that time, the British government did not perceive the British Council as an agency that was expected to engage in providing technical assistance. British aid for Iraq focused on agricultural development and labour issues. After 1948, the British Council's operations were constrained, not only by its limited budget but also — particularly in the colonies — by the Colonial Office's definition of its remit, which permitted it to maintain its own small libraries within its centres, to train local staff, and to lend librarians to encourage and organize locally-supported library development, but which excluded contributing to developing local public libraries.

Monastra and Kopycki (2009) suggested that librarianship and education for librarianship in the former British Empire came initially under British influence, but is a view that essentially reflected the situation during the 1960s and 1970s. To a limited extent, it was true of Iraq in the 1950s. Although the individual initiatives that had taken place during the 'Mandate' had laid the foundations on which the independent Iraqi government had begun to build modern library services, the impoverishment of the British government by two wars resulted in British librarianship being directly represented in Iraq largely through its inert manifestation in the British Institutes' libraries. Those libraries, and the reading rooms provided during and after the war by the British Information Services, were not particularly impressive, but the only other visible reminders of British librarianship in Iraq in the early 1950s. Inevitably, however, what Saunders and Bonny brought with them was a British perspective and library philosophy.

The role of the USIS libraries was largely focused on their support for the diplomatic propaganda effort, and their staff were also not assigned to posts on

the basis of their potential competence for providing technical assistance or the local need for it. Almost until the end of the Kingdom, the USIS libraries in Iraq appear — in the absence of accessible evidence to the contrary — to have been largely focused on presenting an image of American society and its achievements, and in occasional book donations in support of the U.S. diplomatic propaganda effort. The inclusion of a librarian, Donald Powell, in the USAid-funded efforts of the University of Arizona at Abu Ghraib College in 1957 seems to have been the result of an Iraqi request for specific assistance following the allocation of replacement premises for the library (Russel & Buehrer 1960). Powell's work at Abu Ghraib initially focused on the necessary organisation of the collection, just as Saunders's and Bonny's work in the College libraries had done, perhaps adding to an impression of the importance of this task that may subsequently have coloured professional philosophy in Iraq, as well as contributing to concerns about the adequacy of western systems for cataloguing and classifying Arab publications. The revolution terminated the project before Powell could return for a second attachment. Then, he might have begun to build on his early efforts, and the plans for the local librarian to be sent to the U.S.A. for professional education might have come to fruition.

Foreign influences on the development of libraries in Iraq during the Kingdom of Iraq could come only from Iraqi involvement in influential international events, from the libraries of the international agencies that were located in the country, and from short term visits by foreign experts. Regional political alliances fostered by pan-Arab nationalism proved short term, foreshadowing a continuing lack of cooperation in the development of the Arab information sector.

Unesco was the main agency providing assistance for Iraq, but during this period its Libraries Department had a limited range of expertise, and a rather narrow focus, reflecting the Anglo-American enthusiasm for public libraries, and the legacy of the League of Nations's activities. Its own Regular Budget was quite limited. An unsigned editorial in *Nature*, attributed to McColvin (1952), pointed out that Unesco's ability to provide financial and technical assistance was often limited by the regulations laid down by the U.N. Technical Assistance Board. The Libraries Department was subject to internal pressures from within Unesco's bureaucracy and from other U.N. agencies, but the interests of the library and archives sector had potentially powerful advocates within Unesco, because of the background of successive Directors General, Bodet and Evans. However, the

Director of the Libraries Department, Edward Carter, seems to have been unable to capitalise on this by providing the leadership and advocacy necessary in this environment. Unesco's first venture in library training in the Arab world was initiated and energetically developed by Dorothy Collings at ASFEC, seemingly independent of the Libraries Department, and the need for training elsewhere in the region was further advocated by her successor at ASFEC, Des Raj Kalia, after a tour of the Levant.

Iraqi librarians were not directly involved in Unesco's Ibadan seminar in 1953 and the Arab League's Damascus conference in 1957, but the recognition of the Arabs as a distinct group, and DBA's subsequent involvement in development projects in various Arab states, promoted what can now be seen a premature decision — the translation of Danton's (1949) primer on education for librarianship into Arabic in 1951. The regional surveys undertaken for Unesco by Des Raj Kalia whilst based at ASFEC (1957-59) should be seen in the same context, but — together the completion of Dagher's Directory (1951) — began to provide the background that Unesco needed to operate more effectively in the region. In the wake of the Arab cultural revival that had begun at the end of the nineteenth century, and the western scholarly interest in the Middle East that at this time focussed solely on its history and literature, it is unsurprising that the attention of first the Arab League and then of Unesco, like the British during the 'Mandate', should turn to the preservation of the libraries of rare books and manuscripts scattered throughout the country. Awad's (1955/56) survey for Unesco of the country's surviving manuscript collections was an acknowledgement of these factors. Although both Kalia's and Awad's activities were peripheral to the mainstream of Iraq's library development at that time, it is worth noting that, indirectly, both had been subject to Anglo-American influence: Kalia through his role in the Unesco funded Delhi Public Library project which was largely based on a British model, and then taking over a library at ASFEC that had been established by an American educated librarian; and Awad through exposure to American ideas during his study tour of the U.S.A.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Had Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in the Information Sector

Perhaps fortunately, the Iraqi librarian who was the probable nominee was unable to attend the Arab States Conference on the Exchange of Publications, at which the participants recommended that each country should establish a

national library and publish a national bibliography (Arab States 1957). It was some years before Unesco's Libraries Division recognised that such recommendations, when made by librarians, had little influence on governments. Iraq was represented by a diplomat from its Embassy (Kalia 1957a), who probably submitted a report to the Foreign Ministry, which may have been drawn it to the attention of the Ministry of Education. In any case, it seems that Iraq was slowly, possibly for other reasons, moving towards implementing these concepts. The Iraqi government's acceptance of the need for action to establish a National Library seems to have been fostered by British officials' suggestion that such a construction project could be an appropriate use of the Anglo-Iraqi Trust Fund. The further suggestion by the British that this might be part of Nuri al Said's plans for a monumental civic centre made it even more politically acceptable. However, they may have emerged through local discussions, it is not clear when the plans for a National Library became consolidated into Iraqi government policy, but it seems to have been Ferguson who first gave them a tangible shape. Regrettably, his efforts and their potentially significant impact on its development were cut short by the 1958 Revolution.

The first identified request for Unesco's technical assistance to develop a Library came from the Dean of the College of Science, but the first official request from the Iraqi government focused on the Higher Teachers Training College, possibly indicating the impact in Iraq of personal influence on library development. That influence did not necessarily spread to the College Library staff, some of whom resisted the first changes in library practices introduced by Saunders. Foreign advice about the creation of the new University of Baghdad was eventually accepted by the Iraqi authorities, when it suited them to do so. The decision to build a central library on its new campus could be seen as simply part of Nuri al Said's plans for the architectural aggrandisement of Baghdad, but someone must have planted the idea for it, and the appointment of Dr. Akrawi as its first President suggests that his considerable personal influence may have been played a part in that decision. The familiarity of some of Iraq's senior educational administrators with libraries in foreign universities probably encouraged their support for the modernisation of the College libraries to prepare them for an enhanced role. In particular, Dr. Akrawi's position within the Unesco secretariat suggests that he had no small influence in the focus of Saunders's

and — to a lesser extent — Bonny's missions, and this tends to be confirmed by later evidence of his concern about standards in the Colleges.

The need to provide adequate libraries in the developing countries and encourage their use to enhance the effectiveness of teaching and learning seems to have enjoyed little widespread recognition within Unesco as indicated by the lack of coordinated action. Although the Director General was clearly supportive, when Carter forwarded the extracts relating to libraries from the British Professors' report to Jean Thomas, he attached a plaintive note that it was:

> "absurd that despite the independent and authoritative emphasis on the importance of libraries, TA [Unesco's Technical Assistance team] should still say that this is of minor importance... The work is of value in the less developed countries. How can I convince people of this?" (Charlton, et al. 1954)

Figure 6.15: Carl Milam
Source: World Libraries

This acknowledgement of failure by Carter may provide some support for the opinion of him expressed by Carl Milam,[61] Executive Secretary of the American Library Association. Milam had been disappointed by the failure to appoint an American to head the Libraries Department and, in a letter to the American Deputy Director General of Unesco (Milam to Laves, 28 December 1946, quoted in Kraske 1985) described Carter as "weak... he will commit himself to one thing and advocate the opposite tomorrow." Any judgement on whether this is a fair assessment, a judgement biased by the failure to secure the position for an American librarian, or simply a reflection of the pressures that Carter faced in working with limited resources is debatable would require a wider investigation of the Unesco archives.

However, the principal international interventions during this period were the Unesco-funded missions requested by the Iraqi authorities that were undertaken by Cyril Saunders (1952-54), and Harold Bonny (1957-58). Both brought with

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[61] See resumé in Appendix 5.

them the distinct advantage of some previous familiarity with local conditions in the region. The limited availability of candidates for a short term contract appears to have led Unesco to respond to the first request from Iraq for technical assistance for its academic libraries by contracting Saunders, a public librarian with an underwhelming but over-stated range of experience, to undertake the task. He appears to have been limited in both his education in librarianship as well as in his professional experience, which may explain why he struggled to convince some Iraqis and some expatriate academics of the merits of his approach to the reorganisation of the libraries. Faced with a library that was little used, Saunders seems to have viewed it as akin to the public reference library with which he was familiar, and focused on re-organising the collection. Given that he appears to have not successfully completed any course in cataloguing and classification, it is unsurprising that Saunders's efforts to reorganise the libraries collections were not approved by everyone he encountered at the time or by subsequent assessments. The courses that he delivered do, however, seem to have been well received.

Bonny brought a more substantial body of professional and managerial experience to the task, and seems to have made a more lasting impression on the Iraqi authorities. His mission was primarily focussed on public libraries, for which he was appropriately qualified and experienced. His proposals to address an equally fundamental problem — the lack of a national development plan for the public libraries — do seem to have attracted some support, as seen in the Ministry of Education's decision to create a post for a Director of School and Public Libraries. However, confirmation of this would require the identification of the officials in the Ministry of Education before and after the revolution, and a close examination of the evidence about the continuity in government policy. He also seems to have been well able to contend with the challenges with which he was presented in relation to school and College libraries.

Saunders and Bonny together seem to have encouraged the provision of the mobile library services that were essential in Iraq's vast rural areas. Saunders's initiative in assisting the development of a mobile library at Dujailah was in keeping with Unesco's aims for its own Fundamental Education projects, but his course for the *Liwa* librarians was an *ad hoc* response to a need perceived by the Ministry. Furthermore, it is clear from its later request for American assistance, and in the brief given to Bonny, that the Ministry was beginning to recognise that

more substantial assistance was required by its public libraries. Moreover, Bonny's inputs in the growing field of public library provision and the training that he provided for school librarians, combined with the educationalists' advice, do seem to have encouraged the Ministry of Education to making the appointment of its first Director of School and Public Libraries to provide national guidance on their development.

It was only late in the 1950s that the Colonial Office began to encourage the Council to engage in library development in the colonies, but Iraq had never been a colony as such. Other than small gifts of books to some of the College libraries in Iraq, the Council played only a passive role in library development there, even though it was from time to time made aware of the need for technical assistance for the country's libraries. This seemed to change with the assignment of John Ferguson as the British Council's first London-appointed Librarian in Baghdad (1957–1960?), although the assignment to Iraq of someone with high-level expertise in Britain and capable of responding to the requests for assistance that were beginning to be received from Iraqi libraries was probably accidental or incidental rather than intentional.

The rapid growth of the Museum Library's collection must be attributed to the acquisitive habits of the Library's first Director, Gurgis Awad.

During this period, the foundations of an educated and trained workforce began to be laid. Under the guidance of foreign experts, the first short term training in 'modern' methods was received by Iraqi library staff, and the first Iraqis studied librarianship overseas with foreign financial assistance. The first Arabic language texts on library management and practices were produced in Iraq, not only by translating the work of a foreign expert but also in a seemingly original work by an Iraqi librarian.

Overcoming Resistance to Change in the Information Sector

There is some evidence to suggest that the Iraqi authorities were bemused by alien concepts such as the proposed national bibliographic centre, while other developments in the library field appear to have enjoyed their support may not have been fully understood. They were, however, firm in their opposition to developments for which they felt the country was not yet ready.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in the Information Sector

Bonny appears to have recognised that Unesco's commitment in Iraq was not certain to extend beyond his mission because of the demands on available resources and the conflict between preferences of Unesco and the Iraqi authorities. His approach to the Ford Foundation, although perhaps uninformed about the Foundation's policies, seems a reflection of either the Iraqi authorities' confidence in him or a shared recognition of a threat to progress in a development they wholeheartedly supported. Whatever the situation, it provided the momentum for further development.

Chapter 7
First Steps in Professional Education
in the Republic of Iraq,
1958-1967

"It is thrilling to see this kind of burgeoning interest in an area from which so much of our civilisation developed, and to feel that once again it may re-establish some of the leadership in bibliographical matters which it had in earlier times." (Wilder 1967)

Introduction

This chapter describes the period of political turmoil in Iraq that followed the fall of the monarchy, and notes how this impacted on the bilateral development agencies. It reviews the steady expansion in the number of libraries in Iraq, and considers the first significant steps to create a cadre of professionally educated librarians.

Significant Events in Iraq

Increasing dissatisfaction with the government fomented the revolution that brought about the assassination of King Faisal II on 14th July 1958, and the replacement of the monarchy by a military regime headed by Abd Al-Karim Qasim. Following the revolution, the country suffered continual political unrest as various factions promoted riots. Qasim was eventually ousted in February 1963 by a coalition of army units and pan-Arabist groups including the Arab Ba'ath (i.e. Resurrection) Socialist Party. A political *coup d'état* by the Ba'athists in July expelled the military elements from government, but the military seized back control in November 1963.

Relations between the Arab states were most affected by the implicit conflict between the ideals of nationalism and pan-Arabism. In April 1963, for example, Egypt, Iraq and Syria agreed to discuss forming a federal state, and, for some years, the Iraqi government continued to toy with the idea. Interest in this merger was already failing when a dispute with Syria arose in 1966/67, and Syria cut off the flow of Iraqi oil to its Mediterranean ports. The loss of revenue threatened to cause a severe financial crisis, and destabilised an Iraqi government that had already been weakened by the failure of its military campaign against Kurdish nationalists. The government was further weakened by the Israeli success in the 'Six Day War' in 1967. The Ba'athists regained control on 17th July 1968.

Developments in International Agencies' Relations with Iraq

This section notes how Unesco was re-aligned and increasingly financed as a development agency that could play a wide-ranging role across the information sector, and reviews its substantial efforts to influence library development in the Arab world, particularly two major regional seminars and an international seminar for librarians. It outlines how the British, American, and Soviet governments re-organised and refocused their assistance to reflect the changes in geo-politics during the decade, but explains how the potential for the British Council and USIS to contribute to library development in Iraq was disrupted by the frequent political upheavals. It notes that the Soviet Union and its allies appear to have shown little or no interest in library development in Iraq, and that other international agencies appear to have played little part.

Unesco, Development, and Libraries

In 1960, the Unesco General Conference approved the formation of the International Advisory Committee on Bibliography, Documentation and Terminology to advise the Director General on relevant aspects of all Unesco's activities, including, *inter alia*, the status of professional workers in the field and of the provision of suitable methods of training (Veronese 1960). The new Committee met for the first time in 1961, and expressed concern that training through courses and library schools in countries where such training was inadequate had not been identified as part of their remit, made clear their view that this would be one of the most important future activities, and proposed that an international symposium on the training of librarians, bibliographers and documentalists should be held. The Committee established a number of sub-committees, including one on training and status problems.

In December 1960, Unesco contracted with IFLA and FID to undertake a joint study of the training and status of research librarians and documentalists. The study also covered comparison and critical evaluation of present-day training programs and methods, including text books, and also a comparison of the academic and economic standing of research librarians and documentalists with other professional workers, as well as recommendations and suggestions concerning action which should be taken to improve the situation. The study was to be directed by Dr. Eugen Egger[62] of the Swiss National Library and Dr.

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[62] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Zygmunt Majewski, Director of the Polish Central Institute of Scientific-Technical Documentation.[63] A copy of the final report from this study has not yet been traced, but its outcome was later described as disappointing by one member of the International Advisory Committee.

Figure 7.1: Carlos Victor Penna
Source: World Libraries

In 1966, the General Conference agreed the organisational changes that created the Department of Documentation, Libraries and Archives (later often known by the acronym DBA, derived from its name in French) as a focal point for its broader activities in the field (Wormann 1968). Carlos Victor Penna,[64] who had been brought to Unesco Headquarters to succeed Petersen as Head of Libraries Division in 1964, was appointed Director of DBA.

Unesco's Beirut Seminar 1959

The plans for a high-level regional seminar for libraries in the Arab states gathered substance were first discussed informally between Dorothy Collings and Everett Petersen during the Ibadan Conference in 1953. In 1957, the Iraqi National Commission for Unesco formally requested Unesco to hold a regional library seminar for the Arabic speaking countries, offering to host it in Baghdad (Bonny 1958e; Unesco 1959c; Unesco 1959d). Provision in the Unesco Programme and Budget for an Arab regional seminar was finally approved by Resolution 4.75 of the General Conference, held in Paris in November/December 1958. By the beginning of 1959, however, Unesco was beginning to recognise the political difficulties of holding the seminar in Iraq (Unesco 1959c). At the end of June, the Director General was asked to approve the relocation of the seminar. By the end of August, the agreement of the Lebanese government to hosting the seminar was received (Unesco 1959c; 1959d; Unesco 1960b). The seminar was eventually held in Beirut from 8th to 19th December 1959.

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[63] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[64] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Unesco's broad policies for library development were prioritised, and the speakers selected were regional and international authorities in related fields. Given its overarching theme, Library Development in Arabic-speaking States, the conference had a long agenda. In his opening address as Director of the seminar, Bonny (letter to Keresztesi dated 28th April 1977) emphasised the high priority that he believed should be given to library education. An analysis of the region's manpower problems by staff of the American University in Beirut highlighted the underlying problems: the limited supply of professional periodicals and other teaching materials in Arabic, the absence of national professional associations, and the absence of national standards for professional education and of library schools. They also highlighted the need for continuing professional development, and for qualified librarians to be able to speak languages other than Arabic so that they could easily make professional visits abroad and participate in the work of international professional bodies (Kent & Haidar 1960).

The Director-General of Education nominated Nihad Abdul Majid (Al-Nassiri) and Zaheda Ibrahim to represent Iraq. Although he had only recently returned to Iraq to take up his appointment after graduating from the Library School at Columbia University, Robert Coté,[65] the Librarian at Al-Hikma University, was accepted as an observer, perhaps because he would be one of the few professionally educated librarians in Iraq.

Figure 7.2: Fr. Robert Coté, S.J.
Source: *Al Hikma* 1967

Following their discussions, the participants in the seminar acknowledged the relevance of a gamut of qualifications from undergraduate certificate through to Master's Degree. They took a robust approach, and stated that approaches such as evening classes were acceptable only as temporary expedients, reaching the not unexpected conclusion that:

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[65] See resumé in Appendix 5.

> "There is no real substitute for formal library training acquired in a regular library school … more are needed in the Arab States." (Final 1960)

This opinion was taken up by the participants, who made two recommendations for an expansion in library training facilities in the region, stressing the urgency of establishing more Schools of Librarianship, encouraging governments to establish national training programmes; and urging Unesco to consider establishing a regional library school (Final summary 1960; Unesco 1960d). Bonny's report to Unesco also emphasised, *inter alia*, the region's need for more library training facilities of high standard, as well as the importance of library associations in encouraging the development of appropriate and standardised techniques to facilitate library development.

A Library Training Committee was nominated from among the participants (Final report, draft 1959) to study manpower needs in the region and the existing training provision in the wake of the Beirut seminar, and to report on improvements that might be possible through short-term actions and the development of long-term policies (Final report 1959). The summary report that was eventually published differed significantly from the draft in omitting the proposal for this committee (Final summary 1960), reflecting either a decision by Unesco to not support it, or simply a view that a more broadly based committee was needed.

Subject to the General Conference approving the budget, Unesco hoped to arrange training courses in special librarianship in the Arabic-speaking countries in 1960/61 (Library services 1960), but it is not clear whether these materialised.

Unesco's Cairo Seminar 1962

Recognising the growing need to support documentation services, Unesco held a regional seminar on bibliography, documentation and exchange of publications in Arabic-speaking states in Cairo in October 1962. Early indications were that Iraq would support attendance by representatives of the Ministry of Education and the University, but it seems that these intentions were not carried out.

During the Cairo seminar, discussion of relevant education and training aspects was focused around a paper on the "Selection and training of research librarians and documentalists in Arabic speaking countries" (Harby & Fahmy 1962). The participants recommended that Unesco give further support to

professional education because this was one of the most pressing problems (Unesco 1962b). They called for the preparation or translation of relevant textbooks and other professional publications, and also requested Member States and Unesco to develop professional training by:

- "Giving all possible support to library education institutes in the Arab States and especially the Department of Librarianship and Archives Cairo University, this being at present the only school of librarianship in the region, in developing a graduate diploma or master's programme open to holders of bachelor's degrees from all the Arab States.
- Developing national training facilities, courses, in-service training and pilot library schools." (Regional 1963)

Writing in the wake of the Cairo seminar, Sharify[66] commented that the programmes of short courses in various countries in the region could be judged to have had considerable success, although they were blighted by lack of sufficient time for preparation and delivered in a foreign language with sometimes poor interpretation. Unesco had discussed major problems perceived as affecting libraries in the region at various conferences (Unesco 1959a), whilst treating library education as an almost incidental part of the agenda. Although all these conferences recognised the need for training librarians and concluded with recommendations for the strengthening of the few existing educational programs in the region and for the creation of new ones, there was no apparent immediate action on these recommendations, leaving Sharify to charge Unesco with failing to: "study seriously and solely the problems facing education for librarianship." Seemingly despairing of any immediate or rapid resolution of the deficiencies in professional education evident in the region, he even went so far as to support Kalia's suggestion that a peripatetic group of teachers should be established (Sharify 1963). In doing so, he appears to have, paradoxically, overlooked the consequence of Kalia's recommendation that this 'travelling library school' should be headed by an international expert, who at that time would be less likely to have been an Arabic speaker given the paucity of highly qualified librarians in the region.

In March 1963, Unesco's International Advisory Committee on Bibliography, Documentation and Terminology advised that the need for a manual on training research librarians was a greater priority than preparing more lists of training centres and audio-visual aids (Third 1965; Sabor 1969). Unesco budgeted to

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[66] See resumé in Appendix 5.

support a total of 45 Fellowships for librarians from the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme in 1963 and 1964. In 1965 and 1966, the total increased to 60. In 1967/68, IFLA and FID received another joint contract from Unesco to produce a study on minimum standards for the professional training of librarians and documentalists, but it has not yet been possible to identify any output from this study.

Unesco's First Seminar for Librarians in Copenhagen 1966

In planning for 1965-66, Unesco committed itself to a determined effort to overcome the lack of suitably trained librarians in developing countries, and a training course on general librarianship took place in 1966 (Larsen 1967), the first of three courses that were commissioned by Unesco from the Royal Danish School of Librarianship (Danmarks Biblioteksskole) in Copenhagen. The course was predominantly a basic introduction to library studies and, from its description, does not appear to have paid significant attention to international variations in library services or teaching methodologies.

The course director's post-course comments added to Unesco's growing recognition of the issues surrounding education for librarianship (Larsen 1967). Subsequently, a round table of experts' opinions was published in *Unesco Bulletin for Libraries*, which contrasted the advantages and disadvantages of education in a foreign country with studying in the home country. The experts' consensus was that professional education was best done in the student's home country, but that they would still need exposure to the situation overseas. It was judged better to send instructors to developing countries than to bring students to developed countries (Library education 1969).

British Government Assistance for Library Development in Iraq

From 1960, library development was agreed to be a part of the British Council's role (Flood 1964). Local funds for libraries were often limited in the developing countries. Gunton[67] (1962) observed that, to improve library services, librarians in the developing countries needed the flair for acquiring money by any legitimate means that local conditions or international opportunities permitted, but, in the developing countries particularly, they so often lacked this capability, as their salaries and library budgets generally testified. Flood[68] (1962) believed

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[67] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[68] See resumé in Appendix 5.

that, if governments — the principal employers of librarians in developing countries — did not provide attractive career prospects for librarians, the profession would not attract the people of the calibre best able to design and deliver good library services.

In July 1958, the British Council's Library in Baghdad was closed for a week following the Revolution, and then the building was occupied by a detachment of soldiers who were assigned to protect property in the district. The entrance to the Library in Basra was supervised for some time by the security police, and the Centre in Mosul and its library appear to have remained closed throughout 1959-60 (British Council 1960a).

The Council's Libraries Department was allocated increased funds for work in the Middle East in 1963. Iraq's links with Britain remained strong. Despite the importance of Iraq, as further indicated by the continuing assignment of a London-appointed Librarian to work there, no 'specialist tours' by British experts to provide advice or motivation for local librarians in Iraq were arranged in 1958-59 because of the upheavals there (British Council 1959). From 1959-60, the British Council's Annual Report ceased to provide details of 'specialist tours' to each country, and no relevant information appears to have been retained by the Council in London or Baghdad.

It has not been possible to identify all the British Council Librarians in Iraq during the decade, but it seems that the Iraqis had been fortunate in Ferguson's appointment to the post in Baghdad. His successors seem to have been less effective. Internal political upheavals continued to interrupt, but not terminate international efforts to assist library development in Iraq. Following the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the British Council offices in Iraq were again damaged and the Library in Baghdad was closed for two years (British Council 1976; Coombs 1988).

United States Government Assistance for Library Development in Iraq

Brewster (1976) noted that American assistance for the development of library education, with a few notable exceptions, took the form of a single, isolated intervention, mainly funded by *ad hoc* State Department grants or the Fulbright program, with little continuity or integration between successive projects. The librarians did, however, continually accept that they had a role in

providing placements for students of local schools of librarianship (Rowan 1964; Sussman 1973).

The USIS libraries' close association with the American Embassies certainly made them targets for attacks during political disturbances (Richards 2001). Following the Revolution in 1958, the recently opened USIS centre in Basra was attacked (Rugh 2006), and the USIA centres and libraries were closed (Dinsmore 1994). The USIS Librarian in Iraq, Jane Fairweather,[69] was transferred to another country and not immediately replaced (British Council 1960b). A new USIS Library in Baghdad was finally able to open in April 1961, and there were then once again 3 USIS libraries in Iraq, in Baghdad, Basra, and Kirkuk. However, later in 1961, the Library in Baghdad was attacked, and the Iraqi government once again ordered the USIS to close its centres (Rugh 2006). However, in 1965, a new, larger American Library was opened (British Council 1969b).

At some point during the 1960s, USIA recommended establishing an office in Mosul, and strengthening the 'American Library' there with the appointment of an American librarian (Price 1982). The USIS Library in Baghdad was keen to collaborate with U.S. libraries and publishers to facilitate the development of Iraqi libraries. In particular it offered to help in strengthening the existing programs and with practical training, but the Regional Librarian would be needed to organise and train the Baghdad staff to do this, a comment which seems to imply that there was no American librarian based in Iraq at that time.

In January 1967, U.S. President Johnson approved a National Policy Statement on Book and Library Activities, which aimed to make available to the world the book and library resources of the U.S.A. A directive on implementing this refers, *inter alia*, to counselling on library development, strengthening of national and regional Schools of Library Science, and instruction in the application of modern technology in libraries, but is mainly focused on donations of books (Barnett & Piggford 1969). The capacity for doing more was clearly limited. By 1967, there had been an 80% decline in the number of American qualified librarians employed by USIS, compared with 1954. In 1965, only 5 American professional librarians were based in the region, including the Regional Librarian, whose post had been relocated to Beirut (USIS 1967). In any case, on 7th June 1967, in the wake of the Arab-Israeli War, Iraq severed diplomatic

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[69] See resumé in Appendix 5.

relations with the United States, and the USIS centre was closed yet again (Rugh 2006).

The Role of the Soviet Union and its Allied Communist States

Reports in the Soviet press generally welcomed the Revolution in Iraq, but acknowledged that it was not a Soviet-style Communist-led revolution (Soviet Ideal 1959). Qasim only engaged with the Soviets because he wanted to cut Iraq's ties to the Western powers (Fukuyama 1980). Most Soviet aid to Iraq between 1959 and 1965 was aimed at agrarian reform and industrial development (Kanet 1981). The Soviets' propaganda stressed the relevance to developing countries of the U.S.S.R.'s experience in the eradication of mass illiteracy and in developing advanced science and technology. Establishing, maintaining, and manipulating information services and media were presented as contributing to the achievement of these goals (Richards 1998). It was 1961 before the U.S.S.R. was finally given permission to open a cultural centre in Baghdad (British Council 1967). By the mid-1960s, this included a library (Badr 1965). Ultimately, the Soviets were no more successful than the Americans in winning Iraq's consistent and unambiguous support (El-Biali 1966).

The League of Arab States and ALECSO

Al-Wakil's (1967) review of the first 20 years of the Arab League's Cultural Committee revealed, *inter alia*, some concerns about the weakness of the Cultural Department. The Arab League seemingly managed to organise only 2 seminars on library related matters during this period. Both were on book development — in Lebanon in 1961 (Nidal Estanbouli 1980), and in Cairo in 1967 (Sharif 1979) — but no reports of their outcomes have been found.

Other Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations

The Goethe Institute, the cultural and educational agency of the then Federal German Republic, is reported to have had a large library in its offices in Baghdad in 1963, but no reports have been traced that identify technical assistance for Iraqi libraries by the German government, or by similar agencies of other western governments.

The first Unesco subvention to IFLA was granted in 1949, but the needs of the developing countries attracted little attention from most IFLA members.

The Library Association established a special interest group, the International and Comparative Librarianship Group, following expressions of interest in

discussions at a meeting on international topics held in London in 1967. It saw its main role as facilitating an exchange of experience between foreign and British librarians, particularly those amongst the latter who had worked abroad.

Internal Developments Affecting Provision of Library, Information and Archival Services

The section notes the developments that began to gather pace as the country's wealth increased. It indicates that while significant efforts were made to improve literacy, the supporting role of libraries was largely ignored. It reviews the rapid expansion of enrolments in all levels of education by the state, which permitted most private schools to continue, and the foundation of private universities, and growth in the number studying abroad. It reports the deficiencies in the education system, in the provision of buildings, in the lack of attention to technical and vocational education, and in the quality of teaching. It observes that publishing remained under-developed in the Arab world generally, and explains how gaps in the industry's output were being filled to some extent by subsidised translations of American and Soviet books, but explains that even their limited impact was further reduced in Iraq by government suppression of anything considered politically unacceptable.

Economic Development

Annual oil exports were about $87 billion (£550 billion). By the late 1960s, the Development Board's income had increased dramatically, and multi-year development plans had been introduced. However, as one commentator has since observed:

> "...although different parts of the Iraqi bureaucracy were able to function effectively …, and to produce useful economic data, the lack of any larger integrative mechanism for consolidating information, combined with the increasing secrecy regarding all aspects of government activity, meant that there was no way it could be used as an effective guide to the making of national policy." (Owen 2007)

- In 1958, the Development Board was replaced by the Ministry of Development, which was re-designated as the Ministry of Planning in the following year (Al-Dahwi 1977). During the 1960s, Soviet influence on development planning led to greater investment in industrial development, and the effective nationalisation of most industries in Iraq (except oil, power and transport).

Literacy, and Primary and Secondary Education

Little improvement in the overall literacy rate had been achieved in the last few years of the Hashemite Kingdom. In 1957, still only 11% of the total population of Iraq were literate (International Literary Market Place 1983-84). Successive Iraqi governments recognised the need to increase literacy. Iraq had

sent 2 delegates to the 1964 Unesco Arab regional conference in Cairo on the planning and organising of literacy programmes, and hosted the ALECSO 'Alexandria' Conference on literacy in 1966. According to the Ministry of Education, the literacy rate amongst children of school age stood at around 76% in 1965. However, a later commentator remarked that "The emphasis on quantitative expansion of education was surely a major success for the republican regime … but has obstructed the emphasis on the quality of that education" (Saef 1986).

Higher Education

When the University of Baghdad came into being in 1958, the Colleges and Institutes were widely scattered, and academically self-contained, with the same subject often being taught in several (Gjelsness 1963), and much needless duplication in their libraries' collections. Soon after the Revolution, new Colleges were established in Mosul and Basra, affiliated to the University of Baghdad.

After the 1958 revolution, an 'open door' policy of admissions was implemented in the higher education system. Student numbers in higher education expanded rapidly from 5,171 In 1957/58 (Rybnikov 1971) to 41,166 in 1967/68, mostly in the state sector. With no admission criteria, standards declined (Penrose & Penrose 1978).

Al-Mustansiriyah University was established in 1963 with the help and financial support of the Republic of Iraq Teachers' Union (International Handbook 1977), and began by mainly providing evening programs (Le 1972). In 1964, the University was given the status of a semi-state institution (Dietze 1970) and some state financial support (Rybnikov 1971). It was known, briefly, in 1964/65, as 'University College' (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1972a), as a part of the University of Baghdad (International Handbook 1977). At around the same time, it absorbed Al-Sha'ab University, another private university, founded by the Iraqi Economists' Association (Francis 1977), and then moved to a new campus (Dietze 1970). Initially, the University also managed colleges in Mosul and Basra (Knowles 1977).

To cope with the demand for postgraduate study, the first Master's Degree programs in Iraqi Universities were established in some subjects in 1961 (Le 1972). However, the introduction of Master's Degrees was poorly planned. Shortages of appropriately qualified and experienced staff, and other inadequate

facilities, hindered the progress of students who had already endured low standards in their undergraduate education (Penrose & Penrose 1978).

Iraqis Studying Outside Iraq

As the number of students completing secondary and higher education increased, so did the demand for opportunities to study overseas. Between 1960 and 1969, the Iraqi government sponsored some 2,000 students to go overseas. In addition, about 17,000 studied overseas with other funding (Al-Dahwi 1977). Two thirds of them went to Western Europe or the U.S.A. During the 1960s, entrance requirements for Russian universities were lowered, but little evidence has been found of Iraqis studying library science in the Communist countries.

Publishing and the Book Trade in the Arab World

Unesco has always recognised the importance of book publishing in supporting economic and social development. Kalia was tasked with producing a study of reading in the Arab world, and noted that libraries' collection development was particularly challenged by short-run publishing, because news of new titles was not widely and rapidly distributed (Kalia 1959; 1960b; Choudhary 2002). Lorenz (1962) explained that the shortage of information materials in vernacular languages was also, in part, a consequence of the absence of the basic market for the purchase and distribution of publications for which libraries' purchases would have provided the foundation.

Publishing and the Book Trade in Iraq

In 1959, only 143 titles were published in Iraq (U.S. Information Agency 1965a). However, the number published then increased, although few books were published compared with the output of developed countries — 286 titles in 1964 (Ben Cheikh 1982), 570 titles in 1967, and 473 in 1968. Even this still made it the third largest national output amongst the Arab states (Unesco 1972a).

A USIA official commented that "While it is relatively easy to get a book published, it is difficult to ensure that it is distributed, sold and read" (U.S. Information Agency 1968b). In the 1960s, there were said to be 4 or 6 bookstores in Baghdad (including the *Al Muthanna* Bookshop), 3 or 4 in Basra, 2 in Kirkuk, and 1 in Mosul (U.S. Information Agency 1961d; 1965a; 1968a). A later survey confirmed that the 4 book wholesalers based in Baghdad potentially offered facilities for distributing titles throughout Iraq (U.S. Information Agency

1968a). In 1962, 4 companies were known to import books into Iraq, two of them dealing only in Arabic books, but foreign books remained scarce because of foreign exchange difficulties (Cox 1968).

Book publishing and bookselling may have been less affected than news media, with one regular visitor to the country remembering that:

> "in the 1960s,… in the *suq*, …you could find old books in foreign languages… At all times, there were books in Arabic, both Iraqi and foreign. And of course there was a lot of political publishing in Arabic." (Gibson 2004)

When Qasim took power, his government suppressed many of the freedoms that had existed under the Hashemite Monarchy. Freedom of the press was seriously curtailed. Even Soviet commentators noted how the government was silencing opposition from groups which had incurred its disfavour (Iraqi Kurds' 1963). The number of newspapers being published is difficult to clarify because of the suspension and sometimes reappearance of newspapers that had offended the government, but by 1965, there appeared to be only 6 newspapers in Iraq (4 Arabic; 2 English-language), all published in Baghdad, and 15 weekly or monthly magazines (U.S. Information Agency 1961a, 1961c, 1965a; Unesco Statistical Yearbook, 1966 1968). Their distribution and circulation outside the capital was said to be negligible (U.S. Information Agency 1965a). Newspaper readership was certainly small, partly because of continuing low levels of adult literacy.

Developments in Library, Information and Archive Services in Iraq

This section reports the rapid expansion of public libraries in Iraq during the early years of the Republic, the establishment of central oversight, and the consolidation of responsibility within the Ministry of Culture. It also reports the support for the establishment of mobile library services that was provided by Unesco and the Gulbenkian Foundation, as well as the Foundation's support for the construction of the first specialist library for young people. The widespread provision of poor quality school libraries is noted, as well as the first, unsuccessful attempt to train teacher-librarians. The inadequacies of the libraries in higher education throughout the country, and the generous support of the Gulbenkian Foundation for developing their collections are reviewed, as well as the involvement of the Ford Foundation and Unesco in the development of the libraries of the University of Baghdad. The gradual incorporation of the ASOR collection into the Museum Library is outlined, and some examples of the growing number of special libraries are mentioned, particularly in connection with

the external support provided for them. The discussions that led to the withdrawal of British support for the construction of the newly designated National Library, and the Gulbenkian Foundation's eventual involvement are reviewed. Some examples of collections of ancient manuscripts in Iraq, and the work of the Arab League and Unesco in microfilming them, are noted. Finally, the section reports Unesco's mistaken response to a request for support for the establishment of the National Archives Centre.

Public Libraries

Other than Egypt, provision of public libraries in Iraq was probably more substantial than elsewhere in the Arab world but, at the end of the 1950s, there were said to be only 23 public libraries in Iraq (Ben Cheikh 1982). Other reports said that there were 35-40 (Kalia 1960d; Public 1961), possibly including 14 small 'public' libraries belonging to clubs and associations (Library services 1960). After the revolution, the number of public libraries expanded rapidly. In the Maysan *Liwa* alone, 10 public libraries were founded between 1961 and 1975 (Alman 1976).

The Ministry of Education had established a Directorate of School and Public Libraries, whose first Director (Nihad Abdul Majid Al-Nassiri) had been appointed in September 1958. He was responsible, *inter alia*, for training specialized employees for library administration (Chilmeran 1962). In February 1960, the first Conference of Public Librarians was organised in Amara.

In 1960, Kalia submitted suggestions for a 'First Five-Year Library Development Plan for Iraq' to the Ministry of Education (Kalia 1960c). This proposed the establishment of a National Libraries Board (echoing an earlier recommendation by Bonny 1957a; 1958a) responsible, *inter alia*, for determining minimum qualifications and arranging training for library staff in different grades.

By then end of the decade, there were then 110 public libraries in the country (Unesco 1974d, quoted by Al-Kindilchie 1977), but there were no qualified staff (Srivastava 1968), and one of the Ford Foundation's consultants commented that "public libraries existed, but their development awaited the combination of demand from a reading public, and staff to meet that demand" (Wilder 1967).

Mobile Libraries

Several donors supported the introduction of the country's first proper mobile library in 1959-60. Kalia submitted a 9-page report '*The Bookmobile Project Plan*

for Baghdad' in November 1959. Kalia's recollection, many years later, was only that he had "commissioned a mobile library in the city of Baghdad" (Choudhary 2002). However, the records show that he also identified 4 librarians for overseas training in the operation of mobile library services, and persuaded the Ministry to allocate funds from the national budget for 2 to go to India. Unesco also agreed to support 2. Eventually, however, it seems that some bargaining between Unesco and the Iraqi government resulted in all 4 being sent to India for 4 months as Unesco Fellows. The 4-month programme was based in Delhi Public Library, but also included a specially designed short course organised by the University of Delhi Department of Library Science.

After considering a copy of Kalia's report on the proposed mobile library service in Iraq, which Petersen had sent to it, the Gulbenkian Foundation proposed to send 3 Iraqis to Portugal to observe the mobile library services which the Foundation had established there, support 3 more to take Master's Degrees in Librarianship in the U.K. or U.S.A., and to pay for 3 vehicles. Hasan Ikmet Ameen, Faraj Salih Saeed, and Younis Aziz Mohamad Salih[70] were selected for the Fellowships to study for Master's Degrees (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1963a). In 1964/65, the Gulbenkian Foundation made a further grant to purchase 3 mobile libraries, and to send 3 more trainees to Portugal (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1965b).

School Libraries

During the Beirut seminar, participants had made detailed comments and recommendations about the role of school libraries and the training of teacher librarians (Final report, draft 1959), but these were largely omitted from the final summary report (1960) sent to Member States.

In Iraq, there was not a single properly run school library in the country, according to Kalia (1960d). The 'teacher-librarians' had no special training, and were granted no relief from teaching for their extra duties. The Director of Public and School Libraries organised the Ministry's first study program for teacher librarians. Eighty-one pupils in the second stage of secondary school were taught some library science subjects as well as other subjects, probably those taught to pupils who were intended to become teachers (Chilmeran 1962; Srivastava 1969). This 'Educational Course for Librarians', was a three-month program, with

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[70] See resumé in Appendix 5.

8 or 9 modules, including 'History of Libraries', 'Classification' and 'Procedures', as well as more general subjects such as 'Education' and 'Psychology'. Students' assignments were graded, and the Ministry apparently retained records of their performance (Unesco 1972a). They were then assigned to high schools, teacher training schools, and some primary schools. The experiment was not a success, perhaps because of the trainees' youth and inexperience, and the Ministry eventually transferred them to teaching posts in elementary schools (Chilmeran 1962).

In the mid-1960s, the Director published a book on school librarianship (Majid 1963). This manual was distributed to all schools, but the teacher-librarians could not make effective use of it (Chilmeran 1962).

Academic Libraries

Unesco did not consolidate its advice about the operation of university libraries until the late 1960s, but then pointed out the benefits of appointing professionally qualified staff, including the University Librarian, and stressed the need to support the status of the library staff (Gelfand 1968).

The University of Baghdad Central Library was established in 1959 in the al-Waziriyah district to serve all the University's students and teaching staff (Wishyar 2006). In addition, the new University started life with at least 13 libraries in the constituent Colleges (Library services 1960), and more in the Institutes, still scattered throughout the city, with no central control over the libraries. Holloway (1959) noted the resistance in the Arab world to centralising library services, and attributed the factors that inhibited cooperation and resource-sharing to "personal rivalries and jealousies and lack of flexibility within the universities", while other commentators have ascribed it to mistaken perceptions of a threatened loss of status and a concern to guard scarce library resources.

At the time of the University's foundation, the Central Library employed only 18 staff, 9 of whom were university graduates (Ford 1968). A few years later, the Central Library had 40 staff, including 14 who were graduates (Gjelsness 1963).

The Ford Foundation and the University of Baghdad's Libraries

On 7th April 1958, writing from Kabul to Petersen, Bonny mentioned that in February that year he had made an initial approach to the Ford Foundation about

the possibility of assistance for Baghdad University Library, and that the Iraqis had followed up his initial approach (Bonny 1958e; Unesco 1958a). The Ford Foundation's response to the University's approaches was a recommendation in February 1958 from its Representative in the Near East that an on-the-spot study of the University's plans for the Library should be undertaken. This task was undertaken by William Dix, who arrived in Baghdad in April 1958 to advise the Foundation and the University on the development of its library services, and spent 3 weeks in discussions with Dr. Akrawi and College faculty. A visit by Jack Dalton, Director of the American Library Association's International Relations Office, coincided with Dix's visit, and permitted them to share opinions.

Figure 7.3: William Dix
Source: Library History Buff Blog

Figure 7.4: Jack Dalton
Source: ALA Archives, University of Illinois

At around this time, Dr. Hisham Al-Chawaf was appointed Director of the Baghdad University Central Library. At some time previously, he had been Chair of the Library Committee in the College of Commerce, and active in library affairs there, for example claiming to have helped the Dean (and Harold Bonny) to make it an open access collection (Ford 1968).

Dix's recommendations to the Foundation covered the training of professional and non-professional staff. He recommended training 5 staff as a first step, and suggested that this action might be followed by further assistance and more staff

training. Beginning in 1958, the Ford Foundation made a significant contribution to the development of the University's library services, untypical in that:

> "The project involved no other assistance to the University, and considering Iraq's level of economic development and basic needs was an extraordinary case." (Brewster 1976)

The first grant of $35,500 (£250,000) for the training of library staff was formally approved on 1st July 1958. The aim was to train up to 5 Iraqis in the U.S.A., including training in English language as well as in library science, as had been discussed with Dr. Akrawi (Ford 1968).

A University committee, chaired by a Professor of Medicine, Dr. Al-Jalili, was responsible for approving all applications for scholarships to study outside the country. Dr. Akrawi nominated 8 candidates for Ford Foundation Fellowships. The University President wanted one Fellowship to be allocated to Zaheda Ibrahim. Dr. Al-Chawaf was opposed to considering applications from Miss Ibrahim and Wasfia Al-Obaid, because he was afraid that the staff would fall apart without them. He wanted to submit only 5 nominations to the Committee, but this was not acceptable to Dr. Al-Jalili.

Figure 7.5: Carl White
Source: University of Illinois Archives

Carl White,[71] the Ford Foundation's regional specialist adviser, proposed an acceptable compromise that all 8 nominees be considered, with any recommendations that Dr. Al-Chawaf wished to make (White 1963). The applicants were carefully scrutinised and interviewed by Dix. Three of those who were finally selected were staff of the Central Library, along with two others who were not.

Dix implied that one of the first Fellowship holders would become the University Librarian. He also recommended that Dr. Al-Chawaf be given more exposure to current practice in the U.S.A. before returning to Iraq, apparently on the grounds that he was the only man selected for a Fellowship (Dix 1958a;

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[71] See resumé in Appendix 5.

1958b). The Fellowship enabled him to attend library science classes at Columbia University, and at his request he visited several major European libraries on his way back to Iraq after his period in the U.S.A. (Ford 1968).

The group arrived in the U.S.A. 3 days before the revolution in Iraq. It included Zaheda Ibrahim, who subsequently suffered anxiety symptoms whilst at Rutgers University similar to those she had experienced in Australia, but less severe. Wasfia Al-Obaid, Librarian at the College of Commerce who had also attended at least one of the Unesco 'expert's' courses, went to the Catholic University of America, and Fatima Al-Niama (or Al-Niami), Librarian in the Arts Library of the College of Arts and Science, attended the University of Michigan. By 1959, they had completed their training in the U.S.A. and returned to Iraq. Only one (Al-Niama) had taken any academic credit; the rest (including Dr. Al-Chawaf) had audited courses. The identity of the fifth person awarded the Fellowship has not yet been determined. Based on the subsequent performance of the group awarded Fellowships in 1958/59, the Foundation was satisfied that they had been well chosen and that, with expert assistance to assist their re-integration into the Library's staff, the returning grant holders would be able to make their maximum contribution (Ford 1968).

Unesco and the Development of the University Central Library

The establishment of the Central Library was sufficiently significant for the government to request Unesco to provide an 'expert' to assist Dr. Al-Chawaf to establish the Central Library, and offered to fund this from the Participation Programme (Kalia 1960d). As the end of his contract at ASFEC approached, Kalia had again sought any new Unesco contract (Unesco 1959e). His apparent success in his earlier Unesco assignments led to his selection for this new mission in Iraq, and he returned to the Middle East to take up his new post as adviser to the Iraqi government from September 1959 to September 1960 (Unesco 1959c).

Figure 7.6: Des Raj Kalia
Source: Delhi Public Library

During that year, Kalia made several visits to London, purchasing 30,000 volumes for the library (Choudhary 2002). John Ferguson, who had previously been posted in India, knew Kalia, and, in 1959, assisted him in arranging his visits to purchase British books for the University Library. In September 1959, shortly after arriving in Baghdad, Kalia reviewed the plans for the new library building, and offered some suggestions to the architect, particularly about the implications of the climate for the design, which he says were accepted. Ferguson also worked with Kalia on the plans for the new library building (British Council 1960b). His assistance with this and the visits to London was not acknowledged in Kalia's published report (Kalia 1960d), although any such comments in the draft would probably have been edited out by Unesco staff.

Ford Foundation Advisers for the University Libraries

Before March 1960, a University Library Committee had been established, and made one of its first decisions to recommend that 10 Fellowships be sought to develop staff for the Library School, and that two foreign experts be employed to assist them (Kalia 1960d). During the course of 1961, the Ford Foundation commenced discussions about providing further technical assistance for the University of Baghdad's libraries. Taking note of developments in Baghdad, the Foundation (not Unesco, as misreported by Fawzi & Haidar 1962) asked Carl White to carry out a short mission as the Foundation's program specialist in library development to advise the Iraqi government on library training. His report, completed in February 1961 after 8 days in Baghdad, identified a need for continued training for the Library's staff and positions for 2 'experts'. One 'expert' was need to provide overall guidance on library development and develop a training programme, and another to advise on cataloguing and the administration of technical services and who had some experience in training. The proposal had been discussed with the University authorities and faculty, and had been agreed, "except by a few faculty members who feel that a library school should be established, but who are prepared to go along with this approach for the time being." In supporting the recommendation, W. Hugh Walker, writing from the Beirut office on 27th February 1961, explained that:

> "It is clear that the present staff, including those sent by the Foundation to the U.S. for training, are unable to carry the responsibility placed upon them. They all want help and feel the training, while most beneficial, failed to prepare them for the responsibilities they now shoulder." (Ford Foundation 1968)

White had discussed the suggested on-the-job training with the local Unesco office. Unesco had no library expert in Iraq at that time, and no plans for employing one. Subsequently, on 7th June 1961, Harvey Hall, an Executive with the Ford Foundation in New York and formerly at some time Acting Representative in Beirut, wrote to Petersen at Unesco to indicate that they would be providing the University of the Baghdad with expert assistance for the development of the Central Library and the training of an expanded library staff. In doing so, Hall expressed concern that they had learned that Kalia had been pressing to return to Iraq after the end of the one-year Unesco assignment in Turkey which had followed his posting to Baghdad. Their concern had arisen because of "the confusion that might result, and partly, frankly, over the personality and manner of operating of the individual concerned" (Unesco 1959d).

These concerns seem to be confirmed by the opinions of others who encountered Kalia. He was described by one as "a mild eccentric, not frightened to speak his mind" (Bowden 2010). John Ferguson, who knew Kalia in both Iraq and India, judged him to be not a particularly high calibre professional, with a personality that could be difficult (telephone conversation, 9th June 2010). The Indian author of his obituary described him as serious but witty, an ardent leader, but with an authoritative and patronising approach to the management of men and events, and mentioned that at one time later in his career he was relieved of his post as National Librarian because he struggled to overcome problems with the staff there (Saini 2004).

Petersen was able to re-assure the Ford Foundation that Kalia would be returning to India because the Government of India had officially requested his return by September (Unesco 1959d; Unesco 1965c), possibly because his successor as Director of the Delhi Public Library had died suddenly (Choudhary 2002). Several additional Ford Foundation grants then brought American consultants to the University between 1961 and 1966 to assist with reorganisation and staff training in the Library, all chosen because their prior experience appears to have equipped them to undertake staff development courses (Phillips 1967). Only after they had completed their missions did the Foundation begin supporting the development of library collections within the University (Ford 1968).

On 17th July 1961, the Ford Foundation approved a grant that initially supported the employment of Stephen Ford[72] and Paul Kebabian,[73] from mid-September 1961 to June/July 1962, tasked to assist in "library training and development."

Figure 7.7: Stephen Ford
Source: Grand Valley State University

Their specialisms were acquisitions and cataloguing, respectively, and they established relevant procedures in the University's Central Library. They also fulfilled their other assignment, which was to develop an on-the-job training programme for existing and future staff, and to elevate the competence of the senior staff who had been trained abroad as "professional librarians and teachers of library science through on-the-job teaching experience." They did this by organising an in-service training programme based on the procedures that they had introduced in the Central Library. The participants were 23-25 staff from the University's Central and College libraries, as well as from government department libraries in Baghdad (Vann & Seely 1965).

Figure 7.8: Paul Kebabian
Source: The Burlington Free Press

In his final report on 14th July 1962, written on behalf of both of them, because Ford had left the country a few days earlier, and intended to supplement

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[72] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[73] See resumé in Appendix 5.

information and comments that he and Stephen Ford had passed to the Foundation in letters and memoranda, Kebabian noted that they had had fundamental differences of opinion with Dr. Al-Chawaf, and encountered some frustrating constraints on their activities. During the year, Dr. Al-Chawaf made changes in staff organisation and job descriptions without discussing them with the Foundation's consultants, or even with his own senior staff. Dr. Al-Chawaf even tried to give the consultants responsibilities for supervising staff and monitoring their performance (Kebabian 1962; Ford 1968). Kebabian concluded that a more clear-cut and formal understanding with the University was advisable to define the role and responsibilities of any future personnel supported by the Foundation (Kebabian 1962; Ford 1968).

Despite some aspects of Ford's and Kebabian's experiences, a further grant period was extended. On 27th September 1962, Rudolph Gjelsness's[74] appointment was confirmed by the Ford Foundation, and he arrived in Baghdad on 25th October, fulfilling Dr. Al-Chawaf's wish for someone with senior experience as a University Librarian. In effect, Gjelsness was the successor to Ford and Kebabian, but his position had been re-designated as consultant to the University President in the hope that he would thus be able to circumvent Dr. Al-Chawaf. However, the Foundation believed that he never managed to establish a relationship with the President (Ford 1968), possibly because of the political instability at the time.

Figure 7.9: Rudolph Gjelsness
Source: University of Michigan, Bentley Historical Library (News and Information Services, Series D, box 5)

The same instability seems to have had an impact within the libraries. Some of the University library staff were expelled from their jobs during a purge of the Communists. Gjelsness (1968) noted that staff relations were deteriorating that autumn, and shared Ford and Kebabian's concern that 2 key staff might leave. Gjelsness seems to have fallen in with Dr. Al-Chawaf's view that no progress

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[74] See resumé in Appendix 5.

could be made until there were more trained staff. White was, however, confident that Gjelsness could provide such help and advice for Dr. Al-Chawaf in organising the staff that Dr. Al-Chawaf should be able to manage alone (Gjelsness 1968).

Srivastava (1968), a Unesco consultant who arrived a few years later, claimed that Gjelsness had done little other than organise some training on cataloguing and classification for 5 of the Central Library's staff, but this perhaps reflects the lack of continuity in the external support and communication gaps because the support came from different agencies. Gjelness's own report (1963) suggests that he was equally completely unaware of the Unesco consultants who had previously worked in the College libraries. Gjelsness had in fact provided instruction in cataloguing for 5 staff for one hour each morning in December and January (Gjelsness 1963; 1968). He had also provided a more substantial 6-week course in the Spring. He left Iraq at the beginning of June 1963.
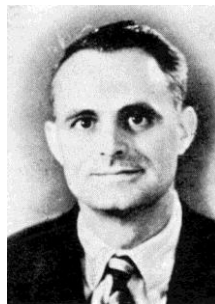
Figure 7.10: David Wilder
Source: American University of Beirut, Jafet Library, Archives and Special Collections

During 1965/66, the assignment of his successor, David Wilder, had been modified to enable him to advise the Foundation on other library development opportunities in the Middle East (Donovan 1972), and he had spent a lot of his time on other Foundation assignments in the region. Wilder was offered an extension to his contract through 1966/67 by the Foundation, but decided to return home to the U.S.A. for family reasons, and left Baghdad around the beginning of June 1966 (ALA 1969).

Other University Library Developments

A German visitor noted that in 1965, according to the Iraqi Ministry of Planning's Central Bureau of Statistics, there were 41 University and College libraries (Dietze 1970, based on *Statistical Abstract*, 1965, also quoted by Srivastava 1969). Money was also being sought or made available from a variety

of sources for a number of other new library buildings and for collection development.

Al-Hikma University received a grant of $400,000 (£3.2 million) from the Foundation towards the construction of its new buildings. At least part of this grant seems to have supported the construction of a new, separate library building, which commenced in 1960 (Qubain 1966).

The library of the new Al-Mustansiriyah University was established in 1963 (Qazanchi 1971) or 1964 (Al Kindilchie 1977) under the guidance of Gurgis Awad, who was described several times in the Gulbenkian Foundation's files as 'the best librarian in Iraq' (e.g. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1972a). In 1966, work was commenced on the construction of a permanent University Library building on the new campus (Jackson 1981). In 1967, the cost was estimated at ID82,000, to which the Gulbenkian Foundation made a contribution of ID30,000 (£450,000) (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1967a; 1972a).

It appears that it was not until some years after the establishment of the universities that central libraries were founded in Mosul, in 1965 (Unesco 1973b), and in Basra in 1965 (Al Kindilchie 1973) or 1967 (Zado (1990).

Specialist Libraries and Information Centres

Responding to directions from the U.N., Unesco began to place more emphasis on providing guidance on the operation of small technical libraries, as well as raising the visibility of potential computer applications in information services. Specialist libraries and documentation centres were becoming a significant part of the professional scene throughout the Arab world, nowhere less than in Iraq. For example, the Iraqi requests for Participation Programme funding for support for the development of an Educational Documentation Centre, and included related short-term training Fellowships (Unesco 1965d) which implies their recognition of the lack of appropriately trained local expertise.

Under Law 116 of 1963, the Supreme Council for Scientific Research was tasked with organising a documentation centre but, as Wilder (1966b) observed in a comment on Iraqi management practices, a decision to act was tantamount to the action, but it would not necessarily be followed through. By the end of the decade there had been no progress, but an observer noted the existence of about 30 government departmental libraries, and about 30 other specialist libraries (Srivastava 1969).

The National Library of Iraq

As previously noted, plans for a new National Library building in Iraq were already in hand by the end of the 1950s (Library services 1960). Although the preliminary plans prepared with the support of the British Council were abandoned after the Revolution (Ferguson 1973), it seems that the intention was not. The Baghdad Public Library was eventually designated as the National Library by a Law (No. 51) in 1961 which set out its role, under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, to collect and preserve the Iraqi and Arab heritage (Iraq, Revolutionary 1977; Mahon & Scharff 1987; Zado 1990, citing Iraq, The National Library 1980a).

Figure 7.11: Roberto Gulbenkian
Source: Gulbenkian Foundation

In 1964, the Anglo-Iraqi Trust Fund still held the original £150,000. The money had to be used (or at least committed) by 1971 or it would revert to the Iraqi government. The Director General of Cultural Relations in the Ministry of Education, Dr. Al-Jalili, was resisting the British suggestion that a contribution to the construction of the National Library would be an appropriate use of the money (British Council 1967), perhaps because his Department was losing responsibility for the Library.

The British representatives in Iraq do not seem to have been particularly sympathetic to the development of libraries. On 22nd May 1964, the British Ambassador to Iraq, Sir Roger Allen,[75] in a dispatch to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, reported a meeting with the British Council Representative in Baghdad, Denis Frean,[76] to discuss this issue. Both Allen and Frean were lawyers, a profession then not strongly oriented towards use of libraries, perhaps helping to explain Sir Roger's comment in a dispatch to the Foreign Office that:

> "It seems to me that ideally we should offer the Iraqis a package deal in which it would be clear that our suggestions for the [proposed Anglo-Iraqi English Language Teacher Training] Institute, including the provision of land at the West [Bank] site, were offered in substitution for the National Library

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[75] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[76] See resumé in Appendix 5.

scheme, for which we are still committed to providing a piece of land from the west bank site; in other words, we might offer them a site (previously reserved for the Library) plus backing to the tune of £150,000 on condition that they provide the buildings, and no more was heard of providing a site for the National Library (which is unlikely to be completed for many years, and even if it is ever built unlikely to be of much use). It may be that we would have to adopt a fallback position and agree to use Fund monies to pay for the new Institute building to get us out of the difficulty of not proceeding with the National Library idea, the killing of which looks as if it may present considerable difficulty." (British Council 1967)

Figure 7.12: Sir Roger Allen
Source: *The Times*

By then, the responsibility for the Library had been transferred from the Ministry of Education by a decree, Law No. 43 in 1964, which assigned supervisory responsibility to the Ministry of Culture and Information. It is not clear whether the Trust funds reverted to the Iraqi government, but any potential for a British contribution towards the construction of a new National Library appears to have disappeared. In 1965, the government submitted a substantive request to the Gulbenkian Foundation for assistance with the construction costs of the Library.

The Emergence of the International Council on Archives' Regional Role

With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, ICA surveyed the needs of some 31 developing countries in the early 1960s to raise government awareness of the role that archival institutions could play in national development. This revealed that there was a critical shortage of trained archival personnel in most developing countries. Unesco had been closely associated with the foundation of ICA in 1948. After the creation of DBA in 1967, the first professional archivist was seconded to its staff. In 1967/68, ICA contracted with Unesco to prepare a training program for archivists in developing countries (Rieger 1972).

Manuscript Collections, Modern Records, and Archives Management in Iraq

In Iraq, the need for government action on the findings of Awad's (1956c) survey of manuscript collections appears to have been largely ignored for some years. However, a Department of Manuscripts was established in 1962 as part of the Iraqi Museum. In the early 1960s, there were some 4,000 manuscripts in the

Awqaf's library. In 1962, there were reported to be 7 private libraries in Baghdad with collections that comprised mainly rare books and manuscripts (U.S. Information Agency 1965a). Collections of manuscripts also existed in most of the provincial towns.

About 1962, Unesco was asked for expert assistance to help develop and organise the collection of documents and manuscripts in the Baghdad University Central Library (Unesco 1966c). In 1962, August Huisman[77] was selected to go to Baghdad for 6 months between October 1962 and April 1963.[78] The formal brief given to Huisman was:

- "to help develop and organize the documents and manuscripts of the University housed in the Central Library;
- to help collect, sort out and classify important government documents and manuscripts and other materials from private sources for microfilming by the Unesco Microfilm Unit;
- to set up a microfilm centre and microfilm library." (Unesco BMS 1963)

Figure 7.13: August Huisman
Source: *Manuscripts of the Middle East*

On arrival, he was instead told that he was expected "to set up the organisation of the national archives", for which he felt that 6 months was an inadequate timescale (Unesco 1963a - Interim report). According to Huisman, the proposal for establishing the national archives emanated from the 'Director of the University Library' (i.e. Dr. Al-Chawaf), who was its sole supporter. Although it was a task for which Huisman recognised that he was not qualified, he prepared an outline describing what would be involved in setting up a national

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[77] See resumé in Appendix 5.

[78] The lists of Unesco missions and reports compiled by Parker (1985) omit Huisman's mission, perhaps because no report has been published. However, Unesco's own list of mission reports showed that Huisman's report (IRAQUIM 5, Library IN/F/63) is held in the files of the Reports Division of Unesco's Bureau for relations with Member States (Unesco Bureau 1968). Huisman had submitted two reports in 1963: an initial report covering October to December 1962, and a Final Report on the entire mission from October 1962 to March 1963. These have both survived in the archives (Unesco BMS 1963), but may not have been submitted to the Iraqi authorities and published, either because they were very short - both cover less than 2 pages - or for diplomatic reasons.

archive, but its consideration by the Council of Ministers was deferred as a result of the 1963 *coup d'état*, the aftermath of which disrupted the final phase of his mission. Accordingly, he suggested that Unesco take no further action other than to provide a Fellowship to train an archivist in the U.S.A. or Australia, countries where he/she would not be required to learn about archaic languages and scripts. No mention of the award of the proposed Fellowship has yet been found.

Creation of Iraq's National Archives Centre

Despite his reservations about his impact, it may have been Huisman's presence that encouraged progress with other developments. Law number 142 (or 143 according to Pérotin) of 1963 created the National Archives Centre under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Information, tasked with keeping the records of public and private organizations and selected individuals. The Centre, sometimes referred to as the National Documents Centre or National Records Centre, was established in the University in 1964 to collect and conserve official documents and files and make them accessible by researchers (El Kassim & Nabham 1977).

The President of Baghdad University told the Director of Unesco's Department of Culture in June 1966 that a project to construct a new building for the Centre had already been approved. This may be reference to the plan for the second wing of the proposed National Library building to be allocated for the Centre. Unesco assistance was needed, according to the Director of the Centre, to advise the architect and draft a development plan. In addition, the Centre would need 3 Fellowships for staff development.

The Labour Market and Professional Skills

This section notes the classification systems in use in Iraqi libraries, and indicates the general lack of information available about professional practices in the country. The growing awareness of the need for trained manpower and the small number of professionally qualified are discussed. Events that stimulated a sense of professionalism, and successful attempts to establish a small Library Association are noted.

Developments in Professional Practice

In an attempt to improve local efforts, Unesco appointed national bibliographical committees in 6 of the Arab states including Iraq in 1960 to develop and coordinate bibliographical activities (Unesco 1960g), but debates

about appropriate cataloguing standards, which had begun in earlier decades, continued to rumble on throughout the decade.

White (1963) commented that the staff of the Baghdad University Central Library, despite their lack of formal qualifications in librarianship, had a better grasp of the principles of collection development than he had found in any library in the region, and that the technical aspects of organising the collection were well developed. However, librarians in Iraq were not expected to focus solely on technical services. The duties of public librarians, set out in detail in Ministry regulations, clearly required them to take an active role in promoting use of the libraries (Chilmeran 1962).

Manpower Issues

On 8th December 1960, Kalia apparently attended the opening of another new public library in Amara, and conducted a seminar on public library services. The delegates invited to the conference by the Ministry of Education, 17 Iraqis representing the central public libraries throughout the country, made numerous detailed recommendations about the future operation and use of the public libraries, some of which at least seem to have been subsequently implemented by the Ministry. In commenting on personnel and training issues, the delegates to the meeting particularly expressed a wish that staff should conform to the norms apparently enshrined in a recent Regulation, no. 4 issued in 1960, or be required to undergo 6 months training in the *Liwa's* central library before taking up their appointment (Iraq, Ministry of Education 1960). This appears to have been superseded in 1961 by Regulation number 9, which prescribed that the librarian of a public library must have:

- a specialization in librarianship from a recognise institute, or
- a certificate from one of the Ministry's library training courses, or
- not less than 3-years' experience in public or school libraries.

However, recruitment was not an easy task for libraries in Iraq, even in the capital. A British expert based in the Middle East commented on the tendency for professionals to prefer to be in the capital cities where living standards were usually higher (Holloway 1959). A similar phenomenon is normal in developed countries, where library and information services are concentrated in major cities, but was simply exaggerated by circumstances in the less developed countries. In 1961, Baghdad University requested British Council assistance in recruiting librarians for various Colleges, but it proved impossible to find

candidates at the salaries that were being offered. In 1963, a further request was made to assist in recruiting a librarian for the University Library, but this was withdrawn, possibly for financial reasons (British Council 1964b).

Figure 7.14: Abdul-Fattah Chilmeran
Source: *Al Hikma* 1966

Commenting on the possible growth in the number of qualified librarians from 4 in 1965 to an anticipated 16 in 1967 (when he expected at least 5 students to return from graduate school in the U.S.A.), Wilder commented, perhaps incautiously, that "With this kind of growth, a profession will develop very rapidly" (Wilder 1967). A more pessimistic opinion was expressed by by the British Council's Librarian who reported that there was a crying need for professionally trained staff throughout Iraq's library and information services (Cox 1968). By mid-1966, for example, there were still reported to be only 11 Iraqis "working in the country who had the rough equivalent of the Master's Degree in library science. Nine of these were working in…the University of Baghdad including its branches in Basra and Mosul" (Wilder 1967). The other two probably worked at Al-Hikma University. They were Abdul-Fattah Chilmeran,[79] and Nazar Qassim,[80] according to the University Yearbooks (Al Hikma 1965). Dietze (1970) reported that, in November 1969, only 7 of the 60 staff of the Central Library of the University of Baghdad had professional qualifications, implying that some may have left for other positions.

Despite the efforts of Saunders and Bonny in Iraq, and other early efforts elsewhere, the status and salaries of librarians in the region were a matter for concern. Kent and Haider (1962) described the lack of money for libraries as:

> "a vicious circle - not enough money in the budget to attract good staff; not enough good staff available to justify the raising of salary scales."

Kent and Haidar (1962) emphasised that the shortage in the Arab world of trained manpower existed at all the levels required for the operation of libraries

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[79] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[80] See resumé in Appendix 5.

and documentation services, starting from people at the lower levels who could maintain simple systems of arrangement. They also drew attention to the demand to perform routine tasks that restricted the time and energy which the few graduate qualified librarians could devote to professional leadership, and diminished the attraction of the career. In a further explanation, Arriens (1970) commented that information professionals in the region were often subject to the frustration of working in systems that they knew were not fulfilling their potential. He argued that they needed to learn how to win more institutional support. Flood (1972), however, observed that, in some countries in the 1960s, progress was hindered not by political or economic difficulties, but because it was not possible to find the expert staff to carry out developments for which finance was available, or by "a break in the continuity of professional direction of development."

Sheniti (1966) argued that the basic needs for library development in the Arab region included the creation of a "hard core of professional librarians through the establishment of a graduate library school in the region." Some American librarians working in the region agreed that:

> "bringing assistance to the Middle East rather than sending individuals abroad is one practical answer that may build a new profession to which youth may eventually be attracted. The obvious need for doctors, engineers, teachers, etc., has pushed other careers into the background." (Deale 1967)

Khoury (1972) reported that 21 Iraqis studied librarianship in North America between 1959 and 1964. There is a clear discrepancy between that total and the number of qualified librarians believed by foreign observers to be working in the country later in the decade. Kent (1967) had pointed out that the shortage of suitably paid posts was a deterrent to the establishment of Schools of Librarianship. However, there is no evidence in the literature that confirms whether Iraq suffered from the emigration of qualified librarians to more developed, wealthier countries, or to reveal whether or not Iraq suffered from the tendency (common to most developing countries where there was a growing demand for the few highly educated personnel) for a:

> "drift out of the profession of a few of the Middle Eastern librarians who have received excellent training abroad. Administrative factors, such as inadequacy of status and salary, are largely responsible for this as well as the frustration suffered when attempting to employ newly learned skills and the constant psychological strain of the battle with entrenched ignorance." (Holloway 1959)

Other, related concerns were, however, expressed by at least one member of the newly emerging profession in Iraq, one of the American educated librarians (later a teacher of librarianship in Al-Mustansiriyah University), who commented that most librarians were regarded as clerks and easily transferred to other duties (Qazanchi 1971).

Professional Associations and Activities

The need for professional associations was acutely felt by expatriate librarians working in the Arabic-speaking countries. One commented that the lack of professional associations in most Middle Eastern countries was "a measure of the lack of cooperation and professional awareness of those working in libraries" (Holloway 1959). Others expressed a cautiously optimistic view that:

> "only long and often very frustrating work on the part of really devoted library associations will effectively create in the public eye the image of the professional librarian as a person of equivalent status to the lawyer, the doctor and the schoolmaster, or the image of his helpers as skilled technicians at least." (Kent 1967)

The Beirut seminar does seem to have stimulated professional activity, although some was short-lived. The seminar participants' recommendation for the formation of associations in each Arab country (Final 1960) was repeated in probably the only specialist Arabic journal published at that time (A call 1960). A number of Library Associations were formed in Arab states during the next few years.

In February 1960, the First Conference of Public Librarians in Iraq was held in Amara in the Misan *Liwa*. A second conference was supported by the Qadisiyyah *Liwa* in July 1960 to coincide with the opening of a new public library in Diwaniyah (Kalia 1960d). Kalia's recollection that this took place in Baghdad in September 1959 may have been mistaken, or mis-reported (Choudhary 2002).

Unesco assisted in what appears to have been the first serious attempt to found an Iraqi Library Association in 1960/61 (Fawzi & Haidar 1962), probably through the efforts of Kalia (Petersen 1960). A further meeting of librarians from the *Liwas* in Amara in December 1960, which seems to have been attended by Kalia, expressed support for future meetings, recommended that a professional association for librarians should be established within 3 months, and expressed a wish to establish a committee, with the collaboration of the Unesco expert to prepare a constitution for it (Iraq, Ministry of Education 1960). However, Kalia moved to a new Unesco-funded post in Turkey in January 1960, and this first

attempt to establish a library association eventually foundered, apparently because "internal disagreements concerning qualifications for membership of the association and its committees led to lengthy arguments …" (Cox 1968)

Fresh attempts to establish an Iraqi Library Association began in 1967 (Kent 1967). By May that year, 4 meetings had taken place to prepare for the re-establishment of the Association, with 7 professional librarians as the 'founding fathers' (Education for librarianship 1970). The new Association was eventually founded in 1968, with its membership open to professionally qualified librarians. It organised lectures and meetings, and planned to issue its own journal (Al Kindilchie 1975), but by 1970 it had no more than about 50 members (Al Amin 1970).

The generally rising interest in 'professional' affiliation — membership of a relevant professional society — reinforced a trend towards academically-orientated status building in Iraqi society. The social importance of these associations depended largely upon their size and their academic standing (Al-Nouri 1990). The smallest and least known, such as the Iraqi Library Association, occupied the bottom of the social scale; they held little attraction for potential members, could do little to encourage students to enter the profession, and had little influence on affairs.

The need for professional literature was also given some attention after the Beirut conference. The first library periodical in Arabic, *Alam al Maktabat* ('Library World') had begun to be published, privately, in Egypt in 1958, shortly before the Beirut Conference. Sheniti translated a number of professional books from English to Arabic, including 2 by McColvin, and arranged for them to be published in Cairo in 1961-62 (Nidal Estanbouli 1980), but it is not clear how widely information about their availability circulated in the Arab world. International bibliographies on the Middle East published in Egypt in the mid-1960s failed to identify any Arabic LIS journals, excluding even *Alam al Maktabat*, which for many years it remained the only journal providing information about developments in the field in the Arabic language (Ljunggren 1964; Ljunggren & Hamdy 1964; Kent 1967).

Developments in Education for Library, Information and Archives Work

This section notes the continuation of short training courses for librarians provided by foreign consultants, and the growth in the number of Iraqis studying librarianship abroad. The initial approval of the Graduate Diploma program in the University of Baghdad, and the ambivalence of Ministry officials is discussed. Details of the numerous scholarships to study librarianship abroad are provided, with particular attention to those award holders who are known to have become the teachers of librarianship who carried developments forward. The Iraqi government's later willingness to inviting a Unesco expert to revive and extend the program and advise on its future development is outlined.

Education for Librarianship in the Arab World

By the early 1960s, the seminar in Beirut, and the preparations for it, had stimulated awareness of the need for training more librarians in the Arab world, but Sharify (1963) pointed out that little had been accomplished. However, it is noticeable that Unesco's attention was drawn to the need to support activity in Lebanon and, to a lesser extent, in other countries.
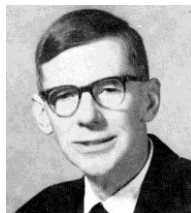
Figure 7.15: Francis Kent
Source: American University of Beirut, Jafet Library, Archives and Special Collections

Kent (1964), then Librarian at AUB and one of the participants in the Beirut seminar, had described the lack of trained personnel librarians and records keepers, and facilities for training fully-trained graduates and lower level staff as one of the main problems prevailing in the Arab world. A Unesco expert who arrived in Lebanon a few weeks after the end of the Beirut seminar organised a short training course at the National Library in 1960, and subsequently recommended the establishment of a regional School of Librarianship in a university there (Simari 1960). This seems to have had Kent's support (American University of Beirut 1989), but nothing resulted from that suggestion.

Unesco's International Advisory Committee strongly supported the continuation of Unesco's activities in training librarians and documentalists, and, at its third meeting in 1965, discussed whether it was desirable that FID should

be contracted to review current training arrangements in developing countries to guide future activities.

In most of the Arab world, by the late 1960s, only short courses were available, but attempts were made in the middle of the decade to establish a Diploma program in Jordan, and Diploma and Bachelor's Degree programs in Sudan.

In the industrialised countries, the system of education for librarianship was in ferment, as the demands on libraries and information services and the nature of their operations changed. Although professional education was the theme of the IFLA Conference in Denmark in 1969, and IFLA had begun to take a more active interest in the developing world's problems, no papers were presented that had a specific bearing on the needs of the Arab world (Abdullahi 1979).

Developments in Education for Librarianship in Iraq

Although, initially, it seemed that only the pattern of occasional training by foreigners was to continue in Iraq, the pressure for more training in librarianship began to build, and substantial progress was made in developing professional education across a broad front during the 1960s, perhaps acknowledging that:

> "[I]t can be expected that special libraries and scientific documentation centers will develop further as soon as the need for technical information is sufficiently felt and as new industries are created...The training of librarians will then become a necessity..." (Sharify 1963)

In 1959, the British Council arranged a short study tour in the UK for Nihad Abdul Majid (Al Nassiri), the Director of Public and School Libraries. Subsequently he suggested sending 10 of his staff to study in the UK (British Council 1960b), but no evidence has yet been found to indicate whether or not his wish was fulfilled. In the early 1960s, possibly as a result of Majid's visit to the U.K., the Ministry of Education's Committee on Public and School Libraries recommended the establishment of a Bachelor's Degree program in Library Science in one of the Baghdad University Colleges (Chilmeran 1962), but it was 10 years before this idea was fulfilled.

During 1959/60, Kalia conducted several short courses. In June 1960, he also commenced a three-month training course with 15 students (Choudhary 2002; Sarjana 2002). His description indicates that it was probably similar to those delivered by Saunders and Bonny: the participants were "given intensive practical training with necessary theoretical background" (Kalia 1960d).

Typically, Kalia later claimed that he had originated library education in Iraq (Kalia 1979).

At the beginning of the decade, in offering his proposals for the development of Iraq's libraries, Kalia noted that:

> "The main obstacle besides the funds will be the non-availability of trained personnel to man all these projects. High priority should, therefore, be given to the establishment of the Library Institute at the University of Baghdad and sending abroad personnel with good academic records for training." (Kalia 1960c)

Kalia (1960d) was aware that Dr. Al-Jalili was thinking about including an expert in libraries in Iraq's next request for Unesco Assistance. In what may have been a less than uninterested recommendation, Kalia also pointed out that:

> "It may be note that there is not a single qualified librarian in the country, holding a Degree or Diploma from a recognized institution. An experienced expert, local or foreign, is an absolute necessity to guide the implementation of the plan and operation of projects included therein." (Kalia 1960c)

The reaction, if any, of the Ministry to these suggestions is not recorded in the Unesco file. However, the Ministry certainly does not appear to have obstructed Kalia from pressing ahead in the University, where he subsequently successfully sought approval for the establishment of a school of librarianship (Kalia 1960d). In September 1960, the very first meeting of the Library Committee of the University of Baghdad Central Library was persuaded to recommend to the University that it:

> "should conduct from the academic year 1960/61 a one-year full time Diploma course in Library Science at the Central Library. The number of students should not exceed 25, out of whom 20 should be university graduate working librarians and 5 first year students from different Colleges (Art, Science, Education, Law, Commerce, and Tahrir) who will offer Library Science as one of their elective subjects. Those College students will complete their course by parts in 4 years." (University of Baghdad 1960)

Clearly implicit in this recommendation is an indication that someone had not only won the support of the University Librarian and his new advisory committee, but may also have lobbied the Heads of the Colleges to agree to offer Library Science as an elective. The rationale for locating the school of librarianship in the University largely accorded with principles that had been set out in a Unesco seminar some years earlier:

- enhancement of the library profession's status by association with the University;
- comparable admission standards reflected in graduates' ability;

- the expectation of a higher level of teaching (principles rather than techniques);
- the opportunity for interdisciplinary cross-fertilisation in teaching and research (adapted from Immelman 1954).

Subsequently, in requesting an extension to Kalia's appointment, the Ministry of Education indicated that they expected him to take up the proposal for establishing a library school. In a letter to Unesco dated 13th December 1960, the Ministry noted that "a beginning has already been made" (Unesco 1959d). Through the approval of the Central Library's program, Iraq had moved ahead of most of the Arab world in committing to make regular provision for the education of its library professionals. However, it appears that it was some years before the Library Committee's intention to operate a one-year program came to fruition. After Kalia left, the three-month program seems to have gone into abeyance.

The participants in the meeting in Amara in December 1960, possibly prompted by Majid (Al Nassiri) or Kalia, encouraged the Ministry and the University not only to attach importance to the creation of a school for librarians, but also to permit staff currently working in libraries to have access to the school's courses (Iraq, Ministry of Education 1960).

In December 1960, the Iraqi government did formally request Participation Programme funding for 2 years from 1961/2 for an expert in library training and 2 Fellowships, confirming that the government proposed to proceed with the establishment of a library school. This request was not approved by Unesco, ostensibly on the grounds that insufficient funds were available, but principally, it seems, because Dr. Al-Jalili wrote separately to indicate that this was not their top priority (Unesco 1965d).

Ford Foundation Fellowships for Graduate Study in Librarianship

In 1960, Dr. Al-Chawaf was predicting that the University would soon require 50 trained librarians. He had a further discussion with Carl White when he visited Baghdad again, from 30th April to 2nd May 1962. On that occasion, he is reported to have requested or agreed to request Foundation support for 5 Fellowships each year for 3 years. White must have been convinced by his argument, or perhaps by comments by the Foundation's advisers, Ford and Kebabian, and may have negotiated the specifics of the proposal. He sensed that, amongst those who had attended the courses presented by Kebabian, Ford, and Gjelsness, there was a new grasp of the role of the library, and that they would be valuable advocates for change in the future (White 1963). His report recommended that

the request be supported, and on 20th October 1962 approval was given for the duration of the Ford Foundation's initial training grant to be extended yet again to enable up to 15 Iraqis to be trained in library science in the U.S.A. over a 3-year period.

The political upheavals in 1963 inevitably delayed decision making. In 1964, the first 2 Ford Fellows left for the U.S.A. to attend the Master's Degree programs in Library Science, having been accepted for admission by Drexel University and the University of Michigan.

During the period he was in Baghdad, David Wilder played an important role in the selection of candidates for the Foundation's Fellowship. Wilder rationalised the selection process, to minimise the personal and political interference at all levels that was normal before such awards received final approval by the Council of Ministers. He also arranged for the candidate's English language abilities to be tested and, if necessary, developed by the USIA Office in Baghdad.

Altogether 43 candidates were considered for the award of the Fellowships. Some suitable members of the Library's staff were apparently denied training because Dr. Al-Chawaf did not wish to lose their services for a year or more until the first trained staff returned (White 1963).

In 1966/67, four more students arrived in the U.S.A., and five more students arrived in the following year. One grantee discontinued studies on health grounds, and 2 transferred to other disciplines. The last three Fellows appear to have concluded their studies in December 1969 (IIE Annual Report 1969).

Fellowships were successfully completed in library science, as intended, by 7 people: Sumaya I. Najim (M.L.S., Michigan, 1965), Odet M.E. Badran[81] (M.S.L.S., Drexel, 1966), Laurice Jamil Nabhan[82] (M.L.S., Texas Woman's, 1968), Layla A.M. Al-Fahran (M.L.S., Wisconsin, 1969), Amer I. Al-Kindilchie[83] (M.L.S., Kent State, 1969), Fouad Y. Mansur (M.L.S., Emory, 1969), and Adnan H. Al-Sattar (M.L.S., Kent State, 1969). Al-Fahran, Al-Kindilchie, Badran and Nabhan subsequently appear to have become teachers in the School of Library Science, but the subsequent careers of the others have not been identified.

In 1966, Dr. Al-Chawaf requested further support, including assistance to establish a centre for library education in Iraq. His request appears to have been

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[81] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[82] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[83] See resumé in Appendix 5.

rejected. Eleven or twelve Iraqi library staff had been trained abroad through Ford Foundation assistance, and the Foundation probably felt able to conclude that no further inputs were required because: "The University now has a nucleus of trained staff and maintains a continuing program of staff development" (Ford 1967).

Other Fellowships for Overseas Study

In the 20 years following the foundation of Unesco, Iraq was one of the principal beneficiaries from Fellowships for studying librarianship abroad (Kent 1967). By 1965/6, Unesco reported that 10 Fellowships had been awarded to Iraqis (Summary 1966). In 1964/65 reports indicate that there were then 8 Iraqi LIS students in the U.S.A., compared with only 16 from 5 other Arab countries (Kent 1967), but this number probably included many of the Ford Foundation Fellows.

Among those who studied abroad was one of the Central Library's staff, Abdul Karim Al-Amin[84] was awarded a Unesco Fellowship to study librarianship in the U.S.A. in 1959/60 (Unesco 1971). In February 1963, Izzudeen Essaid[85] — another future teacher of LIS — graduated from the M.A.L.S. class at the University of Michigan, but the source of his funding has not been identified.

In 1962, the Gulbenkian Foundation offered 3 Fellowships for Iraqis to study for a Master's Degree in Librarianship. It has not yet proved possible to determine whether the 3 Fellowships were eventually awarded or to whom. In what appears to have been an attempt to develop a special program to support students who were working in libraries, the Gulbenkian Foundation offered a further 8 Fellowships. Although the initial aim appears to have been to support studies in librarianship, four students were in fact permitted to study other disciplines, and one changed her major subject after one semester in an MLS program at Syracuse University. None seem to have become teachers of LIS (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1972f).

The Evolution of a School of Librarianship in Baghdad

In common with all the previous consultants, Gjelsness pointed out that sufficient staff could not be trained outside the country to meet local needs. He foresaw the need for further training courses in Iraq, and the eventual

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[84] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[85] See resumé in Appendix 5.

establishment of a national School of Librarianship (Gjelsness 1968). Wilder initially attempted to persuade the Iraqis to send more students to the U.S.A., or to recruit more foreign librarians, with Ford Foundation funding. When these suggestions were rebuffed, his thinking turned, as it had when he was in Lebanon, to the idea of developing a regional School of Librarianship offering a two-year program leading to a Master's Degree.

Revival of the Library Science Program in Baghdad University

Whilst development may appear to have stalled, the Iraqi authorities in fact seemed determined to press on. The note of the meeting between the Unesco Director General and the Minister of Education in March 1966 records that the planned Centre for the Training of Librarians in the University Central Library was discussed. Later that year, in June, the President of Baghdad University explained to the Director of Unesco's Department of Culture that a library school was to be funded from the University's budget, but indicated the assistance that would be required from Unesco. He was also reported to believe that teaching in archives studies would probably be introduced within the School of Librarianship, which would be supported by several professors of Arabic manuscripts (Unesco 1968e).

In due course, the formal request for Participation Programme funding for 1967/8 asked for 2 experts for 3 to 6 months to assist with development of the University of Baghdad Central Library Training Centre. Unesco agreed to provide 1 expert for 6 months (Unesco 1972d), although Cox (1968), the British Council's Librarian in Iraq, claimed that Unesco provided an expert from the United Arab Republic (i.e. Egypt) in 1966 *for at least a year* to assess the viability of a degree program and devise an appropriate syllabus. The mission was certainly long enough for a postgraduate program of 6-months duration to be offered on an experimental basis in 1967 (Al-Werdi 1987). According to Kent (1967) the extended program was taught by an Egyptian librarian and 2 members of the University's library staff, both of whom held Master's Degrees in LIS from the U.S.A.

Figure 7.16: Ahmed Anwar Omar
Source: Cairo University, Library, Archives & Information Technology Department

Subsequently, in September, a detailed proposal for the establishment of an Iraqi School of Librarianship was submitted to Baghdad University by Dr. Anwar Omar[86] of Cairo University, who seems to have been the Unesco expert mentioned. His plans apparently called for the introduction of a postgraduate program (McGowan 1969), and it seems clear that it resulted in the appointment of a further consultant and, later, the major grants from UNDP that secured the development of the Graduate School.

Discussion and Evaluation

The first ten years of the Republic were a period of political instability, but proved to be a significant period in the development of Iraq's library, archival and information services, and for the emergence of education for librarianship in the country. The decade that followed the Revolution was one in which the influence of external and internal forces continued to overlap. Despite the political turmoil in Iraq throughout the 1960s, library development received some significant external assistance, but reached the point when the Iraqi authorities were at last persuaded of the need to take steps to institute a local program to educate librarians. The political strains between Iraq and its neighbours became more evident during this period, placing implicit constraints on international cooperation in the developing the Arab information sector. These may have impacted on the seemingly failed attempt to follow up on the Beirut conference.

Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

The scale of library development that appeared to gather pace during the 1960s was principally manifested in new premises, token gestures towards modernisation that disguised the lack of appreciation by government authorities and institutional managers of what was needed to develop effective services.

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[86] See resumé in Appendix 5.

This did not stop various Iraqi groups from requesting the Gulbenkian Foundation to provide funds for building or equipping their libraries. The severe shortage of professionally qualified librarians to plan and manage operations and deliver reader services was compounded by the limited respect accorded to staff working in libraries and the limited influence that they had within their organisations.

When Sharify (1963) criticised the modest results of attempts to develop libraries and librarianship in the Middle East prior to the 1960s, he ascribed their failure to:

- haphazard library developments that were not integrated into general pattern of social, economic and educational development
- little local participation in planning and financing developments
- short duration of projects, and little follow-up action, leading to atrophy
- consequent frustration and loss of interest by former enthusiasts for reform.

In Iraq, these problems continued through the 1960s. The cautious approach of the Iraqi authorities can probably be explained to some extent by the prevailing financial circumstances, but in reality their behaviour simply concealed the lack of forward planning that was a consequence of the political situation.

The possibility that requests for assistance could be based on local plans which may not have been based on a full understanding of what assistance was required or might be available (Williams 1964) was also well exemplified in Iraq during the 1960s. Through the decade, the country was locked into this situation by the paucity of Iraqis able to provide the necessary professional insights and advice.

A development programme has little chance of enduring success unless it is based firmly on local needs and circumstances. Education for librarianship can be planned realistically only in the light of existing and planned library services, which indicate the readiness of a country's ability to absorb the products of that education. The question that arises is whether some of the moves to establish a School of Librarianship in Baghdad were premature.

Danton's (1949) book for Unesco on 'Education for librarianship' had been written at a time when experience in establishing a School of Librarianship in a developing country was limited, and he could only provide generalised and uncontroversial advice such as:

- support from a wide range of influential persons should be pre-assured
- any School of Librarianship should be within an institution with an established reputation, not least to demonstrate its aspirations

- the people selected as its Director and faculty should have appropriate experience or qualifications in modern librarianship
- the aims, curriculum, research and professional activities of the School should relate to local realities but also facilitate the introduction of new developments
- the curriculum should blend theory and practice
- teaching methods should be interactive
- students should be selected on the basis of personalities suited to their expected role
- the collection in the library serving the School should not be narrowly focused on librarianship, but should provide material on the contexts in which libraries operate
- provision for the continuing development of the School's graduates was essential.

Immelman,[87] who had been involved from the beginnings of the first School in the African continent, had also advised, in a presentation to Unesco's Ibadan seminar in 1953, that it was essential to identify the potential sources of local support for a School, and bring them together to secure their support and plan a campaign for its establishment. He pointed out that the campaign would need to have a clear idea of the resource implications and a willing host institution, making a strong case that preferably the School should be in a university where it would find an appropriate academic environment and which could award a credible qualification. He also asserted that the Head of the School would need the status of a full Professor, and that the School would need to serve all branches of the library profession. In addition, he provided some pragmatic (and occasionally pedantic) advice on the politics of establishing the School, on the selection and duties of the teaching staff, on student selection, the curriculum, and teaching methods. However, his experience in an environment which offered access to a relatively rich Anglophone professional literature led him to overlook students' potential linguistic limitations and the limited availability of professional publications in vernacular languages, and he consequently made some naïve suggestions to the Ibadan seminar about the scale of library provision that was desirable, for example indicating that at least 50-100 journal subscriptions would be required (Immelman 1954). This error was duly pointed out in the report of the seminar's discussion group on professional training (Williams 1954b).

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[87] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Sharify (1963) later set out a number of the factors that he considered essential underpinning for the establishment of a library school in the Middle East:

- the academic location of the program, i.e. in a university
- sufficient opportunities for the employment of graduates from the program
- salary levels in the professional job market adequate to attract students into the program
- the level of the program – graduate and/or undergraduate
- the opportunity for the best graduates to continue their studies abroad
- a curriculum that met local needs
- a selective basis for the admission of students
- the availability of full-time teachers
- the provision of teaching facilities, including a library "laboratory"
- the geographical location of the program, i.e. in proximity to the best libraries.

Arguably, the Diploma program in Baghdad University was established with only the first two of Danton's and Sharify's criteria clearly met. The new program was circumscribed by all the unavoidable constraints encountered by any new School in a developing country. Many of the students in the early, part-time courses were already working in libraries, possibly in the only jobs that they had been able to obtain after graduating from College, and may have hoped that completing the course would enhance their insight into their job as much as improving their financial prospects. As a citizen of the region, Sharify would have known that the selection of students was likely to be subject to a degree of personal influence was inevitable in Iraqi society at the time.

Overall, the number of Iraqis studying librarianship abroad increased slowly during the 1960s, but remained small, and the shortage of skilled personnel became a noticeable feature of reports about libraries in Iraq. Nonetheless, the early establishment of a strong tradition of Iraqis studying librarianship in English-speaking countries probably left Iraq well placed to respond later to new trends in professional practice and education in Western Europe and North America that were not matched in the Communist states where the national economies and library professional practice were atrophying. For example, early in the twenty-first century, Russian-speaking Syrian academics could not read the English-language journals that were the primary sources reporting the rapid developments that had commenced in the 1970s and 1980s (Johnson 2010). Although sending students abroad for professional training is relatively expensive, it was clearly essential in Iraq until the scale and

nature of a country's library and information services reached that point in their development when they could justify the inauguration of a national training program, and would indeed remain essential until all the national needs for education in relevant LIS specialisms could be met locally.

What could not be assured was the successful engagement of those students with the education system outside their own country which, as Bilal (1990) observed, would depend on them possessing not only the knowledge of the foreign language required, but also the educational background to be able to benefit fully from the form of education there, as well as the ability to quickly adapt to living in a different environment. Borchardt (1968) described the potential benefits of studying abroad as exposure to the impact of organised effort on the standard of performance of libraries, and an understanding of the library's role in underpinning development. However, the latter understanding may have been denied the people who studied outside Iraq, because of the acknowledged shortcomings of the Schools of Librarianship in the U.S.A. (American Library Schools 1958), and probably elsewhere, where:

> "What was offered was a training, often excellent, in Western librarianship, while the adaptation of this to the traditional materials was left to the trainee." (Smith 1965)

Most of the first group of 5 Ford Foundation Fellows certainly seem to have felt that the nature and relatively short duration of their training in the U.S.A. had inadequately prepared them for the role that they were expected to play on their return, probably because of the difference between their own situation and what they had encountered in the U.S.A. which they had had little time to comprehend (Harvey & Lambert 1971). Despite the similarly short duration of their Fellowships, the Unesco Fellows who were trained in India and the Gulbenkian Fellows trained as mobile librarians in Portugal may not have found it so difficult to identify with the less advanced situation that they had observed there.

Sharify's (1963) views on study abroad were echoed by Larsen (1967), who suggested, in his review of the Copenhagen seminar, that international courses should be focused on students with a higher prior level of knowledge and experience. In Iraq, opportunities for higher study abroad were almost entirely dependent on the goodwill of the government's scholarships agency, which did appear to recognise them as a means of developing the country's academic

community. Most of those Iraqis interested in studying librarianship abroad were eligible only to enter Master's Degree programs. While such a program would give them a foundation of professional knowledge, it would not necessarily place them on a par with academics in other disciplines in which doctoral study was seen as the norm. It was unfortunate that the Foundations and intergovernmental agencies did not sufficiently encourage the teachers of librarianship to take their studies to doctoral level.

The teachers were mostly part-time, partly because there were few students and partly because the interest and ability required to successfully teach particular parts of the curriculum was not a universal attribute amongst those few Iraqis who had subject knowledge. In addition, they had to be sufficiently interested and willing to undertake teaching in addition to their full-time roles.

It was probably unrealistic to expect the initial curriculum in Baghdad to follow anything other than a western model. Little was known in detail about the local situation when the program in Baghdad began. The western model was what the teachers were familiar with, and its adaptation to local circumstances could only be expected to emerge as the program matured and appropriate learning resources were developed.

The lack of well-organised and equipped libraries to provide best-practice models for students to observe, and with rich collections of professional literature that would enable them to contextualise their studies, was simply the local reality. This was not an unusual set of circumstances in developing countries, and Sharify was probably unrealistic in his expectations. Indeed, as Sabor (1965) commented:

> "A developing country is unlikely to find at home all it needs to organize the teaching of library science on national scale and on a basis permanent enough for its effects to be lasting."

The Situation in which the Information Sector was Immersed

The first ten years of the Republic were a period of political instability, but proved to be a significant period in the development of Iraq's library, archival and information services, and for the emergence of education for librarianship in the country. There was, however, little evidence of any broad and coherent plan for library development in Iraq, although the Iraqi authorities were increasingly pressed to identify their own priorities by Unesco's persistent suggestions that projects could be funded through the Participation Programme, and to some

extent also by the financial crisis that the government encountered in the late 1960s. The success of external assistance depends on those who receive it as well as those who provide it; it has to be a cooperative activity (Vrancken 1963), not least because it always creates a cost for the recipient (Asheim 1966). However, there seems to have been no specialist national body with any real responsibility or ability to influence the government. Decisions could be and were altered before proposals achieved their ultimate sanction by the Council of Ministers. Delegation of authority by the Council appears to have been limited, and further study might shed light on the impact on developments of the Council's failure to do so.

Aufdenkamp (1965) provided a reminder that modernising librarianship presents particular challenges for a society or an organisation that is facing other significant changes. In the upper echelons of the Republic's Ministry of Education, where the University's proposal probably required prior consent, the introduction of professional education for librarians had to contend for attention with the country's many other challenges, a situation summarised by the Librarian of the American University of Beirut, probably ruefully in the light of failure to make progress on the recommendations of Simari's (1960) Unesco mission to Lebanon:

> "A newly-independent state cannot, of course, think of everything at once. Its very survival may be politically in jeopardy; its economics are usually shaky; its educational system may be rudimentary. Libraries come low on the list, though were they to come higher progress might sometimes be more rapid. … Nor is political instability conducive to good legislation in matters intellectual or good regulation of details the importance of which is not always obvious." (Kent 1964)

The traditional elite who had governed Iraq during the Hashemite Kingdom had been overthrown after being in power for little more than a quarter-century. Their successors, the various Iraqi governments during this period, were not democratic, but they were seeking to respond to a changing society, the consequences of the expansion of education and literacy, and the growing urbanisation of the population. The government's support for the development of libraries in Iraq during this period should perhaps be attributed to the political stance of the revolutionary government, which may have simply seen the introduction of libraries of all kinds as something that could be presented to the new, middle class as further evidence of the country's modernisation.

Sharing political opinions or ideology with members of the government became a more important factor in acquiring influence. Librarians became potentially able to find political support for their professional aspirations through contacts with members of the government who may have been sympathetic to their aims. However, their effectiveness was hampered by their inexperience and weak organisation. Other Arab countries offered little in the way of comparators that might encourage the Iraqi government to pay attention to libraries. In any case, the political strains between Iraq and its neighbours became more evident during this period, placing implicit constraints on international cooperation in the developing the Arab information sector. These may have impacted on the seemingly failed attempt to follow up on the Beirut conference.

There were still other fundamental barriers to the development of librarianship in Iraq. In Iraq as in many developing countries, libraries were traditionally looked on as the privilege of the elite, because it was the elite who were literate (Borchardt 1968). The literacy rate in the local population was improving, but was still nowhere near universal by the end of the decade. Wilder (1966b) reflecting on development as a process, questioned whether libraries could be developed when so few people were functionally literate and potential library users. Gunton (1962) had also identified high illiteracy rates as one of a number of problems that affected library development. However, there seems to have been little appreciation in the Arab world in general of the potential for libraries to support literacy development, and teaching methods in the region did little to encourage independent reading. The allocation of adequate funds for libraries' collection development was probably also undermined by the continuing weakness of the publishing industry in Iraq and book distribution in the Arab world.

The development of education and training also suffered because it seems to have been accorded greater importance by participants in Unesco seminars than by Unesco. This may have been because Unesco was unable to determine a clear policy. Efforts by Unesco to arrive at common guidance on the training of both research and documentalists (i.e. special librarians) revealed a gulf between IFLA and FID concerning the conception of the roles and relevant curricula.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Had Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in the Information Sector

The most significant progress during this decade was in the development of the university libraries. Matta Akrawi recognised that the libraries of the new University of Baghdad needed a sound basis for their development. Although the funding that he secured for their initial development may have been inadequate, it was not completely spent because of the lack of suitable staff, underlining the importance of his success in attracting the attention of the Ford Foundation. Subsequently, the new Republican government recognised the case for international support for development of the University libraries, requesting Unesco assistance and in due course accepting further assistance from the Ford and Gulbenkian Foundations.

Sharify (1963) pointed to the limited need for technical information and the low level of research activity as further barriers to library development in the less developed countries. During this period, Iraq's newly developing industries were not ones that had a strong research base, and the nation's pool of highly trained scientists was still small. Although the government was continually reminded of the need to establish a supporting library and documentation service, little progress could be expected while the overarching issue of a national science policy was unresolved.

Moves to create a National Library cannot be entirely attributed to Unesco's efforts to provide the foundations for library development in the Arab world through the Beirut seminar, but the local discussions in Iraq that followed that seminar seem to have brought about a decision to proceed with its establishment, despite the inexplicable opposition of the Unesco 'expert' then in Iraq, Des Raj Kalia.

Two attempts were made during the decade to establish a Library Association. The first lapsed after Kalia left the country, but the second appears to have been more successful, although the number of members was small. It was unlikely to have had any real influence on the authorities, but its activities may have helped to raise awareness of the need for larger numbers of trained personnel.

Unesco's focus on libraries, archives and documentation (i.e. information) services during this period was in a state of flux, possibly influenced by the U.N.'s emphasis on 'development'. This was reflected in the organisational

changes that restructured the International Advisory Committees in 1960, and led to the formation of DBA in 1965. The changes in senior personnel at this time may also have reflected Unesco's changing interests, and might bear closer investigation when all the relevant archive files are accessible. The influence in Iraq of Unesco's shift in priorities to an emphasis on the development of specialist libraries during the U.N. 'development decade' is unclear.

The Iraqi authorities, prompted and assisted by Bonny and Unesco's Libraries Department, laid the ground for a pan-Arab seminar on librarianship, but events intervened and the venue was shifted to Beirut in 1959. Developments across the broad spectrum of librarianship including professional education were encouraged by the Beirut seminar, and some possibly emanating from that event can be observed in Iraq, but the outcomes of the conference were overtaken by the U.N.'s focus on 'development' and clearly ran counter to a seeming reluctance within the U.N. as a whole to acknowledge the role of books and libraries in fostering development. In Iraq and throughout the Arab world, this sentiment was reflected in the continuing inadequacy of the publishing industry and the international book trade.

In the Beirut seminar, however, and again in Cairo in 1962, Unesco was left in no doubt of the need for it to respond to the demand in the Arab world for assistance in developing professionally qualified librarians. In Iraq, for example, higher education expanded rapidly during the 1960s, in terms of the number of students both in Iraq and abroad, but the university libraries continued to suffer from a near total absence of suitably qualified staff. It does seem likely that the Beirut seminar stimulated requests for Unesco assistance from a wider range of Arab countries — challenging the limited resources that were available to DBA from its regular budget until the creation of UNDP in 1965/66 offered Unesco the potential to support more substantial programmes of technical assistance (Leonard, Jenny & Nwali 1971).

A high level international conference was sponsored by USAid in 1964, intended to provide policy guidelines for work in the 'book sector', and was possibly intended as a counter to the U.N.'s stance. The participants, including a number of representatives of Unesco, noted the urgent need to train teachers to make effective use of school libraries and to encourage children to read independently. They saw it as equally important to provide professional training for librarians and publishers in the developing countries where the skills base

was uneven, but noted that gaps in specific skills varied from country to country. Accordingly, they recommended that in-depth studies should be made at national level, and that these should relate the book problems to national manpower needs and national development plans (Hiebert 1965), implicitly expecting national governments to implement these suggestions. It is arguable whether or not Iraq had the capacity to implement the national surveys of manpower needs in the book and information sector, and the national development planning that DBA and other agencies sought to encourage. However, while DBA did seem to be beginning to have some understanding of the issues that needed to be addressed in the region, the solution to the manpower shortage that was proposed by Sharify suggests his analysis was incomplete or confused, and it was probably fortunate that it was not pursued after he left DBA.

Cook (2011) later observed that DBA generally acted only in response to requests for equipment or advice, and commented that its record was "better than respectable, but as we may argue now, lacking in focus." Thus Unesco activities in Iraq appear to have been entirely prompted by requests from the Iraqi authorities, and none strictly conformed to the U.N.'s development agenda. DBA supported a number of missions to Iraq during the first decade of the Republic: Kalia, 1959/60; Huisman, 1962/63; and Omar, 1967/68.

Unesco's 3 missions seem to have been, perhaps accidentally, strategically well timed, but it has so far proved difficult to find concrete evidence that Kalia and Huisman were entirely effective, and the evidence for Omar's contribution is still to be fully explored when the archive files are available. More significant legacies from Unesco support during this period were probably the activities of those librarians who attained senior positions after obtaining professional qualifications while supported by Unesco Fellowships, not least Abdul Karim Amin, who also became one of the first Iraqi teachers of librarianship.

The British Council's attention and expertise were focused on developing libraries in the former British colonies, although John Ferguson continued to try to make useful contributions to library development in Iraq, but the revolution intervened and was followed shortly afterwards by his re-assignment. The attitude of the new government was, at least initially, less propitious for western assistance, and the Council seems to have played a less significant role in library development in Iraq for the rest of the decade. Whether the personalities and capabilities of Ferguson's successors contributed to this may perhaps be more

properly assessed when more of the Council's archives are available. However, there is no doubt that the Council was pre-occupied with the transformation of the former British colonies, and was likely to have assigned its most capable staff to those overseas posts where the greatest impact was achievable.

The USIS was compelled to close its libraries in Iraq several times during this period because of anti-American demonstrations. These frustrated attempts to enhance the American presence in the country, as did USIS's reduced complement of American educated librarians.

The new Republic's government was, at least initially, more open to assistance from the Communist countries, who seem — according to the available, limited evidence — to have been less inclined or less able to assist library development. The lack of published evidence implies that the activities of other foreign government and inter-governmental agencies during the ten years after the 1958 Revolution was minimal. However, it was allegedly coming to be recognised by many national governments that multilateral aid avoided some of the sensitivities and suspicions that were aroused by perceptions in the beneficiary countries of the underlying aims of bilateral aid (Dix 1961), and the extent to which individual governments shifted their aid funding to the intergovernmental agencies and international non-governmental organisations and with it their expectations of library development may bear further examination.

It is perhaps worth noting the comment by Harvey and Lambert (1971) that, during their brief visit to Lebanon in 1968, they heard that libraries such as the USIS and British Council had not been studied closely by many local librarians because they seemed to see no relevance between them and their own situation. It was also noticeable that the Iraqi authorities were unmoved by consultants such as Koupolov-Yaropolk (1967) who made generalised recommendations that neither they nor the Iraqi authorities were able to implement, while seemingly open to practical assistance from other foreigner experts such as John Ferguson.

The other significant external actors in promoting developments during this period were, undoubtedly, the Gulbenkian and Ford Foundations, both making contributions to the development of the LIS workforce. The generous support of the Gulbenkian Foundation undoubtedly helped many libraries to overcome deficiencies in their regular funding, some stemming from the pressures on the

government's budget, others perhaps from librarians' limited influence on the internal allocation of funds by the institutions' authorities.

Attention during this period is once again drawn to the role of individual foreign 'experts' and Iraqi nationals.

The role of Des Raj Kalia remains an enigma. His seeming penchant for self-promotion casts doubts on the extent of his impact. It is not clear, for example, to what extent he was responsible for developments in the public library service, such as the initiation of the mobile library service — in which John Ferguson also played a part. There is no doubt that developments with which Kalia claimed to be associated took place, for example the establishment of children's and school libraries, but there remains some doubt over the extent to which these achievements were solely attributable to his efforts. Nonetheless, despite the lack of clarity about those activities, the introduction of the three-month program in Librarianship in Baghdad University, and Kalia's lobbying for another related Unesco expert mission, whatever his motives, certainly contributed to the debate that led to the eventual request for Participation Programme funds to support a review of necessary developments in LIS education. However, while the university authorities were persuaded of the need to extend the program, they did not win the support of the most influential Ministry official (Unesco 1965d), and the evidence that the proposal for a one-year program seems to have lapsed after Kalia left the country can probably be interpreted as an indication of the limits of his persuasive ability.

The impact of Huisman's mission was frustrated by what seems to have been mis-understanding or mis-communication of the assistance that was being sought. Neither the Iraqi authorities nor Unesco's resident official in Iraq seem to have been able to clearly explain what support was needed in the field of archives and records management. A closer examination of the date of the appointment of an archivist to DBA's staff might shed some further light on whether DBA was properly equipped to handle the request, but — given the clear evidence of confusion over what was required — it was probably a mistake to appoint a consultant for an extended period without first sending an expert for a short visit to identify what needed to be done and the skills that would be required. The outcome of the mission may have disappointed Huisman, and perhaps Unesco also, but it does not appear to have impeded progress towards

the legislation creating the National Archives Centre, and may have even stimulated it.

Although his activities and effectiveness remain to be fully explored when the relevant archive files are opened, the appointment of Anwar Omar to undertake a mission requested by the Iraqi authorities was clearly timely. It was instrumental in maintaining momentum in education for librarianship and — probably — in enabling Unesco to formulate a convincing case for UNDP support for further development. Although it was acknowledged that Unesco had to contend with providing global support for developing countries that were and are not entirely homogenous, it was also the case that Unesco's efforts must reflect a balance between regional and subject interests, and the 1962 Unesco General Conference had signalled a shift in efforts to give more emphasis to regional projects that might benefit a number of countries and that were thought to be a better use of Unesco's limited resources. The record of the regional Schools of Librarianship that were established has yet to be objectively evaluated, but — perhaps recognising the barriers to cooperation between the Arab states, and the desire for the creation of national Schools that was expressed during the Cairo seminar — Unesco's approach to meeting the needs of the Arab world continued to focus on the development of national Schools of Librarianship in individual countries, and Omar's proposal for the School in Baghdad was in accord with that.

The initial mission to Baghdad University that was undertaken on behalf of the Ford Foundation by William Dix had mixed results, as his recommendations on the coordinated organisation of the central and College libraries were ignored. On a later occasion, Carl White, the Foundation's Regional Specialist Adviser, made a more useful intervention, recommending that the Ford Foundation assign foreign specialists to work within the University of Baghdad libraries for a number of years. Although the efforts of Ford and Kebabian seem to have been constrained by the attitudes of Dr. Al-Chawaf, and the timing of Gjelsness's mission precluded establishing a working relationship with the University President, their presence maintained the momentum for change. In their final assessment of their support for Baghdad University's libraries, the Ford Foundation acknowledged that their specialists' activities had failed to link the operation of the Library to the broader functions of teaching and research in the University, and drew from this project the lessons that it was difficult to effect change through a project in one part of an institution. However, the Foundation

concluded that their grant support had been more effective because it had included technical assistance from its specialists (Ford 1968). Similarly, the Gulbenkian grant for the construction of the library at Al Hikma University seems to have been improved by the intervention in its design by a relatively recently qualified American librarian (Ford 1968).

In the mid-1960s, by coincidence, Donald Powell and Rudolf Gjelsness, both then working in the University of Arizona Libraries, contributed to a journal feature that polled opinion on solutions to the shortage of qualified manpower that was then causing concern in libraries throughout the U.S.A. Their comments could perhaps be interpreted as reflecting solutions that they had advocated while in Iraq. Gjelsness commented on the need for library schools, "located in or near population centers and in institutions with considerable resources and prestige in the area." He also urged efforts to identify and encourage potential teachers, and to provide special training for them. Powell's comments were more narrowly focussed on a point on which both of them agreed, that there were many jobs in libraries that did not require a Master's Degree, but observing that a "professional attitude is not necessarily acquired in the library school" (Library Education 1966). It seems likely that Gjelsness advocated the need for a properly recognised School of Librarianship within the University's formal academic structure. This proposal was no doubt reinforced by Wilder. The continual iteration of this advice by external specialists, together with the evidence from the regular success of the Diploma program in recruiting students and the growing number of Iraqi going abroad to study this discipline, was finally to bear fruit.

Dix was instrumental in ensuring that several Iraqis were able to undertake study programs in the U.S.A. White also encouraged the Foundation to make further Fellowships for studying in the U.S.A., but intended to enable them to complete Master's Degrees. In terms of a lasting legacy from the Foundation's investment, this was probably even more significant than the work of the specialists, as it created a cadre of well-educated practitioners receptive to new ideas from outside the country, several of whom became the core of the future teachers of a new generation of Iraqi librarians. Some similar contributions to library development were probably derived from the Gulbenkian Fellows who went abroad for Master's degrees, although only one of them seems to have become a teacher of librarianship in later years.

White ensured that the petty personal politics then endemic in Iraqi society was eliminated. as far as practicable, from the shortlisting of candidates for the first batch of Ford Foundation Fellowships, and Dix ensured that those finally selected were likely to make a useful contribution to development on their return. Like White, Wilder also had experience of the region and its customs, and made sure that those selected for the second batch of Fellowships seemed likely to offer the best potential for a future contribution. His intervention in the procedure for awarding the second batch of Fellowships ensured that the Fellowships to study in the U.S.A. were awarded on merit, rather than through personal influence.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in the Information Sector

Throughout the decade, a number of Iraqis can begin to be identified as contemporary or future leaders in professional development and education. One who must be singled out for his efforts was Nihad Abdul Majid, for whom Unesco and the British Council provided assistance and motivation. He then seems to have made some substantial efforts not only to improve the quality of school libraries and public libraries, but also, albeit perhaps misguided and certainly with only with limited success, to promote formal education and training for the school librarians for whom his Directorate was responsible, and the merits of a professional association.

A particular issue that requires discussion is the concerns that were raised by the Ford Foundation's specialists about the activities of Dr. Al-Chawaf. The significance of his gender and high academic standing (and possibly personal connections) taking precedence over his lack of formal professional qualifications in his selection for the position of Director of the Central Library needs to be recognised as an inevitable consequence of the social practices that existed at the time. Nevertheless, some caution seems to have surrounded the remit that he may have been given. Srivastava (1970) describes him as Director General of the University Libraries, but whether he attained that rank is not clear. Certainly, in the 1960s, none of a succession of University Presidents thought that he was suitable to be appointed as University Librarian, but equally none was inclined to appoint someone over his head (Ford 1968).

The issue that must be addressed is whether he performed the role effectively, particularly in terms of manpower development, and there the picture

is mixed. Dix had commented that he seemed to have an idea of the western concept of a library, while his tutors at Columbia suggested that his interests were narrowly focused. White (1963) was critical of his neglect of long range planning, but perhaps did not appreciate that Arab Islamic fatalism does not encourage forward planning. Although Dr. Al-Chawaf clearly tried to obstruct the development of some of his staff, and may not have always articulated clearly his case for some of his proposals, he possibly expected that his audience would understand the sub-text. For example, in requesting further Ford Fellowships for doctoral study, he may have failed to emphasise the importance in Iraq of the award of a PhD for an academic's career and the status that this would attract to the teaching of librarianship.

White also commented on Dr. Al-Chawaf's damaging effect on staff morale, perhaps referring to his obstruction of the development of key staff, as well as his arbitrary decision making. This was partially explained by Wasfia Al-Obaidi, who commented in a letter to Kebabian dated 25th November 1962 that Dr. Al-Chawaf did not know how to do all the things that he recognised as needing doing, but did not let others help (Ford 1968). Dr. Al-Chawaf had initially obstructed the Ford Foundation experts' wish to progress the centralisation of library activities in the University before conceding that he needed assistance to implement it, but was noted as ignoring their advice in other respects (Kebabian 1962; Wilder 1966a). In this he was not unusual. As one commentator remarked: "in Iraq reports by foreign specialists have for the most part been ignored" (Iannuzzi 1965).

A more supportive appreciation of Dr. Al-Chawaf's performance was offered many years later. Robert Coté had already spent some time teaching at Al-Hikma University before studying at Columbia University, at the same time that Dr. Al-Chawaf was there as part of his Ford Foundation Fellowship. He drove him to visit a university library in Connecticut where he had interned during the summer before. He found Dr. Al-Chawaf to be a serious man who did not take his responsibilities lightly (Coté 2014c). He recognized that his library needed help and he welcomed foreign library experts. Coté (2014d) later reflected that he had:

> "operated in a highly public atmosphere. He never had all the funds he needed, yet did his best to develop the Central Library of the University. Given support, it could have served as a pilot for a national library, or even grown into one. He sought and received good advice from foreign experts. Still, he had to

tread carefully. He may have seemed too cautious to some, but he was more aware of the obstacles he was facing than any of us. And, to survive and continue improving, he may have had to focus on the technical aspects of library development. Caution was necessary for all officials. He was not a visionary in words, but he did recognize and appreciate competence. And he did survive a long time."

The Ford Foundation assessment of Dr. Al-Chawaf is perhaps a fitting epitaph. The Foundation cryptically noted in their final project review that strong local leadership was a mixed blessing (Ford 1968).

During this period, Iraq began to emerge as a modern state, and it is that transition that focuses attention on the limited expertise that Dr. Al-Chawaf was able to bring to his role. The confusion over Huisman's terms of reference and the inadequate preparation for Salem's mission meant that the authorities could not fail to have noticed the deficiencies in the managerial, administrative, professional and technical skills needed to implement such a programme. Even if they had failed to do so, they could scarcely ignore the requests that were coming from their own library managers for library staff to be given some training.

In some respects, however, it is remarkable that, as early as 1960, some personnel norms were being enshrined in Regulations, and the need for a substantial cadre of adequately librarians in supporting the developments that were taking place was accepted. The University of Baghdad's agreement to establish the Diploma program in Library Science preceded the foundation of formal local programs of study which seem to have spread through most of the rest of the Arab world only in the late 1960s.

Chapter 8
Consolidation of Professional Education under the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in Iraq, 1968-1979

...." the challenging requirements in the growth of research, and in changing educational standards, indicate a need for more systematic delineation of library and documentation services." (Anderson 1976)

Introduction

The first decade of Ba'athist rule in Iraq was not free from national and international political instability, but the increasing income from oil exports generally enabled the government to continue domestic investment in the information sector that underpinned its political aims, and to attempt to exert some influence on LIS education in the Arab world. The chapter records significant progress towards meeting the need for increasing numbers of trained staff in Iraq's libraries and archives, and particularly the growth of a large SLIS in Baghdad, founded on extended support from Unesco and UNDP.

This chapter also examines the impact on support for LIS education of changes in Unesco's programme structure, and the emergence of ALECSO as a regional provider of professional development. Although there was little bi-lateral technical assistance for Iraqi librarianship, some attention to the needs of the developing countries began to be paid by the international professional associations.

Significant Events in Iraq

The Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in Iraq[88] seized control in July 1968. Iraq's relationships with Iran were contentious throughout much of the 1970s

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[88] The Arab Ba'ath Party was founded in Syria in 1947, and merged with the Arab Socialist Party in 1952. Ba'athism (from the Arabic *Al-Ba'ath* meaning 'renaissance' or 'resurrection') is an ideology mixing Arab nationalism, pan-Arabism, Arab socialism and anti-imperialist interests. Ba'athism calls for unification of the Arab world into a single state. Its motto, 'Unity, Liberty, Socialism', refers to Arab unity, and freedom from non-Arab control and interference. Regional branches of the Party were established in the majority of Arabic speaking countries.

Claims have been made for the foundation of a Regional Branch in Iraq as early as 1947, but it was certainly formally established by 1952. The Regional Branch in Iraq initially consisted of a majority of Shia Muslims, but slowly became Sunni dominated. It had difficulties in recruiting Shi'ites as members because pan-Arabism is considered to be a Sunni project. In 1966, following a *coup d'état* in Syria which ousted the Party's founders, the Party split; one half was led by the new leadership in Syria, and the other half had its leadership in Baghdad. Both Parties retained the same name and structures,

(Shemesh 1992). Relations with its Arab neighbours were also strained because of differing political stances, and Iraq became increasingly isolated from the rest of the Arab world (Freedman 1981). It did not join Egypt and Syria in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, because its relations with Syria were strained. However, from 1974, Iraq did begin to try to improve relations with the other Arab States (Shemesh 1992).

The Kurdish minority in north-east Iraq had been neglected in the economic and social changes of the previous decade, because the region had been the scene of continual revolt and military conflict. Three of the *Liwas* there were designated as an autonomous Kurdish Region in a peace agreement in 1970 (Al-Werdi 1983), confirmed in constitutional changes in 1974, but peace was not established until 1975, when Iranian support for the Kurdish revolutionaries was withdrawn.

Unsuccessful *coups* against the Iraqi government were attempted in 1970 and 1973 (Freedman 1981). In July 1979, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr finally stepped down from the Presidency, when his cousin and Vice-President Saddam Hussein seized the position.

Trends in International Assistance for Library Development

This section briefly summarises the origin of NATIS and UNISIST in separate sectors of Unesco, and their merger in the General Information Programme. Alongside these developments, and later as part of them, a significant effort began to be focused on the development of education for library, information and archives work, and their harmonisation, through workshops and guidance on pedagogy and curricular development. With the exception of the League of Arab States, other international organisations had little involvement in Iraq's libraries and archives.

Unesco and the Evolution of NATIS, UNISIST, and PGI

Addressing the problems of information and its management in developing countries challenged the international and national organisations. In the 1970s, DBA began to attempt to raise the discussion of library and information matters to the intergovernmental level, away from meetings of librarians and

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but became antagonistic. The Party's Regional Branch in Iraq had an ideology that emphasised Iraqi nationalism at least as much as Arab nationalism, and was less influenced by Marxist thinking.

documentalists whose recommendations to higher authorities had "seemed to fall on deaf governmental ears" (Parker 1974). DBA's NATIS concept for national planning of library and documentation services focussed attention, *inter alia*, on analysing and planning for demand for manpower; analysing specific needs for academic training for differing professional specialisms; and planning recruitment and continuing training (Organization 1973).

In parallel with these developments, another policy concept was emerging from Unesco's Natural Sciences Sector. The rapid growth of scientific literature was particularly challenging for developing countries (El Hadidy 1970), and the concept of a World Science Information System (UNISIST) had begun to be developed by Unesco's Natural Sciences Division in collaboration with the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). In 1971, an Intergovernmental Conference was held to launch UNISIST. This subsumed the human resource issues in its discussions on information infrastructures, but acknowledged that strengthening human resources in developing countries was a complex problem (Final Report 1971; Wysocki & Tocatlian 1972). Training in documentation, libraries and archives work, and the training of specialist teachers for these professions to alleviate critical manpower deficiencies were identified as one of the important areas for the programme.

The overlapping nature of the UNISIST and NATIS programmes had been partly acknowledged in the work since 1971 of the International Advisory Committee on Documentation, Libraries and Archives. Eventually, it was agreed by the General Conference in 1976 that responsibility for the two programmes should be assigned to a new Division of the General Information Programme (PGI), which was formally established in February 1977.

NATIS, UNISIST, PGI, and Professional Education

In 1973, when Anderla conducted a review for the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development of patterns in the supply of and demand for scientific and technical information, and the implications of likely changes, he expressed concern that the challenge posed by the information explosion as one that had been underestimated, and pointed to the need to apply substantially more manpower to managing the information resource.

When PGI was created, it was organised in 5 sections, one of which focused on the training of information professionals and users. These activities had

attracted the highest proportion of comments by Member States who had responded to a Unesco questionnaire on the new programme. The role of this section, initially headed by Kenneth Roberts,[89] included:

- help with establishment and development of professional schools
- preparation of teaching staff for schools and programs
- help in preparation of teaching materials
- organization of international and regional courses at different levels
- promotion of user education in Member States.

Figure 8.1: Kenneth Roberts
Source: *IFLA Journal*, December 1986

Differing views were expressed in the Intergovernmental Council meeting in 1977 about priorities for expenditure, but most support was given to work on education and training, particularly in the developing countries. Among the points made discussion was the need for careful attention to be given to the choice of personnel engaged on pilot projects (Unesco, Intergovernmental 1977).

A Meeting of Experts on the Development of Scientific and Technological Information Systems in the Arab States was convened in Paris in December 1978. The Main Working Document (1978a) for the meeting expressed Unesco's serious concerns about the lack of information about manpower requirements, the uneven provision in the region of education and training for librarianship and information work, and the scarcity of well-trained teachers, textbooks and teaching materials. Manpower development was given a high priority in the recommendations of that meeting. Deficiencies in existing curricula and teaching were noted. The availability of personnel with the skills to implement automated systems in libraries was one of the particular problems identified. The participants made the usual recommendations calling for additional support from Unesco to assist in developing the national Schools of Librarianship and Information Science. Interestingly, some of the questions posed for discussion at the meeting focused on the education of technician level staff, perhaps the first

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[89] See resumé in Appendix 5.

time that this had attracted attention at this level. Equally significantly, the importance of archives as a major source of information to support scientific development was recognised by the participants in the Conference, who also recommended that "new non-conventional courses should be introduced to the established curricula in the library sciences and archives sections within the Arab Universities" (Meeting 1979).

Unesco's Support for Teachers of Librarianship

The importance attached to manpower development was reflected in DBA's activities. The second Unesco international course in librarianship took place in Denmark in 1968. All the selected participants were either practicing teachers of librarianship, or were from countries where there was no School of Librarianship but had included courses in teaching as part of their program of studies in librarianship. The course was attended by a group of 15 participants, including Zaheda Ibrahim (Srivastava 1971b) and participants from 5 other Arab countries.

The published report confirmed that the course considered the organisation of a School, and the structure of the curriculum. There was also an effort to consider comparative aspects of librarianship, including, for example, a review of library training in several countries (Andreozzi 1969). It was intended to be an experimental course, based on seminars and discussion rather than lectures (Unesco 1969a). There was a genuine effort to examine teaching methods critically, and appropriate teaching methods for particular subjects. It seems from their evaluation that the participants found it useful.

Unesco's plans for a manual on the teaching of librarianship had also come to fruition. This was intended for library school instructors who had had no training in teaching. An introductory chapter set out the essentials of pedagogy. The rest dealt with the application of these principles in teaching librarianship: curricular contents; teaching theory and practice; teaching materials; and suitable methods. Examples showed how six subjects could be taught. It was translated from Spanish into English and French, but not into Arabic (Sabor 1969).

Unesco's Second Course for Teachers of Librarianship

The next course took place in Denmark in 1970 (Unesco 1970c; Summary 1971). Srivastava (1969) had recommended that the new full-time teachers in the Baghdad University program should be given an early opportunity of studying

teaching methods in other parts of the world, and Abdul Karim Al-Amin was nominated as one of the 15 participants (Al-Amin 1970; Unesco 1971a).

This approach seems to have achieved widespread support, but the series was discontinued. There was, however, a body of opinion that the need to train teachers still existed. The participants in the International Conference on Training for Information Work, organised by FID in Rome in 1971, recommended that "courses be established for the training of qualified persons to become teachers for courses in information work, especially in developing countries" (Conclusions 1972). This received further encouragement in the Arab region. For example, at Rabat in May 1976, participants in a workshop discussing regional cooperation in industrial information provision recommended, *inter alia*, that Unesco should intensify its efforts as regards the training of teachers of librarianship and information science (Raizada 1977; Sharif 1979).

Unesco and New Master's Degrees at Loughborough and Syracuse Universities

Another approach to meeting this need was a proposal by Loughborough University in the U.K. to teach a Master's Degree in library education (Loughborough University 1973; Bowden 1976). The curriculum of the Master's Degree in 'Archives, Library and Information Studies (with Education)' included studies of the sociology of education and educational psychology, and elective courses in comparative education, the economics of education, and curriculum development, all taught by the University's Department of Education. The courses in librarianship placed a heavy emphasis on international aspects, but also on the need to focus the curriculum on the organisation of library services appropriate to conditions in a teacher's country.

A program such as that at Loughborough was clearly needed (NATIS 1976d). Foskett (1976) found that most teachers of library and information studies lacked pedagogical training. However, by the end of the 1970s, the need for pedagogical development of LIS teachers seems to have ceased to be a matter of major concern in some quarters. In 1979/80, Unesco allocated 2 Fellowships for students to attend the Loughborough program, reducing this to 1 in 1980/81. This change may have stemmed from Schur's (1980) recommendation that Unesco should concentrate the allocation of "Fellowship awards to candidates from a particular country or region over a short period, so that a mutually

supporting group of information specialists can provide a necessary impact and momentum for future development."

Another initiative was an 'International Program in Information Science and Library Automation', which was first offered by the School of Library Science at Case Western University in the U.S.A. in 1974. This offered Master's Degrees, a PhD, or non-degree studies to enable students to fill specific gaps in their knowledge. The courses offered included a 'Seminar on Problems of Information Science Education in Developing Countries', which dealt with issues such as the diversity of needs in developing countries and the formulation of an appropriate education system and curriculum. It also addressed the inadequacy of research in information science, and the inadequate attention paid to information science by decision makers. The School of Library Science at Case Western closed in 1984, and the Master's program presumably died with it (Rochester 1986).

Unesco Summer Schools and Curricular Guidance

In 1975 and 1978, Unesco arranged an International Summer School at Sheffield University in collaboration with FID and IFLA. Although the participants were mainly teachers, the brief description of the event suggests that it was oriented more towards updating their knowledge of new curricular content than teaching methods. A similar course for Francophones took place in Paris in 1976 (Unesco 1975b; UNISIST/FID/IFLA 1978).

Unesco's Medium Term Plan for 1977-1982 included a sub-objective to promote the training and education of information professionals, which was defined as:

> "To build up in developing countries or in limited homogenous regions the local facilities needed for professional education and training of the necessary information manpower, as well as to promote education of user groups for an effective utilization of information resources." (Unesco's 1977b)

Among the key themes identified for PGI was promotion of the training and education not only of specialists in information but also of information users. The budget also provided for 3 regional training courses for teachers of librarianship and information science, and for the preparation of guidelines on aspects of the curriculum and on manpower planning (Unesco's 1977b).

Saunders's (1979) '*Guidelines for Curriculum Development in Information Studies*' revealed how much Unesco's understanding had progressed in thirty years. While still arguing the need for standardisation in document analysis to

facilitate international information transfer, this acknowledged the need for the curriculum to reflect the state of development of library and information services in a country in terms of, for example, management structures or the availability of information technology, and the educational background and intellectual capacity of their likely students. Saunders also accepted that, in the early stages of development, it was unrealistic to expect library manpower needs to be identified in national planning.

Unesco's Evolving Policy on the Harmonisation of Education for the Information Sector

A view began to emerge that there was much commonality between librarianship and information science, and it was recognised that that there was some common ground with archives studies. Unesco outlined plans to undertake studies in 1973-74 to produce modern curricula for documentation, library and archival training and, as part of the UNISIST programme, to cooperate with other U.N. agencies to develop guidelines for university level programs that harmonised teaching in these specialisms (Plan 1973; Unesco's 1973; Wysocki 1974). Efforts to harmonise professional education were reinforced following a review of education and training activities undertaken for UNISIST, in which Unesco noted that, because of the manpower shortage, information professionals in many developing countries were expected to be multi-functional: librarian, information specialist, and documentalist (Unesco 1975d).

British Government Assistance for Library Development

The 1960s had, by some accounts, been the British Council libraries' most successful decade (Kraske 1980), as the Council had gradually shifted its interest from cultural relations to educational development. Flood (1970) believed that the British Council's librarians had done much to establish the concept and practice of library development. However, the 1970s was to witness the beginning of the Council's disengagement from the provision of technical assistance. The Report of the Committee on Overseas Representation (Duncan report) in 1969 recommended no reduction in funding for the British Council (Report 1969). However, the changing geo-political focus was reflected in recommendations that the British Council should give greater emphasis to Europe and to 'cultural manifestations' rather than teaching English, or educational or technical assistance work.

In the late 1970s, doubts again began to be expressed about the value of the British Council's activities generally (Donaldson 1984). A further review of all aspects of Britain's overseas representation was initiated in the light of the country's poor economic growth and declining power and ability to influence events, as well as its changing international relationships with its former colonies and with the European Community, which it had joined in 1973. The review team, from the government's Central Policy Review Staff (CPRS),[90] recommended (the 'Berrill Report') the re-allocation of most of the British Council's roles back to the relevant departments, and the amalgamation of its remaining functions within scaled down diplomatic missions (U.K., CPRS 1977).

The British Council's response was underpinned in part by a report on the Council's library services in which Saunders and Broome (1977) argued that technical cooperation, aid to education, and aid to library development were essential to development in the 'Third World'. They noted the role of the British Council librarian as a catalyst in bringing Schools of Librarianship into existence, organising short courses, and assisting the local library association to develop. In 1978, the government rejected the CPRS's recommendations (Bell 1979). However, by the end of the 1970s, there were concerns among Council librarians about the reluctance of the then management of Libraries Department to innovate in a rapidly changing field, with the risk that the libraries were being allowed to become obsolescent.

British Council in Iraq

Initially the Ba'athist government supported a very large programme of scholarships for studying abroad, mainly in Britain, for which the primary requirement was an adequate command of English (Kazwini 2007). In 1970/71, a large number of U.K. government scholarships for Iraqis were also funded by the Overseas Development Administration, but the subjects taken were not recorded (British Council 1975). One of the 8 scholarships funded by the British Council in 1970/71 was awarded to Miss Harbi Mussa Hussein, nominated by the Iraqi government to take a program at the College of Librarianship Wales in the U.K., but no indication of her previous and subsequent career has yet been found. Diplomatic relations between Britain and Iraq were broken between 1971

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[90] The Central Policy Review Staff was a unit established within the U.K. Cabinet Office in 1971, and tasked with developing long term strategy and coordinating policy across government departments. It was disbanded in 1983.

and 1974. By 1973, there were only 18 Iraqis studying in the UK on British government scholarships in all disciplines (United Nations 1978).

USIS and Library Development

A review of the USIS libraries, the 'Brady Task Force Report' in 1971, expressed concern that although the libraries reached a far greater spectrum of the intellectual elite of a country than any small group of diplomats could possibly do, they were perceived to be a cultural luxury, not a political necessity. The Brady report also commented critically on the lack of engagement with the external professional environment (U.S. Information Agency 1971a). This was unsurprising. By 1980, the number of U.S. librarians employed in its North Africa, Middle East and South Asia region had fallen to 3, and the Regional Librarian responsible for Iraq had been relocated to Tunis (Hausrath 1981). In any event, the U.S.A. had had no diplomatic relations with Iraq since 1967, other than a U.S. Interests Section within the Belgian Embassy, established in 1972.

Assistance from the Soviet Union and its Allied Communist States

During the 1970s, the Iraqi government initially strengthened its economic links with the U.S.S.R. and the other communist countries (United Nations 1978). Most Soviet aid took the form of repayable credits for the purchase of machinery and equipment, and hiring Soviet technicians to assist in its operation (Freedman 1981). The 1972 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation specifically identified cooperation in education, scientific and cultural fields (Shemesh 1992), and Iraqis increasingly tended to study in Russia (Encyclopaedia 1977), but no evidence has been discovered to indicate how many Iraqis studied library science at universities in the U.S.S.R. or its satellite states, and only one is known to have completed an advanced degree in the subject in Russia (Richards 1999).

Iraq's relationship with the U.S.S.R. and its allies remained ambivalent (Rubin 1982). There is some evidence of cultural exchanges in the field of libraries and archives with the former German Democratic Republic, e.g. a mission by Dr. Karl Schubarth-Engelschall (q.v.) in 1971, but the Iraqi government was wary of foreign advances, and passed a law in 1972 which required all foreign cultural centres to confirm that they were not linked to a country's diplomatic activities. Despite the 1972 Treaty, this led to the closure of the centres operated by the U.S.S.R., as well as Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic (British Council 1974).

League of Arab States and ALECSO

A new international agency had emerged with the foundation of the Arab League Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (ALECSO) in 1964. ALECSO's 3rd 'Alexandria Conferences for Literacy' took place in Baghdad in 1976 (Ali 1985b). There, an Arab Strategy for the Eradication of Illiteracy was agreed. While mentioning the need for textbooks, this offered no foresight of a future role for libraries (Mustaffa-Kedah 1977).

ALECSO did not make significant efforts in the library field until its Department of Documentation and Information was created in 1970 (Ali 1985b; Khafagy 1980). The Department was intended, *inter alia*, to promote the capabilities of librarians, documentalists and archivists through training courses and meetings (El Akhras 1981). Despite its initially limited understanding of the needs of the region, ALECSO is reported to have organised several international seminars about library and information work, although it is difficult to be precise about the range of subjects and the number of courses because many of ALECSO's activities have been described so vaguely in the literature and efforts in particular fields may have gone unidentified. Some independent activity was also beginning to emerge in the Arab region. Sharif (1977) reported that at least as many as 80 other meetings had been organised by other bodies.

Gulbenkian Foundation

Most of the grants made by the Gulbenkian Foundation to Iraqi libraries appear to have been suspended in 1974, and its *Serviço do Medio Oriente* was closed in 1978. This seems to reflect the reduction in the Foundation's income after the nationalisation of the Iraqi Petroleum Company.

IFLA

The IFLA General Conference in 1971 was the first occasion on which Unesco provided funds for a pre-session seminar specifically for librarians from developing countries. Particular attention was drawn during the Conference to the importance of promoting the education, training, and status of librarians to resolve the acute need for more and better trained manpower in the developing countries (Chaplin 1972). In 1973/74, IFLA established a Section on Education and Training to replace its Committee on Library Education (Harbo & Bowden 2004). The new Section prepared and issued the first edition of outline standards for library schools (IFLA 1976). Unesco considered reviewing the guidelines on

education for librarianship that IFLA had produced in 1967/68, presumably with a view to adopting them, but seems to have been taken no action. Further steps were taken in 1976, when IFLA established a Division for Regional Activities, with Sections representing Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

FID

Concern about education for librarianship in the developing countries received a further stimulus from FID in the early 1970s. In 1972, FID organized 2 international meetings in Hungary, both of which gave much attention to professional training in documentation and information services. A range of country reports were analysed by FID to determine the current situation of library and documentation systems and provide a foundation for action under the NATIS programme.

Developments Affecting Provision of Information Services in Iraq

This section notes the how the growth in Iraq's oil income was offset by the growth and urbanisation of the population and the consequent demand for housing and public services. The Ba'athists' ideals are contrasted with the increasingly autocratic approach taken by the government as it wrestled with the challenges of modernising the country. demand from the neo-literates in society.

Economic Development

A combination of events greatly improved the economic situation in Iraq and facilitated rapid expansion of its development programme. (Ro'i 1984). Between 1973 and 1978, Iraq's oil revenues increased from $1.8 billion to $23 billion (£61 billion). The growing income was offset by an increase in the population, from 9.4 million in 1970 to 13 million in 1980 (Unesco Statistical Yearbook: Arab states, 1983). This challenged the government's capacity to provide basic necessities such as housing and healthcare, as well as an education appropriate and adequate for the jobs that were being created.

The impact of Information Technology was recognised at an early stage, and the first computer was installed in Iraq in 1966, but the increased use of computer systems was hindered by a nationwide lack of trained personnel. In about 1969, the government established a new Bureau of Consultancy and Computer Services, and UNDP pledged substantial funds for its development. Its tasks included assisting organisations to implement Management Information Systems, and supporting the development and appreciation of electronic data

processing. These functions were transferred to the National Computer Centre (NCC) when that was created in 1972 (ILO 1976), attached to Ministry of Planning (Iraq Higher 2004). The NCC was initially tasked (Law 100, 20th August 1972) with ensuring that the provision of computing facilities met the nation's needs in an efficient manner.

The United Nations' Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics (IBI) held its annual conference in Baghdad in 1975, the first time that it had been held in a developing country, in itself an indicator of Iraq's leading role in development in the Arab world at that time. The papers presented (Pipe & Veenhuis 1976) reveal a significant gap between the interests of computer specialists and the capabilities of contemporary computer systems. The papers contain no evidence of any real awareness of the range of information that was needed, its potential uses, or local capacity to implement developments, including the need for information intermediaries.

Government

To manage development more effectively, in 1969, two new *Liwas* were designated, based on Dohuk in the north and Samawa in the south (Unesco 1966b). In 1976, two more new *Liwas* were created: Salahuddin which was detached from the northern part of Baghdad *Liwa,* and Najaf, formerly the southern part of Karbala *Liwa (*Penrose & Penrose 1978). Iraq has since remained administratively divided into 18 *Liwas* (Zado 1990).

The intended scope and content of Iraq's social policies were set out in the constitution of the Ba'ath party in 1947, and re-affirmed in the Interim Iraqi Ba'ath Party Constitution in 1970 and the 'National Action Charter' proclaimed by the Ba'athist government in 1971. The party constitution declares, *inter alia*, that:

- The state will be responsible for safe guarding freedom of speech, publication, assembly and protest, and freedom of the press, within the overall national interest of the Arabs. All the means necessary to realize these freedoms will be provided by the state.
- Intellectual work is one of the most sacred kinds of work and it is for the state to protect thinkers and scientists.
- Use will be made of the cinema, broadcasting, television, and all the means of modern civilisation to spread national culture and to promote the welfare of the people.
- The party's educational policy aims at creating a new Arab generation... taking to scientific thinking, freed from the bonds of superstition and reactionary traditions. (Adapted from Ismael 1980)

The RCC comprised a group of leading Ba'ath party officials who held joint executive authority. Its size and membership fluctuated, and the Minister responsible for cultural affairs[91] was not always a member. However, whether part of the Ministry of Culture and Information, or the Ministry of Information, public libraries could be seen as contributing to the government's goals of educational and economic development. In 1974, the government revised the structure of its budget to reflect functions rather than departmental structures. For the first time, Information and Communication was identified as a distinct budget heading.

Publishing and the Book Trade in the Arab World

The participants an international symposium was organised by the National Book Committee in the U.S.A. in 1972 were reminded that the developing countries spend a higher proportion of their income on education than the developed countries, but only a very small proportion, perhaps less than 2%, was spent on learning resources (Keppel 1972). The developing countries were not publishing the books, etc. needed to support their own development. Even in the late 1970s, the Arabic-speaking world, with a total population numerically only slightly smaller than Europe, produced only about 2% of the titles issued in Europe during a comparable year (Ben Cheikh 1982).

The framework of the publishing industry in many Arab states was often further distorted because not only was a substantial part government owned, but also there was often no coherent policy for the industry (Botros 1978). The cost of imported raw materials, and continuing levels of illiteracy amongst adults, added to the challenge of developing a modern book trade throughout the Arab world. There were also no educational institutions training printers, publishers, or booksellers (Unesco 1972a).

Publishing and the Book Trade in Iraq

An ALECSO survey in 1974 suggested that there were then only 5 publishing houses in Iraq (Ben Cheikh 1982). By the mid-1970s, the Ministry of Information had become the largest publisher of commercial titles (Carroll & Thompson 1970). Although there were 280 private publishing companies at the end of the decade, they were subject to some control by the Ministry of Culture and

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[91] A list of the individuals who served as Minister of Culture and Information in the government of Iraq can be found in Appendix.

Information, despite the government's claimed commitment to supporting a free press (Adwan 1984).

The number of books published had begun to increase, slowly at first, then more rapidly. Al-Kindilchie (1994) reported that book production rose from 851 titles in 1970 to 2,532 titles in 1979. The number of periodicals being published in Iraq in the mid-1970s was around 130, but only 3 focused on the sciences (Skaff, Rachty & Bostangui 1976). There was no tradition of publishing for children. However, in 1970, the Office of Culture for Children was established, giving a small stimulus to the production of children's books and magazines (Ben Cheikh 1982).

Developments in Library, Information and Archives Services

This section identifies the mechanisms introduced by the Iraqi government for planning library development, but notes that they appear to have been ineffective and that there was little evidence of broad-based support for library development. The growth in specialist information centres, the National Library, and the National Centre for Archives is noted.

It illustrates that there seems to have been little recognition within Unesco's Education Sector and among Iraqi or other Arab educators that libraries had a role to play in embedding literacy and encouraging learning. Unesco and ALECSO are reported as being continually reminded of the shortage of qualified manpower in the region.

Planning Library and Information Services in Iraq

Through its NATIS and UNISIST programmes, Unesco was actively encouraging governments to draw up national information plans based on their general development targets. An inter-ministerial commission or inter-departmental committee with appropriate representation from professional and user groups was seen as an essential agent in advising the government on the national information policy and monitoring its implementation (Arntz 1974). In 1970, the Higher Commission for Libraries was established (Aman 1981c). It seems to have achieved limited visibility, and appears to have made little impact on the government (Qassim, et al. 2004), and may have had only a short life.

Figure 8.2: Salah Omar Al-Ali
Source: commons.wikimedia.org

During this period, Iraq's libraries and archives experienced an accelerated rate of growth. There appears no evidence of any national plan, or any continuing political commitment. Salah Omar Al-Ali served as Minister of Culture and Information from 1970 to 1972 [See Appendix 3], a significant period for library development, but it is not clear whether the progress made at that time was attributable to his influence, as this was after he had been dismissed from the inner circle of power, the RCC.

Literacy, and Primary and Secondary Education in Iraq

While Unesco's support for literacy development in education at all levels (Seminar 1970) was steadfast, it lacked consistency in identifying a role that library services could play and actively encouraging support for them.

Illiteracy was beginning to decline in the Arab world, as most governments were making some efforts to provide schooling (Unesco 1972a). Iraq was no exception. In 1974, the RCC committed the government to supporting free education for all citizens. The problem of adult illiteracy was also tackled enthusiastically. However, published reports make no suggestion for any role that libraries might have played in supporting the campaign or sustaining the skills of the neo-literates by providing access to appropriate reading materials.

There was a growing awareness that social development and curriculum change were inextricably linked. Iraq had found itself oversupplied with people who were not appropriately prepared for jobs in agriculture, industry and the service sector (Al Rahim 1978). Accordingly, the National Development Plan for the period 1976-1980 placed its greatest efforts on encouraging scientific, technical and professional studies with a revision of its content so as to modernize it, incorporate scientific content, and generally gear it to development plans. The spread of vocational education was to be increased and, as a result,

the number of places for university students in relevant disciplines was increased, with an increase in the number of female students.

School Libraries in Iraq

In Iraq, the Ministry of Education's School Libraries Department supervised activities. As a matter of policy, no books were placed in schools until a separate room was made available for the library. However, the definition of what constituted a school library was clearly open to debate. Al-Amin (1970) reported that all secondary schools had libraries of varying sizes, but they were ignored by teachers, and the pupils did not have time to use them.

A new Law on the Ministry of Education (Iraq 1972) made the Department of School Libraries. Further legislation followed throughout the 1970s. However, in a conference paper in 1975, the Librarian of Basra University argued that the condition of school libraries could not be improved without some significant changes in the educational system to give them an active and effective role (Al-Shawk 1976). Zado (1979) confirmed that the system of education offered no incentives for students to seek out information. Moreover, she commented that libraries offered no encouragement to students, and there was no basic training for students in the use of libraries.

There were no qualified librarians working in school libraries at the beginning of the 1970s. Although Kalia (1979) found that, in 1978, there were 150 secondary schools with full-time librarians, these were most probably teacher-librarians.

Public Libraries in Iraq

There are few reports about public libraries in the Arab world during this period, possibly reflecting the shift in Unesco's interests.

In Iraq, after the revolution of July 1968, the National Library was briefly assigned responsibility for the supervision of the public libraries. However, a national conference was held in the same year that recommended that either the Ministry of Interior Affairs or the Ministry of Local Government should supervise the public libraries (Qazanchi 2001, quoted by Alyaqou 2009). Nonetheless, overall responsibility for the public libraries subsequently rested with the Ministry of Culture and Information (Francis 1977a), or sometimes simply with the

Ministry of Information[92] (El Kassim & Nabham 1977). A Higher Committee on Public Libraries was established in the Ministry of Culture and Information in accordance with Article Four of the Public Library Act, no. 40, 1974 (Iraq, Republic 1974). Operational management was devolved to the then 16 *Liwas* and 60 *Nadiyahs*. The decade seems to have been a period of major expansion. In the late 1970s, Kalia found that there were 142 government-funded public libraries.

Higher Education in Iraq

During the 1970s, Iraqi Universities came increasingly under the control of the Ministry of Higher Education. Planning and coordination was supervised by the Higher Council for Universities (Unesco 1976). In 1968, new Laws nationalised Al-Mustansiriyah and Al-Hikma Universities (Unesco 1966b).

Al-Mustansiriyah was designated as a separate University (International Handbook 1977), but the provincial branch campuses of Al-Mustansiriyah University and the University of Baghdad were detached, re-grouped and designated as the University of Mosul and the University of Basra in 1968 (Cox 1968; Al-Kindilichie 1973). To meet the needs of the north east of the country, a new University was also established at Sulaimaniyah in the same year (Knowles 1977). In August 1969, a reorganisation in Baghdad University reduced the number of Colleges (Dietze 1970; Qazanchi 1971). The implications of these amalgamations for their library services has not otherwise been described.

Unesco supported a Russian consultant, Konstantin Rybnikov,[93] to advise the government on the reform of higher education to respond to the economic and social needs that were the focus of the national development plan. He pointed to the need to lay plans for the development of postgraduate programs, but in doing so made no recommendations about the library provision which might be regarded as an essential underpinning for such activities (Rybnikov 1971).

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[92] The nomenclature of these two government departments appears to have changed frequently, although that may be no more than differences in the translation of the title by different non-Iraqi writers. There does, however, appear to have been more than one period when the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Information were separate.
[93] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Figure 8.3: Konstantin Rybnikov
Source: *Chebyshevskij Sbornik* 15 (4), 2014

The government also began to place more emphasis on technical and applied fields of study (Knowles 1977). However, the National Plan failed to identify the particular professions and level of education that should be expanded, and the expansion of some parts of the education system continued to be disproportionate to the growth of relevant occupational opportunities (Ahmed 1977).

Most of the growth in student numbers was in undergraduate programs, in which teaching methods continued the focus on memorising the contents of textbooks that were allegedly not always up to date. At the beginning of the decade, Derwish (1969) described Iraqi Universities as centres of teaching rather than centres of learning, and said that they had only recently begun to take action to stimulate research. Clear guidelines for promotion were put in place, implicitly encouraging research activity.

However, postgraduate enrolments were affected by the teachers' limited experience, as well as by the break in studying that was imposed by compulsory military service for 2 years after graduating (Al-Shaikhly 1974). In 1970-71, only 135 students completed postgraduate programs in all disciplines in Iraq's universities (Zado 1979). Iraqis still tended to go abroad for postgraduate study, but in 1976 scholarships to support study abroad were abolished unless they fulfilled a need identified in the national development plan (Al Kufaishi 1977).

Until the mid-1970s, no Iraqi university offered to supervise PhD studies (Dobrov 1973). When Doctoral programs were introduced in the Iraqi universities, quality remained an issue; even at that level, it was possible to find Iraqis whose concept of individual learning seemed to expect the use of textbooks (e.g. Al Kufaishi 1977)!

Academic Libraries in Iraq

A Unesco consultant advising the Ministry on planning higher education in Iraq again called for traditional didactic teaching to be replaced with more independent learning, and noted that the implementation of the necessary

teaching reforms would require good libraries, and appropriately qualified library staff.

A request for consultancy to advise the University of Mosul libraries and the Foundation for Scientific Research was accepted by Unesco. It was assigned to an experienced British consultant, Simon Francis, who visited Iraq in 1976/77. Among his findings, he noted that the Director General of the University Libraries did not, however, have status and authority comparable to the Deans of Colleges. (Francis 1976; 1977a). A new University Library was opened in Mosul in 1979, but it was still designed on a closed access basis.

Figure 8.4: Simon Francis
Source: ICIMSS, Torun, Poland

Despite the growth in the libraries' collections, staffing and services remained notable issues. Al-Amin (1970) commented that few of the Colleges in Baghdad had a good library, and most had yet to employ professional librarians. The Central Library of Baghdad University had only 8 qualified staff in a total complement of 80. The situation in the provinces was no better. At Mosul University, there was only 1 qualified librarian in a total of 18 staff; and at Basra there were 3 qualified in a total of about 20 staff (Unesco 1972b). They recognised their need for assistance. In 1971/72, partly to compensate for the lack of professional expertise in the libraries of the Colleges and research institutes, the British Council's Librarian began to assist them (British Council 1975).

Iraq's position in the Arab world, economically if not politically, was such that a meeting of Arab University Librarians was held at the University of Baghdad, March 15-22, 1972, under the aegis of the Council of the Association of Arab Universities. There were 17 participants, but university libraries from only 5 countries (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait and Libya) were represented, mainly by their Chief Librarians (e.g. Badr & Kalander 1972). It seems to have focused mainly on training needs and the professional status of university librarians (e.g. Badr 1972).

Ahmed Helal,[94] who was in Iraq on a Unesco mission, visited many of the major libraries, noting that the University Librarians may have been assigned responsibility for the College libraries, but not the relevant authority. Systems and procedures were not standardised. In part this was because of the shortage of qualified staff.

Scientific and Technical Information Systems in the Arab World

In 1970, the United Nations General Assembly approved the international strategy for the second United Nations' Development Decade. The Arab regional implications were confirmed in a plan of action issued by the U.N. Economic and Social Office in Beirut in 1974, which outlined a plan for documentation centres to be established in the region, preferably with support from the Arab League, and especially stressed the need for them to be adequately staffed (Regional Plan 1974).

A small group was convened by Unesco in Morocco in May 1976 to examine the possibilities for improving information transfer within and between Arab countries. The participants encouraged Unesco to continue to support the development of education for librarianship, as well as providing relevant specialist training for information managers and users (Final 1976; NATIS 1976c; 1976f; News 1976b; Workshop 1976c).

As a follow-up to the United Nations' Conference, Unesco organized a series of regional Conferences on the Application of Science and Technology in Development. One of these, the Arab regional conference of the relevant government Ministers (CASTARAB), in August 1976, received a report from an expert group that had met under ALECSO's auspices in Cairo in May 1976 to discuss plans for a preparatory study for an Arab Scientific Documentation Centre. Those experts had noted that challenges facing the development of such a centre included the general shortage of trained manpower.

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) supported the development of the Industrial Development Centre for Arab States (IDCAS), and its Engineering Documentation Centre, which was established in Baghdad in 1971 (Aman & Khalifa 1984). The accomplishments of IDCAS included the training of industrial information specialists, and led to a feasibility study on the establishment of a regional information training centre (Wong & El-Hakim 1977;

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[94] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Evans 1978; Van Halm 1978). Unesco collaborated with UNIDO in providing several courses designed for documentalists and industrial information officers who had completed at least secondary education that was begun in 1970 and presented in a different language each year (Wasserman 1975). Between 1970 and 1972, the participants included 21 Arabs, among them 2 Iraqis.

A meeting on the technological information contained in patent documents was organized by WIPO in Cairo in 1978 in cooperation with the Government of Egypt, IDCAS, UNCSTD, ECWA and ECA. Unesco and ALECSO were represented at the meeting. Izzudeen Essaid represented the Iraqi Scientific Documentation Centre, and was elected Vice-Chairman of the meeting (WIPO 1978).

Participants in a meeting on the development of scientific and technological information systems in the Arab states, held in Paris in December 1978 as a follow up to the 1976 CASTARAB meeting recommended that better use should be made of STI systems, and urged governments, *inter alia*, to:

- train specialised manpower
- promote and support professional associations to intensify the exchange of information through person to person contacts (Final 1979; Meeting 1979).

El-Kheiro (1979), in considering the feasibility of an Arab regional centre in the field of communication, noted that documentation centres in most Arab countries had staff with only Bachelor's Degrees and little experience, and that there were few specialists with Master's or Doctoral Degrees. His proposed solution was a regional training centre for specialists.

Specialist Libraries and Information Centres in Iraq

During the 1970s, Iraq significantly increased expenditure on research and development as a proportion of GNP (Al-Qthami 1987). A survey carried out in about 1968/69 by one of the first students on the librarianship program at Baghdad University that was taught by Srivastava itemised 69 organisations in Iraq (Colleges, research centres, government departments and industrial companies) where library provision of some kind was being made - book collections, journal subscriptions, or both (Srivastava 1970, appendix 4). There were possibly other notable specialist collections in branches of the University and in the major museums that were, for the most part, ignored by the student's survey. This may explain the apparent rapid growth during the decade, leading Kalia (1979) to report that, in 1978, there were 98 government-funded special

libraries and 22 privately funded. However, according to Gennady Dobrov,[95] a Unesco consultant reviewing Iraq's science policy, while there was substantial national investment in scientific and technical research and development work in Iraq, it tended to be inefficient because, *inter alia*, researchers were unaware of research undertaken outside the country (Dobrov 1973).

Figure 8.5: Gennady Dobrov
Source: *Nauka ta naukoznavstvo*, 2009, 1

Figure 8.6: Josef Kuba
Source: Archiv národního technického muzea, Prague [In: *Věstník* 14 (1)]

Another Unesco consultant, Joseph Kuba,[96] invited to make recommendations on the establishment of a new science museum in Baghdad (which would have been edited at Unesco Headquarters before publication) expressed the need for a library and reading room (that would take up 10% of the proposed building), and outlined the need for a comprehensive documentation service (Kuba 1977). It is perhaps an indication of the lack of joined-up thinking within Unesco that the opportunity seems to have not been taken to edit the published report to mention the need for a post for a librarian in the staff proposed for the museum.

The Scientific Documentation Centre

Amongst the special libraries in Iraq were 4 under the auspices of the Council for Scientific Research. Srivastava advocated his proposal for a national Scientific Documentation Centre with the President of the Council of Scientific Research, (Srivastava 1970), and a decree establishing the national Scientific

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[95] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[96] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Documentation Centre was proclaimed by the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research in November 1971 (Helal 1972; Francis 1977a).

In 1972, the Centre for Scientific Information was established by the Scientific Research Organization (El-Kheiro 1979). Unesco appointed a consultant, Ahmed Helal, to advise on the development of the Centre (Helal 1972). He advised that the Scientific Documentation Centre would need to recruit qualified librarians to fulfil its role (Unesco 1972b).

Figure 8.7: Ahmed Helal
Source: University of Essen

Srivastava became involved, in 1972, in preparing a proposal for a project for the joint development of the Centre and the Graduate School (Srivastava 1973), but it was separated into 2 bids in November 1972, and agreed that Srivastava should no longer be engaged in the Centre's development (UNDP 1973a).
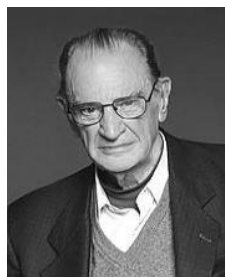
Figure 8.8: Rolando Garcia
Source: La Caja de Ahorro y Seguro S.A.

A Unesco consultant with a broad remit similar to Dobrov's, but similarly not a specialist in library and information work, Rolando Garcia,[97] commented favourably on the initial efforts of the Centre:

> "The Scientific Documentation Centre has had a very promising start; their ideas and plans are excellent, and under the present direction the Centre is in a very good position to develop as a first class institution of its kind. But it needs many more trained staff and facilities (building, computing systems, etc.)" (Garcia 1975).

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[97] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Figure 8.9: Abdul Rahman Kamaruddin
Source: http://arkamaruddin.blogspot.co.uk/

In 1977, a new Director, A.R. Kamaruddin,[98] was appointed to plan and develop the library and information services. It is not clear who galvanised the Centre into action, but, by 1978, Izzudeen Essaid seems to have become Director of the SDC (WIPO 1978). He had previous experience of implementing major changes in similar libraries, and, by 1979, the SDC had 40 staff, mostly professionally qualified, and an open-ended budget (Zado 1979).

The National Library of Iraq

Throughout much of this period, the National Library of Iraq operated under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture and Information (Francis 1977a), but in 1977, when the Ministry was reorganised into two separate Ministries, the National Library became the responsibility of the new Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts (Kalia 1979).

The Foundation Stone was laid in July 1970 for a new 3-storey building of 11,450 sq.m. (*Baghdad Observer*, 16th July 1970). However, the building was not completed until 1976, and it was 1977 before the Library finally moved into its new building, which was formally inaugurated in April 1977 (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1977). Kalia (1979) reported that half of the final cost was said to be a donation from the Gulbenkian Foundation, which gave more than $8 million (£49 million).

According to Kalia (1979), parts of the building were occupied (initially, allegedly temporarily) by the National Centre for Archives and the Arab Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (ARBICA).

Fuad Qazanchi was the Director of the National Library at that time. No other MLS graduates were employed there (there were then only about 15 in Iraq), because of the relatively poor remuneration. The Library had 75 staff, of whom 32 had some formal or informal library training, including at least one who held a

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[98] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Bachelor's Degree in Librarianship from Cairo University. Kalia observed that most Departments appeared to be over-staffed in relation to the workload, but his recommendations focused on improving remuneration to bring in some of the experienced, fully qualified librarians to lead the library's development. Kalia noted the continuing shortage of qualified librarians and recommended the employment of expatriates on fixed term contracts until the situation eased. Once again, in a disingenuous and probably not disinterested way, he also recommended that the government seek a Unesco consultant to work alongside the Director for the first 3 years of a development programme that he envisaged would take five years (Kalia 1979).

Legislation in 1968 appears to have given the National Library a role in the technical supervision of the public libraries, including the responsibility to ensure that all public libraries were manned by qualified librarians, but this role was only exercised as in an advisory capacity (Hashmi 1983). The Library's training function was supervised by a graduate who had had some library training in India, possibly one of those sent for training in mobile library work. It seems to have comprised no more than organising the placements that were an integral part of the program in the School of Librarianship, and arranging training visits by public library staff (Kalia 1979).

Manuscript Collections, and Archives Management in Iraq

The scale and importance of the archival collections of ancient manuscripts in Iraq was beginning to be widely recognised. In the mid-1970s, the Iraqi government updated older legislation on antiquities and manuscripts, and required all the contents of such collections to be registered and microfilmed, and prohibited their export (Law 59, 1937, as amended by Law 120, 1974 and Law 164, 1975).

Some time in the late 1970s, a Unesco consultant undertook a mission, at the request of the Iraqi government, to advise on setting up a modern conservation unit in the National Centre for Archives. The consultant provided some training in modern techniques for 3 people who had some years previously received some training in conservation work in Khartoum or Madrid (Kathpalia[99] 1980).

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[99] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Records Management in Iraq

In a study conducted in the mid-1970s of records management in 15 state organisations and companies representing different sectors, i.e. industrial, commercial and agricultural, numerous problems were identified (Iraq, National Centre 1976).

Figure 8.10: Odet Badran in 2005
Source: I.M. Johnson

Inadequacy of the staff responsible for record departments was a significant contributory factor. It was found out that only 25% of the records management staff held even a secondary school certificate; 6% had a university first degree (Iraq, National Centre 1976). The shortage of high level specialist skills was such that a study of the problems of classifying and cataloguing documents in the National Archives Centre appear to have had to be undertaken by an Iraqi whose qualifications were in librarianship, Odet Badran (Al-Shawk 1976).

The Foundation of ARBICA

Unesco was aware that there were issues relating to the management of archives in the Arab world that required that required its support. Its plans for 1971-72 noted that the International Council on Archives (ICA) would create a regional branch at the request of some Arab countries, and would receive Unesco assistance for this purpose (Unesco's 1971). As a step in that direction, supported by the Italian government, Charles Kecskeméti,[100] the Executive Secretary, and the Secretary General, Giovanni Antonelli,[101] made two tours on behalf of ICA in 1970-71, visiting 8 Arab countries. In 1971, the President of Iraq confirmed Iraq's participation in ICA, and offered not only to host the regional branch but also to host a conference in Baghdad (Antonelli 1971).

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[100] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[101] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Figure 8.11: Charles Kecskeméti
Source: http://jog.unideb.hu/bibo/articles/tagok/kecskemeti%20karoly%20cv.htm

Figure 8.12: Giovanni Antonelli
Source: Accademia spoletina

It was agreed that one of the roles of ARBICA was to sponsor professional training in the region. Dr. Al-Chawaf was not included in the Sub-Committee on Archival Training that was established by the meeting, nor were the other Iraqi representatives at the meeting — Abdul Karim Al-Amin, representing the Iraqi Association of Librarians, and the University of Basra's Librarian, Adel Abdulrahman.

The Labour Market and Professional Skills

This section describes the lack of standardisation in technical services, and the under-developed reader services, as well as the challenges that had to be overcome during the introduction of new Information and Communication Technologies. The origins of the influx of migrant workers and their impact on the labour force are discussed. The efforts to establish the Iraqi Library Association, and the growing number of publications about librarianship in Arabic are noted.

Developments in Professional Practice in the Arab World

ALECSO attempted to lead the standardisation of cataloguing in the Arab countries, and the participants in a Unesco expert meeting in Tunis in February 1979 recommended that "Specific training programs should be organized for librarians in charge of cataloguing in the Arab countries with a view to improving bibliographic control of Arabic language publications" (Regional 1979b).

In the 1970s, inter-library cooperation in the Arab world was hindered by poor telecommunications (Brown & Blucker 1987). However, in 1976, the organization that became known as ARABSAT was established. The participants in a later Unesco expert meeting considered that 'telematics' might be used as a driving element for an overall improvement in services (Unesco, 1979a).

Developments in Professional Practice in Iraq

Automation was relatively underdeveloped in the library and information services of the Arab states generally. The practicality of its implementation in Iraq was questionable. The prospect of a significant increase in the use of computers led the government to establish the National Computer Centre in 1972 (Law 100, 20th December). Francis (1977a) pointed out that the computing facilities available at the University of Mosul were unsuitable for library operations, and that the SDC could make only limited progress in this respect because of the lack of a computer infrastructure in the Foundation for Scientific Research.

There were more fundamental problems to be addressed. In general, pre-Revolutionary Iraq was not well endowed with suitable buildings for library and documentation activities, and sufficient funds were still not being allocated (El Kassim & Nabham 1977). There were no accepted procedures for cataloguing, and no system to ensure greater accessibility to the published resources available in the country (Srivastava 1969). The University of Baghdad Central Library was the only one in the country that offered an active reference service (Qazanchi 1970).

Manpower Issues in Iraq

In the late 1970s, there was still an acute shortage of librarians and information specialists throughout the Middle East. According to Helal (1972), all the participants in the Baghdad meeting of Directors of Arab University Libraries had stressed the urgency of developing appropriate training programmes.

Six graduates from American library schools were employed in the University of Baghdad Central Library, where the only other trained staff were 3 people who had taken some courses locally (Al-Amin 1970). Other academic libraries were equally deficient in qualified personnel, or worse. In the special library sector, the situation was little better (Srivastava 1970, appendix 4). Outside Baghdad, the situation was even more of a cause for concern.

The scale of employment opportunities in Iraq is revealed neither by official statistics nor alternative sources of evidence. Srivastava (1968) attempted to extrapolate the number of qualified librarians required immediately in Iraq, and to make a forecast for 10 years ahead, but there was no evidence of any underlying rationale for it, and the numbers he derived are not worth repeating here. However, it was certain that, at the beginning of the period:

> "there was a crying need for professionally trained librarians. Public libraries feel this need even more acutely; special libraries not so much because they don't need so large a staff and because of the whole their staff are better paid and, therefore, the few qualified librarians migrate to special librarianship." (Cox 1968)

Even at the end of the decade, Kalia (1979) identified only 15 people with Master's Degrees in Librarianship in the whole country, and estimated that the professional workforce included about 120 people with the Higher Diploma, and 1,000 with a 2-year undergraduate Diploma. Scholarships to study overseas and the output from local programs were clearly insufficient to meet national needs.

Some diversity in professional education backgrounds was, however, beginning to be noted. Librarians were to be found with qualifications and experience from Australia and Britain (Cox 1968). Iraq had begun to attract substantial numbers of migrant workers from South and East Asia in its early years of independence, and librarians of many nationalities were already being employed in professional positions in libraries by the late 1970's (e.g. Manzoor 1979).

The Universities were enrolling 75% of all high school graduates, and enrolments on technician programs were declining. Students clearly recognised the high status accorded to jobs that required high educational (Alzobaie & El-Ghannam 1968). Librarians generally enjoyed a low status in the universities (Qazanchi 1970), and Manzoor (1979) provides anecdotal evidence that insufficient Iraqi students were attracted to the library profession because it offered no promising career or status. A perspective on this situation in Iraq may be gained from the issue in 1977 of a circular from the Office of the President, which required that graduates in librarianship should work in libraries to ensure the proper use of their qualifications (Mahon & Scharff 1987). This suggests that there were unfilled positions in libraries, and/or that graduates in the subject were finding alternative employment in the growing economy, creating an internal brain drain.

Professional Associations and Activities in Iraq

The potential significance of the Iraqi Library Association in fostering the development of a nationwide network of libraries was acknowledged by Al-Kindilichie (1973). It was reported as "trying to rally Iraqi librarians around its movement and activities", and held annual meetings in Baghdad or one of the other major cities (Al-Kindilichie 1977).

Professional Publications in the Arab World and Iraq

This revival of interest in professional activity was not immediately translated into published outputs. Arab literature was still weak in the developmental and modern branches of library and information science. However, the situation was improving. According to Salem (1979a), Abdel-Hadi's first bibliography (1972) listed only 1,555 library science publications in Arabic published between 1947 and 1972. When Abdel-Hadi (1976) compiled a bibliography covering the next few years, he listed 4,000 items in Arabic (Sharif 1979).

Abid (1978) drew the attention of Unesco's *Ad Hoc Committee on Education and Training Policy and Programme* to the link between poor teaching and the shortage of LIS teaching materials in languages with which students were familiar. One of the obstacles to the provision of textbooks acceptable throughout the Arab states was the absence of a standard Arabic terminology in the library and information field (Main 1978).

Developments in Education for Library, Information and Archives Work

This section begins by describing the emphasis on manpower development that was evident in the responses to the consultations on NATIS. A major part of this section is a review of the work of the Indian consultant, Anand Srivastava,[102] in developing the postgraduate program in the University of Baghdad between 1968 and 1973. The development of the School of Librarianship in Al-Mustansiriyah University is outlined, commencing with the establishment of its undergraduate program, and then the transfer of the Postgraduate program from the University of Baghdad. The section also considers the first pan-Arab meeting teachers of library and information science, held in Baghdad, ICA's involvement

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[102] See resumé in Appendix 5.

in the region, and the establishment of the Arab Training Institute for Archivists in Baghdad.

Unesco and LIS Professional Education in the Arab World

Unesco's International Advisory Committee on Documentation, Libraries, and Archives (1970) recommended, *inter alia*, the prioritisation of training in documentation, library and archives work. In line with the aims of UNISIST, the Unesco Committee also supported training for users, and the development of a project on the introduction of documentation and library training at all levels in the national education system. The need to consult on development in this field with the Arab states' governments was not ignored. The last of Unesco's regional consultations on NATIS was a *Meeting of Experts on the National Planning of Documentation and Library Services in Arab countries*, held in Cairo in February 1974 (National Planning 1974).

Concern was expressed during the meeting at the shortage of qualified personnel, especially documentalists, and at the disparity of standards of professional education in the region, and it was argued that Schools of Librarianship needed to conform to basic educational standards. In particular, the participants believed that education for librarianship should be at postgraduate level. In addition, the need for two levels of education and training for library work, high level personnel with formal academic education and medium level personnel trained in-service and through short courses, and for the modernisation of the curriculum, for example by incorporating information science, were recognised by the participants. The participants in the meeting made a number of recommendations specifically concerned with manpower development:

> "17. Planning for the education of professional personnel be given high priority in national plans for the development of documentation and library services and be carried out in accordance with the estimated national needs for information manpower.
> 18. National institutions and programmes of professional education be established, developed and maintained, as the principal means of supplying adequate numbers of professional staff for documentation and library services as an integral part of the national educational structure at universities or other institutions of higher education; and that they be provided with ready access to appropriate library and information resources.
> 19. Special attention should be paid to the development of a modern curriculum based on a core programme of professional studies for use at the national and regional level in order to establish among professional

schools in the region similar programme and objectives to provide for good professional standards.
20. The possibility should be considered of supplementing national programmes of professional education, particularly at the advanced level, by regional action or the provision of scholarships for study in other areas of the world.
21. Professionally educated personnel in the field of information and library science be accorded similar status and conditions of service as those accorded to professionals of equivalent educational level in other fields." (National 1974b)

In the NATIS Intergovernmental Conference in Paris in 1974, Unesco was urged to give further assistance to the training of teachers for new schools in the developing countries, as it remained a problem (Intergovernmental 1975).

Education for Librarianship in the Arab world

During the 1970s, Unesco created several more regional SLIS in Africa, but there does not seem to have been any intention to develop a similar school with a regional role in the Arab world. Unesco continued to provide such other support as its limited resources permitted. For example, 8 Fellowships in librarianship were awarded to Arabs in 1971-72, including one to an Iraqi.

Awareness of the situation in the Arab countries still did not seem to be penetrating the approach of the international non-governmental associations. Much of an FID workshop in 1979 on *Education and training for information service in business and industry in developed and developing countries* (1980) dealt with teaching about systems well above the general educational and technological capacity of developing countries.

Education for Librarianship in Iraq

In Iraq, efforts to develop the library and information workforce initially followed patterns already established. The Ministry of (Culture and) Information was conducting initial and refresher training courses for public library staff, while the Ministry of Education's School Libraries Department had operational responsibility for librarian training. Foreigners continued to recommend that professionally qualified librarians should be sent abroad for advanced training (Helal 1972; Francis 1977a; Manzoor 1980). The number studying librarianship abroad remained small in comparison with the number required.

Srivastava's First Mission to the University of Baghdad, 1968

While these limited approaches to the development of a professional workforce continued, the need for more substantial efforts was recognised. Iraq gave it such priority that it included a preliminary survey of need and the

preparation of a plan to meet the need in its suggestions for the allocation of Participation Programme funds. Unesco was probably encouraged by the report and proposals made by Anwar, and responded favourably, agreeing to allocate funds for a six-month mission.

An Indian library educator, Anand Srivastava, was selected to carry out this task, and undertook what proved to be the first of three missions to Iraq from January to July 1968. The purpose was two-fold:

> "to assist in the establishment of an Institute of Library Science at the University of Baghdad…organise a six months in-service training course… [and] advise the government of Iraq on library education in Iraq in general…" (Srivastava 1969)

Figure 8.13: Anand P. Srivastava
Source: Srivastava family

A six-month program had been launched by Anwar, and a second intake had commenced the program 2 weeks before Srivastava arrived to join Dr. Al-Chawaf and 5 part-time teachers. In addition to teaching some of the program, he held wide-ranging discussions on the development of education for librarianship. Subsequently, despite some local scepticism, he recommended that Baghdad University should as soon as possible start a one-year program leading to Postgraduate Diploma program in Librarianship and Documentation (Srivastava 1969).

In a second phase of development, he proposed that there would be "when suitable teachers are available, and depending upon the need for such a course, … a course leading to the Master's Degree in Library Science and Documentation… open to holders of the Diploma… and… of one academic year's duration" (Srivastava 1969). Despite its operational naïveté, the proposed Master's Degree curriculum represented an innovative approach to the challenges faced by librarians in Iraq. While one of its three courses focussed on advanced studies of professional techniques, another was devoted to national planning of library and information services, and the third aimed to create an

understanding of the scientific and scholarly communities that academic and special libraries served.

Srivastava does seem to have recognised that the pedagogical style to which Iraqis were accustomed and the shortage of teaching materials in Arabic would have to be accommodated by a program that was heavily lecture based. Based on a calculation of the hours required to deliver the courses and his expectations of normal teaching workloads, Srivastava advised the appointment of 4 full-time teachers, plus some part-time assistance. This was altered in the published report to a requirement for 6 full-time staff, as then recommended by IFLA (and seemingly implicitly accepted by Unesco) as the minimum number of full-time staff required to establish a library school.

The amended report (Unesco 1968d; Srivastava 1969) was submitted to the Iraqi Ministry of Education in January or February 1969, with a covering letter indicating that Unesco would support a request from the Ministry for United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) funds for further developments.

Srivastava's Second Mission, 1969-1970

Although the University had wished Srivastava's initial mission to be extended, Unesco was unable or unwilling to fund it immediately, but, as the government had requested that his return be funded from the Participation Programme, authorised a second mission from November 1969 to May 1970.

Applicants for admission to the new intake had been received before Srivastava returned. They were interviewed by Srivastava, together with the Dr. Al-Chawaf, and Abdul Karim Al-Amin, who had been appointed to coordinate the program. The same panel also interviewed prospective part-time teachers, and initially selected 3 others to join them — Miss Zaheda Ibrahim (by this time Chief of the Central Library's Arabic Section); Mr. Nazar Qassim; and Miss Victoria Zado (who had also studied in the U.S.A.).

Figure 8.14: Nazar Qassim
Source: *Al Hikma* 1965

At the end of this mission, Srivastava made a number of recommendations about the future of the program. His report, possibly edited to reflect Unesco policy, also encouraged the University to recognise the potential of the proposed department to become a regional centre for education in librarianship (Srivastava 1970). In July 1970, the report was submitted to the Ministry of Education, again with an offer to support a request to UNDP for further funding.

Srivastava's Third Mission, 1970-1973

Subsequently, a major contribution to professional education in Iraq was approved by UNDP (United Nations 1978). This was channelled through Unesco to enable Srivastava to undertake a 3-year mission to Iraq, during which he played a significant, but seemingly not entirely uncontroversial role in facilitating progress in education for librarianship in the country [See Appendix 4]. For this final mission, his role was defined as:

> "Within the training centre for librarians within the Central Library of the University of Baghdad, teach courses in librarianship and train personnel of the Library. Advise the government on a future programme for training librarians in Iraq, and on the most effective way to improve library and documentation services in the country." (Srivastava 1973)

From 1970 to 1972, the program continued to function almost entirely with part-time staff and students. In addition to Srivastava, there were 2 principal 'demonstrators' and others who seem to have made lesser contributions. The two 'demonstrators' appear to have been Abdul Karim Al-Amin, and Nazar Qassim, both of whom had previous teaching experience on the 6-month program. Nine part-time lecturers with varying qualifications assisted Srivastava at one time or another during the 3 years 1970/73. Two of them failed to deliver teaching and assessment material of an acceptable standard and were withdrawn from teaching (Srivastava 1973). An orientalist librarian from the German Democratic Republic who happened to be on a mission in Iraq, named by Srivastava as 'K. Shubert'[103], was drafted in to teach the Library Administration course, but he was taken ill and had to be repatriated only 4 weeks after the 1971/72 session commenced. Dr. Al-Chawaf taught a course on library history, and also acted as Head of the School.

In October 1971, the Minister approved the proposal for a Graduate School of Library Science. It was agreed that the Graduate School should start its activities

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[103] See resumé in Appendix 5.

in the 1972/73 session (Unesco 1973b). A one-year program leading to a Higher Diploma in Library Science was established (Al-Werdi 1987), as a substitute for the 10-month Diploma program offered by the University's Central Library. Admission required a Bachelor's Degree in a different discipline (Frey 1988). These developments were well received, at least by one observer:

> "The present scheme of teaching library science and documentation offers neither fully qualified subject specialists nor properly trained librarians. However, there are promising signs that the Graduate School of Library Science at the University of Baghdad will be strengthening its efforts and courses to meet the needs of the country." (Helal 1972)

According to an undated report (The Graduate School n.d., cited by Sharif 1977), all graduates from Baghdad University were required to pass a typing course. However, in a tabulation of the curriculum elsewhere in his dissertation, Sharif does not note the existence of a course in typing. Al-Werdi does, however, record that students at Al-Mustansiriyah University were required to take such a course (See table 10.2).

In his second year (1971/72), Srivastava continued with the work at the Central Library undertaken during the first year, and began organisational work on the proposed Graduate School, to enable it to function from October 1972 (Srivastava 1973). On 2nd January 1972, the Graduate School Committee held its first meeting, with Mr Al-Amin as Secretary (Srivastava 1972). The authorities approved a separate budget for the Graduate School in March 1972. Although the Government implemented austerity measures in June 1972, the Dean of Graduate Studies and the President of the University agreed to meet the School's financial needs from the general budget for graduate studies. A building with 14 large and medium sized rooms was rented for the School (UNDP 1973). The University was unable to provide funds for a teaching laboratory for the program's use, but the Central Library did have a collection of about 1,000 books on librarianship (Srivastava 1971b), and some professional periodicals that had been in the collection transferred from the Library of the former Al-Hikma University (UNDP 1973). The collection grew slowly, and by late 1973, there were only some 1,300 professional books in the Library (Srivastava 1973).

The program appeared to operate more successfully in 1971/72, possibly because teaching was rescheduled so that classes only took place in the early evening. For the 1971/72 intake, there were 100 applicants. 60 were working in libraries; the others were recent graduates. 32 were selected, and 30 proceeded

through the program and took the final examination (Srivastava 1972). It seems that one may have failed: a UNDP report noted that 29 students attended the second Diploma program (UNDP 1972b). The Graduate School commenced teaching on 1st November 1972, and awareness of the program had clearly spread. The 1972 intake had attracted 240 applicants. 25 were selected (UNDP 1972a).

In his final report, Srivastava expressed the opinion that the local counterparts needed 2 more years of guidance before they could become independent as teachers, and urged that a foreign expert, preferably with some familiarity with Arabic, should be attached to the School for a further two years. He argued that 2 or 3 good students should be selected to train as 'demonstrators' and in due course be sent abroad to study for a Master's Degree. He also suggested that the existing local counterparts would benefit from some exposure to teaching in a good library school in Europe or Asia. (Srivastava 1973).

There had been challenges. Srivastava noted (1971a) that he had to deal with 3 University Presidents (and possibly several interim appointees). He makes no comment on the fact that, in the same year, three individuals appear to have been Head or Acting Head of Unesco's Libraries Division, presumably because they were consistent in policy terms (Srivastava 1973). All along he claimed to have had the support of the Secretary General of the University Libraries, i.e. Dr. Al-Chawaf (Srivastava 1974). Some years later, reflecting on his experience, he attributed his success to developing effective relationships with the decision makers. The challenge, he commented, is clearly not whether local politics can be avoided, but how to adopt the appropriate political stance and how to form the alliances most likely to contribute to success. The consultant, he argued, needs to ask how organisations or individuals are related in ways that might disadvantage the project, and how supportive partnerships might be fostered (Srivastava 1974).

The program continued to operate under Dr. Al-Chawaf's direction, and in 1975, 28 students were enrolled. Around 1974, and possibly at other times, the British Council's London-appointed librarian was reported to be giving some lectures at the Schools of Librarianship in Baghdad (British Council 1974).

Helal had expressed concerns that the program produced neither fully qualified subject specialists nor properly trained librarians, although he was led

to believe that the University of Baghdad had plans to address these issues (Unesco 1972b). Al-Amin (1977) was also critical of the coverage and currency of the curriculum, according to Hafez (1986), revisions in the curriculum were evident a few years later (Johnson 1981). Those changes were to include adopting one of Srivastava's suggestions for future developments, that "Information sciences may also be adopted as a subject when suitable circumstances exist" (Srivastava 1969). Miss Maysoon Al-Naib went to the University of Maryland in 1972-73 to take several courses for credit, providing the foundation for delivering an appropriate information science course in Baghdad (Srivastava 1973).

Development of the Undergraduate Program at Al-Mustansiriyah University

Meanwhile, an earlier debate about the need for a full 4-year undergraduate program had not been without consequences. In keeping with the government's goal of increasing vocational education, and to meet the demand for qualified library staff, a new program in library science was introduced at Al-Mustansiriyah University (Qassim 1976), initially as a 2-year undergraduate program, which led to the award of a University Diploma (Al-Kindilchie 1973; 1977). In September 1970, teaching commenced with an initial intake of 160 students (Al-Kindilchie 1977). Student selection was non-existent. Students were allocated to subjects according to their high school grades and a pre-determined ranking of university disciplines. The College of Arts, to which the Department of Library Science was attached, was not a highly ranked area, and within the College, librarianship was not a highly-ranked subject (Ahmed 1977; Qassim 2004). Thus, most of the students of librarianship were not taking the program through choice, and few, if any, were of comparable academic calibre to the best of those entering the University. A few years after the program was established, it was suggested to a visitor by the Head of Department that the initial establishment of the undergraduate library science program leading to a Diploma as an exit award in Iraq had been a deliberate ploy to ensure that only the most able and committed were able to proceed to a Bachelor's Degree (Johnson 1981).

In 1975, Ms. Laurice Jamil Nabhan, one of the original group of Ford Foundation Fellows who had become a teacher in one or both of the Schools in Baghdad, was awarded a Fellowship funded by UNDP to travel in the U.K., France, Germany, and Switzerland for 3 months to examine training in

librarianship and documentation work (Directory 1975). It is not clear what purpose this mission was intended to serve. Her report may, however, have contributed to the development and approval of a new curriculum (Sharif 1977), introduced in 1977 (Al-Amin 1977; Al-Kindilchie 1977; Ali 1981). See table 8.1.

It is possible to detect in later revisions the perennial struggle between teachers dedicated to their particular interests and committed to retaining curricular content and teaching time, and those wishing to insert new content, perhaps based on more recent or different exposure to it while studying abroad (See table 9.3, in the next chapter).

Arab Regional Conference on Library Education

Commencing in 1972, the Unesco budget regularly offered assistance for regional meetings of teachers of library and information science. One outcome of Unesco's engagement was a plan for a regional symposium for supervisors of library and documentation schools in the Arab states, with a view to harmonizing curricula and exchanging teachers and instructional materials (Unesco's 1975). The growing strength and influence of Iraq on professional education in the Arab world was reflected when Unesco consulted Arab member states about a suitable venue (Meeting 1977; Sharif 1979), and subsequently proposed holding a 4-day regional meeting in Baghdad from 11th-15th December 1976.

When the contract for the meeting of educators was eventually signed, Unesco knew that Simon Francis, the British consultant, was expected to be in Iraq on a mission, and was known to have had had a wide range of experience that included teaching librarianship. He was asked to assist Dr. Al-Chawaf with the organisation, and to attend on behalf of Unesco (Unesco 1977a, 1977b, 1977c).

Table 8.1: Undergraduate Program and Proposals at Al-Mustansiriyah University in the 1970s

Source: Adapted from Sharif 1977

Year and Semester	Current c.1975 Diploma Subject	Hours per week	Proposed in 1976 for future introduction Diploma Subject	Hours per week	Current c.1977 Bachelor's Degree Subject	Hours per week	Proposed in 1976 for future introduction Bachelor's Degree Subject	Hours per week
1.1	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Principles of cataloguing and classification	6	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Principles of cataloguing and classification	6
	Subject cataloguing and classification	3			Subject cataloguing and classification	3		
	General Arab References	3	General Arabic References	3	General Arab References	3	General Arabic References	3
	Introduction to Library Science	2	History of books and libraries	2	Introduction to Library Science	2	History of books and libraries	2
			Library Science Text	2			Library Science Text	2
	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2
	English Language	2	English language	2	English Language	2	English language	2
			Typing	2			Typing	2
	Arabic Society	2	Arabic Society	2	Arabic Society	2	Arabic Society	2
1.2	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Principles of cataloguing and classification	6	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Principles of cataloguing and classification	6
	Subject cataloguing and classification	3			Subject cataloguing and classification	3		
	General Arab References	3	General Arabic references	3	General Arab References	3	General Arabic references	3
	Introduction to Library Science	2	Introduction to library science	2	Introduction to Library Science	2	Introduction to library science	2
			Library Science Texts	2			Library Science Texts	2
	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2
	English Language	2	English language	2	English Language	2	English language	2
			Arabic typing	2			Arabic typing	2
	Arabic Society	2	Arabic Society	2	Arabic Society	2	Arabic Society	2
	Practical work for 1 month				Practical work for 1 month			

Year and Semester	Current c.1975 Diploma		Proposed in 1976 for future introduction Diploma		Current c.1977 All students		Proposed in 1976 for future introduction All students	
	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week
2.1	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6
	Subject cataloguing and classification	3			Subject cataloguing and classification	3		
	General Arabic references	2	Foreign general references	3	General Arabic references	2	Foreign general references	3
	Library Administration	3	Library Administration	3	Library Administration	3	Library Administration	3
	Book Selection	2	Acquisition	2	Book Selection	2	Acquisition	2
	Archives	2	Archives	2	Archives	2	Archives	2
			Statistics	2			Statistics	2
	Arabic Language	2			Arabic Language	2		
	English Language	2			English Language	2		
			History of Arabs	2			History of Arabs	2
			National development	3			National development	3
2.2	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6	Descriptive cataloguing	4	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6
	Subject cataloguing and classification	3			Subject cataloguing and classification	3		
	General Arabic references	2	Foreign general references	3	General Arabic references	2	Foreign general references	3
	Library Administration	3	Library Administration	3	Library Administration	3	Library Administration	3
	Book Selection	2	Acquisition	2	Book Selection	2	Acquisition	2
	Archives	2	Documentation	2	Archives	2	Documentation	2
			Psychology	3			Psychology	3
	Arabic Language	2			Arabic Language	2		
	English Language	2			English Language	2		
			History of Arabs	2			History of Arabs	2
			National development	3			National development	3
	Practical work	2			Practical work	2		
Diploma								

Year and Semester	Current c.1977 extension to Bachelor's Degree		Proposed in 1976 for future introduction extension to Bachelor's Degree			Year and Semester	Current c.1977 extension to Bachelor's Degree		Proposed in 1976 for future introduction extension to Bachelor's Degree	
	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week			Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week
3.1	Information science	3	Information science/ documentation	3		4.1	Library automation	3	Library automation	3
	Bibliography	2	Bibliography	2						
	Resources in the Humanities, Social Sciences	2	Resources in science	3			Resources in the Humanities, Social Sciences	3	Resources in the Humanities	3
	Kinds of libraries	2		2			Manuscripts	3		
			U.D.C. classification	3					Technical processing	2
	Library operation	2		2			Audio-visual	3	Audio-visual	3
	Social psychology	2	Practical psychology	3						
			Research method	2			Seminar	3	Seminar	2
	French or German Language	2	French Language	2			French or German Language	3	French Language	2
	Persian or Turkish Language	2					Persian or Turkish Language	2		
	National and socialist culture	2							Socialist ideology	2
									Elective course	3
3.2	Information science	3	Information science/ documentation	3		4.2	Library automation	3	Library automation	3
	Bibliography	2	Bibliography	2						
	Resources in the Humanities, Social Sciences	2	Resources in applied sciences	3			Resources in the Humanities, Social Sciences	3	Resources in Social Sciences	3
	Kinds of libraries	2					Manuscripts	3	Arabic manuscripts	3
			Comparative classification	3					Technical processing	2
	Library operation	2	Research method	2			Audio-visual	3		
	Social psychology	2	Sociology	3			Seminar	3	Seminar	3
	French or German Language	2	French Language	2			French or German Language	3	French Language	3
	Persian or Turkish Language	2					Persian or Turkish Language			
	National and socialist culture	2							Socialist ideology	2
			Practical work – 150 hours						Elective course	3

Elective(s): Students with scientific background: Mathematics, Physics, General Chemistry, or General Sciences
Students with arts/literary background: Modern Arabic Literature, Political Economics, *Qur'an*ic Science, or General Administration

While Dr. Al-Chawaf was assigned responsibility for the detailed agenda, and the travel and accommodation arrangements. Unesco selected the participants from nominations received in response to invitations to sent out by Dr. Al-Chawaf. Only by 6th December was Francis able to report that Iraqi Airways had been asked to issue tickets, and that hotel reservations had been made. However, this information had not been communicated to the delegates (Meeting 1977), and only a handful of foreign delegates attended. It appears that Dr. Al-Chawaf may not have sent any report of the meeting to Unesco until July 1977, after he had been reminded to send a final statement of the accounts for the funds that had been transferred to Baghdad to cover the costs of the Meeting (Meeting 1977; Unesco 1977a). What he did send appears to have been no more than the Recommendations (1976a). In addition to re-stating some long-standing concerns, these tend to confirm the participants had discussed a number of concepts that were currently the focus of Unesco's attention.

In a letter written to Kenneth Roberts of PGI, on 3rd May 1977 at the end of his mission, Francis commented that:

> "The only Iraqi librarian of real merit that I met is Mr. Nazar Kassim, Head of the Al-Mustansiriyah Library School, although Miss Zaheda Ibrahim, Head of the University of Baghdad Central Library also commands respect."

and recommended:

- "no help for the Graduate Library School as long as Dr. Schawaf (sic) remains in charge;
- no help for the proposed University of Basra Library School;
- funds for one more regional library schools conference if held away from Dr. Schawaf."

The Merger of the Two Schools of Librarianship in Baghdad

The situation in Iraq had however made some progress. Staffing the two programs in Baghdad was indeed an issue. In the mid-1970s, as many as 11 people seem to have been sharing the teaching in the University of Baghdad's Graduate School, but it claimed that it needed 2 more staff, and 3 required further training (UN-ECWA 1977). Another report suggested that, by then, only 1 member of the staff at Baghdad University had a PhD, and only 4 others with Master's Degrees in LIS, while the staff at Al-Mustansiriyah University comprised 14 people with Master's Degrees (Al-Amin 1977, quoted in Sharif 1977).

The division of academic activity between two Universities in the capital city was proving problematic. Helal had urged the government to appoint full-time

teachers for both programs (Unesco 1972b). More significantly, he had commented that:

> "The present structure of the Graduate School of Library Science attached to the Baghdad University and the Department of Library Science in the Mustansiriyah University should be altered to improve the quality of the graduates. Co-operation between these two institutions should be strengthened." (Helal 1972)

It is not clear if Helal was leading or reflecting local perceptions of the situation, or if he was being used as a vehicle to articulate local perceptions to the university and government authorities, but the Ministry of Higher Education was eventually persuaded that it was not desirable that the teachers should spend much of their time commuting between the two universities and their full-time jobs in libraries in the city (Johnson 1981).

In 1977, the postgraduate program, with its comparatively small numbers of students, was transferred from the University of Baghdad to Al-Mustansiriyah University (Al-Werdi 1987; Frey 1988). Iraqi librarians with Master's or Doctoral degrees from the U.S.A. and Britain, many of whom had held senior positions in the capital's most important libraries and information services, were appointed to full-time positions as lecturers (Johnson 1981). Fuad Qazanchi, former Director of the National Library, became the first Head of the newly combined Department.

	Undergraduate Diploma	Postgraduate Diploma
1972	130	
1973	145	
1974	220	
1975	192	
1976	190	
1977	41	7
1978	47	4
1979	73	5

Table 8.2: Number of students of librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University (Source: Al-Werdi 1983; Fang 1985)

No explanation has been found for the apparent sudden decline in the number of undergraduates completing the undergraduate Diploma program in 1977. It may indicate the students who completed the undergraduate Diploma

program, and exclude those who, from 1977, continued into the extension of the program leading to the Bachelor's Degree. However, if it represents the number of students admitted to the program, it may be that a 1977 circular from the Office of the President of the Republic requiring that graduates in librarianship should work in libraries to ensure the proper use of their qualifications (Mahon & Scharff 1987) acted as a deterrent.

A Proposed School of Library Science in Basra

Writing in 1979, Zado reported that proposals to establish a School of Library Science in Basra were still awaiting Ministry approval, but expressed some concern about the limited human and other resources available to underpin it.

Unesco, ICA, and Education for Archivists and Records Managers

Agreeing that the likely number of students in any one country was, initially, likely to be small, ICA and Unesco concluded that their support for the provision of basic professional training for archivists and records managers in the developing countries should follow the pattern of establishing regional training centres adopted by Unesco in the library field. It was intended that ICA would be associated with the proposed regional centres in some way, but only for their first 4 years. Thereafter, they would be the responsibility of the national archival authorities and their governments. ICA's initial plan was based upon a report prepared by Charles Kecskeméti for Unesco. This acknowledged that it was desirable that a connection be established between each of the centres and a library school since, in regions with endemic professional shortages, future archivists ought to have at least a minimal grounding in the closely related fields of library science and documentation (Rieger 1972).

The Establishment of the Arab Training Institute for Archivists in Baghdad

Amongst the elective courses that Srivastava had proposed (1969) should be offered in the Master's Degree program in Librarianship in Baghdad was a tentative suggestion that one course might be in the Management of Archives. Pérotin seemed satisfied during his visit in 1970 that the program in the University of Baghdad could produce capable staff, provided that the specifics of archives practice received sufficient attention, and if suitable teachers were available.

During discussions at the 2nd General Assembly of ARBICA, held in Baghdad in September 1974, a Sub-Committee on Archival Training agreed to consider the merits of Beirut, Baghdad, and Cairo as the proposed regional training centre. The authorities in neither Beirut (then probably pre-occupied with the political tensions that preceded the outbreak of the civil war) nor Cairo submitted proposals, and by default it was decided to locate the centre in Baghdad (Al-Alousi 1975; Al-Alousi 1980, quoted by Al-Werdi 1983; Al-Werdi 1987). Only Iraq's Arab nationalist philosophy, economic strength, and political opportunism could have led to the decision to establish the Institute in Baghdad, given the complete absence of qualified archivists in the country.

Teaching staff were said to have been selected by the Director of the Arab Training Institute for Archivists during visits to several Arab states (although it is not known if any did eventually participate in teaching the program), and temporary premises were prepared. The Institute in Baghdad eventually began a limited operation in Autumn 1977, offering a 2 year program leading to an undergraduate Diploma.

Year 1		Year 2	
Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week
Organisation of archives	2	Archives classification	2
Press archives	2	Microfilm	2
Arabic references	2	Foreign references	2
Archival terminology	2	Archival terminology	2
Arabic language	2	Arabic language	2
English language	2	English language	2
Turkish language	2	Turkish language	2
Arabic calligraphy	2	Archives preservation	2
Modern Arab history	2	Arab history – Ottoman period	2
Current archives	2	Arab civilisation	2
Practical work – 24 hours		Practical work – 23 hours	

Table 8.3: Diploma Program at the Arab Training Institute for Archivists
Source: Al-Werdi 1983

However, the program does not appear to have received a warm welcome. A Unesco-funded Regional Seminar for those responsible for archival training programs in Arab States was organized by ARBICA in Khartoum in 1978 (Evans 1982). Participants in the meeting expressed concern about the shortcomings of the Institute, including the failure to provide expert lecturers and to revise the program to provide a modern curriculum. Moreover, the majority of participants

indicated that a revision of its programs was needed before they could encourage students to attend. In particular, they recommended that it should be extended to a 4-year Bachelor's Degree program as soon as possible (Regional 1978; Archival 1979; Regional 1979a; Evans 1982).

Academic year	Number of students	
	Full-time	**Part-time**
1977/78	115	59
1978/79	253	125
1979/80	205	121
1980/81	56	108
1981/82	70	70
Total	699	483

Table 8.4: Number of Registered Students in the Arab Training Institute for Archivists, 1977-1981
Source: Al-Werdi 1983

It is not clear how many students from outside Iraq are included in the published data, but it seems likely that the majority were Iraqis. The sharp decline in full-time registrations after 1979 may particularly reflect the reluctance of foreign students to enter a war zone, while the decline in part-time student numbers may indicate that overall enrolment by Iraqi students was being affected by the increasing demands of the armed forces for personnel. The concerns expressed in Khartoum about the staff teaching the program seem well justified. A few years later, there was still not one qualified archivist among the 19 staff teaching on the program, only two of whom taught full time. Two had Master's Degrees in Librarianship and Information Studies, 8 were languages teachers, 4 were historians, 1 was a lawyer, and 1 had been trained in microfilming (Al-Werdi 1983).

Discussion and Evaluation

The growth of a professionally educated LIS workforce was accomplished with continuing significant external guidance during the early 1970s, but attempts to modernise the role that they undertook were frustrated by various prevailing circumstances. Although the professional knowledge base was kept up to date, shortcomings in the networking and advocacy skills of the enlarged professional community began to be exposed.

Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

The first decade of Ba'athist rule was one in which the country's increasing oil wealth fostered much development, although in the case of the country's libraries that seems to have focused on the provision of buildings, with less attention to supporting collection development and developing user services.

The government's national planning ignored libraries, and the Ministries continued to allocate inadequate budgets to them. The Gulbenkian Foundation was a major source of support for collection development, and made a substantial contribution towards the new National Library building.

The number of librarians with some formal education or training who were working in Iraq, and who might have influenced library practice, was reported to have increased, although the overall shortage of qualified manpower remained. The growing demand for professional manpower was indicated by a government edict requiring graduates to take relevant employment, but the number that were needed are difficult to assess. While the undergraduate program at Al-Mustansiriyah University might have contributed to resolving the shortage, the numbers graduating from the program had apparently not provided a solution to the problem, partly perhaps because working in libraries was not seen as attractive or sufficiently rewarding. In the working document for a meeting in Cairo on information planning in the Arab world (Unesco 1973b) Unesco called for national reviews of manpower resources without considering the local capacity for this task. Unsurprisingly, it appears to have been ignored by the Iraqi authorities, and the only action appears to have been an inadequate study by Srivastava.

Although the number of Iraqis studying abroad increased substantially, with support from several agencies, relatively few seem to have studied librarianship and information studies, limiting the range of expertise available to the Schools of Librarianship. Beyond fulfilling the Schools' need for more teachers and for teachers with new specialisms, the teachers' impact might have been limited. Leadership in library development, in Egypt for example, did not seem to Chandler (1971a) to be coming from the Cairo University Department of Librarianship and Archives and its graduates, but from practitioner-librarians who had been trained abroad. There seems to be a contradiction implicit in this, as many of the teachers in Cairo had trained abroad. The answer may lie in the relative impact of advice and practical examples.

At this point in time, Srivastava was in any case struggling to establish the status of key Iraqi teaching staff within the University of Baghdad, which appears to have been resisted because of the inflexible promotion rules that applied in the University of Baghdad. Local counterparts can bring insights into the conditions and customs of the country and how to deal with the local bureaucracy. It is not clear, however, whether the appointment of Dr. Al-Chawaf as Head of the Graduate School assisted Srivastava in dealing with such significant challenges.

Modernisation of the curricula, syllabi and teaching methods seems to have become an issue during this period, and faculty members' role in this would bear further examination. Dean (1972) saw advantages and disadvantages in the employment of part-time and full-time teaching staff. While part-time faculty members might be in touch with current developments and some could be gifted teachers, they might have limited experience and a narrow outlook on the profession, and there would be a concern that their first commitment would always be to their main job. On the other hand, carefully selected full-time faculty members, committed to teaching, would provide continuity and could develop as specialists, but were more likely to demonstrate a broad professional outlook (Dean 1972). Some of these characteristics could perhaps be observed amongst the early teachers of librarianship in Iraq, but it will be more important for the purposes of this study to assess how the faculty evolved in later years. Those who became full-time teachers in the consolidated Department in Al-Mustansiriyah University would need to translate their experience in a relevant and effective manner (Bilal 1990), faced with the particular challenge to develop "a basic core of Arab librarianship based on Arab knowledge of books and capable of adapting Western librarianship to its own needs and stages of development" (Sheniti 1966).

Efforts to adapt the curriculum to local needs are not always clearly discernible in the published summaries. By the mid-1970s, the trend towards including 'information science' in programs had not expanded rapidly, even in the developed countries (Havard-Williams & Franz 1974), but it seems that Iraq may have been keeping abreast of developments. In contrast, the proportion of the programs' time allocated to 'library administration' was small. Dean (1974) argued for an emphasis on management in library science programs because of the role likely to be thrust upon new graduates. Although a willingness to

delegate authority and the willingness to accept delegated authority is still not an established management practice in academic institutions in some Arab countries (Johnson 2010), no direct reference to the existence of this phenomenon in libraries in Iraq during this period has been identified in this research. However, manifestations of the problem were reported in more general terms by Unesco consultants engaged in the development of the Institute of Technology, who commented on the continuing difficulty of resolving practical day to day problems (Unesco 1979d), and it is probably not irrelevant that the Iraqi government felt it necessary to take steps to establish a national management development centre.

The LIS curricula in Iraq continued to include 'Library Administration', the original American title for courses that were being superseded elsewhere by a shift to a more pro-active concept of 'library management', and the possibility that the syllabi may have atrophied could point to a degree of conservatism on the part of some of the older Iraqi librarians. Even though many of the graduates from the early programs were likely to become immediately responsible for managing and for promoting the development of libraries and information services, courses in 'library administration' seem unlikely to have prepared for exercising the advocacy and political skills required to secure a successful outcome, possibly because those skills were not yet recognised by and well developed in the first generation of Iraqi librarians who were the teachers responsible for the syllabi and teaching methods.

The Situation in which the Information Sector was Immersed

As the professionally educated workforce expanded, and some of its members began to comment on the need for modernisation, it remains a paradox that professional practices appear to have remained outmoded. This may have been influenced by the continued universal application of practices from earlier libraries in Iraq. For example, closed access remained the norm, whereas Berninghausen (1969) pointed out that, while some closed access had been maintained in modernised libraries all over the world, it was only implemented to keep older and rare books and manuscripts secure. It has been suggested that because other people's beliefs and practices are not easily grasped, the transformation of local circumstances is thus constrained. Birdsall (1971) has provided the only discussion of the relevance of social culture for library development, focussing on Tonnies's (1887) concept of *Gemeinschaft* and

Gesellschaft. In *Gemeinschaft*, the basic social organisation is the family and the rural village, where life revolves around traditional beliefs and practices. *Gesellschaft* is dominated by the implementation of rational decisions, which remain a primary goal for developing countries, but Birdsall noted that Asheim (1966) had observed *Gemeinschaft* characteristics that had been hindrances to library development, but whether he was applying a judgement from a developing country perspective is debatable. In Iraq, for example, closed access may have been a rational decision. New books were still expensive and rare, and in need of protection.

The Ba'athist government mixed idealism with authoritarianism, adding to the challenge implicit in advocating change. By the mid-1970s, however, the Iraqi government had an annual financial surplus, and once more demonstrated the fiscal prudence that had earlier been evidenced in the creation and operation of the Development Board.

The expansion of education at all levels, including postgraduate programs in many disciplines, could have been a factor in the development of library and information services. There was, however, apparently little broad-based support for library development. There is, for example, little evidence of any awareness among Iraqi educators that school and public libraries had a role to play in embedding literacy and encouraging independent learning. In developing higher education, neither advice from a Unesco consultant nor the government's own plan paid any attention to the underpinning that would be required from academic library services.

As Iraq expanded its research base, Unesco advice drew attention to the need for better information services, but the specialist libraries in the country still seemed to rely to some extent on the generosity of the Gulbenkian Foundation. The Iraqi government, however, seems to have been at last persuaded of the need for a national scientific information system, and committed funds for a major investment. The shortage of adequately trained personnel remained a challenge.

The Ba'athists were philosophically committed to freedom of the press and to using all the media to advance the modernisation of the country, but the government's policy seemed to have been ill thought through. A successful local publishing industry is an essential component of the national education system, but the Iraqi government did little to expand its local capacity. "Literacy

campaigns without ready and free access to reading materials are a waste of time and money" (Borchardt 1977), but the Iraqi government failed to recognise that it was not expanding book production sufficiently to meet the needs of and potential demand from the neo-literates in society, and/or to support other policies such as the use of Arabic, through more and diverse provision of books in school, university and public libraries. The capability of an indigenous book industry to scale up production to reflect the growth of an increasingly literate and affluent local market, and thus provide an element in economic development seems to have been ignored. Attitudes towards the publishing industry instead seem to have focused on the continuing desire to monitor and control the content of the industry's output as indicated by the new legislation on the Press and on Legal Deposit.

In the 1970s, the United Nations system as a whole was probably the major provider of technical assistance to Iraq (United Nations 1978), although any assistance to libraries by U.N. agencies other than Unesco has not been widely publicised. Part of the reason for the U.N.'s significance was that national governments were increasingly questioning whether their bi-lateral investments in support of economic growth in developing nations were achieving the desired results. There was also far less certainty that the goals and methods for economic development that had seemed appropriate at the beginning of the previous decade were relevant in developing countries (Keppel 1972). For example, by the mid-1970s, Unesco was beginning to see repeated criticism that projects often collapsed after aid was withdrawn (Dean 1972; Poliniere 1974). The need to have the system stabilised before the withdrawal of aid seems to have become an implicit, rather than an explicit rationale for the Organisation's policy on the development of education for librarianship, as illustrated in the longer duration of support for the regional Schools of Librarianship and for the national Schools in Morocco and Iraq.

Support for education for librarianship in the developing countries was a significant element in DBA/PGI's development discourse during the decade, repeatedly appearing in the debates about both NATIS and UNISIST. The previous decade had seen much support for the concept of regional schools of librarianship. Dean, for example, had argued that regional Schools could provide a university level of professional education for surrounding countries where the level of library provision was so low as to justify only basic training. However, it

was recognised that the need for them would decline as library provision increased to the point where a local School was needed (Library education 1969a). The adoption of the regional concept by Unesco was in keeping with its approach to experimenting with models that might become demonstrators suitable for adaptation by other countries, but it also reflected one of Unesco's fundamental problems; that it did not have a significant budget of its own and was heavily reliant on funding by other agencies. However, the absence of a Unesco-funded regional school may not have disadvantaged the Arab world as the others were less successful than anticipated.

Unesco did secure substantial long term funding for the development of the schools in Morocco and Iraq. The evolution of E.S.I. has not been examined in this or any other objective study, but continuity in external support over an extended period seems to be one of the key lessons that emerged during this period for the development of education for librarianship, although there may be some value in examining the relative effectiveness of support through a series of short expert missions to address specific problems, as was the case in Morocco, compared with the long-term, near permanent presence of a single consultant, as in Iraq.

Despite DBA's commitment to the regional school concept, some realism could be seen in DBA providing no support for a regional role (e.g. scholarships for students from other countries) for either of the Schools of Librarianship in the Arab world in which it invested substantial funds. DBA also provided no significant support for the Arab Training Institute for Archives, even though it resulted from collaboration between DBA and ICA in promoting archives education in the developing countries. This suggests that the Unesco had little confidence in the likelihood of cooperation between the Arab states for political reasons or concerns about the organisational capabilities of the institutions. The Arab League had had to adopt an approach to collective decision making that required its Member States to opt in to 'agreed' policies, an indication that relations between the Arab states could be contentious for ideological reasons. In any case, Unesco's support was scarcely likely to have been encouraged by ALECSO, which issued a report on culture that relegated libraries to a tertiary role in the development of modern Arabic cultural life (Dirasat 1977, quoted by Albin 1979). The lack of communication between ALECSO and Unesco about plans for Arab regional meetings of interest to DBA, the regular deferral for

unidentified organisational reasons of many of Unesco's meetings of librarians in the Arab world, the evident organisational failures in the preparation of the meeting of Heads of Arab Schools of Librarianship in Baghdad, and the failure to attract specialist teachers to the Arab Training Institute for Archives provide clear indications that the operation of an Arab regional school might have presented more difficulty than encountered by start-ups elsewhere. Nonetheless, Unesco support for developing the information sector in Iraq was generous. Requests from the Iraqi authorities and advice from earlier Unesco experts enabled a case to be made to support Srivastava's extended mission from 1968 to 1973. In addition, Unesco funded six other library development consultancies in Iraq during the 1970s: Pérotin, 1970; Helal; 1972; Menou, 1976; Francis, 1977; Kalia, 1978; and Kathpalia, c.1979.

All this probably did little to foster confidence in the role of the schools of librarianship in the region in transmitting new ideas to future generations. Some innovative Master's Degree programs were supported by Unesco, and a number of conferences and workshops for teachers were organised from time to time to introduce and promote new concepts and technologies. However, although Unesco paid the expenses of participants who were nominated by the governments of countries in the region, little attempt appears to have been made to disseminate the outcomes of these meetings, or to facilitate participation by other LIS teachers except to permit attendance by teachers from the country hosting the conference, if they learned that it was taking place. These events may have provided a learning experience for Unesco, but benefitted relatively few institutions.

A lack of resources explains, in part, why the inclusion of archives within PGI's remit led to another experimental policy, harmonisation of professional education, which also seems to have been sensible attempt to encourage optimum use of the limited human resources available to teach archives studies, as well as a realistic appreciation of the overlap of the knowledge base of archives studies and library and information science. The emphasis on harmonisation of education for library, archive and information sciences that evolved towards the end of the 1970s had a sound rationale, but — again — there was little acknowledgement within Unesco that its implementation in developing countries was likely to be constrained by a shortage of human resources for teaching the implicit range of additional specialist subjects, and by

local perceptions of national needs in which additional funding for information services did not command a high priority.

In Iraq, there were some elements of archives studies in the program in Al-Mustansiriyah University, and there appear to be elements of library science in the program of the Arab Training Institute for Archives. Although the Institute was under pressure from other Arab countries to develop a 4-year degree program, which could probably only have been implemented by transferring responsibility for the Institute to the Ministry of Higher Education, there seems to have been no suggestion that the Institute should merge with the University, possibly because there was no obvious benefit, as neither employed any teachers with formal qualifications in archives studies, but more likely because the Institute was evidently teaching only a 2-year program similar in duration to those in the Institutes supervised by the Foundation of Technical Institutes. If the need for specialist expertise to teach the program in the Institute was recognised, no evidence has yet been found of any attempt to develop it, or of any request to Unesco or other source of international assistance to support it. Unesco's encouragement of harmonisation seems to have foundered in Iraq on the international embarrassment that the Institute caused to the Iraqi government and the separation of these academic disciplines between Ministerial responsibilities.

Unesco and the other international development agencies seemed unable or unwilling to find a way out of this circle of deprivation. However, Unesco had recognised the limited influence of librarians on government's plans, and had begun to take steps to initiate more high level support for library development through the supra-national library development plans, NATIS and UNISIST. Although they were worthy aims, their collapse probably reflected some initial naivety about Member States' ability to implement them. The problem remained the shortages of professional manpower within the developing countries. Significantly, there was a demand from the proponents of both NATIS and UNISIST and from the Member States for continued assistance to develop the growing quantity and diversity of specialist manpower required, and PGI's policy in education for library, archive and information sciences did attempt to respond to these calls.

Dean's (1972) optimistic belief about the likely emergence of a broader, multi-national contribution to library development seems to have not applied in

Iraq. The British Council was particularly active in Britain's former colonies where its role in library development was well supported, but it seems to have made little contribution elsewhere. Indeed, the Council seems to have displayed no great interest in Iraq's information sector during the 1970s, with Lynch's visit being the only known specialist tour. This may have been because there was no British qualified librarian based in Iraq during the 1970s, but it has not been possible to establish whether or not there was, or who it might have been. In part, however, the lack of involvement was perhaps also because Iraq had been only a British protectorate; it was almost 40 years since the end of the 'Mandate'; and political links had become tenuous and were occasionally fractured. In one sense, however, British influence was still evident in Iraq, but indirectly. The Indian consultants employed by Unesco, Kalia and Srivastava, were themselves products of a system with a strong British legacy, although Srivastava had also been exposed to higher education in an American School of Librarianship.

The British Council was in any case pre-occupied with its own future existence. It is noticeable that, although the Council's work in library development continued to expand during this period, its existence remained under threat, demonstrating not only how dependent it was on overall government policy but also how little influence it had on the development of that policy and how little it was doing to create an understanding of its impact. The Central Policy Review Staff (CPRS) prepared their report on the Council in the context of a government which was committed to reducing inflation, cutting public expenditure to do so. The CPRS knew what was expected of them in contributing to these aims, but the British Council was ill-prepared to mount a defence, lacking irrefutable evidence of its impact on the achievement of the government's often vaguely defined aims.

USIS was subject to reviews similar to those experienced by the British Council, focused in this case on the capacity of the libraries and their staff to contribute to U.S. propaganda efforts. The involvement of American librarians in USIS libraries in the Arab world was minimal, because of the small number in the region, and it is unsurprising but remarkably unjust that USIS was criticised in these reviews for its apparent failure to support local library development.

In the 1970s, ALECSO began to play a more substantial role in the information sector, including the publishing industry, mainly organising

numerous short seminars in which Iraqis may have been exposed to progressive ideas and practices. The beginning of ALECSO's interventions in library development was possibly one of the most significant changes during this period, indicating a growth of expertise and self-reliance in the region, but reports of its activities have not been found in sufficient detail to permit a proper evaluation of their impact.

The other international and national development agencies seem to have paid little attention to the information sector in Iraq. Relations between Iraq and the U.S.S.R. and its allies remained ambiguous, and flourished for only a few years, and the communist countries seem to made little contribution to library development in Iraq. The Iraqi government, in any case, sought to become not too dependent on any one foreign government, and, for example, developed its relationships with France (Freedman 1981), but no evidence has been published to suggest that France (or any other west European country) had had any impact on library development in Iraq. Their focus was largely elsewhere: the French interests were mainly in the Francophone countries; the Germans in their former colonies in East Africa; the Scandinavian countries in a small selection of the poorer states.

It was noticeable that the international professional associations began to take more interest in the less developed countries. However, this made little impact in the Arab world, probably because the associations were able to offer little more than advice and encouragement — such as ICA did in its support for a regional archives school. Unesco has failed to adopt the IFLA (1976) 'Standards for Library Schools', even though IFLA has issued 2 subsequent revisions of its guidelines on education for librarianship (in 2000 and 2012). This remains a marked contrast with Unesco's adoption of other IFLA policy statements — the Public Library Manifesto, the School Library Manifesto, and the Information Literacy Manifesto — perhaps revealing a failure on the part of the IFLA Section on Education and Training to recognise how to capture the attention of or collaborate with Unesco, as well as possible Unesco concerns about its members' initial lack of understanding of the situation in the less developed countries. Although there had been some recognition within IFLA that any development advice needs to be sensitive to local realities rather than closely follow the models of the advanced countries, the guidelines have yet to demonstrate the potential benefits of LIS education for a country, and are more focused on the

operation of SLIS. The decision to not adopt the IFLA guidelines may not only indicate some possible ambivalence within Unesco towards their usefulness, but also perhaps a concern that Unesco would come under global pressure to provide resources for developments that it did not have and now no longer seems to prioritise. Although DBA, and later PGI, were continually advised that attention should be given to the development of manpower for the information sector, they appear to have been unable to garner the resources to reconcile demands both to improve the quality of teaching in the emerging Schools of Librarianship, and to facilitate the modernisation of their curricula. It must also be acknowledged that, while the professional associations and/or Unesco could prepare guidelines, their implementation is essentially the responsibility of individual states.

Despite the substantial efforts made to modernise the country, numerous complex development problems still existed at the end of the 1970s. Iraq was still heavily dependent on foreign consultants' know-how and on foreign contractors and suppliers. There was limited local capacity to engage in the adaptation or development of foreign concepts, making the functionally successful design of the new National Library building a remarkable indication of the capabilities of the Iraqi librarian or librarians who seem to have planned it, as there appears no mention of further external assistance for that project since Ferguson's efforts 10 years earlier.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Had Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in the Information Sector

Some self-reliance, or self-awareness was developing within Iraq. The activities of the Council for Scientific Research in expanding national research and development efforts, and perhaps the repeated external advice that the "provision of information related to industrial development is doubly important in countries where industry-based research is rare" (Borchardt 1977), finally brought the government to a conclusion that the time was right to establish a national scientific information centre. The apparently limited awareness in middle and top management of government departments, and industrial and commercial organisations, of the need for building an infrastructure for the flow of information seems otherwise to have gone unreported and possibly unaddressed.

There was also a growing understanding of the need for programs for different levels of library staff. Immelman (1954) had suggested at the Ibadan

seminar that a School of Librarianship in a developing country should aim to provide a one-year program for school leavers and/or a one-year post-graduate program. Asheim (1968) had also argued that librarianship in developing countries needed staff at clerical, technician, and professional levels. The stratification of professional education in Al-Mustansiriyah University that was implicit in the creation of the undergraduate Diploma program may have initially been a pragmatic response to the university admissions system, but proved to be in keeping with the government's encouragement for the establishment of technician level programs, although it was to be another 10 years before programs in librarianship commenced under the aegis of the Foundation for Technical Institutes.

The transfer of the Postgraduate program from the University of Baghdad should also be seen as a pragmatic response to circumstances. The program in Baghdad University struggled to recruit significant numbers of students in the face of increasing competition from other opportunities for postgraduate study that led to a Master's Degree, and delivering it was absorbing significant human resources. Its transfer to Al-Mustansiriyah University gave that university the cachet of another postgraduate program and, more significantly for the library profession, facilitated the consolidation of a full-time group of teachers in a Department that would be more easily recognisable, manageable, and capable of development, as had been advocated by Gjelsness (1967).

The developments in LIS education contrasted with the slow progress in modernising Iraq's information sector, which may have reflected an inability of other local librarians to argue their case for support effectively. This deficiency may account for the failure to capitalise on the establishment of the High Commission for Libraries and its ultimate collapse, depriving Iraq of a central body with the resources and influence that could have:

- undertaken a continuous cross-sectoral evaluation of how the needs of potential users of information might best be satisfied
- assessed the human and physical resources required to meet those needs
- evaluated the most cost-effective methods of providing those resources
- encouraged standardisation and collaboration by information providers
- monitored the development of information resources and services
- continually demonstrated the contribution of information to the achievement of the government's broader aims, and
- regularly advised the government on priorities for investment.

Such a framework would in turn have been beneficial for the LIS programs. Library training and development is most successful when it is part of a broader program of educational development which lays stress on, and requires, improved library services (Berninghausen 1969). The establishment of a broadly based advisory committee to support the Graduate School of Librarianship could have been, as Immelman (1954) had argued, a useful means of bringing together the School, the University, and the professional community, but there is insufficient evidence available to demonstrate how effectively the committee and its members operated within the patriarchal, quasi-democratic system of university governance. It is clear that the frequent replacement of the President of the University of Baghdad had some effect on progress towards establishing the Graduate School of Librarianship, while the support of the President of Al-Mustansiriyah University seems to have facilitated the merger of the two programs in a single Department. Berninghausen (1969) quoted one, unnamed library development consultant as saying: "A few edicts handed down by people high in the government can accomplish a tremendous amount, not only in direct results, because the edicts will be obeyed, but also because people in the hierarchy will realise that libraries are important in the thinking of important people." Such successes may have been achieved in Iraq through contacts at a personal level, but senior Iraqi librarians seem to have been less than successful in developing and managing more complex relationships with the numerous high level officials and politicians in the various Ministries responsible for libraries, documentation centres and archives. They evidently failed to create a network of contacts among these politically informed and influential individuals to promote the desirable, to judge what they might consider acceptable, and to plan future developments that were feasible. Again, this may be unfair criticism. In some countries, it is traditionally considered to be inappropriate for a professor or librarian to be involved in such 'political' activities (Berninghausen 1969).

The apparent surge in library development during the brief period when Salah Omar Al-Ali was Minister of Culture highlights the need for further research to review the portfolio of Ministers in Iraqi governments since the creation of the state in 1921 to determine who was responsible for activities relating to libraries, documentation and information centres of different kinds, the various collections of archives and records, and the publishing industry [see Appendix 3 for a list of Ministers from 1967 to 2003]. The attention that Ministers devoted to these

aspects of their portfolio, the wider implications for government policies, and their impact on LIS development needs to be further investigated, and their possible motivations considered. Similarly, the role of the often less well known senior Ministry officials in shaping and implementing relevant policies also needs to be reviewed. Although some material is already accessible in the archives of the international agencies with which Iraq was engaged, a proper study will only become possible once the surviving state and private archives have been catalogued, and the local newspaper collections have been either indexed or digitised in a searchable format. Such a study, or series of studies of the individuals or developments during particular periods of the country's history, would contribute to sensitising Iraqi librarians to the 'political' dimensions of their work.

Much of the evidence is available to permit at least a preliminary assessment of the impact of foreign 'experts'. The impact of many of these consultancies was mixed. Some had an immediate effect, but later developments are difficult to definitively attribute to their efforts.

Dean (1972), whose experience had primarily been in former British colonies, noted how, in the immediate period after a country became independent, the expatriates involved in development projects were usually nationals of the former colonial power, maintaining their cultural, education and professional traditions, but the expatriates gradually became more international in origin and brought a more cosmopolitan approach. This was not entirely true of Iraq, where the effective, long-term colonial power had been Ottoman Turkey. Any British legacy from its brief 'Mandate' was minimal, and the nationality of the early Unesco 'experts' was coincidental. Nonetheless, the 'experts' who came to Iraq in the 1970s came from a variety of traditions.

Pérotin's advice on the development of archives and records management seems to have been accepted and implemented, albeit after such a delay in some cases that that direct attribution of responsibility to him of some actions is difficult to confirm. Helal did his best to develop the SDC, giving it sound advice, and recommending that Unesco seek major support from UNDP to assist its development. He also made some efforts to encourage modernisation of the university libraries, but was not completely successful. In addition, he seems to have played a part in lobbying for the merger of the two schools in Baghdad. Menou's commission was to prepare a paper on cooperation for the Heads of

Schools of Librarianship. He did not present it at the conference in Baghdad, and it is not clear whether it was even circulated to participants. It was probably so pessimistic (and realistic) about the challenges to cooperation that it may have been withheld from the conference. Francis was contracted to provide advice for the University of Mosul libraries and the Foundation for Scientific Research, and subsequently requested to assist with the conference of Heads of Schools of Librarianship. His advice about the two libraries seems to have been almost completely ignored by the Iraqi authorities. However, his comments to Unesco about the counter-productive role that Dr. Al-Chawaf could play at times may have been a factor that lessened Unesco's enthusiasm for supporting further projects in LIS education in Iraq. Unesco seems to have made a poor choice in selecting Kalia to undertake a review of the National Library, a task to which he could then bring little relevant experience. The Iraqis appear to have recognised that his strengths lay in the public library field, but any report on that topic which he may have made directly to the government has not yet been found. An official version of Kathpalia's report has not yet been found, but his recommendations seem to have been largely technical and immediately implemented by the Iraqi authorities. This may explain why it was not published by Unesco.

It must be acknowledged that none of the progress in LIS education made during this decade would have been possible without Srivastava's attention to developing Iraqi librarians as teachers to take over after his mission ended. As well as drawing on such other foreign expertise as he could find locally, Srivastava assembled and developed an able team of Iraqi teachers, and did not hesitate to remove those who were found wanting. He saw the need for the curriculum to develop, and encouraged the staff development necessary to introduce new subjects. He won approval of the academic status of the program and the establishment of a Graduate School. He sought, albeit largely unsuccessfully, to ensure that the faculty members were directly exposed to a wider range of foreign curricula and pedagogies. He also recognised that successful efforts to raise their employment status and compensation might not only diffuse any potential for tension in his relations with them, but could raise their prestige locally, and motivate them in their contribution to the project.

It was inevitable that he would take an interest in the provision of library and information services in which his students would go on to find employment, and he appears to have been instrumental in persuading the Iraqi authorities to

accept a concept that had been advocated by other Unesco consultants — whom he may well have met during their visits — and agree to establish the SDC. The later history of his involvement in the SDC, and his first report's comments about school librarianship — both clearly exceeding his brief — revealed how at times his enthusiasm to further causes that he supported ran ahead of his understanding of how to advocate them effectively.[104] However, it was probably only his relative isolation in Iraq — for which Unesco officials in Paris must accept some responsibility — that led him to advocate that further development of the School should be as a regional centre. Coming at a time when the evidence from the East African School was raising serious doubts in Unesco and UNDP about the validity of that concept, this may have been a factor that contributed to the termination of support for the School in Baghdad. Further examination of the Unesco and UNDP archives may shed more light on this.

Any evaluation of the effectiveness of foreign experts should perhaps be sought in the personal qualities and empathy for the local context that they brought to the task. The flaws in Kalia's character have already been discussed in a previous chapter. When writing his obituary, Srivastava's former student and eventual successor as Delhi University Librarian, Saini (2004) commented that the adventurism and self confidence that had marked the early part of his career disappeared in later life. He became:

> "a tired and diffident man relying on the patronage of the successive Vice-Chancellors for everything. He had become autocratic, intolerant and revengeful. Self-centred as he had grown, he could not accommodate anyone else in the framework of his thinking and working... He had started liking total subservience only; those who showed signs of difference or deviation were unofficially subject to indignities and humiliation." (Saini 2004)

How much these characteristics were evident during his time in Iraq is unknown, but a more favourable interpretation could be made of their relevance at that time. Writing about his experiences, Srivastava (1974) certainly attributed some of his success to developing effective relationships with the Presidents of Baghdad University, and this seems to have been essential in what was probably a predominantly authoritarian system.

His project reports also reveal that there were limits to his tolerance of teachers who failed to perform their duties satisfactorily. Poor teaching fails to

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[104] A note about the suppression of his report on his final mission by Unesco DBA can be found in Appendix 3.

transmit the excitement and meaning of a subject, and the student emerges with few skills and only a vague understanding of what it is all about. Srivastava's decision to withdraw Al-Musawi and Zado from teaching the Graduate Diploma can be seen as important decisions at this stage, not only in the development of the program, but also in the likely effect on the development of librarianship and LIS education in Iraq in terms of the examples that this set.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in the Information Sector

Despite apparently being poorly briefed about previous Unesco activities in the region and the Organization's current policies, and straying beyond his brief, Srivastava seems to have successfully grasped the opportunity provided by his extended mission to lay a solid foundation for future education for librarianship in Iraq in terms of both the curriculum and the teaching team. He also seems to have contributed to persuading the Ministry to establish the SDC, and to persuading Unesco to support a mission by Helal to the SDC, but then over-reached himself and, in effect, had to be told to stop meddling in its affairs and to focus on the main aim of his mission. Overall, however, his efforts must be placed alongside the support provided by the Ford Foundation as one of the major contributions to the establishment of the LIS profession in Iraq. The merger of the program with that in Al-Mustansiriyah University shortly after his mission ended should not be seen as a sign of failure.

The foundation of the program in Al-Mustansiriyah University was not in itself a significant point in the development of LIS education in Iraq. Its merger with the program in Baghdad University certainly was. It transformed the small cadre of teachers whom Srivastava (and others in preceding years) had developed into the core of an enlarged group of full-time teachers. Suddenly, Iraq had a large SLIS, on a scale that compared favourably with SLIS in many more developed countries.

Chapter 9
Coping with New Pressures
in a Wartime Economy,
1979 to 1989

"[T]here is a growing awareness and conviction in Iraq of the importance of library and information services in the general national development and a recognition of library and information work as a profession having the same status as other professions." (Al-Werdi 1987)

Introduction

This chapter discusses the impact of significant changes in the international context and local circumstances on the development of the information sector in Iraq. It describes how Iraq's long and costly wars impacted negatively on the development of library and information services, and explains the contrasting developments in education for library and information science and in archives studies.

Significant Events in Iraq

On 16th July, 1979, Saddam Hussein assumed the joint roles of Secretary General of the Ba'ath Party Regional Command, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, President of the Republic of Iraq, and Commander in Chief of the country's armed forces. The war with Iran that began in earnest in 1980 dragged on until a cease-fire was negotiated in 1988. In 1986, the Saddam regime also began a campaign directed at Iraqi Kurds who were siding with Iranian Kurds during the war.

Trends in International Assistance for Library Development

This section notes the potentially significant role that was attributed to the General Information Programme within Unesco and the United Nations agencies in general, and the gradual loss of its initially prominent position within Unesco's organisational structure. The impact of the reductions in Unesco's budget following the withdrawal from membership of some States in the middle of the 1980s is described, particularly the disregard for the development of information manpower. The section also notes international development agencies' diminished role in library development, and the hostile environment within which western agencies' staff operated within Iraq.

Unesco's Changing Financial Circumstances and the Impact on PGI

Jacques Tocatlian[105] was appointed to head the new General Information Programme. For the first time, PGI enjoyed the possibility of greater prominence within Unesco and the U.N. system as a whole. Subsequent to the withdrawal of several Member States in the middle of the decade, despite the priority attached to PGI's education and training activities by the Bureau and Council, support for it was reduced in the same proportion as the overall reduction in Unesco's budget.

Figure 9.1: Jacques Tocatlian
Source: https://tocatlian.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/around-the-world-in-80-missions.pdf

It seems that the activities of Unesco and UNISIST had not had a favourable reception at the U.N. Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD). However, the Unesco Executive Board advised that, in the light of the outcome of those events, technological training and scientific information for developing countries should be the priority for PGI.

National policies generally failed to recognise the information needs of a country, evaluate of how those needs were being met, and plan to address any deficiencies, including appropriate staff development. Consequently, an assessment of the information needs of developing countries that was intended to advise the U.N. Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development (IFSTD) concluded, on the basis of several country studies (which included Jordan and Morocco), that:

> "The supply of professional information workers is so serious a problem, as regards both quantity and quality, that it should be considered urgently at a high level. Consideration of this matter should be entrusted to statisticians, the education authorities, personnel officers, and those responsible for vocational training" (Salman 1981).

The third meeting of PGI's Inter-Governmental Council (1981a; 1981b), received a full report on the range of activities in education and training that had

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[105] See resumé in Appendix 5.

been undertaken in response to earlier recommendations. While training of LIS teachers remained an important element of PGI's work, it was noted that the 1981 course in Sheffield would need to be replaced by courses at regional level to reduce costs. Unesco had focused its Medium Term Plan for 1984 to 1989 along lines set out by the General Conference in 1980. One of the two highest priorities for PGI was still said to be education and training, particularly:

- harmonization of education for librarianship, information science and archives studies
- development of national and regional training programs

  preparation of teaching (Tocatlian 1981).

The continued existence of Unesco was threatened by the United States's decision to withdraw at the end of 1984, with the British and Singapore following suit at the end of 1985, because of the alleged mismanagement and politicization of the Organization's work. However, when Member States were asked, in mid-1984, which programme activities they thought should be cut back or even cut out in the event of an American withdrawal, those concerned with information development emerged relatively unscathed (Parker 1985). In mid-summer 1985, the PGI Council was still pressing the case for additional funding (General Conference 1985). Nonetheless, when Unesco's regular income suffered a reduction of between one quarter and one third, PGI and its work in manpower development were not given any priority.

Budget cuts resulted in the loss of 6 professional and 4 general service support posts in PGI (Roberts 1988). Loss of income was accompanied, for PGI, by a loss of status within Unesco. PGI had initially been attached to the Directorate of Unesco, but in 1985 it was placed under the General Programmes and Programme Support Sector, became part of a new Communication and Information Sector in 1990.

After 1984, the financial contributions of co-sponsors became increasingly important for the implementation of Unesco's programme. However, PGI's activities were insufficiently widely known in Member States, and funds for information-related projects were thus difficult to obtain because they were not perceived as a priority area by donors (Roberts 1988).

An evaluation of PGI's activities during its first ten years was undertaken by 3 consultants (Aje,[106] Arntz,[107] & Roberts 1988), focused by a summary of PGI's activities by Roberts (1988), and based in part on replies from 21 Member States to a questionnaire sent to a selected mix of 41 developed and developing countries. The evaluators concluded, *inter alia*, that training activities for the development of qualified information manpower should be increased (Aje, Arntz, & Roberts 1988).

British Relations with Iraq

The election of a Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher in 1979 led to considerable reductions in public expenditure in Britain, and the British Council was required to reorganise itself for a greatly reduced and changing role.

Kazwini[108] (2007), the British Council's Librarian in Baghdad, claimed that local staff socialised freely with the British staff employed by the British Council, but she herself failed (without explanation, and along with several other invited Iraqi guests) to attend a dinner hosted by the Representative at his residence during this researcher's visit in 1981! The Iraqis who did attend discovered at the end of the evening that their cars had been vandalised, despite the Police guard at each end of the street. Ness (2003), a British Council officer in Iraq from 1982 to 1987, was rather more frank, describing the difficult situation there caused by a regime which suffered from paranoid worry about foreigners.

USIS's Limited Capabilities in Iraq

The International Communications Agency was established in 1978, by merging the Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs from the State Department with USIA. By that time, the number of U.S. librarians employed by USIS in its North Africa, Middle East and South Asia region had fallen from 18 to 3, and the Regional Librarian responsible for Iraq had been relocated to Tunis (Hausrath 1981).

Qasim's anti-Western stance had led the American government to support Iran during the 1960s, but the Iranian Revolution in 1979 led to a shift in American policy in the Gulf region and closer relations with Iraq (Rubin 1982). Diplomatic relations between Iraq and the U.S.A. were restored in 1984, and a

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[106] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[107] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[108] See resumé in Appendix 5.

USIS presence in the country was resumed after an absence of 17 years. However, American experience was similar to the British. By then, Iraq had become the most tightly controlled society in the Arab world. The Iraqi secret police monitored and sometimes punished Iraqi citizens who made contact with foreigners. The USIA Director's greatest obstacle was the total lack of social contact with Iraqis outside the office. Iraqis invited to his home never came (Rugh 2006).

League of Arab States and ALECSO's Continuing Regional Role

Aman and Khalifa (1984) reported that a seminar on the development of libraries in the Arab countries took place in Baghdad in March 1983. No further information about this event appears to have been published in English.

In 1989, ALDOC produced guidelines for national information policies for Arab states (Guidelines 1989), and a Regional Seminar on National Policies on Information Systems and Service in the Arab Countries was held in Amman in 1989. In a possibly related action, to make the availability of specialist expertise known throughout the region, ALECSO published a directory of information specialists in the Arab States (Guide 1989).

International NGOs and the Developing Countries

Bowden (1985) noted that cooperation between IFLA, FID and ICA only began in 1980, largely as a result of Unesco's emerging interest in harmonising curricula in the information sector. Representatives of IFLA, FID and ICA met in Bellagio in 1980 to discuss and identify areas of common interest, and followed this with a meeting in Frankfurt later that year to discuss education for the professions. They began to discuss the potential for harmonisation at a further meeting in Vienna in 1983. Unesco collaborated in these meetings and later supported a number of regional meetings of teachers to explore these issues, including one for the Arab region that took place in Morocco in 1993 (Johnson 1994). The IFLA Section on Education and Training was otherwise mainly focused on examining theoretical issues related to how the international equivalence and reciprocity of qualifications could be resolved (Bowden & Kaegbein 1984).

Although various IFLA bodies had addressed international issues in a limited way for some time, the IFLA Executive Board began to discuss the pressing need for funding for development activities in the Third World during 1980, and consulted with its regional sections on a proposed way forward. In 1982, the

IFLA Council approved the establishment of an international IFLA Development Fund, and began seeking donations. The replacement of the IFLA International Development Fund by the establishment in 1984 of a core programme called 'Advancement of Librarianship in the Third World' (ALP) was a watershed, and timely in the light of other events in the international development sector. In 1985, the IFLA Executive Board made a further commitment to improve and advance librarianship in the less developed countries, and to increase IFLA's programs and awareness of information services there. Despite the difficult circumstances of major government and private aid donor agencies, ALP, now known as the 'Action for Development through Libraries Programme', has been successful in obtaining grants for various projects, including a seminar for Arab teachers of librarianship that was held in Beirut in 2002 (IFLA 2003).

FID organised a workshop in the U.S.A. in 1979 on education and training for information services in business and industry, supposedly for both the developed and developing countries. Much of it dealt with teaching about systems whose operation required a degree of sophistication well above the general educational level and technological capacity of developing countries (Education 1980). During the 1980s, FID introduced programs to promote the study of information management. In 1989, FID considered a proposal to establish a new Regional Commission for North Africa and the Near East (FID/NANE) to take more interest in the Arab world (Dhyani 1990), but there appears to be no evidence that it came into being before FID became ceased to function.

Developments Affecting the Provision of Library and Information Services in Iraq

This section explains how Iraq's economic strength began to decline as international oil prices fell while the population continued to grow. The government paid little attention to libraries and information services.

Economic Decline

Considerable achievements had been made in the development of Iraq's industrial base by 1980, but GDP per capita began to fall in the 1980s as the country's oil income declined because an international glut in production depressed prices while the population continued to increase. Iraq's increasing burden of international debt was to become a factor contributing to future conflict.

Government

By the early 1980s, there were far more people on the government payroll than employed in industry (Hourani 1991). However, the operating budgets of 10 libraries /information centres, a cross-section of all types surveyed by Zado in 1989, had increased by only 37% over 12 years, compared with inflation of over 400% (Zado 1990).

In some respects, the government was stable during the 1980s, and consistent in continuing to fail to recognize the potential role of libraries and information in development. Latif Nussayif Jassim Dulaymi was one of Iraq's longest serving Ministers of Culture and Information, in office from 1979 to 1991 [See Appendix 3], but seems to have been more focused on his role in presenting the government's case to the citizenry and the outside world.

Publishing and the Book Trade

Iraq stood second only to Egypt in book production in the Arab world (Hashmi 1983). Like Egypt's, the Iraqi publishing industry faced challenges from its need to import materials, continuing problems with censorship, and shortages of skilled labour (Makar 1996). Overall, book production in Iraq fell, particularly towards the end of the decade, from 2,484 titles in 1980 to 1,294 titles in 1989 (Al-Kindilchie 1994). This probably reflected the state's fiscal problems; printing of all books and newspapers was a government monopoly (Article 19 1987). However, Adwan (1984) commented that a strong reading culture had not yet developed in the majority of the population of Iraq. The production of children's literature was largely neglected.

The limited budgets of libraries meant that acquisitions of books, periodicals and conference proceedings were generally limited in developing countries (Wise 1994). The technical shortfall in bibliographic information, and the scarcity of vendors who specialized in supplying foreign books and periodicals inhibited the international book trade (Atiyeh 1982; Maddox & Weigel 1982), which also suffered because mail services were interrupted and printed media were subject to random censorship (Gardner 1989). Pedagogical styles reduced the pressure on libraries to improve their collections. Students were still not encouraged to develop the techniques of independent learning, and thus less likely to expect to be able to make individual use of a variety books and journals.

The growth in the publishing of periodicals in the Middle East during the 1970s and 1980s was significant, and 90% of new titles were in Arabic, as their

authors sought to create academic and scholarly material accessible by students as well as researchers (Islam 1989). Poor coverage of Arabic-language journals by indexing/abstracting services exacerbated the limited sharing of information between the Arab states.

Contemporary Unesco reviews found that there were 4 daily Arabic newspapers in Iraq, as well as one in English and one in French. One of these was the '*Baghdad Observer*', an English language newspaper issued by the Ministry of Information (Rugh 1987). However, increased levels of literacy seem to have contributed to an increase in newspapers' circulation to 325,000 copies in 1979 (Unesco 1982a), and then to 525,000 in the mid-1980s (Rugh 1987).

Literacy, and Primary and Secondary Education

By 1980, the functionally literate proportion of Iraq's population had grown to 44% (Bakr, Labib & Kandil 1985). The adult literacy rate had reached 89% by 1985 (Alnasrawi 2002). Beginning in the early 1980s, government expenditure on education declined on a *per capita* basis (Looney 1982), reflecting the fall in the GDP *per capita* and the increasing costs of the war with Iran. By 1989, about 50% of the schools needed major maintenance or replacement because of war damage or neglect resulting from fiscal stringency (Cooperation 1989).

Developments in Library and Information Services in Iraq

This section notes that, during the 1980s, token gestures were made to the importance of libraries. It also notes PGI's increased support for archives work, and the Iraqi government's actions in consolidating manuscript collections from throughout the country in a few centres in Baghdad.

School Libraries

School librarianship still seemed to have had little status in the Arab world, and Iraq seems to have been no exception. By 1981, Ministry statistics indicated that there were 8,407 school libraries, in addition to 19 mobile libraries serving schools in rural areas. Al-Werdi refers to data which shows that the School Library Departments in the 18 *Liwas* were staffed by 27 personnel, of whom only 12 had a qualification in librarianship (Iraq, Ministry of Education 1981b, quoted in Al-Werdi 1983). Almost all school libraries were run by teachers who were relieved of some of their teaching hours. Most of the teacher librarians had no library training, experience, or even interest (Al-Werdi 1983).

Public Libraries

Official data suggested that, by the early 1980s, there were 156 public libraries. The National Library — as in many developing countries — exercised some measure of technical supervision over the public libraries in the country, and bore "the responsibility to see that all public libraries are manned by qualified librarians and that its own staff is qualified and competent to provide technical guidance to the staff employed in public libraries" (Hashmi 1983). It seems to have been inattentive or less than successful. In 1983, the public libraries in Iraq were mostly staffed by civil servants recruited without any idea about what they were expected to do because there was no job description their defining duties and responsibilities (Al-Werdi 1983).

Higher Education Provision and Academic Libraries

Education was a major priority for the Saddam regime (Dawisha 2009), but Saef (1986) argued that the education system had failed to deliver the human resources required. Al Dahir (1982) reported that the rapid increase in the number of students in Iraq since the 1968 Revolution resulted in a demand for improved university library accommodation. Nonetheless, by the late 1980s, they offered little more than loan and basic references services. The consequences of libraries' limitations were only too evident, inhibiting universities' research activity.

To ease the pressure on the state budget, in 1987 the Iraqi government approved the re-establishment of private higher education institutions. Although the impact on teaching practices and library use in these new University Colleges has not been reported, it may be significant that, among the first 3 opened in 1988, including Al Mansour University College, which was established by 9 academics and a well known Iraqi librarian, Dr. Jassim Jirjees[109] (Johnson 2004c).

Figure 9.2: Jassim Jirjees
Source: Linked In

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[109] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Specialist Libraries and Information Centres in Iraq

In 1981, there were 92 special libraries in Iraq, mainly in Ministry headquarters, large government departments, industrial and commercial enterprises, learned societies, research and development agencies, museums, and professional associations (World of Learning 1981). Generally, they suffered from an acute shortage of qualified staff, the majority being manned by one or two untrained librarians (Al-Werdi 1983).

The Scientific Documentation Centre

A more encouraging picture can be seen in the evolution of the SDC in Baghdad. PGI agreed to fund a review and evaluation of the work of the SDC from the Regular programme budget, to prepare for a planned major development of the SDC (Unesco 1987a; 1987d). The Centre was to be the subject of major investment from Unesco's Funds-in-Trust,[110] and this mission was expected to clarify some of the tasks to be undertaken. Between 1983 and 1988, the SDC eventually benefitted from $2,465,000 (£1.4 million) donated to Unesco as Funds-in-Trust (Roberts 1988). A large scale computerization project was initiated to automate library and information work in support of the accelerating research and development work in the country.

Figure 9.3: György Matók
Source: György Matók

In 1983, two Hungarian experts, György Matók[111] and Péter Jacsó,[112] were provided to identify training requirements for the computerised information services. They noted that the "highly competent librarians and information

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[110] The Funds-in-Trust (FIT) co-operation modality was initiated by Unesco in 1963. Funds-in-Trust are donations given by countries to support specific projects with defined goals and objectives. Member States could donate funds which they intended to be self-benefitting. The donor for the computerisation of the Scientific Documentation Centre has not yet been identified. Iraq had previously been a regular contributor to this mode for the benefit of other countries, and this arrangement may simply have used FIT as a means of paying Unesco to manage this complex development.
[111] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[112] See resumé in Appendix 5.

specialists" were producing a useful range of bibliographical and abstracting services. They would need training only in data input and conducting searches in the proposed new system. User education would also be needed to raise awareness of new services. (Matók & Jacsó 1983; Unesco 1983).

Figure 9.4: Péter Jacsó
Source: Péter Jacsó

In addition to the activities within the framework of the Funds-in-Trust Agreement, a British consultant, Alan Negus,[113] was sent to review the development of the SDC in 1983, funded from Unesco's Regular Programme (Unesco 1986b), and helped to resolve technical problems so that a demonstration of the DIALOG service was possible (Negus 1983a). Negus (1983a) noted that, partly because of a shortage of qualified and experienced staff, the SDC had been a largely passive organisation, responding to requests from scientists but making little effort to promote its actual or potential services. There was, he indicated, a need for better management of its operations, and for qualified staff to have clearer job descriptions, including — for some — a more outgoing role in promoting the SDC's services.

The development of the SDC appears to have been successful, earning it a reputation as "the most sophisticated 'library' in the Middle East" (Sliney 1990) despite the continuing inadequacies in the number of library staff available and able to undertake the necessary retrospective cataloguing and provide information services (Jacsó & Razzak 1986). However, the SDC seems to have been closed in 1989 when the Iraqi government disbanded the Foundation for Scientific Research, which hosted the Centre (Nasir 2004).

The Gulf States Information Documentation Centre

Since its General Conference in 1968, Unesco had been working towards creating an international network of centres supporting research in mass communication, and had prepared a feasibility study concerning the creation of a

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[113] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Gulf States Regional Communication Documentation Centre in 1977 (Hamdy 1977; El Kheiro 1979). Interest in documentation services to support the communication industry brought together not only Unesco's efforts to develop national and regional documentation systems, but also academic concerns about the lack of support for research in the field. The first concrete evidence of official support was the establishment of the Gulf States Information Documentation Centre (GSIDC) (Bakr, Labib & Kandil 1985).

Figure 9.5: Amer Al-Kindilchie
Source: Facebook

It commenced operation in Baghdad in mid-1981, with an Iraqi, the internationally experienced, former teacher of library science, Amer Al-Kindilchie, as Director. By mid-1982, it had a staff of about 40, of whom more than 30 were information specialists (Hamdy 1985). It conducted a number of short courses (Frey 1988), some providing training for others from throughout the region. Some of these were taught by Derek Bell, a member of staff from the College of Librarianship Wales in the U.K., where a specialist course for some of the Centre's staff had already taken place, funded by the GSIDC from its own budget.

The National Library of Iraq

Although perhaps not yet functioning as the leading centre for librarianship in Iraq, the National Library was taking such steps as it could towards that goal. For example, the publication of the national bibliography seems to have been put on a regular footing (Al-Khafagy 1981). The National Library also conducted seminars and conferences not only for the staff of the public library services, but also for library staff employed in schools, colleges and government departments. However, more qualified staff were needed to secure the implementation of the programmes envisaged in the 1961 National Library Act, and it was expected that the Library would have to hire qualified and experienced foreign personnel until such time as it had prepared adequate numbers of local personnel (Hashmi 1983).

In 1987, faced with continuing wartime pressures on the budget, the government decided that it had to reduce its financial support for culture. As a result, the National Library and the National Archives Centre were merged as *Dar al-Kutub wal-Watha'iq* (the "house of books and documents" — i.e. the National Library and Archive). In 1988, the Ministry of Information and Culture formed a Committee to examine the current status of the Iraq National Library and Archive and to take necessary measures to develop a new building. Tenders had been invited, and construction was expected to commence in 1991, but the consequences of the invasion of Kuwait resulted in the discontinuation of this project (Jirjees 2010).

Manuscript Collections, Modern Records, and Archives Management in the Arab World

Through the 1980s, Unesco paid increasing attention to the archives field. The creation of PGI with a more purposeful remit the Records and Archives Management Programme (RAMP) being approved by the Unesco General Conference in 1981. The importance of archival training was reflected in the activities and outputs of RAMP, which provided for a variety of activities to support education and training (e.g. Cook 1986).

A meeting was convened in Tunis in December 1983, probably by ALECSO with some encouragement from ARBICA and Unesco, to review the current situation in the Arab world. The final recommendations included encouragement for:

- a regional seminar on archives management to be organised by Unesco, preceded by a study of approaches to related education and training;
- a regional training course, also to be organised by Unesco, on conservation techniques (Temimi 1984).

Manuscript Collections, Modern Records, and Archives Management in Iraq

In 1980, Unesco appointed a consultant, Jeffrey Ede,[114] to advise on the development of the new building, which was intended to house the National Centre of Archives, the Arab Regional Archivists Training Institute, and the offices of ARBICA (Unesco 1966b; Unesco 1972d). In 1980, Ede reported that:

> "The development of a national archives service in Iraq has lagged behind that of other cultural and administrative services… It lacks a sufficient number of trained staff,…" (Ede 1980)

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[114] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Figure 9.6: Jeffery Ede
Source: Unknown

Ede (1980) drew similar conclusions to Kalia's about the staffing levels being excessive in relation to the workload (which may have been accepted by government as a form of job creation), but was more forthright in suggesting that staff who were unproductive or incompetent should be transferred to other government departments.

The Labour Market and Professional Skills

This section notes the continuing short-comings in some professional attitudes and practices. Attention is drawn to the increasing activity of international professional associations in the Arab world and Iraq, particularly the interchange of information facilitated by conferencing, publishing, and indexing of the professional literature.

Developments in Professional Practice in the Arab World

Interest in the potential for automated information storage and retrieval was aroused through pan-Arab meetings organised by ALECSO, but the Arab world was handicapped by a shortage of appropriately trained personnel for operating the systems as well as technical maintenance of systems (Unesco Meeting 1978; Khurshid 1983).

Developments in Professional Practice in Iraq

Madkour (1980) reported that there were then 48 computer installations in Iraq, but speculated that their information procession power was significantly under-utilized. Al-Kindilchie (1980), then a teacher at Al-Mustansiriyah University, published a review of new technologies used in libraries: microfilm, microfiche, computers, etc. While awareness of these advances was important, Ballard (1980) pointed out that the rapid transfer of knowledge about practices and technology does not necessarily provide an appropriate curriculum for developing countries.

By 1988, a national network linking the universities, a medical school, and the Foundation for Technical Institutes was in the planning stage (Aman 1988).

Although proposals for a national information policy in Iraq had been prepared, no conclusions had been announced (Nusseir 1989).

Manpower Issues in Iraq

Towards the end of the 1970s, Ahmed (1977) had drawn some pessimistic conclusions about the impact on the economy and society in general of Iraq's likely future manpower development. Even those forecasts were probably further distorted by losses during the war with Iran. Although Wilson (1982) implied that underemployment was creeping into the system, the increasing demand for military manpower seems to have eradicated that threat. Throughout the war, shortages of staff were endemic in all sectors in Iraq, although — as in earlier conflicts elsewhere — the situation potentially created new opportunities for women.

Before the war, libraries in Iraq still had few professional staff. Al-Werdi (1983) presented some incomplete data on the number of libraries and information centres in about 1980 and the number of staff of different kinds, which can be summarised in Table 9.3.

Library type	Number of libraries	Professional staff	Non-professional staff
Public Libraries	156	82	698
School Libraries	8,407	277*	7590**
University Libraries	6	87	210
University Colleges and Technical Institutes	51	?	?
Special Libraries	92	?	?
National Library	1	35	83
National Archives	1	35	?
Total	8,714		

Table 9.1: Staff in Libraries, Information Centres, and Archives in Iraq, c.1983.
Source: Al-Werdi 1983
Note: * = full-time librarians and teacher librarians;
** = part-time teacher librarians.

Al-Werdi (1983) still felt obliged to describe as a qualified librarian anyone who had completed an apprenticeship, a short training course, or an academic education. Nonetheless, he reported a shortfall in the estimated number of qualified staff required or desired in every sector. In her review of the state of Iraqi libraries in the late 1980s, Zado (1990) also repeatedly referred to the shortage of suitably qualified and experienced staff. In Iraq, she commented, the scarcity of professionally qualified personnel was one of the major problems facing library and information services.

In the Seminar on the Development of University Libraries in Iraq, 1979, (General Report 1979, quoted in Al-Werdi 1983) it was claimed that these libraries lacked 121 qualified librarians. By then the SDC had 60 staff, including 22 or 23 qualified as librarians, of whom only one held a Master's Degree, but it allegedly needed another 73 staff including 23 professional librarians (Jacsó & Razzak 1986).

The shortage of staff was not only because library education programs in Iraq could not meet the increasing demand for qualified manpower, but also a consequence of most of their graduates not wishing to work in libraries because of the low status of the profession. In the survey conducted by Zado in 1989, the information workers were asked whether they were happy with their status; 90% said that they are not happy because their degree was considered of less value than degrees in other subjects. She also had the opportunity to discuss the problem with other kinds of employees in the research centres, and they commented that the information workers should have qualifications not only in librarianship, but also in other fields of knowledge (Zado 1990).

Professional Associations and Activities in Iraq

The professional cadre in Iraq had been showing signs of maturity. The Iraqi Library Association was organising an annual conference focused on a specific problem or aspect of professional practice, and training courses to meet the needs of particular libraries (Manzoor 1985; Al-Werdi 1987). Al-Mustansiriyah University was also organising short professional development events (Al-Werdi 1987). Al-Werdi (1983) reported that, although available data shows that there were about 2,000 potential members, only 200 had joined the Iraqi Library Association. Their small personal subscriptions were supplemented by an annual grant of £3,500 (£11,000) from the Ministry of Culture and Information. Despite this, Al-Werdi (1983) acknowledged that there was no statutory recognition of the profession. Its few members, and the perception of its low status, made it impossible for the Association speak for the profession, either to promote legislation about standards of service, or to take any action about standards of professional education. Moreover, at some time after 1979, all voluntary associations in the arts, sciences and culture were dissolved by the Iraqi government (Article 19 1987). It is not clear whether this repressive measure was sustained.

Al-Werdi (1983) reported that the National Library began to publish the *Arabian Library Journal* in 1981, but it is not known how long it was able to sustain this journal. In the early 1980s, Iraq was described as an enthusiastic book using but not book producing country. All university teaching staff were expected to publish in their fields, but tended to publish in other countries, in Arabic or English.

The teaching staff at Al-Mustansiriyah University were supposed to spend 30% of their time teaching, 30% on research, and 40% on relevant professional activities (Fang 1985). In 3 years, in the late 1970s, the 16 staff at Al-Mustansiriyah University claimed to have published 10 monographs and 12 refereed papers (Fang 1985). There were service and publication criteria for promotion between grades, which were: Assistant Lecturer, Lecturer, Assistant Professor, and Professor. In the Department of Librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University, there were 3 Assistant Professors, 6 Lecturers, and 5 Assistant Lecturers. The number of Assistant Professors in the Department appeared to be more than in other University Departments (Aitken 1983), perhaps reflecting a strong commitment by the Department's staff to creating an Arabic body of professional literature.

Developments in Education for Library, Information and Archives Work

This section first reviews the changes that took place in Unesco PGI's education and training policies and programme, and the impact of the budget reductions consequent upon the withdrawal of several Member States in the middle of the decade. It reports the development of the Bachelor's Degree program in Al-Mustansiriyah University, and the initiation of parallel programs in the Universities of Basra and Mosul, and briefly discusses their curricular content. It also explains the evolution of the Master's Degree in Librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University. Finally, the transformation of the regional Arab Training Institute for Archivists into the Department of Archives in the Institute of Administration in Baghdad is briefly explained.

Unesco's Education and Training Policy and Plans

The PGI Council continued to emphasise their high level of support for education and training activities, because they underpinned the success of the

entire programme. In 1978, Dr. Yves Courrier[115] had joined PGI as a Senior Programme Specialist, with the development of education for librarianship intended to be one of his principal responsibilities.

Figure 9.7: Yves Courrier
Source: Université de Montréal

An analysis by Schur (1980) revealed that, at that time, education and training was the second largest item in PGI's regular budget, also accounting for a substantial proportion of PGI's expenditure sourced from the Unesco Participation Programme and UNDP. Nonetheless, the combined budget was smaller than that of almost any one of the Schools of Librarianship in the U.K., and there were clear limits to what could be achieved.

A joint FID/IFLA/ICA meeting in Frankfurt in about 1980/81 apparently proposed a 10-year plan to achieve self-sufficiency in professional education worldwide (Education 1981), but it has not proved possible to identify any further details of how this was supposed to be accomplished.

The PGI budget for education and training in library, information and archives studies was, initially, substantial and relatively stable, at around $450,000 per year (£258,000), but the approved budget for the 1986 and 1987 biennium showed a reduction of about 25%, with $100,000 (£68,000) being removed (Unesco 1988).

It is noticeable that expenditure from PGI's regular budget on LIS education in the Arab world appears to have comprised only support for a meeting of Schools in the Maghreb and 2 missions concerned with archives teaching in Tunisia. In addition, guidelines for preparing manpower surveys and for developing emerging aspects of the curriculum in library, information and archives studies were prepared for international use.

A signal of Unesco's recognition that some Schools of Librarianship needed advice on how to develop locally relevant curricula and how to develop advocacy

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[115] See resumé in Appendix 5.

skills could be seen in the PGI publications at the end of the decade (e.g. Fontaine & Bernhard 1988; Savard 1988). After studying an unpublished paper analysing the programs taught at Unesco projects in various countries including Morocco, participants at a Unesco Asian regional seminar on curriculum development in Bangkok devised a model curriculum (Large 1987) to meet the challenges of the emerging information sector in the region and other developing countries.

Attention began to be drawn to importance of information in development generally and the need for reliable data in the administration of the Arab states (El Fathaly & Chackerian 1983). Considering the potential contribution to these goals of using computers to process the required data, there was a proposal in the mid 1980s to set up a Arab regional training centre in the areas of information science, documentation and computer technology, and exchanges of lists of experts. The United Nations Department for Technical Cooperation (DTCD) agreed to act as co-ordinator for a joint inter-agency working group which was to give further consideration to this proposal. As a preparatory step, DTCD was planning to hold a regional seminar for the exchange of information on equipment used, programs being developed and training and assistance requirements (Ibrahim, Kaddour & Khalifa 1986). No report of progress on this proposal has yet been found.

Education for Library and Information Work in the Arab World

In 1981, ALECSO a meeting of supervisors of Arab library schools in Riyadh "to discuss the content of syllabi and methods of their development, together with means of ensuring availability of textbooks and materials in Arabic" (Itayem 1980). Participants from Iraq and most of the other Arab countries attended. Working committees were formed to consider: library and information science schools in the Arab world; the professional status of the library science teachers and graduates; and curriculum and teaching methods and evaluation. Among the topics considered by the working groups was the need for a book in Arabic on library and information studies, and for the creation or improvement of Arabic journals in the field.

Bachelor's Degree Program at Al-Mustansiriyah University

The extension of the program to a 4-year Bachelor's Degree was introduced by the Library Science Department of Al-Mustansiriyah University in the

academic year 1978/79, and the first 16 students to complete it graduated in 1979/80. A total of 1,038 students had completed the 2-year undergraduate Diploma in the previous 8 years (Al-Werdi 1983). The first students graduated with Bachelor's Degrees in summer 1981 (Johnson 1981).

Year	Level	Enrolled	Examined
Year 1		120	119
Year 2	Diploma	120	87
Year 3		36	36
Year 4	Bachelor's Degree	15	15
	Higher Diploma	5	
Total		296	257

Table 9.2: Enrolments and examination candidates in the Department of Librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University in 1980/81
Sources: Johnson 1981; Ali [Qassim] 1980, quoted by Al-Werdi 1983

It has not been possible to establish precisely the number of students enrolling in the 1980s. It is not been possible to reconcile different figures provided by the Head of Department that formed the basis of Table 9.2. By the middle of the decade, about 100 students were graduating annually from the Department (Mahon & Scharff 1987).

The curricula (see table 9.3) comprised multiple courses. It was claimed that, in the mid 1980s, the Al-Mustansiriyah program had 3 streams — librarianship, information science, and archives, but there appeared to be no training in computer applications (Mahon & Scharff 1987).

Figure 9.8: Nazar Qassim in 2005
Source: I.M. Johnson

Postgraduate Program at Al-Mustansiriyah University

It was noticeable that very few students were enrolled for the one-year postgraduate program, leading to the Higher Diploma. In 1980/81, eleven students were accepted in this program, but only two turned up (Saleh 1981, quoted by Al-Werdi 1983). The program had no particular status in Iraq, where

— as in so many other Arab states — a professional's salary was linked to the possession of a Master's Degree. A Master's Degree in LIS abroad was always favoured by candidates in preference to the local Higher Diploma in librarianship. Most students seeking a postgraduate qualification in LIS had therefore tended to go abroad to countries where it was possible to obtain a Master's Degree.

In the early 1980s, the Library Science Department in Al-Mustansiriyah had tentative plans for a Master's Degree, as a further year of study for holders of the Bachelor's Degree and the Higher Diploma, but was waiting for the right moment to put forward the proposals (Johnson 1981). In 1983, Al-Mustansiriyah University terminated the Higher Diploma program, in line with a Ministry decision to discontinue all postgraduate Diploma programs (except in certain medical specialisms) (Johnson 2004b).

It is not clear when the award of Master's Degree in Library Science at Al-Mustansiriyah University was approved. Certainly by 1987/88, the Department of Library Science at Al-Mustansiriyah University was offering a 2-year Master's Degree program (Frey 1988). In the Arab world, progression from Bachelor's to Master's Degrees in the same subject was the normal requirement, and the Bachelor's Degree in Librarianship became the sole entry route to the Master's Degree in Iraq. Only the 10 students with the highest grades in each class were eligible to apply for admission to the Master's Degree (Miski 1993). The program comprises 2 semesters, during each of which students take 5 subjects, followed by a further year preparing a thesis (see table 10.2).

Academic Staff at Al-Mustansiriyah University

By 1980, the teaching staff of the Department of Librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University included 16 full-time staff and 1 part-time lecturer. Two held British Master's Degrees, 12 held American Master's Degrees, and one had recently returned with a PhD from Rutgers (Johnson 1981; Fang & Nauta 1985). As usual, statistics vary, possibly because some faculty members were seconded to other positions, but this appears to have represented a significant proportion of the local professional cadre with foreign training and significant experience. Sharif (1979) estimated that, by the late 1970s, only 21 Iraqis had graduated from Schools of Librarianship in the U.S.A. and 2 from Britain.

Several of the Department's staff had held professional posts outside Iraq, and several had held senior posts in Baghdad. Most seemed to have been

involved in teaching part-time on both the former postgraduate program at Baghdad University Central Library and the Diploma program at Al-Mustansiriyah University (Johnson 1981). The relative strength of the School in Baghdad was probably demonstrated in 1982/84 when, Younis (1992) reported, an "Iraqi librarian scholar", believed to be a member of the faculty from l-Mustansiriyah University (Daniel, Meho & Moran 2014), assisted faculty in the revision of the postgraduate diploma program in the University of Jordan.

Further Developments in Education for Librarianship and Information Science in Iraq

The need to introduce computer applications in national scientific and technical information systems and to enhance education and training of information specialists were seen as priorities for development in the Arab world by Unesco (Main document 1979). Those needs within Iraq were certainly recognised. In 1985, Hasan Luigi Nasir received a Unesco Fellowship from PGI to study database teaching in the U.K. (Directory 1985). He was a University Lecturer, but it is not clear whether he was a teacher of computer science rather than library and information science. However, some aspects of computer applications were being added to the library science curriculum in Al Mustansiriyah University (Mahon & Scharff 1987).

Moreover, the growing demand for specialist personnel to operate and manage libraries had already led to the approval of a new Department of Library Science in the University of Basra in 1983. The Department commenced teaching a 4-year Bachelor's Degree in library and information science in 1984/85, and Dr Zeki Al-Werdi was appointed as Head shortly after completing his PhD in the U.K. (Al Kindilchie 1985; Al-Werdi 1985; 1987).

Figure 9.9: Zeki Al Werdi
Source: Facebook

An outline of the curricula of the programs at Al-Mustansiriyah and Basra Universities during the 1980s is presented in table 9.3. Given only the translated

titles of courses and no information about their syllabi or the teaching methods employed, it is impossible to do any more than speculate about the validity of these curricula. Significant differences are evident in 1986/87, between Al-Mustansiriyah University's curriculum then and in previous years, and in comparing it with the curriculum at Basra University.

It is not difficult to see government pressures on the content in, for example, the requirement to teach 'National and Socialist Culture'. However, experience elsewhere suggests that, given freedom to determine the syllabus for this course, it would not be difficult to focus some of the later courses in the program on an examination of the implications for and interplay between Ba'athist philosophy and the provision and use of library and information services, to compare and contrast that with the philosophy underlying provision in other countries, and to equip the students with the knowledge and understanding to advocate for better, more relevant provision in Iraq.

Similarly, courses on psychology and sociology could be oriented towards the specific environment in which students would be engaged, as indeed could the elective courses. However, if they were only a gesture towards the need for information specialists to have some background knowledge of the subjects studied by information users, they could only have been taught alongside first year students in those disciplines. In that case, their initial placing towards the end of the course seems counter to the concept of intellectual progression through the various stages of a degree program. Indeed, given the frequent changes in the placing of particular subjects in the curriculum, such an approach may have received little consideration, perhaps reflecting the need for the teachers of librarianship to be instructed in teaching methods.

Table 9.3: Undergraduate Programs in Iraq in the 1980s

Year and Semester	1980/81 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1983 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Basra University	
	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week
1.1	Introductory cataloguing and classification	6	Principles of cataloguing and classification	6	Cataloguing and classification	5	Cataloguing and classification	5
	General Arabic References	3	General Arabic References	3	General Arabic References	3	General Arabic References	3
	Books and libraries	2	Books and libraries	2	Introduction to books and libraries	2	Introduction to library and information science	2
	Library texts (*in English*)	2	Library procedures (*in English*)	2	Library issues (*in English*)	2	Library issues (*in English*)	2
	Arabic	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2
	English	2	English language	2	Psychology	2		
	English typing	2	English typing	2	The Computer	2	Introduction to computers	2
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist education	2
1.2	Cataloguing and classification	6	Cataloguing and classification	6	Cataloguing and classification	5	Cataloguing and classification	5
	General Arabic references	3	General Arabic references	3	General Arabic References	3	General Arabic References	3
	Introduction to library and information science	2	Introduction to library and information science	2	Introduction to books and libraries	2	Introduction to library and information science	2
	Library texts (*in English*)	2	Library procedures (*in English*)	2	Library issues (*in English*)	2	Library issues (*in English*)	2
	Arabic	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2	Arabic Language	2
	English	2	English language	2	Psychology	2		
	Arabic typing	2	Arabic typing	2	The Computer	2	Introduction to computers	2
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist education	2

Year and Semester	1980/81 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1983 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Basra University	
	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week
2.1	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6	Cataloguing and classification	4	Cataloguing and classification	4
	General foreign references (*in English*)	2	General foreign references (*in English*)	2	Foreign references	2	Foreign references	2
	Technical services	3	Library procedures	3	Library management and technical procedures	2	Technical procedures	2
	Selection of library material	2	Selection of library materials	2	Public and school libraries	2	Library and society	2
	Information files	2	Archives	2	Archives	2	Documents and archives	2
	Principles of statistics	3	Principles of statistics	3	Sociology	2		
	Arabic	2			English language	2	English language	2
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2
2.2	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6	Advanced cataloguing and classification	6	Cataloguing and classification	4	Cataloguing and classification	4
	General foreign references (*in English*)	2	General foreign references (*in English*)	2	Foreign references	2	Foreign references	2
	Library administration	2	Principles of library administration	2	Library management and technical procedures	2	Technical procedures	2
	Selection of library materials	2	Selection of library materials	2	Public and school libraries	2	Library and society	2
	Archives	2	Documentation	2	Archives	2	Documents and archives	2
	Psychology	3	Psychology	3	Sociology	2		
	Arabic	2	Arabic language	2	English language	2	English language	2
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2
Diploma								

Year and Semester	1980/81 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1983 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Basra University	
	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week
3.1	Essentials of information science and documentation	3	Principles of information and documentation science	3	Information and documentation science	3	Information and documentation science	3
	Bibliography (*in English*)	2	Bibliography (*in English*)	2	Bibliography (*in English*)	2	Bibliography	2
	Literature of pure sciences	3	Intellectual production – pure sciences	3	Intellectual production in pure and applied sciences	2	Special references in social sciences and humanities	2
	Public libraries	2	Public libraries	2	University and special libraries	2	Public and school libraries	2
	Comparative classification	4	Comparative classification	4	Comparative classification	2	Advanced cataloguing	2
	Applied psychology – libraries	3	Applied psychology – libraries	3	Audio-visual materials	2	Library management	2
	French	2	French language	2	Statistics	2		
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist education	2
3.2	Information storage and retrieval	3	Information storage and retrieval	3	Information and documentation science	3	Information and documentation science	3
	Subject bibliography (English)	2	Subject bibliography (in English)	2	Bibliography (*in English*)	2	Bibliography	2
	Literature of applied sciences	3	Intellectual production – applied sciences	3	Intellectual production in pure and applied sciences	2	Special references in social sciences and humanities	2
	School libraries	2	School libraries	2	University and special libraries	2	Public and school libraries	2
	Research methods	3	Research methods	3	Comparative classification	2	Advanced cataloguing	2
	Sociology	3	Sociology	3	Audio-visual materials	2	Library management	2
	French	2	French language	2	Statistics	2		
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist education	2

Year and Semester	1980/81 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1983 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Al-Mustansiriyah University		1986/87 Basra University	
	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week	Subject	Hours per week
4.1	Data processing (*in English*)	2	Data collection (*in English*)	2	Mechanized information and documentation science	3	Information and documentation science	2
	University libraries	2	University libraries	2	Manuscripts	2	Arabic manuscripts	2
	Literature of humanities	3	Intellectual production – humanities	3	Intellectual production in humanities and social sciences	3	Special references in pure and applied sciences	3
	Audio-visual materials	3	Audio-visual materials	3	Book selection	2	Comparative classification	2
	Library Management (Advanced)	3	Advanced library administration	3	Bibliography	2	University and special libraries	2
	French	2	French language	2	Seminar	2	Research methods and seminars	2
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2
	Elective (1)	3	Elective (1)	3	Optional topics (3)	2	The Arab Islamic civilisation	2
4.2	Mechanized information storage and retrieval (*in English*)	2	Mechanized information storage and retrieval (*in English*)	2	Mechanized information and documentation science	3	Information and documentation science	2
	Special libraries	2	Special libraries	2	Book selection	2	University and special libraries	2
	Literature of the social sciences	3	Intellectual production – social sciences	3	Intellectual production in humanities and social sciences	3	Special references in pure and applied sciences	3
	Arabic manuscripts	3	Arabic manuscripts	3	Manuscripts	2	Arabic manuscripts	2
	French	2	French language	2	Bibliography	2	Comparative classification	2
	Seminar	3	Seminars	3	Seminar	2	Research methods and seminars	2
	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2	National and socialist culture	2
	Elective (2)	3	Elective (2)	3	Elective (3)	2	The Arab Islamic civilisation	2

Elective 1: For students with scientific background: either Mathematics, or Physics
        For students with arts/literary background: either Arabic Literature, or Political Economics
Elective 2: For students with scientific background: either Chemistry, or Biology
        For students with arts/literary background: either the *Qur'an* and Traditional Sciences, or Public Administration
Elective 3: For students with scientific background: either Physics and Biology
        For students with arts/literary background: Arabic literature and the *Qur'an*
Sources (adapted): 1980/81 - Johnson 1981; 1983 – Al-Werdi 1983; 1986/87 – Al-Werdi 1987

Another undergraduate program was established at the University of Mosul in 1986 (Ismail 2004). However, the quality of professional education was held back in all three programs, as it is in so many developing countries, by students' limited access to the information resources essential to support and enhance their learning.

Continuing Demand for Archivists in the Arab World

Cook (1979 found that the global supply of trained archival personnel was totally inadequate, and the supply of technical staff was even worse, and suggested that the total number of archivists needing training to meet demand in the Arab world in the foreseeable future was perhaps as many as 280. A Unesco expert meeting in Paris in 1979 confirmed issues the requiring attention as the lack of data on manpower requirements, and the availability of suitable teachers and teaching materials (Unesco 1979a).

Education for Archives Studies in Iraq

The Arab Training Institute for Archivists in Baghdad was admitting 60 full-time students each year into its 2-year (undergraduate) Diploma program, as well as 60 part-time students already employed in records management in government departments. Ede (1980) did note that the Institute was producing regular numbers of graduates with basic skills in the field, but was concerned about the level of expertise of the Institute's teaching staff, and recommended that some needed advanced training abroad. In the academic year 1981/1982, there were 19 people teaching in the Institute of whom only 2 were full-time, and none had a qualification in Archival Studies.

As a result of Iraq's relative isolation after the war with Iran started, it seems likely that few, if any, non-Iraqi students sought admission to the Arab Training Institute for Archivists, and its international role declined. In 1983, RCC resolution No. 640 abolished the Institute, and transferred the responsibility for archives studies to the Foundation of Technical Institutes (Alousi 1980, quoted in Ateek & Jirjees 2013). It became the Department of Archives in the Institute of Administration in Baghdad (Al-Werdi 1987), now the Rusafa Technical Institute. Its new institutional location was an inevitable consequence of the level of the program (Johnson 2004c). Students from the program who wished to continue their studies in a related field were admitted directly into the second year of the Bachelor's Degree in Librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University.

Discussion and Evaluation

During the 1980s, Iraq's library and information services went into decline because of manpower shortages and financial constraints resulting from the war with Iran. The LIS education system responded by expanding to absorb a growing population of young people, and providing advanced study to replace opportunities for study abroad.

Because of the circumstances in Iraq, only limited accounts of the difficulties encountered by its library and information services during this period are available. The relevant archives of the international development agencies were also generally still closed at the time the research was undertaken, and only information in the public domain could be examined. Some of the information presented here, gathered in conversation with Iraqi educators and librarians long after the events described, will need to be expanded, reviewed and perhaps revised when more stable conditions exist in the country. For these reasons, any comments here can only be taken as tentative conclusions based on the available evidence.

Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

There is little evidence of new library construction during the 1980s, but major national and international investments were made in two documentation centres. The war and consequent inflation had a severe impact on the budgets of public libraries and the national library, but a lesser impact on the academic libraries.

Zado (1990) ignored these circumstances, and proposed several measures to bring about developments, including planning the development of library and information services within the overall national development plans and in the context of studies of the population to be served. Although her suggestions were the inevitable outcome of a study that was based on what was known about PGI, NATIS and UNISIST at the time, they reveal a degree of naïveté, ignoring the failure of previous central coordinating bodies, and the limited ability of the Iraqi library profession to promote government interest in the legislative provision that would be necessary to establish a new central agency to coordinate development. Throughout the period studied, there seems to have been no national advisory body of any significance for the information sector as a whole, and no national plan, and the cross-sectoral development of library and

information services seems to have remained absent from the agenda of state planners. There also appears to have been an antipathy towards cooperation between departments of the government. Indeed, even the High Commissions that were from time to time established by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education to try to coordinate library development within their fiefdoms seem to have been rendered ineffectual by the antipathy that existed between the organisations they nominally controlled. Although this assessment of the probable root of the problem remains to be tested when the relevant national archives can be reviewed, it is clear that some of the government's implicit developmental aims were not wholly achieved, and probably could not have been in these circumstances.

Zado (1990) made no comment on the possible shortcomings of the LIS education system, and did not discuss, for example, whether sufficient attention was given to planning and management in so far as it might teach students to make logical decisions, or whether the teachers had recognised that "students must be prepared to work with a bureaucracy which is likely to be far more entrenched than that which would be encountered by a librarians living in a western country" (Ballard 1980).

Staff shortages affected all levels of education as manpower was directed into the war effort, and libraries continued to suffer a shortage of qualified staff.

The Situation in which the Information Sector was Immersed

It is clear that during the war with Iran, although the burden on the Iraqi economy was eased by loans from states that were opposed to the Iranian government, government expenditure was increasingly directed towards the war effort, access to foreign currencies was closely controlled, and foreign technical assistance for development was largely withdrawn. The changing conditions began to have a marked effect on the country's information sector.

Whether the Iraqi government would have been willing or able to support developments in this field must be open to question. With the reduction of the funds available to the development agencies that had played a key part in library development in Iraq, it became essential that the Iraq government should assume a greater responsibility. Regrettably, this coincided with a period when internal circumstances were also far from favourable, as the Iraqi government's budget was increasingly consumed by the costs of the war with Iran, despite

taking substantial international loans to support its economy. Thus while major projects went ahead because they had been planned and approved, and for which the finances had been allocated before the war such as the development of the SDC, new proposals such as the proposed foreign internship program for students of librarianship did not receive support.

Zado (1990) proposed several measures to bring about developments. These included planning the development of library and information services within the overall national development plans and in the context of studies of the population to be served. Legislative provision would be necessary to establish a central agency to coordinate development. Although these suggestions were the inevitable outcome of a study that was based on what was known about PGI, NATIS and UNISIST at the time, they reveal a degree of naïveté, ignoring as she did the failure of previous central coordinating bodies, and the limited ability of the Iraqi library profession to promote government interest in its development.

Writers on library development in Iraq have ignored the aims and nature of the country's government during the twentieth century. The roots of Iraqi's reluctance to engage in analysis of these factors can probably be found in a mix of national pride and the repressive nature of the regime in the later years of the twentieth century. Most LIS professionals reporting development were probably raised through an education system that understandable emphasised the significant achievements of the Mesopotamian society and the Arab Caliphate, and — from the beginnings of the Republic — would have downplayed the activities that contributed to the establishment of the modern state by the British authorities during the 'Mandate' and by the government during the monarchy. The even more overt nationalism of the Ba'athist government encouraged a focus on the achievements of the Iraqi state, which may have discouraged individuals from making open comments in the international LIS literature about perceived shortcomings in state provision for libraries or LIS education, although there is some evidence to suggest that criticism within the country may not have been entirely stifled. Towards the end of the period studied, the government's xenophobia and belligerence increasingly discouraged external assistance.

Moreover, there seems to have been little understanding in all the governments of Iraq during the twentieth century of the interaction between library development and other factors. To be fair, the perceptive comments of

Francis Kent about the situation in developing countries cannot be re-iterated often enough:

> "A newly-independent state cannot, of course, think of everything at once. Its very survival may be politically in jeopardy; its economics are usually shaky; its educational system may be rudimentary… Nor is political instability conducive to good legislation in matters intellectual or good regulation of details the importance of which is not always obvious." (Kent 1964)

For much of the period studied, the Iraqi government was certainly unstable. Even after the Ba'athists came to power, the Party's inner Cabinet — the Regional Command and its successor the RCC — was subject to regular changes of personalities. There appears to have been no other mechanism for coordinating policies across government in areas such as the development of education, literacy development, publishing, and scientific research which are clearly inter-related with each other and with the provision of library and information services, over which a strategic view is a necessary basis for promoting the required inter-action and coordination.

Zado (1990) identified several factors that were hindering the development of libraries and information services, highlighting the continuing absence of a widespread reading culture and calling for changes in the education system, improvements in book production and increases in publishing, and the promotion of user education programmes to raise information awareness and use.

Book production fell during the war with Iran, affected by limitations on funds to import necessary materials. Paradoxically, some efforts were made to improve school library services, university library collections appeared to grow, and the adult literacy rate reached an all-time high.

Computers replaced buildings in the iconography of development in Iraq, and were similarly not adequately resourced. There were insufficient personnel adequately trained to operate the new systems and little understanding of who might have the skills to manage the information output from them. Staff in the SLIS had already begun to take a keen interest in computer applications in information work when the war with Iran commenced, and continued to keep abreast of external developments. However, while some libraries in Iraq were able to implement automation systems, the SLIS does not seem to have acquired computers for use as teaching resources to support changes the curriculum.

Although Unesco supported some major projects in Iraq, more international assistance would probably have been widely welcomed by Iraq's library and

information services (Zado 1990), although there seems to have been little understanding of the way in which this was changing, perhaps because of Iraq's increasing isolation. Since the early 1960s, the United Nations and Unesco had been leading a shift in the emphasis of international advice about library development away from supporting public libraries to supporting the role of scientific and technical information in development. Bouri (1994) developed a perspective, based on a study of events in Egypt, but probably having a broader applicability, that a decline in support for public libraries stemmed from this shift, and the consequent changes that governments made in public policy choices. It is noticeable that the major developments attracting Unesco's attention in Iraq in the 1980s were two substantial special libraries, but those bear closer examination. One, the SDC, was supported by Unesco from Funds-in-Trust, which may well have been Iraqi government money deposited with Unesco, and seems to have prospered, in part because of able leadership, but mainly because there was funding to bring into the country the specialist expertise that it lacked (Negus 1983; Jacsó 1984; Jacsó & Razzaq 1986). UNDP assistance for the development of specialist libraries may also have been subsumed in other projects, for example the major project to develop the Institute of Technology in Basra, but this is not made clear in the files examined.

During the war with Iran, Unesco and other international agencies continued some efforts to support the development of the human resources required by Iraq's library and information services (Johnson 1981; Matók & Jacsó 1983), but during the 1980s the higher echelons of Unesco's management seem to have become less favourably disposed towards the provision of substantial support for the development of LIS professional education in general. However, the fact that Unesco played little part in developing the LIS workforce in Iraq during this decade was perhaps also partly attributable to a belief that the country's needs were no longer as great as those of other countries. Unesco may also have been influenced by the withdrawal of pan-Arab support for the Arab Institute for Training Archivists when students' reluctance to enter a war zone was added to the evidence that Iraq had not made successful efforts to employ or develop relevant specialist skills, and that the funds to develop the Institute were seemingly not to be found. Cook (2011) has also commented, with hindsight, that the regional approach to the establishment of archives training schools could be seen to have been a misguided experiment.

Other international agencies were not well placed to provide technical assistance. The change of government in Britain made a noticeable impact on the British Council's funding and its role in library development. While the Council in Iraq seems to have been willing to facilitate continuing educational links in the LIS field, it could only do so within the additional constraints imposed by the xenophobic attitudes encouraged by the Iraqi government and the wartime environment. The willingness of USIS to provide assistance was limited by the few professional librarians that it had based in the Arab world, as well as the hostile environment surrounding its staff in Iraq.

The Arab League began to take its first steps to raise awareness of the growing LIS professional expertise within its Member States. There is an outstanding need for a thorough review of the work of ALECSO in the library and information field. For example, it remains a paradox that, at the same time, the League continued to require substantial foreign assistance to establish its own Documentation Centre.

The growing interest in the needs of the less developed countries expressed by the international professional associations in the information sector similarly requires documenting, not least to explain the origins of collaboration with Unesco in the cross-sectoral approach to manpower development that became known as 'harmonisation'.

Moreover, although Iraq was not politically isolated from the rest of the world, the country's information professionals were at risk of becoming increasingly isolated from their peers' experience in adapting to these changes because the ongoing hostilities placed a variety of constraints on travel to and from (and even within) the country, and tightening budgets reduced the availability of foreign books and journals. However, they appear to have remained aware of some of the developments taking place elsewhere, and anxious to implement them in Iraq (Mohamed, Ismail & Ismail 1989).

Roberts' (1988) review of PGI's activities implied that there was no particular focus on the Arab world (except perhaps in the possibly coincidental presence of an Arab member of staff among PGI's Programme Specialists), but that is not to say that Unesco were not active in the region. Unesco remained committed to supporting the development of the library and information sector in the Arab world.

By the beginning of the 1980s, Iraq's libraries were, justifiably, highly regarded in the Arab world. Iraq was fortunate in that its library and information services and professional education had become relatively well established prior to 1980, when professional practices in librarianship and information work had been relatively static. One commentator observed at the end of the 1980s that, despite their rapid economic and social development over the previous twenty years, no Arabian Gulf country had developed an effective library system (Seymour 1989). Another commented that:

> "The maturity of any profession, as sociologists suggest, lies in its traditions and norms, educational system, body of scholarship, collegiality among the practising members, commitment of the professionals to normative efforts, and the peculiarities of a culture based on the service orientation of its membership. These criteria may suggest that many Arab countries lack a sound professional foundation. The library traditions are non-existent; library education programs are naïve and ineffective; professional associations are either unfounded or they are generally inactive; professional ethics are not instituted; and service orientation is largely a missing factor." (Rehman 1991)

Although some of these criticisms could probably be applied to the situation in Iraq, they by no means fairly represent the situation there as a whole. Despite the economic problems arising from the war, some library development did continue during the 1980s, although not all were as relatively well funded as they had been in the previous decade. However, just as Iraq descended into economic difficulties, the emerging applications of new Information and Communication Technologies in library and information work significantly altered the scale and pace of changes affecting the profession and the investment that it required.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Had Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in the Information Sector

It is more difficult to assess the response made by the Schools of Librarianship in Iraq to the changes taking place in the information sector. The changes in the curriculum (table 9.3) indicate that the introduction of revisions that included aspects of computer applications in libraries were approved in the mid-1980s, but confirm that the internship program was not. The Schools of Librarianship now required significantly enhanced financial support, and this proved another test of their ability to press their case for support. Acquiring the technical resources required for teaching new subjects, and the diversity in the knowledge required to deliver them, presented a challenge to existing organisational structures and budgetary precedents. While earlier concerns about

the location of the discipline at the bottom of the academic pile could once have easily been dismissed as only being about the prestige of the profession, and about the ability and commitment of the students that were assigned by the education system, the historic placement of the Schools of Librarianship within the Colleges of Art became a more noticeable, practical disadvantage than in earlier years. Moreover, the impact of the Iraq-Iran war and the later U.N. embargo on the availability of funds for investment in new technology and students' skills cannot be disregarded as factors contributing to less successful outcome to their advocacy efforts. Despite efforts by the Department of Librarianship in Al-Mustansiriyah University, the internship proposal was repeatedly rejected, and the Department did not have its own adequately equipped computer laboratory until 20 years later.

The majority of the administrators who took part in Zado's survey at the end of the decade seemed to still be dependent on foreign assistance, commenting that international aid in the information field was greatly needed to promote and develop the existing information services in the country (Zado 1990). Zado seems to have been unaware that PGI's extended responsibilities had seemingly not matched by resources adequate to meet the challenges that it faced. In both numbers and skills, PGI seems to have not been allocated the human resources required, yet its consequent failure to meet expectations in respect of its extended role within Unesco and U.N. agencies may have led to disappointment with its performance. At the same time, these additional responsibilities served as a distraction from its role in support of development and developing countries, and the seeming disregard of the priority attached to manpower development by PGI's advisory bodies when the Organization's budget came under pressure in the middle of the decade, would have lost support for PGI amongst the Member States. Together, these factors appear to have contributed to the downgrading of PGI's status within Unesco that is evident in its separation from the Organization's central management. These issues, and the implications for the work of PGI need to be further and fully explored elsewhere when the archives can be fully examined. However, it seems from the case of Iraq that Unesco's interest in and support for library development in general had begun to decline, even though assistance was still required, and possibly required even more than previously because of the changes that were beginning to take place in the information sector. Regrettably, this was paralleled for other reasons by the

declining interest in library development in the Arab world of the other major international development agencies.

Attempts to give PGI a broader and more influential role within Unesco and the other U.N. agencies proved to be a miserable failure. Although the PGI Intergovernmental Council, and the members of its Bureau, repeatedly drew attention to PGI's limited capacity for undertaking its significantly expanded responsibilities, this seems to have made no impression on Unesco's senior management, and the implications of failure for PGI's standing was significant. PGI's declining status within Unesco was clearly indicated by changes in its place within the management structure of the Organisation, and the re-allocation of some of its role into IIP. The evaluation of PGI conducted towards the end of the decade (Aje, Arntz, & Roberts 1988; Roberts 1988) appears to have been less than independent and comprehensive, paying little attention to PGI's original broad remit. Courrier (2005) has criticised the motivations and competence of senior managers of the Organization, and has suggested that the members of the Intergovernmental Council and Bureau may have been unduly influenced by their dependence on Unesco funding to transport them to Paris, etc. for their meetings. A wider investigation of Unesco's archives would be needed to shed light on the effectiveness of the Intergovernmental Council and its Bureau's members as advocates for PGI, and of the PGI's leaders in marshalling the work of their staff to make the expected impact within the U.N. and the Member States, but the immediate evidence points to their failure to do so.

However, as the war with Iran ground on, it is noticeable that fewer foreign experts went on missions to Iraq — Evans, 1979; Ede, 1980; Johnson, 1981; Matók and Jacsó, 1983; Negus, 1983; Bell, 1983 — and technical assistance for Iraq's library and information services ceased after about 1983.

The impact of these consultants was mixed: their advice may not have been implemented, although that may be attributable to circumstances in Iraq at the time; their practical assistance appears to have been necessary and effective. Evans's visit was prompted by the planned construction of the new Central University Library in Basra. Although that building went ahead, the consequences of his wider organisational and technical advice are not known, but may well have been set aside as the University faced serious disruption by the war. Similarly, Ede's recommendations about the number and skills of the National Archives' staff were probably overtaken by the fiscal and human demands of the

war. His observations about the Arab Institute for Archives training were also overtaken by events, and its downgrading into a national centre for training technicians is not reported to have resulted in the addition of trained archivists or records managers to its staff. Johnson's efforts to assist the School in Al-Mustansiriyah University were rejected by the Iraqi authorities, although it is not clear on what grounds, but finance may have played a part in their decision. In contrast, assistance for the GSIDC, which was partly funded by the participating Member States, went ahead. Matók and Jacsó seem to have been able to develop the local expertise required to support the large scale computing development at the SDC for which they had been contracted, and Negus's expertise helped to overcome the technical problems that were preventing the SDC's connection to international online databases. The cultural significance of the impact of foreign consultants escaped the attention of Zado (1990), who failed to ask the respondents to her survey to distinguish between the likely success of technical assistance in implementing practical improvements, as compared with receiving only guidance and advice.

Other than the practical efforts of some foreign 'experts', such progress as was made during the decade could only be attributed to the capabilities of the local professional community, many of whose leaders were still those who had been among the first to receive a professional education outside the country, while the limitations on progress reflected their isolation from changes in the emerging perceptions of 'information' in the outside world and their consequent inability to articulate to the Iraqi authorities a broader vision than the traditional model of library and information services and related educational provision in which they had been schooled. To be fair, the LIS profession globally was slow to adapt to these changes, and thus placed itself in a weak position in trying to advocate the role of information in development.

The development of the GSIDC was, at least politically, supported by the Gulf States. There seems to have been some funding for its development, although the source of that has not been identified. It may be of more significance that, of the three international institutions in the information sector in Iraq, it was the only one whose head had prior experience or working in the information centre of an international organisation, and would have some understanding of what was expected by the Member States, and how their support could be attracted and maintained.

While further investigation of the advocacy undertaken on behalf of the GSIDC may provide some further evidence of emerging political sophistication on the part of the leaders of Iraq's library and information services, indications of professional and managerial skills shortages can, however, still be seen. For example, Unesco consultants engaged in the development of the Institute of Technology noted the tendency of Iraqi authorities to assign tasks to Unesco experts, but suggested that this could be overcome by clearer prior definition of the roles that they were expected to undertake. They also commented on the continuing difficulty of resolving practical day to day problems (Unesco 1979a), which suggests the existence of more systemic issues. This reinforces concerns that were expressed, for example, by one Iraqi librarian who commented that Iraq, like the other oil-producing countries of the Middle East, may have become wealthy, but still lacked the knowledge and skills to utilize its material wealth for its own development (Al-Werdi 1983).

The evolution of the undergraduate Diploma program at Al-Mustansiriyah University into a Bachelor's Degree program can be seen as a natural stage in the evolution of a new program in higher education, but is evidence of emerging advocacy skills. The Department's new leaders could only have won approval for the development through efforts to convince the authorities in the University, and probably officials within the Ministry of Higher Education, of the potential content and level of the proposed extension to the curriculum, but the arguments to which the authorities proved susceptible remain to be explored. In advocating such a development, the need to absorb more of the students eligible for admission to university, and the need to delay some students' entrance to the largely state-funded workforce might have been put forward. The existence of the postgraduate Higher Diploma could have played a part in providing assurances that the faculty were capable of teaching at a higher level, and the need to provide a substitute for studying LIS abroad was almost certainly another argument brought to bear to justify the introduction of the Master's Degree program. Persuading the teaching staff to extend the range of their activities in both these programs can be seen as the result of someone, probably the Head of Department, deploying leadership and team building skills, as well as a commitment to development of the staff's knowledge base. The fate of the archives course provides an interesting contrast, reflecting both Iraq's political

isolation and the failure to provide specialist staff to teach the course and advocate for its development.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in the Information Sector

Although the extension of the undergraduate LIS program to a Bachelor's Degree and the introduction of a Master's Degree in LIS were important milestones in the development of LIS education in Iraq, the establishment of two new SLIS, given the circumstances during the 1980s, represent an equal if not more significant step in the acceptance of the discipline.

Chapter 10
Demonstrating Sustainability
while Internationally Isolated,
1990-2002

"Culturally, the Iraqis had relied heavily on the West, which they so admired, and with other Arab sister states. But this interaction ground to a halt. Intellectually, Iraq has been cut off; it cannot import books or obtain paper to manufacture its own." (Aziz 2000)

Introduction

An informed observer of the library scene in the Arab world implied that, although there were many negative signs in considering library development in Arab countries, there were also some hopeful signs that modern library and information systems were emerging (Aman 1994). This mixed picture fitted the situation in Iraq only too well.

Following Iraq's failed attempt to annex Kuwait, severe international sanctions were imposed on the Iraqi government under United Nations' Resolution 986. Subsequently, Iraq was economically impoverished, and almost completely isolated intellectually. Information about the embargo's impact on the country's library services is still fragmentary. Nonetheless, it was a period during which education for library and information science in the country, the focus of this study, further matured with the spread of professional education to the major provincial cities and the introduction of programs for Library Technicians and the first indigenous PhD program in the discipline.

Significant Events in Iraq

As soon as Kuwait became an independent state in 1961, the Iraqi government claimed that Kuwait should be part of Iraq, because Iraq was the successor state to the Ottoman *Vilayet* of Basra. Disputes with Kuwait over sharing the income from oilfields on the border led President Saddam to take military action, and Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. A multi-national coalition force was assembled, and drove the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait in January/February 1991.

Tensions within Iraqi society had been rising because of the economic and personal consequences of the war with Iran. In the Spring of 1991, following the expulsion of the Iraqis from Kuwait, a popular rebellion took place. In southern Iraq, it was quickly suppressed. In the north, a Kurdish nationalist revolt took

place. With the authority of the United Nations, American and British ground and air forces established a safe haven for the Kurds and the following year a semi-autonomous Kurdish regional government was established. Throughout the 1990s, the American government maintained that Iraq's activities continued to pose a threat to its security and that of its regional allies, American forces supported by the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland invaded Iraq from the south in March 2003.

Trends in International Assistance for Library Development

This section describes a decade when circumstances led to an almost complete collapse of international support for library development by the intergovernmental agencies that had provided significant assistance for library development in Iraq.

Unesco and Changes in the Information Sector

While the 1990s did witness a greater involvement of the other specialised U.N. agencies in developing information infrastructures, Unesco seems to have become isolated from this, despite the pervasive role of education in development and the significant expertise that Unesco had accumulated in the development of library, documentation and information services and the manpower required by them (Neelameghan 1997).

UNDP funding for Unesco and the other specialised U.N. agencies was reduced dramatically by the U.N. General Assembly in December 1989. United Nations agencies did, however, provided some, limited assistance to Iraqi libraries and archives after the Gulf War (e.g. Arnoult 1999).

In 1990, in view of the growing links between information, communication and informatics, it seemed appropriate to group them together at Unesco in a single Sector for Communication, Information and Informatics, which was placed under the direction of Henrikas Yushkiavitshus.[116] This gave PGI the visibility in a programme sector that the PGI Council had sought, but still without the resources required to carry out its transverse, inter-organisational role within the U.N. agencies effectively.

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[116] See resumé in Appendix 5.

Figure 10.1: Henrikas Yushkiavitshus
Source: *La Profesional de la Información*, July 1993

Since the creation of UNISIST, Unesco had paid more attention to the training of information users. However, efforts were made by PGI (1995b) to establish an international network of Schools of Library and Information Sciences on the Internet (SLISNET), which included E.S.I., Morocco as its sole Arab participant. SLISNET established a Web site, and a discussion list, but it never developed as originally hoped, although the reasons for this were never formally assessed (Johnson 2009).

In the mid 1990s, the need to adapt Unesco's activities to the challenges of a networked world led to a decision taken by Unesco's Executive Board to merge the PGI with the Intergovernmental Informatics Programme (PGI Bureau 1996). When they were brought together in 1996 under the banner of the Information and Informatics Programme (IIP), directed by Philippe Quéau,[117] funding was reduced, and no staff member was specifically assigned responsibility for education and training activities.

Figure 10.2: Philippe Quéau
Source: Babelio.com

Further organisational changes gave rise, in 2001, to the creation of the Information Society Division and its Information for All Programme (IFAP) as the latest successor to the original Unesco Libraries Department. Given the huge scope of the responsibilities allocated to it, IFAP was woefully under-resourced. Within a few years, it was clear that IFAP was not fulfilling the high expectations that had been held when it was launched (Lor 2012; Carpenter, et al. 2010).

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[117] See resumé in Appendix 5.

The Diminution of British Government Support for Information Provision

The British Council withdrew from Iraq after the First Gulf War in 1990, and did not resume operations until after the end of the Second. The Council was in any case required to reorganise itself for a further reduced role (Skinner 1995). Council involvement in international library development became negligible.

Keenan (1992) undertook a survey in 1991 that aimed to assess the impact of UK educational experience on librarianship in developing countries. The respondents' comments stressed, *inter alia*, the value derived from postgraduate study and of higher degrees in the field, and of education in management. Their recommendations for enhancing curricular relevance focused on understanding how to adapt what they had learned to their own circumstances, not only through strategic management and better marketing of their services, but also through creativity and improvisation to overcome scarcity of resources.

United States Government Policy in Disarray

In the late 1990s, it began to be asserted that if the United States was to exercise global leadership and promote its national interests, the culture of its diplomacy must be overhauled. In 1999, during the Clinton Presidency, the USIA was abolished, and its information functions were absorbed within the State Department. The libraries and information centres continued to function under the established name of USIS, but the continued closure of the relevant archive files make it impossible to determine what role they were expected to perform or to assess that.

The Collapse of Support from the U.S.S.R. and its Satellite States

Before 1991, the U.S.S.R. had an international information assistance program that was the largest in the world in terms of book donations and support for advanced graduate study. In the economic chaos that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union, these aid programmes were dramatically reduced by the government of the successor Russian Federation, and by the end of the Millennium the last foreign students of librarianship had graduated from these programs (Richards 1998). Russia did not resume significant participation in development assistance until the early twenty-first century, when the country's economic conditions stabilised and could underpin its aspirations to return to its former position among the world superpowers and multilateral agencies (Piattoeva & Takala 2015).

Assistance from Other Organisations

The first of the programme goals for 1991-1997 for IFLA's Advancement of Librarianship core Programme (ALP), presented to participants in the 1990 IFLA Conference in Stockholm, was stated as: "to assist library staff, library schools, and library associations in education and training programmes." During the conference, a number of informal discussions took place about the possibility of arranging a series of regional workshops concerned with the education and retraining of teachers of librarianship in contemporary practices.

At its meetings during the 1991 Conference, the IFLA Section on Education and Training tentatively discussed a programme of regional workshops including one for the Arabic-speaking countries, depending on the availability of financial support to bring together the resource persons and the participants. Funding was uncertain, and the only significant activity implemented by ALP in the Arab countries during this period was a workshop on LIS Curriculum in Lebanon in June 2002. The papers presented and the results of the participants' discussions have not been published in English, and possibly not in Arabic, minimising any benefit that might have been derived from the seminar, for example in raising wider awareness of the current realities and potentialities.

Developments Affecting Provision of Information Services in Iraq

This section notes that, while Iraq had become largely self-sufficient in food production, it had become heavily indebted during the war with Iran. The situation was exacerbated by a shortage of paper resulting from the constraints on imports arising from the operation of the U.N. 'Oil for food' programme.

Economic Situation

Iraq's early attention to agricultural development had been successful. Despite the growth in the population, Iraq was 85% self-sufficient in food production, but the state was heavily in debt. The loss into exile of three million people, among them many of the country's most gifted, was destructive (Capaccio 2000). The withdrawal of foreign aid, a slump in the oil price, and the restrictions imposed on oil exports, even those permitted by the United Nations' 'Oil for Food' programme, had an inevitable impact on public services (Rohde 2010).

Government

There were some small signs that — in some respects — hard experiences were compelling more effective administration. For example, the government had learned from its experience after the Iraq-Iran war, and a committee to coordinate the expected post-war reconstruction was appointed before the 1991 Gulf War ended (Barakat 1994).

Publishing and the Book Trade in the Arab World

The publishing scene in Arab countries remained grim, according to some critics. It was still characterized by a shortage of great contemporary writers and the publishing of just a small quantity of books, with scholars and other writers experiencing difficulty in getting their books printed, distributed, and read, according to Del Castillo (2001). Many Arab journals were almost totally dependent on institutional (academic) funds, and published irregularly or discontinued publication because of financial pressures. The international trade in books and journals remained constrained with inevitable effects on the flow of information.

Publishing and the Book Trade in Iraq

The 6 government controlled printing presses in Iraq were responsible for only 58% of the books published between 1974 and 1994. A handful of publishing houses, about 30 private presses in Baghdad, Basra and Mosul, were able to survive until the early 1990s, printing only books on literature, history and religion. Annual book production, 1,399 titles in 1988, peaked at 1,800+ titles in 1990, but declined to just 40 titles a year immediately before the Second Gulf War (Education and culture 2003). The printing and distribution of daily journals, periodicals, and books and magazines for children suffered a 90% reduction. All general weekly papers and the publications of various unions and associations were cancelled (Education and culture 2003).

Iraq could not normally import books. Intellectually, Iraq was thus cut off from the rest of the world by the U.N. sanctions (Education and culture 2003). Those books that were somehow imported were strictly controlled and prohibitively expensive. Generally, the academic journals published in other Arab states were not permitted into Iraq because of poor inter-governmental relations (Ismail 2004). International online databases were not generally accessible.

Literacy, Primary and Secondary Education

Literacy levels dropped to those of the early 1970s, falling to about 57% by 2001 (Marr 2004). After the 1990 Gulf War, some 40% of Iraq's educational institutions were damaged, some by bombing, but mostly by looting. Reconstruction was slowed by the bureaucratic approval mechanism for imports of all except humanitarian aid (Williams 1993).

The State of Library, Information and Archival Services in Iraq

Iraq had substantial infrastructure of modern libraries, including the national library, 90 academic libraries, 70 public libraries, and reportedly close to 9,000 school libraries (Al-Kindilchie 1993), but their situation generally deteriorated seriously by the end of the century (National Mobilization 2000).

School Libraries

By the end of the millennium, sanctions were causing shortages of educational materials and equipment, and substandard institutional resources became pronounced disincentives for academic staff and students. Unesco found that there were no textbooks, paper or other teaching materials in the schools (Brink 2000). Part of the problem was inflicted by an Iraqi government decision to not avail itself of the funds for the education sector from the Oil-for-Food programme (Alnasrawi 2002).

The Department of Library Science at Al-Mustansiriyah University had organized training activities for elementary and middle school library staff (Qazanchi 2001, quoted by Rehman 2009b). However, the quality of school libraries' services may have been made largely irrelevant by the social conditions that prevailed. At this time, thousands of school libraries were without adequate premises. Many did not offer any service because no part-time or full-time staff members were deputed to manage them. In the early 1990s, only 131 primary and secondary schools employed a professional librarian (Al-Kindilchie 1994).

Public Libraries

By 1998, there were 127 public libraries in Iraq (Qazanchi 2001). They were used mainly by students as reading rooms. 'Unesco' is alleged to have built about 15 public libraries in the country in the 'Spanish style' during the 1990s (Johnson 2004c). At the beginning of the Millennium, according to Qazanchi (2001, quoted by Alyaqou 2009), only one third of the public libraries had suitable buildings, and only 17% of the employees in public libraries were professionals.

Libraries in Further and Higher Education

At a time when other Arab countries such as Egypt were beginning to become concerned about the standards in their universities (Kemp 1994), the embargo imposed following the 1991 Gulf War worsened conditions in Iraq's universities. The impact on the universities was further distorted by internal political decisions. Apart from a handful of favoured institutions, buildings and facilities suffered from lack of maintenance (Watenpaugh, et al. 2003).

By 1996, there were 10 private University Colleges in Iraq. Although their existence was not well known outside the country, the private Universities had expanded, not only in number but also in total enrolments (Itayem 1997).

The state of libraries' collections is in some respects less clear, but reports appearing in the western press made it clear that their range and currency were simply not being maintained (La Guardia 2001). Academic staff generally relied on gifts of books, and on their limited access to the Web, to keep abreast of developments. Most faculty members were isolated from the advances taking place in their professions. The net result was a student body severely disadvantaged (Jackson State University 2004).

Despite the deprivation, or perhaps because of it, use of university libraries seems to have increased (Al-Kindilchie 1994). The unusual circumstances in Iraq, coupled with the introduction of higher degree studies in the Schools of Librarianship, seem to have stimulated an interest in examining the university libraries' problems. In Basra, Al-Malki & Alawi (1991) examined the operation of the University's libraries, and Al-Werdi and Aliwi (1993) evaluated the services offered by the University's libraries to postgraduate studies and the obstacles facing them.

Where most Iraqis who undertook postgraduate study before 1979 did so abroad, very few studied overseas in the period 1980-1991, and fewer, if any, studied abroad with Iraqi government funding after the first Gulf War. A rapid expansion of postgraduate studies was initiated by the Iraqi universities, but the specialists emerging from these programs were judged by their peers to be not of international standard (Iraq Higher 2004).

The deprivation suffered by established academics and the poor quality of many of the new generation is reflected in the research outputs published internationally. A bibliometric study of papers by researchers in 5 Arab countries that were published in English language journals monitored by ISI's *Science*

Citation Index (ISI-SCI) between 1990 and 1994 revealed that, while output from the other countries generally increased, output by Iraqi authors appeared to decline by 60% during this period (Uzun 1996; 2002).

Specialist Libraries and Information Centres

In Iraq, special libraries were to be found mainly in government departments, and most were said to be deteriorating. The medical library sector was one of the most active in Iraq, yet:

> "Medical libraries in Iraq received zero attention in terms of administrative, financial or technical support from the government." (WHO/EMRO 2003)

The World Health Organisation's Eastern Mediterranean Regional Office (WHO/EMRO, based in Alexandria) had a professional medical librarian working in its office in Baghdad, and began supporting medical libraries in Iraq in the 1990s with books, journals, equipment and training (WHO/EMRO 2003; Al Shorbaji 2004a).

The SDC had built up a collection of 43,000 books, and also had access to several online databases until access was withdrawn under the embargo. Its library subsequently seems to have been closed during an internal reorganisation (Johnson 2004c). The development of professional practice in Iraq suffered an additional blow when the Gulf States Information Documentation Centre was closed when diplomatic relations with the member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council were broken off after the invasion of Kuwait.

The National Library in Iraq

In 1999, Unesco sent a French expert, Jean-Marie Arnoult,[118] to assess the needs for conservation of heritage collections in Iraq, principally the many manuscript collections, including those in the National Library. Arnoult reported that:

> "When I visited the Library in 1999, I noticed evident carelessness in the management of the Library due to the lack of well-trained people..." (Arnoult 2003)

Speaking in London shortly after the fall of the Saddam regime, the newly appointed Director General of the National Library and Archive, Dr. Saad Eskander,[119] claimed that the:

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[118] See resumé in Appendix 5.
[119] See resumé in Appendix 5.

> "Director Generals of NLA were members of the ruling Ba'ath party. In recent years, the regime planted some secret police agents in NLA to monitor the activities of scholars and university students. As a result, the numbers of library readers decreased rapidly. At the time, the Ba'ath regime's Minister of Culture, Hamid Yousif Hammadi, who despised progressive culture in general, and NLA and its staff in particular, publicly named NLA as the cemetery of books." (Eskander 2004)

Figure 10.3: Saad Eskander
Source: IFLA

Manuscript Collections, Modern Records, and Archives Management

During this decade, Unesco's RAMP programme seems to have taken little active interest in the Arab world, and was, in any case, focused more on Africa before RAMP was terminated in 1998.

During the chaotic period after the Second Gulf War, there were several other claims of looting and damage during the war or the preceding period. Many seem to have been based on rumour. For example, Méténier (2003) reported that the *Bash Ayyân* library, a private library in Basra, had been ransacked by Iraqi government forces after the attempted Shia uprising against the Saddam regime following the Gulf War in 1991. The accuracy of this claim must be questioned in the light of an earlier Unesco report that the manuscripts had been removed to Baghdad for conservation (Cooperation 1989). Reports that appeared more than 10 years after the revolt were confused, and seem in some cases to have been based on rumour rather than observation. According to the Director of the *Dar al-Makhtutat* (House of Manuscripts), while c.20,000 manuscripts were endangered by events in the provinces in the course of the 1991 uprisings, only 346 publicly-owned manuscripts were confirmed to have been lost and subsequently listed as such in an effort to recover them. In accordance with longstanding Ministry of Culture efforts to centralize all manuscripts collections in one facility, several collections were absorbed into the main collection of the *Dar al-Makhtutat* in the 1990's.

Storage conditions in the *Dar al-Makhtutat* were far from ideal, but the conservation centre in the *Dar al-Makhtutat* seemed to have continued to benefit from the financial, technical and professional support. In 1993, the first small

conservation unit was established to deal with manuscripts and printed matter (Arnoult 1999).

The Labour Market and Professional Skills

Despite Iraq's isolation, it appears that professional activity in the country, although focused on Baghdad, was at least as vibrant as elsewhere in the region, and the Iraqi output of professional literature may have exceeded that of many other Arab countries.

Developments in Professional Practice

During this period, new Information and Communication Technologies spread through the region. Librarians in Iraq were not unfamiliar with the new technologies. The embargo did not prevent the purchase of PCs. In 1998, Iraq was reported to have had more computers than Iran, Syria, or Jordan. It was later acknowledged that many had been smuggled in, and that software and peripherals had been sourced in Southeast Asia (Spolar 2003). A nationwide data network had been established by the Ministry of Industry by 1990. However, following the 1990/91 Gulf war, much of Iraq's long distance telecommunications network was out of service for many years, and the data network ceased to exist (Mosaic Group 1998).

By 1998, all the Arab countries in the Middle East but Iraq were connected to the Internet (Burkhart & Goodman 1998). Access to online databases, using ISPs outside the country, required a billing address outside Iraq and access to foreign currency to make payments. Universities did not have access to foreign currency, and the U.N. embargo thus prevented civilian research in fields such as agriculture. However, it was reported in the late 1990s that connections to the Internet were to be restored (Burkhart & Goodman 1998). Then, the only Internet Service Provider, Uruklink, was controlled directly by the Ministry of Culture and Information. Iraqis could only go online at 57 "Internet centres" around the country. Private connections remained banned because the government did not have the means to censor Internet content (Reporters 2004), and most e-mail correspondence to Iraq was returned marked "access denied."

Manpower Issues

In total, there were about 3,000 staff of all kinds in all Iraq's libraries and information centres (Itayem 1997), but there had been a general decline in the

number of staff working in the larger libraries. Inflation during the war with Iran had severely affected the real incomes of government employees (Farouk-Sluglett & Sluglett 2001). Staff left because salaries were low and their purchasing power was declining, and were not replaced because budgets were being reduced (Arnoult 1999).

Problems of staff retention were exacerbated by difficulties in recruiting. It seemed that few students entered relevant professional work after graduating in Librarianship. Young men were conscripted into the army after graduating, and few returned to library work. The young women left to raise families (Qassim 2004).

These problems were compounded by the attitudes of the remaining staff. Commenting on the situation in 1999, a consultant on a Unesco sponsored mission to the National Library and Archives observed that:

> "libraries had already lost a large part of their technicians since they were deprived of technical or scientific tasks justifying their presence in the premises. There were only store-keepers left as well as directors (whose titles were often honorific rather than professional);" (Arnoult 2003)

Professional Associations and Activities

The Association had about 300 members in the early 1990s (Francis 1993). By the end of the decade, however, the Association had only 100 -150 members, each paying an annual subscription of ID750 (£0.50). Before the Second Gulf War, all professional associations were housed free of charge in a single building in Baghdad. There was no local branch in Mosul (Ismail 2004). The Association held meetings and organised short courses from time to time, but these were all in Baghdad, a 4-hour (400 km) drive from Mosul.

During Iraq's period of isolation, publication in foreign journals by academics in all disciplines based in Iraq, in Arabic or in other languages, allegedly ceased completely (Harding 2004). However, Iraqi librarians made efforts to ensure that the effects of the war and the embargo did not entirely halt the flow of publications about library and information work in the country. The volume of Iraq's output of professional literature was possibly more than that from other Arab countries. All Universities and/or their constituent Colleges in Iraq continued to publish their own scholarly journals and, for a time, the Department of Librarianship and Information Studies at Al-Mustansiriyah University also published its own journal or magazine, *Information Eyes* (Jabbar 2004). Publications by Iraqi academics also appeared occasionally in Arabic language

LIS journals published in other countries (Meho & Nsouli 1999; Jabbar 2004), in for example *Rissalat al-Maktaba*, the Jordanian Library Association's journal, to which the Iraqi LIS academic community contributed papers regularly throughout the 1990s. Moreover, the Iraqi Library Association finally began to publish a journal, *Al-Majallah al-Iraqiyah lil-maktaba wa-al-malumat*, (Iraqi Journal of Librarianship and Information) in 1995 (Bibliographic Guide 1996).

Education for Library, Information and Archives Work in Iraq immediately before the invasion in 2003

This section presents a brief survey of the state of education for librarianship in Iraq in the period before the invasion of Iraq in 2003, when programs were reported to be being offered in 3 universities and 2 technical institutes. As well as curricular revisions in librarianship and information science during the 1990s, it notes the introduction of a postgraduate archives program, as well as the termination of the technician level archives program, and its replacement by a program in records management.

Undergraduate Programs

In 1983, the University of Basra started to offer a Bachelor's Degree in LIS, and in 1996, the University of Mosul also did so (Khairi 2010). Rigorous standardisation of the education system was imposed by the government. The curriculum in Librarianship was constrained by requirements imposed by Government and the University, as well as the subject area (Johnson 2004c). The staff of the schools met in alternative years to review and revise the course syllabi (Qassim 2004).

	Undergraduate		Postgraduate	
	Diploma	**BA**	**MA**	**PhD**
Duration	2 years	4 years	2 years	3 years
Universities				
Al-Mustansiriyah University, Baghdad		✓	✓	✓
University of Mosul		✓	✓	
University of Basra		✓		
Foundation of Technical Institutes				
Mansour Technical Institute, Baghdad	✓			
Mosul Technical Institute	✓			

Table 10.1: Programs in library and information science in Iraq, 2002/3 (Johnson 2004c)

Postgraduate Programs

In c.1996/97, there were 21 students enrolled in the Master's Degree program at Al-Mustansiriyah University, and 73 had previously graduated (Itayem 1997).

The Master's Degree curriculum had also been revised (table 10.2). Although some of the changes in course title may have been only cosmetic, there does appear to have been a significant shift towards preparing students for using new Information and Communication Technologies. The introduction of a course titled 'comparative studies' suggests a discreet attempt to raise awareness of developments outside Iraq.

Only Assistant Professors and Professors were permitted to teach Master's Degree students (Ismail 2004). There were required to be at least 3 Assistant Professors available to teach the subject before a Master's Degree program could be established (Qassim 2004). It is not clear whether University of Basra ever had sufficient staff at an appropriate academic rank to be permitted to start its own Master's Degree program. According to Khairi (2010), it did begin to offer a Master's Degree, but was forced to discontinue it because of lack of qualified faculty. A Master's Degree program in Librarianship and Information Studies was established in Mosul University in 2001/2 (Ateek & Jirjees 2013), presumably when a third member of the academic staff reached the Assistant Professor grade, and 6 students enrolled in 2003 (Ismail 2004). After the first two students graduated, the program was suspended from 2004/4 until 2007/8 (Ateek & Jirjees 2013). According to Khairi (2010), the University was forced to discontinue the program because of lack of qualified faculty.

Development of the PhD Program at Al-Mustansiriyah University

It is clear from the Master's Degree curriculum that teaching about research methods was taking place (e.g. Al-Kindilchie & Al-Hudeithy 1996). This no doubt helped to underpin the PhD program in Librarianship and Information Studies, which was established at Al-Mustansiriyah University in 1992/93 (Al-Kindilchie 1994; Khairi 2010), partly to fill the gap in opportunities for overseas study (Ismail 2004), and partly to try to ensure that library science graduates are seen as suitably qualified for the high level appointments to which non-librarians were still then being appointed (Johnson 2004c). Another stimulus may have been the universal "desire of library school faculties to achieve academic equality with their colleagues in other university departments. If the library schools were to

undertake research, and if they were able to offer doctoral programs, then the status of librarianship as a university discipline would be raised" (Bramley 1975).

The taught element took one year full-time, comprising 2 semesters during which courses covered a variety of subjects, including information science, operational research, research methods (Ismail 2004). In line with American practice, a Dissertation Committee considered the candidate's research proposal, but the candidate's thesis was subjected to an oral examination by an External Examiner in accordance with the British tradition (Johnson 2004c).

Gathering literature for the dissertation was a challenge, requiring much ingenuity on the students' part to obtain material from libraries throughout the country and from relatives and friends abroad (Qassim 2004). No funds were available for university libraries to purchase journals to support teaching and research in library science after 1985, or to purchase books after 1992 (Johnson 2004c). There was no money for British Library Document Supply Coupons, and inter-library cooperation and lending within Iraq barely existed (Qassim 2004). Staff and students of Al-Mustansiriyah University could not even normally use Baghdad University's Library (Johnson 2004c). Gathering raw data within the country was also problematic, because all information was likely to be treated as a 'state secret' in the absence of any alternative guidance to officials (Qassim 2004).

Programs for Library Technicians

The weakest students amongst those who completed their high school examinations successfully could only be admitted to the Technical Institutes. It appears that there may have been a government policy decision to cease to award undergraduate Diplomas in all the Universities, and their award at Al-Mustansiriyah University was withdrawn, and in effect replaced by a program in a Technical Institute in Baghdad (Johnson 2004c). A separate Department to teach the 2-year Diploma program's syllabus in Librarianship had been established in Mosul Technical Institute in 1984/85 (Al-Samarra'i 1980, quoted in Ateek & Jirjees 2013); Ismail 2004).

Table 10.2: Postgraduate Program, Al-Mustansiriyah University, 1980-1993

Year and Semester	1980/81 Higher Diploma Subject	Hours per week	c.1983 Higher Diploma Subject	Hours per week	c.1986/87 Master's Degree Subject	Hours per week	c.1993 Master's Degree Subject	Credits
1.1	Introductory cataloguing and classification	6	Principles of cataloguing and classification	6	Advanced cataloguing		Organization of information and materials	5
	General reference sources (Arabic and foreign)	4	General references	4	Resources of the Arabic heritage			
	Introduction to library and information science	2	Introduction to library and information science	2	Information banks and networks		Information sources and online searching	6
	Information science / Documentation (conventional)	4	Documentation	4			Comparative studies	2
	Library Administration	2	Library Administration	2	Library management		Management of libraries and information centres	2
	Selection of library material	2	Selection of library materials	2	Reader services			
			Typing (Arabic & English)	2				
1.2	Cataloguing and classification	6	Cataloguing and classification	6	Advanced classification			
	Subject reference sources (Arabic and foreign)	4	Special references	4	Government publications			
	Information science / documentation (Mechanized)	4	Mechanized documentation	4	Modern information technology		Computer applications and information	7
	Bibliographical control	2	Bibliography	2	Bibliography and bibliographical control			
	Research methods	2	Research methods	2	Research methods		Research Methods	2
	Management of library operations	2	Administration of library procedures	2				
			Typing (Arabic & English)	2				
	Internship (2 months) Research paper							
Diploma 2.1					Thesis		Thesis	12
2.2					Thesis		Thesis	

Sources: 1980/81 - Johnson 1981; 1983 – Al-Werdi 1983; 1986/87 – Al-Werdi 1987; 1993 – Miski 1993
In the 1993 curriculum, ten courses of 2 or 3 credits are scheduled during the 2 semesters. Miski aggregated them, and they are presented here in some proximity to similar subjects in earlier curricula (as they have been generally in this table) to illuminate changes.

Students who had been awarded suitably high marks in the Diploma program at the Technical Institutes were permitted to enter directly into Year 3 of the Bachelor's Degrees in Librarianship and Information Studies (Ismail 2004). This was normally restricted to the top 10 students from Diploma programs (Johnson 2004c).

Education for Archives and Records Management

In 1993/94, higher level education for records and archives managers was finally introduced in Iraq. A program was established in Baghdad by the Institute of Arab History and Scientific Heritage of Iraq, operating under the aegis of the Union of Arab Historians. The program leads to a Master's Degree in the management of documents and manuscripts. (Ateek & Jirjees 2013).

It was reported that the Archives Diploma program in the Institute of Administration was discontinued during the 1990s (Johnson 2004b). A Records Management program was, however, reported to have been established in Baghdad in the Mansour Technical Institute (Johnson 2004a).

Students

The number of students of librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah had increased to about 600 in total by the end of the century, including c.16 taking the Master's Degree program, and c.10 PhD students (Qassim 2004). The preponderance of students was young women. 80% of the Diploma students were female, as were 60% of BA students, and 50% of the Masters Degree students (Johnson 2004c).

However, the worsening economic situation in the country encouraged graduates to take jobs that offered better salaries than working in libraries, and the output of the 3 SLIS remained insufficient to meet demand across the country as a whole (Ateek & Jirjees 2013).

Learning Resources

Students of librarianship in Iraq were provided with the 10-12 textbooks in English and /or Arabic they required each year. These had to be returned at the end of the year. Some university printing presses were out of action for lack of maintenance. By the beginning of the Millennium, these textbooks had increasingly tended to be photocopies, made regardless of copyright, and bound by the university. Some texts were being scanned and printed on CD-Rom (Qassim 2004).

The lack of adequate library and computing resources denied both faculty and students access to the tools and material that would keep them up-to-date with progress in the field (al-Zubaydi 2001). In 1992/3, the Department at Al-Mustansiriyah University had to use the College of Arts' only computer laboratory with 24 PCs, despite its student numbers and even though its undergraduate program was probably giving more attention to computer applications than other programs in the College or most other Arab Schools of Librarianship and Information Science (Miski 1993). 'Oil for food' funding was allocated for 25 PCs for a dedicated computer laboratory for the Department at Al-Mustansiriyah University only 2 months before the invasion, but the equipment was lost in the looting immediately after the war.

At Mosul University, the situation was somewhat better. The small Department of Librarianship and Information Studies was one of c.10 academic departments in the College of Arts. The Department had its own PC lab with (networked) 10 PCs, and the students were also permitted to use the College of Arts's two other PC labs of similar size (Ismail 2004). The situation of the Department in the University of Basra has not been reported.

Faculty Members

According to al-Zubaydi (2001) there were 25 faculty members in the three university Schools of Librarianship in Iraq. Only 4 of the 25 faculty members had doctoral degrees; the remaining faculty had either a postgraduate LIS degree (1) or an MLS (20).

Before the war in 2003 and the subsequent disruption of internal transportation, there were regular exchanges of staff between the Iraqi universities for teaching, etc. Staff had, however, few opportunities for gaining professional experience or even making contact with colleagues outside Iraq.

Members of the academic and professional community were likely to have been seriously distracted by the need to find alternative sources of income to supplement salaries that were almost worthless (La Guardia 2001).

Emerging Alternative Programs?

During the 1990s, the Iraq Commission for Informatics and Computing offered 4 Master's Degree programs which included 'information science'. Baghdad University library staff planned an undergraduate program in Informatics, i.e. computing and library science. The University approved this, but

its implementation was postponed. A proposal for a postgraduate program (in Informatics?) at Baghdad University, open to graduates in all disciplines, was rejected. Proposals were also put forward for an undergraduate Diploma program with a similar focus in Mansour Technical Institute or Al Mansour University College. Attempts at Al-Mustansiriyah University to change the name of the library science program to Information Services were similarly rejected (Johnson 2004a).

Discussion and Evaluation

Iraq's isolation was even greater during this period than in the previous decade, but had little effect as the capacity to support LIS education had atrophied within Unesco. Limited access to information about the broader situation in Iraq means that any comments made now can only offer very tentative suggestions about the impact of circumstances in the country on its library, information and archives services, but opportunistic leadership enabled the SLIS in Al-Mustansiriyah University to develop a PhD program.

Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

In the last years of the twentieth century, during the U.N. embargo, school and public libraries were neglected, other than some token gestures towards providing new buildings. However, it seems that some public libraries were built with foreign assistance. The government was also unable, or unwilling, to invest in the information services that supported the basic well-being of the population — food production and health services — and even seems to have agreed to the closure of the library at the SDC. The university libraries were affected by the skew of state funding towards a few selected institutions, and of personal funding towards the new, private universities, but all their collections were compromised by the limited availability of publications. Nonetheless, limited access to other sources stimulated not only a marked increase in borrowing from the university libraries. At the same time, a greater professional interest was taken in analysing the needs and problems of their users.

Qazanchi (2001, quoted in Rehman 2009b) gave a detailed account of the state of libraries and librarianship in Iraq, which reported that, although numerous libraries of different types still existed in Iraq, most of them were not prospering. In addition to the very difficult economic circumstances, this could partly be attributed to the collapse of the High Commission for Libraries, which

deprived Iraq of a central body, detached from sectoral interests, with access to the high level expertise and political involvement.

Iraq was not alone in this deficiency in its planning for library development. The United Nations Development Programme (2002) explicitly stated that:

> "all Arab countries lack information policies that delineate targets and priorities, coordinate the various sectors and formulate strategic alternatives with regard to the creation of infrastructure, as well as the development of human and information resources".

The number of students increased as the population increased, and new programs developed. The limitations on studying abroad restricted the number of faculty members and others with PhDs to those who had completed their studies at least a decade earlier.

Teachers' knowledge and skills, beliefs and values

Considering that Iraq was isolated politically and financially as a result of the invasion and looting of Kuwait, and the Iraqi government's neglect of library and information services, the progress made in education for library and information work during this period was remarkable. The contribution of external agents appears to have been negligible, and the credit for the continued progress in education for library and information work must be given almost entirely to the efforts of the local LIS professional community.

The inability to interact readily with their international peers directly and through access to the international literature probably placed some limitations on what was achieved. The LIS education model in Iraq was initially influenced by the principles and structures of the developed countries. These have begun to be at least challenged, if not rejected in many developing countries, but no evidence has been found of similar concerns being expressed in Iraq. Only the closer examination that may become practicable in more settled internal conditions could reveal whether or to what extent LIS education in Iraq has adapted to local social, political and economic circumstances.

The Situation in which the Information Sector was Immersed

The Iraqi economy was in poor shape at the end of the war with Iran. Any chance of its recovery was lost through the government's belligerent stance during and after the invasion of Kuwait, and the consequent imposition of the U.N. embargo.

The U.N. embargo placed restrictions on importing books into Iraq and the country's access to the Web and to international databases. This contributed to an intellectual famine, inhibiting development in all fields. The price of imported books placed them beyond the reach of most people, whose real incomes and purchasing power declined severely. The limitations imposed by the Oil-for-Food programme almost strangled the local book industry because of restrictions on importing necessary materials. Attendance and enrolment rates in primary and secondary education declined because of the economic pressure on families, and there was a shortage of reading materials in the schools, with inevitable consequences for the literacy rate.

One possible opportunity for Iraqi librarians to signal a change in their role might have been signalled by the interest shown elsewhere in the development of information literacy which was seen by many librarians as an important opportunity to assert that they have a more important role in supporting learning than had hitherto been acknowledged. However, it is not clear how well informed librarians in Iraq were about international developments. It is clear the widespread introduction of information literacy training in Iraq would require a general shift in pedagogy there; a change that is largely outwith the control of the LIS profession. In any case, librarians in Iraq may not have fully appreciated the circumstances that inhibited changes in pedagogy, particularly the difficulty that the education system had had in simply accommodating additional numbers of students. Moreover, the aspirations of the LIS profession may not have enjoyed support in the teachers in primary, secondary and tertiary education. Research in British secondary schools, for example, has revealed that information literacy is understood differently by teachers and librarians. Teachers there described information literacy in terms of a variety of skills and processes, none of which included central elements in librarians' perceptions such as defining the information need and knowledge building (Williams & Wavell 2007).

Because the growing global emphasis on ICTs in libraries was constrained by Iraq's diminished financial capacity to implement new technologies, LIS education was significantly handicapped, even compared with its peers in other developing countries.

Changes in U.N. funding priorities limited Unesco's capacity to provide technical assistance. Of the U.N. agencies, W.H.O. alone seems to have been able to provide any significant support for Iraq's library and information services

during this period, perhaps because its work in this field could be clearly perceived as part of an overall humanitarian response to the country's needs.

Unesco's internal organisational shifts reduced the emphasis on the development of LIS education. PGI's efforts during this period focused on user education. An experiment in linking Schools of Librarianship internationally through the Internet so that they could provide mutual support was not sustained. By the mid-1990s, there was no one in PGI solely responsible for LIS professional education. Further organisational changes towards the end of this period served only to expose the inadequacies of the leadership and staffing in Unesco's Communication and Information Sector.

British concerns about the effectiveness of education for foreign students of librarianship led to the formulation of a new policy, but its implementation was overtaken by a shift in U.K. government priorities for development assistance away from supporting higher education, which led to further re-organisation and reduction of the British Council's activities in the LIS field. American assistance increasingly focused on the provision of technology, but its aims seemed limited and — following a further reorganisation — unclear.

IFLA was able to address issues in this field only sporadically. Its experience during this period revealed the extent to which its capacity for supporting development activities was not only limited by the human resources that it could apply to securing funding and managing projects, particularly the interests and expertise of active volunteers, but was also dependent on the compatibility of its aims with the policies and fiscal capacity of potential donors. Danida, for example, withdrew its substantial contribution to ALP in 2002 as a result of changes in the Danish government.

These changes that affected the international organisations that had previously supported library development in Iraq meant that they largely ceased to do so, partly because of changes in their funding, but probably also by the Iraqi government's reluctance to encourage communication with the world beyond its borders, and by the isolation imposed on Iraq by the international community. Unesco visitors to higher education institutions were made aware of the situation in their libraries, but seem to have had no effect on the international policies that caused their neglect. Only one Unesco mission was undertaken in the library and information sector, focused not on Iraq's

contemporary information provision, but on the preservation of its cultural heritage.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Had Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in the Information Sector

Iraq was not unique in the Arab world in needing to rebalance the education system to produce an appropriately qualified technical class with the vocational skills required in the labour force, and in facing the perception that the status of such work was not attractive (Al-Ali 1993). However, the Iraqi government had accepted this in principle by establishing the Foundation for Technical Institutes. Some years later, the LIS profession seems to have been compelled to accept the discontinuation of the Diploma stage in the Bachelor's Degree program, and the introduction of separate courses in Technical Institutes to train the Technician levels of library staff. Whether this contributed to easing the demand for manpower, to altering perceptions of the status of the work undertaken by university graduates in LIS, or to changes in employers' assessment of the calibre of those completing Bachelor's Degrees in LIS remains to be explored.

When a profession was originally created as a result of scarcity of skills, expertise or knowledge, as was the case in LIS, the professionals are often the last to recognize when the scarcity that created their community disappears. This can have profound implications for the value that society attributes to the professionals — implications that are quite evident in the changing status of information professionals during Iraq's long history. In a country such as Iraq, where — for reasons that remain to be fully explored — LIS professionals appear to have not been highly valued in modern society, the creation of a sub-structure of technicians trained by programs in the Foundation for Technical Institutes to perform many of the day to day tasks in library work and records management, potentially offered a new opportunity to raise the status of the professionals, provided that they could be seen to be performing, with a high level of skills, tasks of a more demanding nature that were recognised as such and valued in society. The medical profession has long since recognised a similar phenomenon, and has continually re-structured itself by delegating lower level tasks to paramedics and nurses, who in turn have created different levels of specialisms. The only evidence from this period about the LIS profession in Iraq implies that the significance and challenges of this phenomenon may not have been appreciated, and acted on. However, if they had been recognised, circumstances

would have actively constrained what the profession could have accomplished towards changing perceptions of their role and status.

The Iraqi information professions may not be alone, internationally, in struggling to assert their role in society. However, the absence from the literature (in English, at least) of discussions of human resource issues such as these in the Iraqi information sector makes it difficult to draw any specific conclusions about them.

The deprivation caused by the U.N. embargo does not seem to have diminished the initiative of some information professionals in Iraq; rather it seems to have stimulated activities to offset the challenges and to try to keep professional practice in line with developments elsewhere.

The development Iraq's library, archival and information services was limited by the limited research infrastructure that could provide the factual evidence to underpin advocacy for development. However, part of the problem, the need to increase the number of highly qualified people with the skills to undertake relevant research, was addressed by the introduction of the Master's and Doctoral programs to develop their knowledge and understanding of the challenges that Iraq's information sector faced. More evidence about these developments would be needed to assess how the teaching staff themselves addressed the challenges implicit in taking these initiatives in the prevailing circumstances — the shortage of up to date books and journals that could have shared knowledge and expertise from other Arab states and the global community, their own limited experience of higher degree work and research activity, and the need for comparability between the standards achieved by their students and those in other disciplines in Iraq and in LIS internationally.

The establishment of higher degree studies apparently went beyond a simple opportunistic response to the changes in local circumstances that encouraged the introduction of higher degrees. There seems to have been an understanding amongst the Iraqi LIS educators that completing higher degrees would raise the status not only of the successful candidates of the successful candidates, but also of the Department and the LIS discipline.

This understanding of the responsibility placed on them seems to have extended to their efforts to contribute to the professional literature, as well as the provision of continuing education for various groups, and probably encouraged the activities of the Iraqi Library Association, which was suffering

from a decline in membership that matched the reduction in library staff. There was also an understanding that the acceptance, effectiveness and status of members of the profession, particularly those working in academic and specialist libraries, would benefit from having acquired an education in a discipline other than library and information studies a well as completing professional studies. However, just as the country's frontiers were largely closed to knowledge imports from other countries during the last decade of the twentieth century, the educational bureaucracy appears to have not been persuaded of the need to change academic structures to permit direct entry to Master's Degree level by graduates in disciplines other than librarianship.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in the Information Sector

The expansion LIS education through the establishment of SLIS in the country's two major provincial universities and technician level programs in the two largest cities may indicate some official recognition of the demand for manpower in the field. The collapse of opportunities for studying abroad opened the opportunity for the development of a PhD program in LIS and a Master's Degree in Archives Studies.

Chapter 11
Influences on the Development in Iraq of Education for Library, Information and Archives Work: Summary Discussion and Overall Evaluation

"The future can only be an extension of the present, which, in turn, was a result of the past. The recent past will therefore have to be examined for trends and clues in order to arrive at the possible directions and scenarios of a better future."

(Rahman 1988)

Introduction

Iraq, like the other oil-rich Arab states, built its infrastructure in an amazingly short period. The growth of public, academic, special, and school libraries in a context where there had been few modern institutions was particularly impressive compared with other less developed countries, including some of Iraq's neighbouring nations, but their downfall at the end of the twentieth century was equally dramatic. Education for archives studies suffered a similar fate as a result of the nation's political isolation and economic collapse, but, in contrast, the programs of education for librarianship and information studies continued to make progress. In a statement by one of the first Iraqis known to have studied librarianship in the U.S.A. — one that was remarkably prescient at such an early stage in both her career and the modern Iraqi state's library development — Kadhim (1959) had commented that:

"It is not enough to say only that Iraq has too few libraries, that those libraries serve a minority of the population, that there is a shortage of librarians, and that library materials fall short of need in both quantity and quality. These are undebatable facts. If the situation is to be seen in its true light, however, the causes and effects must be examined and understood. All of the human factors of the society which either promote or discourage library development must be considered."

As well as reconstructing the history of library development in Iraq insofar as that was possible from the sources available to the researcher, this has been a study not only of the influence of Iraq's economic, political and social circumstances on the development of LIS education, but also of the international assistance that contributed to it, which was conditioned by forces largely outwith the control of the Iraqi authorities. The study reviewed not only the relevant actions of the Iraqi government — in particular in the fields of education and publishing — but also the role of Unesco and other international development agencies; their changing approaches to technical assistance; and the role in

developments that was played by the 'experts' sent on missions to Iraq and their interaction with their local counterparts. Finally, it explored issues that had not previously been given sufficient prominence in the LIS literature — the impacts on development of individuals, and of local traditions and culture.

This chapter considers the growth and the evolution of technical and professional education in the LIS sector within a framework (figure 3.2) that identified contextual issues as potentially relevant to achieving a comprehensive understanding of the influences on its development. While the discussion of the influences on the development of Iraq's libraries, archives and information services and the related professional education and training at the end of each chapter reviewed the evidence within the context of a particular period, this chapter aims to summarise the threads that run through this tapestry of the history of library development, following the framework, and drawing attention to some issues that were manifested in different ways at different times. It concludes by highlighting what appear to be the salient factors in the development of library and information services and LIS education Iraq.

Key Elements Underpinning Education for Information

The scale and nature of library, archive and information service provision

While some progress towards establishing modern libraries had begun during the first half of the twentieth century, it was during the 1960s that the number of libraries in Iraq began to increase substantially, and a growing diversity in the type of libraries can be observed, but the emphasis was on buildings. There was little evidence to suggest that these changes were underpinned by the existence of any broad-based approach to their development or national planning mechanism. That belief is to some extent supported by the savage budget reductions suffered by libraries and information centres after 1980.

Governance and funding of educational institutions

The archives that were established by the Mesopotamian societies were essential records of state and business activities. The 'libraries' of literature were similarly a product of the state or its religion, and remained few in number and the paramount estate of the elite. During the Caliphate, the Islamic religion and the generosity encouraged by it prompted the wealthy members of Arab society to support an increasing number libraries open to an increasingly literate population. During the 'Mandate' the foundations were laid for a few 'modern'

libraries of various kinds, but the funding available to the British administration was limited by Iraq's weak economy. During the Hashemite Kingdom, and the early years of the Republic, substantial investment was made in new library buildings, but the lack of appropriately qualified staff limited understanding of the potential of the libraries and of the issues that needed to be addressed to exploit them to the full. Just as development of the LIS education system reached a point at which it might have been able to offset the shortage of adequately educated personnel, the economic support for library services collapsed and they became unattractive as employers.

<u>Human resources – students and teachers</u>

The search for competent administrators of libraries and archives began, as usual, after the collections had grown. Throughout this early period, all the evidence indicates that librarians and archivists enjoyed a high status. During the Mesopotamian civilisations, familiarity with the skills required for organising and managing these collections was seen as an adjunct of the work of the scribes, and the inception of the *edubbas* marks the beginnings of formalising education for information work. Initially initiation in these skills seems to have been restricted to the families of the elite, but the growing demand for these skills suggests that the trainees may have had to be recruited from a widening social circle. This mutated during the Caliphate into the appointment of librarians who were known as eminent scholars. The Ottoman practice of rewarding the imperial scribes on an *ad hoc* basis, in which some were more favoured than others, has as yet not been sufficiently documented to determine whether their remuneration reflected their social standing, particular expertise, or special services.

In both Mesopotamian society and during the Caliphate, the archivists and librarians who were responsible for the management of the collections seemingly enjoyed high status. Even as late as the Ottoman era, archivists continued to be drawn from the upper classes of society, while libraries and librarians seem to have played a less significant role in society. Could it have been the increasingly ready availability of printed books that transformed perceptions of librarians? Or could it have been the activities of European missionaries and scholars that reinforced the misperception of the authorities that "the running of a library is a mere technique of administration that can be done as a part-time job by

professors or so-called administrators" (Stummvoll 1953)? In more recent times, the composition of the labour force has changed. From as early as the Hashemite period, importing foreign labour was encouraged, for example in the Salter report. Although education for women seems to have been the norm in Iraq at many periods during its history, it only became universal and reflected in the labour force during the twentieth century. Did these changes depress the salaries and status of librarians, and reduce the motivation for Iraqis to study librarianship? The introduction of Library Technicians into the labour market presents fresh challenges (Johnson 1984). Further study would be necessary to explore this phenomenon, attempt to explain the reasons for this, and perhaps seek to provide an understanding of some of the actions necessary to reverse the evident lack of influence exerted by librarians in Iraq in the late twentieth century.

During the Hashemite Kingdom, the growing number of libraries and the activities of foreign consultants invited to organise them and train their staff slowly raised the awareness of the Iraqi authorities that the need for professional expertise was an issue that needed to be addressed. The headquarters staff of international agencies still lacked a proper appreciation of how this might be best addressed, and the consultants on the spot disagreed about that. Local Iraqi officials were probably more realistic in their view of the situation, and proposals for establishing a School of Librarianship in Iraq made no progress.

During the 1950s and 1960s, international perspectives on the foundation of Schools of Librarianship began to evolve, but were not particularly well informed about the realities of the situation in developing countries. Much of the debate about the development of education for LIS in the developing countries began only during the 1960s as the number of foreign LIS students increased, and reflected an early understanding that entry level LIS programs in advanced countries could not satisfactorily meet the needs of students who were in a cultural and educational minority; that it was a challenge for those students to adapt their new knowledge to their home country's circumstances; and that — ideally — the first level of LIS education should be undertaken in the students' home country, focusing opportunities for study abroad on those who could bring a better informed and perhaps more mature perspectives to advanced study.

In Iraq, a small but increasing number went to study LIS abroad, but the manpower shortage continued. During the 1970s, however, LIS education in Iraq

benefited from two initiatives — one supported by Unesco and UNDP, the other sanctioned by the Ministry of Higher Education — both of which relied on the same small group of Iraqi librarians as teachers. Eventually, sufficient influence was brought to bear to permit the merger of these programs with a large group of full-time teachers, all of them apparently carefully selected from those who had studied LIS in other countries and mentored as teachers by the various foreign 'experts' that had been assigned to Iraq during the preceding 20 years. However, the status of librarians had changed. Students entering the LIS programs were no longer selected from amongst the most academically able entrants to universities, and most of the employment opportunities for the graduates of these programs were relatively poorly paid.

Teachers' knowledge and skills, beliefs and values

It is clear that training to embed some insights into and consistency in professional practices was recognised as necessary and consequently provided in designated centres from as early as the foundation of the *edubbas* in ancient Mesopotamia, and that these practices were codified to some extent throughout the various periods covered in this chapter, for example in the regulations promulgated Ottoman Imperial Registry. Nonetheless, there appears to be little evidence of any particular professional philosophy emerging, or of any attempt to promote one. There also appears to be no evidence, or at least none that has come to light so far, that demonstrates whether these practices were imported from outwith the region or how they were transmitted and shared across the region. Further study is required to assemble evidence on the training that the scribe-librarians received from the Akkadian to the Ottoman eras, and to determine how professional techniques in the acquisition, organisation, preservation and conservation of texts evolved in the early Middle East.

In the period immediately after the Second World War, technical assistance programmes supported by international and national governmental agencies and charitable foundations supported the first training and education for library staff in Iraq. Both consultants working in Iraq and teachers in SLIS in western countries began to recognise that the trainees and students from less developed countries presented new challenges in terms of their linguistic skills and prior educational and professional experiences, and struggled to cope with them. As Iraqis who had received their LIS education in more advanced countries became

available, they were introduced as teachers, undertaking this responsibility on a part-time basis while working full-time in libraries. This may have contributed to overcoming some linguistic challenges in teaching, but the shortage of learning resources in Arabic remained an issue.

Inevitably, the curriculum in Iraq was initially based on what the teachers knew, and had its foundations in Anglo-American librarianship. The curriculum developed in line with major global changes, but innovations in professional practice to meet local needs in Iraq or the wider Arab world had yet to emerge to any extent, and the limited flow of information about them, would have inhibited any significant reorientation of course syllabi. During the 1970s, Iraqi teachers of LIS were exposed to some mechanisms for winning institutional support, controlling teaching quality, and assuring the continual development of their knowledge base. These proved to be assets during the 1980s and 1990s when they continued to develop programs despite difficult circumstances.

The Situation in which Education for Information was Immersed
Local traditions, culture, language, race, and religion

In this study's brief review of Iraq's early development, the deep roots of some attitudes which have been subsumed in contemporary practices in libraries and archives in Iraq can already be glimpsed. For example, unreliable or dishonest custodians and users led to the tradition of making librarians personally responsible for books that were lost; a tradition that persisted into the modern era along with other archaic practices, such as closed access collections and requiring a deposit when books were borrowed, driven by tradition and concern to protect books which were expensive in relation to average incomes. It is clear that agencies and individuals undertaking development activities in modern Iraq were confronted by a society which had retreated into traditional and customary ways of living as a way of surviving after historical catastrophes had destroyed a formerly high civilisation; a situation which led a United Nations report (1957) to suggest that Iraq displayed the characteristics of an 'arrested civilisation.' [120]

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[120] The term 'arrested civilisation' was coined by Arnold J. Toynbee (1889 – 1975), a British historian noted for a major analysis of the rise and fall of civilizations, and for his support for Arab causes.

Beginning particularly in the late nineteenth century, the Arab world was increasingly exposed to social and cultural concepts from the West which came as an extension of imported industrial products to awareness of its technical knowledge and beyond. Eban (1947) suggested that the Arabs have subsequently cooperated in their own westernisation, but only on the level of material culture, while remaining at best sceptical of the validity of the West's moral and intellectual systems. The explanation for the negative counter to the influences of modernisation may also lie in traditional attitudes and values (which are discussed at some length in Appendix 6). The emergence of nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century focused attention on significant periods in the history of Iraq, and may have contributed to the revival of traditional values there. This could explain, to some extent, a reluctance to change some aspects of life in Iraq, for example, in approaches to teaching and learning, and in the nature and use of library and information services. However, tradition is a perceived state that can only be understood in the context of what is perceived as modern (and vice-versa), and thus is something that changes as time passes. The explanation for resistance to change should probably be sought elsewhere.

The first foreign library development consultants in Iraq may have recognised that there were some established local practices but they were not systematised, codified or widespread. In their place, they introduced standard, formalised Anglo-American practices with which their own education and experience had made them familiar, but acknowledged linguistic challenges to explaining them. Although Iraqi scholars had prepared descriptions of some older local libraries and their collections, it was not until the 1970s that the first, elementary efforts began to investigate the scale and nature of library provision in Iraq. In the 1980s, significant quantities of faculty research publications and Master's Degree theses began to appear, providing the critical evaluations of library practices and use in the country that would facilitate the 'localisation' of parts of course syllabi.

Economic context

It might seem obvious and even unnecessary to discuss the impact of the state of the country's economy, but previous writers on library development in the Arab world and on the development of LIS education have largely ignored this fundamental issue. Aman (2011) seems to have been almost alone in pointing to the apparent link between the economic development of some

countries and the expansion in number and size of their Schools of Librarianship and Information Studies, the diversity and level of programs offered, and the quality of education provided, but even he did not explore that theme in any depth.

A clear link between public wealth, support for library development, and the significance attached to the role and expertise of librarians was amply demonstrated in this study's brief summary of Iraq's early cultural history.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, after several hundred years of economic regression, Iraq's was primarily an agricultural economy. The establishment of the Development Board minimised waste and misuse when the country's new income from oil began to flow in the 1950s, but its emphasis was on visible manifestations of the country's modernisation such as the proposed national library building, a project encouraged by the British. Discounting the proposal to include a School of Librarianship in that building, the development of manpower and other related issues received insufficient attention from a government with little understanding of the information sector, and even less expertise in strategic planning.

By the 1970s, the state's income was exceeding its ability to spend it, but the population was expanding more rapidly, creating an insatiable demand for a wide range of social services, and the provision of effective library and information services was not seen as a high priority. For most of the last twenty years of the twentieth century, the country's economy was in ruins.

Government and political context

From the formation of the earliest city states until the Mongol invasion, there is evidence that the elite of society used some of their wealth in the creation and maintenance of libraries, which increasingly they opened up for the benefit of the less wealthy but literate members of the population. The concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few remained a continuing feature of the social structure while Iraq was a part of the Ottoman empire, but its rulers showed little interest in social development until belatedly compelled to do so by self-interest.

Throughout the 1960s, Iraq was in a state of political turmoil, and an unstable government was faced with major social problems, creating circumstances in which attracting support became more difficult for the

advocates of library development. Despite the challenge, some external advice and assistance was secured. However, advice from foreign organisations and consultants needed continual and consistent iteration before it was considered for adoption, and probably only then if local decision makers judged it to be relevant to their needs and within capable of implementation with or without assistance. On the other hand, several examples from the Iraqi experience point to the contribution that can be made by long-term practical assistance until the capacity of the local work force is adequate to sustain further development. The Iraqi government was not alone in ignoring advice. Unesco took some time to acknowledge the recommendations from participants in its seminars and the comments from its advisory bodies about the fundamental importance of education and training in underpinning development and giving it a key place in its activities.

Information needs

By the 1970s, Iraq's industrial and scientific community had grown to the point at which the government finally accepted foreign advice and committed to the development of a national scientific information system.

Trends in education and literacy

After the fall of the Arab Caliphate, education in Iraq had atrophied. The provision introduced by Ottoman governors in the late nineteenth century collapsed in the aftermath of the First World War, and was slowly revived by the British, who re-introduced Arabic as the principal language of instruction, but the literate proportion of the population remained small, depressing the demand for reading material and libraries. The education system was overwhelmed in trying to match the growing population, and school library development continued to receive limited attention until almost the end of the Hashemite Kingdom when advice from foreign consultants bore some fruit at last. However, the efforts of the first Director of School and Public Libraries to improve school library services continued to be frustrated by the inability of the education system to change because of quantitative and structural limitations on buildings, teachers, and books while the population was growing faster than the state's income. The economic strictures of the 1980s and 1990s caused a collapse in the education system.

Reading culture and levels of information literacy

Iraq entered the modern era, after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, with few people who were literate and even fewer who were accustomed to using libraries. In the second half of the twentieth century, functional literacy levels began to grow, but there was initially little understanding of how to transform this into the widespread culture of independent reading and critical thinking required to sustain development.

Other social trends

The growth of higher education and the expansion of employment in state services created a new middle class, some of whom appreciated the provision of new public libraries, but the pedagogy to which they had been exposed had not created a widespread culture of independent reading and library use.

Publishing and the book trade

Significant evolution in scripts and the media for recording written texts took place in Mesopotamian and early Arab society, but the introduction of printing, albeit delayed for several centuries by the Ottomans, was a catalyst in potentially making texts widely available. The population in Iraq that could afford to buy books and accustomed to doing so was still limited. Many factors still inhibited the growth of an international book trade between the Arab countries, and further reduced the choice of titles available for purchase in Iraq. These factors contributed to the slow growth of the book trade in Iraq until well into the second half of the twentieth century. Then the Ba'athist government gave more attention to controlling the publishing industry than to developing it. Nonetheless the industry's output grew slowly, until affected by the constraints on imports on books and printing materials that commenced in the 1980s.

Technical environment – evolution of new media and ICTs

The introduction of computers in Iraq during the 1980s was not accompanied by any high level appreciation of their potential or of how to develop the human resources required to organise the information that they could process. The LIS educators were handicapped in their inability to develop their students by lack of adequate resources.

International relations

Developments in international library work in the early twentieth century paid little attention to the less developed countries. Financial resources for international technical assistance was negligible between the two World Wars,

and remained limited in the period immediately after the second World War. Although the international development agencies that came into being around this time had little initial understanding of the Arab world, Iraq began to receive significant assistance during the 1950s, particularly from Unesco, some directed towards its fledgling library services. Generally, national development agencies seem to have paid little attention to library development in Iraq, because such activity was not considered a priority, or because Iraq was not a focus for their activities. The international professional associations paid little attention to the Arab world, and their early efforts were characterised by an ignorance that was inevitable because there had been so little contact with the region.

Iraq's willingness to host the conference planned by Unesco for 1959 could be seen as its first attempt to present the country as a leader in library development, the eventual relocation of the conference from Damascus to Beirut is clear evidence of the political and diplomatic barriers to cooperation in the field in the Arab world.

Unesco wish to support the development of LIS education was constrained by a limited budget, leading to experiments in establishing regional SLIS. Recognition that relations between the Arab states were often contentious may have precluded the development of a regional SLIS in the Arab world. Instead Iraq benefited from long-term assistance to develop the Graduate School in Baghdad. In the absence of comparable support for the regional institute for training Arab archivists, the Institute's failure to develop may have countered any possible influence in Iraq of Unesco's other educational initiative, the harmonisation of education for librarianship, information science and archives studies. However, Unesco's budget reduction in the 1980s and its continual reorganisation directed its focus away from LIS education.

Globalisation of professional norms, roles, and values

The efforts of the foreign consultants who became involved in Iraq during the late Hashemite Kingdom may have inevitably reflected their exposure to Anglo-American practices, but the apparent emphasis on western cataloguing practices and classification schemes reflected the fundamental challenge that some of them faced in reorganising Iraqi libraries to cope with planned growth in the collections and the additional user demands that they possibly but perhaps mistakenly anticipated.

On a different scale, Unesco's grand plans for NATIS and UNISIST seem to have been stymied by Unesco's continuing failure to recognise the vast differences between national circumstances, including the capacity of countries such as Iraq to implement these proposals. Some objective evidence demonstrating the influence of DBA/PGI was beginning to appear during the 1980s, but received little attention compared to the evident failure of PGI to fulfil the expectations of those who had defined its role but not addressed its resource implications.

<u>Comparators, e.g. cognate disciplines, and similar institutions or countries</u>

In the absence of hard evidence, it seems sensible to accept, as did De Vleeschauwer (1963), that the developments which took place in the earliest societies that inhabited the Middle East in archives and libraries and in training for those who were needed to organise and manage them were a spontaneous, indigenous response to the creation of forms of writing and the recording of sharable information on portable media.

Iraq's wealth and the support proved for it by Unesco and other agencies had placed it amongst the leaders in the Arab world in the provision of library and information services, but Iraq's pre-eminence in the field was eroded by the financial exigencies of the 1980s and 1990s. The continuing development of LIS education was the exception to the otherwise general pattern of decline in Iraq.

Events, Actions and Other Factors that Have Specific Effects in Mobilising Change in Education for Information

<u>Connections and interaction among people and movements</u>

Until the 1980s, Iraqi officials and librarians were regularly in contact with their peers in other countries, and sensitised to developments there. Thus, amongst highly educated Iraqis, there was a recognition in the 1950s of the shortcomings of the College libraries, especially in the context of their proposed incorporation in the University of Baghdad. National pride, rather than foreign exhortation, seems to have been the main motivator for continuing interest in the development of the National Library. The number of educated librarians was small, but the need for a focus of advocacy for further development in the field finally crystallized during the 1960s in the formation of a sustainable professional association.

It may be significant that Iraq rejected for many years the suggestion that it should establish a national scientific information centre, but eventually did so after little overt prompting, just as they had done with the establishment of the first LIS program. This tends to reinforce a belief that Iraqi policy makers had a clearer conception of their country's circumstances and capabilities than the international organisations, and perhaps more than they could or did articulate. Such a judgement becomes more difficult to sustain during the latter years of the twentieth century as the county became increasingly isolated. LIS educators could only make token curricular responses to external developments because their institutions or the state were less familiar with them and consequently unwilling to adjust the status of the discipline and provide the requisite learning resources.

Relative advantage(s) of change(s) perceived

The need for written records and their organisation was simply a reflection of the emergence and growth of forms of commerce and governance in the early societies. There is no clear evidence to identify individual initiatives in establishing the library practices and training programs that evolved subsequently.

The first steps towards the development of a National Library taken during the Hashemite Kingdom might have been influenced by the outcome of the Unesco/Arab League conference on Exchange of publications, but the driver seems to have been the efforts of the British Council's Librarian, John Ferguson.

While international 'experts' were increasingly willing to offer opinions on the foundation of SLIS in developing countries, the approach of the Iraqi authorities appears to have been to permit an evolutionary approach and facilitate pragmatic responses to circumstances, largely manifested in developments that were supported by their own citizens. Thus, it was apparently left to the LIS teachers to seize the initiative of introducing Master's and Doctoral programs when the moment was opportune.

Voluntary reorientation or enforced fundamental change

The amalgamation of the two SLIS in Baghdad seems to have been something that was encouraged by the small group of part-time teachers, who could recognise the advantages that a large student body offered in terms of the resources that it usually attracts. Locating the SLIS in the University of Baghdad

might have been more prestigious from the perspective of attracting students, but the LIS discipline might have struggled for recognition in the face of older established disciplines. The vocational origins of Al-Mustansiriyah University, and the political support for the SLIS by the University's President seem to have been a crucial factor in locating the merged SLIS there.

The withdrawal of other Arab students from the Institute for Archives Training prompted its enforced transfer to the Foundation of Technical Institutes, and perhaps reflects the lack of any strategy for developing it beyond a low level course. The creation, some years later, of a postgraduate program in archives studies, seemingly outwith the university sector, is insufficiently described in the literature to facilitate any understanding of its origins and standing.

Policies and practices led by international agencies

While the Ford and Gulbenkian Foundations made significant contributions, the bilateral activities of government aid agencies played little part in library development in Iraq. The U.N.'s narrow approach to development that emerged in the 1960s appears to have influenced some immediate personnel changes in the management of Unesco DBA, but the 'one size fits all' policy steer from the parent body seems to have been met by a seemingly more pragmatic approach by Unesco to requests from Iraq during the 1960s for assistance for library development. Some Unesco interventions in Iraq that could only be interpreted as supporting development in its widest sense were approved, and can be seen to have laid the foundations for later progress in the field.

The support from UNDP for the LIS program in Baghdad University which Unesco was able to negotiate ran contrary to the policy of supporting regional schools, but accorded with the long-standing inclination within Unesco to make Iraq a major exemplar of its activities, and perhaps reflected a growing understanding of the difficulties in securing meaningful collaboration between the Arab states.

Policies and practices driven by national planning and/or legislative action

The existence of any meaningful development plan for LIS education needs to be investigated. Most of the developments after 1970 seem to have been the result of *ad hoc* initiatives.

Areas of activity becoming critical for organisations

For the SLIS, the development of Master's and Doctoral programs was simply a natural development in the maturing of the discipline.

Actions shaped by organisational or institutional *strategies*

For the universities, it was more critical because of the expectations placed on them by the Iraqi government, which was faced with a need to provide a lower cost substitute for studying abroad.

Changes in product life cycle shaped by demand and expectations

The SLIS in Iraq were faced with the global emergence of ubiquitous applications of computing in information work, and responded as best they could, but the delay in providing a computer laboratory for teaching LIS students suggests that, while the faculty were able to make persuasive case for it, its provision probably did not rank high in the government's priorities.

Emergence of alternative services and suppliers

It was inevitable that proposals for alternative courses would emerge when the SLIS were struggling to modernise their syllabi, and the reasons for their apparent failure to secure the learning resources to do so were not fully understood. However, it seems possible that the financial stringencies that had held back the provision of a computer laboratory for the SLIS in Al-Mustansiriyah University similarly stood in the way of alternative course developments in the University of Baghdad.

Evolution of cognate disciplines

The emergence of the Arab Institute for Archives Studies came from initiatives by ICA, supported by Unesco, but was timely in terms of the advice that the Iraqi authorities had been receiving about the national need to secure its documentary heritage and contemporary records. It also came at a time when the Iraqi government was actively seeking to take a more prominent role in the Arab world, without necessarily being given an understanding by those involved as to the resources that were required to provide a sound basis for its development. Ironically, because of the human resources available, the courses that emerged in the Institute and the SLIS in Baghdad contained elements that might be interpreted as harmonisation of LIS education, but they seem to have shared a common lack of expertise in archives and records management.

Need to build or maintain reputation

The research and publication record of the faculty of the SLIS at Al-Mustansiriyah University may have been inspired by the need to maintain their department's reputation as much as by the need to create new resources on local developments to underpin their teaching.

<u>Conscious quest for change</u>

There seems to have been some recognition amongst the leaders of the SLIS in Iraq that their status depended on updating curriculum and the syllabi of courses.

<u>Leadership instilled by attitudes and experience of an individual, or defined by the role of each functional managerial position</u>

Gertrude Bell's role in establishing a focus on the Iraq Museum Library by bring the substantial ASOR collection into the same building was a triumph of vision and persistent diplomacy. Later, requests for Unesco assistance to improve libraries came from Iraqis familiar with western university libraries, and the generous Unesco response, albeit ill-informed in some respects, may have been influenced by the presence of a senior Iraqi official and a former American librarian in influential positions within Unesco, where the Head of Libraries Department seems to have had less influence on Unesco's resource allocations.

The creation of a single SLIS within Al-Mustansiriyah University points to the ability of some member of the library community, as yet unidentified, to exert sufficient influence, directly or indirectly, on the Presidents of both Universities, senior officials in the Ministry of Higher Education, and ultimately the Minister himself to gain approval for the merger of the programs.

<u>Actions prompted by recruitment of new staff, including changes in executive management</u>

Throughout the narrative, the character and experience of individuals and the role played by them stands out as a significant feature of Iraq's library development.

Unesco's choice of personnel for its early library development missions in Iraq was limited. Both Saunders's and — to a lesser extent — Bonny's professional experience seems to have been less than relevant for the range of tasks they were assigned to undertake, but they seem to have combined some familiarity with Middle Eastern society with a determination to fulfil their assigned tasks and the leadership skills to motivate most of the Iraqis they encountered. Both Bonny and Ferguson, in addition, seem to have had some senior managerial experience

that enabled them to take forward ideas which extended beyond their immediate remit.

Unesco's later appointments were a mixed bag. Even when it was usual for 'experts' to be asked to do more than their formal brief, Huisman's selection was quite inappropriate for what the Iraqi authorities seemed to require. However, although his mission may have been misconceived by Unesco, it seems that it may have encouraged progress. Omar seems to have been an unquestioned success in persuading the Iraqi authorities to take the next step in developing a formal program of education in LIS. The impact of Kalia's efforts are more difficult to assess, because of his evident self-promotion. He probably made a not insignificant contribution in several fields of activity, but far less than he would have had us believe. The influence of the Ford Foundation's specialists and advisers as individuals is also difficult to assess, but collectively their activities contributed substantially to library development in Iraq. In part this was because they seem to have benefitted to some extent from some continual transfer of an understanding of their experiences, but White and Wilder also brought to bear their prior experience of traditional behaviour in the region. Pérotin's advice seems to have been accepted, albeit slowly. Helal's success can perhaps be attributed to the advantage of speaking Arabic (like Omar), and his primary task was an applied one rather than advisory. Srivastava appears to have been energetic in drawing Iraqis into teaching and developing the program, and deservedly enjoyed an extended period to do so.

It may be significant that the consultancy services provided by Unesco in later years seem to have been not only requested by the Iraqi authorities, but were increasingly driven by some recognition that an immediate response if agreed developments were not to stall. Some of the consultants clearly had a limited vision of what actions were required to underpin the developments that they proposed. Nonetheless, it also seems evident that drawing attention to matters that the Iraqis considered beyond the consultants' remit had little effect, regardless of how relevant they might have been.

Among the Iraqis who appear in the narrative, it can be seen that the appointment of Gurgis Awad, an acquisitive book collector, as Librarian of the Iraq Museum laid the foundations for the development of that Library's important collection. A more enigmatic figure is another non-librarian, Hisham al-Chawaf, who had some clear ideas about what needed to be developed, but whose

narrow focus on them, combined with a lack of understanding of how some might be accomplished, seems to have led to behaviour that others found obstructive. Little is known about the influence on archives education of Salim al-Alousi. However, although he was revered as a historian of Iraq, its fate suggests that he was ineffective as head of the Institute for Archives Studies, and in particular lacked an understanding of how to take advantage of the political prestige with which it was initially endowed. The long service of Nazar Qassim as Head of Department at Al-Mustansiriyah University, covering a period of major changes, suggests that he was a major influence in the developments there.

Occasionally, mention is made in the narrative of Iraqi politicians, civil servants and institutional managers. Their role is unclear, because the archives in Iraq have not been examined, but any interpretation of their known interventions suggests that they had significant influence on what happened and when.

Staff development

Saunders, Bonny, and Powell more than fulfilled their remit to develop their counterparts, and thus laid the foundations for the manpower development efforts that evolved in later decades. Their efforts seem to have inspired some Iraqis to undertake further study abroad, and caught the attention of the Iraqi authorities, who took advantage of their presence to extend their remits to the first training for other groups of Iraqi librarians. Srivastava not only took active steps to develop the quality of teaching but also ensured that the curriculum stayed in touch with global developments, as well as taking a lead in developing the understanding of the scale and nature of library services in Iraq that was necessary to adapt the course syllabi to local circumstances and needs. Nihad Abdul Majid's book on librarianship seems to have been the first textbook on the subject produced in Iraq, but Arabic-language teaching materials remained scarce.

Exploitation of 'strategic assets'

Perhaps the only example of the development of a 'strategic asset' by the SLIS in Al-Mustansiriyah University is the probability that the faculty presented their familiarity in teaching information searching as part of the case for being permitted to teach a Master's Degree program, and subsequently presenting

their expertise in teaching research methodology as part of that program to support their suitability as leaders of a Doctoral program.

Overcoming Resistance to Change in Education for Information

It is not difficult to observe resistance to changes in LIS education in Iraq — early opposition to Unesco's proposal for establishing SLIS; the rigidity of the university admission system that constrained the quality of students entering undergraduate programs, and direct entry to LIS Master's Degree programs by graduates in disciplines other than LIS; and the institutional boundaries placed around programs in archives and records management. The reluctance to establish a SLIS in the early 1950s could easily be attributed to the Iraqi authorities understanding of the employment opportunities for graduates from such a program, but there may be more complex issues relating to national priorities that need to be examined when any evidence can be accessed. The rigidity of the admission system, like the establishment of the independent Development Board, may have been a means of limiting personal influence as well as (probably less successfully) linking graduate numbers to the disciplines required in the national economy. The resistance to harmonising education in library, information and archive studies probably reflects official ignorance of international developments in education for the information sector, but is probably more founded on the lack of inter-Ministerial collaboration.

Little of this is discussed in the sources that have been examined to date, and it must largely remain a matter of speculation but it is clear that the challenge of overcoming resistance is one with which Iraqi LIS educators must engage, although they will need a wide range of allies to be successful.

Recognising when Innovations Become Embedded in Education for Information

Historical boundaries which allow for definition

This study was based in part on an arbitrary decision to adopt a historical framework that reflected major shifts in the nature of government of Iraq. The chosen periods seem to have been matched by changes in approaches to library development and LIS education, and as such have been useful, but the links need to be tested in a closer study of the political and administrative direction of the Iraqi state that could only be possible from an examination of the archives there.

Existence of innovators, early adopters, majority adopters, and laggards

The categorisation of innovators proposed by Rogers and others sits more easily on practitioners in library and information services than on the small group of LIS educators, and insufficient is known about the attitudes and influence of the earliest LIS teachers.

Existence of a secondary set of 'connecters'

The 'secondary connectors' in the development of libraries and LIS education in Iraq have not been clearly identified and their impact has not been tested. The most likely candidates for designating as 'secondary connectors' are those who have graduated from the LIS programs in Iraq, the first of whom will only now be nearing the end of their professional career. A start needs to be made on collecting data on their career destinations.

Tipping point(s)

It is unsurprising that many 'tipping points' can be observed during Iraq's long history. An examination of the early history of the information sector in Iraq focuses attention on three significant influences on development: the evolution of writing and the subsequent creation of written records; the role played by various religious sects in encouraging the spread of literacy and a growing number of libraries; and the adoption of paper and, later, printing that facilitated wider availability of information. The creation of the *edubbas* acknowledged the need for formalising instruction in the organisation and management of collections.

The creation of the *Maktabat al Salam* was clearly the first significant event in the modern era, in laying the foundation for the growth of a network of public libraries, and the eventual demand for staff to be qualified to manage them.

It was to be several thousand years before the qualifications and expertise required in the field began to noticeably standardised in the regulations prescribed by the late Ottoman authorities, but how rigorously these were implemented remains, as yet, unknown.

Bonny's approach to the Ford Foundation for assistance for the College libraries appears to have been a timely intervention as plans for the University of Baghdad were progressing, and laid the foundations for the manpower development that underpinned the later establishment of a formal program of LIS education. Omar's mission at the end of the 1960s seems to have been

crucial in securing Iraqi government support for the establishment of that program, and providing DBA with a substantive case to take to UNDP for the funding that secured its foundations. As an 'expert' from one Arab country undertaking a mission in another, his activities lend some credence to those who advocate 'South to South' missions in library development, but needs to be seen in the context of all that had gone before it. Srivastava's extended mission embedded the skills of teaching and curriculum development in LIS education in Iraq, and the merger of the two SLIS in Baghdad provided a strong foundation for future development.

During the 1980s and 1990s, in increasingly difficult circumstances, several major developments took place in LIS education in Iraq, which reveal that the discipline had reached full academic maturity without further foreign intervention.

Summary

From the available evidence, it does seem reasonable to draw some tentative conclusions about the factors that were critical in the establishment of education for librarianship and information science in Iraq. The factors that appear to have contributed most to its initiation and sustainability may be summarised as:

- The efforts of foreign residents to establish the first 'modern' libraries in Iraq.
- The benevolent, if uninformed, attitudes towards libraries engendered by the familiarity of many senior Iraqi officials and politicians with information-rich environments (in which they had studied in Europe and North America).
- The establishment by the Iraqi government of an impartial Development Board to which the majority of the oil income was transferred, providing a transparent assurance that the state's income would be used for improving public services rather than for individual benefit, thus laying the foundation of a network of library buildings.
- The allocation by successive Iraqi governments of a portion of the state's growing income to meet the recurring operating costs of libraries, archives and information services.
- The pre-disposition of the Iraqi government to support the development of vocational professional and technical education to underpin economic growth and diversity.
- The support of international governmental agencies and private foundations for the development of libraries and library staff.
- Progressive and increasingly substantial international support over an extended period towards the establishment of formal LIS educational programs.
- Financial support from a variety of sources for Iraqi graduates to study for higher degrees in LIS, providing a sufficient pool from which a cadre of able and willing teachers could be drawn.

- The encouragement, guidance, and leadership of foreign consultants (notably the critical interventions of Omar and Srivastava) in the evolution of LIS educational programs and the development of a cadre of experienced teachers.
- The early and increasing, but managed participation of Iraqi counterparts as part-time assistants in the delivery of training and teaching, creating a cadre of experienced and tested teachers.
- The expansion of the higher education system, providing a foundation for the establishment of an undergraduate LIS program with the substantial number of students that would justify an increasingly large and diverse body of LIS teachers.
- The role of individual Iraqis (LIS teachers, university officials, and perhaps senior government administrators and politicians) as advocates for further developments in library and information services and LIS education.
- The consolidation of the two programs in Baghdad in a single SLIS with large body of full-time teachers.
- The professional commitment of a group of teachers who did not hesitate to take advantage of the opportunities that government policy and the country's circumstances offered for extending the range of programs to encompass higher degree work, despite the challenges that circumstances presented.

The factors that may have held back the development of education for

librarianship and information management in Iraq may be summarised as:

- The continual failure of the senior officials responsible for LIS within Unesco to build strong alliances with Unesco's major sectors and with other U.N. agencies to demonstrate the importance of the development of relevant aspects of library and information services and LIS education, and to engage support for them.
- The shifting policies towards library development of the governmental development agencies and private foundations.
- The initial ignorance of members of the LIS community based outwith the Arab world of the condition of LIS in the region generally and in Iraq in particular, leading to proposals for development that were inappropriate or untimely.
- The role of influential individual Iraqis in restraining developments in LIS and LIS education.
- The Iraqi government's response to the challenge of being seen to provide social services for a population that was expanding more rapidly than the state's income, giving greater priority to expanding rather than enhancing those services, for example by improving teaching methods and library services.
- The absence of a comprehensive government strategic plan that acknowledged the potential contribution to development from interaction between literacy development, the output of the publishing industry, and teaching methods at all levels of higher education, that would lead to a culture of independent reading and foster information literacy, which would need to be supported by services in libraries, archives and information centres, and which would underpin the output of scientific and scholarly research, industrial innovation, and growth in the GDP.

- The inadequate allocation of the state's income to the development of libraries and LIS education, reflecting the public expenditure choices made by successive governments.
- The state's failure to sufficiently stimulate the output of the local publishing industry and to encourage international book trade within the Arab world.
- The negative attitude towards undergraduate education for library, archive and information work that allocated to it the academically weakest and least motivated university entrants.
- An inflexible educational system that prohibits the admission to Master's Degrees in LIS of graduates in other disciplines, which could enhance their familiarity with the information needs and resources of specialist information services, and/or provide the theoretical knowledge required to conduct research into issues that significantly impact on the effectiveness of libraries, archives and information services.
- The continuing inability of Ministries to recognise and resolve issues which appear to cross departmental boundaries, such as education for archives and records management.

In addition to the factors outlined above, traditional cultural attitudes seem to have been a factor in both progressing and inhibiting developments in LIS and LIS education.

This summary highlights the impact on developments of both positive and negative factors in international assistance and domestic circumstances, and how — at different times — both the international donors and the Iraqi institutions and government initiated changes in LIS and LIS education in Iraq. The motivation that underlay these initiatives — particularly those taken by the Iraqis — needs further explanation, if relevant information can be found in the archives of the Iraqi universities and government. It would be invidious to claim that one party or the other contributed more to the developments that took place, but – as one might expect – the balance in developing LIS education can be seen to have shifted over time from the inputs provided by the international donors and their consultants to the efforts of the Iraqi teachers. It is evident that the extended international support provided by a variety of agencies and individuals — with a unified sense of professional purpose if not with a coordinated action plan — had created a strong foundation for sustainable independent development of LIS education.

Foreign Interventions
and Domestic Initiatives
in the Development of Education
for Librarianship
and Information Management,
with Iraq as a Case Study

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Chapter 12
Conclusions

"Don't reject an idea if it is suitable,
Or Truth even if it comes from error"
(Muhammad Al-Saffar, c.1846)

Introduction

This research is believed to be the first long-term and wide-ranging study of the emergence of LIS education in a single country. It examined not only the evolution of LIS professional education against the background of not only Iraq's library, archive and information services, but also the political, economic, social, and international contexts. The aims of this chapter are to review the fulfilment of the objectives of the research programme, and the conclusions reached in answering the original research questions. It draws from its conclusions some tentative recommendations about future activities by international governmental and non-governmental agencies, by the government and institutions of Iraq and other similar developing countries, and by librarians, information scientists and archivists responsible for service development in those countries. It also sets out the limitations within which the results of this research have been framed; and, in that light, presents a short agenda for the further research that seems necessary to address issues arising from this work.

Addressing the Objectives of the Research

This section briefly confirms how the objectives were addressed.

To review existing approaches to comparing and evaluating developments in education for librarianship and information management

The research took a fundamental approach to the development of LIS education, seeing it as the process of innovation, requiring the adoption of change management techniques, and identified relevant factors in theoretical discussions in those fields. It drew on theoretical discussions of comparative librarianship to identify the perspectives from which development could be observed, and a variety of approaches to analysing the evidence derived from the research (including CSFs, STEP, QCA).

To review the main trends in the international guidance and support for LIS education offered to countries where librarianship and information management was less well developed

The research was based on an examination of the published documents of international agencies and associations, and some archived files of Unesco (the principal donor of library-related technical assistance to Iraq), the British administration in Iraq and the British Council, and United States government agencies (the largest bi-lateral global donor of technical assistance).

To review the main trends in in the needs and demand for library and information management expertise in Iraq

The investigation was underpinned by a wide ranging search for information. Ultimately some 4,000 journal articles, books and book chapters in English and other European languages were examined by the researcher, providing a scatter of evidence that was synthesised into a coherent and rich picture of development.

To review the main trends in the development of education and training for librarianship and information management in Iraq

As part of the literature search and review, particular attention was focused on documents that described or discussed manpower development, training and education in Iraq, especially in the LIS field.

To review the main trends in other factors internal to Iraq that influenced the development of education for librarianship and information management there

Based on factors identified in the literature of comparative librarianship as relevant to LIS development, the research sought evidence in historical studies and contemporary analyses of Iraq's economy, governance, education system, and publishing industry.

To identify the main trends in the international guidance and support offered to Iraq to meet the demand for library and information management expertise

During the data collection, particular attention was focused on evidence about the international bodies relations with and activities in Iraq.

To briefly compare developments in a cognate field in Iraq — archives and records management services and the related professional and

technical education — as an internal benchmark for the development of education for librarianship and information management there

The involvement of the international bodies in the development of archives and records management in the Arab world, and the evolution of education in the field in Iraq, was examined mainly in secondary sources published in English.

To briefly compare the main strands of similar developments in the Arab world as a whole to provide an external benchmark for developments in Iraq

The research identified pan-Arab activities in the LIS by the international bodies from the published literature, and other evidence about comparable developments across the Arab world. These were summarised in the thesis where they provided insights into the influence of external or internal factors, or the relative state of development in Iraq.

To evaluate the relative impact of internal and external influences on the development of LIS education in Iraq.

The factors identified as likely to be significant were examined at the end of each of the narrative chapters, and reviewed in a final summary.

Answering the Research Questions

Ben Cheikh (1982) argued that:

> "the future pattern of development of 'Arab society', in both east and west of the Arab world, remains increasingly contingent upon the ability to find the right answers to the many problems and challenges…"

This research pre-supposed that the development of appropriately staffed libraries, archives and information services contributes to the development of Iraq and society in general — accepting that the beneficial impacts of both the services and the human resources underpinning them have yet to be formally proven. The principal aim of the research was to provide an analysis and evaluation of generic factors contributing to the establishment of LIS education, and some understanding of how LIS programs could be sustained and continued to develop, based on credible evidence. The intention was to derive this understanding by examining how and why the development of education for librarianship, archival and information studies had occurred in Iraq: how developments had been shaped by domestic circumstances and policies, and the part that had been played by international assistance. It was not intended to argue how LIS education in Iraq should be managed in the future, although it was expected that it might provide new or different insights into strategies that

could be pursued in Iraq, and that comments on their general validity would be of some interest to the international development agencies, professional bodies, and the authorities responsible for LIS education in other countries. To that end, it sought to answer the following key questions:

- What were the factors that underlay the development of education for librarianship and information management in Iraq?
- What was the relative contribution of factors that were external and internal to Iraq?
- What method or tool could be used to evaluate the impact of contributions to the development of education for librarianship and information management?

What were the factors that underlay the development of education for librarianship and information management in Iraq?

The research reviewed the development of LIS education professional education in Iraq over the last 50 years as a case study, first presenting brief reviews of the broad range of contextual factors that previous theoretical studies and professional opinion have suggested are significant in developing LIS and supporting educational programs. Previous studies of the development and sustainability of library provision or LIS education have taken a narrow view of the factors that were involved, mostly focused on the key elements underpinning education for information. Much of the literature on the development of LIS education has been experiential, taking a similarly narrow approach, and expressing opinion based solely on personal informal observations and anecdotal evidence. In this study, elements from the theoretical literature of change management and the transmission of innovations were introduced. These pointed to a wide, generic range of events, actions and other factors relevant to the successful establishment of any new organisation such as a SLIS, as well as to the development of others seeking to survive and prosper in a challenging environment. Various external and internal contextual influences on the development of organisations in the information sector were identified from the literature of comparative librarianship. These were aggregated and presented in figure 3.2. At the end of each narrative chapter (4 to 10), the historical evidence was examined for manifestations of these factors, and the results were summarised in Chapter 11.

Key elements underpinning education for information

- The scale and nature of library, archive and information service provision
- Governance and funding of educational institutions
- Human resources – students and teachers
- Learning resources
- Teachers' knowledge and skills, beliefs and values

The situation in which education for information is immersed

- Local traditions, culture, language, race, and religion
- Economic context
- Government and political context
- Information needs
- Trends in education and literacy
- Reading culture and levels of information literacy
- Other social trends
- Publishing and the book trade
- Technical environment – evolution of new media and ICTs
- International relations
- Globalisation of professional norms, roles, and values
- Comparators, e.g. cognate disciplines, and similar institutions or countries

Events, actions and other factors that have specific effects in mobilising change in education for information

- Connections and interaction among people and movements
- Reflection on unfamiliar problems
- Recognition of the need for change
- Relative advantage(s) of change(s) perceived
- Voluntary reorientation or enforced fundamental change
- Policies and practices led by international agencies
- Policies and practices driven by national planning and/or legislative action
- Areas of activity becoming critical for organisations
- Actions shaped by organisational or institutional strategies
- Changes in product life cycle shaped by demand and expectations
- Emergence of alternative services and suppliers
- Evolution of cognate disciplines
- Need to build or maintain reputation
- Conscious quest for change
- Leadership instilled by attitudes and experience of an individual, or defined by the role of each functional managerial position
- Actions prompted by recruitment of new staff, including changes in executive management
- Staff development
- Exploitation of 'strategic assets'

Overcoming resistance to change

- Recognising the degree of complexity of the proposed change(s)
- Assessing compatibility of change(s) with needs, experiences and values of all those affected
- Making the likely results of change(s) visible to all affected
- Building a network of supportive and influential relationships
- Adopting change(s) subject to modification

Recognising when innovations become embedded in education for information

- Historical boundaries which allow for definition
- Existence of innovators, early adopters, majority adopters, and laggards
- Existence of a secondary set of 'connecters'
- Tipping point(s)

Figure 12.1: Interaction between education for information and its environment

In the context of the development of library, information and archive services and related educational provision, this research has confirmed the validity of most of these generic factors. It also illuminated the interplay between them. While the review of developments in Iraq has confirmed that these factors are valid, it has also made clear that they may not all always be relevant, and that

interactions between them will vary at different times. These are complex, as expressed in figure 12.1. This was revealed only because this study examined these developments within particular periods suggested by the history of Iraq. In some respects, the choice of those periods in advance of the study was an arbitrary decision, but it resulted in illustrating the diversity with which influences on events occurred.

What was the relative contribution of factors that were external and internal to Iraq?

Coblans (1950) pointed out that there were a great variety of national traditions in librarianship and "a certain amount of international makeshift." The early modern history of librarianship in Iraq illustrates that the aid agencies had little awareness of the state of library and information services in the Arab world and the challenges of developing them; their agents were often lacking in the wide range of skills and experience required; and the professional associations showed little interest in the developing nations. Their efforts were encouraged, supported, and sometimes deferred or mitigated by Iraqi officials who had a closer appreciation of local and national capacities and priorities.

The development of the human resources required by the continual expansion of Iraq's library, information and archive services evolved through a pattern commonly experienced in developing countries, beginning with short training courses by foreign experts, followed by overseas professional education for a small number of nationals of the country concerned. Iraq was becoming an increasingly prosperous country, investing some of its oil wealth in the construction of libraries and information centres. Nonetheless, some construction activity and aspects of libraries' collection development still relied on foreign donors. Moreover, the eventual initiation by a local academic institution of a program offering formal qualifications taught by local teachers was the result of substantial international assistance for the development of LIS education, and guidance by foreign consultants. Despite increasing numbers of educated personnel, however, their role in, for example, user advisory services remained seriously underdeveloped, reflecting the government's inability, because of pressure on its resources, to develop pedagogies and publishing in a way that would have fostered a culture of independent reading and critical enquiry.

When Iraq was impoverished by the long war with Iran in the 1980s and the U.N. embargo in the 1990s, and external assistance ceased, Iraq's LIS educators

made strenuous efforts to overcome limits on their access to new professional knowledge and took the opportunity to introduce advanced programs that responded to the government's need for in-country Master's and Doctoral programs, and enabled professional aspirations to be fulfilled. Despite the declining state of its library and information services, and perhaps as an alternative approach to meeting its requirements for trained personnel, LIS education continued to evolve through purely indigenous efforts, with the establishment of technician level programs in library work and records management.

The researcher's inability to access detailed evidence from the Iraqi side about all these factors prohibited an irrefutable conclusion as to whether international assistance or domestic circumstances played the greater part in facilitating development, but it is clear that the balance of effort shifted over time. The study has demonstrated that external assistance for the development of Iraq's LIS sector was initially introduced at the request of Iraqi citizens who were themselves familiar with library provision and services in more advanced economies, but it appears to have been the agencies that provided that assistance that added a requirement to provide training into the brief for the consultants who were assigned to carry out those developmental missions. However, the advantages of training local library staff to sustain the changes introduced by those consultants were soon recognised by the Iraqi authorities, who were eventually persuaded to merge the two schools in Baghdad to create one large one. The staff there consolidated their position, and then — despite the difficulty of maintaining contact with their external peers — demonstrated their ability to take a lead in furthering development.

The chosen timeframe did not pre-suppose that the capacity to develop and to make effective use of assistance is derived in some significant part from factors internal to the country concerned, although the results did point to that conclusion. The principal alternative framework might have been to use a timeframe suggested by major shifts in the policies of the international agencies, but the research demonstrated that a variety of agencies were involved, and there was no evidence available to clarify whether and to what extent the agencies' policies were aligned and coterminous. The evidence from this research points to a degree of collaboration between the various agencies, but it appears to have occurred incidentally; i.e. only when organisational goals coincided and

were compatible. Sharing of experience on an *ad hoc* basis was commonplace among individuals and sometimes organisations engaged in the provision of technical assistance in a country, but there was little sharing of long-term planning between states or institutions, or even between the specialised agencies of the United Nations (notwithstanding the broad policy directions that the U.N. issued from time to time, many of which were sometimes adopted by bi-lateral agencies). Underlying reasons for this appear to have been the differing aims and policies of the agencies, derived from the experience of differences in the state of development of the beneficiaries and their capacity to absorb assistance, and differences in their capacity to respond.

The evidence from this study is that was a somewhat reluctant partnership evolved over time, in which both parties — a donor agency and the Iraqi beneficiary — sometimes struggled to clarify or assert their views. Partnership is much more in evidence in the nature of contemporary development assistance, and a growing body of research has demonstrated that social capital — in the form of shared norms and mutual trust between individuals and groups — is one of the values that can be created by international collaboration in which the goals are shared among collaborators and the management of the collaboration is effective (Isabelle & Heslop 2014). The impact of participation in foreign consultants' efforts to develop LIS education by a steadily growing and carefully managed group of Iraqi demonstrators and teachers certainly seems to have fostered a collective will amongst them to seize the opportunities presented by particular national circumstances to evolve study programs at higher levels that demonstrated the substance of librarianship and information studies as an academic discipline.

Social actions such as library development always occur within a context. Adopting a model from Johnson's (2009) analysis of information behaviour, it can be said that any context has three facets, including the situation in which individuals are immersed, actions that have specific effects on events, and significant frameworks such as belief systems. The aim of studies such as this is to try to explain what the linkage is, if any, between these contextual factors and events or behaviour, and the conditions under which they may apply.

The actions to which Johnson (2009) referred had been further explained by Gladwell (2000), according to whom, changes or 'tipping points' occur at which a transition from one situation to another can be stimulated by various

phenomena, and these were identified at different stages in the development of LIS education in Iraq. Gladwell claims that there are three phenomena which could set off a 'social epidemic':

The Law of the Few. The first phenomenon — which Gladwell calls the 'Law of the Few' — is that a few key individuals can have a significant influence on initiating change and taking a new product or service beyond the 'tipping point'. They tend to be well-connected, with the skills of persuasion and a wide personal communication network that includes the influential people in their sector of society.

The use of prosopography helped to illuminate the appearance of this phenomenon in Iraq. There appear to have been some individuals in Iraq who may have had the potential to fulfil this role, particularly the first teachers of librarianship, but the records examined so far do not offer any firm identification of them, although the long duration of Nazar Qassim's tenure as Head of the Department at Al-Mustansiriyah University suggests that he must have enjoyed the confidence of the University authorities and/or his colleagues in the Department. Dr Al-Chawaf may have enjoyed similar influence in Baghdad University, but the evidence available to date suggests his record was rather more controversial.

Among the foreign consultants, the most significant was, without doubt, Anand Srivastava, whose extended mission and strong sense of purpose laid solid foundations for the development of professional education. The earlier mission undertaken by Anwar Omar was also pivotal in development. However, some of their success must be attributed to the continual advocacy and example set by the many other consultants provided by Unesco and the Ford Foundation in previous years.

Getting a 'social epidemic' started also involves transferring ideas through the differing groups in society — those defined by students of the communication of ideas as innovators, early adopters, early majority, the late majority, and finally the laggards. The first two are visionaries and risk takers, whereas the early majority avoid risks and are pragmatists. There is a chasm between the two. This is where a secondary set of 'connecters' — the former students of the teachers — have a role in generating the 'social epidemic'. They transfer the idea from one group to another.

Here, the record is less clear and less certain. The teachers themselves seem to have been willing to transfer new ideas to their students, as evidenced by changes in the curricula, the development of higher degree programs, the provision of continuing education programs, and their contributions to the professional literature. There have been no studies published in English reviewing the career development and achievements of the graduates of the programs — surprisingly so, given that these could enhance the attractiveness of the programs to prospective future students and perhaps reverse the trend for a seemingly large proportion of students emerging from the LIS undergraduate programs to not enter LIS work. Whether the program failed to motivate them, or whether it provided them with skills in information organisation and management that were appreciated and better rewarded by employers in other sectors needs to be investigated.

The power of context. The second phenomenon is that, according to Gladwell, 'social epidemics' are sensitive to prevailing conditions. This has been demonstrated in several ways in this study which has indicated the way in which LIS development in Iraq was fostered by economic and political circumstances, while inhibited by the prevailing pedagogic methods and the state of the national and international book trade.

Stickiness. The third phenomenon is what Gladwell called the creation of 'stickiness'. There have to be benefits in making changes that are readily recognised, and that can be promoted in a simple way to make it irresistible. For the development of LIS education, enhancing how the effective use of the resources invested in library and information services might be linked to economic, social and technological progress could be a key 'stickiness' factor. This research has demonstrated that the development of education for librarianship is influenced by how the flow of concepts and practices is facilitated. The LIS School is itself an active agent in this process. Although its development can be seen to be influenced by the national and international environment in which it finds itself and subject to the consequences of actions taken by other individuals and agencies, its academic staff can be observed in different time periods taking actions, individually or collectively, that change the national circumstances and international environment just as much. This study has drawn attention to the interaction between those factors and initiatives taken within Iraq and/or by the international agencies. It demonstrates that the development

of an LIS program lies within a complex web of interactions that is illustrated in Figure 12.2.

SLIS

International environment

National circumstances

Temporal framework
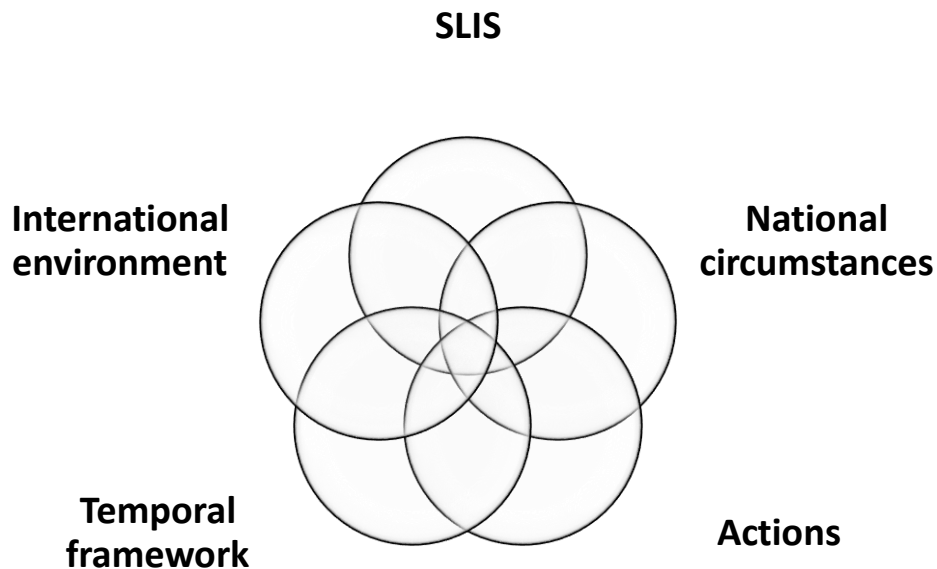
Actions

Figure 12.2: Interactions in the development of Schools of Librarianship

What method or tool could be used to evaluate the impact of contributions to the development of education for librarianship and information management?

The research identified a wide range of factors that contribute to the development of LIS education. These stemmed from the policies and actions of international agencies that have provided guidance and technical assistance in the LIS field, and decisions by the Iraqi government about its priorities for national development and public expenditure in the circumstances prevailing at particular times in Iraq's history. The research also pointed to a significant group of factors that require further investigation and analysis — the impact of Iraqi culture and traditional attitudes towards reading, libraries, archives and the use of information.

However, previous studies of the international assistance for the development of libraries and LIS education by, for example Brewster (1974; 1976) and Keresztesi (1977) had also pointed to the need for a methodology that would enable developments to be explored in greater depth so that future efforts to develop a self-sustaining education program could be more securely based. This research has demonstrated the merits of understanding how the various factors can interact in the development of LIS education. Porter's value chain concept

suggests a model through which a program evolves (Figure 12.3). Based on a model developed as a foundation for assessing the impact of ICTs in development (Heeks & Molla 2009), and incorporating elements from the 'balanced scorecard' approach to measuring progress towards objectives, it appears valid whether establishing a new SLIS or a new program within an existing SLIS, but each stage demands careful preparation, assessment and follow-up, as can be observed in the following brief critique of the evolution of the LIS programs in Iraq.

Developmental vision	Prevailing circumstances	*Strategy*	Inputs required/available
Deliverables expected	Measures of success	*Implementation*	Adoption
Outputs	Outcomes	Impact	Sustainability
Further evolution			
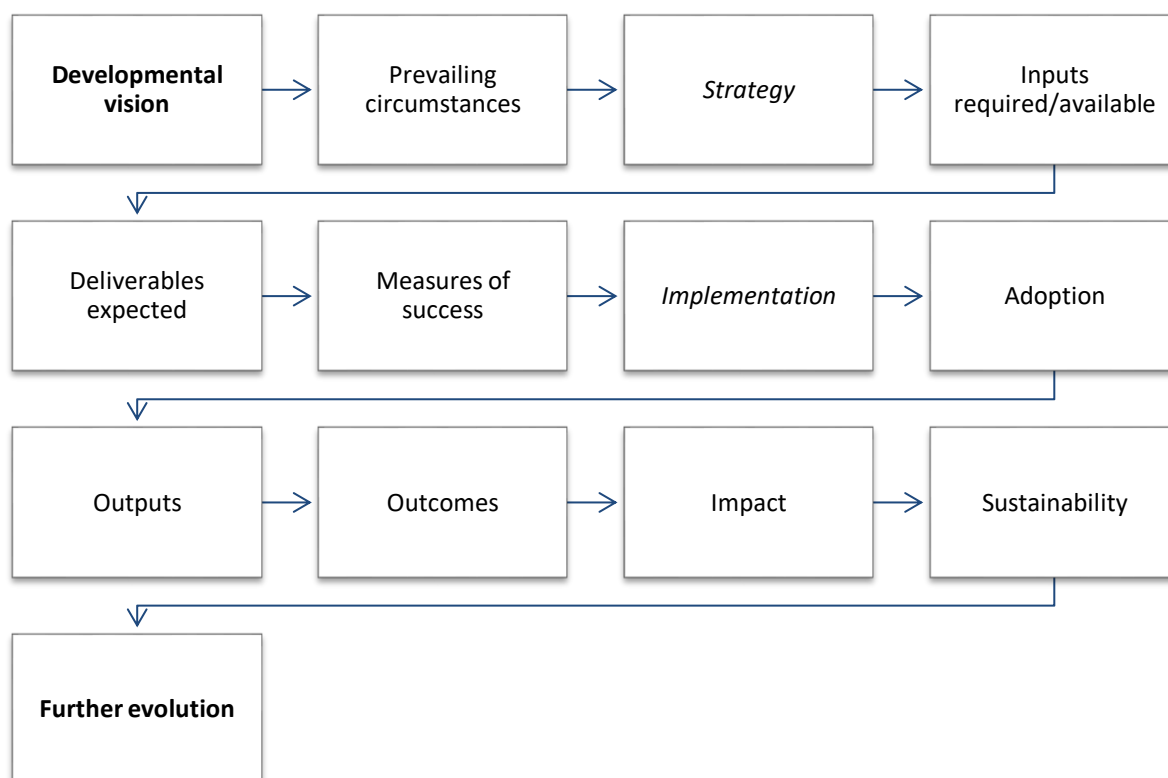
Figure 12.3: The development of LIS education – a value chain model

The first stage of initiating any 'vision' for development has to be an assessment of <u>all</u> the 'prevailing circumstances'. It is clear that Unesco from the beginning sought to establish a School of Librarianship, without any understanding of even local library services or academic conditions — a failing that Ballard (1980) noted as a typical feature of efforts to develop LIS education in developing countries. This was initially resisted by the Iraqi authorities, perhaps because they recognised the situation, or did not deem it a national priority. When it suited their purposes, it was prioritised. Unesco then agreed that the Iraqi request to allocate Participation Programme funds matched the

Organization's aims, and eventually went further in securing substantial support from UNDP.

Unesco's strategy, constrained by the limited 'inputs' that it could provide because of its budget and the human resources available, was (and still appears to be) to undertake projects that, while providing a demonstration of modern library services, were also expected to adapt to local needs and circumstances and not impose a foreign model, acting as a "center for research and experimentation in the adaptation of methods of library service to the local conditions of the region" (Evans 1954). Setting aside the fact that its initial project in Iraq was based on a false premise, its strategic vision was limited. It recognised the need for in-service training and for some staff to be offered the opportunity to attend an LIS education program in an advanced country, but reporting of the project was terse, uncritical, and probably enjoyed a very limited distribution, thus failing to communicate how the results of the experiment might be adapted to act as a model for other countries. These problems continued to be evident is subsequent projects, even when substantial funds might have been available from UNDP. The Ford Foundation's strategy appears to have been more soundly based and better resourced, but is also open to criticism for the absence of any public reports on its specialists' activities.

All the specialists provided by Unesco and the Ford Foundation carried out their tasks, but the 'deliverables' from Saunders's and Bonny's missions were not defined beyond the 'implementation' of their assigned tasks, and the legacy from their activities was probably somewhat insecure. On the other hand, seemingly on their own initiative, the Ford Foundation's specialists also encouraged further development by beginning to engage Iraqi librarians in the in-service training, which later enabled Kalia, Omar and Srivastava to develop a core team of LIS teachers as formal programs were 'adopted' and evolved.

The 'outputs' from these new programs went some way towards meeting the manpower shortages created as Iraq's library and information services, but the resulting 'outcomes', the benefits in terms of the contribution that modern library services could make to national development, were frustrated by the vacuum in which they existed, because the prevailing circumstances did not include a culture of independent reading.

Any assessment of the impact of development activities would need to take account of why the activity was initiated; at whom was it targeted; and the form

it took. Roche (1999) argued that any assessment of the impact of development activities on organisations would need to take account of changes in:

- identity and values
- purpose, vision and strategy
- human and financial resources
- systems and procedures
- organisational culture
- structure and organization
- control and accountability
- programme and services
- performance and results
- learning and change
- leadership, management and decision-making
- external linkages and relations.

Some further criteria for assessing the impact of development activities on the sustainability of LIS programs could be found in the results of a survey of the opinions of senior LIS academics in North America. Those criteria that they identified as important were summarised as:

- The academic unit reflects the mission and goals of the parent institution yet has a strong sense of self and of its mission; the academic and strategic planning process is consistent with the processes of the parent institution.
- Faculty are represented on university-wide committees and task forces.
- There is open communication with university administrators; senior administrators are aware of the program's goals and accomplishments and acknowledge the program and its graduates on appropriate occasions.
- The program offers a cohesive curriculum reflecting a disciplinary and distinctive body of knowledge. The curriculum is demonstrably at the graduate level in intellectual depth and requirements.
- Faculty reflect current educational practice and philosophies.
- Faculty demonstrate their scholarship and attract external research funding at least to the same extent as similar units on campus.
- Faculty are connected with other scholars and other units on campus.
- Faculty and student numbers in the overall administrative unit meet a campus-determined critical mass.
- Faculty renewal advances the program and fills tenure-track salary lines.
- The program is reasonably well supported financially, to the extent that it is able to realize its academic goals and strategic plan.
- Faculty are visible at local and national conferences.
- The program is well connected with alumni and the professional community.
- The program raises funds to the same extent as similar units on campus.
- Students find professional employment within a reasonable period of time.
- The program is led by a visionary and diplomatic advocate for graduate education and professional education.

- The program receives full accreditation (Haycock 2010).

It is possible to conclude that the Iraqi LIS teachers had developed their own vision and a strategy for program development based on a shared set of values, and had implemented significant changes in the programs and services that they offered. Their progress was inhibited by the financial circumstances that they faced during the last decades of the twentieth century, and the limitations that were placed on their continuing professional development, particularly in gaining the advanced degrees that would have enhanced their knowledge, skills and academic standing. The organisational culture of Iraqi higher education — a rigid bureaucracy — was also a hindrance to progress, and perhaps one that revealed limitations in the networking and advocacy skills of the LIS educators.

Contributions of This Research

Original Contribution to Knowledge

This study has shed new light on the development of LIS education. It is significant for the following reasons:

- It is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive theoretical base for planning and evaluating the development of library, archival and information provision in a country and the professional and technical education that underpins it.
- It is the first comprehensive review of the impact on developments in LIS education in a specific country of the activities of individuals, and the policies and potentialities of the international development agencies and professional bodies, set in the context imposed by the state of a country's changing economy, government and social development.
- It is the first coherent review in English of the development of the entirety of library, archival and information services and related professional and technical education in Iraq.
- It is the first study to demonstrate the use of evidence from the archives of the most significant international agencies that provided technical assistance during the formative period of the development of library, archival and information services in Iraq.

Methodological Contribution to the LIS Field

Evaluation of the impact of development projects was not often carried out, but is now generally required. However, the evaluations that are conducted are almost always, necessarily, immediately after the conclusion of the project, and focus narrowly on their results in the short term. This study is perhaps the only attempt that has been made to assess library development over a longer term, taking account of the collective efforts of several agencies, and the circumstances that applied in those institutions as well as in the beneficiary

country. The research has built on established theories of change management and the transfer of innovations by demonstrating their relevance to the development of the information sector and education for information. Presenting the research findings as models was considered useful in demonstrating a systematic and concise connection between the theory and the evidence, and these models will help to focus consideration by future researchers and commentators on the factors that critically affect development in the field and the relationships between them. The indications from this study are that development is not a simple process. A wide range of factors need to be continually kept under review throughout the progression towards the desired objective (see figure 12.4).

In doing research such as this, examining a situation from an external perspective, it is imperative to consider critically the influences on one's own perceptions, and to try to modify them by seeking out the views of indigenous observers. LIS studies of development programmes and projects have generally focussed more on description and less on analysis, and needed to engage more with social theory from other fields, to create new and generalizable knowledge. Some readers might have expected to find a theoretical analysis of the function of libraries within Iraqi society, adopting approaches such as those proposed by Gramsci[121] and Foucault. However, this is the first major study (in English) of the history of Iraqi librarianship; it is incomplete; and such a theoretical treatment would have been neither practicable nor appropriate.

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[121] See resumé in Appendix 5.
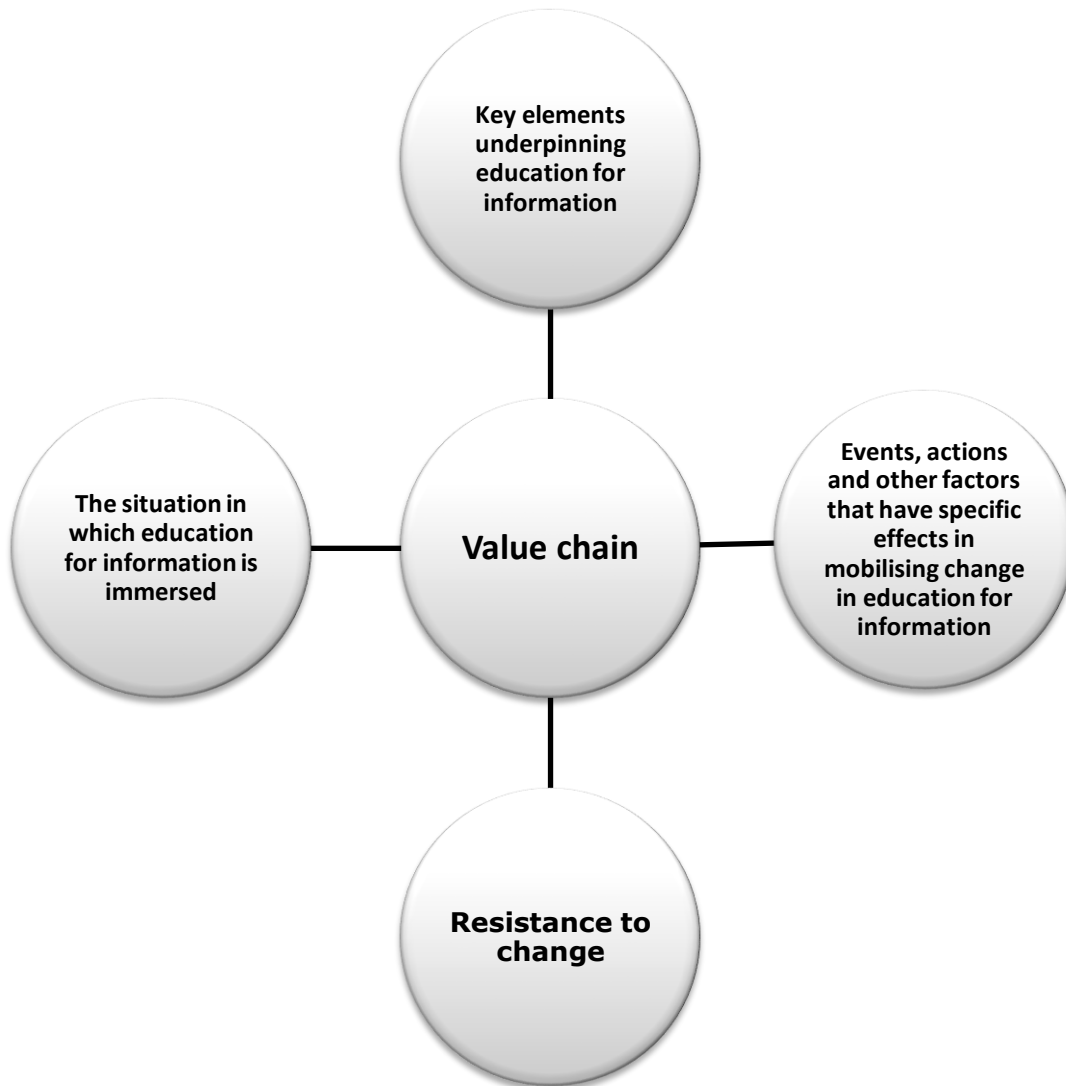
Figure 12.4: Influences in the development of LIS education

The researcher rejected the application of 'orientalist' or 'postcolonial' theory, a body of academic study that seeks to draw on critical theory to understand the loss of power, identity, and culture when a group of people is dominated by a powerful force. If substantial evidence existed, the discourse analysis that is the basis of these theories could certainly be helpful in understanding the values and beliefs of Europeans and Americans in less developed countries during a particular period of their history, and during programmes of assistance to modernise the economies and social fabric of countries. To date, however, the application of these theories has often been in revisionist histories, criticising earlier value systems in terms of more recent epistemology rather than evaluating the overall situation that had existed at a particular time in an objective way to determine whether what was done was the best that could be accomplished in prevailing circumstances. Of course, the alternative approach

can be difficult, as there is often little written evidence, particularly from the indigenous members of earlier, less developed societies. In such cases, a researcher sometimes has to examine the writings of external observers from a critical perspective to try understand, for example, how and why they formed their views on other people's life styles and behaviour patterns. That, in essence, is what Edward Said tried to do — and did very successfully — in his seminal study 'Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient' (1978).

Regrettably, however, a misinterpretation of his and similar work has encouraged a revisionist approach to history in which today's viewpoints and standards are applied to events that happened in earlier times. Expressing them now changes nothing. Such perspectives have become the refuge of academic charlatans. The standards they seek to apply are usually based on a more recent political philosophy, and were not relevant to what happened in the past. All that such studies reveal is that those who author them do not have the intellectual curiosity, will and energy to try to understand why events happened in the way that they did, by exploring the contemporary context of the events as they took place and trying to understand what had shaped the knowledge, attitudes and decisions of those who took part. Most seem to rely on a limited understanding of works such as Said's 'Orientalism', and fail to recognise that attitudes and standards do evolve over time, and that there are a variety of reasons why that happens. Said acknowledged that it was contact between west and east shaped western beliefs about eastern society, but not that those attitudes were changed over time as differing circumstances were encountered. Some of the later Roman Emperors, for example, were born in the eastern provinces of the Empire. The attitudes outlined by Said drew from his interpretation of what was then recent history, and there have been considerable changes in global contacts between societies in the half century since Said outlined his views.

That process of evolution does not stop; the factors which influence its direction do, however, change, as has been demonstrated in this study's modest explication of the impact of economics, politics, and education on social change in Iraq. These developments also challenge fundamentalist opinion which holds that traditional attitudes and behaviours should not be reconsidered and amended in the light of changing circumstances.

There are similar weaknesses in 'postcolonial' theories. The legacies and current circumstances of all former colonies not identical. Iraq's recent heritage

as a long-term colony of the Ottoman Empire and a brief period as a British protectorate under the League of Nations's 'Mandate' is almost unique, and its later circumstances distinguish it from its near neighbour, Jordan. The 'postcolonial' condition is in fact characterised by contradictions, paradoxes, and tensions as developing countries seek the opportunity to finish the project of their modernisation in their own way or at their own pace (Persram 2003). Such differences perhaps go some way to explain why there have been few formal studies that have applied 'postcolonial' theory to librarianship and information services in developing countries (Khanal 2012).

The influence of western models of librarianship has, however, become a matter of increasing debate in the developing countries during the last fifty years. There have been several examples of opinion-based criticisms of legacy LIS curricula, which have been mistakenly attributed solely to their 'postcolonial' condition or the influence of wealthier neighbours. The American model of library education was the first to be challenged, after its introduction in Latin America. Later, the European legacies apparent in both library services and professional education became subject to criticism in Africa. However, such a discussion does not appear in the LIS literature about Iraq (or the Arab world), in which there appears to have been little comment by Iraqi librarians on the impact of earlier developmental activities on their curriculum. This is not necessarily a problem. Perhaps it reveals that the SLIS in Iraq have a relatively large number of academics; that a significant proportion of them have learned to think independently; and that they have identified and sought out the information required to adapt the curriculum to local realities; rather than complaining about the situation in which they find themselves and encouraging further criticism from their practitioner peer group.

Even though the need for deeper analysis of the challenges faced by libraries and LIS education and their response to them has been recognised in the region, the situation remains much as it was described 25 years ago:

> "Although the number of studies has increased since the 1960s, a good portion of the literature published about librarianship in the Arab countries is descriptive — a serious problem with the literature on librarianship in the developing countries generally. Many of the articles describe a library or a library system, but do not attempt to analyze problems and suggest solutions based on the specific context dealt with." (Alqudsi-Ghabra 1988)

Although the results of this research have emphasised the benefits of undertaking such critical analytical studies, it must be acknowledged that much

of the historical record is so fragmented that there are few substantial collections of documents or substantial individual documents that are currently readily available and that would lend themselves to detailed analysis of the discourse. It is also the case that in many developing countries, the knowledge, skills and resources to undertake theoretical research have not yet been widely established in the LIS academic community.

The Use of Evidence suggested by Comparative Methodology

The investigation chose to consider evidence from the contextual fields suggested by the theories of comparative librarianship, whose early proponents believed that, *inter alia*, LIS and LIS education do not exist in isolation, and, as Foskett (1980) wrote,

> "By stressing the importance of the environment in which any system exists, comparative librarianship highlights the potential dangers of cultural imperialism, while in its emphasis on the true nature of 'universals', it ensures that, following Bacon's[122] advice, we shall know which flowers can be transplanted and where the soil will be fertile."

This research provided evidence that library, information and archive services and LIS education do not exist in a vacuum, but are shaped by the circumstances that surround them — and by the dexterity of individuals in recognising and manipulating those circumstances. This study has demonstrated that the contextual factors identified by proponents of comparative librarianship are relevant. A well-rounded outline of economic, political, and social changes does much to explain the origins and development of a country's library and information services, and circumstances that may give rise to concerns such as shortfalls in the availability of professional manpower or differences in the implementation of new technologies.

However, this study has also exposed the challenges implicit in using this approach. The range and scale of the bibliography clearly indicates the effort that has been required, well beyond the scale of a typical doctoral investigation. The text for this thesis had to be drawn selectively from the compilation of a contextualised history of the development of the information sector in Iraq, which it is intended to publish as a monograph in due course. Each of the discrete periods of Iraq's development or each of the sectors of the country's information economy could have been be the subject of a more substantial and

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[122] See resumé in Appendix 5.

detailed examination, but would have lacked the overview that revealed the complex interaction of the contributory factors.

Lor (2013) has criticised studies that have claimed to use comparative methodology for what he describes, using Popper's terminology, as 'naïve empiricism':

> "Sometimes theories are constructed that are essentially circular, referring only to their own theoretical constructs and not connecting to socially explanatory theory. This is coupled with a widespread lack of awareness of the metatheoretical assumptions implicit in international comparisons, which in turn leads to methodological decisions being taken by default. The upshot is that the body of work comprising comparative LIS lacks connectedness and has so far failed to contribute as much to the theoretical basis of library and information science as it should have." (Lor 2013)

It is probably true that most comparative studies in the LIS field have lacked a firm base in social theory; approaching the state of development in the information sector from a theoretical basis remains rare, and work in this field is generally in the early stages of theoretical analysis (e.g. Haider & Bawden 2006; Al Dwairi & Herrera-Solana 2007). Lor's comment seems to ignore the wide range of issues that have to be tackled, and the expertise required to do so. It seems unlikely that a comprehensive study along the lines outlined in the model proposed in figure 3.2 in this research but in a greater depth could be carried out effectively as a single programme of activity in a relatively short period of time and by a single researcher.

This study has nonetheless reinforced the case for inter-disciplinary studies of the information sector. Each of the major themes that have been explored in this thesis could and should be examined in more detail by someone or more probably a team whose expertise encompasses the principles and theories relevant to both the contextual influences on development and the structure and nature of the information sector, and who could thus offer considerable insights on future policy development. This offers considerable opportunities and challenges at a time when research in the LIS sector is in the early stages of development and is generally underfunded, not least in the Arab world.

The environment and its impact differs between each of the major types of information organisations depicted in this study, and varies between each country. Each is deserving of separate attention. To date, it appears that the attention of scholars to the theoretical underpinnings of the information sector in developing countries has focussed only on public libraries in one or a few

countries (e.g. Bouri 1993; Ignatow, et al. 2012), and on the wider issues of the transfer and adoption of information technology (e.g. Al-Zahrani 2000; Al-Fadhli 2011). The development of academic and school libraries in Iraq appears to have been a token gesture towards achieving modernisation, following a model observed in advanced countries while not fully appreciating its rationale and underpinning, and clearly needs to be a focus for further research to make a persuasive case for the actions necessary to transform a superficial (and not inexpensive) likeness into provision that is locally relevant and an effective contributor to advancing the national knowledge and skills base. Similarly, an understanding of how the flow of scientific and technical information contributes to prosperity based on agricultural, industrial and commercial activity needs to be more strongly supported by empirical evidence. While cost may not be a factor in the implementation of ICTs in libraries in some Arab countries, the social and cultural implications are likely to be profound. The utilization of information technology needs to be closely supported by appropriate curricular developments which incorporate cultural perspectives, language needs, and the diverse skill levels of likely users, and each part of the LIS sector would benefit from more focused research.

This study has certainly served to bring out the complexity of the methodology that was understated by the advocates of the theory, including the challenge of evaluating the results of comparative studies, as well as some alternative themes that were overlooked and that need to be explored in more detail. In particular, the role of tradition and culture in shaping attitudes and in facilitating or hindering change must be given more attention than hitherto. That, in turn, will demand a greater understanding in terms of social theory.

There may be no richer area of study for those who seek to assist future library development in other countries (or their own) than gaining a thorough understanding of the contexts within which they might contribute effectively to the development and promotion of appropriate policy solutions and innovative practices. The preparation of today's generation of professionals to work effectively in collaborative projects that now typically involve only short visits to the country that is the primary beneficiary, or prolonged but distant contact with it, needs fresh consideration.

The Use of Prosopography

In any historical study, a major challenge is understanding the motivations of the participants. This research looked back little more than half a century, but most of the participants had died before the research began. The researcher was fortunate to make contact with some of them, to discover some oral history recordings, and to have access to some archived personnel files. In the absence of such information sources, or in conjunction with them, the use of prosopography provided some further insights into individuals – and their sometimes ignorant, mistaken, benign, or malign influence on events.

However, most individuals in the information sector are not major public figures. The publicly available biographical and career information about them tends to be limited, difficult to access, and/or self-promotional. Published evaluations of their activities are rare, and tend to be eulogistic introductions when they receive professional awards, or obituaries based on a traditional approach which usually can be summed up as "don't speak ill of the dead." The notes in the Appendix about many of the personalities who featured in the history of library development in relation to Iraq are consequently variable in substance, depending in part on what information could be discovered, edited in some cases to focus attention on the expertise that they brought to their involvement in this narrative and sometimes hinting at possible attitudes engendered by their background and experience.

Some clearly played a more significant part than others, and deserve further attention and warrant a more detailed evaluation of their expertise and personal and professional perspectives. This researcher has singled out for further investigation two individuals about whom little was previously known — Muriel Handyside and Cyril Saunders — and biographical studies of them will be published in due course.

This study has also highlighted the role played by many other individuals — local politicians, administrators and librarians, as well as the policy makers in and influencers on international organisations and their intermediaries implementing technical assistance. The inability to access Arabic sources highlights our apparent ignorance of the motivations of the Iraqi politicians and senior officials who make the policy decisions that affect the development of library and information services and LIS education, which is a barrier to informing and influencing them. For example, the extent of national politicians' understanding

of the strategic role of the information sector needs to be explored as a basis for the evolution of more effective national planning.

The perceptions and responsiveness of the international policy makers in the LIS field have never been examined, but a disconcerting picture emerges from this study of their continual ignorance of, or not infrequent disregard for the real circumstances in the less developed countries, and suggests that such a study is necessary, even if unwelcome. For example, Personalities and internal politics seem to be inseparable within Unesco. Evans' interference in the first LIS project in Iraq established an inappropriate expectation that a SLIS could be developed in the 1950s. Carter seemed to lack the leadership qualities or political skills to promote the interests of his Department successfully. Tocatlian seems to have failed to grasp and promote the potential to empower PGI as a leader in the information sector. The apparent side-lining of Petersen and Penna to accommodate policy shifts and structural changes raises questions about the nature of Unesco's personnel management. A similar interpretation might be placed on Yushkiavitshus's unwillingness to accept the recommendation of his advisers to protect LIS education when cuts had to be made, and the subsequent re-assignment of Courrier. Missions by 'experts' from the education, science and culture sectors frequently overlooked the information component needed to underpin their principal objectives, and was overlooked at Unesco Headquarters when their reports were edited to conform to Unesco policies.

Some of the earliest library development activities in the modern era were undertaken by expatriates while they lived and worked in foreign countries for relatively long periods of time. The actions of the development agencies and the 'experts' they employed were probably intended to shape the developing countries' societies along lines similar to their own, as evidenced in statements by McColvin, but should they be condemned for that? Their efforts have been subject to analysis only on a limited basis, if at all, following 'orientalist' or 'post-colonialist' theories, and subject to retrospective and unjust criticism. As Lancaster (1991) observed:

> "almost all of Unesco's training activities have involved teachers from the developed world and students from developing countries. This is not really surprising in view of the gap that still exists between the information services of the developed and less developed world."

The people who were involved in Iraq's library development based their activities on what they knew, conditioned by the knowledge and attitudes that

were extant at the time that they were involved, and the resources available to them. Such insights as they developed into the local scene did not appear in their published reports. Little attention has been paid to the broader issues raised by examining their work from the perspectives of change management and knowledge transfer.

The role of the foreign 'expert' consultant who visited a country to undertake a specific assignment was given some attention in the heyday of library technical assistance, and those arguments have been rehearsed in this study. However, the nature of technical assistance in the field has again changed significantly — the members of this new generation of visiting specialists are just as likely to originate from developing countries as from the wealthier countries. They are expected to function effectively in short-term assignments that have become more common because modern transportation offers the opportunity to reduce the financial burdens and personal inconveniences involved, and because of the growing interest in international inter-institutional cooperation, but little attention has been paid to understanding the personal qualities and skills required. Lancaster (1991) suggested that "because of political, ethnic, and cultural differences, South-to-South transfer may be much more difficult than it would seem at first." This does not seem to have always been the case in Iraq, where Srivastava in particular seems to have been entirely successful in the primary task assigned to him.

An In-depth Study of Library Development in Iraq

The review of the provision of technical assistance for LIS development, training and education in the country was structured by distinct stages in the government of Iraq. It reviewed the aims of Iraq's governments, and the changes in the country's economic circumstances and social development. It examined the scale of international support for the development of LIS education, shifts in the policies of the agencies concerned, and the impact of particular kinds of interventions.

The brief review of the early development of archives and libraries in Iraq presented in this study was not intended to be a comprehensive history. The main aim was to identify historic influences on recent developments. In that respect, it goes some way to countering the argument that the study of library history may face the very strong possibility of becoming obsolete unless it could

prove relevant and useful within the emerging context of information management. This review clearly points to traditional beliefs that may have conditioned attitudes to changes proposed or introduced in the twentieth century as well as early practices that remain extant, and demonstrates the insights to be gained from not focusing studies narrowly within the boundaries of a modern state, which may have been an integral part of a wider society.

The chapter also demonstrated the merits of extensive searching for information. Its synthesis of even only the English language literature not only provides a broader perspective than evident in most previous summaries, but also draws attention to conflicting accounts in the original sources that undermine the certainty of those summaries. Preparation of the chapter was useful in drawing attention to the need for an up-to-date and coherent overview of the early development of archives and libraries in Iraq, to correct some of the errors in and omissions from the current English language literature that is generally based on incomplete, out-dated, or misconstrued information. That deficiency will be addressed by the researcher in a more comprehensive account to be published elsewhere.

The main body of the study offers an understanding of the issues that created the situation that existed in Iraq in the information sector in the latter years of the twentieth century, and provides a clearer framework within which future researchers could base their work. Thus it responds to the expectations of Cowen (2006), who argued that comparative methodology is relatively well established conceptually and could provide a framework for the overall contextual study required to examine an institution or phenomenon.

This study has made a pragmatic evaluation of the available evidence about various factors' impact on the evolution of LIS training and education in Iraq. In doing so, it challenged interpretations of the relevance of early LIS education in the less developed countries that have emerged during the past 40 years, stemming from the rise of the 'revisionist' approach to history and support for theories such as 'orientalism'.

The Use of Archival Material

His research has demonstrated the merits of examining developments retrospectively in terms of deepening understanding of how a particular situation came into being and identifying possible barriers to further progress. It has also

highlighted the fragmented, incomplete and sometimes partial nature of the published record of events. As explained earlier, technical assistance for LIS development is a relatively recent phenomenon. Substantial activity in the field began only in the 1950s, but more substantial evidence is becoming available. The archived records of the policy discussions by donors and beneficiaries and of the interaction between them, and of the programmes, projects and missions through which advice and assistance were provided to developing countries began to be available in the 1980s, but only now are open archives covering a sufficiently long period to facilitate a considered overview of their contents. The use of archival material in this study has begun to shed significant new light on the way in the work of the international agencies and the consultants that they employed contributed to developments in Iraq, on their interaction with the Iraqi government, and on the 'realpolitik' of international development assistance in the LIS field. However, further research in archives is needed, for example, to identify any evidence that the senior management in Unesco or the Iraqi Ministries gave any strategic consideration to the implications of the changing nature of library and information services. Another topic worthy of exploration is how financial constraints affected policy decisions. For example, the British Council benefitted in some respects from being distanced from the UK government, but it was dependent on various government departments for much of its funding, and thus vulnerable to changes in government policy.

The authors of studies of international development in LIS and LIS education cannot now be excused if they fail to examine the relevant archives, without which their factual accounts and conclusions must be suspect. Such studies are, in some respects, a form of library history, albeit near contemporary history. It follows that those who chose to study LIS developments must be more appropriately trained in historical research, and in the use of archives in their research.

What lessons can be learned from the Iraqi experience that might be applied in the future?

New Connections between International Assistance and Domestic Circumstances and Initiatives in Shaping LIS Development

In considering the wider social and cultural dimensions of the Arab, predominantly Muslim society, this study has hopefully initiated a more meaningful dialogue about the underpinning for future development than past

debates about the relevance of bibliographic and classification systems. Gerges (1991) has criticised how the tendency to look at the region from the outside rather than from the inside distorts the study of the Arab world, an 'ethnocentric' approach reflecting an inability or unwillingness to study its culture and society through its own conceptual framework.

All too often, the development of Arab society is discussed in terms of a monolithic Islamic culture that has atrophied, rather than a more nuanced understanding of the peoples of separate nation states that continue to evolve through changes in their political, economic and social circumstances.

Secularism, with its veneration of human reason over divine revelation and its precept of the separation of mosque and state, is anathema to the Islamic doctrine of *tawhid* (oneness), in which all aspects of life whether spiritual or temporal are consolidated into a harmonious whole (Cook 1999). However, the newly independent Arab states such as Iraq, established bureaucratic structures based on Western paradigms in which the state and religion were separated. Local nationals had little chance of improving their opportunities for social mobility and acquiring material amenities unless they were educated in a culture that prepared them to serve the needs of the state.

The international spread of cultural processes, particularly popular culture, is often accepted, even welcomed, in the Arab world, but this phenomenon is open to misinterpretation. There needs to be greater understanding that, while people may wish to participate in 'modernity', they may equally wish to do so in terms of their own traditions, and that this explains why agencies and individuals engaged in development may experience a reaction against the perceived loss of identity and sense of community and projects are less than wholly successful. While acknowledging that a significant change is taking place in the recognition accorded to indigenous knowledge and traditional management practices, long perceived as obstacles to development, equal recognition must be given to the major challenge of finding ways of handling conflicts when 'modern science' contradicts long held beliefs and traditional practices, and to applying this understanding to strengthening development policies and projects. Resolving this dichotomy is central to meaningful change:

> "The challenge to humanity is to adopt new ways of thinking, new ways of acting, new ways of organizing itself in society, in short, new ways of living. The challenge is also to promote different paths of development, informed by a recognition of how cultural factors shape the way in which societies conceive

their own futures and choose the means to attain these futures." (Unesco, World Commission 1996)

The SLIS in Iraq (and other Arab states) exist in an environment that is complex in cultural, political, and religious terms and essentially different from Western societies that have older established models of library, information and archive services. However, the system of LIS education in the Arab world seems to have taken few steps towards incorporating into the curriculum either those aspects of nationalism, pan-Arabism, and Islam that touch on the work of the information sector, or the new branches of theoretical social knowledge that have begun to be addressed in Western SLIS and that might help shed light on how they might do so. The challenge of identifying and introducing these changes seems likely to be particularly acute where the cadre of teachers is drawn from amongst those whose studies have been confined to a narrow conception of LIS, as a consequence of unenlightened academic traditions that require applicants for admission to a higher degree to possess a Bachelor's Degree in the same subject. The evidence of this study makes it clear that that issue can only be resolved at institutional and national level, as the international development agencies seem to have largely lost interest in the LIS (education) sector, and probably any credibility and influence within it.

Contribution to International and National Development Agencies' Work

Research such as this study has wider implications, for:

> "it is not only as a basis for better understanding that comparison is of use, it is also productive of more effective action at the practical level... Research of this kind has also contributed to the formulation of new concepts, such as the concept of development, which today sets the lines of planning operations at national and international level alike." (Hassenforder 1968)

As Verzberger (1990) argued, the quality of decisions depends a lot on the cognitive maps used by the decision makers and the extent to which they fit with changing reality. It is therefore important to enhance those cognitive maps to reflect reality accurately, and this is facilitated to some extent — and is certainly further encouraged — by this study in highlighting issues that have previously received little attention, such as the complexity of traditional attitudes towards libraries and information use, and of the diffusion of innovation. One observation from this study that needs particular consideration by the international development agencies and professional bodies is the relative effectiveness of advice as compared with practical assistance for developing countries. This has

significant implications for what they seek to do, and in some cases for the resources that they will require to fulfil their goals.

The approach taken in this study seems the most suitable basis for research into the future development of library and information services at a time when globalization highlights the need for new approaches to professional problems and challenges, and could revitalize research in the field. Rather than attempt to answer questions formulated within the discipline, it transcends the frontiers between disciplines, which could make its results more obviously relevant to policy planning and decision making at government and international levels.

This, of course, pre-supposes that agencies involved in providing international development assistance base their policies and programmes of activity on an objective assessment of the realities that face them, of the nature of development that would most benefit the intended recipient of assistance, and of their own capacity to implement appropriate assistance. The history of international assistance for library development in general and in Iraq in particular raises doubts about whether these criteria were always fully considered before assistance was provided. The ignorance of the activities of other development agencies or consultants who have operated in the same field in Iraq that was sometimes shown by consultants working there points to at least a critical failure in the briefing that they were given before commencing their assignment, and probably diminished its chances of success. The sometimes detrimental influence of organisational politics on strategic planning can also be observed within Unesco, while institutionalised prejudices at times clearly affected the actions not only of the U.N. agencies but also those reliant on American and British government funding.

To an extent that does not appear to have been adequately explored, the activities of the international agencies may be influenced by the policies and expressed needs of the potential beneficiaries of assistance. There is ample evidence in the experience of Iraq of a lack of clarity in defining the aims of a project and of achieving a mutual understanding between the donor agency and the beneficiary Ministry and institutions within the country. This study has shown that their appreciation of the problems they face may sometimes be mistaken, but is also likely to have some basis in their understanding of the local context. If there are deficiencies in the needs that are expressed by national governments in respect of the assistance required for the development of the information

sector, that must be attributable in some degree to the failure in the research and advocacy efforts of the local LIS community. The challenges that arise from this must be addressed. The solution rests largely in the hands of information professionals in the countries desirous of receiving assistance.

Contribution to Continuing Development in Iraq

The challenge for Iraqis is how to maintain their modernist secularism whilst retaining a non-Western, Arab identity. Other countries face similar challenges. The social sciences such as librarianship inevitably encounter difficulties in integrating Western and local norms:

> "The rapid transformation from tribalism to urbanism has created a world in which coordination and accommodation of old and new values is becoming exceedingly difficult. … Higher education in Iraq and many developing countries has been moving towards a new pattern of thought and character combining technico-scientific efficiency and moral commitments. Nevertheless, universities cannot duplicate the policies of Western institutions concerning the formation of academic and professional character. This is obviously due to their distinct cultural systems." (Al-Nouri 1990)

LIS students do need to have a good grounding in the unique technical elements of the discipline, but their teachers need to ensure that the knowledge that they impart to their students also encompasses an understanding of relevant knowledge from other areas. The 'discipline' of Library, Information and archival Studies is an arbitrary construct, largely an amalgamation of what were previously discrete subjects. It is essential and perfectly possible to develop it further by addressing issues from perspectives beyond the existing boundaries, but it does require deep learning and scholarship.

In Iraq, however, higher education continues to largely emphasize the practical uses of academic knowledge, and LIS students appear to need greater encouragement to examine the theoretical premises of their studies in local contexts. Higher degree theses in librarianship seem to focus on various economic and technological issues that arise locally, but the peculiarities of the local social and cultural dimensions appear to have been neglected or avoided and the problems arising from those factors may not have been identified and addressed. Many scholars and experts believe that traditional culture requires objective analysis to identify more accurately its positive as well as negative components. They deem this to be a crucial precondition to speeding up socio-economic development (Al-Nouri 1990).

Innovation in professional practices is stimulated by expanding perspectives not only through investigation and analysis of a range of experiences, but also by understanding the different ways of thinking that shaped those experiences. While this can be achieved through access to a wide range of literature, it is the 'invisible colleges' in which specialists communicate that are most effective — the networks that they initiate through personal contact at conferences and meetings, and within which they continue to share insights directly or through the social media. For much of the last thirty years, these opportunities have largely been denied to Iraqi information professionals. During the preceding thirty years, they had had increasing contacts with the professional world outside Iraq, and built a solid foundation which sustained development, but which is in a form that may in some respects have become outmoded. It is clearly important that they have the opportunity to rebuild those networks.

This research has gone some way towards evaluating what has proved successful in the past. Awareness of proven success factors does not necessarily ensure that they would be influential in fostering successful developmental projects in future, whether carried out internally or with external assistance. There will always be a need to consider thoroughly what elements might ensure success in future developmental efforts.

One contributor to LIS development in Iraq has been the timely promotion of major developments. Jones (1973; 1984) argued that librarians generally need to pay more attention to managing their managers' expectations and perceptions, a technique that he described as 'creative subversion', i.e. achieving one's own goals whilst appearing to serve the needs of higher authority. It is clear that the SLIS in Iraq progressed when opportunities offered by the government's agenda were seized enthusiastically, as demonstrated, for example, in the establishment — in response to prevailing circumstances in higher education — of a large undergraduate program, which could support the employment of a substantial number of teachers and facilitate an expansion of the knowledge base in the SLIS; and the later introduction of Master's and Doctoral programs to transfer new levels of understanding and more rigorous thinking skills to the existing graduates to support them in logical decision making, particularly when planning innovations.

On the other hand, the proposals to incorporate archives studies in the program in Al-Mustansiriyah University, or to establish a Master's Degree

program offering direct entry to graduates in other disciplines did not conform to an established agenda within the Ministry of Higher Education, and were thus less likely to be easily accepted. For those proposals to succeed a different approach is needed — patient, possibly long-term advocacy. Advocacy is fundamentally about achieving change; the advancement of an issue or idea through planned campaigns or sets of actions for advancing an issue. This is not an unfamiliar technique in Iraq, where individuals have traditionally sought advantages for themselves, their families or other connections by using personal influence and a network of contacts. For example, Hisham al-Chawaf seems to have been one librarian who appears to have used every opportunity to promote his own ideas for development of the Central Library of Baghdad University, albeit not always successfully.

LIS students and practitioners in Iraq (and elsewhere) need to develop an understanding of how to effect change, for instance in institutional policy and practices or in government legislation for or affecting the sector, by recognising and taking opportunities to pursue ideas, and how to establish the credibility and potential benefits of changes that might not otherwise be considered. The LIS programs need to begin to develop insights into the importance of these skills.

The convergence between the national and international forces is at the core of this study's interpretation of developments in Iraq. After the external initiatives that led to the creation of the first modern libraries in Iraq, internal dynamics provided the momentum for the growth of public libraries. Iraq, however, like many other developing countries, was also exposed to further external influences and shifts in global policy which may not always have been relevant to the needs of individual states amongst what is now recognised to be a broad spectrum of less developed countries. After 1945, Unesco encouraged fundamental education and the development of public libraries as operational tools of education. In the 1950s, the need for highly skilled manpower to support the country's economic development encouraged the development of libraries in Iraq's higher education system. In the 1960s, under the influence of dependency theory, the dominant international discourse about development shifted to emphasize the need for developing countries to develop from within. The belief that information could foster development by helping countries' decision-makers to make optimal use of their local resources focused attention on the role of specialist libraries and information services.

Unesco was aware from its beginning that its own resources were sufficient only to fund a few projects that might provide models for others to follow. One approach was the establishment of regional centres of activity, followed by encouraging first Member States to establish national centres and then the national centres to collaborate, particularly when international telecommunications began to facilitate this. This model of development could be seen in the establishment of the regional scientific documentation and information handling centres funded by U.N. agencies, and then national centres funded by the government of the country concerned, including the Iraqi Scientific Documentation Centre. This model of progression from regional to national provision served as a model for highly specialized agencies in other fields, such as the Gulf States Information Documentation Centre, which was generously funded by international partner countries, but no legacy of similar national centres is evident. The regional schools of librarianship and archives studies was another attempt to follow this model, again with no obvious legacy. The reasons for this apparent failure need further examination.

There is little evidence that these models of development influenced Iraqi policy-making in the early 1970s. The establishment of the SDC and the GSIDC might have been interpreted as signs that information was recognised as a significant element in underpinning national development, but such a view lost credibility when those centres were closed. The decline of libraries, information and archives services in Iraq during the last two decades of the twentieth century was partly precipitated by a misguided and regrettable shift in the state's international policies, which directly contributed to the public policy choices made inevitable by a budget that was first distorted by wartime expenditure and then eventually by the country's much reduced fiscal capacity, but rather suggests that they were token gestures towards 'modernisation' that had failed to demonstrate their relevance to society and make an impact or had been effectively hindered from doing so. Their activities and the reasons for their demise need closer investigation to ensure that future developments are more soundly based.

This study maintains that the current situation in LIS education in Iraq is primarily a consequence of pragmatic national public policy choices, occasionally facilitated by international assistance and expedited by opportunistic innovations by the local cadre of LIS teachers, influenced by factors inherent in the country's

political, social and cultural fabric, but only occasionally by the international discourse. It was a pragmatic approach to the expansion of education that brought about the creation and eventual merger of the two Schools of Librarianship in Baghdad, and, later, the establishment of additional programmes at technician, undergraduate and postgraduate level, and in archives studies. However, traditional approaches to progression in higher education, combined with bureaucratic inertia and the political inexperience of the library profession, continued to hinder the development of the postgraduate cadre required to provide leadership in the country's libraries and information services.

The preparation of society for the knowledge economy represents a key strategic opportunity for the Iraqi government. The challenge facing Iraq is to go beyond re-creating a mass education system for all to instituting a modern education system capable of coping with increasing technological innovations, the advance of a globalized economy, and changes in social aspirations with an emphasis on both relevant subject-matter in new curricula and the development of the transferable self-directed learning, including analysis and synthesis of information — the skills that are necessary for sustainable employment. Jordan, for example, has introduced a new subject stream — Information Management — to prepare secondary-level students for positions in e-commerce, information management, computer-based accounting, etc. (Galal, et al. 2008). Iraq needs to take similar steps, introducing appropriate courses or programs not only at producing technician level staff but also the graduates who could design and manage these new working environments. To that end, the extent to which the education system monitors the need for change and is open to the introduction of new approaches needs to be reviewed. Evidence gathered during this research make it seem more than likely that some further effort and resources may need to be invested if the LIS education sector is to continue to evolve (Johnson 2005).

Limitations of This Research

Information about foreign interventions in LIS and LIS education in Iraq was mainly gathered from selected archived files of the organisations and individuals concerned, as well as from published reports. Perspectives from the Iraqi side were largely limited to published accounts in English. About a thousand items identified in the literature search (about 20%) were in Arabic, a language with

which the researcher has little familiarity. Many were clearly about LIS in the Arab world in general or LIS in other Arab countries, rather than the specific focus of this research, and no attempt was made to access them. However, a few Arabic papers about LIS education in Iraq were obtained, and were translated or summarised for the researcher. LIS development and related professional education in the Arab world was only reviewed through examining published reports of the pan-Arab meetings organised by international agencies, supplemented by further detail garnered from the publications discovered in the literature search.

The other reasons for the difficulty in finding sufficient comprehensive and accurate published sources were those summarised by Menou (1983) in describing cultural barriers to information transfer:

- use of multiple languages by an individual undermining their structured use of western languages
- traditional reluctance to share information
- some information being considered to be 'inappropriate' for placing in the public domain
- lack of incentive for authors.

In considering the published sources, the author has continually had to the fore in his mind the truism expressed most succinctly in Gunton's 11th 'Law of Librarianship': "The value of rubbish is unaltered by translation, abstraction, or citation" (Gunton 1990). Translations from Arabic and other languages could be a particular limitation of this research. Accounts written in English by Iraqis could have been affected by their choice of expression, and papers written in English by other Arabs drawing on Iraqi sources could have been misled by the differences in the Arabic words used in each of the Arab states to represent the terminology of librarianship and information studies. A few of the texts were written in English or other European languages by Europeans and Americans who had gathered information from Iraqi and other Arabic sources through their own knowledge of the language or through interpreters. The scope for misrepresentation cannot be denied, but the information from these sources often had to be taken on trust, except where sources were clearly contradictory.

Too much of the information about Iraq and the Arab world presented in the published LIS sources appears to have been repeated from memory rather than referenced to documentary evidence. There were variations in detail in reports about the history of developments in the Arab world, and often inadequate

summaries in the English language literature of reports published in Arabic and other languages. Piecing together these brief, often incomplete, and sometimes inaccurate reports, and trying to sort out the sequence of events to make sense of what happened, and why, has been one of the significant challenges in trying to write this history and analysis of the influences on the development of education for librarianship and information studies in Iraq.

At this point, it is perhaps worth noting (for the benefit of future researchers) that the literature search for this study required visual scanning from cover to cover of every issue of several printed serial publications in the LIS field. Searching publications that are known to have included brief announcements or reports of events and obituaries of notable individuals can be tedious, but may be essential in identifying events, and tracing how issues evolved and who was involved, as well as pointing to the possible existence of more detailed documentation. Many of the brief notes that were published in journals, professional magazines, and institutional newsletters that customarily included such information were not indexed in the general LIS indexing services, and the publications concerned have in many cases not (yet?) been fully digitised to permit full text searches. This deficiency is not only the case for most local and sectoral newsletters and some older journals that have ceased to be published and which are owned by legacy organisations not currently active in journal publishing. It is also true that some of the English-language LIS journals available from major online publishers such as Emerald contain only the substantive articles from journals known to have carried significant quantities of short notes and news items, even though it may be claimed that the text has been fully digitised. The Arabic-language journals and others published in Arab countries will present future researchers with a similar range of problems, not least the incomplete indexes to relevant publications.

Access to archival records presented further challenges. Erünsal's (2008) seminal study of the development and operation of Ottoman libraries took 30 years, and involved reviewing some 250,000 documents in the imperial archives to discover incidental mentions of them in the records of *waqf*, land ownership, etc. Although probably not on the same scale, this researcher encountered a similarly wide scatter of information in modern archives, and remains aware that there are many more files that could have been searched had more time been available and the organization of each archive better understood. Other

challenges included: limits on the researcher's time and his initial understanding of the implications of organisation's structures for the documentation available; the apparent gaps in the records of Unesco's early activities in the LIS field that have survived in its archives; the ill-considered and inadequate archives retention policies of the British Council; and the hyper-sensitivity about national security that currently restricts access to some of the archives of USIS. The shortcomings in the research were further exacerbated by the limitations on access to other archives that were imposed by the researcher's linguistic limitations and regard for personal security.

Other issues which relate to reliability and validity might affect the results of this study. The interviews carried out as part of the project, particularly to shed light on the final decades of the period examined, were probably unrepresentative, dependent as they were on the availability of individuals during a period when personal contacts with Iraqis were difficult to arrange and necessarily short and informal. Moreover, the researcher has had to make tentative judgements on matters for which no empirical data is available, and accepts that the opinions expressed as a result are also open to challenge.

The researcher's ability to undertake research in libraries and archives was probably better funded than most doctoral research, but the investigation was still limited by time and resources, and the reliability of the research findings depends largely on the extent to which the written evidence discovered was sufficiently representative, and the extent to which the researcher has interpreted it correctly. For example, the research has been focused predominantly on the developments in Iraq and directly related factors. The research used qualitative methods to investigate the contextual factors affecting developments there, and adopted an interpretivist perspective. This approach means the research is limited in its generalisability by the lack of certainty that a similar 'cause' would create an identical 'effect'. Developments elsewhere and a broader investigation of the aims and activities of the international and national agencies involved may present a different picture.

Moreover, while the use of literature from other disciplines to examine a wider range of developmental issues has made a novel and worthwhile contribution to understanding their influence on library development, it must also be acknowledged that the researcher is not an expert in the disciplines that were explored to provide the contextual background that proponents of comparative

librarianship identified as necessary for a study such as this. Further, the literature of those disciplines has not been explored as thoroughly as the LIS literature, not least because of the limitations imposed by the time available for the research, and it is accepted that the researcher's interpretation of the contextual influences is open to challenge.

Du Toit (2002), who is an Assyriologist but familiar with librarianship, also observed that crossover publications, written and informed by several disciplines, are the exception rather than the rule. Thus, scholars concerned with Mesopotamian society have tended to focus on interpreting the surviving texts rather than on the nature of the libraries and archives in which they originated. The limited attention given to early archives and libraries in Iraq by scholars working in other disciplines is perhaps understandable, not least because the references in the early sources tend to be fragmentary. Regrettably, most authors working in the field of librarianship and information studies (e.g. Dunlap 1972; Rider 1976; Harris 1995) have not only been unfamiliar with the languages of the region but also seem to have been satisfied with summarising an understanding derived from studies undertaken during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This may have been because more recent scholars' work adding to the depth and breadth of relevant knowledge often examined only a single phenomenon (e.g. Ayalon 1995), which was not immediately perceived as relevant or as part of a wider picture.

This was an exploratory piece of research, which has, *inter alia*, tested the viability of examining, in a single case study, the whole range of contextual issues indicated as significant for the critical analysis of library services' development that were proposed in theoretical studies of comparative methodology more than thirty years ago. Like the results of an experiment in the physical sciences, the results of this research are derived from the application of specific methods to a defined set of resources in particular circumstances. A different methodology and/or access to a wider range of information sources could produce different results. It is accepted that an experimental study such as this, a single case in which reliable or meaningful quantitative data was not accessible, does not meet the requirements expressed by the proponents of Qualitative Comparative Analysis, but its provisional framework for reviewing the 'conditions' should facilitate objective comparison with any similar cases in which an in-depth investigation is conducted by other researchers.

The researcher accepts that the conclusions are not irrefutable. If additional information becomes available, or if any of the contextual issues are subjected to expert review, the account presented in this study may be subject to review and, in those circumstances, the conclusions reached in this study may require reconsideration. Nonetheless, this study adds to an expanding understanding of a field to which little critical attention has been paid hitherto.

Recommendations for Future Research

Throughout this study there are remarks pointing to topics that could usefully be explored. Given the relative recency of introducing higher degree studies in Iraq, and the small numbers of students enrolled, those may provide some suggestions that could attract individual interest. This section aims to identify some more strategic needs.

The Future Strategy of the School of Librarianship in Al-Mustansiriyah University

The opportunities offered by national circumstances that the School has seized in recent years are not so likely to recur. In establishing a Doctoral program, the School of Librarianship in Al-Mustansiriyah University has reached a stage in its professional maturing at which it would probably be valuable for its staff to undertake some form of collective self-analysis (if they have not already done so) of the present state of the information sector in Iraq, its likely future trends, and their capacity to contribute to its development. The aim would be to underpin a strategic plan for the School's future development over the next 5 to 10 years to which the staff could all commit and communicate to the University, the government, and the LIS profession at large.

That is not to say that annual and quinquennial reviews should be disregarded as a basis for continual change, but a longer term view, modified at regular intervals, can provide a basis for disseminating a wider understanding of the role of LIS in contemporary societies and the potential contribution of the SLIS to that.

While it is arguable that the role of ICTs may have been exaggerated in some aspects of education and social development, there is no doubt that — at least for the moment — they have captured the attention of policy makers. The School should therefore acknowledge in its planning, to some extent and in appropriate ways, that "ICT provides developing nations with an unprecedented opportunity

to meet vital development goals... Those nations that succeeded in harnessing the potential of ICT can look forward to greatly expand economic growth and dramatically improve human welfare" (UNDP 2000). The way in which the SLIS could contribute to achieving that goal in Iraq needs to be explored by the SLIS in consultation with all the relevant government agencies.

Successful development is a complex process, often depending as much on personal, professional and institutional relationships as much as the demands of economic, technological, and political circumstances. The interchange of knowledge between individuals or between individuals and institutions is a central part of the development process. The School's self-assessment should therefore include:

- assessing the opportunities for enhancing individual and institutional learning
- assessing the extent of these interactions between the School, the profession that it serves, the institution of which it is a part, and the relevant government agencies
- assessing the barriers to the flow of information and insights between them, and devising mechanisms for overcoming them (adapted from Hall, et al. 2001).

The Role of LIS Professionals in Contributing to the Modernisation of Iraqi Society

Societal changes are more important than technological changes (Courrier 1990). This study has raised several broad inter-related issues about the role of LIS professionals in the future development of Iraqi society that require investigation, and that would contribute to the formulation, revision, and continuing evolution of that strategy. Some of the following issues probably need LIS researchers to collaborate with academics from other social sciences disciplines:

- The crucial priority for information services in developing countries is supporting national development in all its aspects. The proper management of a national information system is a key factor in achieving development. While assessing the functional effectiveness of the information system in the country is one of the most critical issues for government, it is one for which the Iraqi government appears ill-prepared and ill-equipped. How do the Iraqi librarians and other information professionals measure up to this challenge, and what could be done to address this challenge?
- The role of the librarians/documentalist/information specialist is changing — and being challenged by new and different expectations of the support that they provide for users (Courrier 1990). How do librarians interact with the new readers created by the education

system, and with the information users created by the changes in the economic structure of Iraq? How well prepared are they to play a leading and effective role in these social changes?

- Development beyond functional literacy has been hindered by leisure activities in Iraqi society that have been limited, both in concept and in opportunities, with participation influenced by socio-cultural factors and social conventions. The creation of libraries in Iraq has not been matched by the evolution of a mass reading culture. How might a wider range of leisure interests be stimulated, for example through reading competitions in libraries (Behbehan & Hashem 1996), and how successful might they be?

- The emphasis on memorization is becoming less common in the Arab countries that have been working towards education reform. However, the available evidence suggests that at the end of the twentieth century, Iraq had not yet even been able to begin the process of introducing the student-centred pedagogy required to underpin the development of an innovative society able to adapt to global changes (Galal, et al. 2008). How might a greater purposive use of information, appropriate for a modern society, be stimulated, for example by information literacy training for students of all agents, and which barriers to the successful implementation of such programs need to be overcome?

- The principles of information service set out by Ranganathan have not changed, but institutions need to adapt or innovate to implement the changes required to satisfy their users' needs (Courrier 1990). How has Iraqi society been affected by the transition from a print-based society that had only recently achieved widespread functional literacy to one dependent on telecommunications not only for entertainment but increasingly also for information, and how does this affect the potential role and public perception of libraries and information services, the publishing industry, and the professionals who work in the information sector?

- Are there factors that encourage or militate against the development of an open information society in Iraq, and are librarians equipped to facilitate the development of such a society?

Change Agencies in the LIS Sector in Iraq

"Good ideas are not adopted automatically. They must be driven into practice with courageous patience." (Hyman Rickover, 1900 - 1986)

Another factor that has received little attention and needs to be investigated is the performance of actual or potential change agencies in the Iraqi LIS sector. The issues surrounding the transfer of ideas and practices into different contexts, their translation or re-interpretation, and their final transformation may be less well understood by Iraqi librarians than they should be, partly because their time-frames differ: transfer can be accomplished quickly, but transformation cannot.

Mention has been made in this study of the significant role that individual Iraqis have played as change agents in the development of Iraq's libraries,

information and archive services. While those judgements are open to review if further evidence becomes available, the study has found little evidence on which the researcher has been able to draw even tentative conclusions about change agencies and their impact. According to Rogers (2003), change agencies — usually an organisation made up of individuals who have higher level university degrees or are experts in the field in which an innovation is being diffused — start a process of change and push it through the field. In the context of this study, a change agency would have been a significant library, a Library Association or a School of Librarianship and Information Studies.

In Iraq, there were a handful of libraries that might have been significant change agencies: the National Library and Archive; and — as role models for others — the libraries of the Universities in which the Schools of Librarianship were established; as well as some of the major special libraries, for example the Iraq Museum Library, and perhaps others such as the SDC, the GSIDC, and the library of the Centre for Nuclear Research (if they still exist). Eskander (2004; 2011) has criticised his immediate predecessors in charge of the INLA, but a broader judgement of its role would need to cover the entire period from its establishment in 1961. The SDC and GSIDC fell victim to Iraq's political and economic isolation, and any judgement on their role in and perceived contribution to national development could only be seen in the context of their short life-span. Nothing much is known about the libraries serving the Schools of Librarianship, although Gurgis Awad seems to have attracted much critical approval for his work in establishing the Library at Al-Mustansiriyah University, and Abdul Abdulrahman seems to have been a distinctly more influential figure within Basra University that his peers in other university libraries, but what was their impact on the libraries that they managed? What is known about the impact of the country's specialist libraries and information centres on professional practice and on their user communities? For example, the growth of the Iraq Museum library is widely reported, but its impact is not analysed. Similarly, the Iraqi Library Association has remained pitifully small, and therefore less likely to be influential, but what has it achieved in terms of its impact on the public at large and the government as well as on the profession, and how could it become more influential? The Schools of Librarianship have become well established, if under-resourced, but what has their impact been in facilitating change within

their own institutions and across the information sector? There is clearly scope for thorough studies of various potential change agencies in the Iraqi LIS sector.

Leadership and Change Agents in the wider LIS Profession

Organisations such as ALECSO and ISESCO will increasingly be able to develop high levels of professional and technical expertise amongst the Arab community, but seem likely to find it difficult to instil the knowledge and skills that, for example, librarians need to contribute visibly to the achievement of their host institution's wider academic goals, as the Iraqi LIS teachers have done with their active research and publication activities. What seems to be need in the Arab world as a whole and in Iraq in particular is an understanding of the nature and contribution of the individual change agent and how such individuals could be developed. The need is to create individuals who are:

- well-known as experts
- active leaders, always looking for new and better ways of doing things
- able advocates for the development of LIS and LIS education.

Wide ranging research to identify these qualities and how they can be developed in LIS programs and through continuing eucation and training may be beyond the capabilities of recently graduated Iraqi academics who have studied nothing other than library, archival and information studies at university, and whose education may not have fostered the development of high level critical thinking skills. In the first instance, collaboration with skilled researchers from other disciplines such as business management may be essential.

Studies of Iraq's Early Archives and Libraries

Libraries have always been established to meet a need to make knowledge more widely available. The development and organisation of their collections to make them easily and efficiently available was essential to fulfil that primary purpose, and the provision of supporting services for users was a corollary of their growth and the complexity of their collections. However, little appears to have been specifically written about the policies and practices of Iraq's early libraries by their contemporary administrators. What is known is generally subsumed in the writings of libraries' users.

It is now three-quarters of a century since Inayatullah (1938) expressed the wish for an addition to contemporary scholarship in form of well documented histories of libraries during each of the main periods of Iraq's history. This researcher's study of Iraq's development prior to the modern era goes some way

towards meeting that wish, but has necessarily been based on a wide range of secondary sources. Reviewing and synthesising even the contents of the secondary sources has led to the conclusion that many librarians and others working in this broad field have been so narrow in their approach that — to reverse an old idiom — they may not have been able to see 'the trees for the wood.' It is clear that histories of libraries and archives in Iraq published by librarians have often ignored the archaeological and textual scholarship that continues to emerge, and which has benefited from rigorous excavation techniques and more searching interpretation. Equally, a coherent view of developments in information storage and services and their implications for social development have not been grasped by the non-librarians working in the field.

Much probably remains to be discovered through patient research in the substantial collections of cuneiform tablets and Arabic and Turkish manuscripts that have not been examined to date and through synthesis of that evidence with further fragments from early printed media, and will require the efforts of scholars familiar with not only librarianship but also other disciplines, as well as the languages of the region and the nations with which there was interaction. There are clearly insights to be gained from crossover studies. For example, in one of the few multi-disciplinary studies of Assyrian libraries and archives, Du Toit (2002) posited that the accumulations of cuneiform texts in various permutations are not the result of a chronologically dependent developmental process; that the premises in which they have been found should not be interpreted as sole indicator of their use and users; that practices in the management of collections were not uniform, and that defining each of them as either libraries or archives is also a misunderstanding. Such opinions, she suggested, derive from a false premise of the nature of ancient collections that was nurtured by early twentieth-century scholars whose concept of libraries and archives in the ancient Middle East were established before substantial archaeological evidence began to emerge in the late nineteenth century.

The approach of most library historians to these developments was often not only distracted by illusory concepts, but also, as Du Toit (2002) observed, fundamentally limited by their inability to consult the primary sources, partly because of the geographic scatter of the originals and the published scholarly editions, but principally by the researchers' lack of training in the relevant scripts and the languages that have been spoken in the region. Some matters of detail

in this study may be open to challenge by scholars able to read the primary texts, but it serves to confirm that a more comprehensive and coherent study of the primary sources by researchers who are familiar with professional practice in libraries and archives as well as the context in which the evidence can be found is clearly warranted.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 — Identifying 'Mrs Forbes'

Rescuing 'Mrs. Forbes' from the mists of history first involved identifying her husband, described by Gertrude Bell only as a 'judicial officer'. Through tracing him in various pieces of evidence found online or in printed sources, it was possible to identify his wife, and draw a firm conclusion about who it was who had proposed the creation of the *Maktabat al Salam*.

Most members of the British civil administration in Iraq were drawn from the Imperial Civil Service, particularly from India. Evidence from surviving records of the Indian Civil Service indicated that the only person in the judicial service in the British Administration in Iraq whose surname was Forbes appears to have been Henry Flavelle Forbes (India List, various editions). Longrigg (1953) mentioned that 'H.F. Forbes' had been President of the Court of Appeal in Iraq, a position that would have made him eligible for a place in the social circles within which Gertrude Bell was established.

Henry Flavelle Forbes, C.I.E. (1877 - 1959), had joined the Imperial (Indian) Civil Service in December 1901 as an Assistant Commissioner in the Judicial Branch of the Punjab Commission. He married Muriel Jessie Handyside at Peshawar, in modern Pakistan, on 27th January 1914 (Family Search n.d. a).

A U.K. Census record pointed to a Muriel Handyside, a British citizen born in Russia, living in lodgings in London in 1901 with her mother Jessie, born in Scotland, and her father James Handyside, and brother Eric, both born in Russia (National Archives 1901). When Jessie Handyside died, in Geneva in 1911, she left a small bequest in the U.K. entirely to her daughter, whose full name was confirmed by the probate record as Muriel Jessie Handyside (P.P.R. 1911). It therefore seemed probable that Henry Flavelle Forbes's wife was Muriel Jessie Handyside (1884 - 1969), whose father was James Alexander Handyside, a doctor who was a member of a Scottish family that had established businesses in St. Petersburg in the early nineteenth century.

A journal article (Bruneau 2004) about a small, experimental boarding school in West Sussex indicated that their son had been a pupil there, and revealed the whereabouts of his parents after they returned to the UK. Records held by the Registrar of Companies, and his distinctive forenames made it possible to contact him. Telephone conversations with Mr. Derek Forbes in July 2013 provided some

personal insights into his parents' motivations. He also kindly loaned the author a passport issued to his mother in 1916, and permitted a copy to be taken of the photograph in it.

It is not clear where or when Muriel met her future husband, but it seems likely that they were introduced by her brother. Eric Charles Handyside (c.1882 - 1926) had joined the Indian Police in the Punjab in November 1901 (*The Tribune*, Lahore, 27th May 1922, p. 5; Worrall 2010). According to Muriel's son, Muriel went to India to act as her brother's hostess, as he was unmarried. In early 1913, he was District Police Superintendent in Multan (*Times of India,* 3rd February 1913)*,* where his future brother-in-law was then a Judge in the city (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, 16th April 1912, p.8). Subsequently, in March 1913, Eric Handyside transferred to the North West Frontier Police in Peshawar (*The Tribune*, Lahore, 27th May 1922, p. 5), where Muriel later married Henry Forbes.

In Autumn 1916, Henry was "placed at the disposal of the Government of India" for Military Duty (*The Tribune*, 17th December 1916, p.6). He was seconded to the British Administration in Iraq in November 1916, becoming a Junior Judicial Officer in Basra on 23rd January 1917 (Report 1917). By 1918 he had moved to Baghdad (Mesopotamia 1919).

Muriel's passport indicates that, after being authorised by the Political and Judicial Department in Baghdad to travel to Iraq, she left Bombay for Basra on 23rd December 1918. Henry returned to Basra in 1919, and spent the first half of the year as Presiding Judge establishing a new court there, before the couple moved to Baghdad in July when Henry became President of the Court of Appeal. The Forbes were fortunate to obtain accommodation in Baghdad, as it was said to be difficult for married men to obtain it (Mesopotamia 1920). No doubt this facilitated their social life in the small expatriate community, and it seems more than likely that such a senior British official and his wife would thus have encountered Gertrude Bell from time to time and recognised that she was likely to be willing to help to promote the establishment of the public library.

It is not clear exactly when they left Iraq, but — after making significant contributions to the re-establishment of the legal system and to the foundation of the new state's governance — Henry was replaced as President of the Court of Appeal in June 1920 at the end of his assignment (Mesopotamia 1920). After a

period of home leave, the couple left England to return to India in September 1921 (Board of Trade BT27b).

After Henry retired in 1928, they settled in Gloucestershire, where Henry died in 1959, and Muriel on 12th June 1969 (G.R.O. 1969).

Information about the investigation and identification of 'Mrs Forbes' was first presented at a conference 'Gertrude Bell and Iraq – a life and a legacy', organised by the British Institute for the Study of Iraq in September 2013, in a paper to be published by the British Academy in the conference proceedings (Johnson, forthcoming 2017). A more extensive biography of Muriel and Henry Forbes, and a review of their formative experiences, has been prepared for publication elsewhere in separate studies of the Forbes and Handyside family histories.

Appendix 2 — Harold Bonny's Reports on his Work in Iraq

Apart from his own brief, unsigned account in Unesco *Bulletin for Libraries* (Bonny 1958c), much of what was previously in the public domain about Harold Bonny's work in Iraq depended on references to 4 reports that were cited in a paper by Sharify (1963). Regrettably, these reports did not appear to have found their way into the Unesco archives. Indeed, Stephen Parker, in his history of Unesco's library development work, claims that Bonny did not provide any reports (Parker 1985).

However, Bonny's digest of his annual report for 1956 (1957a) was eventually found in a correspondence file in the Unesco Archives, and his annual report for 1958 covering the whole year, including the first 3 months of the year which he had spent in Iraq, had also survived and been microfilmed (1958e). In a letter to Petersen written from Kabul in April 1958, he apologised that, shortly before leaving Iraq, he had submitted a Final Report on his year in Iraq (1958b), but to the Minister of Education without first clearing it with Unesco Headquarters. The report did not seem to have found its way into the Unesco archives.

Initial attempts to find alternative copies of his missing reports proved unsuccessful.

Nasser Sharify, who used to work for Unesco, must have seen all these reports when he was writing about them. His paper was published around the time he left Unesco, and it seems possible that he may have deliberately or inadvertently taken them with him when he left. Contacts were made with Dr. Sharify, who worked in the U.S.A. after leaving Unesco, but he chose not to respond to enquiries. The reports may all be in his papers, which are now archived at Stanford University, but none of the research students there responded to an offer of paid work to go through the files looking for them.

Another contact made was with Edward Reid-Smith, who had planned to write a short biography of Bonny, but this plan was aborted in the mid-1980s. He had collected many then unpublished reports by Unesco library and archives consultants in various developing countries, but could not remember whether any of Bonny's was among them. In any case, on his retirement, he had donated his collection to the library of Charles Sturt University in Australia, where he had

taught, and the collection had since been discarded by the Library (Reid-Smith 2002).

Dr. Keresztesi corresponded with Bonny whilst preparing his doctoral thesis (1977), but could not recall whether he had retained the correspondence amongst the many papers that he had put in storage after retiring. His visual disability precluded a search.

Attempts to contact Des Raj Kalia, who also may have seen copies of Bonny's reports, were unsuccessful.

Bonny's Final Report was subsequently discovered in a microfilm in the Ford Foundation's Archives in New York, and a copy has since been presented to the Unesco Archives. It seems that it had been given to the Ford Foundation's Middle East office because it had some relevance to their proposed project in Baghdad University Central Library. It was then incidentally preserved when the relevant file was microfilmed (Ford 1968).

Contact was also made with one of Bonny's sons in Australia. As well as a photograph of his father, he kindly supplied a number of other, original documents, five of them relevant to this research. All have since been passed to the Unesco Archives.

There are still 7 reports missing. In Bonny's other papers, he reported submitting a general review of library services in Baghdad (1957c), his training plan (1957d), 4 reports on specific activities (1957b; 1957e; 1957h; 1957i), and his progress report for April to October 1957 (1957f). Bonny had submitted them all to the Iraqi authorities and/or Unesco, but these all still appear to have been lost or mislaid. Hopefully, copies may have survived in Unesco files that were not examined, or in archives in Baghdad, or in other collections of archived papers, and could be examined by later researchers.

Appendix 3 — Srivastava's Report on his Final Mission

Previously, evidence for Srivastava's activities during his third and final Unesco contract in Iraq had largely had to be drawn from his own, personal account (1974), because an official, final report on this mission was not published. However, several of his annual and semi-annual reports for that period (Srivastava 1971a; 1971b; 1972) and a semi-annual review by UNDP (1973) have survived in the archives. In addition, his draft final report was also found (Srivastava 1973).

A memo from Miss O. Diakonova (DBA) to the Chief of RMO Reports Division, dated 6 December 1974, cryptically explains that:

> "As indicated previously, we strongly feel that this report should not be submitted to the Government [of Iraq]; therefore the Bureau of the Budget can close the accounts for this project." (Unesco, BMS 1974c)

One or two marginal notes on his draft final report do indicate areas that readers of the draft advised should be excised from any published version. However, the overall reasons for Unesco's concerns about the report are not made clear in the file accompanying the draft, nor in any other file discovered to date. They were clearly sufficient to over-rule any possibility of editing it for publication and forwarding to the Iraqi authorities, as would have been the normal practice. Some further insights may yet be discovered elsewhere in the Unesco archives, or in relevant UNDP files.

Appendix 4 — Iraq's Ministers of Culture and Information, and Ministers of Information, 1967-2003

Dr. Malik Dohan al-Hassan (1920 -) was born in Hilla. He graduated from the University of Baghdad in 1947. After graduation, he became an investigating judge in 1947, before continuing his studies, receiving a Diploma in Public and Private Law from Montpellier University in France and a Doctorate in Law from the University of Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne. He then became a Professor of Law at the University of Baghdad, and was elected President of Al-Mustansiriyah University in 1966. He served briefly as Minister of Culture and Information from 1967 to 1968, was imprisoned for a period, and returned to government from 2004 to 2005 as Interim Minister of Justice.

Abdullah Sallum Al-Samarrai (1932 –) was born in Samarra. He studied Islamic history at Baghdad University, and became an educator. He was Minister of Culture and Information from 1968 to 1969, a member of the RCC from 1969 to 1970, and later served as ambassador to India, but ceased to be active in politics in the mid-1970s.

Hamid Alwan al-Jibouri (1930 -) was born in Hilla, and educated at the American University of Beirut. He worked as a civil servant and journalist before becoming Director General of Information in the Ministry of Culture and Information in the 1960s, and Minister of Culture and Information, briefly, from 1969 to 1970, and again from 1972 to 1974. He held various other Ministerial posts, and was Ambassador to Turkey from 1984 until resigning in 1993.

Salah Omar Al-Ali (1938 -) was born near Tikrit, the son of a small landowner. He attended the Teacher's College, studied law at Al-Mustansiriyah University, and joined the Ba'ath Party. After the Ba'athists seized power in 1968, he was appointed to the Revolutionary Command Council from 1969 to 1970 as Minister of the Interior, and then Minister of Culture and Information from 1970 to 1972. In 1972, he resigned following differences with his ministerial colleagues, and briefly went into exile, first in Egypt, and then in Lebanon. He was later rehabilitated and posted as Ambassador to Sweden from 1973 to 1976, to Spain from 1976 to 1978, and to the United Nations from 1978 to 1981. He resigned that position, a few months after the Iran-Iraq war commenced. After the 1991 Gulf War, he joined the Iraqi opposition. He was banned from returning to Iraq until after the 2003 invasion, but has since returned to Baghdad, publishing a weekly political newspaper that he had founded in London.

Tariq Aziz (1936 - 2015) was born in Tel Keppe in northern Iraq, and christened *Mikhail Yuhanna* (Michael John) in the Chaldean Catholic church. He graduated in English from Baghdad University in 1958, having joined the Ba'ath Party in 1957. From 1958, he worked as a journalist, and became the editor of *al-Thawra* [The Revolution], the Ba'ath party newspaper, in 1963. He went into exile in Syria in 1963, returning to Baghdad after the 1968 revolution, when he became the deputy head of the Ba'ath Party's Office of Culture and National Information. He was Minister of Information from 1974–1977, a member of the RCC from 1977, and Deputy Prime Minister from 1979 to 2003. He surrendered to American forces in 2003. He was sentenced to death by an Iraqi court in 2010, but remained in American custody in Baghdad in ill health until he died.

Saad Qasim Hammoudi (1937 -) was born in Baghdad. A journalist, he was briefly Acting Minister of Culture and Information in 1977, and Minister of Information from 1977-1979. In 2003, he was Secretary General of the 'Arab Popular Forces Conference', an organisation with international membership but closely linked to the Iraqi Ba'ath Party. A Ministry of Electricity official of the same name was assassinated in southern Iraq in 2010.

Karim Mahmud Shantaf was member of the Iraqi Ba'ath Regional Command from 1957 to 1959, and again briefly in 1963-1964. He served as Minister of Culture and Arts from 1977 to 1979.

Latif Nussayif Jassim Dulaymi held a variety of positions during Saddam Hussein's Presidency. He was Minister of Culture and Information from 1979 to 1991. He was a member of the Revolutionary Command Council between 1994 and 2001, and Deputy Secretary of the Ba'ath Military Bureau, but possibly also Minister of Labour and Social Affairs in 1996. In 2003, he was serving as Deputy Chairman of the Ba'ath Party, and was taken into American custody a few months after the invasion of Iraq.

Hamid Yusuf Hammadi was Minister of Culture and Information from 1991 to 1996, and again from 1996 to 2003. He had previously been President Saddam's Private Secretary.

Abd al-Ghani Abd al-Ghafur was appointed Minister for Endowments (*Waqfs*) in 1982, and named as an adviser to the President. In 1986, he was a member of the Ba'ath Party Regional Command, serving as Adviser to the President with the rank of Minister. In 1991, he was Secretary of the Foreign Relations Bureau of the Ba'ath Party. He served briefly Minister of Culture and Information in 1996. In 2010, he was sentenced to death for offences during the draining of the country's marshlands in the 1990s.

Humam Abd al-Khaliq Abd al-Ghafur (1945 -) was born in Ramadi. He graduated in physics in Baghdad, took a Master's degree in nuclear physics in London, and earned a doctorate in science and technology management in Paris. He became Chief of the Nuclear Research Centre in 1978, and Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1988, with the rank of Minister. He was Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research from 1992 to 2003, and also served as Minister of Information from 1997 to 2001. He was imprisoned in 2003, and exiled to Jordan in 2005.

Muhammad Saeed al-Sahhaf (1940 -) was born in Hilla. After studying journalism at Baghdad University, he graduated with a Master's degree in English literature. He joined the Ba'ath Party in 1963, and became a spokesman for the government after it came to power in 1968. He served as Ambassador to Sweden, Burma, the United Nations, and Italy, before returning to Iraq to serve as Foreign Minister from 1992 to 2001, and then became Minister of Information from 2001 to 2003. In 2014, he was reported to be terminally ill.

Appendix 5 — Careers, Qualifications, etc. of Other Individuals Mentioned in this Study

Sir Ronald Forbes **Adam** (1885 - 1982) was commissioned into the British Army in 1903, and served with distinction in the field in both World Wars. He was Commandant of the Army Staff College, 1937-1938, and was Adjutant-General of the Army from 1941 until the end of the Second World War, becoming noted for his organisational and administrative skills, and for championing the Army Bureau of Current Affairs in its efforts to improve the morale and education of serving soldiers. After the war, as well as serving on the boards of various educational bodies in Britain, he was Chairman of the British Council from 1946 to 1954, concurrently its Director General from 1947 to 1953, and its Honorary President from 1955 to 1969. He was one of the British government's principal representatives to Unesco, and Chairman of the Unesco Executive Board from 1952 to 1954.

Dr. Malcolm Sathiyanathan **Adiseshiah** (1910 –1994) was an Indian development economist and educator. After graduating from Loyola College, Chennai, he took a Master's Degree at King's College, Cambridge, and in 1940 a PhD at the London School of Economics. He then taught at Madras Christian College, Chennai, before becoming Associate General Secretary of the World University Service, Geneva, in 1946. He joined Unesco in 1948, and became Director of the Technical Assistance department in 1950, in which capacity he consistently supported the case for investing U.N. funds in Iraq's development. He became an Assistant Director General in 1955, and Deputy Director General from 1962 to 1970. After retiring, he was Vice Chancellor of Madras University from 1975 to 1978, and active in many other Indian and international educational bodies.

Simeon Babasanya **Aje** (1927 -) was a Nigerian citizen. In 1945, he qualified as a teacher, and taught in primary and secondary schools in Nigeria from 1946 to 1954. After working as a teacher/librarian in 1955 and 1956, he studied librarianship at Loughborough College in the U.K., and became a Fellow of the Library Association in 1959. He obtained a Master's Degree in Library Science at the University of Chicago in 1963. During and after his studies in the U.K. and U.S.A. he worked briefly in various libraries there. From 1964, he worked for the Western Regional Library Service in Nigeria, responsible for regional school library services, becoming Senior Librarian in 1967. He joined the staff of the National Library of Nigeria in 1967, becoming Acting Deputy Director almost immediately, and was confirmed in that post in 1969. He was Director of the National Library from 1971 to 1985. He was a visiting lecturer at the University of Ibadan from 1960 for many years. He was active in the Nigerian Library Association, and some time its Director and President; in IFLA, serving on several committees; and in Unesco as Chairman of the Bureau of the Intergovernmental Council for PGI.

Dr. Matta **Akrawi** (1901 - 1982) was born in Mosul, and graduated from the American University of Beirut in 1924. He taught in the Primary Teachers Training College in Baghdad from 1924, and was its Principal from 1929 to 1933, taking leave to study at Columbia University, New York (M.A. 1926; PhD in Education 1934). Between 1934 and 1937, he held various senior positions in the Ministry of Education, and then served as Dean of the Higher Teachers Training College from 1937 to 1946, except when temporarily

dislodged by pro-German influences on the government in 1941. From 1946 to 1957, he worked for Unesco, first on a review of education in Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries, and latterly as Deputy Director of the Education Department, one of the two most senior Iraqis to have been employed in Unesco. He became the first President of the University of Baghdad in 1957, but was expelled from the post after the 1958 revolution. In 1959, he became Head of the Unesco Office at the United Nations. In c.1963, he became Chair of the Department of Education, American University of Beirut.

Salim Abbood **Al-Alousi** (c.1925 - 2014) was born in Baghdad, and graduated from the College of Commerce and Economics in 1952. He then presented occasional literary and cultural programmes for the Iraqi Broadcasting Company. After working for the Department of Antiquities for 20 years on and off since leaving school, he joined the staff of the Department of Culture in 1964 when the National Archives Centre was founded, on being appointed its first Director. He was the author of numerous books and articles about Iraqi history, and biographical studies of leading figures in Iraqi culture, as well as about archival work.

Abdul Karim **Al-Amin**, completed the Master's Degree in Library Science at Indiana University in 1961 (Al-Amin 1961). On his return to Iraq, he became Head of the Central Library's Bibliographical Services Section. He was later awarded a Gulbenkian Foundation Fellowship that enabled him to return to Indiana University in 1965, ostensibly to take a Master's Degree (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1966c), but more probably to commence the coursework for a PhD. The Fellowship supported his studies there until 1969 (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1972f), but it has not been possible to trace a completed doctoral dissertation. He became a part-time teacher for the Diploma course in Baghdad University, and was awarded another Unesco Fellowship to attend the course for teachers of librarianship in Denmark in 1970. He acted as course coordinator for the High Diploma and Secretary of the Graduate School Committee in Baghdad University, and was the first person to be appointed to a full-time teaching position there. Subsequently he transferred as a full-time teacher to the combined Department of Library Science at Al-Mustansiriyah University, and later became Director of the Arab Institute of Archival Studies.

Dr. Hisham Abdul Malik **Al-Chawaf** was an economist and Assistant Professor of Commerce in the University of Baghdad. He had taken his degree (1936-1943) and PhD (1948-1952) at the Sorbonne. He was subsequently appointed Librarian of the University of Baghdad Central Library, awarded a Fellowship by the Ford Foundation to take courses in librarianship and visit libraries in the U.S.A., Britain and France, and became the first Director of the Graduate School of Library Science in the University of Baghdad.

Dr. Abdul Aziz **Al-Duri** (1919 -2010) completed his PhD in London in 1942, on the economic life of tenth century Mesopotamia, after which he was appointed as a Lecturer in Islamic History in the Higher Teacher Training College. He was later promoted to be Chairman of the University of Baghdad's History Department, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1949 till 1958, and President of the University of Baghdad from 1962 to 1966. He was a Visiting Professor in London University in 1955/56, and in the American University in Beirut in 1959/60. Dr. Al-Duri finally moved to Amman

to work as Professor of History in the University of Jordan. He wrote numerous books and articles, which established his reputation as an historian of note.

Izzudeen Mohamed **Al-Essaid** (1932? – 1998?) graduated from the College of Commerce and Economics in Baghdad. After graduating in library science from the University of Michigan in about 1957, he worked in university libraries in Michigan and Chicago, and may have undertaken further study in Chicago. From 1970 to 1976, he was Director of the Library at the University of Petroleum and Minerals in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. When he started work there, he was one of only 2 library staff. He brought in William Dix to advise on a forward plan, and to conduct continual evaluations of the library. By 1976, the budget and collection had increased substantially, and there were 33 qualified staff (Ashoor 1983). He encouraged Saudi nationals to go to the U.S.A. to study library science, and thus enabled the library to reduce its dependency on foreign nationals (Samoeil 1983). By no later than 1979, he had become Director of the Scientific Documentation Centre in Baghdad. From 1987 to 1988 and again from 1990 to 1992, he was Chief Librarian at Al-Mustansiriyah University. He also taught in the School of Librarianship in Al-Mustansiriyah University during the 1980s. After retiring, he appears to have settled in California.

Sati **al-Husri** (1882 - 1968) was a Sunni Muslim Arab, born in Yemen to a family from Aleppo. He was educated at the Royal Academy, the Civil Service College in Istanbul. He began his working life as a teacher in Ioannina in Greece (then part of the Ottoman Empire) from 1900 until 1905 when he took an administrative position in Macedonia. He became Director of the Teachers' Institute in Istanbul in 1909, and Director-General of Education in the *Vilayet* of Syria in 1914. Between 1919 and 1920, he served under Faisal in the Arab state of Syria as Director General of Education, and later as Minister of Education. From 1921 to 1927, he held the position of Director of General Education in Iraq. In addition to serving as Director of Antiquities, 1934-1941, he also held the post of Head of the Higher Teachers' Training College until 1937. When British forces restored the monarchy after Rashid Ali's coup in 1941, Sati al-Husri was deported to Syria, where he worked on curricular reform until 1947. From 1947, he worked in the Cultural Directorate of the League of Arab States in Cairo, retiring to Baghdad in 1965.

Anastas **Al-Karmali** (literally Anastas the Carmelite) (1866 - 1947) was born in Baghdad to a Lebanese father (from Bikfaya) and Iraqi mother. He was named Butrus (Peter) by his father, Gabriel (Jibra'il) Yousef 'awwad, but later took the name Anastase-Marie de Saint-Élie when he became a priest. He studied in *Madrasat Al-Aaba' Al-Karmaliyin* (the School of the Carmelite Fathers) in Baghdad, and then in *Madrasat Al-Ittifaq Al-Kathuliki*, from which he graduated in 1882. He started his working life as an Arabic Language teacher in *Madrasat Al-Aba' Al-Karmaliyin*, but went to Beirut in 1886 where he worked as a teacher in *Kulliat Al-Aba' Alyasu'iyun* (the College of the Jesuit Fathers) while continuing his Arabic studies and learning Latin, Greek and French. He then travelled to Belgium in 1887 to continue his studies in a monastery near Liege, and to Montpellier in France in 1889 where he studied theology, becoming ordained as a priest there. After visiting Spain, he finally returned to Baghdad in 1894 to become responsible for *Madrasat Al-Aaba' Al-Karmaliyin*, where he taught both Arabic and French, in addition to preaching

and counselling in the Carmelite Church (now known as the Latin Church, and used by the Coptic community). He had a special interest in Arab philological and lexicological studies, authoring several books in the field as well as numerous linguistic and historical journal and newspaper articles, and founding a journal called "*Lisan* (or *Lughat*) *Al-'Arab*" (Arab Language) in 1911.

A statue of him was one of a number planned to be erected in Baghdad as part of the Ministry of Culture's celebrations marking Baghdad as the Arab Capital of Culture for 2013 (Haywood 1965; Al-Hilaly 1972; Nassef 2012).

Abu Yusuf Yaqub ibn Ishaq **Al-Kindi** (c. CE 801 - 873) was a famous Iraqi scientist and philosopher. He produced one of the first classifications of knowledge.

Amer **Al-Kindilchie** (1938 -) was born in Baghdad. He graduated from the University of Baghdad, and took his Master's Degree in Library Science at Kent State University. He worked in the United Nations Library in New York, as Chief Librarian at Al-Mustansiriyah University from 1977 to 1979, and then as Director of the Gulf States Information Documentation Centre in Baghdad from its opening in 1981 until he was conscripted into the Army during the war with Iran. He taught at Al-Mustansiriyah University between 1977 and 2001. He then joined his wife, Iman Al-Samirra'i, who had spent several years in self-imposed exile during the Saddam regime, working in libraries in Jordan. They then taught library science in Qatar University. Separately or together they made numerous contributions to the professional literature. He may have retired to live in the U.S.A.

Ahmed **Al-Qaisi** became Librarian at the Institute for Applied Research on Natural Resources in 1963, and attended the three-month course in librarianship at the Central Library of Baghdad University from June to August that year. In 1968, he also attended the seven-month course there. Subsequently, he was awarded a Unesco Fellowship to study librarianship in India for two academic years. In August 1969, he began to attend the course at the Department of Library Science in the University of Rajasthan (Srivastava 1974), and visited a number of libraries in major Indian cities. The following August he commenced the Master's Degree in Librarianship course at the University of Delhi, leaving India in May 1971. By 1972, he was teaching Classification and Administration in the two Schools of Librarianship in Baghdad.

Nuri **Al-Said** (1888 - 1958) was born in Baghdad of Turkish origin. He became an officer in the Ottoman Army, but joined Faisal's forces in the Arab Revolt, leading them in the capture of Damascus in 1918. He subsequently became Iraq's Prime Minister seven times between 1930 and 1958. He was assassinated during the Revolution in 1958.

Sir Roger **Allen** (1909 – 1972) was a barrister before joining the Foreign Office, initially temporarily in 1940, subsequently serving overseas in the U.S.S.R. and Germany. His posts in London included Assistant Under-Secretary/Director, Middle East and (North) Africa Department, 1953-1954, and Deputy Under-Secretary (Middle East-Eastern Europe/Middle East-Africa Department), 1965-1967. He was H.M. Ambassador in Greece, in Iraq from 1961 to 1965, and finally in Turkey. After retiring from the Foreign Service, he became Director-General of the Middle East Association in 1970.

Giovanni **Antonelli**, (1919 - 2009) was born in Spoleto, Italy. He graduated in medieval history at the University of Rome in 1941, and, after military service, from the School of Archival Science, Palaeography and Diplomatics of the State Archives of Rome in about 1946. In 1950, he joined the State Archives in Florence. Subsequently he was Director of the State Archives in Pistoia from 1952 to 1956, and in Terni from 1957 to 1963. From 1963 to 1973, he was Head of one of the Divisions of the Ufficio centrale Archivi di Stato (a branch of the Ministry of the Interior) in Rome, effectively Director of the Italian State Archives, and secretary of the national Consiglio superiore degli archivi. During this time, he also served as Secretary General of the International Council on Archives from 1966 to 1974. After retiring, from 1984 to 1996, he served as President of the Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, the local state institute for historical studies in his native province.

Jean-Marie **Arnoult** (1946 -) was a book historian and a specialist in the preservation and conservation of books and manuscripts. He was Technical Director of the conservation department of the Bibliothèque National de France until 1994, when he became an Inspecteur Général des Bibliothèques au Ministère Français de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche. He undertook numerous missions for Unesco.

Helmut Emil Richard **Arntz** (1912 - 2007) was a German citizen. He was awarded his doctorate in linguistics in 1932/3. In the 1930s, he worked for the Archaeological Institute of Germany, and was associated with the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft (the forerunner of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the German Research Foundation). He was one of the founders, in 1941, of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Dokumentation (German Society for Documentation), and became its President in 1961. After military service during the war, he worked in the Giessen Laboratory for Scientific Photography, and was confirmed as Professor of the University of Giessen in 1949. Subsequently, he worked as Editor of Publications in the Press and Information Office of the Federal German government from 1951 to 1977. From 1969 to 1975, he was President of the International Council for Reprography. He was also active in FID, serving as its President from 1972 to 1980. He served on many Unesco committees.

Gurgis **Awad** (Georges bin Hana bin Haji bin Elias Awad Abu Suhail, a.k.a. Kurkis Awwad) (1908 – 1992) was born into a Christian family in Mosul, who had been woodworkers making musical instruments. He attended school in Mosul before enrolling in the Teachers College in Baghdad in 1922, graduating in 1926, and then working as a teacher for ten years. In 1936, he became Chief Librarian of the Directorate General of Antiquities. He reorganised the Royal Library in 1940, and the Library of the *Awqaf* in 1946. In 1950, he became the first Iraqi librarian to receive a Unesco Fellowship, enabling him to undertake a study tour of libraries in the U.S.A. (Unesco, 1956c). He undertook missions for Unesco to assess the manuscript collections in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq in 1956/57, and for the Iraqi Ministry of Education to review the Arabic manuscripts in libraries in the Soviet Union, visiting Moscow and Leningrad in 1960. By the time he retired in 1963, the Museum Library's collection had grown to over 60,000 items. After he retired from the Museum, he became Secretary-General of the Library at the new Al-Mustansiriyah University, and played a significant role in its development from 1964 to 1974. At the time, he was described by Gulbenkian Foundation officials as "the best librarian in Iraq" (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1972a).

He and his brother Mikhail (who became a senior civil servant, and Secretary to more than 20 successive Ministers of Education) were serious book collectors and bibliographers. Gurgis and Mikhail Awad had begun collecting books and manuscripts in 1927. In 1937, when they moved their collection from Mosul to Baghdad, it already comprised 5,000 volumes and 400 manuscripts (Dagher 1951). He gifted his personal collection, said to number 15,000 items to the Library at Al-Hikma University in the late 1960s, shortly before the University was taken over by Baghdad University (Zado 1990).

He published his first article in 1931, and his first book in 1934, eventually writing 80-90 books and publishing more than 400 articles in Iraqi and foreign journals, becoming a member of the Iraqi Academy and an internationally recognised scholar for his studies of Iraqi history, his bibliographical studies (Al-Attiyah 1993), and catalogues of manuscript collections.

Roger **Bacon** (1214 – 1294) was an English Franciscan friar, philosopher and polymath, who placed considerable emphasis on the study of nature through empirical methods. Inspired by the writings of the Greek philosopher and scientist, Aristotle (384 – 322 BCE), and later scholars such as the Iraqi Arab, Abu Ali al-Hasan (c.965 – 1040 CE; sometimes known by the Latinized name, Alhazen), Bacon was one of the earliest European advocates of the modern scientific method.

Dr. Odette Maroun Elias **Badran** (1938 -) was born into a Christian family in Haifa. She graduated in Economics in Baghdad University in 1962, and then worked in the Central Library there. Between 1966 and 1973, she served as Head of various Departments: U.N. Documents; Maps; and Exchanges and Gifts. She became a full-time teacher in the Department of Librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University in 1973. Later, she returned to the U.S.A., where she was awarded the degree of PhD at Case Western University in 1984. She was eventually promoted to Professor at Al-Mustansiriyah University, where she supervised more than 15 doctoral candidates (Badran 2004).

John Denton Ashworth **Barnicot**, O.B.E. (1907 - 1981), was British by birth, and a graduate of Oxford University, where he specialised in Slavonic Studies. He began his career in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in c.1932. He moved to New York in c.1937 to work first in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and then, from 1939, at the British Library of Information, becoming its Chief Librarian in 1940. He was Director of the British Council's Books Department from 1946 to 1971. While in New York, he studied at Columbia University from 1939 to 1943, graduating with a Bachelor of Science in Library Service in 1944.

Gertrude Margaret Lowthian **Bell**, C.B.E. (1868 - 1926), knew the region well as a traveller and archaeologist, and was a fluent linguist. She served as Political Counsellor to the British administration during the wartime occupation of Iraq, as Oriental Secretary to the British High Commission during the 'Mandate', and was a trusted adviser of King Faisal.

Jaime Torres **Bodet** (1902 – 1974) was born in Mexico to parents who had emigrated from Spain and France. After graduating from the University of Mexico (UNAM), he was appointed as head of the Department of Libraries in the Ministry of Education, a position that he held from 1922 until 1924. From 1925 to 1928, he was a Professor of French literature at the University of Mexico. Between 1929 and 1943, he was a member of the Mexican

Diplomatic Service, before accepting political appointments as Secretary of Public Education from 1943 to 1946, and then as secretary of Foreign Affairs. He served as Director General of Unesco from 1948 to 1952. From 1955 to 1958, he was Ambassador to France, before becoming Secretary of Public Education again, from 1958 to 1964. He chaired the Mexican Academy of Fine Arts in 1966 and 1967, and returned to France as Ambassador from 1970 to 1971.

Harold Victor Arthur **Bonny** (1913 - 1985) was born in Romford, Essex, and commenced work as a Librarian in 1929. In 1933, he was elected a Fellow of the Library Association, then the youngest person to obtain that status. He worked in several libraries of different types and found time for external studies in psychology at London University. His thesis on "Reading: An historical and psychological study" was published in 1939. Later that year, he published the first of several textbooks about librarianship, "A manual of practical book selection."

As he was a reservist, he was called into the Army in August 1939, and served in anti-aircraft units in Britain and the Middle East. After the cessation of hostilities in the Middle East, he obtained a transfer to the Army Education Corps, and served as Chief Librarian for the Middle East from 1944 to 1945. In that post he was responsible for 47 libraries, scattered from Libya to Persia, which operated as a single unit with a union catalogue and a rapid inter-library document delivery service. His accounts of his work reveal that he made tours of the region (although not as frequently or widely as he might have wished), and made contact with librarians in the region outwith the Army network. It seems that he visited only Palestine and Syria, and had not visited Iraq before taking up his Unesco appointment there (Bonny 1946; 1947; Unesco Personnel File 1959).

He was demobilised in December 1945, and returned to Southampton Public Libraries as Chief Cataloguer. After a brief spell as Chief Librarian of Gravesend Public Library in 1947-48, he emigrated to work in libraries in South Africa and then Australia.

His name was originally put forward for a Unesco appointment in 1953, but it was June 1955 before he was sounded out about whether he would accept an appointment — in this case to a regional post covering Iraq, Jordan and Afghanistan, with an initial contract for 6 months and the possibility of a contract for 2 years. By September he had agreed; and his name had been put forward to and accepted by the governments concerned (Unesco Personnel File 1959). He returned to Britain in 1956, which remained his 'home' while undertaking numerous assignments for Unesco. He remained in Unesco's service until 1968, and subsequently settled in Tasmania, Australia.

Dr. Russell G. **Bowden** (1934 – 2016) was born in Manchester, England. During his compulsory National Service in the British Army, he served as a Military Police officer. After studying at the Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art, he worked as Assistant Stage Manager at the Arts Theatre in London. He was driving to India in 1957, planning to work in the theatre there, and had intended only to pass through Baghdad, but crashed his Land Rover in Iraq and was hospitalised. When he came out of hospital, he needed work and took a job at the British Council in Baghdad, where he eventually stayed until 1961. Then, inspired and encouraged by John Ferguson, he studied librarianship at Ealing Technical College in the UK, and worked again

for the British Council from 1963 to 1974 in London, Nigeria, India, and Sri Lanka. Subsequently he became a Lecturer at Loughborough University, where he directed the MA program in 'Archives, Library and Information Studies (with Education)'. He served as Deputy Chief Executive of the Library Association from 1976 to 1994, and became a well-known figure in international library development through his involvement in IFLA, latterly as a Vice-President and Honorary Fellow. After retiring, he went to live in Sri Lanka in 1996, where he continued to involve himself in the local and regional development of the library profession, while at the same time studying aspects of Buddhism, completing a Master's Degree and then being awarded a PhD from the University of Kelaniya in 2013.

Humphrey Ernest **Bowman**, C.M.G., C.B.E. (1879 – 1965), was educated at Eton and Oxford University. He worked in the Education Departments in the British Protectorates in Egypt (1903-1911) and Sudan (1911-1913). After serving in the British Army from 1914 to 1918, he became Director of Education in Mesopotamia in August 1918, leaving in August 1920 to return to Egypt. Subsequently he became Director of Education in Palestine from 1920 to 1936. His personal papers (not examined for this study) are archived at the Middle East Centre, St. Anthony's College, Oxford.

Edmund **Burke** (1729 - 1797) was an Anglo-Irish politician, and Member of Parliament in Great Britain from 1765 to 1794. He believed that a willingness to adapt to the inevitability of change could reaffirm the place of traditional values in new circumstances. He argued that the observation of traditions is necessary if political or institutional changes are to be made according to the common interest of citizens, and in order to preserve civil peace and freedom.

Harry **Campbell** (1919 - 2009), a Canadian librarian, was a member of Unesco's staff from 1949 until 1956. After he left Unesco, he was Chief Librarian of Toronto Public Libraries (1956 - 1978), but also undertook consultancies for Unesco and for the Arab League. He served as President of the Canadian Library Association, and as a Vice-President of IFLA.

Dr. Edward Julian ['Bobby'] **Carter** (1902 - 1982) was an architect by training. He had become Librarian/Editor at the Architectural Association and at the Royal Institute of British Architects in London in 1930. From 1940 to 1945, he had been Chairman of Aslib: the (UK) Association for Special Libraries and Information Bureau, and from 1943 a member of the British Council's Books and Periodicals Committee. He was Counsellor for Libraries, Archives, and Museums in the Preparatory Commission for Unesco, before becoming Counsellor for the Libraries and Museum Section when Unesco was formally created in 1946. He was subsequently designated as the first Director of Unesco's Libraries Division, a post from which he retired in 1957.

Henry Buckley **Charlton,** C.B.E. (1890 – 1961), was born in Yorkshire. He was educated at the University of Leeds and Universität zu Berlin. He was Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Manchester from 1921 to 1957; Dean of the Faculty of Arts, 1926–28, 1943–46; and Pro Vice-Chancellor, 1936–38. He was also a member of the Board of the John Rylands Library.

Abdul-Fattah **Chilmeran** completed a Bachelor's Degree in Library Science at Western Michigan University in about 1961, and the MLS program at the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill in 1962. Subsequently, he was the Assistant Librarian at Al Hikma University. His MLS thesis on the history of

Iraqi libraries was specially scanned by the UNC-Chapel Hill library to make it available for this research, and the digital text is now freely available online.

Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-**Churchill** (1874 – 1965) was a British politician. After a brief early career in the army and as a journalist, he served as a Member of Parliament from 1900 until 1964. He held many ministerial appointments, and served as the Prime Minister from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955.

Albert Tobias **Clay** (1866 – 1925) was born in Hanover, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania with Bachelor's and Master's Degrees; studied for the ministry at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia; and was awarded a PhD by the University of Pennsylvania in 1894. He taught at the Chicago Lutheran Seminary from 1895 to 1899, before returning to the University of Pennsylvania to teach Semitic philology and archaeology. In 1910, he became the first William M. Laffan Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature and Curator of the Babylonian Collection at Yale University. He served as Librarian of the American Oriental Society from 1913 to 1924, and as its President in 1924-25. He first visited Iraq in 1920, and returned in 1923 as the Commissioner for the Society's Schools in the Orient (ASOR) to formally open the new School in Baghdad, where he remained as its first annual Visiting Professor and Deputy Director.

Dr. Dorothy Gwendolyn **Collings** (née Williams) (1911 - 1991) was the daughter of Jamaican immigrants to the U.S.A. She studied librarianship in the U.S.A., and held posts in university and public libraries there, as well as teaching library science at Atlanta University, before joining the staff of Unesco in Paris and subsequently being posted to Egypt as Chief, Regional Library and Clearinghouse at ASFEC, where her husband was head of administration. She initiated a library training programme there during her tenure from 1952 to 1955. Subsequently, she joined the staff of the United Nations, taught international and comparative librarianship in New York, and became founding Head of the School of Librarianship in the University of the West Indies.

Athol Alexander **Congalton** was born the 1920s in New Zealand. He attained his MA and DipEd in his home country, remaining there to take a position in 1947 as Lecturer in Psychology at the Victoria University of Wellington. Awarded a Rockefeller Senior Fellowship in 1955, he continued his research abroad in the United States, Denmark and the United Kingdom. In 1956, he took up the post of the Chief of Mission for a Unesco Technical Assistance Mission to Jordan (1956-57) and subsequently Afghanistan (1957-58). He then moved to the University of New South Wales, Australia, where he took on the role of Guidance Officer for two years in the Department of Education before progressing through the academic ranks to Professor of Sociology.

Richard Sydney **Cooke**, O.B.E., was Inspector General, Ministry of Awqaf, in the British administration. He succeeded Gertrude Bell as Honorary Director of Antiquities from 1926 to 1928. After leaving government employment, he obtained a licence to deal in antiquities, but was expelled from Iraq in 1930, accused of allegedly smuggling antiquities.

Kinahan **Cornwallis** ('Ken') (1883 - 1959), Adviser to the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior, 1921-1935, was a close friend of Gertrude Bell. Later, as Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, he served as British Ambassador to Iraq, 1941-1945.

Robert J. **Coté**, (1925 -) was born in Laconia, New Hampshire, into a French Canadian family. He entered the Jesuit formation process in the New England Province of the Society of Jesus in 1943, and studied Philosophy at Weston College of the Holy Spirit in Massachusetts, receiving a Bachelor's Degree in 1949 and a Master's Degree in 1950. From 1950 to 1953, he taught English and Mathematics at Jesuit high schools, spending 1950-51 at Baghdad College as a teacher and as one of the Assistant Librarians. He returned to theological studies from 1953 to 1957, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1956. After that, he studied Library Science at Columbia University in New York, graduating with an M.L.S. in 1959. He was then assigned to be the Librarian at Al-Hikma University in Baghdad, and remained there until 1968 when all the Jesuit faculty members of the University were expelled from Iraq by the Government. Other Jesuit Fathers seem to have been involved in running the Library, but Fr. Coté appears to have been the only one with a professional degree (Coté 2014a).

Following his expulsion from Iraq, Coté served as an assistant priest in one of the parishes in Boston, U.S.A. for almost a year, He continued to take an interest in international librarianship (ICLG 1973) and moved to London to begin working on a doctoral thesis at University College, London about American librarians as consultants in Turkey and Iraq. He had refined a questionnaire to send to experts on international library development, and had sent it out to a select group of experts, from whom he had received some replies (Coté 1973). However, he left the Jesuits and the priesthood when he married in London in 1972, discontinued his studies, returned to the USA, and is believed to have to sought work as a teacher or librarian in Texas.

Dr. Yves Gilbert Jacques **Courrier** was French by birth, but had completed his professional education in LIS with a PhD at the University of Pittsburgh in 1976. He had taught at the School of Librarianship in l'Université de Montréal in Canada from 1971, and had served as its Director from 1977 to 1978, immediately before joining Unesco PGI. In 2002, he was attached to the International Telecommunications Union in Geneva to assist with the preparation of the World Summit on the Information Society, retiring at the end of 2004.

Jack **Dalton** (1908 – 2000) was born in Holland, Virginia. He earned Bachelor's and Master's Degrees at the University of Virginia. He then taught English at Virginia Polytechnic Institute (VPI) for 4 years before studying library science at the University of Michigan in 1935/36. He returned to VPI as Head of the Reference Department in the Library, becoming Associate Librarian in 1942 and University Librarian in 1950. Throughout this time, he was active in the Association of College and Research Librarians, the Virginia Library Association and the American Library Association. He was employed as Director of the ALA International Relations Office from 1956 to 1959, and later served as Chair of its International Relations Committee. He was Dean of Columbia University's School of Library Service from 1959 to 1970.

Joseph Periam **Danton** (1908 – 2002) was born in California, but spent most of his childhood in Beijing, where his father taught German at what is now Tsinghua University. He graduated in German from Oberlin College in 1928,

and worked in the New York Public Library while studying library science at Columbia University, graduating in 1929. After taking an M.A. in German from Williams College in 1930, he was admitted to the doctoral program of the Graduate Library School at the University of Chicago. While in Chicago, he worked for the American Library Association and as an assistant to the Dean of the Graduate Library School. After receiving his PhD in 1935, he was the librarian of Colby College, and then of Temple University, before World War II service as an intelligence officer in the U.S. Navy in the Pacific. He joined the University of California, Berkeley as Dean and Associate Professor in the School of Librarianship in 1946. He stood down as Dean in 1960, but continued as Professor until retiring in 1976. He was active in the American Library Association, the Association of American Library Schools, and the International Federation of Library Associations. His major interest lay in international aspects of librarianship, and he served as a consultant in Ethiopia, Jamaica, and Southeast Asia.

S. J. **Davies** D.Sc., Ph.D., M.I.Mech.E. (1891 -), was an engineering student at H.M. Dockyard, Portsmouth. During the First World War he was an Inspection Officer for aircraft engines. He was then deputy works manager for the Clyno Engineering Co. working on internal-combustion engines for automobiles. After teaching at Armstrong College (University of Durham) from 1920 to 1926, he became Reader, then, in 1937, Professor of Mechanical Engineering at King's College, London, and subsequently Dean of the Royal Military College of Science at Shrivenham from 1955 until retiring in about 1962.

Dawood Pasha (1767-1851), who was of Armenian Christian origin, became the last of the Mamluk governors of Iraq. Mamluks were freed slaves who had converted to Islam, and were assigned to military and administrative duties in the Ottoman Empire. Mamluks succeeded in asserting autonomy over Iraq from the Sultan from 1704 to 1831. After seizing control in 1816/17, Dawood Pasha initiated modernization programmes that included clearing canals, establishing industries, and reforming the army with the help of European instructors. In 1831, on the Sultan's orders, he was ousted by the Ottoman army. When his life ended, he was custodian of the shrine at Medina, the burial place of the Prophet Muhammad.

Dr. William Shepherd **Dix** (1910 – 1978) was born in Virginia. He graduated from the University of Virginia and, in 1946, was awarded a PhD in American Literature by the University of Chicago. Although lacking a formal qualification in librarianship — he had taught English in high schools and universities — he became Librarian at Rice Institute in Texas in 1948. Subsequently, he became University Librarian at Princeton University from 1953 to 1975. He chaired the American Library Association's International Relations Committee from 1955-1960, and was President of ALA from 1967 to 1970. He was also Executive Secretary (1957–1959) and President (1962–1963) of the Association of Research Libraries. He became a member of the United States Commission to Unesco from 1955 to 1961. Later, he served on the U.S. State Department's Advisory Committee on International Book and Library Programs.

Henry Robert Conway **Dobbs** (later Sir Henry) (1871 - 1934) was an administrator and Judge in British India between 1892 and 1923, and was seconded to Basra as a Revenue Commissioner in 1915 and 1916. He later served as High Commissioner to the Kingdom of Iraq from 1923 to 1929.

Gennady Mikhailovich **Dobrov** (1929 – 1989) was born in Artemivsk in the Donetsk region of Ukraine. He graduated from the Mechanical Department of Kiev Polytechnic Institute in 1950, and in 1953 completed postgraduate studies in the history of science and technology. He was a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and between 1968 and 1986 chaired various academic units, being granted the title of Professor in 1981. Between 1972 and 1980 he undertook several consultancies for Unesco on national science policies, and on international cooperation in science. From 1976-1979, he was also a Research Scholar with the Management and Technology, and the Food and Agriculture Programs of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis. He had an international reputation for his work in the sociology of science and in bibliometrics and information transfer in science.

Raymond Philip **Dougherty** (1877 – 1933) was born in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and graduated from Lebanon Valley College with Bachelor's and Master's Degrees. He spent some of his earlier years in missionary and diplomatic work in Africa, and then received his PhD in Assyriology from Yale University in 1918 after studying under Albert Clay (q.v.). He then became Professor of Biblical Literature at Goucher College in Baltimore, Maryland from 1918 to 1926. He was Visiting Professor at ASOR in Baghdad in 1925-26, and succeeded Clay as Laffan Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature and Curator of the Babylonian Collection at Yale University from 1926 to 1933.

Henry Charles Ponsonby Moore, 10th Earl of **Drogheda** (1884 – 1957), began his career in the Foreign Office. He was Director of the Ministry of Economic Warfare from 1940 to 1945. After retiring, he chaired several government committees, and became a Deputy Speaker in the House of Lords.

Jeffery Raymond **Ede**, C.B. (1918 – 2006), was born Plymouth, England. His studies at King's College, Cambridge, were interrupted by service in the British Army from 1939 to 1946, in France, then Syria, and finally in North-West Europe, and he graduated in Classics in 1946. He joined the staff of the Public Record Office (The [British] National Archives) in 1947, and was promoted several times, becoming Keeper of Public Records from 1970 to 1978. His posts with the Public Record Office included serving as Head of Technical Services with responsibility for the storage, conservation, filming and photocopying of records and making them available in the reading rooms, and planning the new Public Record Office building at Kew, which opened in 1977. He also taught Archive Administration at the School of Librarianship and Archives, University College London from 1956 to 1961. He served as President of the Society of Archivists between 1974 and 1977, and in 1976 to 1978 as Vice-President of the International Council on Archives (ICA). From 1972 to 1978 he was Chairman of the British Academy Committee on Oriental Documents. He undertook several missions for the ICA and Unesco to Cyprus, Lesotho and Tanzania, as well as Iraq.

Robert Anthony **Eden**, later 1st Earl of Avon (1897 – 1977), was a British Conservative politician. After distinguished military service during the First World War, he graduated from Oxford University in Oriental Languages (Persian and Arabic). He served as a Member of Parliament from 1923 to 1957, taking a particular interest in Middle Eastern affairs. He served three periods as Foreign Secretary, and then a relatively brief term as Prime Minister from 1955 to 1957. In 1956, President Nasser's decision to

nationalise the Suez Canal precipitated a crisis which led to British, French and Israeli troops briefly invading Egypt before withdrawing under pressure from the American government. This signalled the end of British predominance in the Middle East.

Eugen **Egger** (1920 – 2011) was born in Schaffhausen, Switzerland, and graduated Dr. phil. in 1943 from the University of Freiburg in Germany. From 1945 to 1962, he was Head of the General Catalogue Section in the National Library of Switzerland, Bern. From 1962 to 1983, he was Director of Swiss Documentation Centre for Education in Geneva. In addition, in 1964, he began teaching at the University of Geneva, and in 1968 was appointed Professor of Education, retiring in about 1985.

Dr. Saad Basheer **Eskander** (1962 -) was an Iraqi Kurd, born in Baghdad. He joined the Kurdish Peshmerga guerrilla army from 1981 to 1985, before moving to Iran, Syria, and then London. He graduated in Modern History from the University of North London, and was awarded a PhD in International Relations and History by the London School of Economics in 1999. After returning to Baghdad in 2003, he was appointed Director General of the Iraq National Library and Archive. His appointment was terminated in 2015, after a change in the government.

Sassoon **Eskell** ('Sasun Eff') (1860 - 1932) was an Iraqi Jew, born in Baghdad. After education in Baghdad and Istanbul, he held senior positions in the Baghdad *Vilayet* administration from 1881 to 1908. From 1908 to 1918, he was a Deputy for Baghdad in the first Turkish Parliament. In 1920, he returned from Istanbul to Baghdad, and served as Finance Minister in the Iraqi government until 1925, when he was elected Deputy for Baghdad in the first parliament of the Kingdom, serving in all successive parliaments as Chairman of the Financial Committee until his death. He was awarded an honorary knighthood by King George V in 1923. He was well known for having one of Iraq's best private libraries.

Dr. Luther Harris **Evans** (1902 – 1981) was born in Texas and educated at the University of Texas and Stanford University. After teaching at New York University, Dartmouth, and Princeton from 1927 to 1935, he had worked in the U.S. Archives from 1935 to 1939 and in the Library of Congress from 1940 to 1953, becoming the Librarian of Congress from 1945. He had been Chair of ALA's International Relations Board, and part of the U.S. delegation during the forming of Unesco. He served as Unesco's Director General from 1953 to 1958. After leaving Unesco, he became Director of International and Legal Collections at Columbia University's Library in New York.

Jane **Fairweather** had worked in Japan in 1949, where she directed courses on aspects of library science as part of the 'Institutes for Educational Leadership' program initiated by the Civil Information and Education Section of Supreme Command for the Allied Powers, and then spent 6 years in the American Center, Calcutta, India, 1950-56. In the late 1960s, based in the Washington office, she was responsible for oversight of the USIS libraries in Latin America.

John B. **Ferguson**, M.B.E. (1919 -), commenced working in libraries in 1937. He had been Deputy County Librarian of Shropshire before initially taking a one-year secondment to work for the British Council in India. He was later to become briefly, reluctantly, Director of the Council's Books Department in

1970/71, before undertaking a number of other senior assignments in the UK and overseas.

Roy Arthur **Flood,** M.B.E. (1920 - 1982), began his career in Westminster City Libraries in 1936. He joined the British Council in 1947, and encouraged the establishment of national library services in many of the newly independent African states, where he also helped to plan staff training and education. As Deputy Director and then Director (1971-1980) of the Council's Libraries Department, he administered a vast expansion of the British Council's overseas service before retiring. After retiring, he worked voluntarily with the Ranfurly Library Service (now known as Book Aid International).

Stephen Willard **Ford** (1924 – 1999) was born in Detroit. He graduated from Wayne State University and the University of Michigan School of Librarianship. He had worked in the University of Michigan Library before his mission to Iraq. Immediately after leaving Iraq in 1962, he became Library Director at Grand Valley State College in Allendale, Michigan (re-designated Grand Valley State University in 1987), and retired from that post in 1988.

Paul-Michel **Foucault** (1926 – 1984) was a French philosopher, historian of ideas, and social theorist. His theories addressed the relationship between power and knowledge, and how they are used as a form of social control through societal institutions.

Simon **Francis** (1938 -) was born in London. For many years, he was Head of the Library and Audio-Visual Services at the University of North London, and in the late 1980s became the first University Librarian of Universiti Brunei Darussalam in Borneo. He worked as a library development consultant in over 25 different countries, on behalf of Unesco, the British Council, and the Open Society Institute, specialising in library management.

Denis Edward **Frean**, C.B.E. (1913 – 2007), had practiced as a solicitor in London before the Second World War. During the war and post-war years, he had been with the British Press Legation in Stockholm and a lecturer in Helsinki University before joining the British Council, working in Italy, Australia, British Guiana, Iraq, South Africa, etc. He retired in about 1975.

Dr. Rolando V. **Garcia** was Dean of the Faculty of Exact and Natural Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires, and a Vice-President of ICSU. He served as Scientific Secretary for the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology, and undertook several missions for Unesco.

Hardan Abdul **Ghaffar** al-Tikriti (1925 -1971) was an Iraqi Air Force officer who played a key role in both the 1963 and 1968 revolutions. He was Minister of Defence from 1963 to 1964, and again from 1968 to 1970, and was said to have been instrumental in securing large-scale military aid for Iraq from the Soviet Union. He was briefly Vice-President in 1970, before losing a power struggle with Saddam Hussein, being dismissed in October 1970 and effectively exiled as Ambassador to Algeria and then Sweden. He was assassinated in 1971 while in Kuwait attempting to organise a coup against the Iraqi government.

Sir Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen **Gibb**, (1895 - 1971) was a British citizen, born in Alexandria, Egypt. His studies at Edinburgh University (in Semitic Languages) were interrupted by military service. After the war, he studied Arabic at the London University School of Oriental Studies, and obtained his

MA in 1922. From 1921 to 1937, he taught at the School of Oriental Studies, becoming Professor in 1930. He then became Professor of Arabic at Oxford University and a Fellow of St. John's College. In 1955, Gibb became James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic and also 'University Professor' at Harvard University, a rare title given to a few scholars 'working on the frontiers of knowledge'. He retired in 1964.

Rudolph Hjalmar **Gjelsness** (1894 – 1968) was born in North Dakota and graduated from the state university. After military service during the First World War, he became Reference Librarian with the American Expeditionary Force at the University of Beaune in France. He then studied library science at the University of Illinois. As a library practitioner, his career focused on acquisitions and cataloguing work in university libraries in Oregon and California, before undertaking further studies at the University of Oslo. He then took positions in the Michigan University Library, and in the New York Public Library, as well as lecturing at Columbia University, before he became Librarian of the University of Arizona in 1932. He returned to the University of Michigan as Professor of Library Science in 1937, and was Head of the Department of Library Science from 1940 to 1964. He served as President of the Association of American Library Schools, and was active in the American Library Association. He returned to the University of Arizona as Head of the Special Collections Division in 1964. While at Michigan, he undertook many consultancy visits to Latin America and, while in Puerto Rico to help establish a new School of Librarianship, died in an automobile accident in 1968.

Antonio **Gramsci** (1891 – 1937) was an Italian Marxist theoretician and politician, best known for his theory of cultural hegemony, which expounded his belief that, in capitalist societies, states use cultural institutions to maintain power — for example, in the context of this study, the conscious export of western models of librarianship to ensure the replication of their cultural values as a means of building a society that preserves the social and political *status quo*.

Calouste Sarkis **Gulbenkian** (1869 - 1955) was born in Istanbul, the son of an Armenian oil importer/exporter. He studied petroleum engineering at King's College London, and became a naturalized British citizen in 1902. In 1907, he helped arrange the merger of Royal Dutch Petroleum Company with Shell Transport and Trading Company Ltd., and emerged as a major shareholder of the new company. In 1912, he was the driving force behind the creation of the Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC) — a consortium, initially consisting of the largest European oil companies, that aimed to cooperatively secure exclusive oil exploration and development rights in the Ottoman Empire's provinces in Iraq. He retained 5% of the shares of the company when the ownership of TPC was widened, after the First World War, to include several American companies. The TPC was finally granted oil exploration rights in 1925, and first struck oil near Kirkuk in 1927. Its name was changed to the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1929.

After his death, much of the substantial fortune that he had accumulated from this and other investments was bequeathed to the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, a philanthropic institution established in 1956 in Lisbon (where he had lived from 1942 until his death).

Roberto **Gulbenkian** (1923 - 2009) was Calouste Gulbenkian's nephew, son of his younger brother, Vahan. After graduating, he joined the French Army,

participating in the landing in southern France in August 1944, where he was seriously injured. After the war, he worked for his uncle. From the establishment of the Foundation in 1955 until his retirement in 1996, he was respectively Director and Administrator of the Service, and seems to have undertaken much of the Gulbenkian Foundation's liaison with Iraq, visiting the country on numerous occasions. He was also a historian of some note, publishing about forty monographs.

Dennis **Gunton**, O.B.E. (1929 -), worked for the British Council in many overseas posts, including Yugoslavia, Nigeria and Malaysia, eventually serving as Director of the Libraries Department from 1980 until he retired in 1984.

Dr. Herbert Russell **Hamley** (1883 – 1949) was born in Australia, and graduated from the University of Melbourne, where he subsequently taught Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. After a period as Principal of the University High School in Melbourne, he became Professor of Physics at Wilson College, Bombay from 1915, and then from 1924 Principal of Bombay Secondary Training College. He was awarded a PhD in Education at Columbia University, New York in 1931, and subsequently taught at London University Institute of Education, where he became a noted educational psychologist. He was Visiting Professor of Education, University, Cairo, 1942–43, and Educational Adviser to the Government of Iraq, 1943–44.

Richard Barksdale **Harwell** (1915 - 1988) was born in Washington, Georgia, but his family moved to Atlanta a few years later, where he earned a bachelor's degree in English and a graduate degree in library science at Emory University. He began his professional career at Duke University, before returning to Emory for 16 years, interrupted by service in the U.S. Navy in the Pacific during World War II. In 1956, he left Emory for the Virginia State Library, followed by positions at Bowdoin College, Smith College, Georgia Southern College, and the University of Georgia, retiring in 1980. He was also active in the Southeastern Library Association, served as Secretary of Association of College and Research Libraries and Associate Executive Director of ALA from 1957-61, and then edited *College and Research Libraries* from 1962 to 1963. In 1949, he helped found the Civil War Round Table of Atlanta, and subsequently became a nationally recognized historian and bibliographer of the American Civil War, for which he received an honorary doctorate from New England College in 1966.

Dr. Ahmed Hebni **Helal** (1931 -) was Egyptian by birth. After teaching in various Arab countries, he moved in 1963 to the Geological Institute of the University of Bonn in Germany. From 1965, he worked at the University Library at Bochum. In 1966, he graduated in library science. In 1972, he became Librarian of the new University at Essen, where he initiated and led an annual international symposium on library automation. He undertook numerous missions in the Arab world for Unesco and other organisations, including one to the Scientific Documentation Centre in Iraq. He retired from his position at Essen in 1996.

Robert Pearce Steele **Hubbard** (1910 - 1965) was born in Glasgow. He studied architecture at the University of Liverpool, won the 1932 Rome Prize for Architecture, and became a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He initially went into partnership with Clifford Halliday in Palestine, before serving as a pilot in the Royal Air Force in the Middle East during the Second World War. After the war, he was assistant to the Government of Malta's

Town Planning Consultant, Austen St. Barbe Harrison, in preparing for the post-war reconstruction of Valetta. They established the partnership of Harrison, Barnes & Hubbard, which had offices in Russell Square, London, but in 1948 was also registered as a company in Cyprus where Harrison lived at the time. In 1953, Hubbard also restored part of an old monastery in Lapta in North Cyprus as a personal residence. He undertook a number of commissions for the British government, which may have included a hospital in Baghdad, and became a well-known architect, especially in the Middle East. His principal residence was in Hampstead Grove, London, where he died in 1965.

According to Ron Fuchs, who researched Harrison's work in the late 1990s, all the documents of the Harrison, Hubbard & Barnes firm were apparently destroyed in 1968 when the office closed down. Although the model of the proposed National Library of Iraq appears to have been lost and attempts to find photographs of the model have so far proved unsuccessful, a copy of the plans came to light during the re-organisation of the Iraq National Library and Archive in 2013.

August ('Guus') Jan Willem **Huisman** (1917 – 1983) was born in Amsterdam. He originally studied Colonial Law, and later Semitics, and worked as a civil servant in the Dutch East Indies from 1947 to 1949. Subsequently he studied Arabic and Persian. He was Curator of Oriental Printed Books in Leiden University Library from 1954 to 1980.

Dr René Ferdinand Malan **Immelman** (1905 – 1982) had worked in the Library of the South African Parliament before being appointed as sub-librarian of the University of Cape Town Library in 1935. When what was to become the School of Librarianship was established there, he became one of the first part-time teachers in the School. He served as the University's Chief Librarian from 1940 and, subsequently, simultaneously as Director of the School of Librarianship until he retired in 1970. He was President of the South African Library Association, 1950-1952.

Dr. Péter **Jacsó** was born in Hungary. He studied in Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, being awarded a PhD in Political Science and Jurisprudence in 1979, followed by further postgraduate studies in computer systems analysis in the International Computer Education and Information Center (SZÁMALK), Budapest, where from 1973 to 1987 he taught and ultimately became Director. He subsequently emigrated to the U.S.A., taking various temporary teaching posts until completing a Master's Degree in Library and Information Studies at the School of Library and Information Studies at the University of Hawaii, where he then gained tenure and later became a full Professor.

Dr. Mohammed Fadhil **Jamali** (1903 - 1997) was a Shi'ite Muslim Arab, who had studied at a theological seminary in Najaf, the Elementary Teacher Training College, and the American University of Beirut. He took his PhD in Education at Columbia University in 1932. Between 1932 and 1942, he was employed in the Ministry of Education, as Supervisor General and later as Director General. Later, he was 8 times Foreign Minister of Iraq, and between 1953 and 1954 served twice as Prime Minister. After the 1958 revolution, he was briefly imprisoned, then left the country, and subsequently taught in the University of Tunis. He possessed a private library of several thousand volumes, many of them dealing with the Near East.

Dr. Jassim Mohammed **Jirjees** (1946 -) was born in Mosul. His family moved to Baghdad in 1962, and he graduated from the University of Baghdad in English Language and Literature in 1968, and with a Higher Diploma in Librarianship in 1973. He completed his studies in Library and Information Science in the U.S.A. at Rutgers – The State University of New Jersey, with a Master's Degree in 1977 and PhD in 1981, and in 1982 began teaching in the Library and Information Science Department at Al-Mustansiriyah University, continuing until 1996, and latterly serving as Head of Department. He was seconded to the Arab Institute of Archives as Dean from 1982 to 1985, and to the Gulf States Information Documentation Centre as Director General from 1985 to 1990. He was also a founder member and President of Board of Trustees at Al-Mansour University College, Baghdad from 1988 to 1996. From 1996 to 1999, he was Professor and Head of the Library and Information Science Department at Sana'a University, Yemen, before moving to the United Arab Emirates to work in the Juma Al Majid Center for Culture and Heritage in Dubai, and then as Director of the Library of the National Center for Documentation and Research in Abu Dhabi. In 2010, he became a Professor at the American University in the Emirates, and established the Master's Degree in Library and Information Science there in 2012. He has been editor-in-chief of four professional journals and wrote more than 25 Books and 60 papers in Arabic or English.

Des Raj **Kalia** (1921 - 2004) was born at Fazilka, Punjab. He graduated from Punjab University, Lahore, where he also completed a six-month certificate course in Library Science. In 1945, he joined the staff of Punjab University Library. In 1946, he became Librarian at the Government College for Women, taking a similar post at the Central Institute of Education in 1948. In 1950, he was selected as Director Designate of the Delhi Public Library, a Unesco experimental project, and became the first Indian Librarian to receive a Unesco Fellowship. He then had a 5-year contract in Delhi from 1951 to 1956. He subsequently held Unesco contracts as Chief Librarian at ASFEC in Egypt, 1957-1959, as a consultant in Iraq, 1959-1960, and as Librarian of the Middle East Technical University in Ankara in 1961. From 1962 to 1967 he was again Director of the Delhi Public Library. He was Director of the National Library in Calcutta, 1967-1970; the Librarian at the Central Secretariat Library in New Delhi, 1970-1979; Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, 1979-1983; and Orissa State Library, 1986-1990. He became Professor in the Department of Librarianship, University of Delhi; President of the Indian Library Association; and a Vice-President of FID.

Abdul Rahman **Kamaruddin** worked as an Information Officer in India from 1960 to 1975, in Bangalore for the University College of Engineering, Hindustan Machine Tools, and the Central Machine Tools Institute, and in Calcutta for Andrew Yule & Co. He undertook a 3-month UNIDO consultancy at the Specialised Institute for the Engineering Industries in Baghdad in 1974, and then worked on a longer assignment, based in Baghdad, as Chief Industrial Information Advisor for the Arab Organisation for Industrial Development, commencing in 1975. In 1977, he became Director of the Scientific Documentation Centre in Baghdad, but in about 1978 joined Unesco as Chief Technical Advisor to the Arab League to help ALESCO to establish ARIS-net, the information system for the League of Arab States. In 1989, he joined the Islamic Development Bank, Jeddah, as advisor on a project to establish an Information Systems Network to serve the 57 members of the

Organization of Islamic Countries. He returned to India in 1998, becoming Secretary General of the Tipu Sultan Advanced Study and Research Centre in Bangalore, and General Secretary of Sharieff Foundation in Srirangapatna. During his career, he was associated with organizing a number of international seminars and meetings related to information systems, education, economics, trade and technology transfer, and contributed more than 70 papers and reports in his field of specialization.

Yash Pal **Kathpalia** was a Chemist, employed as a Scientific Officer at the National Archives of India, New Delhi. He later became Scientific Director of the School of Archival Studies at the National Archives of India, Chairman of the ICA Conservation Committee, and a member of the ICA Committee on Professional Training and Education (1983-1984). He undertook a number of assignments and missions for Unesco concerned with the conservation and preservation of archives. A formal report on his mission to Iraq does not appear to have been officially published.

Mr. Asadullah **Kazmi**, a citizen of India, worked for Unesco from 1955 to 1964, in various posts in Indonesia and then in Iraq.

Naomi A. **Kazwini** (née Stedman, 1932 -) was born in Britain. She trained as a teacher of domestic science and, while working as a teacher in Portsmouth, met and married an Iraqi university student. In 1956/57, she moved with her husband to Basra, where she worked initially as a primary school teacher, and then as Librarian in a private club. She was employed locally by the British Council as Librarian in Basra from 1961 to 1963, and in Baghdad from 1969 to 1990. After the Council withdrew from Iraq following the first Gulf War, she retired and returned with her family to live in Britain, where she was one of a number of former Council staff who recorded interviews for the British Council's Oral History Project, which are deposited in the British Library.

Paul Blakeslee **Kebabian** (1917 – 2009) was born in Rhode Island, but grew up in Connecticut. He graduated from Yale University and the School of Library Service at Columbia University. He had worked in Yale University Library and New York Public Library before his mission to Iraq. Subsequently, he was employed briefly at the University of Florida. His final professional post was as University Librarian of the University of Vermont from 1966 to 1982.

Charles (Károly) **Kecskeméti** (1933 -) was born in Budapest, and graduated from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, in History in 1955, and with a Diploma in Archives Studies in 1956. After various short attachments to archives in Hungary and France, he joined the French National Archives in 1957, working mainly on archival training. At that time, the French National Archives hosted the International Council on Archives (ICA), and he was appointed Secretary of ICA in the 1960s. In 1986, he became full-time Executive Director of ICA, retiring in 1998. He was awarded a Doctorat-ès-Lettres by the Université Paris I-Sorbonne in 1980, wrote numerous books and journal articles on archives management and on historical topics, and carried out planning and teaching missions in various parts of the world.

Francis **Kent** (1908 - 1978) began his career at the British Museum library in 1931. He joined the staff of the BBC in 1944, and became Chief Librarian at Bristol University in 1946. He was Chief Librarian at Unesco from 1951 to 1957, and then Librarian of the American University of Beirut from 1957 to

1973. His final appointment was as Chief Librarian at the American College of Switzerland, Leysin, from 1973 to 1974.

Dr. Michael **Keresztesi** (c.1920 – 2010) was born in Hungary. After the Second World War, he emigrated to France and then to the USA, where he was a Master's Degree in Library Science student at the University of Michigan in the early 1960s, when his thesis seems to have been supervised by Rudolph Gjelsness, who was later a Ford Foundation consultant to the University of Baghdad libraries. He became a faculty member in the School of Library Science at Michigan, but moved to Wayne State University (WSU) in 1973. He completed his PhD (on UNESCO's contribution to library education and training) at the University of Michigan in 1977, and became a Professor at WSU before retiring in 1986.

Abu Zayd Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn **Khaldun** al-Ḥaḍrami (1332 – 1406) was born in Tunis. He has been described as one of the greatest philosophers to come out of the Muslim world, and is generally regarded to be among the founding fathers of modern sociology, historiography, and economics.

Hulagu **Khan** (c.1218-1265) was a grandson of Genghis Khan, and the brother of Kublai Khan. Hulagu's army greatly expanded the southwestern portion of the Mongol Empire, conquering modern Iraq, Syria, and Iran.

I.C. **Koupalov-Yaropolk** was member of Unesco staff, attached to the Science Policy Division.

Dr. Josef A. **Kuba** (1915 – 1999) was Czechoslovakian. He studied physics and chemistry at Charles University, Prague, specializing in nuclear physics. He was an Assistant Professor at the Technical University in Prague, and then Director of the Implementation Division (Technical Assistance) of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, from 1964 to 1968. In 1969, he became Director of the National Technical Museum, Prague, retiring in 1984.

Stephen Hemsley **Longrigg**, O.B.E., (1893 – 1979) was a graduate of Oxford University. He served in the British Army throughout the First World War, and later became Inspector-General of Revenue in the British Administration in Iraq between 1927 and 1931. From 1931 to 1951 he was employed by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various roles in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Gulf States. During the Second World War, he was recalled to the British Army with the rank of Brigadier, and held senior positions in the military governments administering the occupied Italian colonies in North East Africa.

Dr. Michael Felix **Lynch** (1932 -) was awarded a PhD in chemistry at the National University of Ireland, before pursuing postdoctoral research in Zurich. Then, following two years in industry in the UK and four years at Chemical Abstracts Service, he joined the staff of what was then the Postgraduate School of Librarianship and Information Studies at the University of Sheffield in 1965 specialising in the application of computer based information services in industry and in chemical informatics. He was promoted Professor in 1975, retiring in 1997. It has not proved possible to find a copy of his report.

Thomas Babington **Macaulay**, 1st Baron Macaulay (1800 - 1859), was a British lawyer, politician, poet, and historian. He went to India in 1834, and served on the Supreme Council of India between 1834 and 1838. There he

successfully advocated his views to the Governor General in a *Minute on Indian Education* in 1835.

Kenneth **Mackenzie** (1878 - 1928) was born in Aultbea, a village in Wester Ross in the Northwest Highlands of Scotland. His parents later became sheep farmers at 'Taagan', near Kinlochewe. Following the death of his father in 1884, his mother managed the farm. Subsequently, flooding damaged the farm and killed much of the livestock, and his mother (who had been born in Suffolk in southeast England) moved the family to London in 1890. There Kenneth obtained a job in the book department of one of the 'Army & Navy' department stores, probably the main branch in Victoria, which he could conveniently reach from the family home in south London. Subsequently, some time around 1901, he established his own book shop, the 'Book-lovers' Resort', which apparently became known to Gertrude Bell (q.v.). As well as running the shop, in Beaconsfield Terrace Road, at the rear of the Olympia Exhibition Centre in Kensington, he also facilitated the printing and distribution of Gaelic language publications. During the First World War, he closed the business and joined the British Army in 1916, being badly wounded while serving with the Seaforth Highlanders in France in 1917.

In 1919, Humphrey Bowman (q.v.) was asked by Arnold Wilson, then the Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia, to find someone to supply books to the schools and colleges in Iraq while he was visiting London. Encouraged by Bowman, Mackenzie, who was unemployed at the time, applied for the post of Supervisor of the newly created Government Bookstore in Baghdad, and was chosen. The Bookstore was established in 1920 in government premises, first in the Ministry of Education's compound, then in a room in the *Serai*, the Ottoman administrative complex built by Midhat Pasha (q.v.) on the banks of the Tigris that had become the seat of the British administration. Despite its origins, it was transformed by Mackenzie's knowledge and enthusiasm into a general bookstore, a substantial business known to many as "the best bookshop East of Suez." In 1926, the Iraqi Government decided to dispose of the Bookstore, although some described it as "the most efficient Government institution in Iraq", because it did not wish to appear to be in competition with commercial enterprises, and yet have no control over it. Kenneth bought it at auction. He moved 'The Bookstore' first to the premises of the 'British Club' (probably the Alwiyah Club at Southgate, which had been founded in 1921), and then to the Lynch Brothers Building in New Street (now Rashid Street).

When Kenneth died in 1928, the bookshop was taken over by his brother-in-law, Donald Mackenzie, who also came from Wester Ross, and who had joined him in Baghdad in 1926/27, when 'The Bookstore' had become 'Mackenzie and Mackenzie'. Donald retired in about 1940, and died in 1944. The bookshop was then taken over by his chief assistant or partner, Kerim (or Iskander) 'Mackenzie' (a Christian Arab, who had possibly been adopted by Donald), then by Kerim's Armenian partner, whose two daughters (the Bedrosians) may still have it today (*Baghdad Times*, 24th January 1928; A. Fowler, personal communication, 16th March 2016).

René Gabriel Eugene **Maheu** (1905 – 1975) was a French citizen. He taught at the University of Cologne, 1931-1933; as Professor of Philosophy, French Institute, London, 1933-1939; and served in the French Embassy to the UK, 1936-1939. He became Professor of Philosophy, Franco-Moslem College, Fez,

Morocco in 1940, before becoming Head of Feature Service, France- Afrique Press Agency, Algeria in 1943, and returned to Morocco as a Member of the Civil Cabinet of Resident General of France in 1944. He joined the staff of Unesco in 1946, serving as Chief, Division of Free Flow of Information from 1946 to 1948; as Unesco Representative to the U.N., 1955-1958; and ultimately as Director-General from 1962 to 1974.

Dr. Zygmunt **Majewski** (1903 -) was born in Zbaraż, then in the Polish province of Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian empire. After graduating in metallurgy, he worked in the Polish steel industry. He became Director of the planning department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce in 1946, and then Director of the Central Institute for Scientific Technical and Economic Information in Warsaw from 1950 to 1961. From 1962 to 1968, he was Counsellor Minister and chief specialist of the Polish government's Committee of Science and Technology.

Nihad Abdul **Majid** Al-Nassiri was a graduate of the American University of Beirut. Although he had no special qualifications in the field, he was Director of Library at the Ministry of Education in the early 1950s. He was then Librarian of the Baghdad Public Library, before being appointed Iraq's first Director of Public and School Libraries in 1958. He wrote a number of books about librarianship, and organised one of the first extended training courses for librarians that took place in Iraq.

John Marshall (1903 - 1980) was born in Portland, Maine, and was educated at Harvard University, earning both a B.A. (1925) and an M.A. (1928) in English. He was Executive Secretary of the Medieval Academy of America from 1926 to 1933, and editor at the American Council of Learned Societies from 1931 to 1933. He then served the Rockefeller Foundation as Assistant Director (1933-1940) and Associate Director (1940-1962) of the Division of Humanities; Associate Director (1962-1970) of the Division of Humanities and Social Science; and Director of the Bellagio Center (1959-1970). On behalf of the Foundation, he made frequent visits to the Middle East, and had numerous contacts with governments and academic institutions there, with Unesco, U.S., and other countries' missions and agencies in those countries, and with academic institutions in the U.S.A. and Western Europe interested in Arab and Islamic studies. Most of his diaries and reports on his overseas visits have been preserved at the Rockefeller Archive Center, where some have been digitised and made available online.

Dr. György **Matók** (1928 -) was born and studied in Szeged, Hungary. When working in the Hungarian National Bank, he became interested in the applications of computers, and took a Master's Degree in Software Architecture. In the early 1970s, he joined SZAMOK (the Computer Technology Education Center in Budapest) as Head of the Office for Official Publications. From 1980, as Director of Education and Information Services, and later as Deputy Director General, he played a key role in internationalizing the education activities of SZAMOK (later renamed SZÁMALK). After winning support from UNDP, SZAMOK was able to create a state-of-the-art computer centre and organized several international English language courses in Budapest. Later, Dr. Matók negotiated projects with Unesco to provide consultancy services for the University of Aleppo, Syria as well for as the SDC in Baghdad. He was also a leader in organizing the merging of three Hungarian computer technology companies, and in

managing their operations until 1997. At the time of writing, Dr. Matók is reported to have died, but this has not been verified. All personnel records of SZAMOK are said to have been destroyed at some time after Hungary began its transition to a democratic society in 1989.

Lionel Roy **McColvin**, C.B.E. (1896 - 1976), was born in Newcastle upon Tyne. His family moved to London, and he began working in the public library in Croydon in 1911. He served in the British Army during the First World War, and afterward obtained his professional qualifications in librarianship. Subsequently he worked in public libraries in Wigan, Ipswich, and Hampstead in London before becoming City Librarian of Westminster from 1938 to 1961. His international career began in 1936 when he was involved in a survey of public libraries in the U.S.A. He subsequently made numerous overseas visits for the British Council, and contributed to the work of Unesco and IFLA. He was also Honorary Secretary of the Library Association from 1936 to 1951, its President in 1952, and later a Vice-President of IFLA. He has been described as the most influential British public librarian of the twentieth century.

Dr. Michel Jean Jacques **Menou** was born in France, and graduated in Public Administration from the Institut d' Etudes Politiques, University of Paris in 1962. He later completed postgraduate studies in information science at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris in 1974, and PhD at Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux 3 in 1993. He worked on the design of an international information network in housing, urban and regional planning, a United Nations project supported by Secrétariat des Missions d'Urbanisme et d'Habitat from 1966 to 1970, before starting consulting in scientific and technical information systems, working mostly with international cooperation agencies, especially Unesco and FAO, and focused mainly on national policies and plans, and education and training of information professionals and users. From 1985 to 1988, he was a Field Operations Officer in the Division of Library and Information Systems at FAO's headquarters in Rome, Italy, supporting agricultural information systems. Subsequently, he returned to consulting, combining this with academic positions in France and England. From 1989, he concentrated on information and communication technologies and knowledge management, with special emphasis on the application of ICTs, particularly telecentres, to the development of underprivileged communities. He worked in some 80 countries in Africa, the Americas, Europe, and a few in Asia, retiring in 2012.

Ahmet Şefik **Midhat Pasha** (1822 – 1884) was a Turkish administrator, noted for his great ability and honesty. He worked in several *Vilayets* and in the central government between 1844 and 1879, carrying out reforms with a degree of success that made him many enemies. In 1881, following a trial that was generally regarded as a mockery, he was sentenced to death. However, the British government interceded on his behalf, and the sentence was commuted to banishment. He died in exile in Taif in Saudi Arabia.

Oleg **Mikhailov** (1914 -) was a citizen of the U.S.S.R., an engineer educated at Leningrad Polytechnic Institute, 1932-1937, and Leningrad University, 1937-1941. He worked in the German Democratic Republic from 1946 to 1949, before becoming Director of Research Information in the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Iron and Steel Industry, 1950-1957, and then Head of the Department of Scientific Information and Documentation, State Committee for Science and Technology, 1957-1961. From 1962 until joining Unesco in 1967 as Director

of DBA, he was a Board Member of the State Committee for Inventions & Discoveries and Director of its Patent Research Institute.

Carl Hastings **Milam** (1884 – 1963) was born in Kansas, and graduated from the University of Oklahoma, before studying at New York State Library School. He began his career in the library of Purdue University, followed by positions in public library services in Indiana and Alabama. From 1917 to 1919, he worked in the Library War Service, which organised libraries in military camps. He was Executive Secretary of the American Library Association from 1920 to 1948, a role which frequently involved him in international activities, and then became Librarian of the United Nations' Library from 1948 to 1950.

Sir John Wilson Edington **Miller** (1894 – 1957) had served in the Imperial Civil Service in Sudan from 1920 to 1949, latterly as Financial Secretary to the Sudan Government. He was Financial Controller at the British Council from 1949 to 1950, and Secretary General of the Iraq Development Board from 1950 to 1954.

Dr. Paul **Monroe** (1869 – 1947) became a Professor at Columbia University in 1899. He was involved in educational development in a number of countries, becoming one of the founders of the American Council on Education in 1918, and a member of its Committee on International Educational Relations.

Dr. Arthur Eustace **Morgan** (1886-1972) was born in Bristol, and graduated from Bristol University and Trinity College, Dublin. He had taught English Language and Literature in Bristol, Exeter and Sheffield Universities, and had been Principal of University College, Hull, and then McGill University in Canada, before joining the British civil service in 1939. He became Educational Controller, British Council, from 1945 to 1950. Subsequently he chaired the Board of a long-established family company, as well as several charitable organisations.

Laurice Jamil **Nabhan** had been the Librarian of the College of Dentistry before going to study in the U.S.A. In 1975, she was awarded a further Fellowship, funded by UNDP, to travel in the U.K., France, Germany and Switzerland for 3 months to examine training in librarianship and documentation work (Directory 1975), and some years later contributed to a paper on educational documentation published as part of a Unesco report (El Kassem & Nabhan 1982).

Alan E. **Negus** (c.1940 -) studied librarianship at Liverpool College of Commerce (later part of Liverpool John Moores University) in the 1960s. He first worked for Liverpool Public Libraries, and then, in the late 1960s, with the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority's Culham Laboratory, where he gained experience in the then novel use of computers for library and information retrieval applications. Subsequently, he joined INSPEC, the information services division of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, and worked on several research projects before becoming Manager, Tape and Online Services. He later worked at Scicon Consultancy International, where he was involved with a number of experimental and operational online information retrieval systems, including the development of the Euronet Common Command Language for the Commission of the European Communities, and then became an independent consultant.

Dr. Ahmad Anwar **Omar** (1920 – 1992) studied librarianship at the University of Michigan in the late 1940s. He worked at the National Library of Egypt before

becoming a Lecturer in the Institute of Librarianship at Cairo University in the 1950s, shortly after its establishment, and later became Head of the School and (in 1972) its first Doctoral graduate in librarianship. He undertook several missions for Unesco, including participating in the Ibadan Seminar on Public Library Development in Africa in 1953 as one of the speakers on education for librarianship, and undertaking a teaching assignment in the University of Baghdad in 1966/67.

Carlos Victor **Penna** (1911 – 1998) was born in Bahia Blanca, Argentina. After graduating from the Naval School of Mechanical Engineering in Buenos Aires in 1930, he decided to not continue with a military career and obtained a job in the Library of the Navy. He was awarded a degree in library science by the Museo Social Argentina in 1941, and then took further courses at Columbia University's School of Library Service. He became Assistant Director, in 1943, of the Instituto Bibliotecológico, recently established by the University of Buenos Aires to coordinate its central and faculty libraries, and subsequently headed several special and public libraries. In 1951, he joined Unesco as a specialist in its Regional Office for the Western Hemisphere in Havana, Cuba, becoming Director of the Office in 1962. He was transferred to Unesco headquarters in Paris in 1964, subsequently becoming Director of the Division of Libraries, Archives, and Documentation, and then Director of Unesco's Library and Documentation Service, before retiring in 1971, initially to Spain and then to Florida. He was a strong advocate of national planning for libraries during his time with Unesco, and devoted his energies in retirement to encouraging the government of Argentina to establish a federal system of libraries and information systems.

Yves **Pérotin** (1922 – 1981) was a French archivist. Born in Bordeaux, he commenced studies at the École nationale des chartes in 1942. After taking part in the French Resistance movement during the Second World War and then serving in the French Army, he completed his studies in 1948. He subsequently worked as an archivist in several Departments in France: Lot-et-Garonne (1948-1952), Réunion (1952-1958), Seine et Var (1971-1972); at the United Nations from 1966 to 1969; at the International Labour Organisation from 1969 to 1971; and at the World Health Organisation from 1972 to 1974. His final post was in the Departmental Archives of Pyrénées-Orientales in Perpignan (1974-1981). He served as Secretary General of ICA from 1962 to 1966, undertook missions for Unesco to Algeria, Iraq, Morocco and Peru, and made numerous contributions to the literature of his field.

Everett N. **Petersen** (1909 – c.1991?) was born in Muncie, Indiana, U.S.A., and studied English Literature at Wayne University, the University of Michigan, and Columbia University, and Library Science at Western Reserve University. He had joined the Detroit Public Libraries as a junior assistant in 1939, and subsequently headed branch libraries, and extension services. By 1943, he was Head of Public Relations, but was given leave for military service, returning to Detroit in 1946. However, in 1947, he was released on leave to become Acting Head of Public Library Development for Unesco, and, in 1951, he resigned from Detroit Public Libraries, joining Unesco permanently. In 1957, he succeeded Carter as Head of Libraries Division, leaving that post in 1964 to become Chief of Unesco's Library, Documentation and Archives Services until he retired in 1969.

Donald M. **Powell** (1914 – 1987) was born in New York State, and graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in Library Science from the University of Michigan in 1942. He worked in New York Public Library before joining the University of Arizona Libraries in Tucson as Head of the Reference Department in 1946. There, he was an active member of the State and regional Library Associations, and represented the Association of College and Research Libraries on the ALA Council. In a re-organization in 1962/63, he was made Head of the Reference and Bibliography Division, and assigned supervisory responsibility for three new divisional libraries. In the following year, he became Chief Public Services Librarian, and Associate University Librarian, acting as interim University Librarian in 1971/72. An enthusiastic bibliographer and historian of the State, he became Chief of the Special Collections Department in 1972/73, retiring in 1978.

Dr. Nazar M. Ali **Qassim** (1936 -) was born in Mosul, and graduated in English Language from Baghdad University. He studied library science in the U.S.A. in c.1961/62, when he was noted as one of the foreign librarians attending the 1962 ALA Annual Conference, and was awarded a Master of Library Science degree at Rutgers University. After briefly working part-time in the Library at Al-Hikma University in 1964/65, he joined the staff of the Central Library at Baghdad University. While working there, he was also a part-time teacher in the Diploma course in librarianship at Baghdad University, and later both there and in the Library and Information Science Department at Al-Mustansiriyah University. He then joined the permanent full-time teaching staff at Al-Mustansiriyah University, and later served as Head of the Department for 15 years through the 1980s and early 1990s, where he also gained a PhD, and was promoted to the rank of Professor in 1991. After retiring from Al-Mustansiriyah University in c.2006, he taught Library and Information Science at Mosul University.

Fuad Yousif M. **Qazanchi** (1936 -) was born in Mosul. He took a Master's Degree in Librarianship in the U.S.A. He became Director of the Iraqi National Library, and later the first Head of the School of Librarianship at Al-Mustansiriyah University after it was combined with Baghdad University's Graduate School of Library Science. He was a prolific writer about library and information work in Iraq.

Philippe **Quéau** (1952 -) was born in Casablanca, Morocco. He studied at the Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Télécommunications, and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, where he was awarded a DEA in Information and Communication Sciences. He worked at the French National Audiovisual Institute from 1977 to 1996, latterly as director of research. He then joined Unesco as Director of the new Information and Informatics Division, and subsequently became Director of the Information Society Division. From 2003 to 2013, he represented Unesco in various countries in Eastern Europe and later the Maghreb, before returning to Paris as Director of the Division of Ethics and Global Change. In January 2014, he was appointed Assistant Director-General of Unesco for Humanities and Social Sciences.

Ameen Fares **Rihani** (1876 - 1940) was born in Freike, Lebanon, the oldest son of a raw silk manufacturer, but his father decided that the family should emigrate to the U.S.A. Rihani arrived in New York in 1888, where he began to learn English and briefly studied law before returning to Lebanon in 1898/99

to convalesce from illness. During the next decade, when his home alternated between Lebanon and New York, he emerged as a significant writer of poetry and novels, on philosophical and political themes, and about his journey throughout Arabia in 1922.

Kenneth H. **Roberts** worked as a librarian in Brooklyn, New York before joining Unesco in 1965 as a Program Specialist in DBA, and some time its Acting Chief. He was Chief of the Section for Training Information Professionals and Users in PGI from 1977 to 1984.

Konstantin Alekseevich **Rybnikov** (1913 - 2004) was born in Lu Ghanaian, now part of Lugansk in Ukraine. After graduating from high school, he failed to gain admission to university and in 1929 was appointed as a primary school teacher. In 1932/33, he also undertook evening teaching in a high school, while at the same time taking a Moscow State University correspondence course in Mathematics. He 1933 he transferred to full-time study in Moscow, graduating in 1936. After completing his higher degree in 1941, and service in the Red Army from 1942 to 1945, he became a lecturer in Moscow State University, and a member of the Bureau of the University branch of the Communist Party. In 1948, he was assigned to work for the Party's Central Committee, returning to the University's Faculty of Mechanics and Mathematics in 1953, becoming a Professor in 1956 and Chair of the Department of history and methodology of mathematics and mechanics in 1957. From 1966 to 1969 he was seconded to Unesco's Directorate of Higher Education. He published numerous books and articles on mathematical theories.

Edward Wadie **Said** (1935 – 2003) was an Arab born in Jerusalem, but an American citizen by birth. He graduated from Princeton University with Bachelor's and Master's degrees in 1957 and 1960 respectively, followed by a PhD in English Literature from Harvard University in 1964. He was a literary theoretician, and one of the intellectual founders of the theories of 'post-colonialism.' He is best known for a critical analysis of the cultural manifestations that were the bases of how Westerners perceived and represented Orientals.

Yunis Aziz Mohamed **Salih** (1923 -) was born in Mosul. Although the transliteration of his name varies in the Gulbenkian Foundation's files, he seems to have received grants from the Foundation at least twice. He graduated from Baghdad University in 1950, and studied abroad first at the University of Western Michigan in Kalamazoo between 1963 and 1965, obtaining his MA in Librarianship there. He went to Pittsburgh University to commence study for a PhD in 1966, and completed the courses required in the Advanced Certificate programme in 1967. He was supported by a second grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation between 1966 and 1969. It appears that he was still in the U.S.A. in 1971, and did not complete his PhD dissertation on Knowledge and language and their effects on library classification until 1974, when he was 51. The Gulbenkian Foundation was aware that he did not complete it until then, but no information has yet been found to clarify whether the Foundation supported him throughout this period, and no further information about his career has been discovered (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1963a; 1971d; 1974c).

James Arthur **Salter**, Baron Salter of Kidlington (1881 - 1975), held various positions in the British civil service from 1904 until 1919, and then in the

Secretariat of the League of Nations until 1930. He also served, briefly in 1944, as Deputy Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. He was Professor of Political Theory and Institutions at Oxford University from 1934 to 1974. As MP for Oxford University from 1937 to 1950, and for Ormskirk from 1951 to 1953, he held various government offices, before being elevated to the peerage.

Cyril Ernest Edward Henry [Hartt] **Saunders** (1892 - 1967) worked in Manchester City Libraries and, after the Second World War, for the British Council in Czechoslovakia and Turkey. He then became the first person to undertake a library development project for Unesco in Iraq. After this assignment, he undertook a further Unesco mission to Indonesia. A full biography is in preparation for publication.

Dr. Nasser **Sharify** (1925 - 2013) was born in Tehran, studied library science at Columbia University, U.S.A., and worked as a Program Specialist in Unesco's Libraries Division before he became Director General for Libraries in the Ministry of Education in Iran, 1961-1962. Subsequently he returned to work briefly for Unesco as head of the Education Clearing House Section in Paris. He returned to the U.S.A. in 1963, working in universities in Pittsburgh and New York, before becoming a Professor in the Graduate School of Library and Information Science at Pratt Institute in 1968, retiring from the position of Dean there in 1987. The Hoover Institute at Stanford University holds a major archive of his papers (not examined for this study).

Dr. El Sayed Mahmoud **El Sheniti** (1920 - 1995) was born in Egypt. He earned a B.A. degree from Cairo University in 1940, and a Ph.D. in Library Science from the University of Chicago in 1960. He held many senior positions including: Librarian of Alexandria University Library from 1949 to 1951; Assistant Librarian at ASFEC from 1952 to 1954; Director of the American University in Cairo Library from 1958 to 1963; Unesco Documentation and Publications Expert at the Regional Center of Community Development for the Arab States (ASFEC) in Sirs El Layyan, Egypt from 1963 to 1968; Under Secretary of State for the Egyptian National Library and Archives from 1968 to 1971; Senior Under Secretary of State for the Ministry of Culture and Chairman of the General Egyptian Book Organization (GEBO) from 1971 to 1977; and Deputy Minister of Culture and Chairman of GEBO from 1977 to 1978. From 1966 to 1974 he served as a member and Chairman of the Unesco International Advisory Committee for Libraries, Documentation, and Archives. He contributed to several other Unesco meetings, published widely, was visiting Professor in several Schools of Librarianship in Egypt, and acted as a consultant in several Arab States. From 1964 until his death, he Presided over the Egyptian Library, Information, and Archives Association.

Joseph Francis **Shubert** (1928 – 2010), was born in North Collins, New York. He graduated from the State University of New York - Geneseo (Bachelor of Science) and the University of Denver (MA in Library Science). He began his professional career at the Nevada State Library as Reference and Documents Librarian in 1951, and later served as State Librarian from 1959. From 1962 to early 1966, he was Assistant Director of the American Library Association's International Relations Office. He then became State Librarian of Ohio, and from 1977 until he retired in 1996 served as New York State Librarian and Assistant Commissioner for Libraries.

'**K. Shubert**' was probably Dr. Karl Schubarth-Engelschall (1934 -), who was born in Chemnitz, and studied Ethnology and Arabic studies in the University of Leipzig. He was briefly in charge of the Near and Middle East collections of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin in the former German Democratic Republic, before becoming Director of the Africa-Asia-Department in 1961, when his predecessor decided to stay in West Berlin after the Berlin Wall was built. He completed his Doctoral Dissertation in the University of Leipzig in 1965. After the reunification of Germany, he continued to be the Director of the Oriental Department in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz until his retirement in 1999. He undertook several missions in the Arab world, writing numerous scholarly books and journal articles about it, as well as about librarianship in general. The main purpose of his mission in Iraq in 1971 has not been identified, and his brief involvement in teaching a Library Administration course there seems to have arisen solely because he was present in the country when a gap in the teaching team occurred and he happened to have the required subject expertise.

Sir Harry Chapman **Sinderson** (1891 – 1974) was born in Caister, Lincolnshire. He studied medicine at Edinburgh University, and served as a Medical Officer in the British Army throughout the First World War. He was posted to Iraq in 1918, and was seconded to the British administration as Deputy Director of Civil Medical Services. In 1919 and 1920, he worked as a surgeon in Hillah and Baghdad, and later was placed in charge of various hospitals in Baghdad. In 1927, he helped to establish a new medical school in Baghdad, which became the Royal Medical School when the King opened its new building in 1930. From 1923, Sinderson was personal physician to Iraq's Kings and their families. He served as Dean of the Medical School from 1927 until 1934, and again from 1941 until 1946, when he retired and returned to England.

Dr. Arthur Lionel Forster **Smith**, C.B.E., M.V.O. (1880 – 1972), was a graduate of Oxford University, and from 1908 to 1920, a Fellow of Magdalen College. He was Director of Education in the British administration in Mesopotamia in 1920, and Adviser on Education to the Iraqi government from 1921 to 1931. Subsequently, he became Rector of Edinburgh Academy, 1931–1945.

Fred **Smith** was Deputy Reference Librarian in Leeds Public Libraries before joining the British Council in 1961. After leaving the Council, he joined the staff of the Department of Librarianship in the Loughborough University of Technology, and remained as a Lecturer there until he retired.

Anand Prakash **Srivastava** (1933 – 2004) was born in Kanpur, India. He obtained a Master's Degree from the University of Agra in 1954, and a Diploma in Library Science at Delhi University, before commencing his career in the Ministry of External Affairs Library, 1955-1957. In 1957, he became University Librarian and Head of Library Science at the then new Vikram University, Ujjain. His teaching career continued at the Institute of Library Science, University of Delhi, 1959-1962. He took a Master's Degree in Library Science at the University of Atlanta in 1960/61, subsequently becoming an Associate Professor and Head of Department of Library Science at the University of Rajasthan in Jaipur in 1962. He worked on Unesco contracts in Iraq, 1968-1973, and then in Kuwait, 1973-1974. On returning to India, he became University Librarian, University of Calicut in 1974, and then University of Delhi, 1975-1987 and 1990-1996. During the period 1987-1990,

he was on leave as a Senior Fellow at the Indian Institute for Advanced Study.

Sir (Laurence) Dudley **Stamp** (1898 – 1966) was born in London. He graduated in geology and mineralogy at King's College, London in 1917, and returned there as a Demonstrator in 1919, after military service. He took a second Bachelor's Degree, in geography, in 1921, and was awarded a Doctorate in the same year. He then worked as an oil geologist in Burma, before becoming Professor of geology and geography in the new University of Rangoon in 1923. In 1926, he was appointed to a Readership in economic geography at the London School of Economics, becoming Professor in 1945, and moved to the chair of social geography in 1948, retiring in 1958. He was internationally recognised as an expert on land utilisation.

Dame Freya Madeline **Stark**, Mrs. Perowne (1893 – 1993), was born in Paris of British and mixed European parentage, and made her home in Asolo in Italy. She was educated at Bedford College, learned Arabic, and studied history at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. She visited the Middle East for the first time in 1927, and became a regular visitor to Iraq. During the Second World War, she joined the British Ministry of Information, and contributed to the creation of the propaganda network *Ikhwan al Hurriya* ('Brotherhood of Freedom') aimed at persuading Arabs to support the Allies or at least remain neutral. She was a prolific writer about her travels.

Edward **Sydney** (1892 - 1968) began his career in Bolton Public Libraries in 1907, moving to Leeds in 1914, before becoming Chief Librarian in Leyton in London from 1928 to 1957. He established Unesco's pilot public library project in Delhi in 1951. He was President of the Library Association in 1956 and was made an Honorary Fellow of the Association in 1964.

Dr. Jean **Thomas** (1900 - 1983), a French citizen, graduated from the University of Paris in 1924. He was a Lecturer, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris, 1928-1935; Assistant Professor, University of Poitiers, 1936-1938; and Professor, University of Lyon, 1938-1945. He then became Director in the Ministry of Education, before joining Unesco in 1948 as Assistant to the Director General. He subsequently became Director of Cultural Activities, later Assistant Director General for Culture, and then Deputy Director General. After leaving Unesco in 1960, he became an Honorary Inspector General of Education in France from 1961 until 1970, and served on the French National Unesco Commission from 1962, becoming Chairman in 1972. He also served as President, International Bureau of Education, Geneva from 1968 to 1972.

Timur (1336 – 1405) is perhaps better known in western countries as Tamerlane the Great. His name is said to be an anglicised version of the Persian *Timur-i-Lang*, or 'Timur the Lame', a nickname reflecting the result of a war wound. Born in modern Uzbekistan, he created an empire that stretched from northern India to Armenia.

Dr. Jacques J. **Tocatlian** (1929 -) was born in Alexandria, Egypt, of Armenian-Italian ancestry. He studied Chemistry in Alexandria; Textile Technology in Milan, Italy; Organic Chemistry in Utah, USA; and Library and Information Science at Drexel University, USA. After working as a research chemist and then as a scientific information specialist, he joined Unesco as a Project Officer in the 1960s. After working on the UNISIST programme in the Bureau

of Studies and Programming, he became Director of PGI in 1979, and from 1988 to 1990 was Director of the Office of Information Programs and Services. His last post with Unesco, until retiring in 1991, was as Consultant for the development of the Bibliotheca Alexandria.

The Rev. Dr. John **van Ess** (1879 – 1949) was born in New Holland, Michigan, U.S.A., and was educated at Hope College in Michigan and Princeton Theological Seminary. He became a missionary for the American (Dutch) Reformed Church in Iraq in 1902, and remained in Iraq until he died there. In 1911, he married Dorothy Firmin (1885 – 1975). He founded the School of High Hope in Basra in 1912, and later became an advisor to the British authorities on the reconstruction of the education system in Iraq. In 1917, he published a book, '*The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia*' which became a standard text for instructors. The papers of Dorothy van Ess (not examined for this study) are archived at Harvard University in the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

Dr. Augusto **Pérez Vitoria** was a Spanish citizen. He became Professor of Inorganic Chemistry at the University of Murcia in 1935, but went into exile in Mexico as a result of the Spanish Civil War. He then worked for Unesco in Paris in many capacities, before returning to his post in Murcia in 1976 after the end of the dictatorship in Spain.

Helen Elizabeth Pierson **Wessells** (1903-1990) attended the New Jersey State Normal School, 1920-1921, and took the summer course offered by the New Jersey Public Library Commission. She then worked at the Public Library in her home town, Morristown (New Jersey), 1922-1925. After working at the public libraries in Florence (South Carolina) and Raleigh (North Carolina), she earned a certificate from the New York Public Libraries' Library School in 1926, and worked for NYPL from 1926 to 1942. In 1942 she became the Assistant Director of the 'Victory Book Campaign' sponsored by ALA, the American Red Cross and the United Service Organization. She worked for the OWI in Australia, 1943-47; as Acting Director of ALA's International Relations Office in 1948; as Director of Asian Libraries for USIS, 1948-1950; and participated in Unesco's Manchester Summer School in 1948. From 1951 to 1957, she was Editor of *Library Journal*.

Dr. Carl Milton **White** (1903 – 1983) was born in Oklahoma. He earned a PhD at Cornell University before adding a degree in library service from Columbia University in 1934. After working in the libraries of the University of North Carolina, Fisk University, and the University of Illinois, he returned to Columbia in 1943 as Chief Librarian (1943-1953) and Professor and (from 1943-1954) Dean of the School of Library Service. From 1959 to 1962, he was visiting Director of the School of Librarianship in the University of Ankara in Turkey, supported by the Ford Foundation for whom he undertook other short assignments in the region. He subsequently resigned from his position with Columbia University, and became a Programme Officer with the Foundation, retiring in 1967.

David T. **Wilder** (1917 – 2009) was born in Rochester in New York, graduated from Union College in Schenectady, and went on to take a Master's Degree in History from the University of Rochester before taking a Bachelor's Degree in Library Service from Columbia University in 1942. From 1942 to 1945, he served in the U.S. Army Air Corps, mainly in North Africa and the Middle East. After demobilisation, he was awarded a 6-month Fellowship to work in the

International Relations Office of the American Library Association, before becoming Librarian at Hamilton College in New York in 1946. He was next Librarian of the American University of Beirut from 1951 to 1954, also undertaking surveys of libraries in Egypt and Syria on behalf of the Ford Foundation. In 1954, he became Assistant Director of Libraries with Ohio State University, and later became University Librarian at Michigan State University's affiliated Oakland University in Rochester, before taking a contract with the Ford Foundation as a Program Specialist from 1964 to 1966, based in the University of Baghdad's libraries and undertaking other missions in Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

He went on to be Director of Libraries in the University of Manitoba, 1966 to 1971, and finally Executive Director of the Long Island Library Resources Council, retiring in 1982. He was active in the Councils of the New York Library Association and the American Library Association, and, in 1949/50, Secretary of the College Libraries Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries.

Papers providing a full account of Wilder's period in Iraq were not included in the Ford Foundation's archive files about the University of Baghdad library project. Only a few other documents about Wilder's activities in Iraq have been traced so far, but further information may be scattered amongst various files of the Ford Foundation's Beirut office that have not yet been explored.

James Mollison **Wilson** (1887 – 1965) was born in Dundee, Scotland. He began his architectural training under the supervision of the City Architect of Dundee in 1903. In 1910, he moved to a private practice in London, and in 1912 or 1913, he joined Sir Edwin Lutyens, assisting him on the imperial buildings at New Delhi until he enlisted in the Indian army in 1915. After the war, he became Deputy Director of Civil Works in Baghdad in 1918, becoming Director of Public Works in Iraq from 1920 to 1926. Subsequently, he returned to India, but over the next 25 years he undertook numerous commissions in Iraq, Syria, and for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, founding his own practice, J M Wilson, H C Mason & Partners, in London in 1935.

Kareem Muhammed **Wishyar** was accepted to take the MA programme at University College, London immediately after completing his studies in Liverpool, but there was no scholarship money available, and he was in any case required by his University to return to Iraq immediately. He subsequently secured support to return to study in London, where he completed a research Master's Degree (Wishyar 1978). In the early 1980s, he was a full-time teacher in the Library Science Department at Al-Mustansiriyah University. However, he was a Kurd, and later decided to make a new life in Britain, where he continued to practice as a Librarian. Subsequently, he served briefly as an adviser on libraries and archives to the Iraqi Ministry of Culture on behalf of the Coalition Provisional Authority that controlled Iraq in the period immediately after the invasion that led to the overthrow of the Saddam regime in 2003.

Dr. Adam **Wysocki** (c.1924 – 2015) was a Polish economist. He joined the Department of Science Policy and Promotion of Basic Science in Unesco's Natural Sciences Sector in the 1960s, on leave from the Polish Academy of Sciences, and later became Director of the Sector's Division of Scientific and Technological Documentation and Information. He was Secretary to the joint Unesco/ICSU Committee and the resulting UNISIST I Conference, and briefly

became the first Director of PGI from 1976 until recalled to Poland in 1977. Subsequently, he remained active in Unesco affairs, as a member of the Polish National Commission for Unesco, and of the Bureau of the Intergovernmental Council for PGI. He also served as Chairman of IFLA's Programme Management Committee.

Tahir **Yahya** (1916 – 1986) was born in Tikrit, the son of a tobacco merchant. In 1932, he joined the Baghdad Teachers College, and then became a teacher in Baghdad for one year after graduation. Later, he attended the Baghdad Military College, fought in the 1948 Arab–Israeli War, and attended the Staff College. After the 1963 *coup d'état*, he became Prime Minister from 1963 to 1965 and again, briefly, in 1967-1968. He spent three years in prison after the Ba'athists seized control in 1968, and was then kept under house arrest until his death.

Henrikas **Yushkiavitshus** (Juškevičius) (1935 -) was born in Šiauliai, Lithuania in 1935. He graduated in Radio Communication and Broadcast Engineering from Leningrad Electrotechnical Institute, and began his career as an engineer in Lithuanian TV and Radio in 1958. From 1966 to 1971, he was Director of the Technical Centre at the International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT-Intervision), an organisation based in Prague that had been established by the U.S.S.R. and its East European satellite states. Before taking up his position as an Assistant Director General at Unesco, he had been Vice Chairman of the Soviet State Commission for Radio and Television from 1971 to 1990. He was noted for his commitment to the freedom of the media, and was the recipient of numerous national and international awards and honours. He retired in 2000, but remained an adviser to Unesco.

Dr. Celia Ribeiro **Zaher** (1931 -) was born in Brazil, and educated in librarianship in Rio de Janeiro and at Columbia University, New York. She also has a doctorate in employment law. She worked in the Brazilian Institute for Bibliography and Documentation (IBBD, later IBICT) where she initiated the postgraduate course in information science, before joining Unesco in 1972 as a Divisional Director, and then Acting Director of DBA, 1974 to 1976. She then became Director of the Book Promotion Division, 1977 to 1982. From 1982 to 1884, she accepted a Presidential invitation to be Technical Director of the National Library Foundation of Brazil. In 1984, she returned to Unesco as Deputy Assistant Director General for the Communication Sector, before becoming Chief of the Unesco Mission in Mexico and the Dominican Republic from 1987 to 1988, and finally Director of the Division of Cultural Activities. She became Director of BIREME (Biblioteca Regional de Medicina, the PAHO/WHO Latin American and Caribbean Center for Health Science Information) in Sao Paolo in 1991. She continued to be involved in professional activities throughout the region and internationally, e.g. as Vice-Chairperson of the Unesco International Advisory Committee of the "Memory of the World Programme."

Appendix 6 – A Preliminary Discussion of Arab Iraqi Culture and its Impact on Modernisation

Although Iraq was impoverished following the depredations of various invaders in the Middle Ages, and largely ignored by the Ottomans, these early phenomena — rooted in periods when Iraq was a focal point for civilisation, periods which contemporary Iraqis are justly proud of — may have established some traditional perceptions of libraries and librarians. Just because the high points in the history of the region were not as recent as those of the Western nations does not mean that they feature less in the mindset of Iraqi society. Echoes of them can be found in contemporary attitudes to library, archive and information services, but the LIS literature has paid little attention to their significance.

To provide a framework for a future, closer examination of these factors, the reminder of this chapter introduces some issues to which attention was drawn by writers on Arab and Iraqi society, and speculates on their relevance. It briefly discusses:

- what is understood by traditional culture
- traditional relationships and social change
- the Arab heritage and social change
- Islam and social change
- approaches to modernisation
- Arab culture and modernisation
- Iraqi culture and its impact on the development of LIS
- managing social change.

What is 'Culture'?

'Culture' is often blamed for disappointing results that are construed as failures in development projects. However, although an individual's or an organisation's capacity for learning and adapting to changes is conditioned by their cultural framework, that framework is itself a product of experience and thus implicitly open to change. The literature indicates that when the donors of technical assistance place a high priority on understanding and respecting the indigenous culture and customs; and learn about the economic and political challenges that local librarians and publishers face, development projects are more likely to succeed (Curry, Thiessen & Kelley 2002). The examination of the cultural context is, therefore, an important part of comparative research of library development.

The identification of culture as one focus of comparative studies could be said to have emerged from the debate about the place of science and scientific method in education, the so-called 'two cultures' debate, that began in the nineteenth century. Tylor (1871), one of the early protagonists in that debate, provided an anthropological definition of culture as that "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." He acknowledged that culture was implicitly an evolutionary rather than static phenomenon because human beings are adaptable, but also asserted that, when a society evolves, certain customs are retained that are unnecessary in the new society, including:

> "processes, customs, and opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved." (Tylor 1871)

Every society is bonded together by its unique social heritage of differentiated roles, organized relations, and patterns of social interaction. Smith (1965), an American scholar of Islamic religion and culture, observed that: "It is difficult, but not inordinately difficult, to ascertain the facts of another society. The real challenge is understanding those facts." The chief danger, he argued, is presuppositions structured on the basis of Western culture. Said (1978) argued that such presumptions underpinned what he defined as 'orientalism' — that, in studying the East, the West began with its perceptions of an exotic and inferior East. Alqudsi-Ghabra (2001), one of the few Arab LIS educators to comment on this issue in English, also believed that the West's perceptions of the Middle East and Arabs are marred by misinformation (or lack of information), stereotyping, and cultural bias, and that attempts to present a more balanced view could become simplistic.

Cultural presuppositions influence the process of knowing. We all inherit from our culture certain basic, unquestioned beliefs about the nature of ourselves and our world of experience, which in turn determine to a significant degree what and how we experience or 'know' the world around us. Other people's beliefs are obviously not easily grasped and can only ever be interpreted. Any interpretation of Arab or Iraqi culture and attitudes made by this researcher is bound to be coloured by current Western perspectives and his values, and accordingly this researcher has sought to be largely guided by studies of Arabs by other Arabs. It is acknowledged that, because of the predisposition of the researcher towards

the values of a different society, attempts to draw conclusions would still risk potential errors such as dismissing or marginalising the values of the Arab world.

'Culture' is not just the tangible manifestations of a society's output of art, literature, music, etc. The 'culture' of a society includes all kinds of learning and behaviours that its people have developed for living together in groups, and is influenced by the context in which they live, the environment, the economy, the forms of social organisation, and the values of their society. It is a complex framework within which thought and conduct take place, and libraries are "an institution embedded in the cultural realm of society" (Harris 1992). The reception that information receives is shaped by the recipient's culture, but that culture is shaped by information. 'Books' transfer information, and libraries have thus always been agents of cultural change.

An appraisal of the significance of Arab 'culture' for library development policy and actions would be entirely in keeping with the overall aims of this study, because:

> "As *cultural* history, which is no longer committed to ascertaining law-like relationships purported to hold true across different societies, but which goes on to reconstruct the processes of the emergence, differentiation and interaction of various politico-historical entities, and to decipher the formation and reformation of the collective memories and symbolic imageries attendant upon those processes, comparative history turns into a kind of reflexive meta-history or third-order observation." (Schriewer 2006)

Initiating a discussion of the relevance and impact of cultural issues on library development should not and cannot be avoided, even though its content and conclusions may prove contentious. Defending the democratic right to freedom of speech, Winston Churchill, interviewed by Kingsley Martin for the *New Statesman* (7th January 1939) argued that "Criticism may not be agreeable, but it is necessary." Hopefully, this study's qualitative approach has provided an "opportunity for conveying sensitivity" (Davies, et al. 2009, quoted in Liamputtong 2010). In any case, any imperfections in this section will, no doubt, be corrected by the further studies of these aspects of Iraq's library development that it seeks to stimulate.

In the Arab world, the basic cultural factors are conditioned by its history, family relationships, and — sometimes — its religious systems. The aim of this section is, therefore, to provide the first discussion of these contextual factors in Iraq's library development, examining the social changes implicit in library

development, considering the cultural implications of modernisation, and exploring some of their implications for education for librarianship.

Traditional Relationships and Social Change

The impact of family and group relationships on culture were explored by Birdsall (1971), who provides the only significant discussion in the LIS development literature of the relevance of Tonnies's (1887) concept of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to an understanding of the interaction of social change and international library development.

Gemeinschaften are broadly characterized by strong personal relationships, a moderate division of labour, and relatively simple social institutions. They represent a group in which individuals are oriented to the group as much if not more than to their own self-interest. Furthermore, individuals in *Gemeinschaften* are regulated by common *mores*, or beliefs about the appropriate behaviour and responsibility of members of the group, to each other and to the group at large, based on feelings of togetherness and on mutual bonds which are felt as a goal to be kept up. In *Gemeinschaften*, the basic social organisation is the family, the rural village, the tribe, etc. However, Tönnies expected that *Gemeinschaften* could also be based on shared belief and shared traditions, and he included globally dispersed religious communities as possible examples of *Gemeinschaft*.

In contrast, *Gesellschaften* describes groups which lack the same level of shared *mores*, and in which the larger group never takes on more importance for the individual than the individual's self-interest. *Gesellschaft* is dominated by rational will and is maintained through individuals acting in their own self-interest. Social cohesion in *Gesellschaften* typically derives from a more elaborate division of labour. When a society reaches the stage in which status and social mobility can be achieved by the individual through the initial acquisition of professional qualifications, the influence of the tribe or family is threatened. Unlike *Gemeinschaften*, *Gesellschaften* emphasize secondary relationships rather than familial or community ties; society is characterized by individualism and impersonal connections between people; and there is generally less individual loyalty to the group or society. Such societies are considered more susceptible to class conflict as well as racial and ethnic conflicts, and governments with limited legitimacy, such as Iraq's have been, are continually open to challenge.

Birdsall (1971) noted that Asheim (1966) had observed *Gemeinschaften* characteristics that had been hindrances to library development. Certainly, the established tribal social structure and culture that existed throughout much of Iraq in the early twentieth century ran contrary to efforts to 'modernise' the country. During the twentieth century, Iraqi society changed from one in which people shared cultural values and lived together harmoniously to one increasingly confronted with cultural shocks. The introduction of a Western, secular education system to underpin the economic, social, and political changes in Iraq that began during the 'Mandate' led to changes in the occupational structure, affecting the traditional professions, social stratification, and the functioning of society. During the twentieth century, the closely knit family and tribal structures in Iraq began to be challenged by Western concepts, shifting the orientation of Iraqi society from what Tönnies (1887) defined as *gemeinschaft* towards *gesellschaft*. Insofar as they were perceived as an adjunct of education, libraries represented a challenge to traditional social values.

Paradoxically, in line with the traditional motivation in society, the family also played a major part in encouraging individuals to take up an education that could lead to greater income and standing in society. The consequent shift to urban life in search of appropriate employment offered access to modern amenities, and participation in new social groups such as a structured bureaucracy, a middle class and trade unions. Freedom from a rural society dominated by the elders also signalled major changes in Iraqi society, such as a tendency towards the emancipation of women who had been prevented by recent tradition from engaging in activities that require indiscriminate contact with men in public, such as is involved in many aspects of library work.

The emerging social, economic, and political role of women was a particularly visible sign of cultural change in a previously tribal Arab society, such as Iraq had predominantly been at the end of the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, the acquisition of aspects of Western culture became a matter of social desirability among the elite, because of the prestige associated with Westerners as dominant elements in the region, but it alienated the traditional upper class from the rest of society. The mass of people was transformed only later and more slowly into a middle class or an urban proletariat, dissociated from their traditional place in society (Patai 1955). The collapse of traditional structures and rejection of the understandings that went with them resulted in

cultural disorientation. The preservation of national identity and cultural values in Iraq was challenged by the need to develop phenomena rooted in an alien culture — in which libraries organised and operated on a wholly Western model must be recognised as one element. The challenge for librarians in Iraq is how to help maintain this modern, secular society whilst retaining a non-Western, Arab identity, as "the interdependence of tradition and modernity is ... an essential requisite for ... social groups seeking to develop a new cultural identification" (Schulze 1997). According to Tjoumas and Hauptman (1982), the problem is that librarians have failed to conceive of themselves or of their institutions within a total social context. The librarian in a developing country is a member of an educated minority serving an even more elite group.

Change will not take place unless those who are expected to change know and accept the reasons, the methods, and the benefits, and cultural change "requires not just one champion at the top, but at every level" (Fowler 1993). Decisions that involve changes in group norms and customs require a consensus of support for the change. However, in Iraq in the late 1950s, according to Tesdell (1958), existing social patterns, based on individualist, autocratic leadership, and personal loyalties to the family and the tribe, militated against cooperation and coordinated planning. Only a small minority was able to influence political decisions. "One result of this situation was that those… activities coming within the realm of a relatively low-status Ministry, but requiring coordinated action by other Ministries, would be unlikely to gain the support needed for their success" (Tesdell 1958). Here, we are perhaps offered a new insight into the context in which LIS development was taking place.

Attention to the cultural aspects of society has been marginalised by the implementation of the dominant, predominantly Western economic paradigm of modernisation. Rather than alleviating this problem, the institutions engaged in educating future librarians may have compounded it by not sufficiently challenging Western approaches.

The Arab Heritage and Social Change

In the newly industrialising Arab societies like Iraq, history plays a crucial part in the moulding the culture and people's orientation towards change and modernisation. Schulze (1997) commented that tradition is used to reflect the

historicity of perceived reality. Serageldin (2014) explained this further, observing that:

> "most Muslim thinkers believe that the best of all possible worlds has already existed, certainly in the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad at Madina and possibly extending to the four orthodox Caliphs who succeeded him. That period of some thirty years has received disproportionate attention in discussion and analysis, for it was also the period where Islam emerged as an empire and where the basis of the Muslim state was invented and enacted by that handful of men who had been the closest companions of the Prophet. But the result of that view has been a systematic orientation to look backwards to history rather than forwards to the unknown world unfolding in front of us and inviting us to give free rein to our imaginations."

The historical legacy of the Muslim expansion out of Arabia and the flourishing of Arab arts and sciences, had created a self-confident sense of identity. Just as the Abbasids had adopted *and adapted* aspects of Persian, Greek, Roman, Indian, and Chinese culture and technology that they found interesting or useful, cultural exchange with the Middle East contributed to the modernisation of Western Europe in a process that inevitably occurs when societies interact, as they have done increasingly through time. The Muslim societies in the Middle East were far advanced culturally and technologically in comparison to Europe prior to the sixteenth century. However, the Ottoman Empire incorporated a vast geographical terrain and a diversity of peoples that were necessarily administered through a complex and bureaucratic state apparatus, with all the inertia associated with such organisations. The legacy of the Empire's self-imposed tendency towards scientific and technical isolation that had continued until late in the nineteenth century was the cultural shock experienced by the independent states that emerged from its dissolution as the European powers set about the task of modernising the new states which had become their colonies, protectorates or mandated responsibilities.

The Islamic Religion and Social Change

Some confusion has arisen over the impact of the Islamic religion on education. This was because the teaching of Islam in the mosques relies heavily on the memorisation of the *Qur'an*, and the teaching method adopted in the state schools that began to be established towards the end of the nineteenth century similarly relied on memorising the teachers' notes or the contents of textbooks. However, this was not a simple transfer of methodology from the mosque to the classroom. Rather, the pedagogy in the early state schools was the result of the teachers' limited knowledge, the paucity of relevant reading

material, and the consequent inadequacy and limited use of school and public libraries. To address this problem requires first of all a commitment to a significant increase in the output of the publishing industry, and then the re-training of teachers in how to encourage independent enquiry and the reading culture that would enhance the return on investment in libraries and information centres. However, the Iraqi government and its inexperienced bureaucracy were overwhelmed by the seemingly intractable problems that stemmed from a population that was growing faster than the country's economy, and whose social expectations were also increasing.

There has also been a general lack of understanding in the West of how religion infuses society in the Islamic world, and a failure to draw a distinction between the religion and Arab culture. However, Serageldin (2014) clarified this, emphasising that the shared identity in the Arab world is based on a shared history, language and culture — albeit with some local and national variations — rather than on Islam. Not every Arab is a Muslim; indeed, Iraqi society was a generally tolerant, multi-faith community until the middle of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, Muslims are in the majority, and, as Mohajir (1987) explained, the challenge faced by Muslim countries in becoming an information society is that it requires not only building modern documentation and information centres but also ensuring that they contribute to creating a quality of life consonant with the essential spirit of Islam.

Sardar's (1988b) comment that "Islam is the only civilisation which has presented in the past, and is likely to present in the future, a serious threat to Western intellectual and political domination" should best be seen in this context, reflecting concerns about the dominance of Western library philosophy and practices that have been manifest in Arab library science literature since the first Arabs were offered a formal education in library science — an education that, in the absence of any alternative model, exposed them to Western (and sometimes Soviet) philosophies of librarianship and to practices that were not necessarily in accord with their traditions or world view. However, the issues lie deeper. Buchanan (1997), for example, drew a parallel between the current one-way flow of information and professional practices from West to East and the nineteenth century colonialism that alienated many in the Arab world from the thoughts and customs of the West — which arguably then led to the dominance of Islam over

scientific thought and restrictive attitudes to the dissemination of information — and perhaps threatens to do so again.

Religion had effectively been a significant element of culture for most of human history, and religious precepts have certainly become one basis for social values in the Islamic world. Siddiqui (1988) described this as one of the key challenges, explaining that Islam offers a different world view. The difficulties that this presented could be seen, for example, in Western schemes for subject headings, which not only displayed gaps in coverage of developed countries and their culture, but also simplified the deeper meaning of some terms in a way which could thus misrepresent them. Arab values may appear concomitant with Western values, but concepts and their use can be different from Western connotations. He called for a radical approach by Muslim librarians, creating a new approach to library science based on a combination of expertise in the field and deep insight into Islam, but had little useful to offer in terms of a way forward, and this concept needs further exploration by those equipped with the religious and professional insights required. Smith (1965), in a paper about the challenges that the Muslim world presented for Area Studies Librarianship, had also expressed concerned about the dichotomy between the Western and Muslim traditions, and argued that anyone working to resolve these issues needed to be a scholar with a deep knowledge of both librarianship and Islam.

Rather than address such fundamental intellectual and philosophical issues, Siddiqui (1988) focused — as did Smith (1965) and many Arab scholars — on the practicalities of redressing the balance in systems which had been developed in the Western countries, and reflected their ethno-centric perspective. He presented a number of areas that he suggested required attention, but it is evident that they do not actually demand attention from an Islamic perspective. For example, he accepted that Western approaches to cataloguing present a practical although not insurmountable challenge in the use of Arab names with their extensive use of patronymics (Siddiqui 1988), but failed to mention the problems that arise from the Arab tradition of focussing on the title of a work, or from the need for an internationally accepted form of transliteration for use in multi-lingual records. It is arguable that, in the quarter century since he wrote about these problems, they have been resolved by agreement or rendered less significant by the potential capacity of computerised information systems.

Siddiqui (1988) also noted that the major classification schemes in use in the Arab world are Western schemes that have historically de-emphasised the less developed countries and their cultures, and are structurally inhospitable to major change. But again, this is not an issue based in religion, but an operational problem — albeit on a larger scale — than that which any library would face when applying a general classification scheme to specialist subjects that are emphasised within its collection. Soltani (1996) agreed that the national origin of most major classification schemes militates against the universality of librarianship, particularly as indigenous and vernacular publishing grows. She also pointed out that, although computerising bibliographic records eases the problem of co-location in some indexes, it would not necessarily resolve the problem of co-locating material in library stacks to contribute to the potential for discovery by serendipity — if libraries in developing countries were to permit browsing in open access stacks more widely than is currently the norm in Iraq.

As well as avoiding the major issue, Siddiqui's (1988) paper essentially reflected the fatalism sometimes associated with Islam, in that he expressed the belief that the Muslim library community had become intellectually inferior. Al Kufaishi (1977) expressed a less negative opinion, explaining that the Muslim mindset includes a psychological acceptance of the will of Allah rather than aspirational thinking. Abdul-Gader (1997) also attributed this short-term outlook to the consequence of some Islamic teaching that created a misconception about fate and free will, based on a belief that the future belongs to Allah and not to man. Mohamad, AbdRazak and Mutiu (2011) explained that whatever aspiration a Muslim gives priority to, be it spiritual or secular in nature, for example in terms of personal development, religion and spirituality, and relationships with people, it is a function of his personal and subjective value orientation about what is meaningful in life. Whether these views are entirely correct and represent a widespread attitude may be debatable, but a fatalist mindset would not seem likely to encourage support for the radical thinking and forward planning required to address fundamental problems in library development.

Less attention has been given to acknowledging that the pursuit of knowledge is a religious obligation for Muslims, and that this has implications for attitudes to modernisation. Sardar (1988) was concerned that the modern Muslim world tended to separate wisdom (*hikma*) from knowledge (*ilm*), and knowledge from values. Muslims have responded to modernity with a broad variety of attitudes

including traditionalist rejections of modern ideas and institutions and secularist affirmations of them. Islamic reformers have tried to reconcile modern culture with recent traditions between these extreme poles. The Islamic reform movement has bestowed modern communications about politics, education, science, or the economy with authenticity by drawing them into the system of religious communication, and there seems no reason why the debates about LIS should not be situated in the same philosophical arena.

Religions cross borders, as do some languages, but it was the emergence of printed books and newspapers — their ephemeral and more popular offshoot — that rendered them particular agents in the spread of national consciousness, as well as tools in social and economic development (Anderson 1983). In Iraq, the British further this process by re-focussing the education system on the use of the Arabic language, and encouraging the acquisition and production of new school texts in Arabic. However, successive Arab governments have been more alarmed by the political dynamics of the media, and have given insufficient attention to stimulating national book production and an international book trade between the Arabic-speaking states.

Moreover, the intellectual bankruptcy of the Ba'athist regime in Iraq, which handed a monopoly of power in academia to a mediocre elite through requiring party membership for social advancement, coupled with a bureaucracy that stifled and alienated all who dealt with it, may have contributed not only to inhibiting developments in LIS teaching and research, but also — in no small measure — to the re-emergence of a wider Islamic theological and quasi-political divide in Iraqi society. The rejection of social changes now being proposed by Islamic conservatives there and elsewhere in the Arab world, Serageldin (2014) argued, would limit the intellectual freedoms of the non-Muslim minorities and "would circumscribe the Muslim majority within the confines of dogmas articulated by a tiny minority."

Approaches to Modernisation

The gulf between traditional attitudes, fundamentalist religious beliefs, and secular education does not bode well for the promotion of libraries as open gateways to knowledge, and has become a hindrance to the development of libraries (Al-Shahi 1980). The seeming resistance of some Iraqis to aspects of Western modernisation and the effective use of library and information services

could be interpreted as regaining intellectual and cultural independence and a denial of the postcolonial legacy, but it goes deeper into the historic roots of the management and use of libraries and information centres in Iraq. By seeking to respect the particular history and traditions of the Iraqi people, this study might be described as an attempt, albeit perhaps imperfect, to 'decolonise' research into library development in Iraq.

The Arab nationalist revival probably heightened these feelings in the newly independent state, and a sense of their previous achievements may have influenced Iraqi responses to outside influences. An Iraqi librarian, Al-Werdi (1983), for example, suggested that — during periods of foreign domination — the social, cultural, educational and economic conditions of the peoples of the developing countries were completely or at least partially overlooked by their foreign rulers — a comment which in the context of Iraq could equally apply to the Ottomans as the British. However, while all societies have decisive periods in their history when patterns of culture are shaped (Deutsch 1966), an accurate picture of any period of Iraqi history should reflects both strengths and weaknesses. An objective examination of the history of Iraq suggests that while its social, educational and economic conditions may have been neglected until the latter years of the four centuries of Ottoman rule, the records of the brief British 'Mandate' clearly reveal that significant progress was then made in these aspects of the country's development from a relatively low base, despite the limited financial and human resources that were available (Jarman 1992).

Arab society, of course, is not alone in having some portion of the population whose attitudes are coloured by mis-perceptions of their nation's history. The history of the concept of dependency — expressed in the theories of 'postcolonialism' and 'orientalism' — should be seen, in part, as a rejection of Western concepts of development as a universal panacea.

'Postcolonialism' came to express an epistemological break with the totality of Western thought. Its use signals a critique of the failure of Western approaches to development and the pursuit of the democracy, particularly in Africa, rather than a condition. However, 'postcolonialism' grouped together all former colonial states despite differences in their economic resources and in the legacies from their colonisers which meant that their societies did not and increasingly do not share a homogenous identity. The diverse nature of the colonial powers resulted in a differentiation between the Arab states created in the 1920s. The creation of

the nation states served to foster not only the independence movement but also the growth of nationalism. A distinct sense of an Iraqi identity began to emerge during the 1920s, and was encouraged and gathered strength throughout the twentieth century (Bashkin 2009).

From roots in Latin American concerns about U.S. influence, the concept of 'orientalism' also began to be developed and widely disseminated, rejecting Western ideas as corrupting or as a continuation of a colonial form of domination (Said 1978). 'Orientalism' took its cue from the renewal of the encounter between Western and oriental societies in the nineteenth century, but its pproponent, Edward Said,[123] failed to acknowledge that Western perceptions and attitudes of the orient had changed throughout different periods of history, were liable to continual change, and that the attitudes he portrayed were generalisations made at a particular point in time rather than universal and ever-lasting truths. He argued that they had established a Western perception of the Middle East as backward and decadent, which challenged traditional cultural and religious values in the orient. However, he ignored the fact that the champions of those traditional values, particularly some of the '*ulema*' — the scholars of high Islam — took little account of the aspiration of the masses to acquire any benefits that might be derived from the implementation of the West's advanced knowledge.

These dependency theories cannot account for the growing differences between Third World countries (Dodds 2002). Persram (2003) offered the explanation that the postcolonial condition is simply characterised by contradictions, paradoxes, and tensions as developing countries seek the opportunity to finish the project of their modernisation in their own way or at their own pace. In simpler and more specific terms, perhaps explaining the Iraqi authorities' attitude to establishing a School of Librarianship, it has been observed that:

> "Iraqi people do not like to remain static …, but wish to accomplish the change at their own pace, capacity, and with more caution." (Mossa 1979)

Nevertheless, it is certainly true that the continuing economic and political involvement of the industrialised countries — sometimes referred to in a derogatory fashion as "neo-colonialism" — are inescapable features of the

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[123] See resumé in Appendix 5.

contemporary Arab world. The legacy of the Western countries in shaping libraries and information services during the late twentieth century still requires a close but objective examination, even though their wider influence in Iraq seems to have been largely negated — or at least dissipated — by the international relationships of the country's various governments since Iraq became a Republic. The information sector had become increasingly driven by the new ICTs, at a time when the Arab world was still struggling to organise an efficient print-based information sector, and lacked sufficient personnel with the range of necessary knowledge and skills to make progress similar to that achieved in the western countries both in implementing the new technologies and in addressing the issues presented by globalisation in the sector.

There is a further dimension that must now also be considered. The theoretical debates about 'postcolonialism' and 'orientalism' are being overtaken by concerns about the impact of 'globalisation'. Witt (2012) has argued that viewing international librarianship and the impact of development initiatives in librarianship through the lens of theories of globalization provides a means to view librarianship as a historical partner or agent in what might be called the "globalization project." These theories focus on the rise of what is called the network society; the development of what is referred to as a new global cultural economy; and the cultural internationalism allegedly fostered by international non-governmental organizations. Like 'post-colonialism' and 'orientalism' these theories look backwards; they may offer some explanation of events, without necessarily offering a full understanding how or why things happened; and they cannot change what happened in the past. All they do is emphasise that shifts in society have taken place and are still taking place.

Turkish and European colonialism had bred separatism as well as nationalism, and made the task of unifying the Arabs as much cultural and social as political (Zamzami 1978). In Iraq and the rest of the Arab world, however, while economic modernisation and social change are separating people from their local, traditional identities, some perceived failures of the nation states have weakened nationalism as a focus for a new identity. Islam has been seen by some as filling this gap by providing a common cultural and religious identity.

The institutional separation between politics and religion that seems to have been encouraged in Republican Iraq was never accompanied by a cultural separation between them. There is now a clear need for a new model of civic

society and the libraries that serve it in Iraq that is compatible not only with Islam but also with a modern, urban, educated and consumer-oriented population. To be appropriate, credible, and widely accepted, the new model would need to be developed by someone or some group of individuals who are adherents of the faith, familiar with Iraqi society and its traditions, and knowledgeable about the philosophy and practices of library, archive and information services.

Phenomena such as library philosophy and practices become far more complex and nuanced when viewed from Islamic perspectives and theories of cultural imperialism, and Iraqi librarians and educators may need some assistance to understand and address their implications. "Development studies no longer exists as a body of knowledge with a coherent identity… but rather is generally being replaced by, or is merging with, other subjects" (Hoogvelt 2001), but intellectuals in the Arab information sector have scarcely engaged with these theoretical approaches. Iraq's increasing isolation in the final quarter of the twentieth century shielded it to some extent from the impact of these social changes and the debate about their impact, and particularly from their incorporation in more sophisticated approaches to LIS research.

Arab Culture and Modernisation

Rationality and 'scientific' discourse have increasingly dominated Western thinking about approaches to development, while different religions, different ideological and political systems, and different cultures have influenced other perceptions in the developing world. Most developing countries' cultures are basically conservative, and even when there is no perceived threat, display a tendency to resist the influence of concepts originated in more advanced countries. At the same time, this tendency is contradicted by a self-assured openness toward foreign technological innovations and an inherent predisposition to change. The challenge of modernisation has been expressed as a situation in which:

> "Deeply ingrained cultural traditions which resist the dramatic race towards modernization, whether that modernization comes from Western or Eastern industrial sources, have trapped developing nations in a science-fiction sort of time warp. Splendid or, in some cases, merely comfortable and familiar pasts are in full-scale confrontation with unforeseeable and possibly awesome futures…" (Razik & Willis 1978)

Awareness of their economic and technical backwardness gave the Middle Eastern countries an impetus for modernization, while, according to Chejne (1969), they also continued to search for a modern set of values. However, the Arabs have continually struggled against Western political, linguistic and cultural encroachment. It may be that, as Abdul-Gader (1997) argued, the Arab culture places greater value on traditionalism and less on modernisation than is the case in Western culture. This is perhaps because, in the process of modernisation "many valuable traditions that served specific functions for the integrity and harmony of social life have been abandoned" (Ansari 1974). The impact of foreign knowledge on traditional thinking certainly creates cultural pressures, not least a changing concept of what is valued (Al-Khaizaran 2007).

Ansari (1974) suggested that Arabs had an "inability to absorb the meaning of modernity, whether in ordinary life, technical training or self-education." A kinder explanation may be found in Thayer's (1988) observation that most traditional cultures throughout history have been truth preservers, rather than truth pursuers, with information seeking permitted in only very limited, often highly personal domains. The ability of any culture to absorb change, or the speed with which it can do it, is limited; it involves the disintegration of the existing culture, which tends to be resisted, particularly in less developed countries where society has been more rigid.

The international development agencies did not set out to create cultural change, as Carter (1969) explained: "[W]e have a serious obligation to do all we can to stimulate the cultural identity of the developing countries... in terms of modern life. We must suppress our presumptuous beliefs that Western civilisation has all the answers." The agencies sought to moderate the impact of change where possible, but recognised it as an inevitable consequence of developments intended to improve the economic and social conditions of the country. They were conscious that not only had new social institutions such as libraries to be built, but also traditional values had to be adjusted to include new factors, and new social habits had to be formed. Nonetheless, even when a government supported a project, there were still unforeseen social obstacles to be overcome (Opler 1954). Unesco, for example, encountered resistance from Iraqi men, in 1952, to the attempts of a fundamental education project to teach women to read (U.S. Department of State 1961a).

Iraqi Culture and its Impact on the Development of LIS

Aman (2011) argued that SLIS in the Arab world needed to:

> "establish their own approach to curriculum development and conduct research relevant to our own Arab cultural context... we should not focus on ICT related courses at the exclusion of our humanities content. Otherwise we run the risk of ignoring important parts of our Arab culture and background... it is time we collectively verbalized these other dimensions of what we have to offer."

The Arab socio-cultural system has been identified as being complex (Straub, et al. 2001) and not homogeneous (Corm 2007). While the dominant culture is said to emphasise traditional values such as fatalism, imitation, obedience to authority and collectivism, some subcultures do at the same time support modern values like freedom, femininity, independence and innovation (Barakat 1993, quoted in Fakhfakh 2011). Despite this complexity, there has been little research conducted to analyze the social and intellectual dimensions of LIS in the Arab World (Al-Aufi & Lor 2012).

There is clearly a need for research to establish whether the attitudes and beliefs of Iraqis in general and librarians in particular contribute to the process of library development in Iraq, and how. One of the few (and in its day controversial) analyses by an Iraqi of the interaction between western and Iraqi culture (Wardi n.d., quoted in Marshall 1952), for example, referred to the impact on social behaviour of the traditional characteristics of Iraqis that, he argued, shifted between the qualities of pride and aggressiveness that flourished when government or parental authority was weak, and humility and submissiveness when that authority was strong. Some signs of these characteristics can be detected in the actions of Iraqi politicians and officials in implementing developments in LIS or in dealing with the advice of foreign consultants.

A wider analysis of the culture of Iraq was explored through the lens of Hofstede's 6-D Model by the Hofstede Centre (n.d.). Some of the factors suggested as significant for LIS development in Iraq were:

Power distance, which expresses attitudes towards inequalities in a society. It is defined as the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. Iraq could score high on this dimension if those people concerned with library development — librarians, library users, administrators and politicians — were assessed as accepting a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place, centralization is popular, subordinates expect to be told what to do, and the ideal boss is a benevolent autocrat.

Individualism, which addresses the degree of interdependence a society maintains among its members. Iraq was considered by Hofstede to be a collectivistic society, manifested by a close commitment to a 'group', be that an extended family, or some other extended relationship such as membership of a political party, but this seems at odds with the evidence from this research of a reluctance to collaborate across or even within sectors. Loyalty in a collectivist culture is paramount, and over-rides most other societal rules and regulations, as appears to have been displayed for example in the establishment of the higher degree programs in Al-Mustansiriyah University.

Masculinity, which reflects what motivates people: wanting to be the best (masculine) or liking what you do (feminine). In "masculine" countries the emphasis is on competition, achievement and success rather than caring for others and quality of life; managers are expected to be decisive and assertive; and conflicts are resolved by fighting them out. Hofstede suggested that, on this basis, Iraq would be considered a "masculine" society. While this certainly seems to have been true of the actions of the Ba'athist governments of Iraq, for example in its commitment to establish the Arab Institute for Training Archivists, its implications in the LIS community may also be seen in the seeming lack of cooperation between libraries, but probably need further exploration.

Uncertainty Avoidance, which has to do with the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations. Iraq was judged by Hofstede to be a society which has a high preference for avoiding uncertainty, intolerant of unorthodox behaviour and ideas, and resistant to innovation. In the context of attitudes to library development and use, this seems to have been a significant factor at times, .

Pragmatism, which assesses whether or not people have a strong desire to understand fully the complexity of life. They exhibit great respect for traditions, a relatively small propensity to save for the future, and a focus on achieving quick results, characteristics that Hofstede believed were exhibited in Iraq. These characteristics could, perhaps, be observed in the preference for practical assistance rather than advice, and seem particularly pertinent to an understanding of attitudes towards strategic planning for LIS development.

Indulgence, which is a characteristic that considers the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses, based on the way they were raised. Iraqis were assessed by Hofstede as having the perception that their actions are restrained by social norms and, feeling that indulging themselves is somewhat wrong, they do not put much emphasis on leisure time. This has clear implications for the establishment of a culture of independent reading and the use of public and school libraries.

The evidence for the opinions expressed by Hofstede is not clear, and these perspectives probably need closer examination. They could shed light on some of the factors influencing library development in Iraq. At present, however, the Iraqi LIS community seems ill-equipped to carry out such an investigation because most have studied no discipline other than librarianship, and few have been trained in research methodologies. Some collaboration with researchers from other disciplines may be needed to undertake research such as this.

Appendix 7 - Development of Librarianship, Archival and Information Work in the Arab World: A Bibliography with Especial Emphasis on Iraq

Introduction

This bibliography of more than 5,000 items has been drawn from a variety of sources: published bibliographies, library catalogues, and the reference lists in published books and papers. Information on the literature search can be found in the Methodology chapter of the thesis.

Although more substantial than any similar bibliography on education for library, information and archive work in the Arab world that was previously published in English, this bibliography cannot claim to be comprehensive; it certainly omits much of the material published in Arabic, for which the reader is encouraged to examine Mohammed Abd El Hadi's substantial bibliographies. The Arabic language publications listed here with transliterated titles but without a translation of their title into English are mainly intended to indicate the (increasing) scale of relevant Arabic language publishing in the LIS field. The compiler recognises that there is likely to be a scatter of older material as well as material in languages other than English and Arabic, which is not well indexed or for which the indexes were not readily available.

Almost all the non-Arabic documents listed were found to be available in libraries or online, except those identified as archive files. Some of the material is not widely available, and the URLs of open access versions are provided for some of those, which may be helpful to future researchers. Copies of about 20 of the non-Arabic items identified in the literature search could not be traced. They may have been incorrectly cited, or may no longer be extant.

In most cases, the original text of documents — other than those in Arabic — has been examined in print, microform, or online. In some cases, that examination has led to the correction or completion of citations previously published, making this a more comprehensive and reliable finding list than any other currently readily available. A few of the citations, taken from sources consulted and mainly to non-English language publications, remain incomplete. Those documents known to be in languages other than English are clearly indicated.

About 40% of the items listed include references to Iraq, although many also cover other countries. The emphasis on Iraq is particularly reflected in the

peripheral material included (i.e. the material not exclusively focused on LIS), which was drawn on in the thesis to provide a context for the developments in education for librarianship information and archival studies in that country. Its retention in this bibliography may stimulate future scholars researching the information sector in the Arabic-speaking world to consider the rich picture that they could, and should, paint to facilitate a deep understanding of developments in those countries.

Some 40%-50% of the items listed are drawn from the literature about the wider Arab world. It therefore includes, for example, reports of significant meetings in which Arabs participated as speakers or delegates so that the influence on developments in the region as a whole of those meetings and their outcomes may be traced; and other minor references to events and activities that may lead researchers to seek out more comprehensive accounts which might otherwise go un-noticed. The inclusion of material offering a broader context is a reminder that libraries do not exist in isolation; they are a product of the society they serve, the influences upon it, and its needs and expectations.

In accordance with the historical focus on the research, the bibliography is generally restricted to items published before the end of 2002, with some exceptions made for items published after the invasion of Iraq that provide information about the situation in Iraq that existed prior to that event, and others that discuss relevant issues in the Arab world.

This bibliography is not limited to those publications to which reference is made in the thesis. It includes other items of interest relating to the development of the information sector and of education for library, information and archives work in developing countries, to international development in general, and to research methodologies which were consulted as part of this study and which helped to shape the author's perspectives. For example, the interest of the study in some aspects of international development assistance is reflected in some of the material listed. This research, however, was not a study of international development *per se*, and the material noted here simply indicates that found to offer insights pertinent to this study.

Literature Search

The literature search sought to bring together published documents relevant to and detailing the development of library and information services in Iraq and

the rest of the Arab world, concentrating on the second half of the twentieth century and with a particular emphasis on aspects relevant to professional education in the field.

As a first step, a personal bibliographic system was set up, using ProCite, an early software that was the forerunner of several other systems now available. This enabled a standardised record format to be applied to each document identified, and – after the documents were inspected - facilitated the correction of the disappointingly numerous errors and omissions made in citations by previous writers in the field. It could not, however, entirely overcome the usual hazards of citing Arab authors that arise from the variable use of patronymics, and the fact that the Arabic alphabet has no vowels. For most Arabs, spelling was unimportant provided the word sounded right — and this applied even to transliterations by an individual of his own name. Past inconsistencies in and revisions of transliteration schemes further confuse matters. It is recognised that there are now generally agreed standards for transliterating Arabic characters into Roman scripts and for presenting Arabic names. Experts in the Arabic language may notice that this bibliography does not necessarily follow those standards, but generally repeats the usage in the texts read. Difficulties in citing Arabic publications also arose from variations in bibliographic description which present challenges that are familiar to librarians who specialise in the field.

This study drew principally on the material published in the English language. Accordingly, simplified English spelling has been used for most proper names, and the use of diacritical marks in transliterated Arabic has generally been avoided. In some cases where several texts are cited which used variations of the name of a recognisable individual, an attempt has been made to standardise names used in the bibliography, to present a more consistent attribution of publications to an author.

Any literature search is required to be open to scrutiny. A search strategy was therefore developed to enable the search process to be carried out in a consistent manner to facilitate and systematise document discovery. A structured search map was drawn up, indicating the specific terminology to be used. A number of themes outwith the narrow field of library and information services were included to provide appropriate contextual material, for example on the political and administrative history of education in Iraq, and on attitudes, policies, and practices in the field of international development. Several Arabic-

speaking states were excluded because of their limited engagement with the rest of the Arab world and limited activity in the field under investigation during most of the period under consideration. The key words and subject terms relevant to the topics thus selected are shown in table 2.1:

Professional terminology	Geographic, ethnic, etc. coverage
Librarianship	Iraq
Libraries	
Library	Arab
Library science(s)	Arabic
Library studies	
	Islam
Information	Islamic
Information management	
Information science(s)	Middle East
Information studies	Levant
Information technology	
	Aden
Archives	Algeria
Archive studies	Bahrain
	Egypt
Records management	Jordan
	Kuwait
Education	Lebanon
Training	Libya
	Morocco
Human resources (development)	Oman
Manpower	Palestine
Personnel	Qatar
	Saudi Arabia
Cultural diplomacy	Sudan
Development	Syria
Reconstruction	Tunisia
Technical assistance	United Arab Emirates
Technical cooperation	Yemen

Appendix 7, Table 1: Literature search strategy – hierarchy and terminology

To ensure reliability and rigour, a search strategy according to this pre-defined format was applied in systematic searching of:

- electronic indexes including Proquest/Cambridge Scientific Abstracts' Library and Information Science Abstracts, EBSCO's LISTA, and Wilson's Library and Information Literature Online, as well as DIALOG, British Education Index, ERIC, Aslib Index to Theses, and Dissertation Abstracts;

- the catalogues and electronic databases of the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Library of Congress, the Unesco Library, and other agencies engaged in development work;
- web portals that provide a useful reference point for individual institutions, organisations and subject gateways for searching, such as the Unesco Education and Libraries Portals;
- web search engines to identify relevant web sites.

The Arab world has a long tradition of publishing and libraries. Although bibliographical activity in the region has been a more recent development and may not yet provide comprehensive coverage of the published output, a number of relevant printed bibliographies have been compiled and published, particularly in Western countries. *Index Islamicus* provides extensive coverage throughout the twentieth century of articles in periodicals and more recently of the increasing number of monographs on a wide range of Islamic subjects from all Arab and other Muslim countries. There are also general bibliographical guides to Iraq produced by those concerned with its early economic development (e.g. Boxer 1953), by Iraqi librarians (Abdulrahman 1977, 1984; updated by Bleaney 1995), and by western scholars specialising in the region's history and culture (Bleaney and Roper 2004). The experiences of library development in Arab states such as Iraq also offered the researcher a large body of monograph and journal literature that is recorded in specialist bibliographies, notably those compiled in English by Pantelides (1979) and Meho and Nsouli (1999). In addition, relevant doctoral dissertations written in English, mostly but not exclusively by Arabs, are documented, albeit incompletely, in bibliographies of theses covering library and information studies (Schlachter and Thomson 1974; 1983), education (Parker and Parker 1980), and the whole range of disciplines (Saliba 1983; Selim 1970-1989). The published reports of relevant Unesco missions in the region were mostly listed by Unesco (Unesco Bureau 1970), Parker (1985), and Anwar (1995), and can now be searched online in the Unesco Library catalogue.

Recognising the fugitive nature of the literature in this field, Abdullahi's *Bibliography of IFLA Conference Papers, 1968-1978*, and both volumes of Danton's *Index to Festschriften in Librarianship* were examined, the latter without result. In addition, the citations of references that were listed in all the publications that were read were scrutinised for items not recorded elsewhere, and added to the researcher's master list. Regrettably, the researcher was unable to access a complete set of the bibliographies on librarianship in the Arab world compiled by Abd el-Hadi, although it seems likely that little material

identified there in languages other than Arabic has escaped the attention of other bibliographers or the authors of the publications that were consulted.

Potentially useful publications not available in the Robert Gordon University's Library were inspected through visits to several libraries (including the former College of Librarianship Wales — now part of Aberystwyth University — the initial starting point for this research; the British Library in London and Boston Spa; the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.; Unesco in Paris; Aberdeen University; the University of London's University College, Institute of Education, and School of Oriental and African Studies; and the Public Libraries in Manchester and New York); or — when necessary, for about 200 items — obtained through the U.K. national and international Inter Library Loan service. Eventually, it proved impossible to access fewer than 20 papers from the 4,000+ non-Arabic items identified in the literature search.

Chilmeran's Master's Degree thesis, written in 1962, was a source of much detail about the early history of libraries in Iraq, particularly in the early Republican period. It has previously been generally inaccessible. However, in response to the researcher's request for an inter-library loan, it was scanned by the Library of the University of North Carolina — Chapel Hill, and is now freely available online.

After noting references by other researchers to items in the English language newspapers published in Iraq, an attempt was also made to review some of them. However, time did not permit an examination of all the microfilms held by the British Library, even though those files held are incomplete, covering only: *Basra Times* (1917-1921); *Baghdad Times* (1918-1923); *Times of Mesopotamia* (1921-1924); *Iraq Times* (1940-1964); *Baghdad News* (1964-1967); *Baghdad Observer* (1967-1992). A selection of several years of *The Iraq Times* from the 1940s and 1950s was therefore made with the intention of seeking further information on matters that were evidently not well covered in the professional literature at the time. Items reported from other newspapers are based on individual items discovered in archive files or cited by other researchers. Some of the news items that were discovered were subsumed in other items and are simply referred to in the thesis by date. Those that were substantive items have been fully cited.

Although the researcher's ability to read in several European languages (at the level of comprehension) has been utilised to enhance understanding of some

of the papers that were identified in the literature search, information drawn from material published in other European languages has necessarily been largely based mainly on those abstracts available in English. Arabic language material has been used on the basis of citations and abstracts by authors familiar with that language. In a few cases, translations or summaries were prepared at the researcher's request from European languages by the Translator then on the staff of the College of Librarianship Wales's Library, or by Arab students and friends. However, it must be noted that while the number of Arabic publications about librarianship and information work steadily increased during this period, they represented a small proportion of the material relevant to this study. For example, of the c.500 serial titles on which this thesis has drawn, only about 25 were serials in Arabic about librarianship and information work.

Archival Resources

The archives of several of the major international agencies were expected to hold correspondence and reports relating to their support for library development in Iraq. This primary source material was not consulted by any earlier researcher in library and information studies.

Keresztesi (1977) was unable to examine most of Unesco's internal records because, at the time he undertook his investigation, they were mostly too recent for access to be permitted under Unesco's 30-year access rule. Al-Werdi's (1983) thesis was also conducted before the relevant Unesco and British archives were accessible. Zado's (1990) was not a study that required a noticeable basis in historical evidence. Bhatt's thesis (1999), and the subsequent book (2004), present a collation from a large but frequently incomplete range of published sources, and he does not seem to have attempted to access the archival sources relating to the early part of the period, most of which would have been open when he was doing his research. Maurel alone was able to make extensive use of Unesco's archives in preparing her theses and the subsequent book (2001; 2005; 2010), but her work was more generally focused than this study. Lembrecht (2013) was also able to use Unesco's archives for a peripherally relevant study.

Most of the archives services retained material in single files that covered periods of several years. The haphazard circulation of individual documents, or distribution of multiple copies, disrupted the chronological sequence in files and added to the challenge of synthesising and interpreting the evidence. The

apparent absence in some institutions of designated responsibility for maintaining the master files on particular topics and the vagaries of archival retention schedules has resulted in much duplication and loss of individual papers. Conventional approaches citing specific documents in archives seemed inappropriate, except on the few occasions when individual documents within the files appeared particularly significant. Evidence found in the various archives is generally attributed only to the first file name in which it was discovered. The date cited for a file is usually the last date in which any document was added.

The Archives of the United Nations and Unesco

Unesco supported a number of short term and longer expert missions to Iraq, commencing in the 1950s. Unless there is evidence to the contrary, e.g. in Arabic language publications or in archives in Iraq, it must be acknowledged that Unesco was one of the two major providers of technical assistance for library development in Iraq in the period 1950 to 1980. Three one-week visits were therefore made to Unesco Headquarters in Paris to examine a range of documents in the Library and Archives there. Regrettably, Unesco's archives for the period with which this study is concerned reflect the challenges of paper-keeping in an initially new organisation with staff from numerous organisational cultures, as well as the relatively primitive copying technologies of the early part of the period under review (i.e. multiple copies using principally carbon paper). For convenience, several activities were often reported in a single document. Moreover, the financial support for Unesco's activities came not only from its 'normal' budget — the Regular Programme — but also from the Participation Programme, Funds in Trust, the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme, the United Nations Development Programme, or from other United Nations agencies, to which Unesco reported as a service provider. These pressures resulted in each activity being recorded in several files maintained by the various departments that had an interest in the activity. Copies of relevant correspondence and draft reports seem to have been passed from office to office to inform the various interested parties without necessarily finding their way into a master file for a project, or indeed in some cases possibly without inclusion in any file, dispersing or losing information about how activities were initiated, conducted and followed up. The multiplication of files containing documents on an activity may explain to the reader some of the seemingly irrelevant titles of some of the files cited in

respect of a particular activity. It also made it impractical for the researcher to be certain in the limited time available that all possible avenues had been explored. The random scatter of documents in those files that were examined suggests that further light on the activities described in this study may be shed by additional research in the archive collection using a multi-faceted approach by someone able to spend more time there, as Maurel (2001; 2005; 2010) was able to do while a student at the Sorbonne.

Unesco eventually became consistent in generally publishing the final reports from consultants' missions that had been provided to the host institution and government, although this does not appear to have been the case in the early years. The reports were, however, intended to advise governments on future action, and were edited before submission to governments and publication to conform to Unesco 'doctrine.' This may have resulted in the excision of information potentially useful for this research. It is also regrettable that, although a few of the regular periodic reports that consultants were required to submit during longer missions were discovered by searching through files that were seemingly of peripheral relevance, most of those periodic reports, their unedited draft final reports, and much of the relevant correspondence and memoranda may have been lost. Some may be retained in the Personnel Department's files on those individual consultants that could not be consulted because they remain closed until 50 years after the last entry in them, and those files may warrant future examination.

The Archives and Records Management Section of the United Nations in New York permitted access to the files of the United Nations Development Programme and its predecessor the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance, which provided some of the funding for Unesco's activities. Such correspondence and other documents that have survived were often similarly distributed between files. Again, limitations on the time available to search those archives, and lack of familiarity with their organisation, suggests that further investigation may shed additional light on Unesco activities, for example by following a similar multi-faceted approach to that required in the Unesco archives.

No attempt was made to examine the efforts in Iraq of other United Nations' agencies. The archives of the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), for example, have not been explored, although published documents do point to some activities undertaken by those

agencies that were concerned with libraries in Iraq. It therefore has to be accepted that this study may not present a complete or entirely accurate picture of the work supported by the United Nations.

Archives in Britain

Britain had played a significant role in Iraq throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and had subsequently maintained a presence it the country through the work of the British Council and a programme of development assistance. Several visits were therefore made to the U.K. National Archives to examine the files of the British Council, the Colonial and Foreign Offices, and the British development agencies. The relevant documentation was scattered and incomplete, and some files remain closed until the middle of the twenty-first century.

The files of the British Council were a particular focus of this part of the research, but, disappointingly, the selection policy that had been adopted requires the retention only of correspondence held in its U.K. offices about activities that the Council supports. This has resulted in the archives containing the correspondence relating to some, selected activities but not the reports of those specialists who had undertaken them, even though those reports would be, arguably, at least as significant as what led to their visit — and certainly more informative about the situation in Iraq. Without them, it is impossible to relate a visit to what followed it and assess its impact. After 1960, these specialists' are not individually identified in the Council's Annual Reports, and are thus difficult to locate in the archived files. Although the files of British Embassies appear to have been repatriated, no attempt seems to have been made by the British Council to repatriate files from its overseas offices. Moreover, no relevant files have been retained in the British Council's offices in Baghdad, and the Council has not yet transferred to the National Archives in London its Headquarters' files relating to specialists' visits to Iraq since 1965. This made it impossible to identify specialists whose activities in Iraq were not reported elsewhere. There appear to have been few concerned with libraries and information services prior to c.1980, the latest date when they might currently have been expected to be publicly available in the Archives.

In some cases, however, where specialists were identified from references in other sources, copies of their reports were obtained through direct contact with

the individuals concerned, but one (Professor Michael Lynch) is known to have destroyed his own copy of his report along with his other professional papers when he retired. The archives of the Library Association and Westminster City Council were searched, without success, for a report by Lionel McColvin. Circumstances during the period when this research was undertaken made it impracticable to visit Iraq to try to identify relevant activities and search for copies of any reports that may have survived in the archives of Iraqi institutions.

The early career in the service of the British Council of Cyril Saunders, the first Unesco library development consultant in Iraq, is recorded in the Council's archives. Files in the National Archives also shed background on his first encounter with the Middle East, as an Army Officer. His professional development was explored in the archives of Manchester City Council.

The Archives of the former India Office, now held by the British Library, shed further light on the British Administration in Iraq during the First World War.

The Archives of United States Government Agencies

Since World War Two, the United States has been probably the most significant global donor of bilateral international assistance. Two visits were made to the U.S. National Archives in College Park to examine the surviving records of the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAid) and its predecessor agencies, and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). Although a more liberal access policy is now being applied by the U.S. National Archives, and most records relating to USIA's activities in Iraq have been declassified, those covering the interaction between the Agency's Near East and South Asia Libraries and Centers Branch and its libraries in Iraq were still classified and not open to researchers during the researcher's second visit at the end of 2010. The titles of files from 1951 to 1966 are listed in the public indexes, and confirm that the libraries were engaged in presentations of books and periodicals, but what and to whom, and the extent of the local USIA/USIS librarian's involvement in 'exchange of people' and other activities remain to be disclosed when the review of the files has been completed and they are declassified. This study's insights into USIA's and USIS's work in Iraq therefore had to be supplemented from scattered references in numerous secondary sources.

The Archives of Foundations and Other Organisations

The Ford Foundation in New York was visited to review its files on its important programme of assistance for Baghdad University Libraries. Subsequently, further documents related to that programme were obtained electronically from the Archives of Princeton University (the papers of William Dix) and the University of Michigan (the papers of Rudolph Gjelsness).

A single report in the published literature suggested that the involvement of the Gulbenkian Foundation in library development in Iraq may only have consisted of support for the construction of one university library building. However, a growing awareness of the inter-action between library development consultants working in Iraq and the various development agencies prompted enquiries about the contents of the Foundation's archives in Portugal. Those enquiries revealed evidence of much more substantial activity. A short visit to examine the Foundation's files subsequently confirmed that, from 1960 until 1978, the Foundation's organisation included a department (Serviço do Medio Oriente) managing a major programme of donations and scholarships in the Middle East. It thus became, along with Unesco, the most important provider of assistance for library development in Iraq. This included numerous grants for book and journal purchases by libraries in Iraq that were usually channelled through the Foundation's London office to British booksellers; support for numerous international scholarships, a large minority of them for study in British universities; and grants towards the construction or furnishing of libraries. It may be worth noting, for the benefit of future researchers, that the files of the Gulbenkian Foundation's Technical Department contain numerous specifications and plans of the construction projects in Iraq supported by the Foundation, as well as photographs of architects' models and construction in progress, but these had not yet been indexed by the Foundation's archivists at the time of this researcher's visit.

The digitised archives held by the Rockefeller Archive Centre were examined online, permitting an insight into the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The role of the Institute of International Education in managing Fellowships awarded to Iraqis by the Ford Foundation was not known until the researcher was in New York, too late to make arrangements to view its archives. Email enquiries confirmed, however, that the Institute had not retained its files on individual students whose programs it had arranged. The extent to which

universities had retained files on Iraqi students, and arrangements for access to them, were not explored.

Other Archival Sources

The archives of the Library Association, held at University College London, were examined, but those for the period studied appear to have been subject to a minimalist retention policy. Limitations on time and resources did not permit a visit to the University of Texas at Austin to examine the Luther Harris Evans Papers, the private papers of the Unesco Director-General who was influential during the initial period of assistance for Iraq's development. For similar reasons, the archive of the American Library Association at the University of Illinois remains largely unexplored, although a few items were identified online and supplied electronically. The international non-governmental organisations — IFLA, and FID — appeared to show little interest in the needs of the developing countries during much of the period studied, and even less in the Arab world, and an examination of their archives for this study was not deemed cost effective.

However, not least for linguistic reasons and/or the probability that it would not be cost-effective, it was not practicable for the researcher to search the archives of the Arab League, or of the former U.S.S.R. and its allies. The contributions to library development in Iraq of ALECSO and the Soviet Union have therefore been examined only through the lens of third party studies, and the limitations of that approach must be acknowledged.

The published literature provides no indication of any significant involvement in library development by the national bi-lateral aid agencies of other countries. That is not to say that there was none. However, it is not practicable to search the archives of every other country that might have provided cultural, educational or technical assistance to Iraq.

Concerns for personal security, while the country remained unstable, together with linguistic limitations, prohibited searching the archives of Iraqi Ministries and institutions. However, it was clear that, if the correspondence and reports produced by and for foreign agencies and foundations were not archived in their local offices in Iraq or by the relevant Iraqi Ministries and institutions, much of the unique documentation on library development in Iraq may have been lost.

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