"Being in Time": New Public Management, Academic Librarians, and the Temporal Labor of Pink-Collar Public Service Work

Karen P. Nicholson

Abstract

Time is a site of power, one that enacts particular subjectivities and relationships. In the workplace, time enables and constrains performance, attitudes, and behaviors. In this qualitative research study, I examine the impact of the values and practices of new public management on academic librarians' experiences of time when engaged in pink-collar public service (reference and information literacy) work. Data gathered during semi-structured interviews with twenty-four public service librarians in Canadian public research-intensive universities, members of the U15 Group, serve as a site of analysis for this study. Interview data were first analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006) within a constructionist framework. Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography—time as power—was then used as an analytical framework. Findings suggest that, in keeping with research on the temporal experiences of faculty, academic librarians' temporal labor is structured and controlled by the logics and institutional arrangements of new public management. Moreover, like their faculty counterparts, academic librarians experience temporal intensification and acceleration. However, as marginal educators and members of a feminized profession, librarians also encounter "recalibration" (Sharma 2014), the need to modify the tempo of their own labor to be "in time" with the dominant temporalities of faculty and students.

Introduction: Time, Power, and Work

Time is a site of power, one that enacts particular subjectivities and relationships. In the workplace, time enables and constrains performance,

attitudes, and behaviors (Adam 1998; Whipp, Adam, and Sabelis 2002). Time has been used to consider the influence of neoliberal globalization on the university as institution (Clegg 2010; Meyerhoff, Johnson, and Braun 2011; Walker 2009) and the material conditions of teaching, learning, and research within it (see, for example, Bansel and Davies 2005; Giroux and Searls Giroux 2004; Hartman and Darab 2012; Liao et al. 2013; Menzies and Newson 2007; Mountz et al. 2015; Shahjahan 2015; Ylijoki and Mäntylä 2003). This suggests that using time as a lens might also afford important insights into the particular logics and conditions that produce and regulate academic librarians' work. In this qualitative study, part of a doctoral research project, I explore the impact of the values, practices, and tools of new public management on academic librarians' public service work—on their temporal labor. Data gathered from semi-structured interviews with twenty-four public service librarians working in Canadian public research-intensive universities, members of the U15 Group, serve as a site of analysis. Interview data were first analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006) within a constructionist framework. Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography—time as power—was then used as an analytical framework. Findings suggest that, in keeping with research on the temporal experiences of faculty, academic librarians' temporal labor is structured and controlled by the logics and institutional arrangements of new public management. Moreover, like their faculty counterparts, academic librarians experience temporal intensification and acceleration. However, as marginal educators and members of a feminized profession, librarians also experienced "recalibration" (Sharma 2014), the need to modify the tempo of their own labor to be "in time" with the dominant temporalities of faculty and students.

Literature Review

New Public Management and the Timescape of Higher Education[1]

Since the 1980s, the values and practices of new public management (NPM) have shaped knowledge production and labor practices in higher education around the globe. NPM is an array of "broadly similar administrative doctrines" (Hood 1991, 3) adopted across OECD member states to increase effectiveness and efficiency in the public sector. This is achieved through the introduction of neoliberal values (e.g., market-based competition, consumerism) and managerialist practices and tools (e.g., accountability and audit, strategic plans, scorecards) (Harvey 2007; Hood 1991, 1995; Olssen and Peters 2005; Shore 2008; Shore and Wright 2004, 2015). Just-in-time service models are a notable feature of NPM (Hood 1991).

In keeping with broader neoliberal ideologies that enact "a strong 'internal' relation between neoliberal work and the ideal of self-realization" (Elliott 2018, 1286), the doctrines of NPM interpellate the public sector

knowledge worker as self-regulating and entrepreneurial (Bansel and Davies 2005; Berkovich and Wasserman 2019; Hancock and Spicer 2010). There is a need to demonstrate value to stakeholders as return on investment, to produce measurable outputs, "always greater numbers and less time" (Bansel and Davies 2005, 51). Critical and empirical studies demonstrate that as a result, faculty experience time under NPM as increasingly accelerated, intensified, and fragmented. Cuts to higher education funding place additional burdens on faculty to act as "academic capitalists" (Slaughter and Leslie 1997), "hustling" (Spence 2015) to compete for research grants and increasingly scarce tenure-track positions. Administrative duties, increased as result of regimes of accountability and audit and administrative download, impinge on time for research (Menzies and Newson 2007). Larger class sizes, a more modular curriculum, and the growth in online learning serve to intensify, compress, and fragment the time of teaching and learning (Hartman and Darab 2012; Moss 2006). Because there is little time or space for dialogue, reflection, and critical thinking—for "slow scholarship" (Mountz et al. 2015)—in a workday punctuated by back-to-back lectures and committee meetings, this kind of work takes place in the evenings and weekends. In order to keep up, faculty members rely on technologies of time (e.g., calendaring and constantly checking email) and self-management (e.g., regulating their affect through emotional labor, working beyond their regular hours, using exercise and medications to reduce stress) (Bansel and Davies 2005).

Academic Librarians, Pink-Collar Public Service Work, and Time
As marginal educators and members of a feminized profession (Harris 1992) engaged in both academic and nonacademic duties, librarians represent a curious category of employees on the university campus, one whose labor is often misapprehended by those outside the library. Pink-collar public service work in particular is neither well understood nor highly valued (Sloniowski 2016). This issue has been attributed in the library and information science (LIS) literature to faculty and librarians' respective attitudes and assumptions about information literacy, students, and each other (see, for example, Badke 2010; Given and Julien 2005; Hardesty 1995; Leckie 1996; McGuinness 2006; Meulemans and Carr 2013; Johnston and Webber 2003; Julien and Boon 2002; Julien and Pecoskie 2009). While this literature affords useful insights into interpersonal, cultural, and attitudinal factors that both facilitate and impede librarians' work, on the whole, it fails to consider the broader societal values and systemic issues that produce and regulate labor practices in higher education today. Recent work within LIS has attempted to address this gap by examining librarians' work within the academy as gendered, invisible, shadow, and emotional labor (Bright 2018; Emmelhainz, Pappas, and Seale 2017; Julien and Genuis 2009; Matteson, Chittock, and Mease 2015; Shirazi 2014;

Sloniowski 2016). Anthologies by Schelesselman-Tarango (2017) and Chou and Pho (2018) and articles by Ettarh (2018) and VanScoy and Bright (2017), among others, document the additional burdens experienced by librarians of color in the contemporary academic library. The impact of neoliberal logics of austerity, accountability, and audit on academic librarians' work in general, approaches to information literacy in particular, has also been considered (Beilin 2016; Drabinski 2014, 2017; Eisenhower and Smith 2010; Lilburn 2013, 2017; Nicholson 2014, 2016; Pagowsky 2015; Ryan and Sloniowski 2013; Seale 2010, 2013; Sloniowski 2016).

A small body of LIS literature considers time in the context of academic librarians' work. Librarians identify time as a marker of change, a call to action, a commodity, an indicator of professionalism, and a counting mechanism (Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy 2017; D. Hicks 2014; D. Hicks and Schindel 2016). Drabinski (2014, 2016) uses the concept of *kairos*, time married to action, to argue that time is productive of librarians' professional identity as educators. Because debates surrounding the status of librarians as educators "have been fraught whenever they emerge, always cast with the high stakes of crisis that demand urgent change if librarianship is to survive," for librarians, "the present . . . always requires exceptional attention to take action for the coming future" (Drabinski 2016, 28). Thus, when broad neoliberal reforms to higher education, intended to better prepare workers for the information society, were introduced in the United States and Australia in the 1980s, academic librarians seized upon information literacy as an opportunity to legitimate their role as educators (Behrens 1994; Drabinski 2014; Enright 2013; Kapitzke 2003; O'Connor 2009). Nicholson (2018, 2019) considers the influence of neoliberal globalization on the space/time of information literacy skills, standards, and practices. In their examination of time and library learning analytics, Nicholson, Pagowsky, and Seale (2019) contend that the timescape of the academic library is marked by two competing orders: just-in-time strategies, a feature of late capital modes of production and new public management, and future-oriented just-in-case strategies intended to mitigate risk.

The LIS literature that considers the time of public service work, albeit sometimes indirectly, suggests that academic librarians experience temporal acceleration and intensification at work. For example, Quinn (2000) and Nicholson (2015) note that just-in-time service models, a feature of NPM, are ubiquitous in the "McDonaldized" academic library. Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy (2017) demonstrate that academic librarians experience constant interruptions at work, struggle to keep up with the pace of technological change, and feel they have little autonomy over their work. While time pressure may be caused by library policies and practices, such as standards or expectations surrounding timely service provision or expanded duties, it is also self-imposed, acting as a form of self-regulation

(Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy 2017). Ryan and Sloniowski (2013) describe the intensification of work in the neoliberal university—associated with a shortage of time—as an important obstacle to developing a more critical and nuanced approach to information literacy instruction.

According to sociocultural literacy theory, literacy practices "are negotiated and shaped" (A. Hicks 2018, 79) through collective, communal practices and interests within a specific context—they are situated practices. Building on Drabinski's (2014) use of *kairos* to highlight the role neoliberal education reforms played in the emergence of the *Information Literacy Competency Standards for Higher Education* (ACRL 2000), I have argued elsewhere (Nicholson 2014, 2016) that because information literacy is a situated literacy practice in the neoliberal university, the one-shot guest lecture and the bite-sized how-to video are produced by and productive of the accelerated and intensified temporal order—or timescape—of NPM.

Power-Chronography: Time As Power
In a 2014 book, *In the Meantime: Temporality and Cultural Politics*, Sharma introduces the concept of "power-chronography"—time as power—to underscore time as "a site of material struggle and social difference" in the global economy (9). Power-chronography is a feminist theory "of time as lived experience, always political, produced at the intersection of a range of social differences and institutions" (28). This is to say that our individual, embodied experience of time—our temporality—is determined by gender, race, and class on the one hand, and "structured and controlled by the institutional arrangements" we inhabit on the other (8). Moreover, the meanings and values attributed to this experience are entangled with and determined by the temporality of others. Being "in time" requires temporal strategies and technologies of the self "contrived for synchronizing to the time of others" (8). For example, in the international airport, a "transit space" where "multiple temporalities or itineraries" "intersect and cross" (147–48), a complex temporal infrastructure of "technologies, commodities, programs, and laborers" keeps the frequent flier "up to speed"—"plugged in, connected . . . and ready to do business" (36). Airline member lounges, sleep pods, and "affective technologies" for relieving corporeal stress "enhance, activate, and affectively transform the body" so that it remains productive, maintaining the "rhythm of a capitalist work ethic" (44). In contrast, the temporal labor of the taxi driver responsible for shuttling the frequent flier to and from the airport is marked by irregular shifts and periods of waiting punctuated by bursts of intensive activity—by recalibration. In this way, power-chronography challenges mainstream theories of temporal acceleration associated with neoliberal globalization (see, for example, Castells 1996) by underscoring time as a site of power, material struggle, and differentiated experience. I contend that it allows us to conceive academic librarians' pink-collar public service

work as temporal labor; in this light, information literacy one-shots and abbreviated instruction videos, along with chat and triaged reference services, can be seen as the material traces of librarians' efforts to recalibrate and be "in time" with the dominant temporalities of faculty and students. Power-chronography further enables us to conceptualize the profession's perpetual state of crisis as evidence of recalibrating as it seeks to demonstrate its continued relevance to a university increasingly focused on innovation, knowledge translation, reputation, and the bottom line.

Methodology

This article stems from a broader qualitative doctoral dissertation project that explored the space/time of academic librarians' labor in the neoliberal university (Nicholson 2018). Qualitative research seeks to describe and explain experience and "to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture" (Corbin and Strauss 2008, 12). In keeping with Walker's (2009) claim that time affords new insights into the impact of globalization on the conditions of academic labor, this research project investigated the ways that librarians working in Canadian research-intensive universities experience time across their roles and responsibilities, in part to determine how these experiences compare with those of faculty as documented in the literature. The research questions that guided the study were as follows: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' labor in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labor practices through space and time? In what ways does the neoliberal knowledge economy produce the material practices—the space and time—of information literacy work in higher education?

Sampling and Recruitment

U15 universities were selected as sites for two reasons. First, as research-intensive public universities, they represent the same type of institution examined by Slaughter and Leslie in their 1997 study on neoliberal reforms to higher education in Australia, Canada, the UK, and the US. Second, U15 institutions form a relatively homogenous group in terms of funding models, organizational structure, and libraries. Study sites were prioritized according to geographic location, research income, and enrollment (see Appendix 1, table 1). My goal was to recruit ten to twenty-five participants from diverse institutions in order to compare librarians' experiences of time across institutions and career ranks (i.e., early career, midcareer, late career) in order to establish whether these experiences are consistent with or divergent across institutions and compare them with the experiences of faculty. Potential interviewees, identified based on job title (e.g., reference and subject librarian, liaison librarian), were recruited via email and a posting on the researcher's Twitter account. Participants signed a

consent form. Approval was given by the University of Western Ontario's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board.

Twenty-four librarians from ten U15 institutions in six provinces from coast to coast participated. Years of experience ranged from less than one year to more than thirty. The mean number of years of experience was 13.26, slightly higher than the national average of 11.7 in 2013–14 (CAUT 2017). Eighteen participants had tenure or "continuing appointment," one was in a tenure-track position, and the remaining five were contractually employed. Additional demographic data such as age, gender identity, race, or class were not collected during the interviews.

Data Collection and Analysis
Data were gathered using semi-structured interviews, conducted online using Skype from February to April 2016. Interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes each and focused on four broad areas: information literacy, change, work, and scholarship and service (see Appendix 2). Questions were pretested with two librarians from non-U15 institutions. Interviews were transcribed verbatim. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006) within a constructionist framework that assumes "meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced" (Braun and Clarke 2006, 85).

Data were coded in NVivo using the latent theoretical approach proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). Analysis was recursive, moving between the entire data set, the coded extracts, and the emerging themes. The analysis considered possible explanations for themes, the conditions underlying them, and the stories they revealed. The trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba 1986; Patton 1999; Shenton 2004) of this study was enhanced through site triangulation, seeking out negative cases, member checking,[2] and by comparing findings to the existing literature on academic librarians' labor and librarians' experiences of time.

Power-chronography (Sharma 2014) was suggested to me as an analytical framework after data collection and thematic analysis were complete. As a result, while power-chronography would afford a generative framework for exploring similarities and differences in librarians' temporal labor across gender, race, and class identities, data for this study do not include these demographics, making such an intersectional analysis beyond the scope of the present study.

Findings
The following themes are examined below: changing rhythms and cycles in the university and the academic library, and changes to the time of reference and information literacy services. In the analysis that follows, numbers have been used to identify participants because pseudonyms may connote gender, cultural, or racial identities that do not align with those

of the participants. For the same reason, I have used "they" rather than s/he. Career levels were defined using the following categories: early career: 0–7 years experience (*n*=7); midcareer: 8–20 years experience (*n*=10); late career: >20 years experience (*n*=7). Universities have been categorized by total enrollment, using data from the U15 Group website, as follows: small: up to 25,000 students; midsize: 25,000 to 35,000 students; large: more than 35,000 students. The following conventions have been used when quoting participants: omissions are indicated by an ellipsis within square brackets, i.e. [. . .], while pauses in speech are indicated by an ellipsis. Speech disfluencies such as "um" and "uh" have been omitted.

Changing Temporal Rhythms and Patterns
The rhythms and pace of librarians' work was driven by the cycles of the academic year (e.g., curriculum planning and semesters) and institutional priorities and deadlines (e.g., strategic and fiscal planning). Annual external competitions for awards or funding that required information resources or the expertise of librarians, such as systematic reviews, grant proposals, or student competitions, were also part of the regular work cycle. Periods of intensive work during which librarians had to shift their schedules or work overtime to accommodate course timetables and academic calendars were often predictable: the early months of the Fall and Winter semesters were "instruction season," and summer was "conference season."[3]

On the whole, however, librarians reported that cycles were becoming less predictable. A more modular curriculum, with an increased number of semester-long "half course" offerings intended to facilitate student mobility (e.g., participating in exchange programs), and "flexibility" in faculty hiring had impacted the academic cycle. Online courses, growing in number, often required librarians to provide consultations outside their normal schedules to accommodate students in other time zones. The implementation of technology systems and platforms according to strict, top-down timelines dictated by library administration took priority. Several participants reported that the summer months, which they had previously used to accomplish work requiring longer periods of uninterrupted time, such as projects or scholarly research, were becoming increasingly cannibalized by time-intensive system-wide projects. "We launched a new version of LibGuides and all the content had to be migrated and it was huge, and it sort of had to be all hands on deck [. . .] and that's all that happened [that] summer," said one midcareer participant in a large university. Participant 16, a late career librarian in a midsized university, made the following comment:

> I always imagine the summertime is the time when you're going to get it
> all together and put in some serious time on projects that you're think-

> ing of doing and invariably it seems like there's another library system project that takes precedence over everything else and so whatever you think you'd like to do gets shunted to the back burner yet again.

Significant amounts of time had then to be invested in migrating content to these new systems and platforms and learning how to use them.

Work had become accelerated and intensified. With the exception of two participants, one late career and one early career, both at large institutions, librarians reported feeling overworked and stressed. Having too many responsibilities and competing priorities ("being pulled in many different directions," Participant 15, midcareer, large institution), too much work (having "a gazillion things to do," Participant 16), tight deadlines ("the 9-1-1 emergency," Participant 14, midcareer, midsized university), and constant interruptions were cited as barriers to performance. Librarians used expressions like "blitzing" to meet deadlines (Participant 16), "getting swept away" (Participant 24, early career, large institution), and "struggling to provide adequate services and resources" (Participant 11, late career, small university) to describe how they experienced their workload. Several interviews described efforts to focus on their work and minimize distractions in order to get work done and be "really, really efficient" (Participant 5, early career, midsized university). As a result, some felt they were falling behind the profession. Participant 4, a midcareer librarian in a midsized university, said, "I've had my blinders on and have just been chugging along as a librarian as best I can and not necessarily engaged with the broader dialogue about information literacy." In a similar vein, Participant 21, an early career librarian in a medium-sized university, commented,

> When it comes to instruction and information literacy, I cannot seem to find time, I just can't find time to keep up with librarianship as a profession, I can't [. . .] bake any time into my schedule to see what people are saying, and how things are changing, and what the new guidelines say.

This inability to stay on top of developments in the field made them "feel like a lesser librarian," not "part of this profession." Four interviewees described working to a less rigorous standard than they would like in order to manage their workload. Deprioritizing work, particularly research and scholarship, even when it was a professional requirement, was also mentioned as a way of making time for work with more pressing deadlines. Blocking off days, working from home, staying after hours, or flexing time served as strategies for getting more accomplished or for finding the quiet, uninterrupted time necessary for research and scholarship.

At many institutions, when librarians went on leave (e.g., maternity or parental leaves, sabbatical leaves),[4] their positions remained vacant, resulting in an increased workload for those remaining or work being put on hold. At approximately half of the study sites, the librarian complement

had decreased, primarily as a result of attrition, leaving those who remained feeling overworked and demoralized. "It's a hurtful thing to hear [. . .] that the work that you're engaged in today is not valued enough to be preserved or protected for the next year, we'll cope without you," said Participant 4.

Work had become intensified as librarians were asked to take on new roles and responsibilities in addition to their existing duties. "The work has no boundaries," said Participant 23, a midcareer librarian in a large institution. Two participants noted sardonically that the "reward" for successfully managing one's workload was being assigned more work. Respondents at three universities, one small, two large, described performing clerical work previously done by library technicians, including filling interlibrary loan requests, making photocopies for faculty, issuing library cards, and taking fine payments, as a result of staff reductions or changing service models. Participant 23, a late career librarian in a large university, said the following: "We consolidated the circ[ulation] desk and the reference desk [. . .] so you had you know a six-figure salary librarian sitting on the desk signing out books, taking fine payments and [. . .] issuing library cards [. . .]. I didn't think that was good use of our time." Because librarians earn significantly more than library technicians, having them perform clerical work such as checking out books and issuing library cards was seen as a questionable allocation of human resources—not a good use of time. (Conversely, one person noted that with the outsourcing of the more routine aspects of librarianship, such as collection development, librarians' work had become less clerical.) Librarians at two universities, one large, one small, also described taking on more managerial work, including responsibility for large system-wide projects, as a result of organizational flattening. Library administrators' growing interest in new digital spaces (and services), such as digital humanities centers and maker spaces, added to existing workloads or shifted resources away from traditional service areas such as reference and information literacy. "Shiny and new" was a term frequently used by participants to describe the appeal of these services to library administrators seeking to strategically position the library as an innovative campus partner.

Reference Service Models
The nature and rhythms of public service work had also changed. The accelerated time of teaching and learning in the university was evident in the popularity of easily digestible online learning objects such as brief tutorials and guides, the information literacy one-shot, and even hyperaccelerated information literacy "lightning sessions" (Participant 5). Some librarians created scripted email responses to make answering commonly asked reference questions more efficient or created brief video screencasts to send as attachments: "I try to keep it really, really, really small [. . .],

a one-minute video with a takeaway, and I think that's manageable for people to absorb," said one.

Changed public service models did not result in time saved, however, only in time being spent differently. For example, rather than working scheduled shifts at the reference desk, librarians increasingly provided in-depth, intensive assistance to students and faculty via one-on-one "on demand" consultations in their offices.[5] Some respondents reported providing as many as 225 consultations a year, each lasting between 30 minutes and one hour. (In some libraries, in order for a one-on-one reference transaction to be reported as a "consultation"—and "counted" in the librarian's annual report—it had to last a minimum of thirty minutes.) Moreover, because the on-call librarian had become the resource of last resort, the questions they fielded were more complex and time-consuming: "When the students asked basic questions [. . .] you could answer 20 of them in an hour [. . .]. [Now] you might only be answering three a day but they take up all day," said Participant 10, a midcareer librarian in a small university. Considerable time was also spent answering reference questions via email and chat (SMS).

Changed service models translated into constant interruptions and unpredictable, fragmented work schedules. "It's hard to find blocks of time during the day to sit down and write or read a bunch of articles; you know, you're moving from meeting to meeting, from consultation to, you know your day is just fragmented," commented Participant 11. Librarians felt pressured to be available to students "24/7" and to respond quickly to emails and posts on the library's Facebook page. Chat reference service involved periods of inactivity punctuated by intensive work. Finding quiet, uninterrupted time to work on time-intensive projects, such as creating videos, or to engage in reading and writing was difficult. Several librarians reported the lack of a private workspace as an additional barrier.

Information Literacy Instruction
The rhythms of information literacy instruction had also changed, albeit to a lesser degree. Large classes with multiple sections required repeat visits on behalf of the librarian. Participant 12, an early career librarian in a small university, commented: "I'm just standing front of a room for basically ten hours repeating the same thing over and over again." In some cases, as a result of a compressed and overcrowded curriculum, information literacy instruction was cut back, even when faculty saw it as valuable. Participant 11 said, "One of the big frustrations for librarians, and I'm sure you hear this a lot from the people you're interviewing is just the struggle of trying to find time to give a library tutorial." "Back when I started the position, I used to get an hour in the orientation sessions and then it was cut down to half an hour and then fifteen minutes," said Participant 5. The vast majority of librarians did not assess student learning beyond using

quick "one-minute papers" at the end of class, perhaps because the time they had with students was too short to address all they wanted to "cover." Self-efficacy questionnaires and feedback forms often served as a proxy for assessment instead, even when these approaches were perceived by the librarians themselves to be lacking in rigor.

Librarians created online videos, tutorials, and guides to supplement or, in some cases, replace in-class instruction. When these videos demonstrated the use of online platforms (e.g., library catalogs, bibliographic databases), changes to user interfaces meant they had to be redone, sometimes at the last minute. "I made an instructional video on how to search [name of database], the next week [they] changed their entire graphical interface, so I spent maybe 15 hours making those videos, and then they were rendered irrelevant overnight basically," said one participant.

Several interviewees described the abbreviated two-minute format of information literacy videos as one intended to cater to students' temporalities. For example, Participant 5 said it was important in their "high service role" to save students' time because "they often work full-time, they have really, really stressful jobs, they often have young families." "There's a perception that research should be quick and easy," said one librarian; "if it's not fast and painless, people aren't interested," said another. One embedded librarian who had the luxury of extended class time with students was told by the students themselves that they were "spending too much time" on "soft skills," such as information literacy; what the students wanted instead was to "bang it out in half an hour and move on."

In many ways, however, information literacy instruction was the area of librarians' work that had changed the least. By and large, with a few exceptions, notably those librarians supporting programs in the health sciences, the one-shot guest lecture remained the norm, and the long-standing gap between librarian and faculty perceptions of the value of information literacy persisted. Last-minute requests from faculty for in-class information literacy workshops also persisted. Faculty sometimes took librarians' willingness and availability to visit the class on a given day for granted. Participant 4 said, "They [faculty members] were expecting a 'yes,' they were expecting a 'Yup, I can be there, I will clear my schedule,' because that's what the M.O. had been around here for a really long time." This comment suggests that faculty members had little appreciation for the many demands on librarians' time, overestimated students' information literacy skills, or were themselves scrambling to prepare their classes at the last minute. Regardless of what prompted them, these last-minute requests were often perceived by librarians as an indication that faculty were not convinced of the value of information literacy or that they saw information literacy instruction as little more than a "canned spiel" that did not require time to prepare. For example, Participant 2, a midcareer librarian in a small university, described these requests as follows: "'Can you come?

Just do that [name of citation management software] spiel. For twenty minutes. [. . .] Next Tuesday?'" These requests also suggested to librarians that faculty time and class time were perceived to be more important than their own. As Participant 1, a late career librarian in a large institution, noted, "class time is precious." In some institutions, librarians' teaching was "counted" differently in their annual performance reviews if it was included in the course syllabus, underscoring the importance of class time and faculty control over it.

Discussion

In keeping with existing literature on faculty's experience of time in the neoliberal university cited above, librarians in this study experienced time as accelerated, intensified, and fragmented. Workloads had increased, duties had expanded, and the workday had become extended. Reductions in staff, library technician staff in particular, also resulted in the intensification of work.

The management of organizational time includes the rationalization of rhythms and cycles, the more effective use of peaks and troughs, and the elimination of unproductive times from work processes (Whipp, Adam, and Sabelis 2002, 18). Accordingly, findings indicate that rhythms and pace of librarians' work were driven by institutional priorities and deadlines. Cycles were becoming less predictable, however, as a result of curricular changes, an increase in the number of contract faculty, and rising enrollments. Troughs or downtime were being gradually eliminated. Moreover, institutional projects and priorities with short turnaround times, often launched in the summer months, resulted in librarians putting their own projects and priorities, scholarship in particular, on hold.

Changed public service models did not result in time saved, however; creating videos, migrating content to new online platforms, and becoming proficient in the use of new technologies required a significant investment of time.

This study adds new insights to the existing literature on time and labor in the university by highlighting the ways that subordinate (temporal) subjects, such as librarians, experience the temporal labor of recalibrating. Temporal normalization, or recalibrating, "elevate[s] certain practices and relationships to time while devaluing others" (Sharma 2014, 15). On the U15 university campus, it is clear that power relations played out in, and through, librarians' experiences of time. For example, time was invoked in discourses about changing roles and values. Participant 2 commented that conflicting opinions about changing roles and services, "that old versus new business," was at the heart of "politics and stress" in libraries. Some librarians experienced a lack of support for reference and information literacy service from library administrators. "There doesn't seem to be a lot of appetite for engaging with people who are actually doing some of this

work on the ground," said Participant 15. The devaluation of reference and information literacy work was evident in changes to staffing models (in several institutions, reference desks were staffed by undergraduate students) and in directives to replace face-to-face instruction with online videos and guides. Others felt pressured by library administrators to "demonstrate value beyond front-line services" (Participant 14) by engaging in a host of new services intended to support the research enterprise, such as research data management and research metrics. The focus on "shiny digital roles" (Participant 5) and "showcase type spaces" (Participant 11), such as digital scholarship centers, media studios, and maker spaces, was seen to be at the expense of support for more traditional services. In discussing changing service priorities, Participant 14 said the following:

> I feel like the conversation is more around how our roles are changing, and [. . .] sometimes I realize how I've heard that for such a long time [. . .]. I feel like we're trying to just prove to [university administrators] that we still are valuable enough to keep on the payroll.

Those who remained skeptical of the new services often felt their colleagues perceived them to be antiquated, change averse, or "clinging to the past" (Participant 12, early career, small institution).

Time as power also played out in librarians' work with faculty and students. Faculty continued to maintain control over the time of the classroom. Last-minute requests for in-class information literacy workshops suggest that faculty did not consider librarians' time to be in demand, did not accord high value to it, or simply expected librarians to synchronize their schedules with their own. Power dynamics between faculty and librarians and the pressures for library administrators to produce measurable outputs made it challenging for librarians to refuse these requests.

> Participant 4: I think the first few years [of my career], I was teaching like a crazy [person], because I loved it and that's where I got my energy from and there was lots of feedback from our administration that the more teaching you do, the better, right? [. . .] I burned out after a few years.

The value of librarians' temporal labor also depended on "being in time" with the temporality of students, described by librarians as characterized by competing priorities (multitasking) and shortened attention spans. As a result, abbreviated instructional formats, such as two-minute videos and online guides, were ubiquitous, sometimes replacing information literacy instruction in the classroom. Online tutorials and modules also allowed students to access resources asynchronously, according to their own schedules. In a related vein, using technology and social media in the classroom was seen as an important way for librarians to demonstrate they were keeping up to date and in step with students. Participant 2, a midcareer librarian in a small university, described their use of hashtags to explain subject

headings as less "dusty," "boring," and "didactic" than the methods used by the more senior librarians, "a much different generation." "I promised myself there would be no droning on [. . .]. We've got to make this quick and easy," they said.

Librarians described numerous strategies for managing their workload and recalibrating their labor to the dominant institutional timescape. They used their knowledge of the cycles of the academic year and the curriculum to anticipate and plan for upcoming work. They maintained to-do lists for current and future projects. Work was "chunked" or "parsed," and time was "carved out" or "blocked out" in calendars. Priority was given to serving students and faculty quickly and efficiently, by automating work processes and compressing information literacy instruction into segments as short as fifteen minutes. Librarians shifted tasks or cleared their schedules to accommodate requests for consultations and teaching and large system-wide priorities. They worked overtime and weekends, banking time to be used when it was less busy. They experienced considerable stress as they struggled to manage their workloads. One participant likened their workload to "a tumor," an ever-growing but invisible malignant presence, making them sick from overwork.

The requirement to be "in time" posed a number of issues for librarians. First, in some institutions, librarians' academic status was tied to classroom teaching. Participant 24, an early career librarian in a large university, noted that many employee groups on campus engaged in training—e.g., faculty developers, information technologists—but unlike the librarians, these groups didn't enjoy the benefit of faculty or academic status. "Teaching, and teaching well [. . .] is a really essential part of our role as academics," they said. Being dependent on faculty for access to class time was problematic not only for the success for librarians' information literacy initiatives but also for their performance reviews. Second, adequate resources (time, space, equipment) or technical support did not accompany the push to online learning, promoted at both the library and university levels. Moreover, the significant time and labor invested in creating online modules and videos remained largely invisible.

A handful of participants outlined strategies for negotiating workload, an approach they perceived to be somewhat subversive. For example, when asked to take on additional work, Participant 2's response was to ask to be released from existing responsibilities: "It's very ballsy but it works," they said. Another participant talked about a grassroots effort among librarians at their university to resist faculty requests for one-shot instruction and to engage faculty instead in discussing approaches to information literacy that were more effective and sustainable: "In pockets, some of us started to say, '[. . .] There's a way to do information literacy that is meaningful and thoughtful and it may or may not be in your course, and let's have that conversation.'" On the one hand, this initiative resulted in some faculty

"rising to the challenge" and engaging collaboratively with librarians in the classroom. On the other hand, it also resulted in a "decision tree" that allowed librarians to refuse one-shot requests without appearing insubordinate, an outcome that speaks to the challenge librarians face when "negotiating" with faculty. Nonetheless, several librarians commented that whereas it had once been inconceivable to refuse a faculty member's last-minute request for information literacy instruction, it was now becoming more acceptable to do so.

In the absence of institutional or administrative support and the status necessary to engage in negotiations related to workload with faculty and administrators, a common strategy employed by librarians to manage workload and exercise agency was to set personal boundaries related to workload and time. Doing "a superficial job [. . .] by design" enabled one participant to balance their instruction commitments with their other job responsibilities. In a similar vein, Participant 23, a midcareer librarian in a large university, commented, "If I wanted to, I could probably drum up a lot more teaching [. . .] but I can't do that. But [. . .] the only person who is going to negotiate that and make those decisions is me, right?" Participant 9, an early career librarian in a small university, said, "When I was a new, really new librarian, I would work on weekends and at night, trying to get everything done but that has stopped, it's not sustainable." Others engaged in collective efforts to manage workload by not scheduling each other for meetings on designated research days, and sharing consultations, classes, and reference shifts.

Conclusion

In this article, I have used thematic analysis and Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography to explore narratives of librarians' temporal labor in Canada's public research-intensive universities. Data for this study were gathered using semistructured interviews conducted with twenty-four public service/information literacy librarians with a wide range of experience, working in universities across the country. Results suggest the instrumental value of librarians' information literacy and reference work depends on being "in time" with the time of faculty, students, and administrators. Recalibrating to the temporal architecture of the neoliberal research-intensive university was experienced as both material and emotional labor (Hochschild 1983). Librarians experienced temporal and emotional labor through the need to be mentally prepared for work at any time, by incessantly checking email, for example, and a compulsion to stay "constantly connected and on top of new information" in the field (Sloniowski 2016, 658).

Librarians in this study experienced work in "real time," an "ultra compressed time speed [that] demands instant reactions to events" (Purser 2002, 158), constantly shuffling priorities and schedules to respond

quickly to faculty and students. In real time, "the time required for sound human judgment, communal reflection, and deliberation—the sort of relief necessary for making sense of the world—is simply not available" (Purser 2002, 158). Through the lens of time as power, the present study sheds new light on the temporal labor of librarians as members of a feminized profession and marginal educators on the university campus. As long as librarians are required to be "in time" with the normative temporalities of faculty and students, the last minute one-shot, abbreviated online video, and intensified online reference chat will continue to prevail as normative approaches to information literacy support in higher education.

Just-in-time production models, a feature of new public management, enact particular forms of temporal governmentality in the workplace, forms that require engineered efficiency and co-operation—that require compliance (Nishimoto 2002). In a study of the relationship between just-in-time modes of production and neoliberalism in a case study of Toyota workers in Ontario, Canada, Thomas (2007, 107) argues that "studying the intersection of Toyotaism and neoliberalism in a localized context provides an opportunity to investigate changing patterns in the relationships between work and time, and reveals the dynamics of this form of time-discipline in early twenty-first century capitalism." Findings from the present study suggest that the impact of just-in-time service delivery environments on the temporal labor of library workers erodes professional autonomy and increases physical and emotional stress.

Collective action offered participants a means of resistance. For example, librarians in this study exercised "transformational resistance . . . based on connection, human dignity and mutual interdependence" (Shahjahan 2014, 228) by finding meaning in their work and their professional relationships. Many participants described public service work using words like "love" (Participants 21, 23), "joy" (Participants 6 [late career, small university] and 22 [late career, large university]), and "enjoyment" (Participants 4, 11, 15, 16). Helping students and faculty with their information needs was "authentic" (Participant 1) and "human" (Participant 4); it was about "sharing" (Participant 6) and "making a connection" (Participants 1, 2, 4, 13 [midcareer, small institution]). Engaging in collegial governance through work in the faculty association or by offering input into the library's strategic directions and processes, even when it was not solicited, was also mentioned by several interviewees as an important means of reclaiming agency. In keeping with Sloniowski's exhortation for librarians to disrupt the "affective flow of the corporate university" by "fostering spaces for dissent, civic engagement, nonneutrality, and even nonefficiency in our libraries and classrooms" (2016, 664), I conclude this article with a call for librarians to engage in solidarity and collective action as a means to take control over the meaning and value of our (temporal) labor.

Appendix 1

Table 1. U15 English Language Member Universities, Sorted According to Enrollment Total, Low to High

Institution	Enrollment Undergraduate	Enrollment Graduate	Enrollment Total	Research Income
Dalhousie	14,324	3,395	18,440	142,000,000
Saskatchewan	17,379	3,115	20,494	158,000,000
Queen's	19,862	4,186	24,042	168,000,000
McMaster	25,424	4,344	29,735	325,000,000
Manitoba	25,363	3,748	29,759	136,800,000
Western	25,196	5,433	30,611	239,000,000
Calgary	25,818	6,019	31,802	283,000,000
Waterloo	29,782	5,128	34,910	137,000,000
McGill	28,741	9,411	38,031	483,000,000
Alberta	31,904	7,598	39,459	452,000,000
Ottawa	35,609	6,327	41,905	302,000,000
UBC	47,732	10,552	58,282	520,000,000
Toronto	65,139	15,250	80,389	1,190,000,000

Source: U15 Group of Canadian Research Universities website, http://U15.ca (accessed December 17, 2015).

Appendix 2: Interview Questions

Theme: Background Information
How did you become an information literacy librarian?
For how many years have you been a librarian?

Theme: Information Literacy
Tell me about your information literacy work.
How many classes do you typically teach in a given semester? In a year?
What is important to you about this work?
How do others on campus feel about/perceive this work (students, faculty, administrators, other librarians)? How do you know?
In your view, how does information literacy fit within the broader goals of higher education?

Theme: Change
How has information literacy work changed since you started?
How has librarianship changed?
How has your work changed?
How has the university changed?
Has there been any change in the way the libraries are staffed during your time there?

Theme: Environment
Tell me about your university.
What does the university value? How do you know?
What are the main drivers/forces that impact your work?

What role do documents such as standards or guidelines play in your work?
Are there other policy documents that play a role in your work?
Tell me about assessment in your library.
What are the main barriers to you in the performance of your work?
What are the chief facilitators?
How do you manage your workload?

Theme: Scholarship and Service
What is the status of librarians at your library (e.g., are they faculty? academic staff? other?)
What is your status? Do you have tenure or continuing appointment?
Tell me about the scholarship and service requirements for librarians at your library.
How do these fit with your information literacy work?
How do you make time for scholarship and service?
What do you read?

Closing
If there were one thing you could change about your work, what would it be?
Is there anything else you want to share with me or that you would like to ask me?

Notes

1   A timescape (Adam 1998) perspective emphasizes the importance of context in our experience of time.
2. Member checking was accomplished by presenting initial findings, based in a sample of eight interviews representing participants of all career stages across institutions and provinces, at two Canadian conferences for academic librarians held in 2017.
3. Canadian academic librarians typically do not have set hours of work, although the majority of their scheduled work takes place during "business hours," i.e., 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., or 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., with occasional or regular evening and weekend shifts.
4. In Canada, maternity leave is fifteen weeks, following which either parent can take up to an additional thirty-five weeks of leave.
5. Interviewees had mixed views about the continued value of spending time on the reference desk (as opposed to providing reference services on-call, by appointment, or via chat) in the face of declining usage statistics. Some felt that the inherent value of the service warranted that librarians continue to provide it, regardless of how many (or how few) questions were received. Others felt that being released from working on the desk freed them up to use their expertise and time more effectively. It was still possible to build "strong relationships" with students exclusively via email if the service provided was timely and the information useful, said Participant 5.

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Karen P. Nicholson (@nicholsonkp) is associate librarian and manager, information literacy, at the University of Guelph. She obtained her PhD (LIS) from the University of Western Ontario in 2018 and is a sessional instructor in the university's MLIS program. Her research focuses on (critical) information literacy, academic libraries, time/space, labor, and the university. Together with Maura Seale, Karen coedited *The Politics of Theory and the Practice of Critical Librarianship* (Library Juice Press, 2018).