3-21-2022

Problematic Expectations: Using Close Reading to Surface Emotional Labor in School Librarian Job Postings

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Although emotional labor—defined as the process(es) by which a worker manages their feelings in order to produce the desired emotional response in a customer—has been studied in various fields and specific domains of librarianship, this topic has yet to be examined in school librarianship. In this exploratory article, I perform a close reading of school librarian job postings to surface expectations of emotional labor and explicate connections to the feminized history of librarianship. The article closes with a call to action, outlining steps for administrators and researchers to prevent the potential harms of emotional labor in school librarianship.

Keywords: emotional labor; school librarianship; close reading

Introduction

Emotional labor is an aspect of service work that occurs when a worker manages—that is, generates or represses—their feelings in order to meet organizational expectations and produce the desired emotional response in a customer (Hochschild, 1983, 2017; Matteson et al., 2015). While scholars now tend to agree that emotional labor is a facet of library work, attention has only been paid to this topic in specific contexts, predominantly in the field of academic librarianship. Virtually no work has been done to study the role of emotional labor in school libraries.

This article represents the first step in considering the way that expectations of emotional labor are made manifest in the field of school librarianship. My analysis draws on the work of Emmelhainz et al. (2017), who performed a feminist close reading of the Reference and User Services Association's *Guidelines* in order to surface the way(s) in which emotional labor is implicit in the definition of reference work as outlined by the field's governing body. I employ the technique of close reading to analyze the way word choice and phrasing in school librarian

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job postings conveys particular ideas about gendered expectations of emotional labor. I also briefly consider how the language used in the *National Standards* of the American School Library Association foregrounds and contextualizes the type of language deployed in school librarian job postings. I close with a call to move beyond the exploratory steps of this article into widely and carefully examining the lived experiences of emotional labor by school librarians in the field. While the positive/negative effects of emotional labor have been a prominent topic of discussion in the field of organizational psychology, the effects of emotional labor in librarianship have been understudied, and the particular experiences of school librarians have been paid no attention whatsoever. I argue that a new (if overdue) attention to the emotional labor of school librarians is critical, as it has the potential to provide valuable insights into how to improve the impact of school library work on both students and school librarians themselves.

Literature Review

A Brief Overview of Emotional Labor

In her foundational work on the subject, *The Managed Heart*, Arlie Hochschild (1983, 2003, 2012) defines emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 7), where the term management encompasses "enhancing, faking, or suppressing emotions to modify the emotional expression" (Grandey, 2000, p. 95). Hochschild established two modes of emotion management: surface acting and deep acting. In surface acting, "the underlying emotion is still present, but the external expression of emotion matches the organization's display rules"; by contrast, in deep acting, an employee attempts "to reframe or reinterpret the situation to change their underlying emotion so that it matches the [organization's] display rules" (Matteson et al., 2015, p. 86). Hochschild gives many examples of these two modes of emotion management. Drawing on the work of Konstantin Stanislavski, she presents the following theater-based explanation of surface acting: "To show through surface acting the feelings of a Hamlet or an Ophelia, the actor operates countless muscles that make up an outward gesture. The body, not the soul, is the main tool of the trade. The actor's body evokes passion in the *audience's* soul, but the actor is only *acting* as if he had feeling" (Hochschild, 2012, p. 37, emphasis Hochschild's). Hochschild's theater-based example of deep acting engages the question of Method acting; as such, it is too technical to be useful here. However, another scenario Hochschild describes—that of a young man receiving news of a friend's mental

breakdown and subsequent hospitalization—provides a clear illustration of how deep acting goes beyond the performative nature of surface acting to involve actually changing one's inner emotions:

> Sensing himself to be less affected than he should be [by the news about his friend's health], he tried to visualize his friend—perhaps in gray pajamas, being led by impassive attendants to the electric-shock room. After bringing such a vivid picture to mind, he might have gone on to recall smaller private breakdowns in his own life and thereby evoked feelings of sorrow and empathy. Without at all thinking of this as acting, in complete privacy, without audience or stage, the young man can pay, in the currency of deep acting, his emotional respects to a friend. (p. 43)

Thus, as outlined in Table 1, surface acting involves modifying one's "outward behavior" while deep acting involves modifying one's "inner experience" (Hochschild, p. 195).

[place Table 1 here]

In recent years, the definition of emotional labor has expanded to "[cover] a broad swath of emotional actions on the part of employees as long as that action is performed in service of the job" (Barry et al., 2019, p. 19). Such emotional actions may include "something as simple as a casual smile or compliment designed to smooth an interaction or maintain workplace cordiality, or something more complex in the domain of conflict management, such as a boss assuming a particular emotional tone in order to mediate a disagreement between subordinates, or a teacher calibrating emotion to regain control over an agitated or rambunctious classroom" (Barry et al., 2019, p. 19). Matteson and Miller (2012) also draw attention to the fact that emotional labor can occur between a worker "and a range of interaction partners, including supervisors, colleagues, and subordinates" (p. 177), not merely between a worker and a customer.

In general, workers perform emotional labor "in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hochschild, 2012, p. 7). What is deemed the "proper" state of mind in others is determined by the organization or institution of which the worker is a part. Thus, to be capable of emotional labor, a worker must "(a) be aware of organizational requirements about emotional displays, and (b) regulate their emotional expressions to match those requirements" (Matteson & Miller, 2013, p. 55). The performance of emotional labor by workers is valuable to organizations because this labor "results in more

effective workplace interaction" and is thus "helpful to the organizational bottom-line" (Grandey, 2000, p. 95).

It is important to note that emotional display rules are not always made explicit by the organization, and that explicit display rules are not a precondition for emotional labor to occur on the job. Whereas some organizations may have explicit emotion display rules such as "feel enthusiasm" or "do not display anger" (Holman et al., 2009, n.p.)[1], other organizations may have implicit expectations of emotional labor. For example, in the case of "interactive service workers for whom 'the customer is always right'" (Wharton, 1999, p. 172), while no display rules are stated, the prevailing notion of the customer's unimpeachable rightness contains implicit expectations that the worker perform emotional labor to keep the customer feeling satisfied. In 1999, Wharton drew attention to the fact that most research on emotional labor at that point had "focused on jobs where adherence to emotional display rules is considered a formal job requirement and where the guidelines for its performance are not solely controlled by workers themselves" (p. 160). As a result, Wharton points out that studies of EL as of the turn of the twentieth century had tended to "[exclude] more informal types of emotional labor, such as the mothering of others that may be implicitly expected of female workers" (p. 160). She elaborates on the connection between emotional labor and gender, using the example of medicine (a comparison discussed at greater length below in the following section of this article):

> Professional positions, such as doctor, do not require friendliness and sociability as much as they demand the muting of these emotions. This type of emotional labor and its consequences may be very different from those found in other settings […] Deference and the kinds of emotions displayed in the service of being nice are characteristics strongly associated with interactive service jobs and other predominantly female jobs that require nurturance. Emotional labor is not a gender-neutral activity, and its effects thus are likely to reflect an interaction between the type of emotional labor performed[2] and the characteristics of the performer. (p. 172)

Hochschild, too, pointed out the need to consider how expectations of emotional labor are different for women than for men:

> [Perceived to be] more 'adaptive' and 'cooperative' [than men], [women] address themselves better to the needs of [children,] who are not yet able to adapt and cooperate much themselves. Then, according to Jourard (1968), because they are seen as members of the category from which mothers come, women in general are asked to look out for psychological needs more than men are. The world turns to women for mothering, and this fact silently attaches itself to many a job description. (p. 170)

As the following section outlines, librarianship is a field that has been and continues to be feminized. As such, it is of even greater urgency that library and information science (LIS) professionals consider the way the expectations, enactment, and effects of emotional labor operate in our field.

Librarianship as a Feminized Profession

Dee Garrison (1972) traces the historical roots of public librarianship as a feminized profession. In the "last quarter of the nineteenth century […] librarianship was a new and fast-growing field in need of low-paid but educated recruits" (p. 131), and women were well-positioned to meet this need. While Garrison acknowledges that "very probably, women would have flocked into any new field in which their entry was not opposed," she argues that "library work matched presumed feminine limitations. Librarianship was quickly adjusted to fit the narrowly circumscribed sphere of women's activities, for it appeared similar to the work of the home, functioned as cultural activity, required no great skill or physical strength and brought little contact with the rougher portions of society" (p. 132). Garrison elaborates:

> Just as the concept of "culture" had been generally accorded to the care of women, so the functions of providing education and of overseeing charity to the poor had been deemed suitable fields for female concern. The provision of education and moral uplift to the masses was a prominent mission of the early library; thus, women library workers, with their presumed inborn talents and temperaments, seemed uniquely suited to the new field of librarianship. (p. 135)

Gina Schlesselman-Tarango (2016) builds on Garrison's work to argue that an intersectional feminist lens must be applied to the history of librarianship in order to illuminate how the field was seen from its inception as work well-suited to *white* women: "Lady Bountiful, an archetype that represents a particular mode of femininity and its supposed moral superiority, is specifically white, female, and middle or upper class. As we work to locate Lady Bountiful in LIS we can begin to see that it was the very qualities associated, not simply with gender, but also whiteness in feminine form that functioned to position her as the ideal library worker" (p. 674). Citing Garrison, Schlesselman-Tarango points out how the expectation of whiteness was encoded as a qualification for library work in the early days of LIS education: "An early criterion for admittance to professional library schooling included an evaluation of *personality*. Here, personality as a trait included 'breeding and background' as well as 'the missionary spirit,

cultural strength…gentleness, and sense of literary values' (Garrison, 1979, p. 191). Certainly, breeding and background can be understood as whiteness, something that in female form went hand in hand with the other criteria listed above" (Schlesselman-Tarango, 2016, p. 674, emphasis Schlesselman-Tarango's).

Many scholars have argued that the longstanding feminization of library work has contributed to the field's ongoing struggle with professionalization. Garrison (1972) outlines this trend in historical terms: "In established professions the practitioner assumes the responsibility for deciding what is best for his client. Whether or not the client agrees with him is theoretically not a factor in the professional's decision" (145). In contrast to a physician, who prescribes the best medication to a patient in accordance with her (the physician's) training rather than in accordance with the patient's wants/opinions:

> Librarians tended to 'serve' the reader, rather than to help him. They felt a strong obligation to meet the needs of the public and were self-consciously sensitive to requests and complaints of the client. […] This passive, inoffensive and non-assertive 'service' provided by the librarian is also a natural acting-out of the docile behavioral role which females assumed in the [nineteenth-century] culture. (pp. 145–146)

Garrison extends this argument to the present day, arguing that "the negative traits for which librarians [now] indict themselves—excessive cautiousness, avoidance of controversy, timidity, a weak orientation toward autonomy, little business sence [sic], tractability, over compliance, service to the point of self-sacrifice and willingness to submit to subordination by trustees and public—are predominantly 'feminine' traits" (p. 146). She concludes that "the traditional ideals of feminine behavior held by women librarians and the reading public [in the nineteenth century] had a profound impact upon the development of the public librarian's non-assertive, non-professional code of service" (pp. 146–147).

Neigel (2015) echoes Garrison, and others, in contending that librarianship continues to be perceived as feminine work today: "The service ideal that characterizes public library work and its collaborative and supportive connections with communities, families, and children can be viewed as contributing to the general perception that library work is 'women's work' because it embraces a certain ethic of care (Harris, Walthen, & Lynch, 2014)" (Neigel, 2015, p. 524). Like Garrison, Neigel compares medicine and librarianship, drawing on the work of Roma M. Harris

to explain how professionalization occurs differently in male-dominated fields (such as the former) versus female-dominated fields (such as the latter):

> Harris (1992) describes male-dominated and well-recognized professions like medicine and law as having control over their work in ways that are less challenged by external fields. In contrast, librarianship, similar to nursing and social work, are frequently challenged by external professions for control. Certainly, this is evident in the assignment of key leadership positions […] [which] are frequently occupied by non-librarians with backgrounds in the academy or authorship academics or authors. (Neigel, 2015, p. 524)

Framing librarianship as a feminized field that has long been considered ideal work for white, upper-/middle-class women—themselves the ideal of American womanhood—allows us to consider the ways that this legacy of the ideal librarian has repercussions in the field today. While Hochschild focuses on the experiences of female flight attendants, not public librarians, she is also aware of the archetype that Schlesselman-Tarango refers to as Lady Bountiful: "They are also not simply women in the biological sense. They are also a highly visible distillation of middle-class American notions of femininity. They symbolize Woman" (Hochschild, 2012, p. 175). Hochschild contends that the combined pressures of performing emotional labor and of living up to the standard of this archetypical Woman can cause a loss of "a healthy sense of wholeness" (p. 184) for female flight attendants:

> More women than men go into public-contact work and especially into work in which status enhancement is the essential social-psychological task. In some jobs, such as that of the flight attendant, women may perform this task by playing the Woman. Such women are more vulnerable, on this account, to feeling estranged form their capacity to perform and enjoy two traditional feminine roles—offering status enhancement and sexual attractiveness to others. These capacities are now under corporate as well as personal management. (p. 184)

Schlesselman-Tarango (2016) calls on "those in librarianship to reflect on the forces that have shaped their roles in the profession and ultimately to resist the Lady Bountiful archetype and narratives that impel it" (p. 683). An important component of this work is developing a more complete understanding of how emotional labor operates—often in conjunction with the Lady Bountiful archetype—in the field of librarianship.

Emotional Labor in Librarianship

Hochschild identified emotional labor as an integral component of the service industry: "The emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself. […] Seeming to 'love the job'

becomes part of the job" (2012, pp. 5–6). In Hochschild's wake, Matteson and Miller (2013) built upon "previous research [that] has documented the presence of emotional labor in occupations and professions with similar characteristics to librarianship (e.g., nursing, teaching, and customer service)" to show that emotional labor also occurs in librarianship. Though emotional labor is broadly understood as a facet of the service industry, and despite the apparent consensus in the literature that emotional labor is performed by library workers, relatively little research has addressed the way emotional labor is uniquely experienced by library workers (as compared to workers operating in other fields). The literature that does address emotional labor in librarianship tends to suffer from one of two problems: the research siloes various components of library work, focusing only on a specific aspect, such as instruction (see, for example, Julien & Genuis, 2009) or reference (Shuler & Morgan, 2013); or the research encompasses a relatively small sample size—for example Matteson et al.'s (2015) revelatory qualitative study, which asked librarians to reflect via diary entries on moments when they performed emotional labor at work, included only twenty-three participants (twelve working in academic libraries, nine in public libraries, and two in special libraries). Where progress has been made in exploring emotional labor among a larger group of participants— including Matteson and Miller's comprehensive 2013 study, which included 1,099 participants, and recent work by Rodger and Erickson (2021), who surveyed 121 public library workers in Canada—the scholarly focus has remained centered on academic and (to perhaps a slightly lesser degree) public libraries. Virtually no literature currently exists on the role of emotional labor in the context of school librarianship. Even in Matteson and Miller's seminal 2013 survey, only 7.8 percent of the 1,099 respondents worked in K–12 school libraries, the smallest population of the study (cf. 37.4 percent of participants working in public libraries, 32.3 percent in academic libraries, and 18.5 percent in special libraries) (p. 57). This means that fewer than a hundred school librarians participated in this survey, which remains one of the most comprehensive and statistically significant examinations of emotional labor in librarianship to date. According to a fact sheet compiled by the American Library Association (2018), in the school year 2011–2012 (the school year preceding publication of Matteson and Miller's 2013 study), there were a total of 92,660 school librarians (both full- and part-time). Around this time[3], there was a total of roughly 166,164 librarians in the United States, meaning that school librarians constituted 55.8 percent of the total librarian population. The number of school librarians in the U.S. has been declining

since its peak in 2006 (Department for Professional Employees, 2021, p. 1) and when compared to the employment of other K–12 educators such as teachers, administrators, and instructional coordinators, "the employment trend for school librarians is uniquely poor" (Lance & Kachel, 2021, p. 5). Despite this overall trend, as well as the unique impacts of COVID-19 on librarians working in a K–12 setting, in the year 2020 school librarians constituted 29.4 percent of all librarians (Department for Professional Employees, 2021, p. 2). While this represents a sharp decrease from previous years, school librarians today represent a percentage of overall librarians that is more than three and a half times higher than the 7.8 percent representation they had in Matteson and Miller's 2013 study.

Though it does not consider school libraries, one study that occupies a unique position in the collective work examining emotional labor in librarianship—and played a central role in the approach I take in this article—is that of Emmelhainz et al. (2017). This study is unique in its consideration of how gender interacts with emotional labor. As discussed in a previous section of this article, rather than being made explicit in an organization's display rules, emotional labor "may be implicitly expected of female workers" (Wharton, 1999, p. 160). In their critical analysis of the Reference & User Services Association's *Guidelines for Behavioral Performance of Reference and Information Service Providers*, the authors highlight how librarians are implicitly expected to "perform emotional services for other people, even as the formal nature of their work is framed as skilled research guidance or professional consultation" (p. 33). Through the process of their textual analysis, Emmelhainz and her coauthors found that "at least 70% of the 60 text blocks [identified in the *Guidelines*] demonstrated some expectation of emotional labor" (p. 33), and concluded that this expectation of emotional labor is inherently gendered: "In a patriarchal culture, women's bodies—and so their approachability and visibility—are seen as belonging to the public or to another person, rather than to the woman as autonomous agent. […] [The *Guidelines*] reinforce […] the idea that librarians' embodied presence exists in large part to meet the emotional needs of others" (p. 37). In later sections of this article, I will draw explicitly on Emmelhainz et al.'s close reading approach and their attention to the intersections of emotional labor and gender in order to examine the ways implicit organizational expectations about emotional labor are made manifest in school librarian job postings.

In their proposed research agenda for the study of emotional labor in librarianship, Matteson and Miller (2012) claimed, "The area of emotional labor [in librarianship] is essentially wide open for study" (p. 181). While significant amount of progress has been made in investigating the way emotional labor impacts workers within the field of librarianship, I was nevertheless unable to find in the course of my research a single source that centers and specifically examines emotional labor by school librarians. Thus, a similar statement about emotional labor in school librarianship rings true today: this is an area of research that remains uncharted and wide open for study.

It is not merely because this gap in the literature exists that emotional labor in school librarianship should be paid the attention it has long failed to receive. Extensive research in the field of organizational/occupational psychology has examined the potential negative effects of performing emotional labor. In a meta-analysis of this work, Hülsheger and Schewe (2011) found that surface acting is strongly linked to "emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, psychological strain, and psychosomatic complaints and negative relationships with job satisfaction and organizational attachment" (p. 377). Additionally, surface acting can result in poorer task performance outcomes, leading Hülsheger and Schewe to conclude that "surface acting is a rather ineffective emotion regulation strategy for both employees and organizations in that it is associated with impaired psychological health *and* lower performance (p. 379, emphasis theirs). The relationship between deep acting and employee well-being is more opaque, with Hülsheger and Schewe's analysis causing them to state that deep acting "bear[s] mostly weak and nongeneralizable relations with well-being outcomes while displaying positive associations with performance outcomes" (p. 379). Holman et al. (2009) explain that "the weaker effect [between deep acting and emotional exhaustion] might also be explained by the fact that deep acting can promote resource gains because it creates authentic displays of emotion, which leads to more rewarding relationships and greater self-authenticity. […] So any negative effects of deep acting on well-being due to expended effort might be counteracted by its positive effects on other resources" (n.p.). Furthermore, Holman et al. draw on the work of others to point out that contextual factors may influence what positive/negative impacts emotional labor may have on employees:

Employees who work in jobs with high demands (e.g., workload, interpersonal job requirements, unjust interactions) appear more likely to experience the negative aspects of emotional labor such as more negative emotions, greater surface acting, more faked emotional behavior, and lower performance. Employees with high job resources (e.g., job control, social support) are more likely to experience the "positive" aspects of emotional labor such as positive emotions, deep acting, genuine displays, and higher performance (Bono & Vey, 2005, Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Rupp & Spencer, 2006; Zapf et al., 2001). (Holman et al., 2009, n.p.)

The above quotation should leave us with urgent questions about how school librarians might fit into our current understanding of emotional labor and its effects on workers. To begin with, should school librarianship be considered part of the authors' first category—that is, "jobs with high demands"? Certainly school librarianship meets this category's requirement of interpersonal job requirements. Or does school librarianship align with the authors' second category, jobs with high resources? The literature examined in preceding sections of this article suggests that librarianship's status as a feminized and thus under-professionalized field has resulted in low job control, which would preclude school librarianship from fitting into this second category of jobs with high resources. Guessing at how school librarianship "should" be classified would allow us to then make inferences about whether school librarians experience emotional labor positively or negatively. But a much more productive path forward would be to train the focus of future research squarely on school librarianship, for by paying long overdue attention to this domain, LIS practitioners, researchers, and administrators will be able to actually understand how emotional labor is manifested, rather than merely hypothesizing about this phenomenon using a theoretical framework.

It has been nearly a decade since Matteson and Miller put forth that "emotional labor may be more complex in virtual communication [than in in-person interactions], given the ease with which the meaning of written language may be misinterpreted" (2012, p. 177). Now more than ever, as the COVID-19 pandemic has expanded the use of distance/online teaching and learning, and school librarians are adding #LibraryTikTok to the ever-expanding list of social media platforms through which to reach students (Isimon, 2021; Jensen, 2020), it is vital that LIS as a field considers the ways that school librarians perform, and are impacted by the performance of, emotional labor in ways that differ from the experiences of library workers in other settings.

Methodology

A Note on Use of the First Person

In articulating the purpose of research, Catherine Belsey (2013) writes, "Research is supposed to be 'original' in the sense that it is independent: the contribution [to knowledge], whatever it is, originates, in that fairly modest sense, with the researcher. It does not have to be 'original' in the much more daunting sense that it springs fully armed from the head of the researcher without reference to any previous account. On the contrary, in fact: it is much more likely to involve assembling ideas that have not been brought together in quite that way before" (p. 163). The role of the individual researcher in performing this assemblage is of particular importance when close reading is used as the primary research method. Belsey offers this explanation of the central role of the interpretative researcher/close reader, where the text in question is a painting rather than a written document: "The possible meanings of *Tarquin and Lucretia*, then, are to be found—or perhaps more accurately, supposed, hypothesised [sic]—in the relation between the painting and the viewer who is its destination. And each party—the picture and the spectator—contributes to the process of making it mean. The viewer faces the picture from a place outside it, and examines from that location the internal relations on the surface of the canvas" (p. 168). Because my location—in the many senses of the word, including the historical moment in which I am writing, the personal identity I necessarily bring to bear whenever I write, etc.—vis-à-vis the text is of nearly equal importance as the text itself, I use the first person throughout my analysis. This choice is consistent with that of other scholars who employ interpretive research tools such as close reading: "The contemporary humanities writer's use of the first person pronoun, *I* […] should therefore not be seen as a feature of informal language but as standing for an 'embodied' rather than the ideal, rational subject of positivist research" (Starfield & Ravelli, 2006, p. 223).

Close Reading as a Research Approach

In order to begin a foray into the exploration of emotional labor in school librarianship, I have elected to employ close reading as a research approach. Close reading is a mode of textual analysis most often employed in the humanities, particularly in literature studies. But as author and critic Francine Prose points out, close reading is a natural way of paying attention to the meaning of a text, one that is accessible to scholars and readers of all disciplines (or none at all): "We all begin as close readers. Even before we learn to read, the process of being read aloud to,

and of listening, is one in which we are taking in one word after another, one phrase at a time, in which we are paying attention to whatever each word or phrase is transmitting" (2007, p. 5). Within the humanities, close reading is used as a research method that places primary importance on the text itself, with historical and other contexts playing a secondary role in determining meaning: "The text, as a tissue of signifiers, then, makes certain demands on the textual analyst, provides the material for analysis. That material is by no means an empty space, a vacancy into which we pour whatever we like; instead, the text itself participates in the process of signification. It repeats or *iterates* meanings, which always come from outside, and are not at the *artist's* disposal, any more than they are at ours [as textual analysts]" (emphasis Belsey's) (Belsey, 2013, p. 167). The purpose of close reading differs from the aim of what Feinberg (2012) calls the "data-centric paradigm"—which tends to predominate in library and information science—in which the researcher approaches the work with the intent "to provide a *true* answer, or at least the *best* answer to the question" (p. 19). In close reading, the researcher does not approach the text with a question already in mind; rather, as Belsey explains, "The text *itself* poses the questions that scholarship may be able to answer, and not the other way round" (emphasis Belsey's) (p. 172). Close reading tends to be employed within the humanities, where, unlike in the context of Feinberg's "data-centric paradigm," there may be "multiple coexisting answers [about a text's meaning] that might be equally illuminating in different ways" (Feinberg, 2012, p. 19).

Close reading is a technique that is well-suited to the examination of texts that fall within the purview of library and information science. Feinberg (2011) has used close reading in her ongoing project of investigating the "rhetorical expression inherent in information systems" (p. 1016). She explains how close reading can be employed to analyze the various texts that are frequently encountered in LIS, including information systems (note that when Feinberg uses the phrase "the scholarly critique," she is referring to "the humanistic techniques of close reading and textual analysis" that she has utilized throughout her article):

> Just as, for example, a building can be variously evaluated for its structural integrity, for how it accommodates user space requirements, and for how it fits within and extends architectural traditions, an information system can be examined for its retrieval efficiency, ability to respond to user-generated requests, and its communicative expression. The scholarly critique, as practiced within the humanities disciplines, is a time-tested means for considered reflection of such properties. (Feinberg, 2011, p. 1035)

Indeed, close reading has been used by information studies and library science scholars to analyze and to critique a variety of texts, including standards (Drabinski & Sitar, 2016; Billey, Drabinski, & Roberto, 2014) and guidelines (Emmelhainz et al., 2017); controlled vocabularies (Olson, 2001[4]); classification and information systems (Feinberg, 2011); and metadata (Feinberg, 2016).

My project in this exploratory article will be to apply the technique of close reading to job postings for school librarian positions in order to surface the implicit expectations of emotional labor embedded in the language of these advertisements. In the spirit of Emmelhainz and company's critical feminist approach to the RUSA *Guidelines*, I also consider the ways in which gendered expectations of work become entangled with the subliminal expectations of emotional labor in these job postings. Additionally, I make a preliminary attempt at tracing a connection between the language used in school librarian job postings and that deployed by the American Association of School Librarians (AASL) in their *National School Library Standards for Learners, School Librarians, and School Libraries* (2017), while acknowledging that further and more sustained attention will need to be paid to this document.

Analysis Phase One: Word Choice and Gender

All of the job postings referenced in this article were sourced from Indeed.com, and were thus publicly accessible without creating an account. I gathered postings between February 2021 and June 2021. (Given the timing of my data collection, I note that many of the postings I analyze here are no longer active/accessible on Indeed.com.) I searched for postings on Indeed.com using the terms "school librarian" and "school media specialist," confining my search to school libraries in the United States. I did not restrict my search based on whether the position was in a public versus a private school. I collected roughly fifty job postings, and proceeded to narrow down the selection of ads used for analysis by including in my final dataset only those ads that were substantial enough to yield meaningful insight during close reading analysis. For example, some of the job postings I collected consisted only of basic job task descriptions and education requirements; as these types of postings did not provide enough fodder for analysis via close reading, I excluded them from my dataset. This selection process resulted in a collection of thirty

ads. For each posting referenced in this article, I note the school name and location, as well as the job title and the start year for the position when applicable.

Before conducting a close reading of any individual job postings from my sample set of thirty ads, I identified frequently used words/phrases across the postings. As a first step in this process, I ran each of the ads through the Gender Decoder (n.d.), an online tool designed by Kat Matfield "to check whether a job advert has the kind of subtle linguistic gender-coding" identified and examined by Gaucher et al. (2011). As a basis for classifying words as either masculine or feminine, Gaucher et al.'s study—and, thus, also the Gender Decoder tool—uses "published lists of agentic and communal words […] and masculine and feminine trait words […] [in a manner] consistent with previous research that has examined gender differences in language by coding for specific words" (Gaucher et al., 2011, p. 113). It should go without saying that framing gender as binary (that is, male or female) is reductive and has the potential to be harmful. Nevertheless, I will state here unequivocally that I believe gender to be nuanced and fluid. In using the Gender Decoder tool as a starting point for my textual analysis of these job postings, my aim was to glean a baseline understanding of how the language of these ads might be understood via an already established paradigm. As Figure 1 illustrates, according to the Gender Decoder tool, twenty-two of thirty postings (73.3%) were strongly feminine-coded, four (13.3%) were feminine-coded, three (10.0%) were masculine-coded, and one (3.3%) was neutral. None of the thirty ads was classified as strongly masculine-coded by the Gender Decoder tool. Thus, the overwhelming majority—86.67 percent, when the strongly feminine-coded and feminine-coded categories are considered together—of my sample of ads can be considered to consist of feminine-coded language. To an extent, this is a valuable way to frame my understanding of these ads; however, it is my own close reading of the language of these ads—which considers both emotional labor and gender expectations simultaneously—that constitutes the bulk of my contribution to this discussion.

[place Figure 1 here]

Following my baseline "reading" of the job postings using the Gender Decoder tool, I began to manually identify repeated words/word stems that were not already represented in the masculine-

or feminine-coded word lists of the Gender Decoder. (These word lists can be viewed under the "What is this?" tab of Matfield's website.) The most commonly used words/word stems I identified are: creat-, flexib-, foster, (en)joy-, love, and positive-. Figure 2 indicates the frequency of usage of these words/word stems across the thirty job postings.

[place Figure 2 here]

Having identified these repeated words/word stems, I elected to focus on the use of the word "foster." The choice of this word seemed more interesting than that of the word stem "creat-," which was the most commonly repeated word/word stem across the sampling of ads. Indeed, the word "foster" has rich potential for a close reading approach. The first of two definitions listed by Merriam Webster for the verb "foster" is "to give parental care to: nurture"; the second definition, and the one these job postings are invoking, is "to promote the growth or development of: encourage" (Merriam-Webster, 2021a). Perhaps not surprisingly, given the primary definition of the word, "foster" is etymologically linked to Old English words meaning "to nourish" and "to feed" or "supply with food" (Harper, n.d.b). The acts of feeding and nourishing are strongly linked to childbearing and breastfeeding. In its adjectival form "foster" means "affording, receiving, or sharing nurture or parental care though not related by blood or legal ties" (Merriam-Webster, 2021a), as in the phrase "foster parents." Because raising children continues to be perceived as women's work, the use of the word "foster," even for those who are unaware of its etymology, might nevertheless conjure a subconscious connection to women and motherhood. This association is likely to be strengthened in the context of school librarian job ads, since the patrons school librarians serve are children. Additionally, because the vast majority of K–12 educators are women (Ingersoll et al., 2018; National Center for Education Statistics as cited in USAFacts, 2020), a reader of this ad is likely to already associate librarianship in the school setting with women, meaning that the reader would be already primed to make the mental connection to motherhood that the use of the word "foster" has the potential effect of prompting.

Why, then, is the word "foster" being used so frequently in these job postings, and is it possible a different word could (or should) be used in its place? Table 2 provides examples of

eighteen instances of the word "foster" across the thirty job ads I canvassed. Four other uses of the word foster appeared in the text of the ads, but I have discounted these usages because they referred to the school or district itself, rather than to the school librarian's responsibilities; for example: "Princeton Day School aspires to create a diverse, equitable and inclusive community in which all members are seen, challenged, affirmed, respected and valued. We believe that in actively cultivating such an environment, we foster intellectual, social and emotional growth for all of our constituents." In Table 2, the usages of the verb "foster" are grouped according to the direct object (noun) with which it is associated; thus, the headings in Table 2 indicate what is being fostered in that group of quotations.

[place Table 2 here]

I also examined the AASL's *National School Library Standards for Learners, School Librarians, and School Libraries* (2017), focusing exclusively on the standards for school librarians, to investigate whether the word "foster" appeared in this document—perhaps a source, albeit indirectly, for the language deployed in the job postings—as well. Table 3 displays uses of the word "foster" as used in the *National School Library Standards*; all of the quotations in Table 3 come from the sections of the *Standards* entitled "[Foundation Name] School Librarian Competencies in Depth."

[place Table 3 here]

In addition to the usages laid out in Table 3, "foster" is also used in the *Standards* in definitions for two of the six Foundations and two of the four Domains:

Foundations
- o Include: "It is imperative that the school librarian be well-versed in a variety of perspectives and strategies that foster inclusion." (p. 148)
- o Collaborate: "Having a wide repertoire of collaborative planning strategies helps foster this disposition throughout the school community." (p. 148)

Domains

- Create: "Efforts to create an engaging atmosphere that fosters exploration and pursuit of personal interests can be measured within this Domain." (p. 150)
- Share: "Within this Domain are also the elements of fostering collaborative opportunities for learners to gather information and use it ethically." (p. 150)

In some of the quotations listed in Table 2, "foster" does appear to be an appropriate word—though not necessarily *the* only appropriate word—for the situation. For example, "foster student interest in books" suggests that the school librarian will support and help to grow the interest students already have in books, whereas the more straightforward alternative "increase student interest in books" somewhat loses this shade of meaning. It could be argued that because of this nuance of meaning, any unintended connotations of the use of "foster" are worth it in order for the sentence to be most precise about the school librarian's duties. However, there are a multitude of instances where it would behoove LIS professionals to question whether "foster" could not be replaced with a different word—one that does not carry the gendered implications outlined above—and preserve, or even clarify, the meaning of the sentence. "Teaches information literacy and research skills" carries essentially the same meaning as the sentence as written, "Teaches and fosters information literacy and research skills." "Encourage"—which derives from the Old French *encoragier*, "to make strong, hearten," itself a combination of *en-* ("make, put in") and *corage* ("courage, heart") (Harper, n.d.a)—could easily replace "foster" in phrasing such as "foster [encourage] a love of learning" or "foster [encourage] critical thinking." Similarly, "stimulate"—from the Latin *stimulatus*, meaning "rouse to action" (Harper, n.d.d) could be used in place of foster in the example "Arranges the library to foster [stimulate] flexible and creative uses of the space as a hub of learning."

Then, there are phrases where "foster" appears to be an even less appropriate word choice: surely it is more accurate to say that the school librarian *teaches* "questioning, information-finding, analyzing, and problem-solving skills" rather than that s/he "*fosters the development of* questioning, information-finding, analyzing, and problem-solving skills." Not only does the use of the word "foster" cloud the meaning of the sentence, implying that the school librarian's role is merely to nurture inborn skills rather than to actively teach them using his/her expertise, but it also undercuts the school librarian's agency, obscuring the direct action s/he is taking to develop

student skills. The use of "foster" thus fundamentally undermines the teacher-librarian's professional expertise, implying that anyone with natural "parental" or "nurturing" qualities (Merriam-Webster, 2021a) can do this work, rather than what LIS professionals know to be true, which is that the work of school librarianship requires training and expertise in both library and information science and educational pedagogy.

Similarly, the *Standards* often employ "foster" when a synonym would serve the sentence's meaning as well if not better. "School librarians design and *foster* conversations and activities that challenge learners to question assumptions" could read "School librarians design and *support* conversations and activities that challenge learners to question assumptions," just as "School librarians *foster* active participation in learning situations" could be changed to read "School librarians *promote* active participation in learning situations." As in the job postings, there are instances within the *Standards* where the use of "foster" obscures the actual responsibility of the school librarian. Take the following sentence: "The school librarian fosters global, real-world connections through which learners can acquire and share knowledge" (American Association of School Librarians, 2017, p. 72). What does this standard actually mean school librarians should *do* vis-à-vis "global, real-world connections"? The meaning of this standard would be vastly clarified if it read "The school librarian connects students to global, real-world contexts through which learners can acquire and share knowledge." Of course, I do not mean to argue that words like "foster" have no place in the descriptions or standards of school librarianship. However, given that the Gender Decoder tool indicates school librarian job postings in this sample tend already to be feminine-coded, it is important to scrutinize word choices in these ads that may subtly denote and/or demean librarianship as "women's work."

Another word that appeared with notable frequency across the job postings was "passion." Job applicants were required to be "passionately committed to urban education" (Syracuse City School District, Syracuse, NY) and to "possess a deep passion for and knowledge base of children's literature" (The Bush School, Seattle, WA). They were also required to have or demonstrate passion for "reading" (School in the Square, New York, NY) and "lifelong learning" (The Park School, Brookline, MA), as well as for working "with students, families, and

colleagues" (Westborough Public Schools, Westborough, MA) and "with teenagers" (The Dalton School, New York, NY). The etymology of passion is as follows:

> c. 1200, "the sufferings of Christ on the Cross; the death of Christ," from Old French *passion* "Christ's passion, physical suffering" (10c.), from Late Latin *passionem* (nominative *passio*) "suffering, enduring," from past-participle stem of Latin *pati* "to endure, undergo, experience," a word of uncertain origin. The notion is "that which must be endured." The sense was extended to the sufferings of martyrs, and suffering and pain generally, by early 13c. It replaced Old English *þolung* (used in glosses to render Latin *passio*), literally "suffering," from *þolian*(v.) "to endure." In Middle English also sometimes "the state of being affected or acted upon by something external" (late 14c., compare "passive"). (Harper, n.d.c)

Merriam-Webster's entry for "passion" reflects this etymology: the first three of the five listed definitions of "passion" are, in order: "*often capitalized*: the sufferings of Christ"; "*obsolete*: suffering"; and "the state or capacity of being acted on by external agents or forces." The fourth definition—simply "emotion"—begins to move toward the meaning of the word in everyday parlance, but the sub-definitions indicate undertones not intentionally evoked in casual usage of the word: "intense, driving, or overmastering feeling or conviction" and "an outbreak of anger." Only in the fifth and final definition does the meaning evoked in the job postings appear: "a strong liking or desire for or devotion to some activity, object, or concept" (Merriam-Webster, 2021b).

Because passion is defined in the dictionary as "emotion," any usage of passion in a job posting indicates, de facto, an expectation that the librarian perform emotional labor. The stipulation that the librarian "have passion" means that she will need to display this emotion—either by using surface acting to enact passion, or deep acting to embody it. It is unclear in this case whether the language of the job ad constitutes a requirement of surface or deep acting. This ambiguity is inherently problematic. If the librarian elects to perform surface acting in order to meet the requirement of passion, she may be exposing herself to the negative effects of this emotion management mode, which have been demonstrated in organizational psychology and discussed earlier in this article. If she elects to perform deep acting, she may experience no net positive or negative effects, as the literature from organizational psychology indicates; but as a field, LIS professionals must nevertheless question whether we accept that a job can mandate that an employ engage in a mode of emotion management that produces a fundamental change in her

inner self. Hochschild pointed out this existential problem, which lies at the very core of the concept of emotional labor, when she wrote: "Beneath the difference between physical and emotional labor there lies a similarity in the possible cost of doing the work: the worker can become estranged or alienated from an aspect of the self—either the body or the margins of the soul—that is *used* to do the work" (p. 7, emphasis Hochschild's). Do we—not merely as a field, but as a society—accept that a job should have the power to dictate where a worker draws the margins of her soul?

In addition to the way "passion" conveys an expectation of emotional labor, it also connotes a brand of martyrdom that has been entwined with the work of librarianship since the field's nineteenth-century expansion. Garrison (1972) quotes from an 1886 edition of *Library Notes*: "The great mass of men in all fields worked to secure prestige or a higher income but the librarian worked 'with as distinct a consecration as a minister or missionary…The selfish considerations of reputation or personal comfort, or emolument are all secondary" (Garrison, p. 135). Here is an image of the librarian as a martyr, even a saint: she has sublimated all concern she might have about her financial ("emolument"), social ("reputation"), or personal well-being in order to perform the sacred "missionary" work of librarianship. While it seems next to impossible that a school librarian job posting today would use such outwardly religious language, or require such complete self-abnegation on the part of the librarian, when job postings use the word "passion"—a word fundamentally rooted in the suffering of Jesus Christ at the crucifixion—they are operating in conversation with the long tradition of librarians aspiring to a kind of martyrdom.

While it is obvious that the job postings are using "passion" to mean "devotion," as in Merriam-Webster's fifth definition, the shades of meaning the word also contains—not only those related to suffering and the endurance of pain, but also "being acted on by external agents or forces"—cannot be ignored in the context of school librarianship. Fobazi Ettarh (2018) directs our attention to the ways that "the language of vocational awe" has been used to position libraries "as a higher authority and the work in service of libraries as a sacred duty." The concept of awe has insidious implications: "Awe is easily weaponized against the worker, allowing anyone to deploy a vocational purity test in which the worker can be accused of not being devout or passionate

enough to serve without complaint." Ettarh's concept of a "vocational purity test" takes on particular resonance in the school library setting, because of the archetype of "the superhero or 'martyr' teacher who single-handedly, tirelessly, and miraculously transforms an entire group of students—to the detriment of his or her health, personal life, and well-being" (Hill, 2018). As librarianship as a field continues to reckon with vocational awe, and school teachers struggle against "the twin burdens of martyrdom and missionary zeal" (Thomas, 2016), it is vital that LIS professionals, along with educators in other domains, remain attuned to the ways that the language we employ conveys expectations and stereotypes we should be working to deconstruct.

Furthermore, we should interrogate what the authors of job ads using words such as "passion"— and "love" and "enjoy"—actually expect. Do the employers behind these ads expect school librarians to genuinely be passionate about or love all aspects of their job? Or, do they expect the *performance* of passion or love? The latter implies emotional labor, and propels me to the next phase of my analysis.

Analysis Phase Two: Implicit Expectations of Emotional Labor

In the case of ads using the word "passion," it is clear to see how school librarians will be required to manage their emotions in order to meet the organizational display requirement of passion, and thus will be performing emotional labor. In this section, I will close read other passages of job postings in order to surface more examples of implicit expectations of emotional labor. The first posting is from The Bush School, an independent day school (The Bush School, n.d.) located in Seattle, Washington, for a position as a lower school teaching librarian beginning in mid-August 2021. After a description of the school, a list of "key responsibilities and duties," and a section labeled "Academic and Professional Experience," the ad includes a bulleted list titled "Successful candidates will also…" Figure 3 depicts this section of job posting, with all bolded text appearing as it did in the original. I have emphasized various phrases in the text by highlighting these sections in yellow.

[place Figure 3 here]

While some of the language in this list indicates what the librarian will be depended upon to do—communicate effectively, practice strong interpersonal skills— it is significant that just as much of the language is focused on what the librarian is required to *be*. In reality, of course, even an ideal candidate for this job might not always *be* calm under pressure or *be* patient and positive—but she will certainly know how to perform calmness, patience, and positivity by modifying her emotions. The ideal candidate, then, will be proficient at performing emotional labor. Furthermore, the injunction to "find joy in the journey of promoting a lifelong love of learning" suggests that the ideal candidate will be capable of deep (vs. surface) acting (Hochschild). The verb "find" implies that the school librarian will actually be able to summon or conjure up the experience of joy, meaning that she will have engaged in a modification of her "inner experience": she will have performed deep acting. This use of "find," rather than a word like "demonstrate" or "express"—which would themselves indicate a need for modification of outward behavior; in other words, surface acting—reinforces the fact that expectations of sophisticated forms of emotional labor are encoded in the language of this ad.

Another clear example of this type of encoding can be seen in an ad for a librarian position (the exact job title is unspecified) at Challenger Middle School, in Colorado Springs, Colorado, beginning in August 2021. In a section titled "Knowledge, Skills, and Abilities," listed alongside bullet points such as "Ability to adapt to changing technologies and to learn functionality of new equipment and systems" and "Understanding of data privacy laws and their implications for the educational community," the ad includes the following: "Demonstrates citizenship, compassion, courage, discernment, excellence, honesty, hope, integrity, patience, perseverance, reliability, respect, responsibility, and trustworthiness." It is difficult to say whether this requirement is meant to be considered by the reader as an example of knowledge, a skill, or an ability (per the title of this section of the ad). The breadth of dispositions included in this list is astounding, and in some instances seems to push the boundaries of what would even be necessary for the job. Does society need school librarians who are courageous? What does it matter if the school librarian is a hopeful person? The incredible range of this list is complicated by the operative verb, "demonstrate," which seems to suggest that the librarian is expected to perform these traits even if she does not inherently possess or feel them. In this sense, "demonstrate" seems to hint that the librarian will use surface acting to perform this list of traits. Yet the line is murky: when

does the expectation shift from "demonstrate hope" to "be hopeful"? That is, when and to what extent does the librarian come under the expectation of deep acting rather than surface acting? What effects could the librarian experience *because* this expectation is unclear?

The murkiness of this directive as it relates to emotional labor is further problematized when one considers how this quotation could be read through the lens of disability studies. Much has been written about the ways in which libraries, operating in the broader context of the American legal system, perpetuate ableism. Moeller (2019) discusses how many workplaces, including higher education, "[perpetuate] a system that requires individuals to reveal their specific condition or diagnosis, identify predictable solutions, and fully maintain the ability to perform the functions of their position, yet that system neglects to acknowledge the risks and complexities associated with disclosing a disability" (p. 463). Hollich (2020) points to the ways in which "the traditional trappings of librarianship and information work" are inherently ableist, using the example of an oft-quoted requirement in librarian job postings: "The decision to include physical requirements such as 'must be able to lift 50 pounds' or 'must be able to push a book cart' in our job postings is not a neutral one" (p. 104). As a field, LIS professionals must consider whether expectations of emotional labor perpetuate ableism, particularly as regards library workers who are not neurotypical. While I make no claim to be a disability studies scholar, I submit that Lazakis's (2020) work on odor bans in public libraries may provide a useful template for considering the intersection of emotional labor and disability studies. Lazakis writes:

> For supporters of US public library odor bans it has been important to insist that body odor, which they almost always interpret as bad hygiene, is a behavior. This definition erases odor-related disabilities and integrates odor ban discourse with neoliberal glorification of personal responsibility. When odor is classified as a behavioral choice, library rules follow a simple epistemology of embodiment, according to which people choose the condition of their body and may be held accountable for it. This framework has no place for medical conditions […] [and] obscures the fact that body odor can result from deprivation of housing and hygiene facilities. (p. 38)

To what extent do expectations of emotional labor operate under this same epistemology of embodiment? The literature on emotional labor I have referenced in this article presupposes that people are able to choose the condition of both their bodies (outward appearance) and their minds/emotional selves (inner experience). Lazakis's work should prompt us to ask whether these suppositions are true: Is it reasonable to assume that people can choose the condition of

their mind? For whom might this assumption not be true? And, in what ways do expectations of emotional labor impose undue burdens on people for whom modifying their "inner experience" is already difficult?

Hollich (2020) offers a glimpse into how meeting emotion display rules through the use of emotional labor might be more difficult for disabled than abled library workers: "If my communications are more curt than usual, do I explain that it is because I am having a high-pain day? What aspects of my disabled identity are relevant, which will bring judgment, which will provide useful context?" (p. 101). In continuing to explore the experiences of school librarians (indeed, librarians in all contexts) performing emotional labor, LIS professionals must commit to following the lead of disabled librarians and disability scholars and to approaching the question of emotional labor in a nuanced way.

Conclusion

Employing the humanistic technique of close reading to school librarian job postings makes clear that school librarians are indeed expected to perform emotional labor in the context of their library work. I have pointed out how such expectations can be problematic in the ways they invoke gendered stereotypes, undercut the actual work of school librarianship, contribute to the underprofessionalization of librarianship by sustaining the legacy of library work as "women's work, reinforce damaging trends within librarianship and teaching as a whole such as vocational awe, and potentially place an undue burden on non-neurotypical library workers.

In order for the exploration I have conducted here to be maximally meaningful, further work needs to be conducted to examine how school librarians actually experience emotional labor. While generalizable conclusions from occupational psychology may allow us to hypothesize, as a field LIS professionals have no material understanding of how expectations or performance of emotional labor actually affects school librarians, either positively or negatively. This question should be addressed from both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. Of equal importance is reconsideration on the part of administrators who write job postings as to what kind of language is being employed in these ads. We must educate school administrators—particularly those who write job postings for their respective schools—about emotional labor in the school

library, and ensure that they understand how to clearly convey organizational expectations and display rules. Professional development training should address itself to this task. If the field of LIS does not mobilize to reexamine and change the way these job postings are written, the various harms I have outlined in this article will continue to be insidiously perpetuated through the language of school librarian job postings.

In a similar vein, research should be conducted on the extent to which unclear organizational expectations of emotional labor exacerbate the challenges of performing that labor. Especially in the context of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, when expectations of teacher-librarians and other educators are intensifying, it is vital that we as LIS professionals attend to this long-neglected area of study and make space for the voices of the people who perform this labor on a daily basis.

Declaration of Interest

The author reports there are no competing interests to declare.

Notes

1. Citing the work of several others, Holman et al. conclude that "across occupations and organizations, emotion rules tend to be expansive with regard to positive emotions [such as 'feel enthusiasm'] […] and restrictive with regard to negative emotions [such as 'do not display anger']" (2009, n.p.).

2. Here, Wharton is not using "type of emotional labor" in the manner of Hochschild to indicate surface vs. deep acting. Rather, she uses this phrase to distinguish between emotional labor that requires the "muting" of emotion as opposed to the active expression of emotion.

3. The ALA factsheet in question compiles statistics from several sources, depending on what type of library the data represents. Information on public and academic libraries are from 2012, but information on Bureau of Indian Education school libraries is from the school year 2007–2008. Additionally, as ALA notes, "Comparable figures for employment in special libraries (e.g. libraries serving businesses, scientific agencies, hospitals, law firms, and nonprofit organizations) are not available." For this reason I use vague language such as "around this time" and "roughly" when referring to this factsheet.

4. Note that Olson places particular emphasis on the role of iteration in close reading a text; iteration is a concept referenced earlier in this article in a quotation from Belsey's "Textual Analysis as a Research Method."

Total word count: 12,269

Word count (body of paper and Notes section, only): 10,288

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Table 1. Surface Acting vs. Deep Acting

Mode of emotion management	Produces a change in…	Example
Surface acting	The emotion(s) being expressed/performed [outward behavior]	"I wasn't acting like myself." (Hochschild, p. 195)
Deep acting	The emotion(s) being felt [inner experience] *and* expressed [outward behavior]	"I made myself go to that party and have a good time even though I was feeling depressed." (Hochschild, p. 195)

Table 2. Uses of "Foster" in School Librarian Job Postings

Fostering communication/connection	
Foster and maintain effective communication with parents and/or guardians	Buffalo Public Schools, Buffalo, NY
Collaborate with middle school teachers and department heads […] to *foster* and expand connections between student research work, information resources, curriculum and learning outcomes	Hackley School, Tarrytown, NY
Fostering environment/(use of) space	
Fosters a creative, flexible environment	Shrewsbury Public Schools, Shrewsbury, MA
Fosters a creative, flexible environment	Framingham Public Schools, Framingham, MA
Arranges the library to *foster* flexible and creative uses of the space as a hub of learning	Westborough Public Schools, Westborough, MA
Fostering love of reading/learning	
[Develop] meaningful relationships with students that *foster* a love of learning	New Beginnings Family Academy, Bridgeport, CT
Fosters a love of learning that encourages student curiosity, engagement, and growth in a welcoming learning environment	Westborough Public Schools, Westborough, MA
Foster a love of reading and a welcoming, friendly environment in the library [Note that this quotation could also be categorized under the heading "Fostering environment/(use of) space."]	McDonogh School, Owings Mills, MD
Foster an appreciation of reading and lifelong learning	Westford Public Schools, Westford, MA
Fostering dispositions	
Fosters exploration, discovery, creation, and innovation in a growth mindset	Una Elementary School, Nashville, TN

Foster synthesis, evaluation, and engagement in literature	Hamilton Township School District, Trenton, NJ
Foster student interest in books, including running book group-style events	Hackley School, Tarrytown, NY
Fostering skills/competencies	
Collaborate with classroom educators to design and teach engaging learning experiences that incorporate multiple literacies, *foster* critical thinking and promote a love reading	The Dalton School, New York, NY
Encourage reading and lifelong learning by stimulating interests and *fostering* competencies in the effective use of ideas and information	South Orange-Maplewood School District, Maplewood, NJ
Collaborate strategically with educators across departments and disciplines to *foster* the students' information fluency capacities	Scarsdale Public Schools, Scarsdale, NY
Collaborates with teachers and students to design and teach engaging inquiry and learning experiences and assessments that incorporate multiple literacies and *foster* critical thinking	Bridgeport Public Schools, Bridgeport, CT
Teaches and *fosters* information literacy and research skills	McDonogh School, Owings Mills, MD
Fosters the development of questioning, information-finding, analyzing, and problem-solving skills in order to encourage and support students in becoming skilled consumers and creators of information and ideas	Westborough Public Schools, Westborough, MA

Table 3. Uses of "Foster" in the *National School Library Standards for Learners, School Librarians, and School Libraries* (American Association of School Librarians, 2017)

		FOUNDATIONS					
		Inquire	**Include**	**Collaborate**	**Curate**	**Explore**	**Engage**
D O M A I N S	**Think**	[none]	To *foster* learners developing a commitment to inclusivity and diversity, school librarians recognize the unique experiences each learner brings […] (p. 79)	[none]	[none]	School librarians design and *foster* conversations and activities that challenge learners […] (p. 107)	[none]
	Create	Helping learners generate products that illustrate their knowledge requires a school librarian […] to provide an environment that *fosters* learner exploration and experimentation. (p. 71)	[none]	[none]	The school librarian […] *fosters* the disposition to question information's reliability. (p. 97)	[none]	[none]
	Share	The school librarian *fosters* global, real-world connections through which learners can acquire and share knowledge. (p. 72)	[none]	School librarians *foster* tolerance by exposing learners to examples in the real world and literature. (p. 88)	[none]	[none]	[none]
	Grow	The school librarian continually *fosters* a school-wide	[none]	School librarians *foster* active participation	[none]	[none]	[none]

		atmosphere that promotes a growth mindset. (p. 72)		in learning situations. (p. 88)			

Figure 1

Gender Coding in School Librarian Job Postings according to the *Gender Decoder*

3.33%

10.00%

13.33%

73.33%

- Strongly feminine-coded
- Feminine-coded
- Strongly masculine-coded
- Masculine-coded
- Neutral

Figure 2

Percentage of School Librarian Job Postings Containing the Indicated Word or Stem

66.7%   53.3%   36.7%   13.3%   36.7%   23.3%
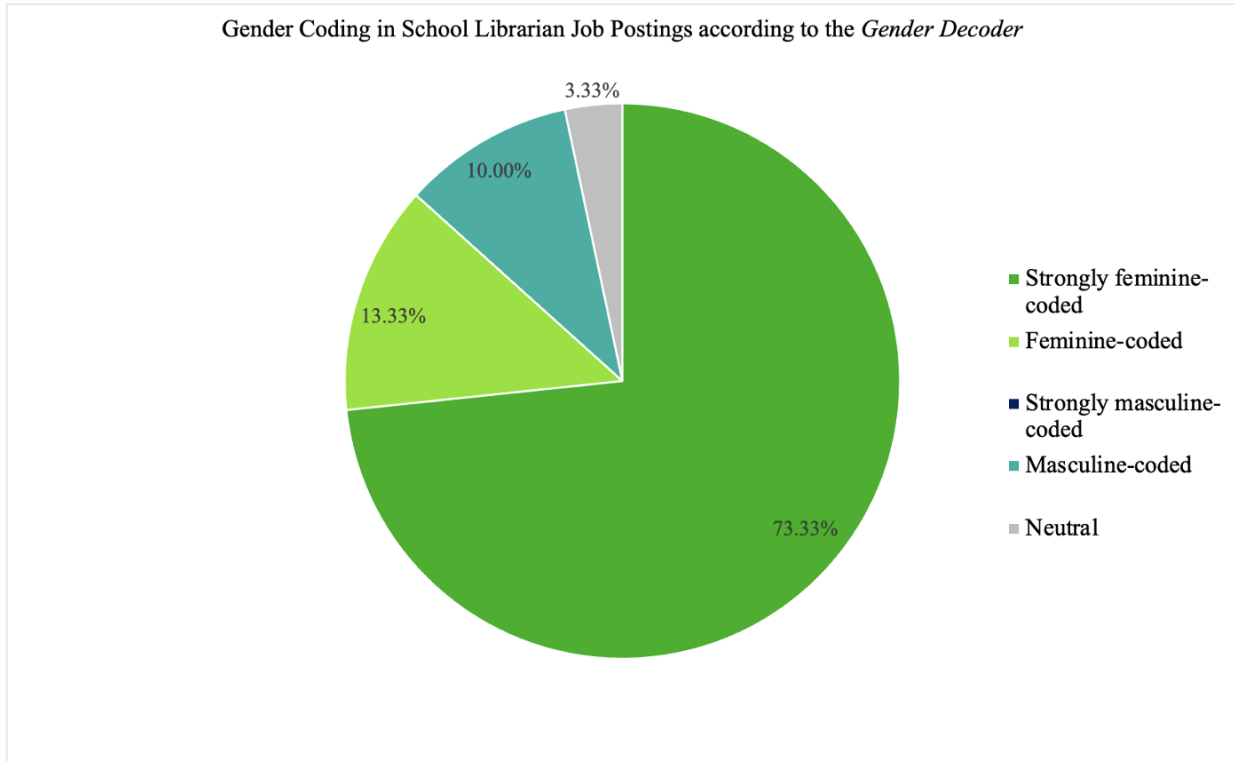
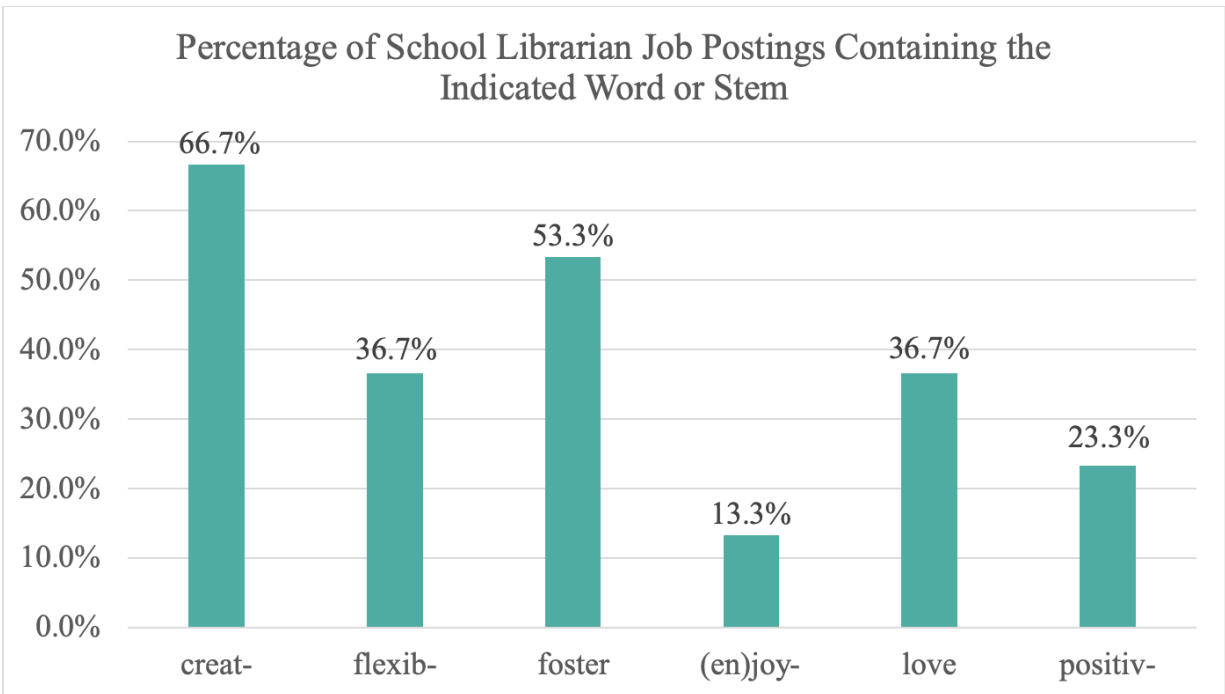creat-   flexib-   foster   (en)joy-   love   positiv-

Figure 3

Successful candidates will also:
Have experience in centering equity, inclusivity and cultural competency and supporting initiatives that align with the school's mission and guiding principles
Display an ease while working with students, parents, faculty and other constituencies
Demonstrate initiative regarding job related tasks, responsibilities and projects
Collaborate and work well in team settings
Communicate effectively (verbally, in writing, and online) with others, including administrators, colleagues, staff and families in order to maintain constructive and professional relationships
Be dependable and professional: e.g. be punctual, complete work in a timely manner, be calm under pressure, and exercise sound judgement
Practice strong interpersonal skills, to include being patient and positive
Find the joy in the journey of promoting a lifelong love of learning
Proficient in the use of technology including, but not limited to: Microsoft Office Suite (e.g. Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Outlook), Tandem Calendar and Google Apps for Educators with an aptitude and willingness to learn and incorporate new software.
Willing to participate in professional growth/development opportunities and seek feedback
CPR/First Aid certified or become certified soon after hire date

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Gender Coding in School Librarian Job Postings according to the *Gender Decoder*

Figure 2. Percentage of School Librarian Job Postings Containing the Indicated Word or Stem

Figure 3. Excerpt of Job Posting for the Position of Lower School Teaching Librarian at the Bush School