

A STUDY ON THE PERCEPTION OF FILIPINO LIBRARIANS ON INNOVATION

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Abstract

Innovation is a word librarians and information professionals use as a go-to solution when they try to justify their value to its parent organization. They talk about high-tech libraries and innovative services like learning commons, makerspaces, online databases, and at the center of these changes are the innovative librarians. However, there is seemingly a disconnect between perceptions and implementations, thus prompting a back to basics investigation on the concept itself and how it is understood by Filipino librarians.

This study offers insights into what Filipino librarians mean when they refer to the word “innovation.” By exploring the concept of innovation, we may have an idea of the intention, commitment, direction, and importance of innovation in the strategic future of our libraries and information centers, thus painting a picture of Filipino librarians and their idea of the word “innovation” and how it reflected in their organizations.

Surveyed for this study are librarians from all over the Philippines and their definition and perception of what words, definitions, services, and programs they consider as technological and innovative.

Keywords: *innovation, librarians, information professionals*

Introduction

Visiting the websites of some iSchool members reveals the word “innovation” in their degree and certificate programs. Syracuse University, for example, has a Certificate of Advanced Study (CAS) in Information Innovation (Syracuse University, 2011). University of California, Davis Campus has The Center — Center for Science and Innovation Studies (University of California, Davis, 2000) while the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has its Social Innovation Initiative (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2012). Library associations

here in the Philippines use the word “innovation” in the title or in the objective of seminars and workshops they host in recent years. In 2017, the Philippine Librarians Association, Inc. (PLAI) conducted a *Seminar on Innovations in Library Technology, Communication, Resources, and Services* (Philippine Librarians Association, Inc., 2017) while the theme of the last PLAI Congress was Inclusive. Innovative. Interconnected (Philippine Librarians Association, Inc., 2019). The Philippine Association of Academic and Research Librarians, Inc. bestows its annual *Academic or Research Librarian of the Year Award* to

librarians who demonstrated “Planning and implementing an innovative or a high-impact library program for an academic/research library” and its Outstanding Library Program of the Year Award to libraries that have “...a strong impact on the library community, be innovative, sustainable and may be replicated to other library communities, or institutions” (Philippine Association of Academic and Research Librarians, Inc., 2019).

Making organizational changes within libraries and information centers because of pervasive technology is the current trend. Lakos and Phipps (2004) would put it:

Libraries are challenged to be nimble, innovative, responsive, proactive, and, most of all, able to demonstrate their value. Libraries must be able to measure their outcomes and systematically make technology, budget allocation, service, and policy decisions based on a range of data—needs assessment data, customer evaluation data, stakeholder expectation data, and internal process and organizational effectiveness data. (pp. 346–347)

Adopting technology into organizational culture is no easy feat. A review of the literature is full of cautionary tales of failed attempts due to varying factors. What is clear is that innovation is the lifeblood for any organization to stay relevant.

It is evident from current environmental indicators that organizations need to utilize two tools skillfully in order to create customer value: innovation and strategy. While the strategy can exist without innovation, it is unlikely that effective innovation can occur without the use of strategy. For organization leaders, the challenge is threefold: develop the ability to create value-added innovative services on a continuous basis; utilize strategy to make decisions about innovations; and deliver innovative services to the customer. (Deiss, 2004, p. 17).

The enthusiastic use of the term “innovative” merits the question: What do we mean we say something is innovative? What ideas, actions, changes, programs, services, and accomplishments would count as

innovative? This study explored these questions by giving the respondents different definitions and concepts and let them associate these with the idea of being innovative. By extension, this study provides an alternative way of knowing the strategic directions of libraries in the Philippines. As mentioned by previous studies, the extent of how an organization is open to innovation is associated with how open they adopt new technologies. Therefore, we can anticipate the technological changes to be pursued or adopted by librarians and information professionals in the Philippines. This way, this study will contribute to the literature on how to operationalize innovativeness. Lastly, this study aims to point libraries and information centers to technological changes worth investing in. Through this study, the question regarding which technological innovations are critical and worth pursuing are identified through the consensus of the respondents.

Review of Related Literature

Since its inception in 1962, the theory of diffusion of innovation has been the main framework by many disciplines to describe how early a certain group of people adopt new technology to innovate existing products and services. Although applied in many fields, only a handful of studies have applied it in the library and information science (Russell & Hoag, 2004). With the millennial generation, the digital natives, slowly starting to assume the managerial roles in libraries and information centers, this study is primed to investigate (1) the new perception of what is innovative, (2) the shift in attitude towards innovation, and (3) the openness of this new generation of librarians in terms of innovation

Defining Innovation

When we think of innovative organizations, we think of Google, Apple, and Tesla. These organizations have put innovation at the core of their organizational culture. Coincidentally, they are also technology companies. Therefore, it only makes sense to start the investigation of defining innovation in this sector.

In 2011, General Electric commissioned a worldwide survey of 2,800 senior business executives directly

Table 1*How Business Defines Innovation*

Definitions elements	Top choice	Total mentions
The implementation of new processes, products, organizational changes or marketing changes	35%	47%
An environment/culture that embraces positive change, creativity and continuous improvement	27%	42%
Research and development, new intellectual property (IP), and inventions	17%	41%
Staying ahead in the market and being a market leader	12%	32%
Solutions that benefit society and societal outcomes (including environmental outcomes)	9%	29%
None of the aspects above is close to my personal definition of innovation	1%	10%

Note. From GE Global Innovation Barometer: Global Research Report (General Electric, 2012).

involved in the innovation strategy or process within their company to define innovation. As shown in Figure 1, the respondents failed to reach a consensus.

What was clear is that the respondents gravitate towards the words “new” and “change.” The same sentiment is seen throughout the literature. Daft (1978), Damanpour (1996), and Rogers (2003) defined “innovation” as the introduction of new products, services, technologies, or administrative practice. An organization can also be seen as innovative if it consistently makes significant improvements to the concepts mentioned. Rogers (2003) even identified five characteristics of innovation in his work *Diffusion of Innovation*:

- **Relative advantage** is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than the idea it supersedes.
- **Compatibility** is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of potential adopters. An idea that is incompatible with the values and norms of a social system will not be adopted as rapidly as an innovation that is compatible.
- **Complexity** is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as difficult to understand and use.

- **Trialability** is the degree to which an innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis. New ideas that can be tried on the installment plan will generally be adopted more quickly than innovations that are not divisible.
- **Observability** is the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others. The easier it is for individuals to see the results of an innovation, the more likely they are to adopt

According to Rogers (2003), so long as an organization's innovation possesses these characteristics with a high degree, their innovation will be easier adopted compared to other innovations.

Library's Perception of Innovation

The majority of the research regarding the innovativeness of library and information centers tend to focus on the patrons rather than the librarians themselves. Most of these studies examine the readiness of the library users to adopt new technology in preparation for acquiring a related technology. Some studies that focus on the librarians' innovativeness discuss how these innovations will affect their jobs and rarely discusses their attitude and perception of innovation in general.

Musmann (1982), one of the only few research regarding library innovation, focused on libraries'

organizational structure and the technological environment as the main driving force for having an innovative organizational culture. According to his study, libraries view technology as a deterrent that has a negative impact on reading. To librarians, the book represented the embodiment of knowledge and thought, and technological diversions did not bode well for the health of society. He described libraries as rigid structures and that eliminating its “machine bureaucracy” as the greatest innovation a library can adopt. The same sentiment was shared by Clayton (1997). In his book, he observed rigidly defined job classifications in which ritualistic and unimaginative behavior that eventually hinders innovative changes

in Australian academic libraries. Howard (1981) tested this relationship and concluded that higher centralization, one of the characteristics of rigid organizations, leads to lower rates of innovation.

The Philippine Library Community’s Perception of Innovation

If libraries in the Philippines are faithful to the precepts of the profession, it is only logical for librarians to embody the spirit of innovation. This way, our profession will remain relevant and steadfast through the test of time. As noted by Riggs (1997):

Technology has been one of the primary, if not the

Table 2
Job Listings for Librarians with Reference to Innovation

Position	Reference to innovation	Words / Phrases in the advertisement related to innovation
Librarian Treston International College	The college mentors within an inclusive and caring community that celebrates global-mindedness, fosters innovation, and provides opportunities for professional growth and development with a purpose.	Inclusive, Growth
Librarian Lorenzo Ruiz de Manila School	Continuously strive for transformative education that is innovative, dynamic, and globally responsive.	Transform, Dynamic, Responsive
School Librarian Center for Culinary Arts, Manila (CCA-Manila)	INNOVATION (We believe that creativity and the desire to constantly improve and find new ways of doing things is essential the development of our students and the culinary industry as a whole)	Creativity, Improve, Development
Consultant (Content Management) - KMIS Department of Trade and Industry – Government	DTI is responsible for realizing the country’s goal of globally competitive and innovative industry and services sector that contribute to inclusive growth and employment generation	Competitive, Inclusive, Growth
Digital Library Officer CE-Logic	CE-Logic commits itself to becoming the premiere provider of world-class and integrity-based educational online products and innovative solutions for academic and professional institutions	World-class, Solutions

Note. Data from Jobstreet.com (Jobstreet.com, 2020).

primary, factor(s) enabling the library to move forward in quantum leaps. Time cycles have been dramatically reduced . . . and numerous examples of added value are witnessed daily by library users all because of advancements in technology. Unquestionably, the revolution in library services has been driven by evolving technology. (p. 4)

To determine the extent by which libraries in the Philippines give value to innovation, the researcher browsed through a popular job posting website (<https://www.jobstreet.com.ph/>) to check if the word innovation is included in their job advertisements. This indirect method culled out words from the job advertisements that are associated with the word innovation.

Another indirect method of looking for words associated with innovation is by collecting award citations given by different library associations to librarians, libraries, and library programs. By examining citations that include the word innovation, we can now identify characteristics that are deemed innovative by the library community (Vaughan, 2013). In his report, he also examined the published strategic goals of different academic libraries that contained the word innovation and matched it with the library programs and services established in response to reaching the said goals. This, in effect, gives an idea of what an innovative program or service is, from the point of view of libraries and information organizations.

Methodology

This study adopted an exploratory research design since there are only a few studies to refer to or rely upon on the topic at hand. By doing so, the researcher sets the groundwork in profiling the Filipino librarian in terms of how they perceive innovation.

The target respondents for this study are the attendees of the Philippine Library Association Inc. National Congress last November 22-25, 2016, in Davao City. The researcher identified this as an optimal venue, as this is the largest annual gathering of librarians in the Philippines. This gives the

researcher a good geographical and functional representation of librarians in the Philippines. The researcher also used the PLAI Regional Facebook pages as supplementary tools to disseminate the survey. This way, librarians who were not part of the congress were still covered by the study.

The selected librarians received an online survey (<http://research.upslis.info>) based on a study of Jason Vaughan (2013) attached to an email detailing:

- The nature of the study
- Request for consent
- A non-disclosure agreement on the identity of the respondent
- An incentive

Questions focused on the definition of innovation (including thoughts on words often associated with the term), how fast they adopt a particular technology, factors helping to inform whether to proceed with a technology-based innovation, thoughts on existing technologies, and perceptions on whether such technologies were “innovative,” and how decision-makers support or encourage innovation within the library.

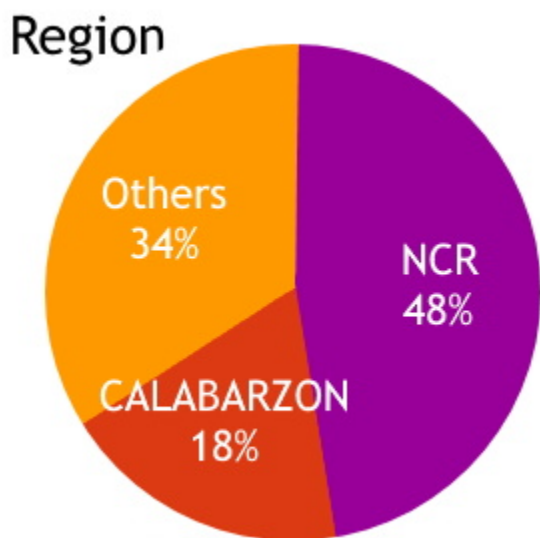
One hundred participants of the PLAI National Congress were randomly selected to be respondents for the study via email survey. A total of 40 responses were received. An FB post in different PLAI regional FB pages soliciting participants provided an additional 96 answers producing a sample size of 136 librarians.

Data gathered were tabulated for analysis and interpretation to produce trends and inferences about the population.

Findings

Most of the respondents came from Metro Manila (66) and the CALABARZON region (24), while the remaining 46 respondents were spread from other regions. This distribution of respondents is to be expected since it reflects the more or less the actual distribution of librarians that attends the PLAI National Congress.

Figure 1
Distribution of Respondents by Region



When asked, “how long have you been a librarian?” the distribution of responses are showing a skewness to the right. The researcher was hoping for skewness to the left that would indicate a higher probability of respondents having a managerial role in their organization. This characteristic was critical since it

would mean that sentiments collected in this study are strategic visions in terms of their library’s technological innovation direction since they would be in positions to make them happen sooner than later.

Gary Hamel (2002, as cited in Schnell, 2008) notes, “The bottleneck within an organization that ultimately throttles innovation is almost always located at the top. Organizations are trained to look to the top for clues about where it’s going” (para. 3). Patterson et al. (2009) list top factors or catalysts for innovation, including “managers’ support and openness to innovation,” “leaders modeling behaviors that encourage innovation,” and “senior leadership’s development of an innovation strategy and related priorities” (p. 31). Jantz (2012) notes, “strategy, organizational structure, and the innovative climate are largely established and controlled by the leadership of an organization.” He continues, “although compelling arguments are suggesting that organizational innovation can flourish despite, or independently of leadership, it makes a difference—and perhaps a big difference for nonprofit organizations such as research libraries” (p. 4).

The age distribution shown in Figure 2 has a strong association with Figure 3 when asked about their attitude in adopting new technology. Given that the

Figure 2
Distribution of Respondents Years of Service in a Library or Information Center

How long have you been a librarian? (136 responses)

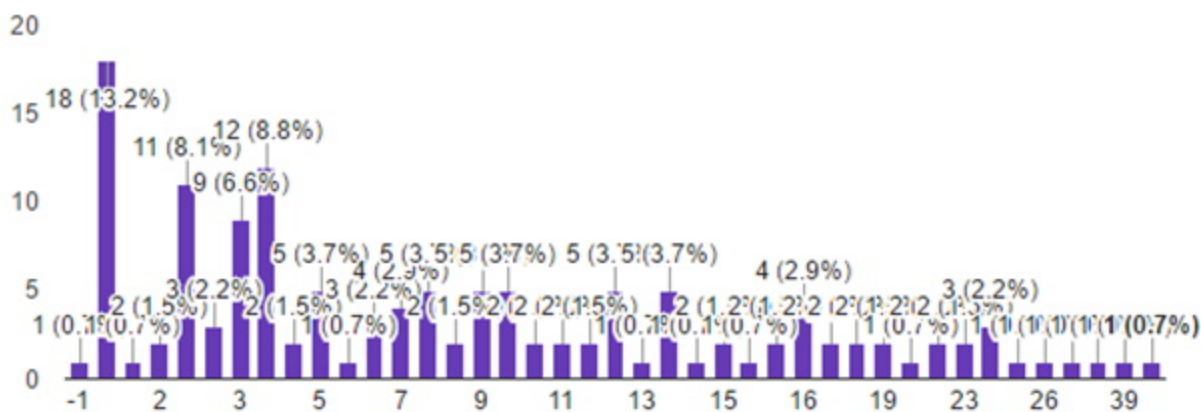
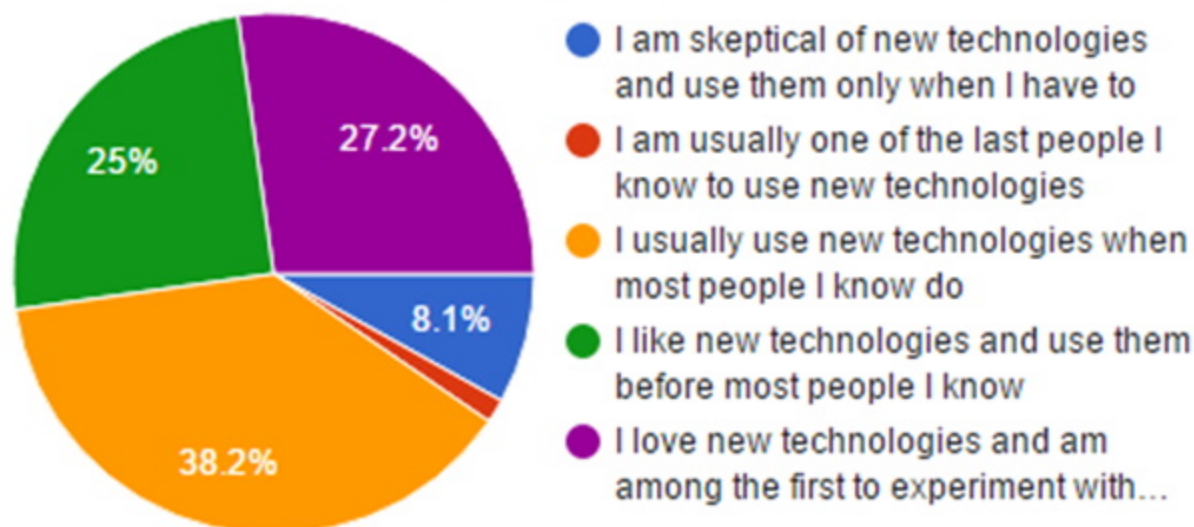


Figure 3

Distribution of Respondents in terms of Attitude Toward Adopting New Innovations

When it comes to technology, what best describes you?

(136 responses)



respondents are relatively young, the distribution of this figure is to be expected. This would also put the majority of the respondents in the Innovators, Early Adopters, and Early Majority category of Roger's Innovation Adoption Curve. This result is consistent with the conclusions of Heidi Blackburn (2011):

In conclusion, Millennial librarians are the innovators and early adopters through which technology is diffused into libraries, and this paper has applied the lens of diffusion of innovations and the stages of adoption as outlined by Roger Everett to these actions. Through their unique technology-driven characteristics and personality traits, these librarians are more likely to become change agents or surrogate buyers for their libraries as part of the innovation process. They can bring about the adoption of new technology in their respective organizations through the stages of diffusion. (p. 675)

Word Associated with Innovation

Figure 4 presents all word choices that were selected as words associated with innovation. The most

frequently chosen words and phrases were Change, Efficient, Adapt. The least selected words and phrases were First, Disruption, Survival. From this, we can infer that the perception of information professionals with the word innovation is substantially different in context from technology managers.

When asked for justifications on why the respondents selected the aforementioned words from the choices, the respondents also offered other words that were not listed in the choices. Table 3 lists down some of the answers given.

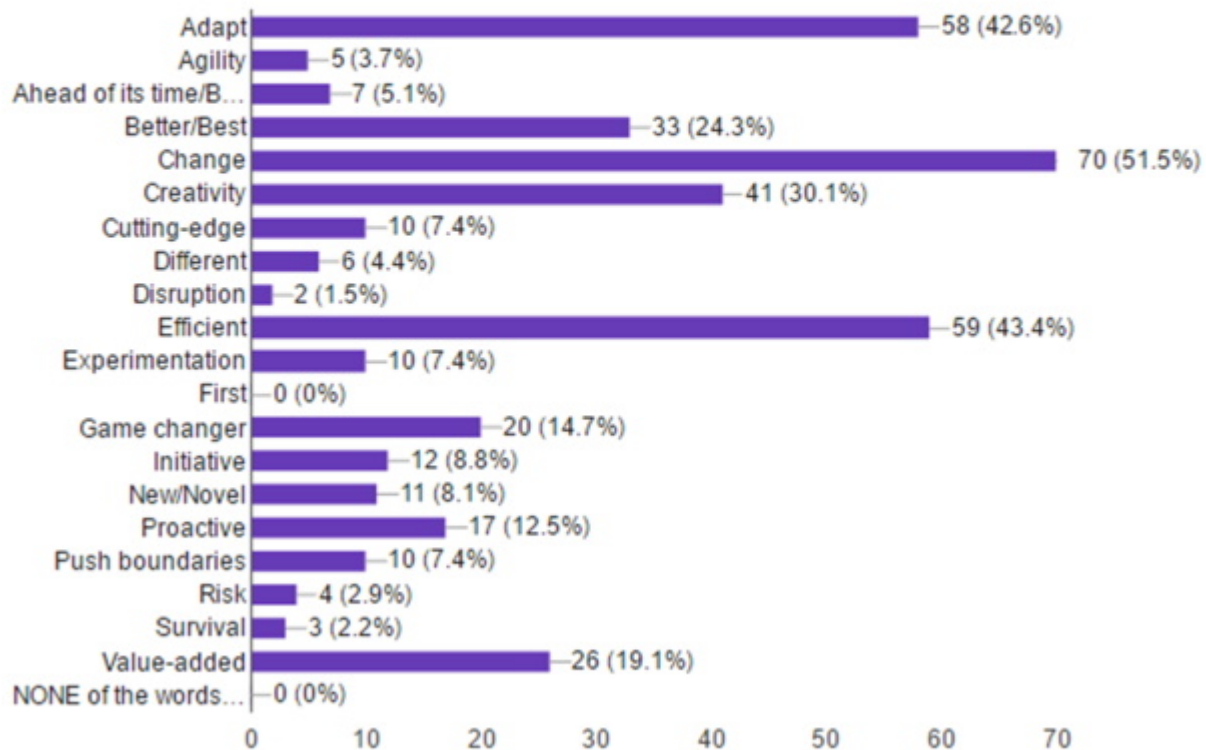
The next survey question listed six definitions for the word innovation and asked respondents to choose up to three that seemed to resonate most with them when thinking about technology-focused innovation. Figure 5 summarizes the responses.

All responses to this question were selected at least 12 times, but two, in particular, were selected most often.

Figure 4
Summary of “Innovation” Word Association

Below are several words or short phrases, in alphabetical order, which are often associated with the word “innovation.” Please select up to three choices which you feel best “capture the essence” or most resonate with you when you think about technology-focused innovation within the library community.

(136 responses)



Things that change the way we can do what we want to do; [things that] have added value to our daily lives . . . new, desired, or needed services that add value for university faculty, students, and other scholars . . . Innovation is more significantly about what our target audience can do—about the increased capacity of library users to do what they want and need to do in the way that most benefits their productivity, pleasure, and excellence . . . Facilitating the work of our primary constituents in ways that are new and useful to them. (Deiss, Kathryn. “Innovation and Strategy: Risk and Choice in Shaping User-Centered

Libraries.” Library Trends, Vol 53:1, Summer 2004, pp 18-19)

Innovation is the multi-stage process whereby organizations transform ideas into new/ improved products, service or processes, in order to advance, compete and differentiate themselves successfully in their marketplace. (Baregheb, Anahita, et al. “Towards a Multidisciplinary Definition of Innovation.” Management Decision, Vol 47:8, 2009, p 1334)

Table 3*Respondents Own Perception of Innovation*

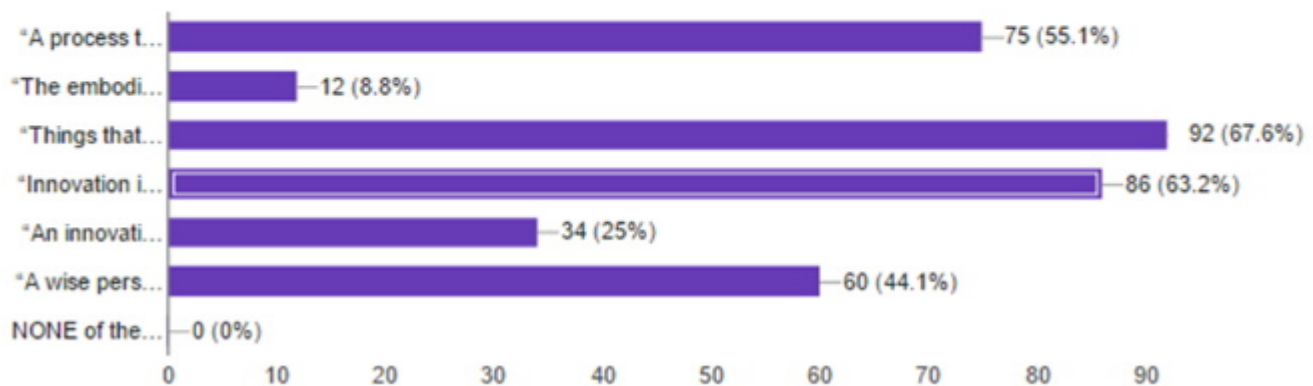
Comments / Supplement Answers	Theme
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When there is an innovation, especially if introduced to a particular process (e.g, Organization's procedures/ processes), it will change the whole process or maybe an aspect of the process. It is a different process that should be experimented or tested if it will make the existing process more efficient. • I believe that innovations come from the need to change for the better. • Other phrases will include "reengineering" and "breakthroughs." • Innovation is the process of creating new ideas or works of art. It is a careful investigation/experimentation into something new which can be useful or helpful among people for their personal and everyday living. This innovation can be an advancement for change which can help the betterment of a certain process. • When adopting technology in a library, it is a risk because of a rapid transition in managing the library from a traditional to technology-based services, but it is also a challenge to maintain efficient library services and enhance its resources adaptable to the current library trends. • Innovation is about exploring how existing processes can be improved or even done completely differently • Innovation is meant to address changes that happen, especially if the past technology is not enough or is unable to provide solutions to present issues. It requires creativity to be able to come up with technology that is progressive and, at the same time user-friendly and, if possible, fun to use since libraries are not only about the librarians but more importantly, it is about the customers. However, the desire to address change and being creative is not enough; technology must also be efficient. There is nothing more frustrating to librarians and customers as the technology that fails to deliver its promise. • Technology-focuses innovation in the library community should contribute to a better change in the delivery of services and information products within our libraries or how our libraries work. It should provide added value to what we presently have. • We have to adapt to the use of new technology in order to be relevant. The only permanent thing in this world is change- so we have to change some of the important library operations in order to answer the call of the times. 	Agent of Change and Development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creativity, Efficiency, and Pro-activity are the terms that best describe innovation is because most technologies today are created by unexpected ingenuity, surprisingly adaptive to a certain community's needs, and promote other relevant technologies in the future. • We needed to adapt to innovations to improve the efficiency of services offered and to add value to the contribution of libraries in the enhancement of study skills among learners. 	A Solution to an Existing Problem

Figure 5

Summary of Responses Regarding the Preference of Innovation Definition

Below are several definitions of innovation, ordered by date. Please select up to three definitions which you feel best “capture the essence” or most resonate with you when you think about technology-focused innovation within the library community.

(136 responses)



A similarity in both of these top responses is that they specifically mention how innovation is about change that ultimately improves services to customers and improves patron experience. The second definition meanwhile highlights the fact that we need innovation to avoid obsolesces in the current information economy.

The next question (Table 4) was the longest question in the survey. It provided thirty-two items (hardware, software, or combinations thereof) that could be considered innovative and asked respondents to rate how innovative they thought each particular item was.

Conclusion and Recommendation

To answer the main question of this study, “What do librarians mean when they speak about “innovation” in the Philippine library community?” a particular trend emerges among the opinion among librarians when evaluating what is innovative or what can pass

as technological innovation. Based on the findings, the following theme comes in to focus, which are:

- Newness;
- The origin of the innovation (within libraries or outside libraries);
- Whether something is applied differently and uniquely in a library setting versus its use and application outside the library environment;
- Whether it’s an incremental or fundamental change;
- The adoption rate among other libraries; and
- The match of the innovation to the local clientele of that library director’s environment.

There are other factors that can influence the perception—and definition—of technological innovation in libraries. Whether it was an individual or many respondents marking a drafted choice for a question, or whether something was suggested in one

Table 4
Respondent Rating of Innovative Items

Innovative Items	NI	MI	DI	NA
Library presence within a virtual environment (e.g., Second Life) or a social media venue (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, Flickr)	5	31	98	2
Reference service beyond face to face or email reference interactions (e.g., virtual delivery of services—video reference, instant messaging, texting, etc.)	1	22	110	1
Creation of web-based multimedia (audio, video) instruction sessions, library tours, FAQs, etc.	1	27	106	0
Gaming/gamification of something library-related (e.g., a game that helps students learn call numbers and book locations in the library)	4	44	79	7
Hackerspaces/Makerspaces (Wikipedia: “Hackerspaces can be viewed as open community labs incorporating elements of machine shops, workshops and/or studios where hackers can come together to share resources and knowledge to build and make things.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hackerspace ; retrieved March 19, 2013). Such places could include items like a 3D printer and/or other sophisticated and controlled tools, which help build a completed physical object or representation from electronic data.	3	44	64	23
Espresso Book Machine	6	35	80	13
Authentication/authorization system allowing for off campus access to library or campus licensed information resources (e.g., a proxy server, a VPN, a single sign-on solution allowing remote access, etc.)	4	28	99	3
Mobile Library App (e.g., iOS or Android app—a program as opposed to a website) related to some service, function, or information resource associated with the library, whether for users at large or a particular group of library clientele	2	20	111	1
Mobile library website (a site specifically designed and discrete from a primary library website)	4	37	91	2
Migrating library-related applications which were once traditionally physically hosted at the library or campus into the cloud environment (e.g., Amazon Web Services/Elastic Compute Cloud)	6	34	88	6
Web Scale Discovery services which index content to a far greater degree than a traditional OPAC—to the article or item level (e.g., Serials Solutions Summon, Ebsco Discovery Service, Ex Libris Primo Central)	4	25	97	8
New “library services platforms” engineered to replace the more traditional integrated library system (e.g., OCLC Worldshare Management Services; Serials Solutions InTota)	3	30	91	10
Use of open-source software to support a library service or function (e.g., using Drupal or another open-source content management system for the library website; an open-source ILS; an open-source ERM; etc.)	6	22	99	7
Use of QR Codes for some library function or service (e.g., to link a physical item to a digital equivalent; to help users navigate library stacks, etc.)	2	30	93	9
Using augmented reality in an application/ interface related to a library service or created by library staff (e.g., the Wolfwalk app from NCSU, http://www.lib.ncsu.edu/dli/projects/wolfwalk)	1	35	86	12
Circulation of mobile devices to library patrons (e.g., laptops/tablets/Kindles /etc.)	10	38	80	6
Use of APIs to enhance a service or information resource at the library (e.g., to pull and display external book covers in a library catalog; to pull and display bibliographic metadata from external sources into a library catalog record display; etc.)	3	34	91	6
A wireless network providing coverage to the majority or entirety of a library	8	23	101	2
Engagement and assistance with campus faculty in the publication/discovery of faculty scholarship (e.g., hosting an institutional repository; providing broker/liason services to help faculty use an online publishing digital press; etc.)	6	44	80	4
Use of blogs, wikis, and/or RSS feeds for part or all of a library’s primary website.	13	27	83	3
A patron-driven acquisition platform for physical monographs and/or ebooks involving technology infrastructure (e.g., such a system may have virtual records in a library catalog, which a patron can request the library acquire)	3	33	93	5
Use of RFID (e.g., for tracking/circulating monographs and/or other library assets)	7	18	104	5
Use of digital signage/wayfinding within your library (displaying items such as library maps, schedules, daily events, special notices, etc.)	13	27	91	3
Use of an online e-commerce system, accepting payments (e.g., credit card, PayPal) for one or more services/functions at your library (e.g., payment of fines; payment for photo reproductions; etc.)	11	31	81	11
Use of smartboard technology in some area of the library (e.g., group study room; meeting room; instruction room), which allows students or librarians to interact with onscreen information in different ways (e.g., mark up documents to show other members in a group)	3	20	105	6
Extensive integration of library related information/ resources into an enterprise course/learning management system	5	30	94	5
Use of video conferencing for purposes such as virtual committee meetings, interactions with vendors, patron instruction sessions, etc. (e.g., Cisco Webex; Skype; etc.)	5	34	91	4
Implementation and use of VoIP and the capabilities it provides (e.g., voicemail forwarded to email accounts; collapsing the traditional phone network into the single data network; etc.)	6	41	77	10
Use of tablets/iPads among library staff, in support of library operations/other work-related productivity	11	27	93	3
Extensive use of web analytics to better understand how patrons are using and interacting with the library website, and to inform a future website design	3	26	99	6
Use of recommendation capabilities/features which library patrons interact with to help inform other users of the same system. Example: allowing library patrons to rank/recommend items found in library discovery systems (e.g., library catalog, library digital collections system)	7	35	89	3

or more of the free text comments, all of the above items, to a lesser or greater degree, seem to relate to the concept of innovation and the degree to which something is perceived as innovative.

If there is one thing this study hopes to achieve, it's to reemphasized the need for focus, strategy, and direction:

“As libraries position themselves as important partners within their institutions, . . . they cannot continue to spend a lot of time on activities that replicate what is being done elsewhere and do not create real value for their institutions. Strategy is about making choices that increase impact. It is about moving resources to where there is most benefit, and finding the right level at which things should be done.” (Dempsey, 2012, p. 204)

For nonprofits with limited resources—whether monetary, staffing, or simply time and competing priorities—these words seem critical when thinking about innovation—whether in the decision to pursue an idea at the very start, or years later when looking back and trying to assess.

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