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The public library, exclusion and empathy: a literature review Kerry Wilson, Briony Birdi and Joanne Cocker

Briony Birdi (née Train) is a Lecturer in Librarianship, the Programme Co-ordinator of the MA in Librarianship, and Director of CPLIS (the Centre for the Public Library and Information in Society) at the Department of Information Studies, University of Sheffield. Research Associate **Kerry Wilson** is currently a Lecturer in the Faculty of Media Arts and Social Science, Liverpool John Moores University, and Sheffield MA in Librarianship graduate (2005-6) **Joanne Cocker** now works as the Women's Enterprise Development Manager, Bolton Business Venture, and in her spare time continues to work for Bolton Libraries.

Key words

Public library/public librarian, social inclusion, empathy.

Abstract

Purpose – This paper presents a review of the literature within the fields of public librarianship, social exclusion and empathy.

Approach – The cross-disciplinary review involved the consultation of material from disciplines including library and information management, politics, social policy and social sciences, cultural studies, psychology, management and organizational theory. It was structured according to the following themes: exclusion, inclusion and social policy, social inclusion in public services and the cultural sector, the role of public libraries in social inclusion, and professional empathy and the public library service. Findings –The concept of social inclusion remains at the core of public library policy and strategy, and is embedded in contemporary social theory. Conflicting views have emerged as to the perceived and actual role of the public library in combating social exclusion, with a need expressed for research to be conducted that bridges the gap between the 'philosophical' interpretations of community librarianship and the more practical, 'real world' studies, in order to fully understand the concept of community librarianship. A critical link is made between social inclusion and public librarianship to professional empathy.

Research limitations/(practical) implications – The paper provides an edited version of the overall literature review, yet it is felt that it would be of theoretical and practical relevance and value to the professional and academic communities. **Originality/value of paper** – Empathy is a relatively new concept in librarianship research, and prior to the study of which this review forms a part (Wilson and Birdi, 2008) only limited findings have been available. [248 words]

Briony Birdi
Lecturer
Department of Information Studies
University of Sheffield
Regent Court
211 Portobello Street
Sheffield
S1 4DP
Tel. 0114 222 2653
b.birdi@sheffield.ac.uk

The public library, exclusion and empathy: a literature review Kerry Wilson, Briony Birdi and Joanne Cocker

This paper presents a brief review of the literature within the fields of public librarianship, social exclusion and empathy. The original review was conducted as part of a national research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council¹, designed firstly to investigate the attitudes of public library staff towards social inclusion policy and disadvantaged groups within society, and secondly to explore the relationships between the ethnic, social, cultural and professional background of library staff and their capacity to make an effective, empathic contribution to social inclusion objectives. This revised review has also been informed by a recent Masters dissertation conducted within the Department of Information Studies at the University of Sheffield, which investigated public library approaches to social inclusion in the North West of England.

The cross-disciplinary review was undertaken throughout the project, and involved the consultation of monographs, journal articles, reports and other publications from disciplines including library and information management, politics, social policy and social sciences, cultural studies, psychology, management and organizational theory. The review facilitated a theoretical foundation for the research as a whole under the following key themes, which will equally be used as the structure for this paper:

- 1) Exclusion, inclusion and social policy
- 2) Social inclusion in public services and the cultural sector
- 3) The role of public libraries in social inclusion
- 4) Professional empathy and the public library service.

Given the current policy focus on social exclusion and its acknowledged relevance to public sector work, it is hoped that the findings of the review will be of interest and relevance to both the academic and practitioner audiences.

¹ 'The right 'man' for the job? The role of empathy in community librarianship'. Project website available at http://www.shef.ac.uk/is/research/centres/cplis/research/rightman.html

1. Exclusion, inclusion and social policy

It is important to begin by defining what is meant by the term social exclusion, how this is commonly understood by social commentators, and how the term is used and defined in political policy. Burchardt et al (2002) trace the origins of the term, and note that concepts of social exclusion have been discussed by theorists since the mid twentieth century in various forms, including notions of exclusionary social closure, discrimination and restricted access, intended to preserve social hierarchies and privileges.

The term became prominent in political dialogue in the UK during the 1990s, used as an alternative definition of poverty, or social and economic inequality in a policy context (Walker and Walker, 1997). It came to represent not only low material or economic means, but an alienation from mainstream society, and 'the inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life' (Duffy, 1995, quoted in Walker and Walker, 1997:8). Hicken (2004:45) described the multiple dimensions of social exclusion as follows:

- Economic (Poverty, unemployment)
- Social (isolation, homelessness)
- Political (disenfranchisement, disempowerment)
- Neighbourhood (urban and rural deprivation)
- Individual (illness, lack of social/educational skills)
- Spatial (the institutionalised and marginalised)
- Group (black and ethnic minorities, disabled, elderly, etc.).

Yet critics have argued that an approach which separates the 'excluded' into an array of categories can remove attention from the 'inequalities and differences among the *included*...resulting in an overly homogenous and consensual image of society" (Levitas, 2005). Jermyn (2001) notes that what excludes individuals from mainstream society can also connect them as they face similar obstacles in other areas of their lives. Furthermore, the multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion means it is not straightforward to distinguish the 'excluded' by one characteristic alone such as

gender, race, age and sexuality. It can be either a transitory state or a permanent one, potentially experienced by any individual in his or her lifetime.

Social inclusion and the contemporary political landscape

The political concept of social exclusion is complex, but an attempt to investigate its causes and socio-political impact is helpful to enable us to fully understand the actual and potential contribution of the public library, as demonstrated in the examples below.

Poverty and economic inequality: exclusion is caused by a systematic combination of social issues affecting individuals, families and communities. The common historical denominator linking the identified social issues is poverty and economic inequality, and as such social exclusion is by no means a modern phenomenon. Poverty and inequality are historically and inextricably linked, with increases in the latter invariably causing increases in the former (Burden, 2000).

Neighbourhood decline and excluded communities: Lupton and Power (2002: 118) discuss the 'spatial concentration' of poverty and social exclusion in Britain, stating that the gap between the poorest and more affluent areas has become increasingly polarised: in the late 1990s, up to 4000 neighbourhoods had been identified as 'pockets of intense deprivation' caused by acute unemployment, crime, poor health, housing and education. Social divisions are reinforced by the identification of neighbourhoods and communities, and their inhabitants, as undesirable and underachieving, causing localised social fragmentation (Crow and Maclean, 2000).

The significance of social capital: Richardson and Mumford (2002: 206) define social capital as 'the shared understandings, levels of trust, associational memberships, and informal networks of human relationships that facilitate human exchange, social order, and underpin social institutions'. Hillenbrand (2005) comments that social capital remains a 'contentious subject' with no definitive conceptual definition, although its academic and philosophical popularity has increased, having transcended its original theoretical disciplines of sociology, economics and political science, to be widely discussed and acknowledged in a wide range of policy fields such as community studies, education, occupational science and governance. Discussion

surrounding the effects of social exclusion has become more centred around notions of social capital during recent years, and the impact upon 'people's ability to participate in society' (Page, 2000).

Tackling social exclusion has become a priority of the present government within public policy, with an emphasis on preventing social exclusion rather than addressing its consequences. The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) was developed (with a remit for England only) as part of the first New Labour Cabinet Office in 1997 to focus on an inclusion agenda, to raise awareness about the problems which cause social exclusion and to promote departmental co-operation in effective policy application (Thompson, 2000).

As policy has shifted towards the social responsibility of (particularly publicly funded) services and facilities such as education and health in tackling the causes of social disadvantage, policy makers have focused on social *inclusion* rather than exclusion (Hills, 2002). Levitas (2005) links changing semantics in the social exclusion agenda to New Labour discourse and the development of 'third way' politics, including democratic ideals of civil, political and social equality. The governmental view of inclusion on a community level includes participatory objectives and methods, with a view to community empowerment, and greater accountability and democracy (Hawtin and Kettle, 2000).

Is 'social inclusion', then, the antithesis of 'social exclusion'? Where social exclusion concerns itself with identifying the barriers that prevent participation, the concept of social inclusion is specifically focused on overcoming those barriers, once identified. A number of commentators have asserted that social inclusion is unattainable until the barriers are removed and 'socially excluded groups and individuals [can] gain access to the mainstream' (Vincent, 2005:26). Byrne (1999) observes that we are living in a 'post-industrial capitalist' society, the continuation of which depends upon the existence of the very barriers that social inclusion policies are trying to overcome. Until a move is made away from this form of capitalism, it will be impossible to eliminate the root causes and barriers which manifest social exclusion.

2. Social inclusion in public services and the cultural sector

In relation to the political shift to social regeneration and neighbourhood renewal, the role of public services has been increasingly identified as a platform for connecting vulnerable people to mainstream society, maintaining a physical embodiment of community and civil society, and for providing support to children and families at risk (Page, 2000). A report recommending the development of community-based learning cultures identified libraries and museums as important partners in 'opening up access and diversifying delivery' (Fryer, 1999). Cookman and Haynes (2002) state that museums, libraries and archives have a valid contribution to make to inclusion initiatives including support for basic skills education and training for children and adults, and encouraging volunteer work in communities. The arts sector has also claimed to have 'positive impacts' upon, for example, the development of social capital, community identity and social cohesion (Jermyn, 2001:14).

An increased emphasis on the social role and contribution of public services, cultural and leisure sectors has emerged in response to the perceived lack of engagement with such services and providers amongst identified socially excluded groups. Effective public services and facilities are defined by Richardson and Mumford (2002) as the 'social infrastructure' of communities.

Cultural idealism and social reality

Prior to the recent economic recession in the UK, it was reported that the share of average household spending on leisure activities in the UK had doubled in the twelve year period between 1990 and 2002 (DCMS, 2005). Research investigating leisure behaviours in the UK suggests that levels of engagement and leisure choices are influenced by where we live, ethnicity, religion and gender, along with social class and age (Roberts, 2004). Bennett et al (2005) undertook a survey of the cultural activities, preferences and knowledge of 1700+ adult UK residents, and using sociological variables such as educational attainment and occupational groupings, the study found strong demographic tendencies in musical taste, media and television, the literary field and visual arts, providing evidence towards a 'clustering of tastes'.

Usherwood et al (2005) studied the perceptions of the general British public of museums, libraries and archives in modern Britain, with a particular focus on their relevance as traditional repositories of public knowledge in the information age. The study revealed a contradiction between respondents' use and value of cultural organisations. A relatively high 'existence value' was placed on museums, libraries and archives, in that respondents indicated a moral and ethical desire to preserve such institutions, yet the actual usage figures amongst respondents were comparatively low. Barriers affecting the use of these organisations included a preference for more immediately accessible information sources that compliment daily routines, responsibilities and modern lifestyles. Other influences on information gathering and leisure choices included professional, educational and environmental circumstances, political beliefs, social systems and peer groups.

Critics of the promotion of community values and public, civic and cultural engagement argue that the concept is flawed in undermining the individual's ability to choose, and the circumstances that prevent inclusion and engagement on an individual scale. Research conducted in a *New Deal for Communities*² neighbourhood (Wallace, 2007) reveals an inherent flaw in the assumption that such communities are homogenous in their experiences of social exclusion, when in reality, communities display heterogeneity in their needs, as exclusion is lived in differing and often conflicting ways by residents inhabiting the same physical space. Clarke et al (2006) argue that the indeterminacy of choice in social policy discourse presents a 'rhetoric versus reality' distinction, which impacts upon the effectiveness of public service providers and the expectations of their users.

Other critics of social inclusion policy targeted towards the cultural and leisure sectors have debated the actual and potential contribution and value of such facilities and services in tackling social exclusion and division. A distinctive role for education and informal learning in tackling social exclusion has been contested within lifelong learning literature. Edwards et al (2001; quoted in Wilson and Train, 2006) have questioned the inherent 'goodness' of making a policy commitment to social inclusion

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² New Deal for Communities (NDC) is 'a key programme in the Government's strategy to tackle multiple deprivation in the most deprived neighbourhoods in the country' www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/

in education, training and employment and the role of education and its capacity to 'solve' social problems and issues of exclusion. It is argued that 'inclusion' by implication breeds 'exclusion' to some degree; historically, socially interventionist learning has been regarded as 'compensatory education' which has a diversionary quality, detracting attention from real social and educational issues. The authors question the feasibility of a 'learning culture for all', and the true motivation behind inclusive policy in terms of establishing a social order and identity which pitches homogeneity against diversity.

Similarly, Roberts (2004) infers that no causal relationship can be established between increased cultural engagement and leisure activity and equality of opportunity, social betterment and economic gain. He argues that although the assertion that 'cultural deficits' maintain disadvantage has gained academic credibility, this cannot be reconciled with patterns of leisure use and inequalities, suggesting that 'leisure initiatives will fail to haul the disadvantaged up the socio-economic ladder' (2004:3). Ellison and Ellison (2006) argue that where free market societies endorse and facilitate the accumulation and retention of large concentrations of wealth, 'better-off groups will always enjoy greater opportunities than poorer sections of society' (345). Roberts (2004) cites public libraries as 'failing' in this respect, and concludes that social and therefore cultural exclusivity is inevitable in a market economy.

3. The role of public libraries in social inclusion

Community librarianship and its political context

Ideologically the public library service in England has been regarded as serving the 'public good' since its inception (Hannabus, 1998; Greenhalgh et al, 1995; Usherwood et al, 2001). The role of public libraries more specifically in providing services for socially excluded groups has been historically embodied by the concept of community librarianship, which has played a very tempestuous role in the service's history and development. Black and Muddiman (1997) trace its developments to phases of 'civic' librarianship during 1850-1940 and 'welfare state' librarianship during 1940-1975. At the time of its inception, the public library role in social betterment was attributed to the 'deserving' and 'non-deserving' working classes,

based on visible and discernible potential for self-improvement. In time, such 'potential means-testing' was avoided by adopting a blanket-term – the disadvantaged – a sociological description which encompasses various groups who through differing circumstances have experienced sub-standard access to public facilities.

The post-World War II period saw significant advances in social policy according to welfare state principles, encouraging a period of considerable optimism. The principle of non-means tested universal public services has in practice, it has been argued, unduly benefited the middle rather than working classes (Muddiman et al, 2001). Funded by taxation and providing a general 'safety net' for everybody, public provision is more widely used by the already educated than by those from disadvantaged and marginalised sections of society (Greenhalgh et al, 1995). The Public Libraries Act of 1964 initiated a period of comprehensive community service, and an image of 'universality' for public libraries which avoided the stigmatisation of the disadvantaged and in turn, led to a middle-class 'strangle-hold' on public libraries.

The 1970s saw attempts made to 're-claim' the working classes, and the concept of community librarianship began to be re-invented by socially radical and committed librarians (Black and Muddiman, 1997). Critics suggest that an element of personal commitment and belief is required of the community librarian, in a role often subject to under-funding, isolation from the 'mainstream' public library service, limited promotion opportunities and career structures, and associated stress (Datta and Simsova, 1989).

By the 1980s, community librarians had developed specialised services for perceived disadvantaged groups and potential users, such as housebound services, and tailored services for ethnic minority groups. A consumer-driven approach in the 1990s, however, once more threatened the role of the community librarian, reinforcing the view of the 'traditionalist' public librarian that services should cater for the cost-effective traditional user and mainstream audience (Muddiman et al, 2000). The concept of community librarianship in the twenty-first century has begun to be re-examined in light of changing social and culturally diverse communities in the UK, and responsive political agendas (Vincent and Pateman, 2006).

Public libraries and contemporary social inclusion policy

In 1999 the Department for Culture Media and Sport published guidelines for public library services entitled *Libraries for All* (DCMS, 1999). Among other recommendations, these state that social inclusion should be mainstreamed as a policy priority within all library and information services. A six-point plan for strategic development is presented, including the identification and engagement of socially excluded groups, and the assessment and review of current practice.

The Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) has published its own guidelines to library and information organisations in their provision of socially inclusive services and support for diverse communities (CILIP, 2001). Again, the need is stated to mainstream social inclusion issues in service planning and delivery, with community involvement and capacity building.

More recently, the strategic document for public libraries 'Framework for the Future' (DCMS, 2003) defines the potential role of public libraries in developing social capital, including learning activities, digital citizenship and community and civic values. Stating that 'libraries are public anchors for neighbourhoods and communities', and that they are 'open to all and should benefit most those least able to afford private provision', the document defines the role of library as three-fold, encompassing reader development, ICT skills development, and the promotion of social inclusion and community cohesion.

Recent writing about the public library service since the implementation of 'Framework for the Future' suggest that there is little evidence of institutional changes occurring in within the public library service in almost all areas (Pateman, 2006; Fisher and Bramley, 2006). Studies by Fisher and Bramley (2006) show a 'prorich' bias towards library service usage with poorer households constrained either financially or by availability. This reinforces the earlier assertions of Pateman (1999/2000) and Black (2003) that the middle classes are the main influence on library services, with those harder to reach still being excluded from the library's core services. Other documents also assert that the needs of the most socially excluded members of the community are overlooked by the public library service (Pateman,

2005; Matarasso, 2000). Others warn that by trying to please everybody and 'rebranding' the service, the public library service runs the risk of becoming 'diluted' to the extent that it appeals to no-one (Train et al, 2000; Hood and Henderson, 2005; Deady, 2008).

The impact of public libraries on social inclusion

Reports produced at the turn of the century (Muddiman et al, 2000; Comedia, 1993; Audit Commission, 2002), highlighted that a number of changes must be made if the public library service is to become socially inclusive and engage effectively with local communities, both in terms of its service delivery and, culturally, in the attitudes of the library staff. Criticised as a service for not being sufficiently proactive in its attempts to engage with the community (Marcella and Baxter, in Pateman, 1999/2000), Muddiman (1999:184) also notes that for some non-users 'the gap between their own culture and that of the library is unbridgeable'.

Conducted between October 1998 and April 2000, the study *Open to All* investigated the capacity of the public library to tackle social exclusion. The first volume of the report observed that disadvantaged communities or groups had 'passive' access to materials and resources, and that service priorities favoured existing library users (Muddiman et al, 2000). Survey findings indicated that 60% of public library authorities had no comprehensive social inclusion policy and that many of the UK's marginalised and excluded groups are not prioritised in public library strategy, service delivery and staffing (Muddiman et al, 2001). Yet the obligation of the public library service to serve cultural diversity within the community is still enforced within the literature, because of its capacity to inform better understanding and social coherence (Larsen et al, 2004).

A follow-up report to *Open to All*, examining the impact of the digitisation and networking of public library services in reaching out to socially excluded groups, describes the processes involved as a 'passive preoccupation with access', and explains that more needs to be done to use technological advances as a way to actively engage with local communities (Dutch and Muddiman, 2001). Goulding and Spacey later reported, however, that the New Opportunities Fund initiative the People's Network (public use of the internet in libraries) had been successful in

increasing library membership (2003). Milner (2007) presents four case study examples of how ICT is used in public libraries to achieve social impact, including the EngAGE project in Cambridgeshire which uses ICT to engage isolated older library users in partnership with Age Concern and Adult Social Care.

A review of the literature concerning public libraries as developers of social capital concludes, for example, that the service encourages civic engagement by bringing citizens together, that it upholds democratic ideals by making information freely available to all citizens, that it bridges social capital by engaging in partnerships with other community organisations, and that it fosters community participation in a public space (Hillenbrand, 2005). Kerslake and Kinnell (1998) assert that is the public libraries' role as a promoter of citizenship and democracy that illustrates its true value as a socially inclusive service. It could be argued, however, that such theories are ideological assumptions of the role and value of public libraries as 'free' community spaces, and are not supported by systematic evidence.

A number of recent reports have, however, sought to highlight the actual and potential impact of public libraries in specific areas of targeting the causes of social exclusion, and in providing inclusive services. Proctor and Bartle (2002) investigated the ways in which the public library meets and supports the needs of individuals and communities affected by educational disadvantage. Impact at the time was proven to be limited in a learning context, although many low achieving adult learners were using the service on a leisurely basis. The report recommended a greater use/availability of basic user education materials, greater partnership working between public library services and local education providers, and the provision of taster sessions for specific disadvantaged groups, particularly in the area of ICT use.

The Vital Link project provides an example of a working public library contribution to social inclusion initiatives and basic skills education, using the principles of reader development (Train et al, 2002). The project sought to link adult literacy and libraries via a working partnership with the adult basic education sector, involving nine participating public library authorities. The evaluation report concludes that the public library was perceived to be an appropriate venue for basic skills education due to its comfortable, non-threatening environment and to the 'mutually beneficial'

partnerships developed between the two sectors, and suggests that reader development in public libraries could be used to enhance basic skills education in the future.

Pateman (2004) offers a more literal contribution to the social inclusion agenda other than that relating to social impact theory, including the provision of information, advice and guidance on support relating to income and benefits, tax credits and educational maintenance allowance; partnership working with other guidance practitioners such as the Connexions service and legal advisers; and involvement with the Sure Start initiative. Other advocates of public libraries as inclusive services are more philosophical about their role: Broady-Preston and Cox (2000) advocate a return to 'the street corner university' image with respect to its marketing and alignment of the service to political objectives; Train et al (2000) describe the public library as 'the essence of inclusion' with reference to services provided for children. Study support (such as breakfast and homework clubs) provides a tangible output for public libraries' contribution to social inclusion, and is a key recommendation for meeting strategic goals (ContinYou, 2007).

Whilst the theoretical role of public libraries in meeting social exclusion objectives is well documented, the professional and cultural implications for public library staff, and the consequences for the social identity of the public library profession as a whole, have not been empirically addressed. The research of which the present review forms a part (Wilson and Birdi, 2008) has sought to bridge philosophical interpretations of community librarianship (Williamson, 2000) and the more practical staff-profiling studies of librarianship (Afolabi, 1996; Usherwood et al, 2001) in providing a 'real world' study of contemporary social policy and its implications for community librarianship, in particular for those staff responsible for undertaking that role. Wilson and Birdi (2008) suggest that staff attitudes towards governing policy, and more significantly towards the targeted groups, are integral to the successful and effective design and delivery of socially inclusive public library services.

Implications for staff skills, experience and professional identity

The introduction of modernised and accessible services has had however, in practice, implications for staff skills and identities: the introduction of the People's Network for example, and subsequent increased ICT use by library visitors, has changed user

expectations of the type of help available to them, and some public library staff have proven to be resentful of a new perceived ICT training role, which challenges their 'traditional' professional identity (Goulding and Spacey, 2003). Cleeve (1994) observed that the theme of 'culture change' was endemic in the profession, but that there is still a role for professionals who are 'good with people'. Pantry and Griffiths (2003) note an effect of official national policies on changing employment and market conditions in the library and information sector, encouraging new areas of professional work.

Cultural diversity amongst public library staff should be considered when relating staff skills and experience to the social inclusion agenda, particularly their capacity to adapt to change, and to be 'good with people' in all given circumstances. This has been an issue of close scrutiny for some time: Datta and Simsova (1989) noted for example that ethnic minorities are 'underrepresented at all levels of public library staffing'. Ocholla (2002) observes that workplace diversity within the South African library and information profession, or attitudes towards diversity within the sector, suffer from a certain level of complacency, and a priority towards placating existing staff members rather than thinking of future workforce development. There is also an assumption that existing organisational policies relating to equal opportunities are sufficient in facilitating workplace diversity, when this is arguably not the case. Pankl (2004) states that truly diverse organisations represent ethnic groups and different generations, yet his study reveals that up to 75% of the library workforce in the USA in 2000 was aged over 45.

A social inclusion consultation project undertaken by Nottinghamshire County Council public library service found that users often felt 'pre-judged' by library staff meaning that staff were, consciously or unconsciously, presenting barriers for certain people and groups, a finding that was informed by discussion with respondents from one of the most deprived estates in the county (Wright, 2002). Pateman (2002) notes the 'failure' of public library leaders in the UK to reflect race and *class* in their equal opportunity statements and their staff recruitment, development and service improvement strategies, and the failure of public library services to reflect the diversity of their communities. This raises some interesting questions over the

definition of cultural diversity with reference to social inclusion, and public libraries' capacity to have a representative workforce.

4. Professional empathy and the public library service

The concept of empathy, defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'the power of projecting one's personality into (and so fully comprehending) the object of contemplation', or as 'the ability to see another person's world through their eyes', involves the deep understanding of another person's emotions, thoughts and body movements (Aldridge and Rigby, 2001). The extent to which staff empathise with social inclusion policy and disadvantaged groups was identified by Wilson and Birdi (2008) as a potentially relevant phenomenon in investigating the role of public library staff in delivering socially inclusive services, and their attitudes towards that role in theory and practice.

The psychology literature describes three *types* of empathy, or what Caruso and Mayer (1998) describe as 'traditions to its study'. Firstly empathy is considered as a cognitive or intellectual process, involving an imagined understanding of others and perspective taking. Hogan (1969, quoted in Caruso and Mayer, 1998) defines this as 'the intellectual or imaginative apprehension of another's condition or state of mind without actually experiencing that person's feelings'.

Secondly, empathy is considered to be an intuitive response based on emotional reaction, personal recognition and sympathetic understanding, such as a 'heightened responsiveness to another's emotional experience' (Mehrabian and Epstein, 1972). Chlopan et al (1985, pp. 635) cite several psychologists as identifying empathy as 'an involuntary vicarious experience of another's emotional state', suggesting that empathy is an emotional response based on instinct and shared understanding. The emotional, affective or vicarious empathic response is developed further by Wang et al (2003:222), who discuss empathy as a trait or ability to *know* another person's inner experience.

Thirdly, there are multi-dimensional definitions of empathy which combine or consider both cognitive and emotional elements. Levenson and Ruef (1992) offer three separate dimensions to empathy, including *knowing* what another person is feeling; *feeling* what another is feeling; *responding compassionately* to another person's distress. An individual therefore is capable of experiencing each of these empathic dimensions in differing circumstances.

Empathy and management theory

Empathy has been examined within the management, organisational behaviour and occupational psychology fields, particularly when analysing staff interaction and interpersonal behaviour. Situational studies have been undertaken to explore the value of empathic traits in professional transactions and relationships. Chlopan et al (1985) report that empathy studies undertaken with therapists and clinical psychologists indicate that high empathy scores amongst practitioners are linked to better client prognoses and therapeutic outcomes. Rogers (1975) states that clients are often empowered by interactions with empathic therapists, as when a person is sensitively and accurately understood, he then develops 'growth-promoting or therapeutic attitudes towards himself'.

Norfolk et al (2007) have studied empathic understanding and rapport within the consultation between general practitioner (GP) and patient. The role of empathy and communication in encouraging a 'shared exploration' consultation model is explored, and the quality of rapport in the consultation was judged to be defined by the GP's understanding of the patient's own perspective of their problems. The skills involved include a distinction between the GP's *desire* to understand and their *ability* to do so. Silvester et al (2007) have also studied the concept amongst physicians (medical practitioners), in the form of empathic judgements, which added a new dynamic to the role of empathy in the patient consultation by assessing the extent to which a patient judges their physician to be empathic.

Similarly, Flanagan et al (2005) considered the role of empathy in customer service within the police force, with particular relevance to building customer confidence in communicating with the service. Familiarity was found to be a key influencer of confidence when dealing with the police, including the extent to which personnel

know and are known by the community. Rogers et al (1994), in their study of front-line service personnel, state that empathy is one of five dimensions used to evaluate service quality in services marketing, and observe that staff who are highly empathic often display altruistic behaviours, i.e. genuine emotional concern during the service encounter, which is associated with high quality service and high levels of job satisfaction for the personnel involved. The study revealed that the more empathic employees are to both customers and colleagues, the less work-related tension and stress they experience. This is significant for service industries, as high staff absenteeism and turnover affects productivity and service impact.

Stauss and Mang (1999) explored the concept of culture shocks in inter-cultural service encounters in a study of air travellers from three different nations. Deviant behaviour from service personnel, in terms of the customers pre-conceived service expectations, was associated with the individual or the company's lack of willingness to engage with them. In a study of empathy towards people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, Wang et al (2003) recommend the development of an occupational empathic multicultural awareness tool to inform the recruitment and professional development of education professionals. Mann (1997) criticises any attempt to 'control' the real emotions of employees, in what is described as emotional labour, as this can have dysfunctional effects on both the individual and the organisation. This suggests that in a service profession where inter-cultural encounters are likely to take place, staff with a genuine capacity for empathic concern may have the most effective outcome and facilitate the most positive perceptions and customer evaluation of their employing organisations.

Other examples of empathy in the workplace include the perceived value of perspective taking, included as an attribute in multi-dimensional definitions of the concept. Parker and Axtell (2001) describe the concept of perspective taking as the ability to understand another person's viewpoint, and consider it to be effective where barriers exist between individuals or groups working towards the same goal. Perspective taking can be achieved via greater interaction between the respective individuals or groups; greater understanding of the work environment; broad ownership of work objectives beyond immediate task boundaries; and greater autonomy and control of own work and responsibilities. Perspective taking is

especially important in management and leadership, and validation studies of empathy research and relevant measures have proven significant correlation with other measures of leadership and management capacity (Chlopan et al, 1985). Most significantly in terms of this project, Harte and Dale (1995) rate empathy as an essential component and quality dimension of a professional service, and along with more tangible dimensions such as timeliness and reliability, empathy will often be rated and used to inform clients' continued use of a service.

Empathy and public librarianship

Empathy is a relatively new concept in the field of librarianship research, and prior to the present study (Wilson and Birdi, 2008) only limited findings were available. Nikolova (2004) states that 'empathy is one of the psychological skills that a librarian must work to improve', and that it could serve to improve the quality of service provided. Attentive listening, it is felt, can enhance the effectiveness of a conversation between user and librarian leading, for example, to an improved reference interview. Nikolova also argues that empathy is not an innate skill, but one which could be learned. Burghardt and Grunwald (2001) comment that one should 'learn to understand and translate other peoples through structures and needs', which is of relevance to information provision, as the librarian is therefore in a better position to effectively respond to a wide range of enquiries. For Wilson and Birdi (2008) empathy, whether intuitive, cognitive or multi-dimensional, must be considered as an important variable in the transaction between public library staff and users, and perhaps more so, in the case of providing services for excluded or disadvantaged groups, due to the positive impact of empathic transactions upon client empowerment and continued service use.

Empathy can also be considered within the context of the scientific measurement of the quality of a public library service. The Association of Research Libraries' LibQUAL+ diagnostic tool enables the measurement of library's users' opinions of service quality (*LibQUAL*+, 2008). Empathy is implicitly referred to within this tool, described for the respondent as the extent to which a librarian shows his or her responsiveness, assurance, reliability, and as 'the caring, individualized attention the firm provides to its customers' (Cook et al., 2001). More recently the theory of empathy, including the many definitions and role of the concept within management

and service encounter analysis, were used to inform the development of the Professional Empathy measure by Wilson and Birdi (2008).

In summary

Taking as its starting point the recent research conducted by Wilson and Birdi (2008) into the attitudes of public library staff towards social inclusion policy and disadvantaged groups, this brief review has presented and critically appraised both professional documentation and academic research in the fields of social inclusion and empathy. The concept of social inclusion remains at the core of current public library policy and strategy, and is firmly embedded in contemporary social theory.

Conflicting views have emerged as to the perceived and actual role of the public library in combating social exclusion, with a need expressed for research to be conducted that bridges the gap between the 'philosophical' interpretations of community librarianship and the more practical, 'real world' studies, in order to fully understand the concept of community librarianship.

In reviewing management theory and theories of social psychology, a critical link is made between social inclusion and public librarianship to professional empathy, and further research would be welcomed in order to further understand these clearly related concepts. [5,949 words]

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N.B. AHRC logo (attached) must be included somewhere on the article, if published!

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