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Academic Librarians and the Space/Time of Information Literacy, the Neoliberal University, and the Global Knowledge Economy

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Abstract

This qualitative research study explores how academic librarians working in Canadian public research-intensive universities experience the space/time of information literacy, the neoliberal university, and the knowledge economy. Information literacy lies at the intersection of higher education and the knowledge economy: it became a priority for librarians in Anglo-American countries in the 1980s in the context of neoliberal educational reforms intended to better prepare skilled workers for the "information society" (Behrens, 1994; Birdsall, 1994).

The shift from Fordist modes of production to flexible accumulation, characterized by the expansion of capital into new markets, flexible workers, and just-in-time inventories, made possible by new information and communication technologies, occurred around the same time, impacting the relationship between space, time, and work, and intensifying and accelerating our everyday experience of time (Castells, 1996; Harvey, 1989).

Temporal labour in the knowledge economy is gendered, raced, and classed (Sharma, 2014). Time serves a form of social control: some workers' temporal experiences are normalized whereas others' are recalibrated (Sharma, 2014). In the workplace, time enables, regulates, and constrains performance, attitudes, and behaviours (Adam, 1998). This study explores how academic librarians, members of a feminized profession (Harris, 1992) and marginal educators on campus, experience the space/time of higher education's globalizing agenda across their roles and responsibilities.

The theoretical framework for this research draws from multiple disciplines and critical perspectives. Data were gathered through semi-structured interviews with twenty-four librarians. Thematic analysis within a constructionist framework was used to analyze the data.

Findings suggest time is a key mechanism through which neoliberal governmentality is enacted in Canadian academic libraries. Just-in-time service models and pedagogical approaches and future-oriented corporate strategies and practices characterized the library's timescape. Librarians experienced time as accelerated and intensified. Time for scholarship

was rare. Librarians used multiple technologies of the self in order to regulate and recalibrate themselves. Some engaged in self-censorship in order to comply with corporatized institutional values and priorities. As a result, librarians experienced stress and considerable emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983).

This study makes a significant contribution to the existing literature on time in the neoliberal university and the conditions of academic librarians' work.

Acknowledgements

Scholarship, particularly in the context of the neoliberal university, is often represented as an individual achievement. In reality, this is far from the truth, as the production of this dissertation attests. I'd like to thank the many people who made this work possible.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Space/Time, Information Literacy, and the Knowledge Economy

This qualitative research study explores how academic librarians, working in Canadian public research-intensive universities, experience the space/time of information literacy, the neoliberal university, and the global knowledge economy. Space (and the cognate concept of place) and time are highly interrelated (Massey, 1992) and somewhat contested social constructs (Harvey, 1996; Cresswell, 2004). Space is "the material support of time-sharing social practices (Castells, 1996, p. 411). Through spatial and temporal practices, places, such as universities and libraries, are produced and reproduced on a daily basis.

Social, technological, and spatial networks, what sociologist Manuel Castells (1996) refers to as "the space of flows," connect local information sites and practices to larger socio-economic and political logics. Identifying the pathways and junctions between such sites, practices, and logics helps us to better understand this process (Downey, 2007). As skills training for the knowledge economy, information literacy lies at the intersection of the spatial and temporal spheres of higher education, the locus of human capital production, and the knowledge economy: information literacy became a priority for academic librarians in the context of broad neoliberal educational reforms in the 1980s and 1990s intended to better prepare workers for the "information society" (Behrens, 1994; Drabinski, 2014; Enright, 2013; O'Connor, 2006, 2009), now more commonly referred to as the knowledge economy (Olssen & Peters, 2005). This was era of significant financial constraints for libraries, Canadian academic libraries included (Auster & Taylor, 2004, cited in Julien, 2005, p 291; O'Connor, 2009): from the 1980s on, costs of collections and technological infrastructure rose significantly, staff complements decreased, and public and technical services were "cut back or eliminated entirely" (Julien, 2005, p. 291). Moreover, advances in information technology were already perceived as a threat to the library profession (O'Connor, 2006,

2009). Information literacy was, and continues to be, a political response on the part of the library profession, a form of "academic capitalism" (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997),[1] namely an opportunity for librarians to legitimate their role within the information economy, "the biggest business" for advanced societies (Doyle, 1994, p. 6). Commenting on the American and Australian contexts, Kapitzke (2003, p. 3) writes, "The term 'information literacy' was created when library science advocates failed to have 'bibliographic instruction' and 'library skills' programs established as a core part of college curricula." Defining information literacy "as a part of the wider literacy continuum" and linking it with the concept of lifelong learning were also strategies librarians used to underscore their value as workers and educators in the new age (Tuominen, Savolainen, & Talja, 2005, p. 331).

Early information literacy texts (American Library Association, 1989; Breivik, 1985; Breivik & Gee, 1989; Bruce, 1995; Doyle, 1994; Kuhlthau, 1987), filled with references to the "information age" and the "post-industrial information society," manifest an uncritical assumption that quantitative changes in information had brought about a qualitative change in society, that is to say because there was more information, the information society existed, *ex post facto* (Webster, 2014). These texts further suggest that providing people with information skills would erase social inequalities and promote social mobility (Tuominen, Savolainen, & Talja, 2005; O'Connor, 2009). From the outset, information literacy was associated with investment in human capital for economic growth and an increasingly commercialized information services sector, characteristics that continue to imbue normative information literacy discourses, practices, and policies today.

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[1] Academic capitalism, a term coined by Slaughter and Leslie (1997), refers to efforts by institutions of higher education to produce, market, and sell research outputs and educational services in the knowledge economy.

In the following sections, I will provide overviews and definitions of key concepts that inform this thesis, including neoliberalism, New Public Management, global flows of capital, and theories of space/time.

1.2 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is an array of political economic practices based in the belief that "society works best when the people and the institutions within it work or are shaped to work according to market principles" (Spence, 2015, p. 3). It is the role of the state to create and maintain an institutional framework that supports such practices and principles (Harvey, 2007).

The major characteristics of neoliberalism emerged in the United States in the 1970s in response to stagflation and the collapse of the Bretton Woods system of international trade and tariffs (Olssen &Peters, 2005; Harvey, 2007). Neoliberalism was first implemented as state policy in the 1970s and early 80s—the appearance of the neoliberal state is commonly associated with Pinochet, Thatcher, and Reagan (Harvey, 2007). Today, neoliberalism has been embraced to some degree by virtually all countries. It has infiltrated education, the media, corporations, and financial institutions. It has become so pervasive that we see it as "common sense" (Harvey, 2007, p. 3)—or rather, we don't see it at all: it has become an invisible part of the fabric of our daily lives. Neoliberalism "constitutes the form through which domestic and global economic relations are structured" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 313); as such, neoliberalism is not synonymous with globalization but represents an element of it.

Martinez and Garcia (1997) and Harvey (2007) identify the following core principles and practices in the neoliberal project. First, neoliberalism seeks to secure the primacy of the market through freedom of movement for capital, goods, and services. Greater openness to international trade and investment is facilitated by international agreements and organizations such as the G20. Government restrictions such as price controls are reduced, as are union

powers and workers' rights. Second, neoliberalism seeks to limit the role of government by reducing funding to social services such as education, health care, and libraries, thereby diminishing the social safety net for the poor. Spending on infrastructure projects, such as the maintenance of roads and the water supply, is also reduced. Third, the neoliberal state seeks to maximize profit through deregulation, including the dismantling of environmental protections, and the privatization of state-owned enterprises, goods, and services, including key industries, railroads, toll highways, schools, hospitals, energy, and even fresh water. And while privatization is typically justified in the name of greater efficiency, which is often necessary, the main result has been to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few (the "one percent"). Finally, neoliberalism seeks to eliminate the concepts of "the public good" and "community," replacing them with individual responsibility and competition. Margaret Thatcher once famously proclaimed, "there is no such thing as society, only individual men and women" (Harvey, 2007, p. 22). The most disadvantaged and at-risk people in society are required to find their own solutions to their lack of health care, education, and social security—and are held responsible if they fail.

Neoliberalism introduces competitive market relations into all arenas of public and private life, privileging the individual as a self-interested economic agent and blurring the boundaries that exist between market/state, public/private, and individual/social. It seeks to govern or "discipline" individuals by persuading "people to see themselves as… active subjects responsible for enhancing their own well-being" (Larner 2000, p. 13, cited in Rottenberg, 2013, p. 421). The primacy of the individual within neoliberal frameworks works against social justice, which requires putting aside self-interest in the pursuit of some larger shared cause, such as equal access to education or protecting the environment.

Neoliberalism shares a number of characteristics with classical liberalism, including a view of individuals as rational, self-interested subjects, free market economics, and a commitment to the principles of *laissez-faire* and free trade (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Unlike liberalism, however, neoliberalism operates as "a form of regulation or governmentality" (Olssen &

Peters, 2005, p. 314) according to which the state takes a positive, deliberate role in engineering the conditions, laws, and institutions necessary for the operation of the market.

> This means that for neoliberal perspectives, the end goals of freedom, choice, consumer sovereignty, competition and individual initiative, as well as those of compliance and obedience, must be constructions of the state acting now in its positive role through the development of the techniques of *auditing*, *accounting* and *management*. (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 315, original emphasis)

Paradoxically, however, in spite of this, the market is portrayed as "an organic entity," developing according to its own logic, and market processes are seen to be "natural and efficient ways to organize human life" in both the public and private spheres (DeVault, 2008, pp. 9, 11).

1.3 The Knowledge Economy

The rise of the knowledge economy is "the most significant material change" underpinning neoliberal reforms from the 1970s to the 1990s (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 330). In the knowledge economy, knowledge, skills, and innovation are key drivers of economic growth. Through the implementation of policies that facilitate knowledge acquisition (education, learning, skills formation) and knowledge development (research, innovation), educational institutions become privileged sites for the reproduction of human capital (Burton-Jones, 1999, cited in Olssen & Peters, 2005, pp. 338-339).[2] The development of students' skills and aptitudes—such as critical thinking, information literacy, lifelong learning, and teamwork—

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[2] Human capital, a term coined by Jacob Mincer in the 1950s and popularized by Gary Becker, an economist from the University of Chicago, in the 1960s, is defined by the OECD (1998, p. 9) as "the knowledge, skills, competences, and other attributes embodied in individuals that are relevant to economic activity."

has therefore become an increasingly important focus of higher education (Barrie, 2007; Dunne, Bennett, & Carré, 1997; Holborow, 2007; Miller, 2012) since "any aggregate improvement in the skills and knowledge of the workforce—that is, the increased capacity of labour power—functions primarily to enhance the production and reproduction of capital itself" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 339). Citing the growing influence of "evidence-based practice," Schön's (1993) notion of the "reflective practitioner," an increase in experiential learning, and the rise of communities of practice as examples, Olssen and Peters (2005, pp. 328-329) describe a "transformed theoretical infrastructure to the new understanding of academic theory as preparation for the world of work." These changes can be ascribed to attempts to make university programs more relevant to the workplace. For Gibbons et al (1994, cited in Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 330), this change results from a shift in the relative importance of modes of knowledge from Mode 1 (theoretical) knowledge, traditionally produced in the academy separately from its use, to Mode 2 (applied or experiential) knowledge, produced by practitioners through reflection or practice and linked directly to the functional imperatives of the world of work.

Aligning higher education to the perceived needs of the economy involves creating "employment-ready" graduates whose skills and learning outcomes can be assessed, and therefore described, in terms that stakeholders can easily understand. This rhetorical strategy portrays the neoliberal subject as a portfolio of marketable and market-worthy skills, assuring taxpayers, policy makers, and government of the strong return on investment of a university education (Council of Ontario Universities, 2011). University graduates produce "higher value for society" because they "are provided with the knowledge and skills that help make their lives meaningful and rewarding" and will allow them to function as "engines of innovation and growth in a globally competitive economy" (Council of Ontario Universities, 2011, pp. 5-6). The result is the proliferation of graduate attribute frameworks that figure prominently in quality assurance policies. As Barrie (2006, p. 12) states, "one obvious way in which universities have sought to articulate their role and purpose is through a description of the qualities of their graduates."

A number of authors take issue with this "skills agenda," citing a lack of evidence that "upskilling" (OECD, 2001) results in increased capital investment and/or higher paying jobs. DeVault (2008, pp. 11-12) describes the emphasis on a "hierarchy" of new and higher level skills required to compete for better job as a "rhetorical frame of the New Economy." Côté and Allahar (2011) suggest that human capital theory is a more accurate predictor of outcomes for professional and applied programs, and that it has been largely misinterpreted and/or misapplied in liberal education where many graduates are either underemployed or employed in jobs not related to their schooling. Moreover, they argue, while is generally true that those with a university education earn more than those without, one must also take into account the opportunity cost of enrolling in university, "taking into consideration what would have been gained from the investment of income lost while attending university" (p. 48). According to Holborow (2012), because human capital theory "expresses metaphorically the commodification of human abilities and an alienating notion of human potential, both of which sit ill with the goals of education" (p. 93), it represents a "deeply demeaning view of the role of education in society" (p. 94). The OECD (1998) acknowledges criticisms that the term "human capital" "debases human dignity by likening people to packages of knowledge and skills, little different from machinery components," but ultimately rejects these criticisms, asserting instead that the term "emphasizes how important people have become, in knowledge- and competence-based economies" (p. 9).

1.4 New Public Management

The incursion of neoliberal values and practices into the higher education systems of OECD countries, resulting from successive policy shifts from the 1970s on and facilitated by the principles and practices of New Public Management, a term coined by Hood in 1991, has been well documented (e.g. Hood, 1991, 1995; Marginson, 1991, 1998, 2000, 2004a, 2004b; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Shore, 2008, 2010; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). New Public Management (NPM) is an array of "broadly similar administrative doctrines" (Hood, 1991, p. 3) intended to increase effectiveness and efficiency in the public sector through the

introduction of private sector values (e.g. competition, frugality, risk, choice, value for money, entrepreneurship), practices (e.g. accountability and audit), and tools (e.g. strategic plans, scorecards) (Hood, 1991, 1995; Olssen & Peters, 2005). Hood (1995, p. 106) notes that significant variations and counter-trends exist in New Public Management across OECD nations. As a result, "conventional explanations for change in the public sector" which associate NPM with right-wing governments, a desire to reduce the size of government, or a response to past or present macroeconomic failure, are better considered as part of "a broader, multi-factor explanation of the shift to NPM" (p. 106). Nonetheless, Hood (1995, pp. 95-97) argues, it remains possible to identify the following "seven dimensions of change" associated with NPM in the 1980s: 1) the unbundling of the public sector into corporatized cost-centre units; 2) a rise in contract-based competition, with internal markets and term contracts; 3) an emphasis on private sector management practices; 4) a focus on frugality in the use of resources; 5) the use of hands-on professional management by top bureaucrats at the helm of public sector organizations; 6) the explicit use of standards and performance indicators; and 7) a focus on outputs/results over procedures, including performance-based pay. Just-in-time inventory systems and the use of money and time as measures of success (or failure) also represent notable features of NPM (Hood, 1991). Under NPM, education no longer represents a public good but instead becomes "an input–output system which can be reduced to an economic production function" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 324). Moreover, in keeping with broader neoliberal ideologies that enact "a strong 'internal' relation between neoliberal work and the ideal of self-realization" (Elliott, 2018, p. 1286), the doctrines of NPM interpellate the public sector knowledge worker as self-regulating, collaborative, team-focused, and entrepreneurial (Bansel & Davies, 2005; Berkovich & Wasserman, 2017; Hancock & Spicer, 2010).

1.4.1 Academic Capitalism

In their 1997 book *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*, Slaughter and Leslie explore the impact of neoliberal education reforms on the

public research university in Australia, Canada, the UK, and the US from the 1970s to the 1990s. They argue that the 1980s represent a turning point in the corporatization of the public research university, a period when "professional work began to be patterned differently, *in kind* rather than in degree" (p. 5, original emphasis). The term "academic capitalism" refers to the for-profit activities and market-oriented behaviours undertaken by institutions of higher education and their employees as a means to make up for reductions in state funding. These behaviours and activities include, but are not limited to, increasing tuition fees (thus shifting the financial burden of higher education from the state to the individual), the pursuit of government grants and public-private partnerships, and a shift toward the STEM fields and applied learning. Under academic capitalism, economic exchange becomes the defining relationship between state and institution, and the institution and its staff and students: faculty act as state-funded entrepreneurs; students are viewed as clients to whom universities are marketed as brands; and credentials—such as degrees and badges—are exchanged as commodities on the labour market.

One of the main objectives of neoliberal reforms to higher education has been to institute regimes of competition. Robertson (2010) identifies the following competitive logics operant in higher education today: corporatization, anchored in NPM; comparative competitivism, which arose in response the crisis of capitalism crises of the 1970s; and competitive comparison. Olssen and Peters (2005, p. 325) argue that the "hierarchical mode of authority by which the market and state pressures are instituted" within higher education brings about a loss of autonomy or de-professionalization of the faculty. Bureaucratic–professional accountability, in which rules and regulations are specified in advance and accountability is measured in terms of process, formulated in terms of standards, and based on expertise of those who work in a particular area, is replaced by managerial accountability, associated with market systems, contracts, and pre-established targets and imposed objectives (p. 328). In this way, key university documents, such as the mission, strategic plan, bylaws and policies, are used as tools for strengthening accountability regimes, as are student learning outcomes and performance indicators. Combined with the growing number of part-time and adjunct faculty who do not have input into institutional governance, the result is an aggregate

decrease in faculty influence in the management of the university (Saunders, 2010). Regimes of competition have also brought about an institutional preoccupation with corporate loyalty, market reputation, branding, and image (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Robertson, 2010; Shore, 2008, 2010). In chapter 2, I outline the spatial and temporal outcomes of neoliberal competitive logics in higher education.

One of the primary functions of higher education has always been to prepare the next generation of workers. What has changed in the contemporary neoliberal university, therefore, is the degree to which student development and educational outcomes are defined by job training and career development, and the extent to which students, faculty, administrators, and policymakers explicitly support and embrace these goals and priorities (Marginson, 2000; Saunders, 2010). Rather than a fundamental re-orientation of the role of higher education, the focus on skills and training represents an acceleration of changes underway for over a century (Saunders, 2010). Saunders (2010) argues that higher education's ultimate purpose has always been to prepare the next generation of workers; what has changed is the explicit manner in which student development and educational outcomes are defined by job training and career development, and the extent to which "many students, faculty, administrators, and policy makers explicitly support and embrace these capitalistic goals and priorities" (p. 55). The contemporary neoliberal university is not radically different from its predecessor then but it has a derivative or "eroded" purpose (Saunders, 2010). For Readings (1997), to acknowledge the "impossible" or ruined state of the University is not a call for nostalgia but an opportunity to recognize the limitations of the contemporary university and to work within them to create a space for rethinking the university's purpose. In place of the contemporary, corporatized "University of Excellence," Readings proposes a *community of dissensus*, a "community without identity" (p. 183), without a unifying idea. Noting the "profound impact" of neoliberalism on Australia's universities, Marginson (2000) advocates for a middle ground, a compromise that would allow the university to adapt to political and economic reforms without "cannibalizing" its mission, namely knowledge production and mobilization, student development, "preparation for work in a broad intellectual setting"; a "longer-term and critical view of social

developments; and an explicit role in building national institutions and national identity" (p. 32).

It is the context of these broad and ongoing changes to the higher education landscape that information literacy emerges as a mission critical activity for the academic library. I contend that information literacy represents a form of academic capitalism, a view I will outline in chapter 2.

1.5 Space/Time and the Global Knowledge Economy

Changes in technology and modes of production impact the spatial/temporal order of capitalist societies. In *The Rise of the Network Economy*, a highly influential work that highlights the economic and social dynamics of the information age, sociologist Manuel Castells (1996, p. 31) makes the claim that "all major social changes are ultimately characterized by a transformation of space and time in human experience." Harvey (1989, p. 255) emphasizes the importance of power within these transformations and experiences: "the reorganization of space is [also] always a reorganization of the framework through which social power is expressed." As a result of the work of Doreen Massey (1992) in particular, space is no longer seen as *stasis*; it represents movement and differentiation, "a world of flows of goods and people and information and money" (Thrift, 2003, p. 97). This is evident in Castells' (1996) theory of the "space of flows," an abstract conceptualization of a virtual networked space which effectively rearranges the hierarchy of power within the physical "space of places" in the global knowledge economy. The success of "firms, cities, and regions" depends on "build[ing] sufficient presence in (and connections to) the new space of flows" (Downey, 2007, p. 700). Harvey's (1989) concept of the "spatial fix," the spatial reorganization and expansion of capital in response to chronic crises of overaccumulation, is key to this process. In the space of flows, space is reduced and time is compressed through cybernetic networks and information and communications technologies.

As a social construct, time is not neutral: it is shaped by particular interests and logics (Adam, 1990). In the workplace, time enables, regulates, and constrains performance, attitudes, and behaviours (Adam, 1998). The struggle over time and the intensity of work between the owners of capital and labourers has been traced back to at least the medieval period (Harvey, 1989, p. 230). In previous work (Nicholson, 2016, pp. 28-29), I outlined the following association of time and labour. Time becomes inextricably linked to the processes of industrialization with the introduction of the factory clock (Marx, 1967, cited in Hermann, 2015). Whereas previously, time had been imprecise, punctuated "by the changing of the seasons, religious rituals, and market fairs" (Hartman & Darab, 2012, p. 51), under industrial capitalism, time becomes rationalized. Clock time is fundamental to industrial capitalism: "without precise clock time metering being applied to the production process, a division of labour is not possible; economies of scale are unrealizable, cheap production of commodities impossible, and the production of exchange values illogical" (Hassan, 2003, p. 32). Time now becomes the measure of work: "Where before the capacity of a person to work a piece of land in one day would be the determinant of the measure, now 'man-hours' are calculated on the basis of universally applicable units of time" (Adam, 1990, p. 112). In this way, time also becomes abstract exchange value, a resource to be exchanged and bargained (Adam, 1990). Time functions *as if it were money*, a commodity to be saved, invested, wasted, borrowed, or spent. The separation of "work time" and leisure time begins (Adam, 1990), and time becomes a measure of efficiency and a mechanism of control (Hassan, 2003).

With the change from Fordism to post-Fordism in the 1970s, capitalist knowledge economies undergo a temporal shift. "Flexible accumulation," characterized by the expansion of capital into new global labour markets, flexible workers, automation, and "just-in-time" inventories that use real time information (Harvey, 1989),[3] impacts the relationship between time and

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[3] Harvey (1989) emphasizes the dynamism between centralization and decentralization, permanence and flexibility; it is not a question of a "sharp categorical distinction" between the two, but rather one of movement along a continuum.

work. We experience time as intensified and accelerated. Castells (1996) argues that asynchronous and instantaneous information and communication technologies replace the rational, metered time of the industrial age with the non-stop "timeless time" of the global networked economy. According to Hassan (2003), the 24/7 hyper-accelerated time of the globalized network economy is "chronoscopic": it blurs work, social life, family life, and personal life, disrupting established socio-cultural temporal rhythms. Space is also produced by technology: as a result of new, more exact ways of measuring space through the use of GPS, geographical information systems (GIS), and radio-frequency identifier (RFID) tags, the measurement of space [and time] is not only being standardized, it is being "hyper-coordinated": "the result will be that we will live in a world of perpetual contact, in which it will be possible to track and trace most objects and activities on a continuous basis, constantly adjusting time and space in real time, so producing what is now called micro- or hyper-coordination" (Thrift, 2003, p. 97).

1.6 Academic Librarians and the Space/Time of Information Literacy, Higher Education, and the Global Knowledge Economy

The present study explores how academic librarians, members of a feminized profession (Harris, 1992) and marginal educators on the university campus (Almeida, 2015; Beilin, 2015; Eisenhower & Smith, 2010; Johnston & Webber, 2003; Meulemans & Carr, 2013; Shirazi, 2014; Sloniowski, 2016) experience the space/time of higher education's globalizing agenda through their public service (information literacy and reference) work, scholarship, and professional service activities.[4]

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[4] In this context, "academic librarians" refers to librarians working in universities, not all institutions of higher education. The roles and responsibilities of Canadian academic librarians normally fall within three categories: professional practice, research and scholarship, and professional service. Professional practice, which makes up the bulk of

My analysis seeks to contribute to the existing literature on academic librarianship within the context of neoliberalism (cf. Beilin, 2015, 2016; Berkovich & Wasserman, 2017; Bourg, 2014; Buschman, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2017a, 2017b; Cope, 2014; Drabinski, 2014, 2017; Eisenhower & Smith, 2010; Enright, 2013; Hudson, 2017a; Kapitzke, 2003; Lawson, Sanders, & Smith, 2015; Lilburn, 2013, 2017; Mirza & Seale, 2017a, 2017b; Nicholson, 2014, 2015, 2016; Pagowsky, 2015; Ryan & Sloniowski, 2013; Seale, 2010, 2013, 2016; Sloniowski, 2016; Waugh, 2014). Of particular note are Drabinski's (2014, 2017) use of *kairos*, a kind of qualitative time, as a lens for contextualizing the present circumstances of academic librarians' work within broader socioeconomic and historical conditions, and Berkovich and Wasserman's (2017) case study, based on semi-structured interviews, which explores the impact of New Public Management on Israeli academic librarians' professional culture. This latter study is the only empirical research on academic librarians in the neoliberal university. My research also seeks to address a gap, namely the lack of studies within LIS that use space/time as a theoretical framework. Drawing on human geography's central claim that space and time are dialectically produced through social practices, I use space/time to first situate the labour of academic librarians within the context of a university subject to the spatial and temporal logics of late capitalism and second, to explore the impact of such logics on their daily work.

Sociologist of Education Dorothy Moss (2006, p. 3) suggests that "giving time and space priority in the research design and analysis…[creates] the potential for a research approach

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librarians' work, includes activities such as developing and maintaining library collections, systems, and technologies; teaching information literacy skills to students through face-to-face and online workshops, guest lectures, and online tutorials; the provision of face-to-face and online reference service; supporting scholarly communication and publishing; supervising employees; and managing budgets. Professional service includes service to the library, the university, and the profession (CAUT, 2017).

which relates personal experience directly to a wider set of social, economic, and political relationships." Accordingly, the theoretical framework for this study draws from multiple disciplines and critical perspectives to situate the work of academic librarians within a particular socio-historic context, one in which neoliberal policies have significantly altered the societal role and governance of the public research-intensive university by linking postsecondary education to business innovation and the economic prosperity of the state. Data gathered from interviews with information literacy librarians working in Canadian public research-intensive universities is used to provide supporting evidence.

The research questions that guide this study are: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' labour in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labour 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? These questions are explored using both theoretical and empirical approaches. The resulting narrative considers the sociocultural contexts and structural conditions underlying librarians' experiences of space/time across their roles and responsibilities and their impact on librarians' material and emotional labour.[5]

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[5] In her landmark study of the work of flight attendants and collection agents, Hochschild (1983, 2012) defines emotional labour as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 7) in the context of performing one's job. Because emotional labour "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (p. 7), it is a source of (unacknowledged) alienation and stress for many workers. Emotional labour is more common in pink collar public service roles and several studies exist that explore the emotional labour of public service librarians (Julien & Genuis, 2009; Matteson, Chittock, & Mease, 2015; Shuler & Morgan, 2013; Sloniowski, 2016). Shuler and Morgan (2013) note that the *Guidelines for the Behavioral Performance of Reference and Information Service*

This is an integrated article thesis. In this format, individual articles explore discrete but related aspects of the research problem with the goal of producing a multi-faceted, holistic view. This dissertation is composed of four articles and one method chapter. The first article, "The Space/Time of Information Literacy, Higher Education, and the Global Knowledge Economy: A Theoretical Framework," articulates my own framework for conceptualizing the space/time of information literacy as a key library practice that seeks to legitimate the role of the academic library in the neoliberal university's globalizing agenda. A version of this article was accepted for publication in June 2018 and will appear in a special issue of *The Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* on "Evidences, Implications, and Critical Interrogations of Neoliberalism in Information Studies" in 2019. Next, Chapter Three outlines the method I used to gather, transcribe, and analyze the interview data presented in the three subsequent empirical articles. The second article, "'Shiny and New': Neoliberal Logics and the Material and Emotional Labor of Academic Librarians in Canadian Research-Intensive Universities," examines neoliberal competitive logics that structure the space/time of higher education (Robertson, 2010) and their impact on academic librarians' labour across their roles and responsibilities. In the third article, "'Being in Time': Temporality and Librarians' Professional Practice in Canada's Neoliberal Research Universities," I use Sharma's (2014) theory of "power-chronography" to consider librarians' public service work as temporal labour in the university—the work of "recalibrating" and "being in time" carried out by marginalized subjects within the biopolitical economy of time. Finally, the last article, "The Impact of Neoliberal Timescapes on Canadian Academic Librarians' Scholarship and Service," explores the impact of neoliberal temporal logics on librarians' research, scholarship, and professional service activities. A version of this article was submitted to *The Canadian Journal of Academic Librarianship* in July 2018 as part of a call for papers for a

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Providers (ALA, 2004) dictate an expectation for public service librarians to perform emotional labour in the provision of service.

special issue on librarians' research and scholarship, and will be published in 2019. The final chapter considers the thesis as a whole, making connections between the articles and the broader, implications of the study with regard to information literacy and librarians' labour in the neoliberal university.

The integrated article thesis format results in some overlap and repetition between and across the articles. For example, summaries of key authors' works are repeated where necessary, as are relevant illustrative quotes from participants, although I have made efforts to limit such repetition where possible. As mentioned above, the reader will find an in-depth discussion of the method in Chapter Three; in order to reduce duplication, however, descriptions of the study method have been removed from the empirical articles.

1.7   Researcher Position Statement and Methodology[6]

I have been an academic librarian since 2001. My career in librarianship has focused on public service, primarily information literacy and reference work. I have been employed as Reference and Subject Librarian (Concordia University), Liaison Librarian and Information Literacy Coordinator (McGill University), Teaching and Learning Librarian (McMaster University), and Manager, Information Literacy (University of Guelph). I currently oversee the work of the Information Literacy Team at the University of Guelph.[7] I have delivered

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[6] Harding (1987, p. 2, cited in Lather, 1992, p. 88) describes "method" as "techniques for gathering evidence" whereas "methodology is the theory of knowledge and the interpretive framework that guides a particular research project."

[7] The University of Guelph Library implemented a "functional team model" in 2009. In this model, librarians work in small teams under the supervision of a (librarian) manager to provide specialized services, i.e. collection development, information literacy instruction, information discovery and access, and support for research and scholarly communication.

workshops and conference papers on information literacy and accountability and audit in academic libraries at national and international conferences and events since 2003 and have twice taught a course on information literacy for MLIS students at Western University. In 2011, through a competitive selection process, I became a "faculty member" with the Association of College and Research Libraries' *Information Literacy Immersion Programs*, a series of internationally recognized, intensive professional development programs for information literacy librarians, and served in this capacity until 2018. In 2013 and 2015, at the invitation of the heads of local university library consortia, the *Immersion Program* went on the road and was presented to librarians from Hong Kong and Singapore respectively. I participated in both of these initiatives as a curriculum designer and program facilitator.

In 2010, I completed a ten-month secondment as Teaching and Learning Development Officer for the Council of Ontario Universities (COU). In this role, I managed a province-wide project related to the implementation of Ontario's new *Quality Assurance Framework for Higher Education*. This involved coordinating the production of a series of webinars and workshops, conducting research, and writing briefs and background papers related to quality assurance in higher education, all with the goal of providing support to educational developers and administrators as they worked to implement the *Quality Assurance Framework*. During this time, I also attended a week-long workshop, hosted by the National Academy for Research, Teaching and Learning (NAIRTL) at University College Cork, on quality assurance in higher education in the European Higher Education Area.

See D'Elia, M. J., & Horne, D. (2018). Leaving liaison behind: Reflections on the last decade. *Research Library Issues*, *294*, 8–15. https://doi.org/10.29242/rli.294.2

This secondment was my first formal foray into the realms of quality assurance, accountability, and audit in higher education.[8] My desire to better understand these issues, their impact on academic libraries, and the role of skills within the higher education curriculum inspired me to undertake doctoral studies part-time. The initial focus of this work was to explore generic graduate attributes or skills in order to propose solutions to the challenges and mitigating factors that impact academic librarians' success in integrating information literacy into the curriculum. Since 2011, through my studies and my continued work as a librarian, I have gained new insights into neoliberal logics that shape higher education and become familiar with critical perspectives within LIS related to information literacy and academic libraries, in addition to the theory and practice of critical librarianship, a recent trend in librarianship. In keeping with feminist research within education which "is situated within established traditions for doing social science even as it calls them into question" (Lather, 1992, p. 93), critical librarianship seek to achieve a socially just praxis by bringing critical (theoretical) perspectives to bear on professional practice in order to expose and challenge the ways that libraries and librarians have been, and continue to be implicated in systems of oppression (Garcia, 2015; Nicholson & Seale, 2018; Nicholson, 2014).

As the above personal statement makes clear, I am an insider researcher. An insider researcher is one who shares characteristics, roles, or experiences with the population they are studying (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). On the one hand, shared status between researcher and participants can be positive, affording increased access to participants, trust, and a

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[8] Through this work, however, I became aware that I had previously encountered critiques of quality assurance in Bill Readings' (1997) work on "the university of excellence" (Bill was my PhD supervisor at the Université de Montréal prior to his death in 1994), and I had also bumped up against accountability and audit in my work as a librarian, notably in the requirement to report statistics annually to the Association of Research Libraries and the Canadian Association of Research Libraries and the profession's current focus on outcomes and assessment.

common ground. On the other hand, it can prove detrimental to the research if it results in role confusion for the researcher, influences the analysis, or leads participants to assume a shared experience with the researcher, causing them to gloss or omit details (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Insider status, if acknowledged, is not necessarily negative, however; as Sherry (2008, p. 434) states, "by being reflective about the impact of being identified as an insider, and highlighting the effects that this identity had on the nature of the data collected, such connections with the field can be regarded as a strength of a particular form of immersed qualitative research."

Being a part-time student while working fulltime as a librarian shaped the actual doing and writing of my dissertation. I did my course work while working but the data collection and analysis were completed during two eight-month paid leaves. I am fortunate that at my place of work, research and scholarship are official components of my job responsibilities. This meant that I could use "work time" to attend classes, write conference papers, and attend conferences. Nonetheless, the reality of being a part-time PhD student and a fulltime librarian meant many evenings and weekends were devoted to reading and writing.

My situation also shaped my dissertation in material ways. My decision to write an integrated article thesis was highly pragmatic: I chose this format, with its discrete "deliverables," over a monograph thesis because it fit better within my personal and professional circumstances. This decision had both advantages and disadvantages: on the one hand, it meant I could report on and be recognized for regular outputs—conference presentations, articles, book chapters—in my bi-annual performance review, perhaps assuring my employer that my efforts, and my time, were being well spent. On the other hand, it also meant that the resulting dissertation is less holistic and more fragmented than the more traditional monographic format.

Qualitative research is, by its very nature, a "stuck place": the researcher must be attuned to the experiences of others while simultaneously engaging in constant self-reflection and self-scrutiny, checking that their biases and preconceptions (to the extent that these can be known) are not influencing their interpretations (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, cited in Dwyer

& Buckle, 2009). Moreover, researcher positionality is not fixed but fluid: insider/outsider status can change as the researcher engages with different participants. A constructionist framework, as was used in the present study, acknowledges that objectivity, neutrality, and reality are false precepts: the researcher's position, privileges, and perspectives are as an integral part of the research process (Charmaz, 2014). Feminist, queer, and postcolonial scholars contend that insider/outsider is a highly problematic concept that belies privilege. One is never "in" or "out"—positionality is highly contextual and intersectional. In a landmark article, Crenshaw (1991) uses the concept of intersectionality "to denote the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's…experiences" (p. 1244). Hill Collins (1991, cited in Acker, 2001) describes black women sociologists as "outsiders within," a term that applies equally to librarians from marginalized groups—librarianship is not only an overwhelmingly white profession but it is also a profession marked by whiteness (Andrews, 2018; Galvan, 2015; Honma, 2005; Hudson, 2017b; Pawley, 1998, 2006; Schlesselman-Tarango, 2016). The theme of inside-outside is a recurring one in the LIS literature, particularly that literature written by librarians themselves (e.g. Almeida, 2015, 2018; Andrews, 2018; Beilin, 2015; Drabinski, 2013; Eisenhower & Smith, 2010; Simmons, 2005; Sloniowski, 2016); it is also recurring theme of this dissertation. As Acker (2001) contends, "insider-outsider" status (as opposed to the binary "insider/outsider" formulation) is not an issue to be resolved but rather a space to be creatively inhabited and explored through a reflexive practice of "mapping the margins" (Crenshaw, 1991).

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2 The Space/Time of Information Literacy, Higher Education, and the Global Knowledge Economy: A Theoretical Framework[1]

2.1 Introduction: Space, Time, and Place

Space (and the cognate concept of place) and time are highly interrelated (Massey, 1992) and somewhat contested social constructs (Harvey, 1996; Cresswell, 2004). Once thought to be immutable, space and time are now understood to be co-produced through the sociomaterial (Harvey, 1989): space is "the material support of time-sharing social practices" (Castells, 1996, p. 411). In this way, places are produced and reproduced through spatial and temporal practices. As geographer Tim Cresswell (2004, p. 38) states, places, such as universities, "are never established"; instead, they are reproduced on a daily basis "by people conforming to expectations about what people do at university—visiting the library, taking exams, attending class. Indeed they are performed."

While there has been renewed interest in space/time within the humanities and social sciences since the 1980s, Library and Information Science (LIS) has not taken up this spatial turn with the same enthusiasm—or the same degree of criticality—as other social science disciplines (Downey, 2007). In response, LIS professor and geographer Greg Downey (2007) argues for a human geography approach that would allow us to move beyond conceptions of library as place to an understanding of library as socially produced space. Such an approach would enable us see "things" such as information objects, actors, and technologies both relationally and dialectically, that is, operating in, on, and through material, social, and

technological landscapes and networks. It would therefore afford new means of conceptualizing changes to the space and time of information production, organization, distribution, and consumption, and examining the ways that information and communication technologies (ICTs), neoliberal ideology, digital convergence, and transnational corporations (including the university) have created new possibilities for the global expansion of capital. Downey elaborates: "Libraries are not just *places* in the sense of cultural, social, and communal sites, but also serve as *spaces* of important but fragmented social action, connected to endless digital realms and diverse representational schemes" (p. 721, original emphasis).

Through social, technological, and spatial networks, what sociologist Manuel Castells (1996) refers to as "the space of flows," local sites and practices of information work become embroiled in the larger imperatives and logics of the global knowledge economy. Identifying the pathways and junctions between such sites, practices, and logics helps us to better understand this process (Downey, 2007). As skills training for information workers, information literacy lies at the intersection of the spatial and temporal spheres of higher education (the locus of human capital production), and the knowledge economy. In their analysis of discourses of internationalization in two universities' strategic plans, feminist geographers Matus and Talburt (2009, p. 521) note that the student as future worker "is spatialized as needing new skills and knowledges in order to meet the changing environment 'out there,'" an abstract, global space "dangerously inclined to neutrality, technical knowledge, and instrumental rationalities." It is in the context of neoliberal reforms to higher education in the 1980s that information literacy emerges as a priority for academic librarians: information literacy, a necessary skill in the burgeoning "information economy," legitimates their role as teachers (Behrens, 1994; Drabinski, 2014; Kapitzke, 2003; O'Connor, 2006, 2009). An arguably marginal curricular practice, information literacy nonetheless serves as an attempt by the library to demonstrate its value within the university's globalizing agenda—namely to produce world-class research and prepare students to be global citizens and workers (while simultaneously building connections within the community and

addressing local issues).[2] Information literacy is, in no small way, a matter of fiscal and professional survival (Nicholson, 2016); as many librarians are fond of saying, information literacy affords us "a place at the table." As Oakleaf (Association of College & Research Libraries & Oakleaf, 2010, p. 14) writes in the *Value of Academic Libraries Report*, a key professional document that regulates libraries' efforts to demonstrate value and/as return on investment, "although it may be difficult to make direct and clear connections between academic libraries and students' educational and professional futures, these outcomes are of critical importance to institutions and their stakeholders." Consequently, Oakleaf argues, when such connections are missing it is up to librarians to devise them.

The research questions that inform this study are: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' labour in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labour 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? In previous work (Nicholson, 2016, p. 26), I argued that using time as a lens allows us to uncover "the pernicious issue at the heart of information literacy—namely information literacy is a construct developed for and taught within the broader context of the neoliberal university, which embraces a skills agenda." I further suggested that if librarians have struggled to move beyond the dominant one-shot information literacy guest lecture model, with its "superficial, skills-oriented approach," it is

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[2] These tropes are commonplace in universities' statements on internationalization. See Matus and Talburt (2009) and Viczko (2013). Jones (2009) outlines barriers to internationalization in the Canadian higher education context. An examination of U15 universities' statements on internationalization suggests, however, that U15 universities have embraced internationalization in theory, at least. See for example, McMaster University. (2013). Internationalization. *Forward with integrity*. Retrieved from http://fwi.mcmaster.ca/internationalization/; and University of Alberta. (2016). *University of Alberta international*. Retrieved from https://www.ualberta.ca/why-ualberta/international/about-uai

because "the one-shot is in perfect sync with the accelerated, fragmented 'corporate time' of contemporary higher education" (p. 27). In this article, which outlines the theoretical framework for the dissertation as a whole, I extend that analysis to consider the spatial/temporal registers of information literacy as skills training for the global knowledge economy and a strategic priority intended to secure a role for the library within the university's internationalization agenda.

2.2 The Space/Time of Higher Education in the Global Knowledge Economy

2.2.1 Speed, Space/Time, and Power

The university as institution has been "constantly reshaped by the transformation of the global, national and social contexts in which [it] operates" (Torres, 2011, p. 178). The spatial and temporal registers and practices of the university have been impacted by larger shifts ushered in by the global expansion of capital. In the 1970s, Fordist modes of production were replaced by "flexible accumulation," which uses real time ICTs, flexible workers, and automation to coordinate just-in-time inventories (Harvey, 1989). Mainstream discourses of "speed theory" (Sharma, 2014) posit that this shift accelerated and intensified time: through the use of networked information and communication technologies, the non-stop "timeless time" of the global knowledge economy became layered onto the rational, metered time of the industrial age (Castells, 1996; Hassan, 2003, 2008; Hassan & Purser, 2007). Space is compressed as the time needed to connect distant locations is reduced. Through the use of geo-location technologies, such as global positioning systems, geographical information systems, and radio-frequency identifier tags, space and time become increasingly "hyper-coordinated," with the result that "we will live in a world of perpetual contact, in which it will be possible to track and trace most objects and activities on a continuous basis, constantly adjusting time and space in real time" (Thrift, 2003, p. 97).

Inspired by feminist geographer Doreen Massey's (1999) theory of "power-geometry," Media Studies scholar Sarah Sharma (2014) introduces the concept of power-chronography, "a conception of time as lived experience, always political, produced at the intersection of a range of social differences and institutions, and of which the clock is only one chronometer" (p. 28), as a means of challenging normative speed theories. Sharma argues that while close attention has been paid to the ways that "space is imbricated in games of power—whether by extension, expansion, colonization, imprisonment, banishment, confinement, inclusion, or exclusion," the importance of time as "a site of material struggle and social difference" (p. 9) has been neglected. Theories of acceleration are based in a spatial understanding of time that fails to adequately account for power. Speed is not ubiquitous—not everyone is equally "out of time." Instead, relationships to time are highly differentiated. Temporal worth and labour are gendered, raced, and classed. Our individual, embodied experience of time—our temporality—and the meanings and values attributed to it are entangled with, and dependent upon, the temporality of others. And because temporality is not determined by technological speed but by where one "fits" within this heteronormative, patriarchal [and ableist] order, some people's temporal experiences are normalized whereas others' are "recalibrated." Global capital depends on keeping people in and out of time; within this complex and pervasive "temporal architecture of time maintenance" (p. 139), being "in time" requires temporal strategies and technologies of the self "contrived for synchronizing to the time of others" (p. 8).

2.2.2 The Space/Time of the Neoliberal University

The socio-economic, technological, and spatio-temporal changes of the post-Fordist economy are accompanied by neoliberal policy reforms that significantly alter the purpose and role of higher education in the West. The university has always had multiple functions within society: to educate citizens, to produce skilled workers, to create and instill a common national culture, to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. The relative importance of these functions has varied according to time and place, however. From the 1970s to the 1990s, the rise of the knowledge economy provided the impetus for key educational reforms

intended to enhance the economic competitiveness of the nation-state by linking postsecondary education to business innovation (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).[3] Since the 1980s, competitive logics advanced by the likes of the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank have "give[n] direction, form, content and disciplinary power to neoliberalism as a political and hegemonic project… mediated through higher education" (Robertson, 2009, p. 5). Today, a key function of the university is to produce human capital for the state; education is primarily seen as investing in oneself for future economic gains. As feminist scholar Catherine Rottenberg (2013, p. 422) reminds us, the rationality of "neoliberalism… moves to and from the management of the state to the inner workings of the subject, normatively constructing and interpellating individuals as entrepreneurial actors."

Just as neoliberalism has become a "common-sense" ideology in the private and public spheres (Harvey, 2007; Saunders, 2010), "'globalisation' mobilises seemingly self-evident imaginaries of space and time that function as rationalities, or ways of framing problems" (Matus & Talburt, 2015, p. 225). The "actions, responses, and solutions" dictated by these imaginaries further naturalize "'space' and our 'place' within it" (Matus & Talburt, 2015, p. 225). Documents produced by national and supranational organizations "construct globalisation as a new spatiality that necessitates competition and innovation as a responsibility" for nations, universities, and students (Matus & Talburt, 2015, p. 233). Matus and Talburt (2015, pp. 235-236) cite the AAC&U's (2007) *College Learning for the New Global Century* to highlight the ways in which liberal education in the United States has been significantly redefined and realigned to serve economic priorities.

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[3] According to Olssen and Peters (2005, p. 331), the terms "knowledge capitalism" and "knowledge economy" became commonplace in public policy through a series of widely circulated reports published in the late 1990s by the OECD and the World Bank in which "education is reconfigured as a massively undervalued form of knowledge capital that will determine the future of work, the organization of knowledge institutions and the shape of society in the years to come."

The council believes that higher education can and should play a crucial role in fulfilling America's promise in this new global century: tapping potential, creating opportunity, fueling an innovative economy, reducing inequities, solving problems, and inspiring citizens to create a more just, humane, and sustainable world. (AAC&U, 2007, p. 25)

As a result, in response to "the seeming imperatives of economic globalization" (Matus & Talburt, 2009, p. 515), higher education has embraced an agenda of internationalization.[4,5] Paradoxically, however, although the university has been repurposed into an engine of economic development for the nation-state, it increasingly positions itself as a transnational corporation (Readings, 1997), a competitive actor in the global knowledge economy in its own right.[6] Geographer Kris Olds (2010) refers to this as the "denationalization" of higher education, a "process whereby developmental logics, frames, and practices are increasingly associated with what is happening beyond" the borders of the nation-state, even as these logics, frames, and practices continue to be seen as "national." In order to comprehend the

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[4] Sassen (2003) notes that there are multiple forms of globalization, of which neoliberal corporate globalization is but one. Internationalization is defined as "the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution (de Wit, Knight, & OECD, 1999, p. 16). It is intended to increase "mobility of people, exchange of ideas, and convergence of institutional policies and practices (Matus & Talburt, 2009, p. 516).

[5] In policy documents issued in 2008 and 2009, the Association of Universities and Colleges Canada (AUCC) emphasized the "urgent need" for institutions of higher education in Canada to engage with Bologna Process (Viczko, 2013, p. 28).

[6] Because institutional autonomy is a key feature of Canadian higher education (Jones, 2009; Viczko, 2013), "the internationalization strategies of Canadian universities reinforce the idea that they are independent actors" (Vizcko, 2013, p. 40).

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role and purpose of the contemporary university, attention must therefore be paid to interactions between local, national, and global (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002).

The university's response to globalization is operationalized through the policies and practices of internationalization and curricular reform, both of which reconstitute the space/time of higher education on multiple levels (Matus & Talburt, 2009, 2015; Moss, 2006; Robertson, 2010). Interdisciplinary schools and research centres are created through directive state funding and public-private partnerships. The focus on outcomes-based education and skills changes the nature of what is taught and how it is taught. It also regulates knowledge and subjects. The power and allure of skills lies in their flexibility: skills can be "strategically deployed to mean different things, depending on who uses them, for what audience, in what contexts, and to what ends" (Urciuoli, 2008, p. 211). As a result, despite the lack of clarity that surrounds skills (including information literacy) in the higher education curriculum,[7] they are nonetheless "assumed to be commensurable and readily available for inculcation into future workers" (Urciuoli, 2008, p. 222). Curricula become more modular to facilitate pathways and student mobility and online learning is increasingly used as means to cut costs and circumvent the time and space constraints of curriculum, calendar, timetable, and campus that result from widened access to higher education without associated increases in physical space or staffing (Matus & Talburt, 2009; Moss, 2006). The university secures its reputation as "world class" by recruiting the best and brightest staff and students from around the globe, and creating exchange programs, "offshore" satellite campuses, and state-of-the-art facilities (Robertson, 2012). The logics of rankings and international benchmarking strategies and instruments situate universities—and nations—on an inevitable continuum of development, giving rise to spatial and temporal binaries such as developed/underdeveloped,

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[7] See for example, Dunne, E., Bennett, N., & Carré, C. (1997). Higher education: Core skills in a learning society. *Journal of Education Policy*, *12*(6), 511–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/0268093970120606, and Barrie, S. C. (2006). Understanding what we mean by the generic attributes of graduates. *Higher Education, 51*(2), 215–41. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-004-6384-7

superior/inferior, centre/periphery (Matus & Talburt, 2015; Robertson, 2012). Matus and Talburt (2009) note that feminist geographers reject this spatial/temporal dualism. For example, Massey (1994, cited in Matus & Talburt, 2009, p. 518) contends places are not "bounded" but rather the product of an "open and porous networks of social relations." Likewise, space is neither abstract stasis nor merely an outcome; it is continually made and remade through pathways, connections, and interactions "at all spatial scales, from the most local level to the most global" (Massey, 1992, p. 24). Mainstream higher education discourse portrays globalization as a nebulous, chaotic imperative to which universities must respond (Matus & Talburt, 2009; Viczko, 2013), yet universities are in fact active participants in producing and reproducing the global on a local scale; they are directed to *respond to change by creating more of the change they are responding to*" (Matus & Talburt, 2009, p. 236, original emphasis).

With regard to time, Walker (2009) contends that because it intersects with the three existing dimensions of globalization—space, movement, and place—it can be considered as a fourth dimension. Introducing a temporal focus into studies of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) therefore affords a better understanding of globalization's impact on the university's timescape.[8] The values and practices of New Public Management, which seek to increase efficiency and accountability in the public sector, have altered the time of teaching, learning, and research in the university (Bansel & Davies, 2005; Giroux & Searls Giroux, 2004; Menzies & Newson, 2007; Walker, 2009; Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003).[9] The timescape of the neoliberal university is marked by the requirement to do more work, and a greater variety of work, in less time; the pervasive scheduling and lengthening of the work day; the blurring of work and personal time; and the need to divide one's attention, and time, between multiple

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[8] Barbara Adam (1998) introduces the concept of timescape to underscore the interrelatedness of time, spatiality, and matter and the importance of context in our experience of time.

[9] Matus and Talburt (2009) also emphasize the importance of New Public Management in facilitating the university's internationalization agenda.

tasks at once. In this accelerated and intensified temporal order, there is little time for "slow" scholarship such as critical thinking, reflection, dialogue, or writing (Hartman & Darab, 2012; Mountz et al., 2015).[10] At the same time, however, Walker (2009) draws our attention to the multiple and divergent temporal orders that co-exist within the academy: "while academic capitalism and globalization intersect and shape higher education institutions, pre-modern time, clock-time, and global time are all present and interact with each other in conflicting and disharmonious ways" (p. 505). The university continues to cling to its image as a humanist institution while at the same time acting as a global business. Alongside wider critiques of gender, class, and racial inequality in organizations and society, the negative impact of New Public Management on the labour of white women, people of colour, and other marginalized populations within higher education has been examined (e.g. Hartman & Darab, 2012; Shahjahan, 2015; Thomas & Davies, 2002).[11] In a related vein, in the continued presence of institutional discourses of "universalizing, humanist knowledges" juxtaposed with statements about equipping students with the skills they will need as workers in a fast-changing world, Matus and Talburt (2009, p. 520) perceive a loss of "spatial coherence," "tenuous contact between humanism and managerialism rather than relational change and negotiation." The result is a complex scenario in which the university disavows its role in the production of the very global space it describes.

In my view, with its complex and contradictory spatial/temporal registers and practices, the global, corporatized university is best characterized by Sharma's (2014) concept of "transit spaces." Transit spaces are the concrete edifices of mediation and mobility, the material spaces where capital, people, goods, and information circulate. While transit spaces act as the switch points for global capital, they also house very specific local relations. They are key

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[10] Sharma (2014) argues that the "slow" movement is, in fact, a spatial practice, not a temporal one.

[11] Shahjahan (2015) provides a useful overview of anticolonial and indigenous scholars' work related to time and colonialism.

sites for the governing and institutionalizing of the temporal order. They are also replete with the contradictions of that order, the multiple temporalities or itineraries, as they intersect and cross.

2.2.3 The Space/Time of the Neoliberal Academic Library

The value of the academic library today depends "on the visibility it affords to the university, technological innovation, and its educational mission" (Closet-Crane, 2011, pp. 36-37). By positioning itself as an innovative, student-centered institution, the library creates a new corporate identity or brand for itself, one strategically aligned with its parent institution. The library, like the university, "is in the business of teaching" (Closet-Crane, 2011, p. 36). As a result, academic libraries have also become embroiled in the spatial and temporal logics of the global knowledge economy, to some degree at least. The design and aesthetic management of library spaces have been used to reinforce the university's identity as a site for the production of knowledge workers, as evidenced by Hancock and Spicer's (2010) case study of New Glasgow Caledonian University's Saltire Centre library building.

> It is a building which is designed to engender individuals who are "more active, more creative," and more capable of self-regulation. By acting on the bodies and perceptions of students, the intent is to configure self-regulating, collaborative and team-focused subjects—the perceived characteristics of knowledge workers in the 21st century economy. Such a building appears highly congruent with the mission and aspirations of an institution which professes a particular function in relation to the economic development of its host nation; namely to produce a collaboratively orientated, ICT skilled labour force suited to employment in an increasingly service oriented, globally competitive national economy. (p. 11)

Mirza and Seale (2017) argue that redesigned technology-infused spaces in libraries, such as makerspaces, not only promote "the development of quantitative and digital skills, but also entrepreneurship and innovation" (pp. 177-178). They further contend that in normative

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visions of the library of the future collated and endorsed by the American Library Association on its *Trend Library* website, the student is depicted as entrepreneurial, male, and white— the normative knowledge worker. Moreover, it is possible to view the present, consistently depicted in terms of disruption and progress, "fraught with "monumental and inevitable" changes (Mirza & Seale, 2017, p. 175), as a kind of universalizing "future-present" (Clegg, 2010) to which libraries must respond in a never-ending (and arguably misguided) attempt to demonstrate their continued relevance, to show themselves to be innovative, collaborative, and resilient. As Drabinski (2016, p. 28) notes in her examination of the timescape of professional identity, "for librarianship, the present is always exceptional and always requires exceptional attention to take action for the coming future."

Dempsey, Malpas, and Lavoie (2014) contend that by facilitating "the emergence of cooperative infrastructure" and cloud-based "group-scaled solutions," the "network context" has had profound implications for collection development, scholarly communication, and user engagement in academic libraries (p. 394). Local collections, cloud-based storage, and discovery systems are now managed at local, consortial, and national levels. Discovery of and access to resources have been decoupled as the library's local catalogue or discovery layer point users to web-based research tools, such as Google Scholar, and includes records for online resources not licensed locally, such as open access journals. In this way, the networked environment connects the academic library to the space of flows. We need remain cognizant of the fact that access is contingent upon institutional affiliation, however; information is, after all, a commodity. Despite the allure of the rhetoric of globalization with its emphasis on porosity and flows, in the age of the refugee crisis, Brexit, travel restrictions, and border walls, it is clear that boundaries such as borders still very much matter in the global economy.[12]

In this way, the academic library becomes enrolled in the accelerated, intensified, and differentiated timescape of the knowledge economy. Although the LIS literature does not

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[12] With thanks to Maura Seale for underscoring this important consideration.

address this issue directly, it would appear that academic libraries began to exploit just-in-time inventory approaches in the early 1980s, taking advantage of the affordances of the Web for resource discovery and delivery in order to cope with the spiraling cost of serials and become more efficient.[13] This innovation ushers in what Widdicombe (2004) describes as "the 24/7 library trend." Today, in addition to more traditional strategies, such as approval plans, standing orders, subscriptions, and firm orders, academic libraries use patron-driven or demand-driven acquisitions, another form of just-in-time inventory management. The just-in-time model, featuring accelerated service delivery, has become a common approach to library public services as well. "Libraries provide 'just-in-time' opportunities for online and distance learning through the use of pathfinders, guides, and tutorials," and support for information literacy and other "skills" is "increasingly pared down into bite-sized, easy-to-digest content chunks" (Nicholson, 2015, p. 331). Most North American academic research libraries now use a just-in-time triage model to provide reference service, whereby directional and factual questions are answered by library technicians (and sometimes student staff), with more involved questions referred to an "on call" librarian as needed. Chat reference, a kind of "call centre" approach to reference service (Coffman & Saxton, 1999) offered across branches, regions, countries, and time zones, increases the accessibility of library services and resources for remote users.

In normative LIS discourse, the 24/7 library is lauded for being "in time" with the hyper-accelerated real time environment of the global knowledge economy:

> We have entered the Google world and there is no turning back. People come
> to expect instant responses, immediate delivery, and satisfactory closure to
> their quest. ...Instant satisfaction is the mantra. Using the highest speed
> network available, students search databases for clues to the answer, and

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[13] This conclusion is based on examining the results from searches for ("just in time" OR time) in the *Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts* (LISTA) and *Library Literature and Information Science Full Text* databases.

download documents or read relevant paragraphs in online books. They then

cobble this together for whatever purpose is required and move on to the next

task. And, what of top researchers dealing with complex issues? The process

is still very much the same... (Widdicombe, 2004, p. 194)

As Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography makes clear, however, discourses of acceleration mask the differentiated temporal labour upon which the knowledge economy depends. "Part of capital's transformative effect is maintaining a fiction of generalized effects. Being aware of temporality disrupts the tendency to generalize the conditions and effects of capital's transformations" (Sharma, 2014, p. 72). In this case, narratives of the high-speed virtual library, with its seamless interfaces, instant access, and "frictionless" interactions,[14] obscure the temporal labour of library workers. For example, the chat operator's work and time are disrupted while they sit and wait for "clients."[15] Inefficient waiting is followed by periods of intense activity as the operator synchronizes their rhythms to those of their interlocutor. To wait—to recalibrate—is to be subject to time as power. In keeping with this idea, in their examination of librarians' experiences of time while providing reference service, Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy (2017) note that because wait times are used as an indicator of service quality, time serves as a form of professional self-regulation and discipline.

Following the model of sociologist George Ritzer (1993), Quinn (2000) and Nicholson (2015) consider the growing influence of New Public Management in academic libraries to

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[14] Reducing "friction" in interactions between library staff and patrons is one of the goals of user experience work in libraries. See for example, Bell, S. (2017, March 22). UXF: Where's the friction at your library. *Designing better libraries. Exploring the intersection of design, user experience and creativity for better libraries.* Retrieved from http://dbl.lishost.org/blog/2017/03/22/uxf-wheres-the-friction-at-your-library/#.W3NMspNKiCR

[15] With thanks to the reviewer who drew my attention to this example.

be a form of "McDonaldization," a process of rationalization characterized by efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control. In their attempts to provide simplistic, universalizing solutions to the complex, messy, and inefficient process of learning, just-in-time pedagogical approaches embody technocratic solutionism. Mirza and Seale (2017, p. 185) argue that "tutorials, library guides, badges, FAQs, flipped learning, connected learning, and gamification...reinscribe neoliberal ideology through their unquestioning ideas such as short-term results, the demands of the market, just-in-time services, return-on-investment (ROI), and efficiency." Through a calculated and predictable set of approaches and strategies such as developing "innovative" technology-rich library spaces and services for niche populations, marketed in glossy brochure-like annual reports intended to woo the parents of future students and potential donors, academic libraries have become increasingly derivative and indistinguishable one from the other. The result is an array of cookie-cutter organizations, remarkable only in their common "failure to imagine that libraries can do more than serve the quotidian needs of neoliberal higher education priorities" (Coysh, Denton, & Sloniowski, 2018, p. 130). Citing Elmborg (2011), I argue that the McDonaldized academic library "has ceased to be an 'absolute space' endowed with cultural significance, to instead become an abstract, globalized space, emptied of intrinsic meaning and given over to commercial use and generic identity, 'like mini-marts, Wal-marts, McDonalds, and malls'" (Nicholson, 2015, p. 332).

2.3 The Space/Time of Information Literacy

In the second half of this article, I will consider the spatial/temporal registers of information literacy as skills training for the global knowledge economy and a strategic priority intended to secure a role for the library within the university's internationalization agenda.

2.3.1 Information Literacy Skills

The term "information literacy" was coined in 1974 by Paul Zurkowski, then President of the Information Industry of America (IIA), a national organization intended to serve the interests

of private, for-profit associations concerned with the production and sale of information. For Zurkowski, information literacy represented "a critical stepping stone in the creation of wealth, a key element in the blueprint of national economic recovery" (National Forum for Information Literacy, 2015). *Ipso facto*, the connection between information literacy, the commodification of information, and neoliberal economic reforms was established.

Information literacy emerged alongside Daniel Bell's (1973) concept of the "post-industrial information society" (Birdsall, 1994; Estabrook, 1977; Foster, 1993; Harris & Hannah, 1993), today more commonly described as the knowledge economy. Bell argues that the post-industrial society represents a complete rupture, a radical change in modes of production and outputs: "The post-industrial society is an information society, as the industrial society is a goods-producing society" (Bell, 1973, p. 467). In the new economy, more people are required to work with information on a daily basis, and as a result, they require a new set of information skills. Bell's theory garners significant interest from those in library and information services because it suggests an enhanced role for the profession and increase in the societal importance of LIS as a discipline (Estabrook, 1977; Birdsall, 1994). The information society, a *fait accompli*, requires and discursively produces the concept of information literacy, as the title of Christina Doyle's 1994 monograph, *Information Literacy in an Information Society: A Concept for the Information Age*, suggests. Early information literacy texts, filled with references to the "information age" (Breivik, 1985, 1998; Breivik & Gee, 1989; Doyle, 1994; Kuhlthau, 1987; Presidential Committee on Information Literacy of the American Library Association, 1989) and the "post-industrial information society" (Doyle, 1994), fail to define these terms and substantiate their theoretical claims. Instead, they manifest an uncritical assumption that quantitative changes in information have brought about a qualitative change in society, that is to say, because there is more information, the information society exists, *ex post facto* (Webster, 2014). As Birdsall (1994) describes it,

> Enthusiasm for the idea of an information society is so extensive that there is
> little questioning of this proposition among [librarians]. It is an accepted fact with
> little concern about how it is defined, where it is headed, how long it will last, or
> what its political, economic, and cultural implications are beyond the benefits

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that it is hoped will accrue. (Birdsall, 1994, p. 47)

Despite the many limitations of Bell's theory, it garners popularity as a shelf-ready model for prognosticating about the role of information and technology in society (Webster, 2014). The following passage from the *Final Report* of the Presidential Committee on Information Literacy of the American Library Association (ALA, 1989) serves as an exemplar of rhetoric about the information society:

> No other change in American society has offered greater challenges than the emergence of the Information Age. Information is expanding at an unprecedented rate, and enormously rapid strides are being made in the technology for storing, organizing, and accessing the ever growing [*sic*] tidal wave of information. … Because we have been hit by a tidal wave of information, what used to suffice as literacy no longer suffices; what used to count as effective knowledge no longer meets our needs; what used to pass as a good education no longer is adequate … Information literacy is a survival skill in the Information Age. (ALA, 1989, par. 1)

The convergence of Bell's theory of the information society with the neoliberal ideology of the Reagan administration had a profound impact on American information policy (Harris & Hannah, 1993). The result was an increasingly pervasive belief that information as a resource and commodity held the key to economic recovery and growth. "President Reagan and his advisors were...persuaded by Daniel Bell's vision of the post-industrial society [as a society] driven by the emergence of information as *the* commodity capable of fueling a dramatic renaissance in America" (Harris & Hannah, 1993, p. 67).[16] In the 1980s and 1990s, when broad neoliberal educational reforms intended to better prepare workers for the information

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[16] For a discussion of the emergence of information literacy and neoliberalism in the Australian higher education context, see Enright (2013).

society were introduced in Anglo-American countries, [17] librarians saw an opportunity to legitimate their role within this new higher education environment (Behrens, 1994; Drabinski, 2014; Kapitzke, 2003; O'Connor, 2006, 2009). Defining information literacy "as a part of the wider literacy continuum" and linking it with the concept of lifelong learning were key strategies librarians used to underscore their value as workers and educators (Tuominen, Savolainen, & Talja, 2005, p. 331).

Only a handful of LIS professionals and researchers then or now have questioned the validity of information literacy as a construct. Foster (1993) describes information literacy as an invented social malady, one that only librarians are able to diagnose and cure. Kapitzke (2003, p. 58) criticizes LIS for failing to acknowledge that information literacy is "driven largely by the profit motive of the information technology and marketing industries." More recently, O'Connor (2006) engages with the literature on theories of the professions to contend that information literacy serves as a form of professional legitimation for librarians during "a period of profound social, economic and technological change" (p. 2). Because it lacks a theoretical foundation, she argues, information literacy cannot achieve its stated democratic aims. Seale (2010, 2013) and Drabinski (2014) analyze early American information literacy documents to call awareness to information literacy as a construct embedded within a neoliberal political and economic agenda. Enright (2013) demonstrates how the emergence of information literacy (IL) in Australia takes place in the context of a "progressive alignment of skill formation with the logic of capital" (p. 28) within key government policy documents, including the Mayer Committee's *Putting General Education*

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[17] In the United States, these reforms were initially outlined in *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983); in the United Kingdom, in *The Dearing Report* (The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997), and in Australia, in *The Candy Report* (Candy, Crebert, & O'Leary, 1994). For an overview of policy shifts in Canadian higher education, see Basu (2004) and Carpenter, Weber, and Schugurensky (2012).

to Work: The Key Competencies Report (1992) and *Developing Lifelong Learners through Undergraduate Education*, also known as the Candy Report, issued in 1994.

Despite information literacy's perceived promise, librarians have largely failed in their efforts to make it an integral part of the curriculum and to convince those outside the library of its value. These challenges have been attributed in the LIS literature to faculty overestimating students' information literacy skills (Badke, 2010); differences in faculty and librarian cultures (Hardesty, 1995; Leckie, 1996); the subordinate or marginal status of librarians (Almeida, 2015; Beilin, 2015; Eisenhower & Smith, 2010; Meulemans & Carr, 2013; Sloniowski, 2016; Johnston & Webber, 2003; Webber & Johnston, 2000); librarians' lack of pedagogical training (Given & Julien, 2002; Julien, 2005; Julien & Boon, 2002; Julien & Given, 2003; Julien, Tan, & Merrillat, 2013; Webber & Johnston, 2000); negative student attitudes towards information literacy and/or libraries in the age of the Internet (Julien, 2005; Julien & Boon, 2002); entrenched or resistant attitudes among faculty regarding information literacy skills (Julien, 2005; Julien & Boon, 2002; McGuinness, 2006); a lack of understanding among faculty of the importance of information literacy (Badke, 2010); a belief among faculty that information literacy is already being addressed or that students will "pick it up: and to an already over-crowded curriculum (a lack of time) (Julien, 2005; Julien & Boon, 2002; Bury, 2011). Research outside of LIS points to a lack of consensus among faculty about what generic skills such as information literacy are, how they relate to disciplinary knowledge, and how they should be taught and assessed in the university curriculum (Barrie, 2006; Dunne, Bennett, & Carré, 1997; Hughes & Barrie, 2010; Urciuoli, 2008). Regardless of the causes, the result is that the most common approaches to information literacy instruction continues to be the one-shot guest lecture model, in which a faculty member invites a librarian into their class to provide one-time instruction in research skills, usually related to an upcoming assignment, on the one hand, and self-directed online tutorials and videos on the other.

By virtue of its abbreviated, intensified, and episodic format, the one-shot approach can do little more than provide a perfunctory introduction to research strategies and tools. If librarians have struggled to move beyond the one-shot model, with its "superficial, skills-

oriented approach," it is because "the one-shot is in perfect sync with the accelerated, fragmented 'corporate time' of contemporary higher education" (Nicholson, 2016, p. 27). The inability to address higher order skills or larger social issues related to the production and consumption of information thereby becomes a source of considerable frustration for many librarians. The intensification of work in the neoliberal university, associated with a shortage of time, also poses obstacles to developing a critical pedagogy for the information literacy classroom.

> With fewer people juggling more work, it becomes easy to fall back on database training as the sum total of our teaching efforts… It also makes it easier to justify our unwillingness to engage in more nuanced questions about how information is used, collected, packaged, and marketed. Who has the time to think carefully through these questions and prepare such challenging material in ways that resonate with students while still teaching them the basic skills needed for their assignments? (Ryan & Sloniowski, 2013, p. 281)

The result is that information literacy librarians find themselves in a position of disjuncture, working against the grain. Information literacy education in the neoliberal university is a "stuck place" (Eisenhower & Smith, 2010), a practice fraught with tensions.

2.3.2 Information Literacy Standards

Mainstream information literacy policy documents produced since the year 2000 by the likes of the ALA, the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA), and UNESCO continue to be anchored in neoliberal competitive logics.[18] "The common view of IL

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[18] Information literacy theory and practices in North American academic libraries are informed by the policies, standards, and guidelines of the American Library Association (ALA), the accrediting body for LIS Masters programs in North America and Puerto Rico. As a result, Canadian and American approaches to information literacy instruction are highly

congruent; where differences exist, they arise from the particularities of the broader higher education contexts within the two countries. National information literacy policies and frameworks also exist in the Australia (Australian Library and Information Association, 2006; Bundy 2004), New Zealand (Bundy, 2004), and the United Kingdom (CILIP, 2018; SCONUL, 2011). The International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) (Lau, 2006) and UNESCO (2005) have also issued frameworks and statements related to information literacy. For overview of information literacy policy in Canadian higher education in particular, see Bradley, C. (2013a). Information literacy in the programmatic university accreditation standards of select programs in Canada, the United States, the UK and Australia. *Journal of Information Literacy, 7*(1), 44–68. https://doi.org/10.11645/7.1.1785, and Bradley, C. (2013b). Information literacy policy development in Canada: Is it time? *Partnership: The Canadian Journal of Library and Information Practice and Research, 8*(2), 1-28. https://doi.org/10.21083/partnership.v8i2.2489.

National policies and frameworks outside the United States are heavily influenced by American approaches, however. In my view, what is most striking about information literacy in Anglo-American contexts is its homogeneity. As a case in point, as a faculty member for the Association of College and Research Libraries' *Information Literacy Immersion Programs* from 2011-18, I helped to design and teach the Programs' curricula, which are intended to fill a gap in pedagogical training for librarians in North American library schools (Ariew, 2014). At the invitation of local university library consortia, portions of the *Immersion Program* curriculum were presented to librarians from Hong Kong in 2013 and Singapore in 2015. This experience suggests that approaches to information literacy and the challenges faced by academic librarians in their roles as information literacy educators are similar (in the eyes of library administrators, at least) across countries of Anglo-American heritage, despite the significant differences in higher education systems across these countries.

[information literacy] texts is that in the present knowledge economy there is a struggle for survival of the fittest and that those who possess sufficient technical and intellectual capacities will be able to consume information effectively" (Tuominen, Savolainen, & Talja, 2005, pp. 333-334). These texts reproduce spatial/temporal binaries of development and present literacy as a set of decontextualized generic skills, masking the cultural and ideological assumptions that underpin it as a political, colonial project. Mainstream views of information literacy in Anglo-American contexts have, until recently, been based in the "autonomous model" of literacy (Street, 1984), according to which literacy is understood as an array of cognitive, generic, and decontextualized skills. Information literacy skills and competencies taught in higher education are seen to be universal and transferable to the workplace. Information literacy instruction has been informed by a behaviourist "process approach" (Bruce, 1998) based in standards and checklists that reduces literacy to discrete skills, steps, and outcomes, promoting surface rather than deep learning (Jacobs, 2008; Seale, 2010; Webber & Johnston, 2000). This approach represents what critical educator Paolo Freire referred to as the "banking model" of education in which knowledge is "deposited" by teachers into their students as if these students were little more than empty receptacles waiting to be filled (Jacobs, 2008). Sociocultural literacy theorists denounce this model, arguing that literacy "skills" "cannot be taught or practiced independently from the sociocultural and historical contexts in which they are enacted" (Tuominen, Savolainen, & Talja, 2005, p. 330). Instead, they contend that literacy is not a skill we do or do not possess, it is something that we *do*, and what we do with literacy is situational. Different literacy practices are associated with different cultures and contexts; some are dominant (e.g. school-based literacies) while others are marginalized (Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanič, 2000; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Street, 1984). LIS scholars have recently begun to acknowledge the issues inherent in mainstream views of information literacy, as evidenced by a growing interest in sociocultural perspectives on information literacy (Hicks, 2016, 2018; Lloyd, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b; Lloyd & Williamson, 2008; Nicholson, 2014, 2016; Sundin, Limberg, & Lundh, 2012; Tuominen, Savolainen, & Talja, 2005) and critical and feminist pedagogies for information literacy instruction (Accardi, 2013; Accardi, Drabinski, & Kumbier, 2010; Downey, 2016; McElroy & Pagowsky, 2016). In addition, in 2012, the Association of

College and Research Libraries elected to revise (and ultimately rescind) the skills-based *Information Literacy Competency Standards for Higher Education* (ALA, 2000), replacing them with the *Framework for Information Literacy for Higher Education* (ACRL, 2015), discussed below.

Pilerot and Lindberg (2011) consider information literacy, as it is outlined in these same texts, to be an imperialist enterprise that seeks to export "a commodity produced in the Western world...to the so-called third world or developing countries" (p. 340). In putting forth a view of information literacy as liberatory, these texts convey "an ambition to carry out what we might call missionary work in the name of IL" (p. 344). In a similar vein, Hudson (2012) argues that the construction of information inequality in the global information inequality literature, "that body of work concerned centrally with global suffering and its connection to disparities in information access related to available content, technologies, infrastructure, and skills" (p. 63), "extends colonial mythologies of racial Otherness and Western civilizational superiority" (p. 62). Other disciplinary technologies or "boss texts,"[19] such as information literacy standards and frameworks, also work to situate, circumscribe, and enable the work of librarians within particular spatial/temporal registers. "Standards have produced the actual classroom space we are given in which to teach, defined for many of us the teaching roles we play in our libraries, and given us a place at the curricular table in many institutions" (Drabinski, 2014, p. 483). Standards mediate and regulate our information literacy practice across institutions, across cultures, across borders (as my experience teaching information literacy in Hong Kong and Singapore, described above, suggests). As a case in point, the Association of College & Research Libraries *Framework for Information*

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[19] According to feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith (2001, p. 159), boss texts "mediate, regulate and authorize people's activities … [they] are to be seen as they enter into people's local practices of working, drawing, reading, looking and so on. They must be examined as they coordinate people's activities."

Literacy for Higher Education (hereinafter referred to as the *Framework*), produced in 2015, has already been translated into Chinese, Farsi, French, Italian, and Spanish.[20]

Standards do not simply describe decontextualized realities such as accomplished teaching practice or competent teachers, however; they actively *produce* them. They are a form of rationalization—of McDonaldization. In mainstream discourse, educational standards function as a technology for producing good teaching; they are the material inscription of an extant, neutral, and codified knowledge base that the competent instructor has only to put into practice. As Mulcahy (2011) points out, this discourse masks the social, material, and political circumstances that give rise to standards and erases the "invisible work" that teachers and learners do to sustain them, however (p. 95); "the standard story of standards privileges the distal, and tends to repress, displace or efface the proximal" (p. 108). Using actor-network theory (ANT),[21] Fenwick (2010) demonstrates how universal standards are always adapted locally, shifting the focus away from "standards as domination to standards as interplay and scaling" (p. 126). Local adaptations represent "alternate orderings" (p. 126), interdependent spaces of prescription and negotiation that co-exist together. Fenwick invokes the network "as sociomaterial performance" to illuminate the "dynamic, complex and

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[20] Association of College & Research Libraries (ACRL). (n.d.). *Guidelines, standards, and frameworks by topic.* Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/acrl/standards/standardsguidelinestopic. It is interesting to note that those ACRL standards related to information literacy have been translated more than other ACRL standards.

[21] Actor-network theory, "part of the shift from individualized, psychological approaches to the understanding of knowledge building to more social cultural interpretations" (Edwards, 2002, p. 354), assumes that learning and subjectivities are formed across networks of animate and inanimate objects through space and time. The network affords spaces of prescription and negotiation.

contested" micropolitics of labour (p. 119).[22] In related work, Drabinski (2014) invokes the concept of *kairos*, a kind of qualitative time, as means of reorienting information literacy instruction away from universal, atemporal standards "toward local and immediate contexts" (p. 481). In my view, this kairotic and emotional labour represents a form of "recalibration" (Sharma, 2014). *Kairos* destabilizes the normative space/time of standards, allowing us to "understand standards of all kinds—which can come to seem natural and necessary and inevitable and true—as themselves produced contextually and in time, in response to local political, social, and economic relations" (Drabinski, 2014, p. 483). It also enables us to see information literacy itself not as truth but as a "product of its time," the intervention into higher education at a particular historic moment by librarians seeking to secure their future as "necessary employees in the workforce development program for a coming information economy" (Drabinski, 2014, p. 483).

Drabinski and Sitar (2016) use the *Framework* as a site to consider the performative work of standards, what "standards do and what they don't." Intended to respond to critiques of the decontextualized, checklist approach of the *Information Literacy Competency Standards for Higher Education* (ALA, 2000; hereinafter referred to as the *Standards*), the *Framework* features "six heuristic frames through which academic librarians can envision and implement local, contextual approaches to information literacy" (Drabinski & Sitar, 2016, p. 53). An attempt to find a middle ground between the prescriptive enumeration of skills outlined in the *Standards* and a more flexible "cluster of interconnected core concepts" (ACRL, 2015), we might therefore consider the *Framework* as a mediating document, a kind of "bridgespace" (Downey, 2007).[23] Drabinski and Sitar contend that in disavowing its status as a standard, as

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[22] Both Fenwick (2010) and Sharma (2014) draw attention to power and labour but Fenwick highlights the spatial whereas Sharma privileges the temporal.

[23] A bridgespace as "a collection of interconnected virtual places that support people's movement between two regions or countries and the sustenance of cultural ties at a distance" (Adams & Ghose, 2003, cited in Downey, 2007, p. 718).

a disciplinary technology, however, the *Framework* loses the performative qualities of a standard necessary "to...secure librarians a seat at the table" (p. 54). It ceases to function as a distal universalizing political document, one that operates within multiple spatial registers and interpellates diverse actors, and instead becomes no more than a proximal, personal tool. In order to raise the profile of critical information literacy "from the domain of classroom practice to that of institutional critique" (p. 54), Drabinski and Sitar advocate for the continued, strategic, and flexible use of standards as "doorways" or mediating technologies that can facilitate the integration of information literacy into curriculum documents, strategic plans, and accreditation frameworks.

The *Framework* is, in many ways, an ambivalent and inconsistent document, as Hicks (2018) and Seale (2016) demonstrate. One might say it lacks spatial coherence, to use a metaphor invoked above. Hicks argues that the presence of threshold concepts and knowledge practices, both of which position information literacy as stable and bounded, runs counter to a sociocultural perspective which posits knowledge as contested and emergent.[24] Seale contends that although the *Framework* gestures towards sociocultural approaches to literacy, which foreground the importance of local context, it remains grounded in globalizing (neo)liberal narratives of individual progress and human/social capital investment. As the student "acquires knowledge practices and dispositions," they advance along a continuum from "information illiterate to information literate" (p. 85). Moreover, the "expanded definition of information literacy" offered in the *Framework*, one that emphasizes "dynamism, flexibility, individual growth, and community learning" (ACRL, 2015), is based in the same problematic assumption found in many mainstream information literacy texts, namely that "the learning of information skills will automatically lead to beneficial outcomes" (Tuominen, Savolainen, & Talja, 2005, p. 333). Like many information literacy

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[24] Librarians hold multiple, often conflicting views of information literacy, however, as evidenced in debates surrounding the production of the *Framework*. For a summary of these debates, see Drabinski (2016). Early phenomenographic research by Bruce (1998) identified seven different conceptions, or "faces," of information literacy.

boss texts, the *Framework* links information literacy skills with technology, globalization, and the knowledge economy. The *Framework* (ACRL, 2015) states, "The rapidly changing higher education environment, along with the dynamic and often uncertain information ecosystem in which all of us work and live, require new attention to be focused on foundational ideas about that ecosystem." Changes "out there" require librarians' immediate action "in here," on their local campus. Seale (2016, p. 85) concludes, "the *Framework*'s attempts to emphasize the context of the learner, the librarian, and the institution, as well as its claims to not be a standard, are in the end unsuccessful in the face of both its own internal contradictions and hegemonic liberalism." Ultimately, for the *Framework* to succeed as a standard, it must posit information literacy as an array of universal skills transferable to any context. It must hold to a model of literacy now widely discredited, despite its claim to "a richer, more complex set of core ideas (ACRL, 2015) about information literacy itself.

2.4 Conclusion

Moss (2006, p. 3) suggests, "by giving time and space priority in the research design and analysis, there is the potential for a research approach which relates personal experience directly to a wider set of social, economic, and political relationships." In this article, I have explored the space/time of information literacy as a key library practice that seeks to legitimate the role of the academic library in the neoliberal university's globalizing agenda. Information literacy operates within multiple spatial and temporal registers: as a set of decontextualized generic skills for the knowledge economy, it seeks to prepare students for a changing future "out there." Normative information literacy texts reproduce the spatial/temporal binaries of development and progress inherent in neoliberal competitive logics and colonial discourse. Standards and frameworks also work to produce, regulate, and mediate the work of librarians within conflicting spatial/temporal registers such as global/local, atemporal/kairotic. Mainstream approaches to information literacy instruction in the contemporary academic library, such as the one-shot guest lecture and the two-minute online video, are in perfect sync with the corporatized timescape of the neoliberal university.

Literacy practices are ideological, a contested site "between authority and power on the one hand and individual resistance and creativity on the other" (Street, 1995, p. 162). Space and time also perform political work and enact power, shaping identities and practices through particular codes and interests. Enright (2013) describes information literacy as a site of violence, one that reinscribes and reinforces self-interest and profit seeking as the dominant subject formation under neoliberalism: "So long as neoliberalism subordinates all aspects of human development to the calculus of profit...there will be violence" (p. 33). If we believe information literacy can be a tool for social justice rather than a tool of oppression, Enright argues, we need to scrutinize it in the social, political, and economic contexts within which is it necessarily embedded. The present article has been an attempt to consider the ways in which the space/time of information literacy, as a sociomaterial practice embedded within the broader context of higher education's globalizing agenda, produces and regulates the subjectivities of library workers and those of our students.

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3   Method for Empirical/Interview Articles

Qualitative research seeks to generate and develop descriptions and explanations of people's experiences, "to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 12). Accordingly, the next three articles in this thesis use empirical data gathered through semi-structured interviews to explore the ways that Canadian academic librarians who provide information literacy instruction as part of their regular duties experience the space/time of information literacy, the neoliberal university, and the global knowledge economy. The research questions that inform this study are: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' labour in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labour 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? This chapter outlines the method used to gather and analyze this data.

3.1 Sampling and Recruitment

The English-language members of the U15 Group of public, research-intensive universities in Canada were selected as sites first, because they represent the same type of institution that Slaughter and Leslie examined in their study of academic capitalism in 1997, and second, they form a relatively homogenous group in terms of their funding models, organizational structure, and libraries. Within the U15 Group, twelve members are English-language institutions, two are French, and one, the University of Ottawa, offers programs in both languages (U15 Group, 2015). English language members include (from East to West): Dalhousie, McGill, Queen's, the University of Ottawa, the University of Toronto, York, McMaster, the University of Waterloo, the University of Western Ontario, the University of Manitoba, the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary, and the University of British Columbia. Université de Montréal and Université Laval represent the French language institutions. In order to gather data representative of a wide range of institutions within this group, study sites were prioritized using the following

criteria: geographic location, research income dollars, and student enrolment (see Table 1.
U15 English Language Member Universities Sorted According to Enrolment Total, Low to
High).

Table 1

U15 English Language Member Universities, Sorted According to Enrolment Total, Low to High

Institution	Enrolment Undergraduate	Enrolment Graduate	Enrolment Total	Research Income (CDN $)
Dalhousie	14,324	3,395	18,440	142,000,000
Saskatchewan	17,379	3,115	20,494	158,000,000
Queens	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

Note. From U15 Group of Canadian Research Universities. (n.d.). *U15 Group of Canadian Research Universities*. Retrieved from http://U15.ca

Using data provided on the U15 Group website, a list of target institutions was created with the goal of recruiting 10-25 participants from across institutions. Potential interviewees at each respective university were then identified based on their job title and responsibilities. Participants were recruited via email and a posting on the researcher's Twitter account. Two personalized email invitations were sent at an interval of two weeks' time, institution by institution, to a total of eight institutions. Twenty-two participants were recruited via email. In addition, two librarians from two additional U15 universities who had heard of the study, one through their professional network and one via Twitter, also offered to participate. Because they matched the study inclusion criteria, they were interviewed. Those who agreed to participate in the study signed a consent form. Research ethics approval was given by the University of Western Ontario's Office of Human Research Ethics (see Appendix 2. *Ethics Certificate*).

In total, twenty-four librarians from ten U15 institutions located in six different provinces from coast to coast participated. Eighteen were female (75%), six were male (25%). This ratio closely matches the demographics of Canadian academic librarians (73.7% female, 26.3% male in 2013/14) (CAUT, 2017). Participants had a wide range of years of experience working in academic libraries, from less than one year to more than thirty years (numbers have been approximated to protect participants' anonymity). Eight were early career (0-7 years of experience), nine were mid-career (8-20 years of experience), and seven were late career (more than 20 years of experience). The mean number of years of experience working as a librarian in an academic library was 13.26; this is slightly higher than the Canadian national average of 11.7 in 2013/14 (CAUT, 2017). One participant was employed at a branch campus library; the rest worked on the main campus of their institution (note that not all U15 universities have more than campus). Of the twenty-four participants, eighteen had tenure or "continuing appointment," one was in a tenure track position but had not yet been granted tenure, and the remaining five were contractually employed. Members of this last group all had five years of experience or less respectively, suggesting that precarious

employment, the norm for an increasing number of Canadian faculty[1]may also be on the rise in academic libraries. No data is not available to corroborate this supposition, however.

The universities at which participants work were categorized by total enrolment as follows: Small: up to 25,000 students (three U15 institutions); Mid-size: 25,000 to 35,000 students (five U15 institutions); Large: more than 35,000 students (five U15 institutions). These somewhat arbitrary categories were used in order to mask the identity of the universities, and those of the librarians who work there, by placing institutions in groups with at least three members. An overview of participant demographics is provided in Table 2. *Demographic Profile of Participants (Grouped by Career Level, Size of Institution)* below.

Table 2

Demographic Profile of Participants (Grouped by Career Level, Size of Institution)

Career Stage	Small Institution (< 25,000 students)	Mid-sized (25,000 – 35,000 students)	Large (>35,000 students)
Early (0-7 years)	3	3	2
Mid (8-20 years)	2	4	3
Late (>20 years)	2	3	2
Total	7	10	7

My insider status may have been a potential limitation of the sampling strategy. One the one hand, my status as an insider researcher may have incited participants to participate in this study; on the other hand, it may also have made them less willing to reveal details about their

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[1] The majority of Canadian undergraduate students are now taught by contract faculty (Bassan, 2014).

experiences that they believed might portray them in a negative light. As I have outlined above, I take a critical stance toward information literacy and the neoliberal university and have shared these views in conference presentations and publications. Some who disagree with these views may have been reluctant to participate in this study; conversely, others may have been eager to participate in order to share with me how their views and experiences differ from my own. It is also possible that those who share my views are over-represented in the sample, introducing bias.

I was professionally acquainted to varying degrees with eleven of the twenty-four participants. Among the other thirteen, several indicated that they had had some connection with the Faculty of Information and Media Studies at Western at one time or another; others stated they had volunteered to participate as a gesture of collegiality, to help out a fellow researcher. At least one was unaware that I was a librarian. Participants' understanding of the research problem was mixed: some were evidently familiar with it, using words like "managerialism," "corporatization," "neoliberalism," and "McDonaldization" during the interview. Among these, several participants stated that they felt the research was important, which may suggest they felt personally impacted by changes to higher education and libraries to some degree and/or were eager to participate in order to share their views and experiences with me. Others were less familiar with the research problem: a number of participants asked me to restate the nature of the research or asked me to outline neoliberalism and its impacts on higher education following the conclusion of the interview.

Regardless of the potential limitations with the sampling method, the sample itself reflects the population and a range of perspectives are represented within the data, strengthening the trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1986) of the analysis. (Trustworthiness is further discussed in section 3.4 below.)

3.2 Data Collection

Data were gathered using semi-structured interviews, conducted online using Skype and audio recorded, lasting approximately ninety minutes each. The interviews took place from

February to April 2015. The interviews focused on four broad areas: information literacy; change (to the university, librarianship, and information literacy); and work (roles and responsibilities; workload; barriers to and facilitators of performance; and scholarship and professional service, including reading habits). Similar to Berkovich and Wasserman's 2017 study of the impact of New Public Management on academic librarians in Israel, neoliberalism or New Public Management were not addressed directly in the schedule of interview questions. Similarly, only one question, related to research and scholarship and professional service, focused on time. The interview questions were pre-tested with two information literacy librarians from non-U15 institutions. The interview guide is appended (Appendix 1. *Interview Questions*).

Immediately following each interview, I wrote an initial memo. "Memo-writing provides a space to become actively engaged in your materials, to develop your ideas, to fine-tune your subsequent data-gathering and to engage in critical reflexivity" (Charmaz, 2014, pp. 162-163). I transcibed the interviews myself. Through this process, I became intimately familiar with the data. Interviews were transcribed verbatim, and included pauses, affect (e.g. laughter, changes in tone, emphasis) and speech disfluencies, such as "um," and "uh." Informal conversations that ensued following the end of the formal interview were also recorded; when these addressed topics related to the study at hand, they were transcribed.

Two librarians participated in follow-up interviews at my request: in one case, to complete the interview since we started late, and in the other, to seek clarification regarding some of the participant's responses. Follow-up interviews were transcribed and included in the data set. The data were managed and coded using NVivo.

3.3 Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using thematic analysis within a constructionist framework. As a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006), thematic analysis is often used in combination with other approaches, such as discourse analysis, interpretive phenomenological analysis, and grounded theory. However, as a

standalone method in the social sciences, it has become increasingly widespread in the past fifteen years. For example, a search for ("thematic analysis" NOT "grounded theory") within the *Library and Information Science Full Text Database* yielded 94 results published in academic journals since 2003, with 93 of these items published since 2010. A search for ("thematic analysis" NOT "discourse analysis") produced 99 results in academic journals. Limiting these two searches to studies with interviews left 51 and 53 results, respectively. On its own, thematic analysis has recently been used in both qualitative and mixed methods research in LIS to explore such diverse topics as information resources (Parbhoo & Fourie, 2017); information seeking behaviour (Orlu, 2016); information sharing among women with hypertension (Jones, Wright, Wallace, & Veinot, 2018) and on social media (Bronstein, 2014; Panahi, Watson, Partridge, 2016); medical coding (Lucyk, Tang, & Quan, 2017); and public libraries (Most, 2015). Recent studies by Flierl, Howard, Zakharov, Zwicky, and Weiner (2018) and Yevelson-Shorsher and Bronstein (2018) use thematic analysis to explore international students' familiarity with and perceptions of academic libraries, and librarian, faculty, and student perceptions of information literacy, respectively. Of particular relevance is Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy's (2017) secondary thematic analysis of librarians' experiences of time while providing reference and information service.

Within a constructionist framework, thematic analysis assumes "meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced" and seeks "to theorize the sociocultural contexts, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts… provided" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 85). Social constructionism assumes that reality is multiple and co-constructed by both researcher and participants and acknowledges "the researcher's position, privileges, perspectives, and interactions" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13) as an integral part of the research process, dispelling the positivist notion of the researcher as passive, neutral observer.

Data were coded using a latent theoretical approach following the method proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first phase consisted of writing initial memos, transcribing the interviews, and taking notes on potential codes, allowing me to familiarize myself with the data. Next, initial codes were generated and applied to the transcripts in NVivo using an open

coding approach. Open coding is "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61, cited in Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 202). Similar to the approach taken by Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy (2017, p. 7), my codes were both data driven and concept driven (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), i.e., I identified "meaningful words, phrases, or concepts" through inductive coding, but codes representing "key theoretical concepts from the literature," such as acceleration and intensification, were also created and assigned. Coded data extracts were then collated in a separate document and analyzed to identify possible emerging patterns or themes as well as sub-themes. At this stage, *in vivo* codes, "telling statements [researchers] discover in interviews, documents, and the everyday language used in a study site (Charmaz, 2014, p. 343), such as "shiny and new," became apparent. The internal homogeneity (meaningful coherence) and external heterogeneity (clear distinctions) of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was considered. Analysis was recursive, using a process that "involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of data… and the analysis of the data" being produced (p. 86). Results consider possible explanations for the themes, the conditions that may have given rise to them, and the stories they reveal (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 94).

Once I had completed the analysis, I decided *which* articles to include in the dissertation. Some of these decisions were pragmatic: two of the chapters were written with the intent to submit them in response to calls for papers for special, themed journal issues. A version of chapter 2, "The Space/Time of Information Literacy, Higher Education, and the Global Knowledge Economy: A Theoretical Framework," was submitted in June 2018 to *The Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* for inclusion in a special issue on "Evidences, Implications, and Critical Interrogations of Neoliberalism in Information Studies" to be published in 2019. A version of the last article, chapter 6, "The Impact of Neoliberal Timescapes on Canadian Academic Librarians' Scholarship and Service," was submitted to *The Canadian Journal of Academic Librarianship* in July 2018 as part of a call for papers for a special issue on librarians' research and scholarship to be published in 2019. Other decisions were serendipitous: for example, I was alerted to Sarah Sharma's work in

June 2018 and chose to apply her theory of power-chronography to my analysis in chapter 5, "'Being in Time': Temporality and Librarians' Professional Practice in Canada's Neoliberal Research Universities," because it offered a generative framework to explain what I had already identified in my analysis. Pragmatic or serendipitous, these decisions had be to taken into consideration when deciding what other "threads" to pull from the analysis to produce a cohesive dissertation. Chapter 2, already accepted for publication, did double duty as a theoretical framework and an article in its own right. Since I had already explored the ways that librarians experience time in their professional practice in Chapter 5 and in their scholarship and service in Chapter 6, it made sense to include a chapter that addressed neoliberal spatial and temporal logics in the university and the academic library more broadly. This became Chapter 4, "'Shiny and New': Neoliberal Logics and the Material and Emotional Labor of Academic Librarians in Canadian Research-Intensive Universities."

In the analysis that follows, I have used numbers, rather than pseudonyms, to protect the confidentiality of participants because these latter may connote gender, cultural, or racial identities that do not accurately reflect those of the participants. For the same reason, I have used "they" rather than s/he or her/him when referring to participants. (The issues surrounding pseudonyms—the power of naming—became apparent to me in the analysis phase, following the conclusion of the interviews. In future, I would ask participants to provide suggestions for their own pseudonyms.) Information about the career stage of the respondent is provided using the following categories: early career: 0-7 years; mid-career: 8-20 years; late career: more than twenty years. Universities' geographic locations are not provided. Finally, I have used the following conventions when quoting participants in the analysis that follows: omitted words are indicated by an ellipsis within square brackets, i.e. [...]. Pauses in speech are indicated by an ellipsis. Speech disfluencies such as "um" and "uh" have been omitted for readability purposes (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

3.4 Trustworthiness

The breadth and depth of the sample allowed me to identify a range and variety of participant experiences, strengthening the trustworthiness (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1986) of the

analysis. The following four criteria for establishing the trustworthiness of a qualitative research, corresponding to the criteria employed by positivist researchers, were identified by Guba (1981) and further developed by Lincoln and Guba (1986): credibility (in preference to internal validity); transferability (in preference to external validity/generalisability); dependability (in preference to reliability); and confirmability (in preference to objectivity) (Shento, 2004, p. 64). According to these criteria, the trustworthiness of this study was enhanced in the following ways. First, interviewing librarians across U15 institutions served as a form of site triangulation, enhancing credibility.

> Site triangulation may be achieved by the participation of informants within several organisations so as to reduce the effect on the study of particular local factors peculiar to one institution. Where similar results emerge at different sites, findings may have greater credibility in the eyes of the reader. (Shenton, 2004, p. 66)

Triangulation also promotes confirmability because it serves to reduce the effect of investigator bias (Shenton, 2004). I also enhanced the credibility of the analysis by actively seeking out negative cases as insights and themes emerged (Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Shenton, 2004). Furthermore, throughout the data collection and analysis phase, my supervisor and I had regular (weekly or bi-weekly) debriefing sessions. These meetings provided me with an opportunity to sound out my "developing ideas and interpretations" and get feedback (Shenton, 2004, p. 67). As themes emerged during the analysis, I also engaged in "reflective commentary" (Shenton, 2004), recording my impressions of patterns and themes emerging from the data. Finally, initial findings, based in a sample of eight interviews representing participants of all career stages across institutions and provinces, were presented at two Canadian conferences for academic librarians held in 2017.[2] These presentations provided an

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[2] Nicholson, K. P. (2017, May). "Politics and stress," "playing the game," and "beating the clock": Exploring narratives of information literacy work in the corporate university in Canada. *Workshop for Instruction in Library* Use (WILU) 2017. Edmonton, AB.; Nicholson, K. P. (2017, June). Critical reflections: Exploring narratives of librarianship in the corporate

opportunity to engage in "member checking," namely to determine to what extent community members "read" the data in the same way as I did (this was done using excerpts from interview transcripts), to what degree the experiences of study participants' narratives resonated with their own, and to identify blind spots in the analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Patton, 1999; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Guba and Lincoln consider member checks "the single most important provision that can be made to bolster a study's credibility" (Shento, 2004, p. 68). One gap in the analysis that was highlighted during the discussion period following one of these presentations was the need to explore participants' sense of agency or strategies for resisting neoliberal timescapes. These issues are addressed in the final chapter of this dissertation. Finally, the research findings were compared to the existing literature, a key strategy "for evaluating works of qualitative inquiry" (Shenton, 2004, p. 69).

According to Miles and Huberman (1994, cited in Shenton, 2004, p. 72) the extent to which the research acknowledges their predispositions is "a key criterion for confirmability." As I have discussed in my Researcher Position Statement above, my doctoral research was conducted out of a desire to make sense of my own professional experience. Through it, I hoped to better understand the ideological underpinnings of the skills agenda in higher education; to gain a critical perspective on quality assurance and accountability in higher education; to "check" my own experiences of the time/space of information literacy and library public service work against those of my colleagues; and ultimately, to shed light on the temporal labour of academic librarians working in Canada's research-intensive universities by telling their stories.

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4 "Shiny and New": Neoliberal Logics and the Material and Emotional Labour of Academic Librarians in Canadian Research-Intensive Universities

4.1 Introduction

The university has always had multiple functions within society: to educate citizens, to produce skilled workers, to create and instill a common national culture, to contribute to the advancement of knowledge.[1] The relative importance of these functions has varied according to time and place, however. Since the 1980s, competitive logics advanced by the likes of the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank have "give[n] direction, form, content and disciplinary power to neo-liberalism as a political and hegemonic project…mediated through higher education" (Robertson, 2009, p. 5). Today, the primary purpose of the university is to drive innovation and economic growth and to produce human capital for the state (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). This focus on innovation, skills, and training represents an acceleration of changes underway in higher education for over a century; the neoliberal university is not radically different from its predecessor therefore, but is better described as having a derivative or eroded purpose (Saunders, 2010).

According to Slaughter and Leslie (1997), the 1980s represented a turning point in the corporatization of the public research university in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, a period when "professional work began to be patterned differently, *in*

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[1] Writing recently in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Schoenbach describes the multiple and sometimes conflicting roles of the university as follows: "Universities are many things at once: bad actors in gentrification, protectors of individual intellectual freedoms, media influencers, producers of a humanities work force, engines of their local economies, pawns of the military-industrial complex, hotbeds of student radicalism, training grounds for local politics." Schoenbach, L. (2018, May 16). Enough with the crisis talk! To salvage the university, explain why it's worth saving. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from https://www.chronicle.com/article/To-Salvage-the-University/243423

kind rather than in degree" (p. 5, original emphasis). Overall state funding for higher education was cut; block grants (undesignated funds that accrue to universities, often according to formulas) were reduced and replaced by new funding models in which faculty increasingly had to compete for grants, contracts, and students; and student bursaries were replaced by loans. Tuition became an increasingly important source of institutional revenue, resulting in redoubled efforts to recruit higher paying out-of-state and international students. These policy changes, "*the most important…of the postwar period*," "greatly accelerate[d] and perhaps most importantly, legitimize[d] the role of the market" in Anglo-American higher education (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997, p. 73, original emphasis). In this context, it is not difficult to see why information literacy, as skills training for the knowledge economy, was identified as a key library strategy to demonstrate value to stakeholders and compete for scarce resources (O'Connor, 2006, 2009; Pawley, 2003).

Although the university has been repurposed into an engine of economic development for the nation-state, it increasingly positions itself as a transnational corporation, a competitive actor in the global knowledge economy in its own right (Readings, 1997). Sassen (2003) and Olds (2010) refer to this as the "denationalization" of higher education, a "process whereby developmental logics, frames, and practices are increasingly associated with what is happening beyond" the borders of the nation-state, even as these logics, frames, and practices continue to be seen as "national" (Olds, 2010). In order to comprehend the role and purpose of the contemporary university, attention must therefore be paid to interactions between local, national, and global (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002).

In response to "the seeming imperatives of economic globalization" (Matus & Talburt, 2009, p. 515), higher education has embraced an agenda of internationalization. Internationalization is underpinned by and operationalized through neoliberal competitive logics that reconfigure the space/time of knowledge production, teaching, and learning (Matus & Talburt, 2009, 2015; Moss, 2006; Robertson, 2009, 2010; Walker, 2009). The timescape (Adam, 1998) of the neoliberal university is marked by the requirement to do more work, and a greater variety of work, in less time; a hyper-scheduled and increasingly long work day; the blurring of work and personal time; and the need to divide one's attention, and time, between multiple tasks at once. In this accelerated and intensified temporal order, there is little time for "slow"

scholarship such as critical thinking, reflection, dialogue, or writing (Hartman & Darab, 2012; Mountz et al., 2015; Shahjahan, 2015).

At the same time, however, multiple, divergent temporal orders co-exist within the academy (Walker, 2009). Studies by Hartman and Darab (2012), Menzies and Newson (2007), Mountz et al. (2013), Shahjajan (2015), and Thomas and Davies (2002) demonstrate that white women, people of colour, and other minorities in the academy are particularly susceptible to acceleration and intensification. In a related vein, Matus and Talburt (2009, p. 515) perceive a loss of "spatial coherence" in the continued presence of institutional discourses of "universalizing, humanist knowledges" juxtaposed with statements about equipping students with the skills they will need as future workers in a fast-changing global economy. "Students are encouraged to be 'participatory managers' of their lives in the present, creating, desiring, and implementing metrics for measuring their own value in preparation for a future date of sale" (Meyerhoff, Johnson, & Braun, 2011, p. 491). The result is a complex scenario in which the university acts to produce and reproduce the global landscapes and timescapes described in its mission statements and strategic plans on local scales and to reinscribe these within individual subjectivities. While a significant body of literature explores the impact of neoliberal logics on the ways that faculty experience time (e.g. Bansel & Davies, 2005; Giroux & Searls Giroux, 2004; Menzies & Newson, 2007; Walker, 2009; Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003), to date, the impact of such logics on librarians has yet to be examined. The present article attempts to address that gap. The research questions that inform this study are: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' labour in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labour 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? This article seeks to identify the ways that broad neoliberal competitive logics structuring the space/time of higher education play out in local campuses and libraries, and their impact on academic librarians' material and emotional labour.

4.2 Literature Review: Neoliberal Logics and the Material and Emotional Labour of Academic Librarians

In mainstream professional discourse, austerity and audit culture in higher education are often portrayed as an opportunity to renew, redefine, and reorganize academic libraries (Association of College & Research Libraries & Oakleaf, 2010; Vyhnanek & Zlatos, 2011). The dominant narrative within the profession is that the value of today's academic library depends "on the visibility it affords to the university, technological innovation, and its educational mission" (Closet-Crane, 2011, p. 37). Demonstrating the value and impact of the library's collections and services on accreditation, rankings, and student success has become a central preoccupation of the profession. Through the implementation of new technology-driven services and spaces, libraries have sought to reposition themselves as key players in the production of knowledge, academic subjectivities, and human capital, thereby aligning themselves strategically and discursively with the business models of their parent institutions (Barniskis, 2017; Closet-Crane, 2011; Hancock & Spicer, 2010; Sloniowski, 2016). In mainstream library discourse, change is an imperative, and "the present is consistently depicted in terms of… disruption, innovation, and progress" (Mirza & Seale, 2017b, pp. 175-176; Glassman, 2017). The following passage from *The Value of Academic Libraries Report* (Association of College & Research Libraries & Oakleaf, 2010) exemplifies this discourse:

> The current higher education environment offers librarians an opportunity to accelerate change. To capitalize on this great opportunity to update their role, librarians can reconceptualize their expertise, skills, and roles in the context of institutional mission, not traditional library functions alone. (p. 29)

Academic libraries must innovate in order to compete. Library administrators are exhorted to "seek out new models of library service" as a means "to demonstrate their library's value to the institution in terms of return on investment" (Closet-Crane, 2011, pp. 36-37). "Next gen" learning spaces—"studios, labs, innovative classrooms, serendipitous communities, and interactive scholarly environments"—serve to strategically position libraries as centres of knowledge production, promoting their role in facilitating skill development and supporting the local/global economy (Brown, Bennett, Henson, & Valk, 2014, p. 11; Barniskis, 2017). At the same time, and somewhat paradoxically, however, academic libraries have become

increasingly predictable in seeking to distinguish themselves—they have become "McDonaldized" (Quinn, 2000; Nicholson, 2015).[2] Their shared reliance on "Big Deal" journal packages, just-in-time service models, and technology-rich library services and spaces for niche populations has resulted in an array of cookie-cutter organizations, remarkable only in their common "failure to imagine that libraries can do more than serve the quotidian needs of neoliberal higher education priorities" (Coysh, Denton, & Sloniowski, 2018, p. 130).[3]

Critical LIS scholars situate these discourses and practices within technocratic and neoliberal ideologies (Barniskis, 2017; Mirza & Seale, 2017; Nicholson, 2015; Sloniowski, 2016). Technocratic ideology invokes the tradition of positivism and evidence-based practice within the profession, and librarianship's foundation in the principles of scientific management, intended to increase efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity through the streamlining and standardization of work routines (Gregory & Higgins, 2018; Kont, 2013). Gregory and Higgins (2018) contend that the spread of libraries and the establishment of library science as a field of study and a profession in the US during the Progressive Era (1890-1920) coincided with the rise of private enterprise and the efficiency movement. As a result, libraries were built in the image and model of corporations, and library education and training "was designed to create efficient, pragmatic workers, who were often underpaid (undervalued) women" (p. 25). Technocratic ideology is also central to Daniel Bell's (1973) theory of the post-industrial society, which gives rise to information literacy as a strategic priority for the library profession (Birdsall, 1994; Behrens, 1994; Drabinski, 2014; Harris & Hannah, 1993; O'Connor, 2006, 2009).

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[2] McDonaldization is a model introduced by sociologist George Ritzer (1993) to describe rationalized societies that emphasize efficiency, calculability, predictability, and increased social control through technology.

[3] Barniskis (2017, n.p.) describes makerspaces in public libraries as a strategy "to advocate for funding and a 'place at the table'… by express[ing] an elaborated library faith *imaginaire* that suits the needs of the cultural moment."

Discourses of value and innovation have impacted academic librarians in several key ways. Munro (2011, n.p.) argues that in taking on new digital roles in addition to more traditional public service roles, in becoming more flexible and resilient, librarians become more valuable to the institution because they can not only do more varied work but also a greater volume of work. Service, professional values, and (technological) expertise, central to librarians' professional identity (Hicks, 2014), take on new meaning as disciplinary mechanisms. In library public service work, time is used as a measure of accountability and return on investment (Bossaller, Burns, & VanScoy, 2017). In prioritizing efficiency and the user's time, librarians may create self-imposed time pressures beyond those imposed by users or administrators (Bossaller, Burns, & VanScoy, 2017). In their case study of the impact of New Public Management on Israeli academic librarians, Berkovich and Wasserman (2017) found that within the resulting new hybrid professional-managerial culture, customer service had become a form of "self-improvement intertwined with self-regulation" (p. 8). Coping with reductions in personnel and increased workloads was "accomplished by adopting an elastic management of staff assignments" within a collegial culture (p. 9). Shared projects were often framed as a form of entrepreneurialism, "not 'merely' work but a natural expression of individuals' internal desires and abilities" (p. 9).

Librarians, like faculty, experience emotional labour, the invisible yet intense work of managing emotions upon which the service economy depends (Douglas & Gadsby, 2017; Julien & Genuis, 2009; Matteson, Chittock, & Mease, 2015; Sloniowski, 2016; Shuler & Morgan, 2013). Such labour is characterized by anxiety; being 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 one's field" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 658). It is also marked by "feelings of instability and being overloaded, and… ongoing fears of being left behind" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 658).

4.3 Method

To avoid duplication across articles, the method for this research is described in Chapter Three above.

4.4 Findings

Findings are organized in two parts. In the first, I will describe librarians' perceptions of neoliberal competitive logics at the institutional level. In the second, I will examine the impact of such logics on local practices, on the material and emotional labor of information literacy librarians themselves.

4.4.1 Neoliberal Logics and the Research-intensive University in Canada

Librarians observed corporatization and competition at work in the university's values, practices, and tools, and its focus on research and "the student experience" as a means to advance its reputation and place in national and international rankings and, in turn, generate revenue.

4.4.1.1 Corporatization

Corporatization was manifest in the university's focus on accountability, efficiency, outputs, performance management, and customer service, and its reliance on business practices and tools, such as branding, mission statements, and scorecards. The following comments, from participants at different career stages working at institutions of various sizes across the country, provide evidence of such values, practices, and tools. When asked how the university had changed, Participant 12, an early-career librarian working at a small institution, replied,

> I think it's more accountable in, maybe that's a result of economic times, it's a
> lot more…I don't want to say corporatized, because it's not entirely but it, it
> just feels like we've taken on, universities maybe have taken on too much
> from like business literature in terms of planning and the like.

Participant 11, a late-career librarian at a small institution, noted that in the eyes of the university administration, students, particularly online students, were perceived as customers. Participant 14, a mid-career librarian in a mid-sized university, said, "The institution has got extremely corporate in the last two years [...] budgeting, strategic planning cycles, all of that

type of managerialist kind of language and approach has just become much more vivid to me [...] it's part of what our culture is." Participant 22, a late-career librarian at a large institution, cited numerous statistics as evidence of the university's economic impact on the province as evidence that the university "values its relationship with the community" and provides a sound return on taxpayer investment.

Cutting costs and generating revenue was key. Enrolment, particularly that of international students, was reported to be on the rise across the country as universities looked to tuition fees as an important source of funding. Several participants from one mid-sized university noted an increase in the number of precariously employed faculty at their workplace. Curricular changes intended to improve the institution's financial health included an increased focus on STEM and online programs (reported at five institutions, two large, two mid-sized, one small), and reductions in humanities and social science programs (one large, one mid-sized university). Participant 23, a mid-career librarian at a large university, described their campus as "the tale of two cities": the well-funded STEM city, "the rich parts with the glass towers […] where there's always cranes overhead," and the impoverished humanities city. One third of participants viewed the university's internationalization efforts as a strategy primarily intended to bring in money. Participant 10, a mid-career librarian in a small university, stated, "They want international students because [...] if you can study online from your basement [...] wherever, you're not using resources on campus and you're paying more tuition, so you're cheaper to teach and we get more money out of you." In some faculties, larger class sizes meant that research assignments were no longer the norm in the undergraduate curriculum because they were too time-consuming to grade (two institutions, one mid-sized, one small).

Participants at six universities commented that institutional culture had become more managerial and less collegial. Some stated that the university administration and the faculty (librarians included) did not always share the same vision about the purpose and values of the university as institution. Participant 15, a mid-career librarian at a large university, described a conversation between the President of the Faculty Association and the former Chair of the Board of Governors in which it was "clear that the former Chair had just never heard of the concept of collegial governance." "Philosophical or more high-minded conversations" about the value of education and the "larger role of the university in society" were not welcomed at

the higher levels of the university administration, they said. Eleven of the twenty-five participants emphasized the importance of a collegial culture to the university as institution. Six had played, or continued to play an active role in the faculty association or mentioned having been members of a bargaining team at some point during their careers. Participants at four universities reported difficult negotiations during recent rounds of collective bargaining. Participant 14 worried that the corporate values and practices of the institution conflicted with the professional values of librarians—and then wondered aloud whether librarians' values were themselves becoming corporatized.

> Participant 14: I do feel like university's changing in a way that I don't feel
> comfortable with anymore and I don't really know what to do about that
> [laughs]. Yeah. And I don't know where our values as librarians fit, I mean
> they do fit, but I don't know how much we're honouring our core values—or
> is it that our values are changing? It's that same conversation that I feel like I
> keep coming back to all the time, it's a bit of a chicken-and-egg kind of thing.

By and large, librarians described positive relationships with their colleagues and their immediate supervisors but did not always feel valued by library or university administrators. For example, participants at two mid-sized institutions commented that during recent collective bargaining, it was apparent that the administration viewed librarians as second-class citizens. One librarian from a small institution said, "If I could change my work, one thing I'd like to see is I would like to have the same respect for what I do from library administration as I do from the faculty."

4.4.1.2 Competition: Reputation and Rankings

Competition was evident in the university's preoccupation with reputation and rankings. Across institutions, great emphasis was placed on promoting and enhancing the university's reputation as both a research-intensive and a student-centered institution. When asked what the university valued, Participant 17, a late-career librarian in a mid-sized institution, replied,

> Hmmm… they value research… we're a research-intensive university and
> there's a lot of emphasis on research particularly in the STEM disciplines,
> they value the reputation of their researchers … [long pause] they value

faculty members who bring in a lot of research money… hmmm [long pause] and I think they do value their students.

Participant 20, an early-career librarian, also at a mid-sized university, stated, "Yeah I would say [it] definitely values […] its research mission, its athletics […] the STEM research faculties' projects […] [pause] I would say, yeah, in those sort of brochure promotions kind of ways, those are the things that rise to the top in my mind." Several respondents at institutions across the country felt that research and teaching were equally important to the university.

Another frequent response to the question, "what does the university value?" was "reputation."

> Participant 23: The idea of the university as a brand that needs protecting, I don't remember being so aware of that a few years ago […] it's like the marketing people have totally won that battle and it's you know it's just success stories and gloss and […] relentless public face. […] There's kind of an inauthenticity that develops because brand protection becomes so important.

Operationalized through rankings, reputation provided a means to several ends: demonstrating accountability to stakeholders, facilitating the recruitment of faculty and students, and securing donations from corporations and alumni. Rankings show "the public and the government that we must be doing something good. And you know rankings are going to attract top notch faculty, a lot of faculty [...] have come in because of the reputation of the university, the resources that are here, the research facilities, that kind of stuff," said Participant 22. "Building a name" by achieving status in national and international ranking frameworks is the first thing Participant 5, an early-career librarian working at a mid-sized university, associated with their workplace. Several respondents mentioned their institution's current and desired places within various national and international ranking frameworks. Some invoked rankings themselves to compare their university or library to others, suggesting that they had assimilated the logics of competitive comparison to some degree at least. Nonetheless, of the seven participants who discussed rankings, all but one voiced reservations about their validity.

Rankings interpellate the university at local, national, and international levels. They are performative: through them, the university is able to attract faculty and students, and students, parents, and other "stakeholders" are able to influence university priorities. Reputation was therefore also described as enhancing the "student experience" through the use of learner-centered pedagogies, a flexible curriculum, a range of academic and non-academic services for students, good customer service, and an attractive built environment, such as new or renovated sports complexes and residences. [4] When asked what their university values, Participant 19, an early-career librarian working at a large institution, replied, "We value the student experience and experiential learning, that's a very key term of this era for sure [...] teaching and learning and research as well [...] international outreach, so growing the campus and global presence, innovative research." Participant 10 noted that creating new "showpiece buildings," as opposed to renovating existing spaces, was a strategy used to enhance reputation and "excite donors." In the same vein, when asked how their university had changed, the first thing Participant 15 mentioned was the "constant noise and construction" that had become a "hallmark of the campus." (The second was the "corporate approach" at the level of senior administration.)

In the corporate university, the "student experience"—like "excellence" (Readings, 1997) and "skills" (Urciuoli, 2008)—represents a flexible concept that can be strategically deployed to meet a variety of needs. Participant 20, an early-career librarian at a mid-sized university, stated, "Most universities [...] talk about you know the student experience and I think that's broadly defined as what ultimately becomes the ratings for the Maclean's ratings."[5] In discussing the student experience, Participant 16, a late-career librarian at a mid-sized university. "It's all about the business thing, isn't it? You know it's all the corporate branding […] you want people to flock to [name of university] because of the perception that students are valued and treated well here." Several librarians commented that the university had

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[4] The importance of space/place in rankings is highlighted in the following statement from the 2018 *Maclean's* rankings: "Canada's Top School by Reputation 2018: The University of Toronto. In the heart of Canada's largest city, a multicultural campus, stunning architecture and bleeding-edge research have earned global renown" Goldberg (2017, Oct. 11).

[5] *Maclean's Magazine* produces the main higher education rankings in Canada.

become more responsive to students since the advent of rankings and social media. As Participant 20 noted, "I'm seeing a more deep listening [laughs] perhaps to what students needs are from the university [...] you know, those rankings matter a lot." Participant 17 commented that the university's increased focus on improving health and wellness programs and facilities was, at least in part, a response to students "demanding more attention" and being "more assertive in [...] communicating with the administration that they want value for their money."[6]

Ultimately, enhancing and protecting its reputation had become the desired outcome of any and all institutional activity.

> Interviewer: [...] What does the university value and how do you know?
> Participant 10: The University values its reputation. That would be, I'd put it as number one. And because much of the emphasis in how our administrators talk relates to different ways of measuring that reputation. [...] And just, often when they sort of talk about [...] why we want the things we want, whatever that may be, is to enhance our reputation.

Some interviewees saw the university as an institution in crisis, struggling to uphold its traditional liberal progressive mission "to educate citizens for the good of society" (Participant 20) and growing pressures to guarantee students (and their parents) "a job at the end of the university rainbow" (Participant 16). Participant 10 expressed frustration with their institution's efforts to simultaneously portray itself as a small, traditional school "where

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[6] Although "value for money" doesn't appear in the *Maclean's* rankings, this is ultimately what the seven "student satisfaction" or "student experience" (both terms are used) *Maclean's Magazine* categories represent. These categories are: Course instructors, Student life staff, Administrators, Bureaucracy (least red tape), Extracurricular activities, Mental health services, Residence living, and Steps to prevent sexual assault. Only one interviewee mentioned "user experience," the library's equivalent of "student experience." Maclean's. (2017, October 11). University rankings 2018. *Maclean's Magazine.* Retrieved from https://www.macleans.ca/education/university-rankings/university-rankings-2018/

everybody knows each other" and an "elite," "exclusive" university of international repute. In trying to do both, they said, the administration was "failing at everything." Some interviewees felt that the focus on research came at the expense of the educational mission of the university; others believed that research and teaching were equally important to the university.

In summary, the following passage is representative of participants' feedback on the state of the U15 university: focused on efficiency and generating revenue, embracing neoliberal values of competition, entrepreneurialism, and flexibility, and managerial in its approach.

> Interviewer: So what do you think [the university] values?
> Participant 11: Well the bottom line, I think [both laugh] is very, very, very important. They, they seem to be fixated on you know financial matters […] and I can understand that because I know all universities are being pressured to do more with less and public funding is dropping, so there are some real funding issues [...]. We hear at all the time, we have to become sustainable, we have to… to find new sources of revenue, we, we have to become more flexible, whatever flexible means, and some of the things they're pushing seem to contradict, you know they want, they say they want more flexibility but they're trying to push everybody into doing online courses even if that's not necessarily the best platform for delivering the program. They say they want entrepreneurial faculty but they only want entrepreneurial faculty who, you know, embrace their vision of what [the university] has to become.

In the first half of this article, I have outlined librarians' perceptions and experiences of the values and practices of corporatization and competition at work within their institutions. In the second half, I will explore the impact of these logics on librarians' material and emotional labour. These include corporatized service models, a focus on outputs as means to demonstrate value, self-regulation, and the addition of technology-driven services and spaces.

4.5 Neoliberal Logics and Librarians' Labour

4.5.1 Corporate Models and Values: "Looking to Disney and Starbucks for Inspiration"

Corporatization was evident in library service models and philosophies. Participants at seven of the ten study institutions reported reductions in staffing. At the majority of universities, positions were left vacant when librarians went on research, maternity or parental leaves, resulting in an increased workload for those remaining or work being put on hold. Moreover, five of the twenty-four study participants, all with five years' experience or less, were precariously employed and had been since obtaining their MLIS degrees, suggesting a trend towards hiring librarians on short-term or reduced time contracts in order to increase managerial "flexibility."

Public service work had become devalued, deprofessionalized, and deskilled. Participant 21 commented, "We're so seriously understaffed" in the area of information literacy, it "sends the message to those of us that are in that capacity that this is also a second-class role for the library [...] it is not part of the core mission." In virtually all study sites, library technicians or student workers staffed reference desks, with more complex questions referred to an on-call librarian. Information literacy instruction and reference service were increasingly provided through just-in-time models including abbreviated tutorials and videos, lunchtime "lightning sessions," and chat reference. Interviewees at several institutions reported taking on more clerical work, including taking fine payments, issuing library cards, completing interlibrary loan requests, and making photocopies for faculty as a result of reductions in the number of library technician positions. "We're being paid a hundred grand to [do clerical work], but it's because there's nobody else who will […], so we are doing it," said Participant 10. In other institutions, flattened organizational structures meant that librarians in non-administrative roles had become responsible for the implementation and oversight of complex, system-wide technology infrastructure projects.

Structural supports for new service models were lacking. Several librarians commented on the lack of training, space, and technological supports needed to create online learning modules. Service hours had not been adjusted to meet the needs of online learners in different

time zones. Participant 11 commented, "I was thinking also that there's a lot of this push to online only programs […] but it didn't occur, when we had one student come from [location] there was no way to alter the timing so that you know [they] could be accommodated during [their] time zone, [the administration] just didn't have the infrastructure in place to manage that."

Some interviewees described the library administration's vision for the library as corporatized and disconnected from professional values. They perceived a gap between the day-to-day work of librarians that ensured the smooth operation of the library and the view from the administration. Participants at two universities, one large, one small, said their libraries' respective service philosophies were reminiscent of those in the fast food industry. "There was a […] group that was writing a new public services philosophy [and] I was in a meeting with [the chair] one time a couple months ago, and [they] said they were, they were, they were looking to Disney and Starbucks for inspiration," said one. In the eyes of Participant 16, a late-career librarian in a mid-sized institution, "the mania for video content these days" and the "basic Google-style single search box" had "dumbed down" information literacy instruction. "If it's not fast and painless then frequently people aren't interested," they said. Librarians in two universities, one large and one small, commented on a lack of transparency in administrative decision-making. Three late-career study participants from two different universities expressed concern about the implications of corporatization on the future of the academic library and the profession. Participant 8 predicted a "bleak future" working in a "cookie cutter organization" in which librarians with advanced subject degrees were replaced by what a senior library administrator in their library once referred to as "plug and play" librarians. Participant 11 worried that in equating value with new public management logics of efficiency, innovation, and customer service, administrators in Canadian academic libraries were on the wrong track. "Canada is so small [...] I think it's much easier for these ideas, like McDonaldization, to take hold, you know you can have one or two university librarians who are gung ho about this and it will just spread like wildfire [...]. So I am very pessimistic about what the next 10 years is going to be like," they said.

4.5.2 Outputs and/as Value

The value of librarians' work was measured in outputs and the alignment of these outputs with institutional priorities. As Participant 23 said, "I'm thinking about we are valued and how we demonstrate our value, so [...] I'm thinking about metrics and quality assurance frameworks and that sort of thing." Participant 4 noted "it's in our strategic plan too, metrics and being accountable for our work." The climate of accountability and austerity within the university, combined with librarians' professional service values, encouraged people to take on heavy or unsustainable workloads. For the majority of interviewees, the work had no limits. They used expressions like "being overloaded" (Participants 3, 5, 18), "being pulled in a lot of different directions" (Participant 15), having "a gazillion things to do" (Participant 16), "struggling" (Participants 4, 11, 17, 20, 23), "burnout" (Participants 4, 11), and "getting swept away" (Participant 24) to describe how they felt. Four interviewees felt they had to work to a less rigorous standard than they would like in order to get everything done.

> Participant 21: I'm basically doing two, maybe three jobs [...] I feel like I have to paint everything very thinly, that's the reality of this job. […] It isn't a great place to be in terms of doing your work, like where you feel like everything you're doing is getting basically the minimum amount of attention you can give it just because you have to, right? So you don't ever feel like, "Oh, job well done, [me]!" like you, you've really been able to devote the necessary time to making that as good as it can be. [...] And add on to that [scholarship] and service, and you're looking at somebody who's, who's just, as I say, I feel like I'm just like touching everything so […] gently because that's all I have time for […] then I […] run around apologizing to people, "I'm sorry this is late," "I'm sorry I wasn't able to finish this on time," you know? It's, it is a real challenge.

Participant 5 described "going above and beyond as much as possible," volunteering for as many committees as possible, and constantly being "in people's faces" in the hope of securing a permanent position.

Professional practice, serving users in particular, took precedence over other responsibilities. In some universities, professional development and scholarship were devalued because they

did not produce quantifiable outputs or directly advance the library mission. Two contractually employed librarians at separate universities, one large, one small, did not have scholarship and service included in their terms of employment, and one was ineligible for professional development funds. Participant 21 lamented the fact that "going to a conference to like just *learn*" didn't count in their performance evaluation; "you have to present or else it doesn't count [...] everything has to count, you really have to target with a laser focus." In several libraries, scholarship had to be aligned with strategic priorities or focused on professional practice or it didn't "count" in one's performance evaluation. According to Participant 18, a mid-career librarian at a large university, the "ideal model" promoted in their library was to align one's research interests with one's professional practice. In contrast, Participant 5 felt that research and scholarship were weighted more heavily in performance evaluations than traditional public service. When someone in the library secured a grant, "fireworks go off," they said, "but the work that people actually do with users isn't recognized in the same way, it's upsetting."

As a result of the institutional focus on research, some librarians felt pressured to engage in research and scholarship and pursue research grants themselves, regardless of whether their position description required it.

> Participant 23: I work at a very corporate university [...]. Certainly at our university, you know, people, people's effectiveness is partly evaluated by how much money they can bring in, how much grant money, prestige, that's kind of how prestige and status are defined so it's not, it's not surprising that the library tends to be reflected in that too.

When asked how they made time for research and scholarship, Participant 5 replied, "I use my calendar and I guilt myself into it [laughs]. […] It sounds silly but I color coordinate every activity in my calendar and so scholarship is a certain colour and I have to see it on there each week for myself, I just have to keep myself on track."

The professional autonomy enjoyed by librarians over their work, rather than being liberating, served as a form of governmentality, a way to enact neoliberal subjectivities in service of enhancing institutional reputation.

Participant 23: We don't have, we've don't have to work 9 to 5, we don't punch the clock, nobody you know nobody monitors [...] how much work you do, right? [...] Nobody's ever going to say, "Gosh it seems like you're doing a lot!" you know, because if it seems like you are managing […] by all means take on that big research project, nobody's going to say don't do that, because it's all, it's prestigious for the university anytime that you do anything that's an accomplishment, right?

Those who were successful in managing their workload were "rewarded" by being assigned more work, said Participant 2, a mid-career librarian in a small institution. Those who weren't successful expressed frustration and sometimes guilt. In most cases, it did not appear that librarians felt that workload was an issue their employer or their supervisor was willing or able to address—it was something they had to manage on their own.

Librarians used technologies of time and self-management, such as maintaining databases, lists, spreadsheets, and calendars, to document and manage their work. Participant 9, an early-career librarian in a small university, had created a spreadsheet comparing their outputs with those of their colleagues to demonstrate to their supervisor that they were doing the work of "three or four people." Some librarians created scripted 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 Participant 5.

Despite the profession's preoccupation with "value," assessment was not a core activity in the majority of institutions. Instead, the long-established professional practice of reporting statistics for information literacy classes and research help interactions had been internalized as a mechanism for communicating one's individual value as a professional.[7] When asked how many information literacy classes and consultations they provide on average in a year, many interviewees felt obligated to consult annual reports, databases, or spreadsheets in

[7] North American research libraries have been tracking and reporting statistics since 1907. Association of Research Libraries (n.d.), About, ARL statistics, retrieved from https://www.arlstatistics.org/about.

order to provide me with accurate statistics. Several who did not have access to these documents or systems during the interview voiced concern that their estimates might be inaccurate. Moreover, librarians perceived a gap between assessing library impact and the kinds of assessment data being gathered, which included inputs/outputs and measures of satisfaction, including LibQUAL+ data.[8] The following comments, from librarians across the country, were typical: "[Assessment]'s not a big topic of conversation" (Participant 3, early career, large institution); "I'm not sure how much we're [using] the data to make decisions" (Participant 9); "Many of us don't do it. And some of us do it don't do it very well [...]. It's certainly not systematic" (Participant 17); "Assessment? [...] It's kind of all over the map" (Participant 18). On the whole, participants appeared skeptical of the value of assessment as it was being conducted in their libraries, either because the data being collected were invalid or were being used ineffectively.

In a related vein, with the exception of those supporting professional programs, the health sciences in particular, librarians made little use of professional standards and guidelines. This is somewhat surprising, given the focus on evidence-based practice and "best practices" within the profession. Information literacy and reference service standards were consulted "periodically" for training purposes (Participant 18), "skim[med] once in a while" (Participant 5), used as "guidelines" (Participant 8), or "like a restaurant menu, I'll do a little bit of this, a little bit of that" (Participant 4, mid-career, mid-sized university). Two participants' efforts to promote the use of standards among their colleagues had been unsuccessful. Another described the requirement to adhere to pre-established learning outcomes as "managerialist."

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[8] LibQUAL+ is a web-based standardized service quality survey for research libraries. It is intended to "assess and improve library services, change organizational culture, and market the library. The survey instrument measures library users' minimum, perceived, and desired levels of service quality across three dimensions: Affect of Service, Information Control, and Library as Place" (Association of Research Libraries, n.d.) Lilburn (2017) examines the relationship between the standardized service quality survey LibQUAL+ and the rise of audit culture to argue "that many criticisms made about systems of accountability imposed on higher education are equally applicable to LibQUAL+" (p. 91).

4.5.3 Self-regulation, Compliance, and Loyalty

Some perceived conformism or loyalty to be an expectation of the library administration or a professional norm. Those who weren't "on board" were "behind." Participant 12 said, "despite how much work might go into the strategic plan, you still might have an outlier who doesn't get bought in on it or is critical of it […] some people are behind on that where others are, we're trying to stay ahead of it but the world moves on faster than we can." Participant 22 prefaced a comment about differences in faculty attitudes toward information literacy by saying, "it's going to sound like I'm badmouthing now but […]." In the context of discussing administrative decisions related to library staffing and services, two tenured librarians from institutions in different parts of the country expressed concern about confidentiality. One emphasized that they did not represent the library in any official capacity, suggesting a view, either personal or institutional, that information should be communicated through official channels only and that to do otherwise might be perceived as inappropriate, unprofessional, or disloyal. While others working within these same institutions did not appear to share these concerns, these incidents nonetheless suggest that corporate ethos may pose an issue to academic freedom in U15 university libraries.

As a result of this climate, some who disagreed with mainstream views engaged in self-censorship or had become disengaged. Participant 14, a tenured librarian, felt they needed to limit their critiques and actions in order to keep their job. "I feel like as I'm learning how higher education is changing and how corporate values are influencing it, there is an inner conflict […] you know it's one thing to sort of ask questions [...] I do find that it's an internal conflict because I feel like for self-preservation, this is my job." Participant 11 described their colleagues as "burned out" by the "very top down, "corporate management style" of their library's administration, "[they're] really lacking the will and the courage to push back and […] question […] some of these decisions." Participant 16 said, "Well I've been here long time, I probably have input that could be included in the mix whether or not I… whether or not I feel like anybody wants to hear what you have to say, it's hard to know."

4.5.4 Competition: The Value of "Shiny and New"

The most significant change to librarians' roles was the provision of new digital services, such as research data management, research metrics, systematic reviews, and support for digital humanities and publishing, intended to enhance the reputation of the library as a collaborative, innovative partner in the institution's research enterprise. These digital services allowed the library to demonstrate its strategic alignment with institutional priorities. As Participant 14 explained, "The subtext is always that we don't need to be spending this much time at the desk at all any more [...] we need to be spending our time doing, you know focusing more on advanced research services and finding ways to demonstrate our value beyond providing front-line service."

Digital services and roles, often referred to as "shiny and new," were perceived as high touch and high tech. For example, one librarian described their work supporting digital literacies as a "premium" service for "high demand, high priority customer[s]." "Shiny and new" was also used in regard to "showcase-type spaces" (Participant 11) such as digital scholarship centres, makerspaces, and/or media studios.[9] One participant described their library's digital scholarship centre as "a shiny new space filled with grads and post-docs and the librarians and staff that work with technology."

The scope and purpose of these digital roles or initiatives remained ill defined, however. Participant 5 commented, "There's more emphasis placed on these big shiny new roles, these digital roles [...]. Even when we had a hiring freeze for the past couple of years there was still always money for these positions [...] but nobody seems to know what they're for or what they're doing." Participant 14 said,

> Sometimes I feel like we have shiny object syndrome, like I was at two recent
> presentations where people mentioned makerspaces […] and I thought, has
> anyone really thought this through? Like, I think, great idea but what gap are we

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[9] Interviewees from half the institutions described library spaces being repurposed, often by other campus units moving into the library or academic departments reclaiming the space occupied by smaller, subject libraries located within their buildings.

filling here with that? Like what is the need? Or is it just that it's a cool thing, and we've heard a lot about it, and we're looking to repurpose our space, and wouldn't this be neat, right?

"Shiny and new" suggests that the perceived value of these initiatives lay, above all, in their ability to attract attention. It also evokes technological fetishism, a blind faith that digital services have value simply by virtue of being technology-driven, mobilizing discursive repertoires in which technology and change are equated with progress and possibility. As a case in point, Participant 12 said, "There's cool things we can do with digital delivery, it's just what are they, what will they be, what will the technologies give us to be able to do great things?"[10]

Those who were skeptical of shiny new roles or who continued to believe in the value of more "traditional" service models were perceived by their peers to be behind the times or change averse. "The nature of the work has changed and some people are freaked out about that," said Participant 2. In making this comment, they not only suggested librarians who held this view were "hysterical" or irrational but also distanced themselves rhetorically from this group. In talking about the impact of changing reference service models, Participant 11, from another institution, hastened to add, "I certainly don't mourn the loss of the reference

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[10] In a related vein, some administrators and librarians touted online education as a solution to many of the instructional challenges of the classroom and an innovative and student-centered model of curriculum delivery. Participant 11 described the struggle to find the time within overcrowded curricula and limited classroom spaces as "one of the big frustrations for librarians," one which online learning could effectively alleviate. At the same time, however, as I have discussed above, several interviewees described a lack of planning and infrastructure related to online education: online courses in different time zones required librarians to change their hours of work in order to provide support to students but there was no recognition of this by their employer; creating online modules required recording space, equipment, and training but none was provided. In both cases, it was up to individual librarians to find workaround solutions to these issues.

desk but […] I have to work a lot harder to connect with students and faculty [now] and it's a struggle."

At seven of the ten study sites, librarians felt that library administrators valued the new digital services more than traditional ones. The causes of this devaluation were not clear, however. Some interviewees believed that in the face of austerity, library administrators needed to make choices; aligning the library's priorities with those of the institution was a means to secure money and space. Participant 1, late-career librarian in a large university, said, "There's more choices for the library to make with digital initiatives, with […] open access, instruction and work with our students on a day-to-day basis is being pushed aside quite a lot, because you only have so much money." Others did not see a correlation between limited resources and the devaluation of pink-collar public service work. Participant 21 commented, "I'm not suggesting that the money for the makerspace could go to information literacy, I know it doesn't work that way, I'm just pointing out where money is going."

4.5.5 The Innovation Imperative

Discourses of change were pervasive. In response to the question, "How has librarianship changed?" Participant 12 replied, "How hasn't it changed? That would be a better question. […] How libraries are changing [laughs], I feel like they're changing but sometimes librarians aren't changing fast enough response to the way the libraries are changing."-In a similar vein, Participant 13, a mid-career librarian in a small university, responded, "I think for some it stays the same, it doesn't really change a lot. I think about some of my colleagues who've been here for 35 years, they pretty much keep doing the same thing, day in day out and I'm not really keen on that." Participant 14 commented, "I always get tripped up with the rhetoric and the change part. […] We keep hearing that our roles are changing and that […] libraries are becoming less important."

In order to stay on top of constant change, to remain relevant, some interviewees perceived a need to engage in continuous self-monitoring and self-improvement. For Participant 2, such practices not only enabled them to provide better service but also to "be a better person."

> Participant 2: Myself, my colleagues, my colleagues drive me to be good, to be
> better, to be a better person, continue to challenge myself… seek new ways to do

things or […] refresh things, you know? Refresh, make sure, is that really still the best way to do that? That really comes from myself and my colleagues.

Participant 9 described a cycle of perpetual innovation, things are "always coming in and going back out of style […] we're trying to approach users in different ways and we keep trying again and again different methods."

Participants engaged in professional development in order to better support students and faculty. Several interviewees described taking courses in the departments they supported for this reason. Keeping up with the literature and with trends was seen as an important part of being a professional. In one case, the accreditation process for the professional program they supported required one librarian to demonstrate their credentials or "pedigree": "it's very much like a bit of an online dating profile," they said.[11]

Librarians spent considerable effort in marketing and promoting the value of the library and its services in person and on social media. Participant 22 described going "door to door" to meet faculty and ask about their needs in order to create "an immediate impression" of what they could "deliver" as the key to their success in building relationships. Several interviewees mentioned the importance of creating "a positive experience" to ensure that students would use the library's services and collections and convince others to do so as well. Four interviewees had taken courses related to the disciplines they supported in order to deepen

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[11] Several librarians commented on the competitive logics of the merit system, and the need to secure a merit bonus in order to compensate for low salaries. In describing their scholarship and professional service activities, Participant 21 said, "I [laughs] may have overextended myself [...] If I don't do these things […] I may not at the end of the day, at the end of the year, get enough, a sufficient merit bonus, and given how little across-the-board money we're going to make, basically not cost-of-living, you need merit." Another librarian who worked two jobs, one fulltime and the other part-time, also mentioned the importance of merit pay for making ends meet.

their knowledge and better serve faculty and students. Numerous participants mentioned the importance of being valued by faculty and students for their expertise. "To me that's invaluable, that's another one of those MasterCard priceless things, relationships you establish with faculty, because they treat me with respect and like I'm an equal which you know you can't ask for more than that," said Participant 22. Participant 5 commented, "Part of the reason why I like my job so much is because people are very quick to show how appreciative they are […] I get things back like 'Wow, this is so awesome! I couldn't do this without you!' It's nice. It keeps me going."

Staying "ahead of the curve" with regard to technology in particular was an important means of demonstrating professionalism and relevance. "Being a librarian, in a profession that relies heavily on technology, I feel that if I'm not conversant in some of the technologies that is somehow reflected on my professionalism," said Participant 14. Two interviewees associated the effective use of technology with generational differences. Participant 12 remarked that the "divide" between "born digital" librarians who had "grown up with technology" and the "technology adopters" was "a serious issue" within the profession. In the same vein, Participant 2 commented that using examples from social media in the classroom was a "creative" way of distinguishing themselves from the "dusty," "super didactic" teaching approaches of the "old generation."

Virtually all participants had internalized discourses of change and innovation to some degree—including those who were critical of such discourses. For example, Participant 14 commented, "I still believe that the face-to-face interaction with students is really important [...] But, you know I don't want to be the one person that says, we really should be sitting at the desk for you know, two hours because it's a little antiquated I guess, of a view." Another mid-career librarian, who felt they were sometimes perceived by their colleagues to be "contrarian" and "obstructionist" because they felt it important to question assumptions in order to "make better decisions," mused, "maybe I am more contrarian than I used to be, I don't know." A third participant who expressed doubts about organizational changes underway in their library said, "I don't know…I guess I'm just skeptical and jaded but I don't know that it's going to work that well."

4.6 Discussion

Neoliberal logics were apparent across institutions although the degree to which universities and libraries had embraced them varied to some extent. Size of institution did not appear to be a factor. Corporatization was evident in the university's focus on accountability and efficiency. Universities sought to recruit higher paying international students. Online learning, a cost-efficient way to deliver education, was on the rise. Corporate strategies and tools, such as strategic planning and branding, were also prevalent. Institutional culture had become more managerial and less collegial. In the library, corporatization was evident in staffing reductions and increased workloads. Librarians sought to work more efficiently and to demonstrate their accountability using strategies such as "going for the low hanging fruit," chunking up work, carving out time, and keeping multiple lists and spreadsheets to track and report their work. Some librarians had automated their work by creating online modules, short on-the-fly screencasts, and scripted answers to send in response to student emails in order to work more efficiently. Just-in-time service models for information literacy instruction and reference services supplemented and sometimes supplanted face-to-face models. The workday had become increasingly fragmented and intensified, punctuated by back-to-back meetings and consultations with students. Paradoxically, working beyond regular hours, by answering email in particular, was also seen as efficient.

Competition was evident in the university's focus on research, rankings, and reputation. In the library, competition was evident in the focus on creating innovative spaces and services as a means of demonstrating value. In mainstream LIS discourse, value is equated with support for the institutional mission (Association of College & Research Libraries & Oakleaf, 2010). Through the creation of new digital services, such as digital scholarship centres and makerspaces, the library demonstrated its support of the institutional research enterprise. They also served to portray the library as innovative. Technology was equated with progress and possibility. For librarians, staying ahead of "the technology curve" was important to demonstrating professionalism. Those who remained skeptical of new digital services or who continued to believe in the value of more "traditional" service models were sometimes perceived by their colleagues to be behind the times or change averse. Some librarians experienced corporatization as a need to conform and self-regulate. As a result,

they experienced emotional labor, characterized by feeling overloaded and engaging in self-censorship.

In the main, librarians in U15 universities had internalized some aspects of discourses of competition, change, and resiliency while simultaneously resisting others. Many referred to the university as "they," articulating a subjective distance between themselves and the institution, whereas others slipped between "they" and "we" when talking about the university. For example, in response to the question, "what does the university value and how do you know?" Participant 1 responded, "*Our* university right now values, I think *they* value global, global initiatives" (emphasis added). Participant 16 answered, "Boy…that's tricky to say. We seem to value the […] student experience […] and I think we focus upon our users, at least I hope we do." Here, the participant uses "we" when referring to both the "student experience" and "users" but these terms are not synonymous: "student experience" is a term used by the university to promote their efforts to support students through academic and non-academic programs and services whereas "users" is a term used by library staff. In the same vein, another participant, who outlined the university's success in knowledge mobilization and creating public-private partnerships, listed off key rankings and institutional "firsts" with pride, and described the joy they received from working with "clients," stated at the end of the interview, "but yeah, that corporatization hasn't impacted me." Librarians also undertook activities to promote and market their services. In talking about their relationships with students and faculty, librarians sometimes used metaphors of competition. For example, Participant 22 boasted that they were on a first-name basis with "at least 125" faculty members in the departments they supported. Participant 10 described liaison work as "carving out a niche" for oneself. It was important to engage in continual self-improvement—by keeping up with technology in particular—to demonstrate one's continued relevance.

Neoliberal logics were experienced at the individual level as a need to engage in self-discipline and self-regulation. Assessment and the use of standards and best practices as mechanisms for demonstrating the value of the library were not reported to be an important focus in any of the institutions under study. Instead, the focus was on individual performance and self-monitoring, i.e. tracking one's time and productivity, automating individual work processes, engaging in professional development as self-improvement. The addition of

"shiny and new" digital services and spaces, intended to demonstrate the library's value to the institutional research mission, resulted in roles being expanded. Librarians' work had simultaneously become more generalized, automated, clerical, and administrative as a result of the addition of new roles and services and the elimination of librarian, technician, and middle manager positions. It was important to maintain current awareness of trends and be proficient with the latest technologies but the library did not always provide necessary structural supports or opportunities or funding for professional development. Librarians' research and scholarship appeared to be valued to the extent that it did not take time away from library priorities. The result was overload, stress, and self-regulation on the part of the librarians.

Librarians and administrators did not appear to value traditional public service work equally. Librarians felt they made a unique and important contribution to the university's educational mission through their information literacy and reference work. Supporting students and faculty with their information needs was a source of satisfaction and joy; it made them feel valued and respected. In contrast, library administrators were of the view that in order to demonstrate the continued relevance of the library and align the library's services with the university's research mission, new high tech, high touch services were needed. Whereas librarians spoke of connecting with individual students and faculty, the library administration was focused on technology, the budget, and supporting the research enterprise. Library administration was often described as out of touch or distant. Participant 15 stated, "There doesn't seem to be a lot of appetite for engaging with people who are actually doing some of this work [laughs] on the ground […]. I feel like, you know, we have so many great librarians and archivists and they are, they have no end of excellent ideas and they come across excellent opportunities all the time and there just seems to be not a lot of interest […] from the [library] administration."

These findings support existing research into "a larger library management discourse" that calls for library administrators to identify and implement new services in order "to demonstrate their library's value to the institution in terms of return on investment" (Closet-Crane, 2011, p. 37). Closet-Crane (2011, p. 35) argues that within this literature, the concept of "strategic alignment unequivocally sets up an interdiscursive relationship with the discourse of management" and contributes to "the silent metaphorization of the library as

business." New digital services and spaces reposition libraries as centres of technological innovation and knowledge production, aligning the library with institutional marketization strategies (Barniskis, 2017; Closet-Crane, 2011). Redesigned technology-infused spaces in libraries, such as makerspaces, not only promote "the development of quantitative and digital skills," but also, and more importantly for library administrators, "entrepreneurship and innovation" (Mirza & Seale, 2017, pp. 177-78). Berkovich and Wasserman (2017) note that the while the focus on service quality in academic libraries is not new, competitive pressures, together with new technologies, have made user satisfaction a matter of occupational survival. Service has become a tactical strategy as well as a cornerstone of professional culture.

Findings also support existing research on the neoliberal university. An increased focus on cost-efficiency, productivity, accountability, grants, commercialization and performance accompanies the university's globalizing agenda (Menzies & Newson, 2007). According to Shore (2010), in the face of increased pressures to commercialize research and protect the institutional brand, universities have become more risk-averse. As staff members internalize managerial norms and policies for protecting their institution's reputation, they engage in self-censorship. The centralization of power and decision-making has resulted in academic freedom "being undermined by an insidious 'culture of compliance'… and reluctance or fear to challenge management decisions" (Shore, 2010, p. 26). Some interviewees in the present study at least, experienced this culture of compliance, as demonstrated by the following quote.

> Participant 14: [Name of university]'s a very conservative institution […] and I don't think at the outset of my career, I don't think that I understood, how that would be part of my role […] I feel like I was just trying to get a good job […] so now that there are issues that I feel very strongly about and I see that those issues are not as important to the university, it makes it very challenging for me sometimes to figure out how to approach my work, my position on things, and work with the institution.

Despite having tenure, a handful of interviewees appeared reluctant or fearful of challenging the decisions of library management, suggesting there may be little room in the neoliberal

academic library for diverse or critical perspectives on the current and future directions of Canadian academic libraries.

4.7   Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined librarians' perceptions of the values and practices of corporatization and competition at the institutional level, and the impact of such values and practices on their experiences of time as they engaged in public service. Findings suggest that corporate values and practices focused on efficiency, accountability, and reputation resulted in the acceleration and intensification of librarians' work. New services intended to support the university's research enterprise, such as research data management, research metrics, and support for digital humanities, were added to librarians' existing duties, resulting in increased workloads. These services and roles were often described as "shiny and new" and somewhat nebulous, suggesting that they were intended, above all, to attract attention and portray the library as an innovative partner in supporting the research enterprise and the student experience. In the face of reduced funding and shifting institutional priorities, information literacy had been deprioritized. In order to stay on top of constant change, to remain relevant, some interviewees perceived a need to engage in continuous self-monitoring and self-improvement, experienced as self-regulation. Interviewees had internalized neoliberal logics to some extent. Nonetheless, they experienced stress, disengagement, and emotional labour as they sought to regulate their professional and personal values with those of their employer.

In normative LIS discourses, the values and practices of New Public Management have become operationalized through discourses of competition, innovation, and resiliency. Building on work by Hancock and Spicer (2010) and Closet-Crane (2011), an exploration of the discursive alignment between universities' statements on skills and globalization and the spatial tropes and metaphors used by the library to market digital spaces and services such as digital scholarship centres and makerspaces is an area that presents itself as a generative site of future inquiry.

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5 "Being in Time": Temporal Narratives of Librarians' Public Service Work in Canada's Neoliberal Research Universities

5.1.1 Introduction

Mainstream discourses of "speed theory" (Sharma, 2014) posit that as a result of the shift from Fordist modes of production to flexible accumulation in the late twentieth century, the hyper-accelerated 24/7 time of the global knowledge economy was layered onto the rational, metered time of the industrial age (Castells, 1996; Harvey, 1989; Hassan, 2003, 2008; Hassan & Purser, 2007). Through the use of information and communication technologies and geo-location technologies, space and time became compressed and hyper-coordinated. These discourses also posit that under the values and practices of New Public Management, time in the public sphere was, and continues to be, commodified, intensified, accelerated, and fragmented. Introducing a temporal focus into studies of academic capitalism therefore affords a better understanding of globalization's impact on higher education (Walker, 2009).

Inspired by feminist geographer Doreen Massey's (1999) theory of "power-geometry," Media Studies scholar Sarah Sharma introduces the concept of power-chronography, "a conception of time as lived experience, always political, produced at the intersection of a range of social differences and institutions, and of which the clock is only one chronometer" (p. 28), as a means of challenging normative speed theories. Sharma argues that while close attention has been paid to the ways that "space is imbricated in games of power—whether by extension, expansion, colonization, imprisonment, banishment, confinement, inclusion, or exclusion," the importance of time as "a site of material struggle and social difference" (p. 9) has been neglected. Speed is not ubiquitous—not everyone is equally "out of time." Instead, relationships to time are highly differentiated. In the heteronormative, patriarchal order of global capital, temporal worth and labour are gendered, raced, and classed. At the same time, they are co-produced: our individual, embodied experience of time—our temporality—and the meanings and values attributed to it are entangled with, and dependent upon, the temporality of others. "Keeping people in and out of time is a form of social control" (p. 25), one upon which global capital depends. And because temporality is not determined by technological speed but by where one "fits" within this order, some people's temporal

experiences are normalized whereas others' are "recalibrated." Being "in time" requires temporal strategies and technologies of the self "contrived for synchronizing to the time of others" (p. 8) within a complex and pervasive "temporal architecture of time maintenance" (p. 139).

Sharma's theory of power-chronography—of power operationalized through time—would appear to lend itself well to a consideration of the labour of academic librarians. Members of a feminized profession (Harris, 1992), academic librarians represent a "curious category of employees," marginal educators on the university campus whose job descriptions include both "academic" and "nonacademic" work (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 659). Faculty and administrators are often unaware of the variety of roles librarians play or may fail to consider how they contribute to the research and teaching mission of the university (Sloniowski, 2016), prompting Shirazi (2014) to describe librarians' work in the academy as "shadow labor." A form of "immaterial, pink collar labor" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 659), the teaching role of librarians in particular is not well understood by those outside the library (Almeida, 2015; Badke, 2010; Julien & Genuis, 2009, 2011; Julien & Pecoskie, 2009; McGuinness, 2006; Meulemans & Carr, 2013; Sloniowski, 2016). As one participant in the present study said, "when you talk to people outside the library about [information literacy instruction], you might as well be staring into the eyes of a chicken, that's how much it means to them." This lack of awareness is a contributing factor in librarians' failure to integrate information literacy into the higher education curriculum in a consistent way despite more than thirty years of advocacy. Instead, the abbreviated and episodic one-shot guest lecture related to an upcoming assignment, delivered at the invitation of the course instructor, remains the dominant approach to supporting information literacy skills and practices in higher education. The subordinate status of librarians as educators and their limited access to the time of the curriculum, fundamental to the success of the information literacy project,[1] suggest that the meanings and values attributed to librarians' public service (information

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[1] Addressing information literacy skills and practices within disciplinary contexts, as opposed to through generic orientations, workshops, or tutorials, is viewed as a best practice approach (Association of College & Research Libraries, 2012).

literacy and reference) work in the academy are dependent on the temporalities of faculty, students, and administrators.

The success of the neoliberal university depends on individuals internalizing the need to work more quickly, more efficiently, more productively through the use "technologies of time or other efficiencies," such as calendaring and email (Bansel & Davies, 2005, p. 51; Walker, 2009).[2] Quality has become less about "the nature of the work, of the thought, of the interaction," and more about producing quantifiable results, always in greater number and less time (Bansel & Davies, 2005, p. 52). New Public Management, which privileges competition, privatization, and efficiency in higher education, effectively "chang[es] the temporalities of academic life for both students and academics" (Hartman & Darab, 2012, p. 58).[3]

The myriad, and sometimes conflicting ways that faculty experiences the complex and conflicted temporal order (Walker, 2009) of the neoliberal university have been well documented in both critical and empirical studies. Bansel and Davies (2005), Giroux and Searls Giroux (2004), Menzies & Newson (2007), and Ylijoki and Mäntylä (2003), among others, describe an accelerated temporal order within the contemporary university that leaves little space for reflection or critical thinking. Time allocated for teaching and administrative duties expands into and impinges on time intended for research (Bansel & Davies, 2005). In a 2007 study, Menzies and Newson report that in the face of increasing pressure to use information and communication technologies to manage their time more efficiently, Canadian academics experienced stress and temporal alienation. Along with a more administrative orientation to their work, these faculty members' attitudes and behaviors,

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[2] Workplace efficiency can be increased by acceleration and process intensification, i.e. by increasing activity through the introduction of machines and/or by reorganizing the sequence of activities, core strategies of Taylorism and Fordism (Whipp, Adam, & Sabelis, 2002). For a discussion of the role of Taylorism and scientific management in the professionalization of librarianship, see Gregory and Higgins (2018).

[3] The omission of librarians in Hartman and Darab's discussion of teaching and learning in the corporatized university is telling.

including research, reading, and social interaction, had also changed, with more "business-like, instrumental action crowding out the time and space that the mental and social habits of reflection and critical dialogue require" (pp. 89-90).

Just as employees are responsible for managing their time and staying on pace, so are they responsible for managing their own stress through the use of "technologies of self-management," such as taking work home, exercise, therapy, or medication (Bansel & Davies, 2005, p. 51). Nonetheless, studies show faculty members continue to exercise agency by accommodating, shaping, or resisting the timescape of the neoliberal university through collegial, collaborative, and collective action (Hartman & Darab, 2012; Meyerhoff, Johnson, & Braun, 2011; Moss & Pryke, 2007; Mountz et al., 2015; Shahjahan, 2015; Thomas & Davies, 2002).

Research by Hartman & Darab (2012), Menzies & Newson (2007), Mountz et. al (2015), Shahjahan (2015) and Thomas and Davies (2002) suggests that white women, people of colour, and other minorities are particularly negatively impacted by the timescape of the neoliberal university. Others scholars highlight differences in temporal experiences of people occupying different roles within the university. For example, increased managerialism in higher education introduces tensions between the time of administrators and academics and undermines the pace and rhythm of academic work (Giroux & Searls Giroux, 2004; Ylijoki & Mäntylä; 2003). To date, however, librarians' experiences of time in the university have not been examined. The present study seeks to address this gap. The research questions that inform this study are: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' labour in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labour 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? This article uses Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography as a heuristic to consider how librarians' public service roles are a form of temporal labour that requires them to "recalibrate" their work with the time of faculty and students.

5.2 Literature Review: Librarians' Experiences of Time

Studies by Hicks (2014), Hicks and Schindel (2016), and Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy (2017) reveal that time is invoked by librarians as a marker of change, a call to action, a commodity, an indicator of professionalism, and a counting mechanism. 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 (Bossaller, Burns, & VanScoy, 2017). While time pressure can be caused by library policies and practices, e.g. standards or expectations surrounding timely service provision or expanded duties, it is also self-imposed (Bossaller, Burns, & VanScoy, 2017). Access to class time, a resource necessary to the success of librarians' information literacy work, continues to be controlled by faculty (Hicks, 2014).

In more conceptual writings, Drabinski (2014) uses time as a heuristic to situate the emergence of information literacy within the context of neoliberal reforms to higher education. In related work on time and professional identity, Drabinski (2016, p. 28) argues that because librarianship is in a state of constant existential crisis, "the present is always exceptional and always requires exceptional attention to take action for the coming future." Drawing on Drabinski's 2014 analysis, I used time as a lens in earlier work (Nicholson, 2016, p. 26) to suggest that "information literacy is a construct developed for and taught within the broader context of the neoliberal university, which embraces a skills agenda." If librarians have struggled to move beyond the dominant one-shot information literacy guest lecture model, with its "superficial, skills-oriented approach," I argued, it is because "the one-shot is in perfect sync with the accelerated, fragmented 'corporate time' of contemporary higher education" (p. 27).

5.3 Method

To avoid repetition across articles, a detailed description of the study method is outlined in Chapter Three above.

5.4 Findings

The following themes will be examined below: changing rhythms and cycles, changes to the time of public service work, and time as a marker of changing values and roles.

5.4.1 Changing Temporal Rhythms and Patterns

The rhythms and pace of librarians' work was driven by the cycles of the academic year and institutional priorities and deadlines. These drivers included semesters, strategic planning, budgeting and fiscal planning, system-wide technology projects, curriculum renewal, accreditation, course reserves, standing committees, working groups, administrative work, and conferences. 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 with irregular work schedules were often predictable: the early months of the Fall and Winter semesters were "instruction season" and summer was "conference season." Those who provided reference service and information literacy instruction work regularly had to shift their schedules and work overtime to accommodate course timetables and academic calendars, however.[4]

> Participant 1 (late-career, large institution): For instruction you need lots of flexibility so I work a lot of evenings, sometimes on Saturdays [...] I kind of just save up time and then take it when it's not a busy, a busy time. [...] Instruction doesn't always take place between the 9-5 that the librarians seem to work, right? It doesn't always fit with that because there's evening classes, there's online cohorts, it's just a little, there's more flexibility needed.

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[4] Academic librarians typically do not have set hours of work. Nonetheless, they usually work "business hours," i.e. 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. or 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., with occasional evening and weekend work.

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 hiring, had impacted the academic cycle. The growing number of online courses 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 participant in a large university.[5] Significant amounts of time were invested in migrating content to new systems and platforms and learning how to use them. Participant 16, a late-career librarian in a mid-sized 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 thinking 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 so.

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, mid-career, large institution), too much work (having "a gazillion things to do," Participant 16), tight deadlines ("the 9-1-1 emergency," Participant 14, mid-career, mid-sized university), and constant interruptions

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[5] LibGuides is a proprietary web publishing and content management system used by libraries to provide patrons with curated lists of resources, often in the form of course and disciplinary research guides.

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. One contractually employed librarian intentionally took on additional work as a way of showing their value and making themselves indispensable: "I always try [...] to go above and beyond as much as possible, get myself involved in as many committees, just I'm always in people's faces," they said. As a result of the fall in the Canadian dollar in 2015, librarians felt pressured to make important decisions about collections without adequate time: "We've been scrambling to find ways to cancel products and try to eliminate our deficit and so that has added tremendous workload on me [...] you're just kind of treading water, trying to meet deadlines and you know you're often forced to make blind decisions because you just don't have enough time to do proper analysis. It's tough, you know?" said Participant 11.

Librarians tried to "wrap things up as quickly as possible" (Participant 15), be "really, really efficient" while at work (Participant 5), or work to deadlines. Several interviews described their efforts to focus on their work and minimize distractions (including keeping up with developments in the field) as being "stoic" (Participant 11) or "keeping my head down" (Participant 3). Participant 4 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 commented,

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

This inability to stay on top of the field made them "feel like a lesser librarian," not "a part of this profession." Four interviewees described working to a less rigorous standard than they would like in order to get everything done. Participant 21, an early-career librarian at a mid-sized university, commented, "In this role [...] I'm basically doing two, maybe three jobs, I don't know how you would count it, right? [...] I feel like I have to paint everything very thinly [...]. You don't ever feel like [...] you've really been able to devote the necessary time

to making it as good as it can be." Deprioritizing work, particularly research and scholarship, was also mentioned. Interviewees largely preferred practical, discrete research and scholarship projects with tangible outcomes that could be completed within short time frames. This was described as "getting stuff out there" (Participant 2) or "going for the low hanging fruit" (Participant 5).

Blocking off days without meetings, working from home, and flexing time were also mentioned as strategies for getting more accomplished. Taking work home on the evenings and weekends was another. Staying after normal business hours or taking work home made it possible to find quiet, uninterrupted time.

At most institutions, when librarians went on leave (e.g. maternity or parental leaves, research leaves), 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. Participant 4, a mid-career librarian in a mid-sized institution, said, "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."

Work had become intensified as librarians were increasingly asked to take on new roles and additional responsibilities. "The work has no boundaries," said Participant 23, a mid-career librarian in a large institution. Two participants noted sardonically that the "reward" for successfully managing one's workload was being assigned more work. Library administrators' growing interest in new digital spaces (and services), such as digital humanities centres and makerspaces, added to existing workloads or shifted resources away from traditional service areas such as reference and information literacy. 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. "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," said Participant 23, a late-career librarian in a large institution. 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.

5.4.1.1 Changing Public Service Models and Temporal Shifts

The nature and rhythms of public service work had also changed. The accelerated time of teaching and learning in the neoliberal university was evident in the popularity of creating bite-sized "consumables" such as online tutorials and guides, "the mania for creating video content these days," (Participant 16), and hyper-accelerated information literacy "lightning sessions" (Participant 5). "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. Some librarians created scripted 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. Larger class sizes and a focus on skills for employment meant that research assignments, time-consuming to grade, were no longer the norm in the undergraduate curriculum in some faculties, changing the nature of questions at the reference desk and obviating the need for information literacy instruction.

Changed public service models did not result in time savings, however, only in time shifts. Online consultations with distance education students via video chat sometimes had to be arranged after hours. Instead of being scheduled for shifts at the reference desk, librarians increasingly provided in-depth, intensive assistance to students and faculty via one-on-one

consultations in their offices.[6] 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 mid-career librarian in a small university. Considerable time was also spent answering reference questions via email and chat (SMS). Creating information literacy videos and screencasts was both time and labour intensive. When these videos demonstrated the use of online platforms (e.g. library catalogues, bibliographic databases), changes to user interfaces meant they needed 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 Participant 12, an early-career librarian in a small university.

New 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

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[6] Librarians 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, an early-career librarian in a mid-sized university.

to be available to students "24/7" and to respond quickly to emails and posts on the library's Facebook page. 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.

The rhythms of information literacy instruction had also changed. In some cases, as a result of a compressed and overcrowded curriculum, information literacy instruction was cut, even when faculty saw it as valuable. "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. In many instances, the just-in-time model prevailed, with generic information literacy modules made available to students inside the learning management system or on the library's website. When in-class information literacy instruction was requested, large classes with multiple sections required repeat visits on behalf of the librarian. In order to avoid this duplication of time and effort, many librarians created videos or online tutorials as a proxy for face-to-face instruction. In the context of discussing an administrative directive in their library to create online information literacy modules, Participant 12 said: "Some of those sessions […] I'm just standing front of a room for basically ten hours repeating the same thing over and over again, I don't like the idea of having to repeat the process that many times when there's probably away to streamline that both for me and for the recipients."

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 longstanding disconnect between librarian and faculty perceptions of the value of information literacy persisted.

> Participant 17 (late-career, mid-sized university): I think the expectation is that what we're going to do the one-shot so, "I need you to come and tell my class about library resources, I'll give you fifty minutes, and I'm going to be at a conference, but the TA will take attendance." Uh… Yeah. That sort of scenario is quite common.

Because class time remained scarce, the vast majority of librarians did not assess student learning, despite the significant push from professional associations such as the Association of College and Research Libraries and the Association of Research Libraries to do so. Instead, they distributed perceived self-efficacy questionnaires, feedback surveys, or quick "one-minute papers" at the end of class, even when they believed these approaches were lacking in rigour. Participant 1 commented: "Class time is very precious so […] when we come to the end […] I sort of have them do a 'quick write' as an evaluative tool […] and that just really isn't enough… it just seems more like an exit slip or getting feedback."

Last-minute requests from faculty for an in-class information literacy workshop 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. And it didn't matter if they called you and said, 'I want you tomorrow.'" Participant 17 commented, "There have actually been years when they put us into the syllabus on a date before they've asked us about it! So they just seem to take for granted that we'll be involved… which I suppose is good." This example suggests that faculty members had no appreciation for the many demands on librarians' time. Nonetheless, scheduling the information literacy class signaled that they valued information literacy to some degree, "which is good." In other cases, last-minute requests for class visits were perceived by librarians as an indication that faculty were not convinced of the value of information literacy or that they perceived information literacy instruction to be no more than a "canned spiel," requiring little or no time to prepare. Participant 2, a mid-career librarian in a small university, described this 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 the librarians' time. As Participant 1 noted, "class time is precious." 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." 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.

Several interviewees expressed frustration at the lack of progress made in integrating information literacy into the curriculum despite years of effort. In light of this, one participant questioned whether information literacy instruction was the best way to support students' information needs.

> Participant 17: We don't always have as much to contribute as we might think we do and so I'm a little, I'm jaded and skeptical about many things, so I really wonder [...] if there are other things that librarians could be doing that would help students find the information they need rather than teaching them in the classroom.

Rather than "forcing our way into the classroom," they said, librarians' time would be better spent improving search tools and systems and "creating online tutorials and online modules for faculty to use in the classroom."

Several interviewees commented that the abbreviated two-minute format of information literacy videos was intended to cater to students' temporalities, i.e. increasingly short attention spans, resulting from technological acceleration or time pressures caused by work or family.

> Participant 12: I feel like attention spans are possibly changing, the expectations of how knowledge is presented to people is changing […] and if you continue in the old trend of just standing in front of a room and guiding people through a process […] I feel like we're losing them.

Participant 16 described these videos as an attempt to make research "fast and painless." 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." Even librarians who were embedded in the curriculum, and therefore had the luxury of extended class time, commented that first- and second-year students often had little appreciation for instruction in "soft skills," such as information literacy.

> Participant 21: While we [the instructors] think it's great to have that luxury of time, the students don't always see it that way in first year, the students feel like we may be spending too much time on some of these topics like, "Can't

we just bang this out in you know like half an hour and move on?" So time, too much time is [a comment] we see a lot on […] evaluations […] [but] we also see that by third and fourth year, students recognize the value of this kind of instruction, of spending this kind of time on what one might call soft skills, right?

Interviewees had mixed opinions about the extent to which the nature of information literacy itself had changed, and whether the changes that had occurred were positive or negative. As Participant 4 noted, "I have colleagues who've worked as librarians for forty years, thirty years, and colleagues who've worked for two years, and and everyone has a slightly different perspective about what teaching looks like, what is a librarian's responsibility in the education of a student." Some felt that information literacy had undergone a fundamental shift, moving beyond the didactic tool and skill-based model of "bibliographic instruction" to focus on developing higher order skills such as critical thinking. Participant 20, an early-career librarian at a mid-sized institution, described bibliographic instruction as "tactical" whereas information literacy instruction was "conceptual." They believed previous models or "generationally specific approaches" such as the one-shot relegated librarians to the role of "a support service" whereas current approaches afforded librarians the "opportunity to be seen as partners in education […] to collaborate and engage and involve students in what's happening in the library, so that's really exciting." Conversely, Participant 8, a late-career librarian from a mid-sized institution, recounted how their colleagues had enthusiastically adopted materials created decades earlier for bibliographic instruction workshops:

I dragged out all of these old things that I had done, some in 1998 [...] some in 2001 […] and they said, "Oh yeah, we can use this, this is great!" [...] I found it absolutely hilarious because that was bibliographic instruction, covering exactly the same concepts, the same types of things that I do now.

5.4.2   Changing Roles and Values

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. Participant 14 said:

> 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 always
> get tripped up with the rhetoric [...]. I feel like we're trying to just prove to
> [university administrators] that we still are valuable [and] not just to keep on
> the payroll.

Librarians felt pressured 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, research metrics, and support for publishing. The focus on "shiny digital roles" (Participant 5) and "showcase type spaces" (Participant 11), such as digital scholarship centres, media studios, and makerspaces, was seen to be at the expense of support for more traditional services. Those who remained skeptical of these services often felt their colleagues perceived them to be antiquated or change averse.

In a related vein, technology was seen as an important way to demonstrate one's continued professional relevance. "Being a librarian, in a profession that relies heavily on technology, I feel that if I'm not conversant in some of the technologies that is somehow reflected on my professionalism," said Participant 14. Two interviewees associated the effective use of technology with generational differences. Participant 12 remarked that the "divide" between "born digital" librarians who had "grown up with technology" and the "technology adopters" was "a serious issue" within the profession. Another described their use of hashtags to explain subject headings as less "dusty" than the methods used by "a much different generation." "I promised myself there would be no droning on [...]. We've got to make this quick and easy," they said. They contrasted their "fun," "engaging," "creative," "thinking outside the box" approach to information literacy instruction, with the "super boring, super didactic" approaches of their predecessors.

5.5 Discussion

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, & Sabelis, 2002, p. 18). Accordingly, findings indicate that rhythms and pace of librarians' work were driven by institutional priorities and deadlines.

The workday was accelerated, intensified, and increasingly interrupted. Budgetary shortfalls resulted in rushed decisions, sometimes based in incomplete information and analysis. The accelerated time of teaching and learning was evident in the popularity of just-in-time do-it-yourself service models such as online tutorials and guides. Cycles were becoming less predictable, however, as a result of curricular changes and more part-time faculty and students. 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; migrating content to new online platforms and becoming proficient in using these new technologies required a significant investment of time. In addition, librarians were responsible for the provision of new digital services on top of their existing public service work, resulting in increased workloads. Reductions in staff, library technician staff in particularly, also resulted in the intensification of work.

5.5.1 Temporal Strategies: Being "In Time"

Findings are consistent with Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography, according to which the meaning of the temporal subject's "own times and their experiences of time is in large part structured and controlled by both the institutional arrangements they inhabit and the time of others—other temporalities" (p. 8). Temporal normalization, or recalibrating, "elevate[s] certain practices and relationships to time while devaluing others" (p. 15). On the U15 university campus, it is clear that power relations played out in, and through time. Faculty continued to maintain control over the time of the classroom. In the main, the one-shot continued to be the primary approach to information literacy instruction within the curriculum. 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 […] I started to question whether the approach of just teaching everybody all of the time was actually having any value whatsoever cause I started to see the same students over and over again.

The value of librarians' temporal labour also depended on "being in time" with the temporality of students, described by the librarians as characterized by competing priorities and shortened attention spans. As a result, abbreviated instructional formats, such as two-minute videos and online guides, were ubiquitous and often replaced information literacy instruction in the classroom. Online tutorials and modules also allowed students to access resources asynchronously, according to their own schedules, as opposed to those of the library or the librarian.

Numerous strategies were described for managing one's workload and recalibrating oneself to the dominant institutional timescape. Librarians 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. They shifted 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.

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, yet class time remained a resource controlled by faculty. Participant 24 noted that many employee groups on campus engaged in training, e.g. faculty developers, computer and information technologists, but they 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. Moreover, in some libraries, teaching counted only when it appeared in the course syllabus. Second, when class time was not available, or repeat visits to multiple class sections placed a significant burden on librarians' time, online modules and tutorials were used instead. The significant time and labour invested in creating these modules remained largely invisible, however. Moreover, adequate resources (time, space, equipment) or technical support did not accompany the push to online learning, promoted at both the library and university levels. When asked what they could change about their work if they could, Participant 16 replied, "having a quiet space would be the best, the thing I would change or at least someplace I could escape to work on […] these mini videos […] you want a quiet, uninterrupted time and space to do that."

A handful of participants outlined strategies for negotiating workload. These were seen to be somewhat subversive. For example, Participant 2's response to being asked to take on additional work 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, 'No, this is, 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.'" One 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. Despite calls in the LIS literature for librarians to engage in "partnerships" with faculty, the reality is that librarians remain subaltern. Nonetheless, several librarians commented that whereas it had once been unconceivable to refuse a faculty member's last-minute request for information literacy instruction, it was now becoming more accepted. Participant 17: "We all still get calls a week before, you know, 'Can you come to my class and show them how the library works?' At least now it's not completely unacceptable to say no to requests like that so people do."

In the absence of institutional support and lacking the status necessary to engage in negotiations related to workload with faculty and administrators, a more common strategy employed by librarians to manage workload was to set personal boundaries.

> Participant 4: I never have been in a position where I've been knocking on doors looking for instruction opportunities, this is always been a part of my role that I've had to balance the commitment with my other responsibilities and so I feel like probably I've done a superficial job of it most of the time, by design.

In a similar vein, Participant 23 commented, "If I wanted to, I could probably drum up a lot more teaching […] but I can't to do that [laughs]. But the only, 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. […] So now I work my official hours and usually no more, except I have compromises with myself such as September October, I will check my emails at night." 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.

5.6 Conclusion

In this article, I have explored librarians' temporal labour in the U15 university using Sarah Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography as a lens. Results suggest the value of librarians' information literacy and reference work depended on "being in time" with the time of faculty, students, and administrators. In order to synchronize their time to that of others, librarians used multiple technologies of the self. Recalibrating to the temporal architecture of the neoliberal research-intensive university was experienced as both material and emotional labour.

Just-in-time production models enact particular forms of temporal governmentality in the workplace, forms that require "engineered efficiency and co-operation" (Nishimoto, 2002)—

that require compliance. In a study of the relationship between just-in-time modes of production and neoliberalism in a case study of Toyota workers in Ontario, Thomas (2007) 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" (p. 107). Findings from the present study suggest that the impact of just-in-time service delivery environments on the temporal labour of library workers is an area that requires further study.

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6 The Impact of Neoliberal Timescapes on Canadian Academic Librarians' Scholarship and Service[1]

6.1 Introduction

Sometimes referred to as "practitioner researchers," academic librarians engage in professional practice, scholarship, and professional service as part of their regular duties.[2] Factors contributing to the success of librarians' scholarship have been well documented in the Library and Information Science (LIS) literature. Time, above all, is critical (Berg, Jacobs, & Cornwall, 2013).

Shared perceptions of organizational time enable, regulate, and constrain performance (Adam, 1998; Whipp, Adam, Sabelis, 2002): "the management of work… workers and the discipline of work involves the management of time" (Bansel & Davies, 2005, p. 53). In the academy, time structures the institutional mission and impacts research and pedagogy (Giroux & Searls Giroux, 2004). The values and practices of New Public Management, intended to increase accountability and efficiency in the public sector, have impacted the university's timescape (Adam, 1998): time has become accelerated, intensified, fragmented, and commodified (Bansel & Davies, 2005; Giroux & Searls Giroux, 2004; Menzies & Newson, 2007; Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003). There is a requirement to do more work, and a greater variety of work, in less time. The workday has also become highly scheduled and increasingly long; work time and personal time have blurred. Quality has become less about "the nature of the work, of the thought, of

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[1] A version of this article was submitted to the *Canadian Journal of Academic Librarianship* in July 2018 and is currently under review.

[2] I have used "scholarship" to describe research, scholarship, and scholarly activities. "Professional service" is used to refer to service to the library, the university, or the profession in order to distinguish it from public service activities such as reference or information literacy instruction. Sabbaticals, research leaves, and study leaves are referred to as "research leaves."

the interaction," and more about producing quantifiable results in greater number and less time (Bansel & Davies, 2005, p. 52).

Using data gathered from interviews with Finnish academics, Ylijoki and Mäntylä (2003) identify four temporal perspectives within the neoliberal university: scheduled time, timeless time, contracted time, and personal time.[3] Scheduled time, the time of externally imposed timetables, deadlines, meetings, and lectures, dominates. Scheduled time is accelerated, leaving academics feeling "they have lost control over time" (p. 62). Scheduled time is also commodified: it can be banked, borrowed or stolen. In contrast, timeless time, characterized by the internally motivated use of time in which "clock time loses its significance" and one "transcend[s] time and one's self" (p. 63), is the time of scholarship. Timeless time is an ideal rather than an everyday reality.

Feminist and anticolonial scholars suggest that New Public Management intersects with existing structural inequalities within higher education and, as a result, it has a particularly negative impact on women and other minorities in higher education (Hartman & Darab, 2012; Menzies & Newson, 2007; Mountz et. al, 2015; Shahjahan, 2015; Thomas & Davies, 2002). As members of a feminized profession (Harris, 1992), marginal educators not neatly classified as faculty or academic staff (Sloniowksi, 2016), in what ways are librarians' scholarship and professional service activities also subject to neoliberal temporal logics?

According to Moss (2006, p. 3), "prioritizing time and space in study design and analysis" enables the researcher "to relate personal experiences to broader socio-economic and political issues." This study draws on interdisciplinary analyses of time to

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[3] Contracted time is characterized by "a sense of time as something that is terminating combined with an uncertainty of the future" (Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003, p. 65). Personal time, grounded in personal reflection and the space and time devoted to work and other important aspects of one's life such as "how to use your lifetime, how to combine work and other areas of life such as family, and ultimately, how to live a good life" (Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003, p. 67).

situate the work of Canadian academic librarians within the context of an increasingly corporatized university. Using data gathered from interviews with twenty-four information literacy librarians employed in Canada's U15 universities, it adds to the existing literature on librarians as researchers by examining the impact of the neoliberal university's timescape on their scholarship and professional service. The research questions that inform this study are: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' labour in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labour 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? This article explores the impact of neoliberal temporal logics on librarians' scholarship and professional service activities.

6.2 Literature Review

6.2.1 Time, Librarians, and Neoliberalism

Recent LIS literature has paid some attention to time (Savolainen, 2006; Chen & Rieh, 2009; Hartel, 2010; McKenzie & Davies, 2002; Allen, 2011; Anderson, 2013; Crescenzi, Capra, & Arguello, 2013; Mizrachi & Bates, 2013; Poirier & Robinson, 2014). Studies by Hicks and Schindel (2016) and Bossaller, Burns, and VanScoy (2017) reveal that time is invoked by librarians as a marker of change, a call to action, a commodity, an indicator of professionalism, and a counting mechanism. In their study of librarians' perceptions of time while providing reference and information service, Bossaller, Burns, & VanScoy (2013) conclude that librarians may create self-imposed time pressures as a result of professional values that embrace efficiency and saving the user's time.

Few have considered time in the context of the neoliberal academic library. Quinn (2000) and Nicholson (2015) suggest that academic libraries have become subject to "McDonaldization," the influence of consumer capitalist values through processes of rationalization characterized by efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control. Just-in-time service delivery models are a feature of this environment. Drabinski (2014) uses the concept of *kairos*, a kind of contextually sensitive time, to situate the emergence of

information literacy within neoliberal reforms to higher education. I have argued elsewhere that the accelerated and condensed time of the information literacy one-shot guest lecture is "in perfect sync" (Nicholson, 2015, p. 27) with the timescape of the neoliberal university. Poirier and Anderson (2014), Nicholson (2016), and Glassman (2017) consider slow approaches to information behaviour and library work as an alternative.

6.2.2 Librarians as Researchers

Librarians' research needs and practices have also been explored in the literature. Barriers to success include a lack of time, institutional support, funding, and training (Powell, Baker, & Mika, 2002, cited in Berg, Jacobs, & Cornwall, 2013, p. 561). Contributors to success include education; experience; confidence; institutional supports, such as peer support groups, mentoring, training, access to library resources, and funding; academic freedom; intrinsic motivation; and time (Detlor & Lewis, 2014; Hoffmann, Berg, & Koufogiannakis, 2014; Hollister, 2016; Kennedy & Brancolini, 2012; Sassen & Wahl, 2014).

Two studies of Canadian academic librarians are of note. In a survey of librarians in Canadian research universities, Fox (2007) found respondents who were expected or encouraged to engage in scholarship spent fewer than five hours per week doing so. There are no norms for "the appropriate balance between scholarship and other professional responsibilities" (p. 452). Less than 25% had taken advantage of available leaves. Librarians often used evenings and weekends to work on scholarship.

Berg, Jacobs, and Cornwall (2013) used a survey to explore the perspectives of Canadian Association of Research Libraries (CARL) directors on academic librarians' research.[4] They found that three-quarters of responding institutions "there was no recommended

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[4] Survey respondents were directors of comprehensive or medical doctoral institutions, the same types of institutions as members of the U15 group. It is therefore possible to conclude that similar conditions exist in the U15 universities I examined.

amount of time" for librarians' research (p. 567). Nonetheless, most directors wanted librarians to spend significantly more time doing research, "up to 25 percent more" (p. 567). Expectations for research were "inconsistent" and formal documentation outlining criteria for "annual review, promotion, and/or tenure" lacking (p. 563). Directors believed librarians overestimated systemic barriers to success, such as time, funding, and support, and underestimated individual barriers, such as skills and motivation. Conversely, they perceived systemic factors, including institutional expectations, collective agreements, and a culture of evidence-based decision making to be key facilitators.

6.3 Method

To avoid repetition across articles, the method is described in Chapter 3 above.

6.4 Findings: Time for Scholarship and Service?

In the following, I will first explore the impact of neoliberal timescapes on librarians' scholarship and service activities. I will then examine structural barriers, including a lack of time and ambiguous policies surrounding librarians' scholarship.

6.4.1 Scholarship

In keeping with existing research related to faculty, academic librarians experienced time as intensified, fragmented, and accelerated.[5] Cycles of intense work required them to change priorities and schedules. Daily tasks were interrupted by meetings, consultations, reference shifts, and teaching. It was important to work quickly and efficiently and to track, manage, and report on one's time using calendars, spreadsheets, and databases. Paradoxically, working beyond regular hours was also seen as efficient, checking email in particular.

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[5] Although some librarians have faculty status, "faculty" here refers to professors and other instructors.

Respondents struggled to fit scholarship into the workday. Scholarly activities were regularly put aside in order to accomplish other work, primarily serving faculty and students. Professional service was sometimes prioritized over scholarship because, for the most part, it took place during the workday. Aligning scholarship and professional practice interests was a common strategy for getting administrative buy-in and researching "efficiently." Nonetheless, even these more "practical" projects did not easily fit within the workday, requiring librarians to devote evenings and weekends to them. The significant time investment required to undertake research in a new area posed a barrier to the diversity of librarians' scholarship. These themes will be explored below.

In the accelerated timescape of the neoliberal university, research was "crammed," "carved," "baked," "blocked," "front loaded" or "back loaded" into schedules. Several librarians mentioned colour-coding their calendars to identify time designated for scholarship and stay on track. Overcrowded schedules posed challenges to collaborative research projects. Working under the pressure of deadlines was a strategy mentioned by several interviewees. Participant 16, a late-career librarian at a mid-sized university, commented,

> I think probably my preferred pace, since I like working to deadlines, is to be able to blitz something and get it done […] move on, do something else or something more fun… And writing articles, I mean, yeah I think it probably stems from having been a delinquent write-it-the-night before essay type of person [laughs]. I've just conditioned myself to do that.

Although such an approach is "delinquent" or less than optimal— reflection and critical thinking are typically associated with slowness—it is, in fact, in sync with "structured time." As a result, this participant had "conditioned" themselves to write at this accelerated tempo until it had become routine.[6]

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[6] Sabelis (2002) notes that compression can have both positive and negative consequences, e.g. compelling one to get something done without procrastinating on the one hand, and adding stress, on the other.

Scholarship, often presented as a distraction from more pressing or important work, was regularly put on the "back burner," "pushed back," "put on hold," or "put aside," making consistent progress challenging. Summertime, used to accomplish work requiring longer periods of uninterrupted time, was increasingly taken over by system-wide projects with compressed timelines and inflexible deadlines. As a result, research was "chunked" or "parsed" into pieces more easily accomplished in small blocks of time.

Finding the time to stay abreast of changes in the field was difficult for some. Asked what they would like to change about their work, Participant 21, an early-career librarian at a mid-sized institution, replied,

> I just can't find time to keep up with librarianship as a profession, […] to like see what people are saying, and how things are changing, and like what the new guidelines say, and so I don't, I feel like a lesser librarian because I just can't find the time to do that so somehow, if I can change anything, I would probably somehow magically create time to do that kind of stuff so I could feel like I'm a part of this profession, you know?

Because staying abreast of the literature was important for staying connected to the profession, most interviewees focused their reading on issues related to professional practice. Strategies for reading were accelerated and efficient and included browsing Twitter and "skimming" and "scanning" tables of contents, abstracts, and articles.

Librarians' scholarship interests were also primarily aligned with their practice. This strategy helped to secure managerial approval for scholarship and make it "fit" within one's workload. Participant 18, a mid-career librarian at a large university, commented, "People can be very creative and adept at tying those things together, you know if your research interests align nicely with […] your work at the service desk or teaching, […] that's the ideal model that is sort of promoted around here." Participant 24, an early-career librarian, also at a large university, said, "Most of us would be doing [...] presentations at professional associations or publications in professional literature […] you know a lot of it's about, somehow tied to the library." Librarians whose scholarship and professional practice areas matched up used words like "alignment," "flow" or "fit."

In contrast, two respondents from separate institutions whose research engaged with information science more broadly described meeting with resistance from library administrators when trying to negotiate time for research: "I had a little bit of pushback that what I was doing was not real library work, and so I had to put forward a bit of a proof to say, yes, this is in fact research that a librarian should be doing and that I should be doing in this role," said one.

Accounting for one's time and demonstrating results when engaging in scholarship was important. When asked about an area they were exploring through the literature, one which they did not intend to turn into a "product," Participant 7, a mid-career librarian at a small university, said, "I wish I had more time just to explore things but I feel bit of pressure to like, when I do start reading to actually make something out of it [laughs]." Similarly, Participant 21 lamented, "And then the other challenge that we have is that you can't just go to a conference, right? [...] If I went to a conference to like just *learn*, that is insufficient [...] you have to present or else it doesn't count [...]. You really have to, everything has to count [...]."

Most participants chose smaller, discrete, less time-consuming projects or products such as posters, peer review of articles, or conference presentations, in part because it allowed them to produce tangible outputs in greater quantity and less time.

> Participant 2 (mid career, small institution): I find ways to work with colleagues and we put them in [a professional association newsletter]. Things like that. So I have those little things, so if we're doing something […] new, let's write it up, get it out there. It might not be a peer-reviewed gold standard but it's getting stuff out there.

Similarly, Participant 5, an early-career librarian at a mid-sized university, picked "the low hanging fruit," "the easy ones with deadlines," "chapters here, little articles there [...] just to get that in my résumé, on my CV." Only one interviewee described developing a research program as a way of maximizing return on investment across their roles and responsibilities. "I haven't really focused on you know a research program per se, so I've kind of done things, ideas as they've come up which was great, but […] I've been

thinking more about how faculty do it and […] they kind of build on previous work more which is a lot smarter [laughs] to do rather than kind of reinventing the wheel each time," they said. This comment suggests that in choosing one-off research projects tied to their practice, librarians are using their time *ineffectively*: researching "ideas as they come up" requires one to continually start from scratch. In contrast, a "research program" or a "scholarship approach," as this librarian described it, is an investment in one's future research productivity that allows one to "build on previous work."

For some interviewees, monetary compensation (merit pay) was a driver, and as a result, they felt compelled to engage in scholarship, even when it meant doing it on their own time. In this case, research was an externally imposed requirement, a "category" to fill for performance review.

> Participant 3 (early career, large institution): You need to have
> publications in order to get tenure, and so there's, and I mean also in order
> to get merit as well, you need to fill out that category. So there's pressure
> to publish for both those reasons.
> Interviewer: And how does that, so how does that pressure manifest itself?
> Participant 3: I see, there's, I think that there's some people that feel, I get
> the sense that they are publishing because it's something that's expected of
> them, not because it something that they would automatically do.

Participant 21 described having "overextended" themselves in research and professional service because they depended on merit pay in order to keep up with the cost of living. Another early-career librarian in a mid-sized institution described "getting...involved in as many committees, going above and beyond as much as possible" and being "in people's faces" as strategies to secure a positive performance evaluation and merit pay in order to make ends meet.

Scholarship was conducted outside of work time because it required quiet, uninterrupted, and extended time. Working outside the library building and outside of "scheduled time" was often essential for reading and writing. Participant 19, an early-career librarian

working at a large institution, "balanced" their research time between work and home. Participant 24 said, "We don't have research days or anything like that [...]. And [...] we don't have any hours or, so, you know it's, depending on how ambitious any of us wants to be, we can work on weekends and evenings." Several participants talked about finding a project with personal significance to drive them to work on their own time. Participant 4, a mid-career librarian in a mid-sized institution, said, "Hopefully you find a project that lights a fire under you, that you're really passionate about and because of that, you're compelled to do the work. For me, I haven't found that […] yet [...] so it's hard to find the time." Participant 23, a mid-career librarian in a large university, commented, "All my research [...] has had a personal connection for me, it's made it very easy for me to say, 'oh I'll take a couple articles home with me, read them,' or work on the weekends."

6.4.2 Professional Service

Some librarians prioritized professional service (e.g. serving on library or university committees) over scholarship because it was often a part of their job, not an external requirement. It "fit" more easily within the workday. Some service work, like organizing conferences, had a regular cycle, making it align better with the rhythms of the academic year. In contrast, some professional service, e.g. serving on hiring committees, was time-intensive. Because it was "high priority" and needed to be "wrapped up quickly," as Participant 15 noted, it *had* to fit. Several people described service to the university, such as participating in the faculty association or collective bargaining, as a priority because it allowed them to engage with issues central to the university's mission. Moreover, unlike scholarship, which is often solitary, professional service work was largely collaborative, making it more enjoyable for some.

In summary, the following passage is largely representative of U15 librarians' experiences of the timescape of the neoliberal university and its impact on their scholarship and professional service activities.

> Interviewer: And how do you manage your workload?
> Participant 24: [...] I try to as much as possible prioritize the user [...] and

then after that is [...] the whole rest of my job, and then it's probably research, then service, so it's just, as things get finished, other time frees up. [...] It kind of interrupts a lot of things, but I think that's important so I'm okay with it. I have some sort of longer term projects […] that are sort of always on my mind, I have a document I keep [...] and then it gets sad when things are still on the list for like a year, but that's how it is [chuckles]. […] Luckily, when the term's out, I have more time to do projects and research and stuff [...] but it can be challenging to prioritize it because you can kind of get swept away in some other things [...]. I've thought of […] kind of experimenting with, kind of having particular days for certain things […] like having a research day or something, and trying to do that, but that never seems to pan out [chuckles].

Although the majority of librarians described time or workload pressures, not all did, however. Participant 22, a late-career librarian at a large university, commented, "Yesterday was a very busy day for me and it felt, it was good when I got home." Several interviewees described having autonomy over their time. Participant 6, a late-career librarian in a small university, stated, "Other than the suggested percentage of time, you know the break up there [of professional practice, scholarship, and professional service], other than that it's really up to us, we do have the freedom to to get things done in their own way so I think we're very lucky that way."

Successfully managing one's workload did not always mean having time for scholarship, however. Two contractually employed interviewees did not have research or professional service responsibilities included in their job descriptions. A third tenured librarian said they were no longer interested in scholarship as they were nearing retirement, preferring to devote their time to professional service instead. Finally, Participant 19 commented that while they had "the time and the freedom and encouragement" to engage in research, they didn't have "any kind of guidance" on how to go about it.

6.5 Institutional Time Barriers

I have outlined above challenges librarians faced in making time for research within the workday. In the next section, I will examine the following structural barriers to research time that emerged from the interviews: a lack of clarity surrounding what constitutes research; the devaluing of librarians' research; and ambiguous policies and guidelines, and gaps between policy and practice surrounding performance evaluation, promotion, and tenure that left librarians unsure of how much time to spend on scholarly activities or how their performance would be assessed.

6.5.1 What is Research?

An important barrier to making time for research was the ambiguity surrounding what qualifies as scholarship. In two institutions, only research within LIS or aligned with the strategic goals of the library "counted" toward performance evaluation, promotion, and tenure. This requirement not only proscribed scholarly interests and contributions but also resulted in an intensification of work.

> Participant 23: So when I've wanted [...] to defend my research work within my workload, I've had to negotiate that individually with my supervisor [...] so basically that's officially completely, completely separate from my day job, right? Which of course [...] doesn't reflect reality, right? So there's a gap between my documented responsibilities and what my daily life is actually like.

In several universities, there was no requirement to engage in research; nonetheless, it was favourably perceived as long as it was done on one's own time. Participant 1, a late-career librarian at a large university, commented, "It's kind of there, it's nice if you do it. I know some librarians [...] they've been involved in research grants, but they, they won't necessarily get time, they would be doing that research outside of their work time." Participant 22 said that while there were no "official scholarship requirements […] it looks good if you do it, of course. [...] That's a plus towards your tenure." This

arrangement resulted in librarians taking on more work without requiring the university to provide structural supports. Commenting on their workload, Participant 23 said, "If it seems like you are managing, by all means take on that big research project, nobody's going to say don't do that, because […] it's prestigious for the university any time that you do anything that's an accomplishment, right?"

Participants felt that it was not clear to what extent university (and sometimes the library) administrators valued their research. Participant 11, a late-career librarian at a small university, commented, "It's not clear to me though that our administration values those activities very much, I'm not sure how much weight is given when they are determining merit." Participant 4, a mid-career librarian at a mid-sized university, said, somewhat bitterly, "We get still very strong signaling from our administrators that we are not scholars, that [librarians' research] is not the same as [faculty] research." Moreover, librarians themselves did not always see themselves as scholars or feel they had the knowledge and skills to engage in research. In sum, it appears that librarians' research was valued by the institution inasmuch as it did not take time away from other work. "It's never conceived of or positioned as a priority for the institution or for academic librarians here. Yes, it's your responsibility but you do that own your own time. Oh, and by the way, all of these other things are *far* more important and pressing," said Participant 4.

6.5.2 Ambiguous Policies

Unclear policies and gaps between policy and practice surrounding performance evaluation, promotion, and tenure left librarians unsure of how much time to devote to scholarship or how their performance would be assessed. Participants at all but one institution reported issues of this kind. Provisions for taking time to engage in scholarship varied widely across and even within institutions: in one university, what to research and how much time one could spend on it were dictated by the library's strategic priorities and one's immediate supervisor.

In the majority of sites, librarians' relative efforts with regard to their roles and responsibilities were outlined according to percentages, such as 80% for professional

practice and 20% for scholarship and professional service combined. Regardless of local particularities, however, there was a lack of consensus among librarians about how to understand these percentages, which describe effort, in terms of the material reality of work time. On the one hand, some calculated percentages into hours or days. This served as a form of self-discipline: blocking off research time in their calendar was a strategy Participant 5 used to "guilt" themselves into making progress with it. On the other hand, several interviewees expressed concern that such calculations would only reinforce an existing managerialist library culture and threaten their professional autonomy.

> Participant 4: This is a perpetual question here, like is [X]% like a half-day
> a week? […] All sorts of my colleagues have said we have to be really
> careful about when we say we want half a day a week because then we are
> telling the employer that we work forty hours a week and we
> are essentially […] willing to punch a clock and that is a different
> conversation.

Those who held this view preferred taking a low-key approach with their respective administrators instead. Participant 24: "Most of us find that it's better just not to talk about it [chuckles] and just do it when you have time and that seems to work a little bit better than trying to say, 'I want this particular time to do this.' Just do it when there's time." Others found it easier to manage their scholarship commitments independently and adjust their goals to align with academic cycles. Participant 20, an early-career librarian at a mid-sized university, said, "We're at the end of the winter term, we're coming into intersession where there's not that many classes [...] so I'll probably take more time to amp up some of the research that's been on hold this last term and it just kind of has a natural flow."

Percentages and provisions in collective agreements appeared to have little material impact on librarians' ability to secure time to engage in scholarship. One librarian working in a small institution commented, "On paper we're allowed to take a full research leave. In practice, none have been approved." Several participants across institutions

mentioned their supervisor's attitude toward research as a contributing factor in their ability to engage in research.

In a few institutions, the system of allocating percentages to professional practice, scholarship, and service did not exist. Participant 23 said, "It's great to say librarians can do research, but what are the structures that actually like make that possible within the job? That's a whole other question. And for us it's mainly just left up to each individual to just make the time." In one library, this was attributed to differences in professional roles: just as librarians did not share the same roles and responsibilities in the area of professional practice, they could not be expected to share the same responsibilities (or opportunities) in the area of scholarship. Participant 18 likened this to "compar[ing] apples to oranges": "we couldn't have one model that would fit all, I don't know if that would work," they said.

Provisions for paid research leaves were mentioned by participants at six universities. (It is possible that such provisions existed at other institutions, however, since research leaves were not addressed directly in the interview schedule but arose naturally in conversation.) Leaves were seen as an important means of making time for research because they represented a "big chunk" of uninterrupted time, as Participant 14, a mid-career librarian in a mid-sized university, said. In one institution where paid leaves did not exist, librarians had taken unpaid leaves for scholarship purposes. Even where provisions for dedicated research days or leaves did exist, a limited number of participants reported having taken advantage of them, perhaps because other duties were deemed more pressing or their positions would be left vacant during their absence, creating additional work for their colleagues. Participant 1 stated, "We can apply for [research] leave, and that's, that's a wonderful opportunity, the only the difficulty with that is that your unit is left with nobody when you go."

Early-career and precariously employed librarians were particularly disadvantaged by inconsistencies in policies and practices related to time for scholarship. Two librarians, each with less than five years' experience, working at separate institutions, described receiving mixed messages about the importance of scholarship from their colleagues and

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administrators. Participant 3 commented, "It's hard to interpret what the expectations actually are." Two of the five contractually employed librarians who participated in the study did not have research included in their position responsibility statements. Another was expected to engage in scholarship but unlike their tenure-stream colleagues, did not have access to research leaves. Participant 12, who had held several contract positions at their current institution, none of which included scholarship, service, or funding for professional development, had to do research on their own time. In their view, these conditions of employment, which prevented them from building a record of scholarship, posed a barrier to their eligibility to compete for tenure-stream appointments, even at their current place of work, effectively condemning them to a cycle of precarious employment.

6.6 Discussion

Librarians struggled to keep up with their workloads and to find time during the workday to engage in scholarship. Research was regularly put aside in favour of other duties. Fragmented workdays posed barriers to reading, writing, and critical reflection at work. Engaging in scholarship outside of work hours was reported by eleven of the twenty-four interviewees. Smaller, practice-oriented projects were the norm in part because they fit more easily within the accelerated "scheduled time" of the university. In many institutions, it appeared that librarians' scholarly activities were valued only to the extent that they did not take time away from institutional priorities. As Sloniowski (2016, p. 661) argues in her examination of the gendered politics of affective labour in the neoliberal library, "we struggle to find time to research and write because our service work is considered more useful to the corporate goals of the university…university administrators are often unsupportive of our research goals when they take our limited time and bodies away from serving library patrons and their various anxieties."

In keeping with neoliberal logics of resilience, flexibility, and entrepreneurialism, being a "successful" researcher was largely dependent on individual determination. Intrinsic motivation (and sometimes guilt) and self-regulation strategies such as blocking time in one's calendar or working outside of work time played a significant role. "Scholarship is,

they are always applauded but they do basically rest on the initiative and the curiosity and the drive of the individual," noted Participant 24. Moreover, trying to work with, rather than against, neoliberal temporal logics facilitated scholarship. For example, choosing smaller, practice-oriented projects enabled librarians to fit them within the work day. Practice-oriented scholarship and turning conference presentations into publications extended the impact of one's efforts, maximizing return on investment. Accepting and even internalizing the dominant "structured time" timescape of the neoliberal university by working at an accelerated pace to meet externally imposed deadlines was another strategy for success.

Librarian's experiences of time were largely consistent with those of faculty. For both groups, timeless time, the kind of time conducive to scholarship, was rare. Moreover, in keeping with research by Bansel and Davies (2005, p. 50), librarians also regularly put their scholarship aside because it did not "clearly lead, in a linear fashion, to a known, measurable, and institutionally recognised outcome." Meeting with students and faculty, teaching classes, managing budgets, and staffing service points were all more pressing because they were scheduled or had deadlines. Practice-oriented scholarship was the norm, perhaps because it "fit" within the university's timescape and its culture of accountablity and audit. This finding is consistent with existing literature that demonstrates that librarians' reading and research activities are largely dictated by their professional practice and conference papers, posters, and presentations are preferred over publishing (Sugimoto, Tsou, Naslund, et. al, 2014).

The present study supports Fox's (2007) conclusion that balancing professional practice and scholarship in Canadian academic libraries is largely an individual matter. Librarians in both studies reported engaging in scholarship during evenings and weekends. For some librarians in the present study, this was episodic; for others, it was a regular occurrence. Quality of time—the need to find quiet, uninterrupted time—was a key factor.

The experiences of librarians in this study suggest that the perceptions of CARL directors regarding librarians' research may be misguided (Berg, Jacobs, & Cornwall, 2013).[7] Librarians found systemic supports, where available, to be insufficient. Individual motivation and informal peer support, not systemic factors, were the most important factors contributing to their success as scholars. In my view, the gap between librarians and directors can be attributed, in no small part, to conflicting organizational timescapes, that is to say that CARL directors do not appear to account for differences in quality of time and their impact on librarians' research. Findings from the present study suggest that Canadian academic librarians are being held accountable to ambiguous performance standards and impracticable timescapes with regard to scholarship.

This study sheds new light on the role of time as a mechanism through which neoliberal governmentality is enacted in Canadian academic libraries. The discourses and practices of New Public Management (NPM) enact the contemporary knowledge worker as self-regulating, collaborative, team-focused, and entrepreneurial (Bansel & Davies, 2005; Hancock & Spicer, 2010; Rottenburg, 2013). Walker (2009, p. 484) argues that "academic capitalism requires both the reification of time and an internalization of the importance of managing time in a demonstrably efficient manner." In keeping with Berkovich & Wasserman's (2017) examination of the cultural sense-making practices of

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[7] Survey respondents were directors of comprehensive or medical doctoral institutions, the same types of institutions as members of the U15 group. It is therefore possible to conclude that similar conditions exist in the U15 universities I examined. This finding is also in keeping with results from the survey by Sugimoto, Tsou, Naslund et. al (2014) which less than half of ARL libraries in the US reported having written policies regarding promotion and tenure. The following CARL libraries, listed from East to West, are also ARL members: McGill University, Queen's University, the University of Toronto, York University, the University of Guelph, the University of Waterloo, the University of Western Ontario, the University of Manitoba, the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary, Simon Fraser University, and the University of British Columbia.

academic librarians in Israel, librarians in the present study had "internalized and integrated" elements of neoliberal discourses and practices, to some degree at least. Self-regulation was evident in the way they translated effort into time and the pervasive use of calendaring to schedule, monitor, and record their use of time. Using one's calendar to "guilt" oneself into research or finding reasons to be "compelled" to work in the evenings and weekends also represent time as disciplinary power. The pressure to perform neoliberal subjectivities had a clear impact on the kinds of research academic librarians produced: discrete, time-limited practice-oriented research projects allowed them to manage their time and maximize their return on investment.[8]

While is not clear to what extent the Israeli librarians in Berkovich and Wasserman's 2017 case study were conscious of neoliberal discourses and practices, many librarians in Canadian U15 universities were well aware of them and even sought to co-opt or resist them. Their responses and actions were often complex and ambivalent, manifesting both (sub)conscious acceptance of the logics of New Public Management and resistance to them. For example, the strategy of prioritizing practice-oriented scholarship can be seen as both an acceptance of the productivity imperative of the neoliberal university, according to which quantity is more important than quality, and a way of resisting the intensification of work by trying to regain control over one's time. And while selecting personally fulfilling research projects can be seen as a rejection of the "practicality imperative" (Hudson, 2017) in librarianship and the timescape of the neoliberal university, such resistance came at a price in that it often required librarians to engage in these projects on their own time. Similarly, taking advantage of collaborative projects, which requires one to be accountable to a "team," also challenged the neoliberal ethos of entrepreneurialism and individual success.

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[8] This finding suggests one possible answer to Sloniowski's (2016, p. 258) question, "How [does] the pressure to suppress both the emotions and the body impacts the research scholars produce?"

For some, this complex interplay required considerable emotional labour. Like their faculty counterparts, librarians' emotional labour, the invisible work of managing emotions upon which the service economy depends, is characterized by anxiety; being 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 one's field" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 658). Participant 11 was disillusioned with the "McDonaldized" environment of Canadian academic libraries and "pessimistic" about their future. Their colleagues were "burned out," "really lacking the will and the courage to push back and […] question […] some of these decisions," they said. As a commitment to themselves and the profession, they engaged in small, daily acts of resistance including offering (unsolicited) constructive feedback on strategic decisions and prioritizing their own professional development, scholarship, and professional service. In a similar vein, Participant 14 talked about the challenges of "going against the grain" in "a very conservative institution" and trying to use their research agenda to bring a more critical perspective to their professional practice.

Using Jeffress' (2008) work on postcolonial theories of resistance, Shahjahan (2014) reviews models of resistance within the literature on neoliberal higher education. The strategies of resistance employed by librarians in this study align with dominant models, i.e. cultural, subversive, and oppositional resistance. In Shahjahan's view, cultural and subversive resistance, both of which involve "saying no to power," can facilitate "more meaningful individual or collective forms of resistance in [higher education]" (p. 224) but have limited potential to disrupt or overturn dominant logics. Shahjahan argues instead for a "transformational resistance," one that "foregrounds individual agency as a core component in a praxis based on connection, human dignity and mutual interdependence" (p. 228). "In this paradigm, resistance becomes 'freedom to', rather than 'simply freedom from'" (p. 228). The efforts of librarians in this study to build a shared culture of scholarship through informal peer supports and engagement in collective associations offer some promise as "freedom to" pursue a more critical research agenda and collective professional practice.

6.7 Conclusion

In this article, I have explored the impact of neoliberal timescapes on the scholarship and professional service activities of information literacy librarians working in Canadian research-intensive (U15) universities. Data was gathered during semi-structured interviews with twenty-four librarians, and analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) within a constructionist framework.

This research adds to the existing literature on librarians as researchers by highlighting the role of time as a key mechanism through which neoliberal governmentality is enacted in Canadian academic libraries. Results are significant, if not entirely unexpected: they suggest that New Public Management (NPM) has impacted the quality of time and librarians' experiences of time in the workplace, effectively limiting librarians' ability to engage in scholarship and service activities during the workday. Public service work was prioritized because it was time-sensitive, time-defined, and resulted in concrete, commensurable outputs. Scholarship, which requires longer periods of quiet, uninterrupted time, was regularly conducted outside of work schedules, during the evening and on weekends. The timescape of New Public Management also had an important impact on the kind of scholarship in which librarians engaged. Smaller, practice-related scholarship was the norm because it fit better with the neoliberal timescape of the academic library, could be more easily accomplished within the accelerated and fragmented time of the workday, and resulted in a higher number of outputs, key to success in an environment which values commensurable outputs that contribute to institutional priorities above all.

In closing, I would like to mention that in its an attempt to situate the labour and politics of knowledge production in the academic library within the broader context of the neoliberal globalization of higher education, this article represents what librarian Lisa Sloniowski (2016) describes as "writing as a form of resistance." Regardless of any subversive intentions, however, in my annual report, this paper will be seen as an output, a plus towards a positive performance evaluation and perhaps even a merit bonus. It is, after all, a product of its time—in more ways than one. This research was conducted

outside the "structured time" of my workplace, during the "extended week" of many weekends and over the course of two paid professional leaves. While I was away, profiting from this "timeless time," my colleagues took on my administrative and teaching roles in addition to their own duties, no doubt putting their own scholarship on hold. I would like to acknowledge their labour, and their time, that made this work possible.

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7   Discussion and Conclusion

This qualitative research study has explored the ways that academic librarians, working in Canadian public research-intensive universities, experience the space/time of information literacy, the neoliberal university, and the global knowledge economy. Drawing on human geography's central claim that space and time are dialectically produced through social practices, I have used space/time both to situate the labour of librarians within the context of a university subject to the spatial and temporal logics of late capitalism and to explore the impact of such logics on their daily work.

The research questions that guided this study were: What are the spatial/temporal practices that regulate librarians' material and emotional labour in the neoliberal university? How do wider power structures become embedded in librarians' labour 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? These questions were explored using a qualitative approach.

In each of the four articles in this dissertation, I explored distinct but related questions of the research problem, using a critical theoretical methodology informed by feminist, postcolonial, and poststructuralist approaches, literature from across the social sciences, and empirical data gathered from interviews with twenty-four information literacy librarians from U15 universities across the country. In the first article, "The Space/Time of Information Literacy, Higher Education, and the Global Knowledge Economy: A Theoretical Framework," I articulated a framework for conceptualizing the space/time of information literacy as a key library practice that seeks to legitimate the role of the academic library within the neoliberal university's globalizing agenda. The three subsequent empirical articles examined the impact of the space/time of the neoliberal university on and across librarians' roles and responsibilities, which include professional practice, scholarship, and professional service. In the second article, "'Shiny and New': Neoliberal Logics and the Material and Emotional Labor of Academic Librarians in Canadian Research-Intensive Universities," I examined neoliberal competitive logics that structure the space/time of higher education and their impact on academic librarians' material and emotional labour. In the third article, "'Being in Time': Temporality and Librarians' Professional Practice in Canada's Neoliberal

Research Universities," I used Sharma's (2014) theory of "power-chronography" to consider how librarians' public service roles as temporal labour that requires them to "recalibrate" their work with the time of faculty and students. And finally, in the fourth article, "The Impact of Neoliberal Timescapes on Canadian Academic Librarians' Scholarship and Service," I explored the impact of neoliberal temporal logics on librarians' scholarship and professional service activities.

7.1 Discussion

7.1.1 Librarians' Experiences of Time at Work: Acceleration, Intensification, Compression

This study sheds new light on the role of time as a mechanism through which neoliberal governmentality is enacted in Canadian academic libraries. Librarians in this study experienced temporal acceleration. They described the importance of working quickly in order to manage their workloads, and used expressions like "burnout," "being overloaded," "scrambling to meet deadlines," and "getting swept away" to describe how they felt as they tried to cope with their workloads and with the accelerated pace of work. Strategies they used to manage their workload included "going for the low hanging fruit," chunking up work, carving out time in their calendars, and keeping multiple lists and spreadsheets to track and report their work.

Participants also reported that work intensification: the workday had become increasingly fragmented and intensified, punctuated by back-to-back meetings and consultations with students. Librarians' work had simultaneously become more generalized, automated, clerical, and administrative as a result of the addition of new roles and services and the elimination of librarian, technician, and middle manager positions. The addition of "shiny and new" digital services and spaces, intended to demonstrate the library's value to the institutional research mission, resulted in roles being expanded. Paradoxically, working beyond regular hours, by answering email in particular, was also seen as efficient.

Finally, librarians also experienced compression, namely being swept along, suppressing reflection (and other forms of non-productive work, such as small talk or socializing), and accepting that work must sometimes be completed in a less than optimal manner (Sabelis, 2002). Nonetheless, they made the time to participate in a ninety-minute interview, to contribute to this research, in some cases as an overt gesture of collegiality. Several participants commented on the value of the interview as an opportunity to pause and reflect.

Librarians perceived a gap between their values and vision for the library and those of library administrators. Participants believed information literacy to be a core part of a university education: information literacy prepared students for their assignments, for work, for life as engaged citizens. Through their information literacy work, these librarians felt they were making an important contribution to the university's educational mission and to society at large. Supporting students and faculty with their information needs was a source of satisfaction and joy; it made them feel valued and respected. In contrast, some library administrators were of the view that in order to demonstrate the continued relevance of the library and align the library's services with the university's research mission, new high tech, high touch services were needed. Whereas librarians spoke of connecting with individual students and faculty, the library administration was focused on technology, the budget, and supporting the research enterprise. New services intended to support the university's research enterprise, such as research data management, research metrics, and support for digital humanities, were added to librarians' existing duties, resulting in increased workloads. These services and roles were often described as "shiny and new" and nebulous, suggesting that they were intended, above all, to attract attention and portray the library as an innovative partner in supporting the research enterprise and the student experience. In the face of reduced funding and shifting institutional priorities, some library administrators no longer saw information literacy as a priority—but instead of cutting the service completely, the library continued to provide it, sometimes with skeleton staff. Online modules were sometimes proposed by library administration as an effective alternative to face-to-face instruction in the classroom.

Library administration was often described as out of touch with what was happening "on the ground." Participant 15 stated, "There doesn't seem to be a lot of appetite for engaging with

people who are actually doing some of this work [laughs] on the ground […]. I feel like, you know, we have so many great librarians […] and they are, they have no end of excellent ideas and they come across excellent opportunities all the time and there just seems to be not a lot of interest […] from the [library] administration."

Delegating responsibilities is an important way to reduce time pressure in the workplace (Sabelis, 2002). Whereas at one time, librarians might have delegated clerical tasks to library technicians, this was no longer an option because of reductions to the technician complement across institutions. Instead, the primary strategy librarians employed to deal with increasing workloads and growing stress was to engage in self-regulation, keeping their heads down and plugging away, even when many of them acknowledged they would never get ahead of the work.

> Participant 15: I used to do a lot, a lot, a lot of work outside of work time. And then I just at some point came to the realization that that is not how I want to spend every waking moment and it is not, there is no percentage in it, you're never going to get, you're never going to get ahead of it [laughs], there's always going to be more stuff, right? And so I kind of just gave up on that and I just live with the fact that there are just some things that are not going to get done for a while […] sometimes it's frustrating. I guess I still feel like I do things at a fairly high level but it, you know, it's tough.

Self-regulation was evident in the way librarians felt the need to translate "effort," outlined in percentages, into time and the pervasive use of calendaring to schedule, monitor, and record their use of time. Using one's calendar to "guilt" oneself into research or finding reasons to feel "compelled" to work in the evenings and weekends also represent time as disciplinary power. The pressure to perform neoliberal subjectivities had a clear impact on the kinds of research academic librarians produced: discrete, time-limited practice-oriented research projects allowed them to manage their time, maximize their return on investment, and demonstrate their contribution to the library's priorities.

In their role as researchers, librarians' experiences of time were largely consistent with those of faculty as they are reported in the literature. For both groups, timeless time (Ylijoki &

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Mäntylä, 2003), the kind of time conducive to scholarship, was rare. Librarians struggled to find time during the workday to engage in scholarship. Research was regularly put aside in favour of other duties. Fragmented workdays posed barriers to reading, writing, and critical reflection at work. Engaging in scholarship outside of work hours was reported by half of the twenty-four interviewees. Meeting with students and faculty, teaching classes, and staffing service points were all deemed more pressing not only because they were scheduled or had deadlines but also because they were activities in service of the dominant temporal subjectivities of faculty and students.

Practice-oriented scholarship was the norm, perhaps because it "fit" within the university's timescape and its culture of accountability and audit. This finding is consistent with existing literature that demonstrates that librarians' reading and research activities are largely dictated by their professional practice and conference papers, posters, and presentations are preferred over publishing (Sugimoto, Tsou, Naslund, et. al, 2014). Unlike faculty, however, librarians had the "option" of choosing smaller, practice-oriented projects that fit more easily within the accelerated "scheduled time" of the university. In many institutions, librarians' scholarly activities appeared to be valued to the extent that they did not take time away from institutional priorities. Librarians found systemic supports for scholarly activity, where available, to be insufficient. Individual motivation and informal peer support, not systemic factors, were the most important factors contributing to their success as scholars.

In discourses and practices of New Public Management (NPM), the contemporary knowledge worker is inscribed as collaborative, team-focused, entrepreneurial, and self-regulating, (Bansel & Davies, 2005; Hancock & Spicer, 2010; Rottenburg, 2013). In the main, librarians in U15 universities had internalized some aspects of discourses of corporatization and competition while simultaneously resisting others. Neoliberal logics were experienced as a need to engage in self-discipline (remaining competitive) and self-regulation (conforming). It was important to engage in continual self-improvement, particularly with regard to staying abreast of new technologies to demonstrate one's continued relevance, but the library often did not provide equipment, space, time off or funding for professional development. The emphasis was on individual performance and self-monitoring, i.e. tracking one's time and productivity, automating individual work processes, engaging in professional development as

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self-improvement; assessment and the use of standards and best practices as mechanisms for demonstrating the value of the library were not reported to be an important focus in any of the institutions under study.

Time was invoked in discourses related to change and innovation. Librarians who weren't "on board" with "constant" strategic planning were "clinging to the past" and not "evolving," said Participant 12. "Librarians aren't changing fast enough in response to the way libraries are changing," they said. In the same vein, staying ahead of "the technology curve" was important to demonstrating professionalism and continued relevance for the future. Those librarians who remained skeptical of new digital services or who continued to believe in the value of more "traditional" service models believed their colleagues perceived them to be behind the times, "dusty," or change averse.

7.1.2 Librarians' Temporal Labour: Recalibrating

In keeping with Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography, according to which the temporal subject's "own times and their experiences of time is in large part structured and controlled by both the institutional arrangements they inhabit and the time of others—other temporalities" (p. 8), librarians experienced temporal normalization or recalibration. On the U15 university campus, it is clear that power relations played out in, and through time. In the main, faculty continued to maintain control over the time of the classroom, maintain the one-shot as the primary approach to information literacy instruction within the curriculum. Last-minute requests for information literacy instruction continued, suggesting 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 to the syllabus.[1] Power dynamics between faculty and librarians and the pressures for librarians to demonstrate their "value" in the form of measurable outputs made it challenging for librarians to refuse these requests.

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[1] This suggests to me that analyses of the syllabus as a "boss text" (institutional ethnography) or as an actor in a network (actor-network theory), if such works do not already exist, would be generative of new insights into academic labour.

The value of librarians' temporal labour also depended on "being in time" with the temporality of students, which study participants described as characterized by competing priorities (e.g. trying to balance school and work) and shortened attention spans. As a result, abbreviated instructional formats, such as two-minute videos and online guides, were ubiquitous and often replaced information literacy instruction in the classroom.

The requirement to be "in time" with the temporalities of faculty and students posed a number of issues for librarians. First, in some institutions, librarians' academic status depended on class time, a resource controlled by faculty. When class time was not available, or multiple class sections required repeat visits, placing a significant burden on librarians' time, online modules and tutorials were used instead. The significant time invested in creating these modules was largely invisible however; certainly it did not count towards academic status in the same way that face-to-face instruction did. As mentioned above, the resources and support required to make such modules was often lacking. Moreover, 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: in some libraries, teaching counted only when it appeared in the course syllabus. In other institutions, the academic status of librarians was tied to their role as teachers. Participant 24 noted that many employee groups on campus engaged in training, e.g. faculty developers, computer and information technologists, but they didn't enjoy the benefit of faculty or academic status. "Teaching, and teaching well […] is a really essential part of our role as academics."

Librarians used multiple technologies of the self in order to synchronize their temporal labour with the time of others. They maintained to-do lists, spreadsheets, and calendars. They automated work processes and created online tutorials in accordance with the dictates of the library administration. They created short, on-the-fly tutorials to send via email and delivered lightning sessions to save users' time. Tutorials and modules allowed students to access resources asynchronously, according to their own schedules. They shifted 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 sometimes engaged in self-censorship in order to appear compliant with institutional values and priorities.

7.2 The Timescape of the Neoliberal Research Library

The timescape of the neoliberal academic library was characterized by two competing, and conflicting temporal orders: a future orientation, manifest in constant strategic planning and a focus on innovation and technology, and the material conditions of a present where librarians experienced the accelerated and compressed timescape of the just-in-time service model.

Studies on the time of organizations suggest that management is a future-based process continually actualized and adjusted in the present. Organization planning and development are accomplished in reference to the future (although they may be motivated by past experiences) but the "concrete steps" of actualizing future visions "can only take place in the time horizon of the present" (Noss, 2002, pp. 55-56). Nonetheless, and somewhat paradoxically, the present is trivialized, treated as "a homogeneous and undifferentiated point on a linear time axis," of concern only as "the starting point of all planning endeavor" (Noss, 2002, p. 50). In many ways, this was evident in Canadian research libraries. Technology was equated with future promise and possibility. Today, through the creation of new digital services and spaces, the library seeks to portray itself as an innovative, future-focused partner in the research enterprise, to enhance institutional reputation, and to inscribe itself into the university's future-oriented globalizing agenda.

As Sharma's (2014) theory of power-chronography makes clear, however, discourses of acceleration mask the differentiated temporal labour upon which the knowledge economy depends. In this case, narratives of the high-speed virtual library, with its seamless interfaces, instant access, and "frictionless" interactions, obscure the temporal labour of library workers. Librarians' experienced work in "real time," an "ultra compressed time speed [that] demands instant reactions to events" (Purser, 2002, p. 158), scrambling to make decisions under pressure, constantly shuffling priorities and schedules to respond quickly to faculty and students. In real time, "the time required for sound human judgement, communal reflection, and deliberation—the sort of relief necessary for making sense of the world—is simply not available" (Purser, 2002, p. 158). Through the lens of time as power, of temporal labour (Sharma, 2014), the present study sheds new light on the temporal labour of librarians as

subordinate temporal labourers on the university campus. As Sharma (2014, p. 8) makes clear, being "in time" requires temporal strategies and technologies of the self "contrived for synchronizing to the time of others" (p. 8) within a complex and pervasive "temporal architecture of time maintenance" (p. 139). As marginal educators, librarians must recalibrate to synchronize their labour, and their subjectivities, with the normative temporalities of faculty and students. This suggests that 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.

Delegating responsibilities is an important way to reduce time pressure (Sabelis, 2002). Because librarians in this study did not have that option, however, they experienced considerable stress as they struggled to manage their workloads. One participant said they wished they could take a piece of their workload, "just take a chunk, just […] take a handful, like a responsibility and just, just remove it, like a tumor." Workload, "like a tumour," was an ever-growing but invisible malignant presence, literally making them sick from overwork. In her discussion of compression, Sabelis (2002, p. 92) notes, "The societal and academic attention to topics such as burnout point to the relevance of recognizing huge pressures that can cause a great deal of pain."

Findings support the recent trend in LIS discourse advocating for library workers to demonstrate resilience. In the past ten to fifteen years, resilience has been advanced by organizations such as the OECD, the World Bank, the IMF, and the UN as a means of advancing a neoliberal agenda (Neocleous, 2013). Discourses of resilience encourage individuation, naturalize and depoliticize systemic inequalities, normalize insecurity, and place additional demands on white women and people of colour (Galvin, Berg, & Tewell, 2017). "Resilience promotes the idea that library staffers can overcome anything and that those who cannot are at fault for their situation" (Farkas, 2017). Discourses of resilience and grit allow "the systemic causes of oppression and inequity to continue unquestioned and unchallenged" by eliminating "any sense of unity and support for addressing these issues at their roots" (Winkelstein & Terrile, 2017). The intensive emotional and material labour required by high touch services and flexible roles in libraries have been associated with a need to demonstrate resilience (Farkas, 2017; Munro, 2011).

A related concept that has recently come to the fore in the professional LIS literature is that of "vocational awe," "the set of ideas, values, and assumptions librarians have about themselves and the profession that… libraries as institutions are inherently good" and that librarianship is not merely a job, it's a calling (Ettarh, 2018). Ettarh (2018) contends that vocational awe masks the role libraries have played and continue to play in perpetuating social injustice. It also exacerbates occupational issues within libraries such as burnout, low salary, and job creep. Vocational awe serves to foster resilience and compliance within the library workers. Munro (2011) writes, "It only takes one recalcitrant, embittered, or bullying officemate to bring morale and productivity down. Resilient libraries actively foster good working relationships, clear communication, and strong buy-in at all levels of the institution."

In mainstream LIS literature, critical perspectives related to neoliberalism in higher education are often dismissed as "impractical" (e.g. Association of College & Research Libraries & Oakleaf, 2010). This study further suggests that discourses of innovation and resilience facilitate the production of neoliberal subjectivities in academic libraries and that time is an important mechanism through which this occurs.

7.3 Agency and Resistance

Librarians subverted neoliberal logics by finding meaning in work and their relationships with faculty and colleagues, and by being driven by curiosity or engaging in activities without an immediate outcome or goal. The positive affective component of public service work was evident in words like "love" (Participants 21, 23), "joy" (Participants 6, 22), and "enjoyment" (Participants 4, 11, 15, 16), used by interviewees to describe how they felt about it. Helping people with their information needs was important because it was allowed librarians to be "authentic" (Participant 1) and "human" (Participant 4). It was about "sharing" (Participant 6) and "making a connection" (Participants 1, 2, 4, 13). The importance of feeling valued and respected by faculty colleagues was mentioned numerous times.

With one exception, interviewees believed strongly in the value of information literacy. Beyond teaching students basic information retrieval and evaluation skills, interviewees felt they were making an important contribution to the university's educational mission, to society. Information literacy made students not only more effective and efficient researchers but also more engaged citizens, and more competent professionals.

> Participant 22: I also feel like in the global sense, I'm doing my bit to contribute back to society, I'm helping people learn, I'm helping people prepare for their careers, and if I've had you know a modicum of impact on some of them, that's really important to me, it gives me a sense of pride [...], the sense of personal satisfaction that, you know, this was a good day's work.

Finding a personal connection to one's scholarship, valuing it as an integral part of being an academic librarian, and engaging in it as a means of problematizing and improving libraries and the profession were also ways that librarians resisted neoliberal logics. Participant 23 said, "I try to be driven by my curiosity and by my, or sometimes by my exasperation, right? Like sometimes just problem-solving insofar as I have the freedom to do that […]." This same participant talked about engaging in a large-scale research project as "a commitment to myself as a researcher and as a contributor, as a scholar." They kept a list of things to which they had said no, a gesture they found "unexpectedly powerful," and made a point of taking time to celebrate their achievements. Participant 14 described the pleasure of reading and the serendipity of discovery in an area of scholarly interest in terms of losing track of time and one's surroundings, evoking the concept of "timeless time": "I like reading a lot. Like I spend a lot of time reading and a lot of time, like when I get you know, searching the literature again I kind of go down that rabbit hole and I start reading again and I get really excited [laughs]."

Although scholarship was primarily described as an individual activity, an important contributing factor was informal support among peers, a strategy that also runs counter to the neoliberal project. Seven interviewees mentioned the support of their colleagues, and an equal number mentioned the support of their supervisor as positive contributors to their work. Two mentioned the library's senior administration. Two participants mentioned working

collaboratively as a way to make time for research. In one institution, librarians advanced their collective scholarship by helping each other make time for it.

> Participant 9: We strongly encourage people to set aside days to do it and
> what we have found is that [...] if you say okay on this day you booked it, it's
> in your calendar, we won't schedule you for any meetings, we won't schedule
> you for desk on that day, that's your day. Then we end up taking it.

Over time, taking research leaves had also become more common at this institution. (Conversely, two librarians at this same institution remarked that some leave requests had met with resistance from library administrators.) Providing feedback on each other's work, and participating in research groups and journal clubs were also mentioned by respondents in three institutions as collegial initiatives intended to build confidence, shared knowledge, and a culture of research. Two people described their participation in this study as a way of supporting a fellow researcher. Participant 9 said, "Maybe it's just this feeling that library research is hard enough, and why make it harder by having a struggle to find people to talk to so if I can give up you know an hour or whatever of my time, great, you know." Similarly, Participant 15 stated, "I consider [my participation] as a contribution to scholarship so I was happy to do this." Others commented on the value of the interview as an opportunity to pause and reflect.

Finally, 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, strategies mentioned by several interviewees, were additional means of subverting neoliberal values.

7.4 Areas for Further Research

In this study, I have drawn from critical theoretical approaches including feminism, anticolonial studies, and poststructuralism, and from the literature in Education, Geography, LIS, Sociology, and the Sociology of Education. Such a broad framework necessarily limits the extent to which I have been able to explore some of these areas in depth, leaving me with numerous ideas for future research directions.

One question that has emerged for me in conducting this research is, in what ways are librarians' professional values and temporalities already aligned with those of neoliberal globalization? Several authors explore the complex interplay between capitalism and the theoretical and practical foundations of librarianship in scientific management and positivism. Gregory and Higgins (2018) and Kont (2013) demonstrate that librarians have embraced the principles of scientific management, intended to increase efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity through the streamlining and standardization of work routines, positivism, and evidence-based practice. Enright (2011) examines the connections between scientific management, the professionalization of librarianship, and the commodification of information. Hudson (2017) suggests that the focus on practicality and efficiency in the profession is a form of racial neoliberalism that shores up white supremacy. Using a case study approach, Berkovich & Wasserman (2017) conclude that under the influence of New Public Management, academic librarians in an Israeli university had incorporated competition and entrepreneurialism into their existing value framework. To date, however, time has not been used as a lens to explore these interrelationships.

The present study has uncovered just-in-time service as a particular form of governmentality in academic libraries. Results suggest that the concept of temporal labour (Sharma, 2014) afford new insights into the literature on burnout and disengagement in LIS. Moreover, in my research, the history of just-in-time service delivery in academic libraries was uncovered as a curious gap in the literature that remains to be addressed. In a related vein, more needs to be said about discourses of innovation and resilience and just-in-time service models in academic libraries. Finally, this study explored the experiences of Canadian academic librarians; a comparison study of librarians based in other countries or in other types of academic libraries (e.g. college libraries) would provide broader insights into the impact of the time/space of neoliberal logics across the profession.

7.5 Conclusion

In the introductory chapter of this dissertation, I referred to ongoing discussions within the literature of academic librarians' marginal or outsider status on the university campus and the constraints and affordances of this space/place. Reflecting on critical library pedagogy in the

"corporate university" as a "stuck place," librarians Eisenhower and Smith (2010) write the following:

> In the end, our position remains profoundly ambivalent. As librarians, our engagement (with pedagogy) is not given but must be wrested from situations that would reduce such engagement to the motives of efficiency, even if the place of that efficiency, in the overall "business" of teaching at the university, seems at times to verge on the negligible. …Perhaps the most that we can hope for is to hit those "stuck places" where thinking occurs. For praxis is only ever the messiness of philosophy and practice as they confront forces (capital, gender, bodies, etc.) in dissonance, and the value of praxis comes from seeing what can happen when we defer, even a little while, the recuperation of force into value. (Eisenhower and Smith, 2010, pp. 316-317)

Place is a way of seeing and making sense of the world: "When we look at the world as a world of places, we see worlds of meaning and experience… It is a much about epistemology as ontology" (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 11-12). In Eisenhower and Smith's "stuck place," I see the university and the academic library as spaces/places produced and reproduced by the spatial and temporal logics of neoliberal global capital. I see last minute requests for one-shot instruction, bite-sized tutorials, chat reference widgets—"fast, take-away, virtual, globalized, download/uptake versions of electronic pedagogy" (Payne & Wattchow, 2009, p. 17). I see the worlds of meaning and experience of the information literacy librarians who so generously shared their time and stories with me.

Many who engage critically with the university and the academic library take up this idea of a "stuck place," an embodied, interstitial space, a place from which to work "inside out."[2]

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[2] Writing about her experiences doing diversity work as a woman of colour in the university, feminist antiracist scholar Sara Ahmed (2012) argues that when we work *at* the university, we need to work *on* the university. This is what I mean by working "inside out."

For example, Readings (1997, p. 19) imagines teaching as "a network of obligations." "The transgressive force of teaching," he writes, "lies in the way pedagogy can hold open the temporality of questioning so as to resist being characterized as a transaction that can be concluded." Almeida (2015, n.p.) argues "authentic critical (and pedagogical) power comes from a place of otherness." Sloniowski (2016, p. 664) exhorts 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." Mountz et al. (2015, p. 1239) situate their call for slow scholarship in the neoliberal university "within a feminist praxis that positions self-care and the creation of caring communities." In this stuck place, I also see the small, collegial acts of caring carried out by librarians, the joy they continue to find in their work with students, the pleasure they feel when engaging in scholarship, the unexpected power they experience when saying no.

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Appendix 1: 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

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?

Appendix 2: Ethics Certificate

Western Research

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board
NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Pamela McKenzie
Department & Institution: Information and Media Studies\Faculty of Information & Media Studies, Western University

NMREB File Number: 107640
Study Title: The Space/Time of Information Literacy as a Neoliberal Pedagogy
Sponsor:

NMREB Initial Approval Date: February 02, 2016
NMREB Expiry Date: February 02, 2017

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Letter of Information & Consent		2016/01/22
Recruitment Items	Twitter recruitment	2016/01/22
Recruitment Items	Recruitment email	2016/01/22
Instruments	Interview Guide Received January 11, 2016	2016/01/22
Western University Protocol	Received January 22, 2016	

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

_____   _____
Ethics Officer, on   NMREB Chair or delegated board member

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information: Erika Basile ___ Nicole Kaniki ___ Grace Kelly ___ Mina Mekhail ___ Vikki Tran ___

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Curriculum Vitae

Name	Karen Patricia Nicholson
Post-Secondary Education and Degrees	McGill University Montreal, QC B.A. (Joint Honours)
	McGill University Montreal, QC M.A.
	Université de Montréal Montreal, QC Ph.D. (ABD)
	McGill University Montreal, QC M.L.I.S.
	The University of Western Ontario London, ON Ph.D.
Honours and Awards	Ontario Graduate Scholarship 2015 (Declined)
	Canadian Association for Information Science (CAIS) 2014 *Best Paper by a Practitioner* Award
	Japanese Ministry of Education Monbusho Scholarship 1995-1997, 1990-1991
	Fonds à l'aide des chercheurs et de la recherche (FCAR) Doctoral Scholarship 1994-1997
	McGill University Major Fellowship 1991

McGill University Faculty Scholar 1987-1990

Related Work Experience

Manager, Information Literacy
University of Guelph
2012-

Teaching & Learning Development Officer
Council of Ontario Universities
2010

Information Literacy and Staff Development Librarian /
Teaching & Learning Librarian
McMaster University
2007-2012

Information Literacy Coordinator & Liaison Librarian
McGill University
2002-2007

Reference & Subject Librarian
Concordia University
2001-2002

Faculty Member, Association of College & Research
Libraries, *Information Literacy Immersion Programs*
2011-2018

Instructor, *Perspectives on Library and Information Science*
University of Western Ontario 2019

Instructor, *Instructional Strategies for Information Professionals*
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Publications

Nicholson, K. P. (In press.) On the space/time of information literacy, higher education, and the global knowledge economy. *The Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies*.

Nicholson, K. P. (In press). Time, New Public Management, and Canadian academic librarians' scholarship and service. *Canadian Journal of Academic Librarianship.*

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