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Time Changes Things: Time as a Linguistic Resource for Professionals in Information-Intensive Fields

Le temps change toutes choses : Le temps comme ressource linguistique pour les professionnels dans les champs à forte concen- tration informationnelle

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Abstract: In accounts of identity and making sense of professional roles, time is a linguistic resource that librarians and pharmacists—members of information-rich professions—draw upon. Accounts of time organize narratives of professionalism, make sense of new and evolving roles, frame a profession's future, and create meaning from the profession's past.

Keywords: professions, librarians, pharmacists, discourse analysis, time

Résumé : Quand il s'agit d'identité et de donner un sens à des rôles professionnels, le temps est une ressource linguistique très utile aux bibliothécaires et aux pharmaciens, deux professions à forte concentration informationnelle. Le temps raconté met en scène des récits sur le professionnalisme, sur les rôles nouveaux et ceux qui évoluent, cadrent l'avenir d'une profession et créent du sens à partir du passé de cette profession.

Mots-clés : professions, bibliothécaires, pharmaciens, analyse du discours, temps

Introduction

Librarians and pharmacists are members of information-rich professions. They provide vital information services to the general public for work, education, recreation, and/or health-related needs. Time is a discursive resource that both librarians and pharmacists draw upon when they construct their identities and

when they make sense of professional roles. Time serves as a way for members of these professions to organize professional narratives, to understand new and evolving professional roles, and to account for their profession's progress and create meaning from its past. As individuals make sense of, or describe, themselves, they construct narratives. The shape of these narratives "[precedes] the content, the events are selected and fitted into their places" (Taylor and Wetherell 1999, 41). In other words, time is a linguistic resource employed by librarians and pharmacists when they develop and shape accounts of themselves as professionals. In the literature on professions, traditional concepts of profession and professionalism have lost ground. Mike Dent and Stephen Whitehead (2002, 2) have argued that while the concepts of professions and professionalism have improved how "professionalism 'in action'" is understood, they provide limited insight into how individuals experience, enact, and make sense of professionalism. To address this issue, Tony Watson (2002, 94) argues that social scientists should focus on professional talk "to examine the way members of certain occupational groups utilize [language] to achieve certain purposes." Instead of focusing on whether or not an occupation's claims to professionalism are valid or invalid, Watson's approach would examine how members of a profession determine who is or is not a fellow professional, how professional and work boundaries are negotiated, and how client-professional relationships are navigated.

Time is a concept used in everyday language to achieve a variety of social and discursive functions. We structure our activities around different measurements of time (minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, years, and so on), we wear or carry representations of time on our bodies in the form of watches and smartphones, and we make references to time—past, present, and future—throughout our everyday conversation. We use time metaphorically to convey many different meanings. We talk about being on time, pressed for time, serving time, and having a hard time. Time flies, it can be borrowed, lost, and made up for. We have down time, face time, borrowed time, and once upon a time. Time is a linguistic resource that individuals use to frame accounts of themselves. Stephanie Taylor and Margaret Wetherell (1999) have examined how time is used to organize personal life narratives. Their participants referred to historical time, national time, political time, time as place, and personal life events as they constructed their identities as New Zealanders. As a narrative resource, time was used to establish valuable self-identities by demonstrating a progression through time toward a specific positive achievement. Understanding how librarians and pharmacists use time to account for themselves as professionals provides insight into how these groups experience, enact, and make sense of their professions.

This article presents findings from two separate interdisciplinary studies. The studies presented in this article were part of larger research projects. The first project, completed by Deborah Hicks, examined the professional identity of librarians. The second project, completed by Theresa Schindel, examined how pharmacists made sense of new professional roles. Both projects share methodological and theoretical approaches, although the specific methods differed.

This article will focus on the findings of these projects as they relate to time as a linguistic resource, and it is organized to highlight the similarities and differences between the two studies. First, the literature examining how time has been studied in relation to professions and as a linguistic resource is reviewed. Next, the theoretical framework and methodology shared by both studies is presented and examined. This is followed by separate descriptions of the methods each study used. Findings will be presented thematically, and the similarities and differences between librarians' and pharmacists' use of time as a linguistic resource will be highlighted. Lastly, the findings from both studies are discussed together.

Time as an object of study

Time as an object of study has received some attention in the library and information science (LIS) literature. In a review of the temporal context of information seeking, Reijo Savolainen (2006) identified three approaches to time: time as a central feature for conceptualizing context in models of information seeking; time as a qualifier of, or limiter for, access to information; and time as a way of conceptualizing information seeking as a chronological sequence or time-bound process. Other approaches to time as an object of study include Jenna Hartel's (2010) examination of temporal arcs as a framework for information behaviour and Elisabeth Davies and Pamela McKenzie's (2004) and McKenzie and Davies's (2010, 2012) examination of the role that temporal boundary objects play in the information practices of theatre production professionals and midwives and in the management of everyday information activities. Although these and other studies have examined the temporal context of professionals' information-seeking practices (Leckie, Pettigrew, and Sylvain 1996; Marton and Choo 2002), how information-rich professions use time as a resource to make sense of new professional roles or in the construction of their professional identities has received no attention in the LIS literature.

The relationship between time and professionals' work has received some attention in the organization studies literature. Studies have focused on the discursive role of time in professionals' identity development. Timothy Kuhn (2006) examines how professionals in two different work environments (planners and lawyers) talked about workplace time commitments. How time commitments are framed is the outcome of two forces: identity work (the individuals' efforts to portray a positive and distinctive identity) and identity regulation (the organizational and social discourses shaping those identities). Identity functions differently in each workplace to justify time commitments. For lawyers, their identities demonstrate that they are choice-making agents who are ready and able to make priorities and demonstrate the level of maturity expected of them from their workplace. The workplace identities of planners demonstrate an intense work ethic and a personal connection to their organization's, or project's, vision. Kuhn identifies a continuum of workplace time commitments that range from time as a way to structure an employee's work to time as a way to give employees agency in determining his or her own workday. This continuum is

shaped by a variety of organizational, professional, and managerial discourses that employees can employ as they construct their occupational identity. An organization may have a particular discursive “tilt” along the continuum (Kuhn 2006, 1354); however, a person’s self-narrative and the expectations of co-workers and organizational superiors help to determine the time commitments each employee makes in relation to this tilt. Susan Halford and Pauline Leonard (2006) examine the role of time in the workplace subjectivities of hospital workers. Time is a discursive resource that physicians and nurses draw upon as they augment or reject their professional subjectivities. Specifically, time is linked to changing perspectives throughout a career, shifting subjectivities throughout a workday (from nurse, to manager, to secretary depending on the task), how the workplace is understood (the differences between a hospital during the day or at night), and work-life balance.

Change and time for librarians and pharmacists

Specific studies into the role of time and librarians’ and pharmacists’ identity construction or how they make sense of their new professional roles are non-existent. Librarians and pharmacists have written about improving time management (Garfield, Hibberd, and Barber 2013; Hines 2010; Siess 2002) and how a lack of time can be a source of stress or dissatisfaction (Al Khalidi and Wazaify 2013; Topper 2007). In addition, there have been studies examining the way pharmacists quantify the time they devote to work activities (Bell, McElnay, and Hughes 1999; Davies, Barber, and Taylor 2014; McCann, Hughes, and Adair 2010; Rayes, Hassali, and Abduelkarem 2015; Schommer et al. 2006) and studies comparing time efficiencies in different approaches to patient care activities (King et al. 2015). However, change is the most common context in which both professions discuss time.

Change is mostly discussed by librarians in relation to changing organizational structures, emerging professional roles, and preparing to meet the future information and service needs of clients. Much of this literature is in the form of advice to librarians on how to be leaders in times of change (Haycock 2012; Maloney et al. 2010), how to be forward thinking in their approach to change (Foote 2014; Mathews 2014), and how to think of change as an opportunity for librarianship (Grant 2009; Stephens 2014). The majority of the scholarly attention has been paid to managing change (Adeyoyin, Imam, and Bello 2012; Katopol 2014), librarians’ attitudes toward change (Aharony 2009; Jantz 2012), changing client expectations and their effect on librarianship (Solorzano 2013), examinations of emerging professional roles (Crum and Cooper 2013), and changing professional practices (Flatley and Wyman 2009; Peters 2015). In relation to change, time is most often used in reference to a time period, era, or the future. Samuel Adeyoyin, Abayomi Imam, and Taofik Bello (2012), for instance, write about managing change in the twenty-first century, while Mary Taylor (2015) examines the changes to hospital libraries over a period of forty-four years, and Carolyn Foote (2014) and Brian Mathews (2014) advocates that librarians adopt a futurist perspective to prepare for change.

A major change in pharmacy has been characterized as the shift from a product focus to a focus on patient care in the pharmacy practice literature. This shift was first proposed by Charles Hepler and Linda Strand (1990) when they called for a new practice model, which they termed pharmaceutical care. Pharmaceutical care introduced a new professional mission and practice process that focused on patients rather than on drugs, which shifted pharmacists' roles. Over the last quarter century, pharmacist researchers have written about the changes inspired by pharmaceutical care. For instance, Sherilyn Houle et al. (2012) writes about the introduction of patient-centred new services around hypertension management that has resulted in changed patient outcomes and benefits to the health care system. The complexity of practice change (Holland and Nimmo 1999), facilitators and barriers to change (Roberts et al. 2005; Rosenthal, Austin, and Tsuyuki 2010), leadership to support change (Tsuyuki and Schindel 2008), and changes in roles (Mossialos et al. 2015) have also been areas explored by pharmacist researchers. Practicing pharmacists have written about how the shift to pharmaceutical care has been achieved, including descriptions of ongoing efforts and future directions (Hepler 2010; MacKinnon 2010; Mossialos et al. 2015).

While there are no studies that focus exclusively on the role of time in pharmacy practice, time is often acknowledged as a resource required to change, or shift, to a pharmaceutical care model. Alison Roberts and her colleagues (2005) have studied the implementation of patient-focused services in community pharmacies in Australia. Time, space, and other resources to deliver the new services were identified as facilitators of practice change. Similar findings were reported in a national study of Canadian pharmacists (Jorgenson, Lamb, and MacKinnon 2011). Asa Auta, Julia Maz, and Barry Strickland-Hodge (2015) found that to facilitate the shift to new roles pharmacists need to reallocate time to engage in patient care activities and to provide pharmacy technicians with additional time to take on more responsibility for dispensing medications. Mark Makowsky and colleagues (2013) reported that time, along with access to information, were resources influencing pharmacists' ability to adopt new roles, specifically new prescribing roles. In a study of community pharmacy practice in New Zealand, Lee Thompson and Susan Bidwell (2015) describe the pharmacy as a space of "temporal practises" that influence the identities of pharmacists and the public. The authors discuss time in various ways, including time pressures on pharmacists, waiting times for services to the public, and time as a commodity.

Theoretical framework and methodology

Both studies presented here used similar theoretical frameworks, namely social constructionism, to guide their inquiries. Social constructionism holds that our understanding of objects, ideas, and other people is informed by the discourses that surround them. As we encounter objects, ideas, and other people, we encounter the discourses that construct and represent them. Each object, idea, and person is surrounded by multiple discourses so that understanding and meaning may be constructed in different ways by different people. The two

studies applied this framework in different ways. Hicks' examination of the professional identity of librarians used social construction to define two core concepts: profession and identity. In social constructionism, both acting as a professional and claiming a specific identity are not just social categories people fulfil but, rather, claims and ideas people use to achieve certain social functions or goals. In this framework, Hicks defined identity as a description, or representation, of the self within specific practices.

In her study, Hicks employed Watson's (2002) understanding of profession. Watson argued that members of a profession use language and ideas about professions and professionalism to achieve certain social purposes. By interrogating the language resources that members of a profession use, its professional identity and practices can be uncovered. In other words, a profession provides an individual with a set of language resources and social practices that can be used to form an identity. Stephen Kemmis (2010) describes professional practices as a combination of three kinds of knowledge: the propositional, theoretical, and/or scientific knowledge unique to the profession; the profession's craft knowledge or knowledge of how to do something; and personal knowledge about oneself and in relation to others. These practices are socially, culturally, and historically located and contextualized. Practices are more than just activities performed by professionals, using the three kinds of knowledge outlined above. They provide a common language that professionals can use to create meaning and intention to guide their activities and identities as practitioners. In other words, professionals use the discourses of their profession and the organizations for which they work to describe and enact their identities. A professional identity, therefore, is one of the many possible identities a person can have, and it is, following Zimmerman's (1998) argument, a situated identity.

In her study, Schindel used a social constructionist framework to explore how pharmacists make sense of their role as prescribers. By focusing on the emerging role of pharmacist prescribing, Schindel examined professional identity from the perspective of role. Role and identity have been described as two sides of the same coin—role relates to observable actions and identity relates to the subjective understanding of roles (Chreim, Williams, and Hinings 2007). The social constructionist framework emphasizes how individuals construct knowledge and meaning as they engage with the world through relationships, language, and social processes (Burr 2003). As professionals learn about their roles, they make sense of themselves as professionals, resulting in a professional identity. The social process of making sense of a professional role provides individuals with an understanding of their professional identity. Language is central to the process of constructing meaning and influencing actions of individuals and institutions (Burr 2003). In Schindel's study, the language used to describe pharmacists' prescribing role facilitated her exploration of professional identity.

A common methodological approach for studies using a social constructionist framework is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis examines the ways in which people use language to construct versions of events. By examining how

different people construct the same event, a researcher can discern the contextual consistency of accounts of a specific topic (McKenzie 2005). Both Hicks and Schindel used an approach to discourse analysis inspired by the work of Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1988). Wetherell and Potter's approach examined the language resources people employ as they construct "versions of actions, cognitive processes and other phenomena" (172). Hicks used this approach to expose the linguistic resources, or interpretive repertoires, librarians draw upon when they speak or write about their profession to uncover how librarians themselves constructed librarianship. Schindel used this approach to examine how the prescribing role of pharmacists is constructed in professional texts developed by pharmacy organizations.

Methods

Although Hicks' and Schindel's studies have theoretical and methodological similarities, the methods they employed in their studies differ. This section will present in separate segments the methods used in each study, followed by a description and discussion of the findings.

The professional identity of librarians: methods

The primary question guiding Hicks' research is: What are the interpretive repertoires librarians draw upon when articulating their professional identity? Interpretive repertoires are the common linguistic resources that link members of a profession. As described above, for professions, these interpretive repertoires are based on shared practices and knowledge. Interpretive repertoires provide members of a profession with the words and phrases members of the profession use to describe themselves as professionals. The intent of this approach was to compare how language resources are used in different contexts to determine their function or purpose. To ensure that a broad range of contexts were examined, data representing different contexts and library sectors (public, academic, school, and special) were included in the study.

Data for this study were gathered from journals aimed at professional librarians, email discussion lists, and research interviews. Articles from journals aimed at professional librarians were collected from nine journals: *American Libraries*; *College and Research Libraries*; *Felicitier*; *Information Outlook*; *Information Today*; *Library Journal*; *Public Libraries*; *School Library Journal*; and *Teacher Librarian*. Both Canadian and American perspectives were sought for this study. An inclusion/exclusion criterion was used to determine which articles, letters to the editor, or editorials should be included in the data set. Content was included if it was published between 2010 and 2012 and addressed the topics of librarians, librarianship, professionalism, and/or professional problems. News reports, articles discussing best practices, conference reports, library profiles, book reviews, and obituaries were excluded from this study. Approximately 300 individual articles were included in the final data set.

According to the Online Computer Library Centre (2011a, 2011b, 2011c), email discussion lists were the primary source of professional information for

librarians in the public and academic library sectors. The email discussion lists included in this study were:

- CLA (the official email discussion list for the Canadian Library Association);
- ILI-L (sponsored by the Association of College and Research Libraries);
- LM_NET (dedicated to school library media specialists);
- MEDLIB-L (sponsored by the Medical Library Association); and
- PUBLIB (hosted by the Online Computer Library Center and dedicated to public libraries and librarians).

The inclusion/exclusion criterion used to determine which email discussion lists posts were included in Hicks' study was similar to the one used for the articles from journals aimed at professional librarians. Posts were included if they were made between September 2010 to December 2012. Approximately 800 pages of email discussion list posts were included in the data set.

Lastly, sixteen interviews with Canadian librarians working in public, academic, special, and school libraries were conducted. Participants were selected because they had a variety of personal and professional backgrounds and experiences. Topics covered in the interviews included the participants' descriptions of how they entered the profession, their work and professional activities, and their thoughts on professionalism. Ethics approval for this study was granted by the Research Ethics Board of the University of Alberta.

To analyze her data, Hicks paid attention to the consistencies and variations in the way words and phrases relating to time were used throughout the data set, following Potter and Wetherell's (1987) and Sanna Talja's (1999, 2005) methods for analyzing interpretive repertoires. The analysis started with careful and repeated readings of the data to discern patterns (Talja 1999, 2005). Attention was paid to how time was used; the context of, and reason for, its use; and the intended (or unintended) function/purpose of its use. The goal was to identify when and how time was used by librarians to account for, and describe, themselves as professionals. This study was part of a larger research project (a full description of the methods and data analysis within the parent project can be found in Hicks [2014]).

How pharmacists' enact and make sense of prescriber roles: methods

The question guiding Schindel's research was: What are the discursive constructs of pharmacists' identities as prescribers? Schindel's study focused, in part, on how pharmacists' prescriber identities were framed within institutional discourses. Pharmacy organizations discursively frame the prescribing role for pharmacists. These organizations have a powerful role in pharmacists' understanding of their professional practices, particularly in relation to the emergence of new professional roles. In the Canadian province of Alberta, pharmacists were granted prescribing authority following legislation approved in 2006 (MacLeod-Glover 2011). Schindel explored the discursive construction of pharmacists' prescribing role, specifically in the context of the prescribing model implemented in 2007 by

the Alberta College of Pharmacists, in two phases (Yuksel, Eberhart, and Bungard 2008). First, Schindel identified the discourses associated with the prescribing role of pharmacists in documents from pharmacist organizations. Second, she explored the influence of these discourses on pharmacists' actions as they engaged in the role. The study presented here focuses on the findings from the first phase of Schindel's study.

The data set for this study consisted of texts that describe pharmacist prescribing. The final data set consisted of forty-four texts, including position statements, professional standards of practice, prescribing application guides, publications describing pharmacy practice, and newsletter articles spanning a time frame of 2001–13. Data was gathered in two ways. First, texts were gathered that had been developed by pharmacy organizations in Canada focusing on pharmacist prescribing roles, including the Alberta College of Pharmacists, the Alberta Pharmacists' Association, the Canadian Society of Hospital Pharmacists, and the Canadian Pharmacists Association. Thirty-seven documents were gathered during this part of the data collection. Second, pharmacists participating in the second phase of the study, not presented in this article, were invited to contribute texts relevant to them as prescribers. During this phase of the data collection, seven documents were collected.

Schindel used a cyclical analysis process, as described by Potter and Wetherell (1987) and Given and Olson (2003), to analyze her data. The entire data set was first analyzed for patterns emerging from variabilities and consistencies in the language used, with attention to time as a linguistic resource. The theme of time, identified *a priori*, defined the limits of this project (Given and Olson 2003). The intended function and consequences of the texts were considered. Next, the texts were reread and the variations, consistencies, omissions, and oppositions related to the discourse of time were documented. Close reading of the texts permitted identification of relevant "passages ... to examine the construction of our realities" (Given and Olson 2003, 173).

Findings

The findings revealed that the librarians and pharmacists shared the ways they used time as a linguistic resource in their descriptions of themselves as professionals and in how they made sense of their emerging professional roles. The discursive function of these linguistic resources, however, differed between the two professions. The following section will explore the commonalities and differences between how librarians and pharmacists use time as a linguistic resource. The findings will be presented thematically, and the similarities and differences between the professions will be explored.

Time as a marker for change

Both the pharmacists and the librarians used time as a marker for professional and societal change. The pharmacists saw their role as prescribers and their professional practices as evolving over time. They described these changes as "dramatic" and "significant" and focused on the benefits these changes would

bring to patient care. Relating these changes to Hepler and Strand's (1990) shift in pharmacy practice, the pharmacists asserted that "the evolution of pharmaceutical care has enabled pharmacists to break down traditional barriers in the delivery of patient care" (Pearson et al. 2002, 62). The breakdown of traditional barriers occurred over several years and facilitated the acknowledgement of pharmacists' prescribing role. The pharmacists felt they were starting to be recognized as "drug therapy experts who ... strive to optimize medication management to produce positive health outcomes across the spectrum of health care delivery" (Pearson and Dalen 2008, 351). For the pharmacists, there was a definite sense of forward momentum when they used time to mark change. They recognized "that their practice has been constantly evolving and have been readying themselves to provide more complete care to their patients" (Morley 2009, 2). The pharmacists' evolving roles were moving toward better patient care, increased professional responsibility, and better medication management practices.

The librarians were less focused on their evolving roles. Change, for librarians, meant the present time was different from the past. The librarians highlighted the current era through descriptions and phrases such as the information age or the "new normal" (Caputo 2010). "These difficult economic times" was a common phrase. This phrase functioned to draw attention to current economic circumstances, while illustrating the differences between the present day and the past, where, presumably, the economy was manageable. By phrasing change as a historical time period or era, the librarians could position themselves as being passive recipients of the effects caused by these changes. This did not mean that the librarians passively accepted these changes, only that they could not deny their effects. The discursive function of this use of time was to position the librarians as only being able to react to change, not to influence or alter it: "I think there's a big gap in many people's minds about the value and impact of librarians' work. I hope that we can continue discussing and honing in on the value of the MLS/MLIS to ourselves as well as to many others, especially during these difficult economic times" (ILI_L 2012, post to email discussion list). In this example, the phrase "these difficult economic times" was used to highlight the barriers librarians must overcome to convince non-librarians about the value of librarianship. Circumstances beyond the librarians' control made the "big gap" in understanding librarians' work even larger.

Past, present, and future

Pharmacists and librarians used time to draw attention to the continuity of their professions. The librarians focused on how past and present actions affected the future of librarianship: "We trace our roots back to Alexandria and draw a through line into the deep future of archives the size of planets" (Farrelly 2010, 28). By drawing on the past, present, and future, the librarians gave their profession a sense of progression through time. The function of this was to give the librarians' actions and services a grand historical scale and scope. Librarians used words such as "tradition" (Nijhoff 2011) and "legacy" (Selby 2012) to remind each other that librarianship has had a long history as a profession.

Words and phrases such as “enduring” (Schachter 2011) and “stand the test of time” (LM_Net 2012, post to email discussion list) were used not only to remind librarians of their professional importance but also to highlight the changes the profession had experienced in more recent times. For example, one librarian wrote: “I would never abandon the Dewey Decimal System. It has withstood the test of time. And once the basics are learned—the 10 main groupings, students will add to their knowledge as they progress in school. The system will stay and grow with them” (LM_Net 2012, post to email discussion list). The Dewey Decimal System, in this example, represents a library system that has stood the test of time, but it also symbolizes the flexibility of librarianship to withstand larger cultural changes.

The librarians had a clear sense of the future of their profession. The specifics of the future are unclear, but librarians want to prepare for it—in other words, they want to “future proof” librarianship (Bell 2010, 38). Future proofing involves specific actions that librarians can take: “What follows are a dozen actions librarians can take that can lead to fitter, future-proofed libraries” (Bell 2010, 38). Librarians could not wait for the future to happen; they had to prepare for it. Calls for “lifelong” learning captured a sense that these actions had occurred over extended periods (Schachter 2010). In other words, preparing for the future was a never-ending process. The future also implied a physical state. For example, Carolyn Coulter, a 2012 *Library Journal* Mover and Shaker, was described as “[exuding] library of the future” (“Tech Leaders” 2012, 58). In this example, the future is embodied by the librarian. The future as a physical state could also be built through the actions of librarians: “Every library of every type must find ways to recruit these new librarians and build a more robust future through their creativity, energy, and desire to work with us” (Berry 2011, 9). In this example, vigilance in preparing for the future—that is, recruiting new librarians, served the purpose of building the future. Describing the future as a place, and not as a time period, functioned as a way of providing librarians with an end point, or goal, toward which to direct their professional practices.

The pharmacists used a sense of linear time to position themselves as prescribers. They claimed a long history of prescribing pre-dated legislative changes. These historical roots extend back to the profession’s origins: “Apothecaries prescribed as well as compounded and dispensed drugs. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the role of the pharmacist became more focused on compounding and dispensing. This trend reversed itself in the middle of the 20th century with the evolution of clinical pharmacy, pharmaceutical care, and now prescribing” (Bacovsky 2003, 7). As can be seen in the preceding quote, pharmacists connected their history as prescribers to the current period. This period was characterized by a sense that pharmacists were prescribers whether or not they had legal authorization: “In essence, pharmacist prescribing has been going on for some time in the form of recommendations for over-the-counter medications, approved institutional protocols or programs, and provisions of provincial

regulatory authorities . . . that allow pharmacists to provide emergency supplies of medications” (Pearson and Dalen 2008, 353). In the past, not having the legal authorization to prescribe did not prevent pharmacists from using their professional knowledge and experience to clarify and change a prescription when they saw a problem. However, this expertise needed to be authorized and approved by a physician. The pharmacists referred to this involvement as collaborative or dependent, versus independent, prescribing, and emphasized that they had been prescribing in this manner “for decades” (Bacovsky 2012, 421).

For the pharmacists, the future held the expectation that prescribing was “the next logical step in the evolution of pharmacy” (Pearson et al. 2002, 62). It was hoped that prescribing would be adopted by pharmacists and become the “normal mode of contribution” by the profession (Barry and Pearson 2010, 59) and represent a “monumental shift” (“Just the facts, ma’am” 2009, 5) in pharmacy practice. The pharmacists’ characterization of time, especially the future, highlighted the dualities of the new prescriber role for pharmacists. The normal of the future will be both momentous and commonplace, and the prescribing role will be both old and new. By evoking the future in relation to new professional roles, the pharmacists articulated both a hope for, and expectation of, the future.

Time as a call to action

Time as a linguistic resource was used by both the pharmacists and the librarians as a way of providing their actions with a sense of urgency. For the pharmacists, there was both a sense of relief and a sense of urgency to their use of time in these instances. For instance, one pharmacist explained: “Finally! Pharmacists are on the road to providing the care they are truly capable of” and “You should have been doing this before” (“First Fifteen Profiles” 2008, 7). This relief, however, was contrasted by a sense that the pharmacists had to act quickly; lest they miss the opportunity that prescribing offered the profession:

Pharmacists have seemingly been handed the keys to the Rolls Royce, but have instead chosen to leave home in the family sedan. It is conceivable that [there was insufficient financial or marketing support], but pharmacists must also question their own efforts to embrace this gift. Some argue this will only take time, but others state that for such an exciting initiative, there’s no time to wait. (“Planning for the Next Century” 2011, 1)

In this example, the metaphors of the cars highlights the fact that prescribing authority was a luxury that pharmacists could not ignore. Time was used in two different ways to support and expand upon this idea of prescribing as a luxury. The first use of time captures the idea that change does not occur quickly. It would take time for the pharmacists not only to convince non-pharmacists that they were worthy of the prescribing role but also to convince themselves. The time it was going to take to achieve “such an exciting initiative” was a worthwhile expense for this professional “gift.” The second use of time provides a sense of urgency and importance to the present moment. Prescribing was framed as an opportunity the profession could not ignore.

The librarians used phrases such as “now more than ever” (Booth 2010, 40), “it’s time” (MEDLIB 2010, post to email discussion list), “time to bite the bullet” (LM_Net 2011, post to email discussion list), and “the time has come” (MEDLIB 2011, post to email discussion list) to provide their actions with a sense of urgency. Most often, these calls to action were used in relation to perceived threats to the profession’s future: “This is the worst time to be a school librarian and the best time to be one. Our profession is under daily threat of extinction” (Nesi 2012, 18). In this example, by highlighting both the good and the bad of the current time period, librarians had an urgent choice to make—either allow the profession to become extinct or fight for librarianship’s survival. This usage of time provided a sense of action and movement to librarians’ reactions to change and threats. They had to move with the times. Phrases such as “the time has come” and “at this time” (ILI_L 2010, post to email discussion list) implied change was possible, even if it was not currently occurring. This sense of possibility had the potential for both positive and negative outcomes. For example, in this quote from a recipient of the *Library Journal*’s Mover and Shaker recognition, time was positioned as something that held potential and excitement: “This is going to be a very exciting time as we try to figure out what works and what doesn’t” (“Marketers” 2011, para. 30). In comparison, a librarian posting to an email discussion list used time to suggest there was very little possibility for change in the future: “At this time, our faculty members have not been willing to allow librarians to have this type of role in their course management system; however, I’m not encouraged to approach faculty members to suggest that I could assist them in this manner either” (ILI_L 2010, post to email discussion list).

Time as a resource

Time, for both professions, was an object that had value in and of itself. Time was a resource both the pharmacists and librarians could use on behalf of their clients. Librarians described time as a scarce resource and as something that could be consumed or spent. When time was used in this sense, it was most often employed in relation to clients and service. Phrases such as “if you have the time” (LM_Net 2012, post to email discussion list) and “I just don’t always have the time” (MEDLIB 2011, post to email discussion list) demonstrated librarians’ willingness to offer a service, but a lack of time, in addition to funding, staffing, space, and other resources, was usually an impediment to providing it. Clients’ time was positioned as being very important for librarians. They wanted to help their clients spend their time in productive ways. Clients’ time, or lack of time, was used to justify certain service decisions. In this example, librarian’s clients’ time was offered as the determining factor in providing information literacy instruction: “[Named organization’s] staff, if they are willing to learn, I’m very happy to teach them. . . . But it’s sometimes they don’t have time and they don’t want to learn. They want the end results!” (special librarian interview participant).

Framing clients' time as a resource functioned as a way for librarians to create a relationship based on exchange with clients. One interview participant compared repeated library visits to a financial exchange: "It sort of implants the idea that you need to do a good job to get these people to come back and in a sense spend money every time they come in here" (public librarian interview participant). This relationship of exchange was reciprocal: users gave their time to librarians, and, in return, librarians provided high quality and efficient service. This reciprocal relationship, however, was not always an equal relationship. Faculty members were described by academic and teacher librarians as being disrespectful of the time of librarians, and this disrespect devalued the librarians' time. This was most apparent in comparisons between "library time" and "classroom time." Instruction, or classroom, time was positioned as being more important than library time or the time librarians required to provide adequate information literacy instruction: "I've laid out suggestions for development of campus wide [information literacy] programs only to be told that these plans are too big to implement. They would take time away from classroom instruction time" (ILI_L 2011, post to email discussion list). Classroom time was a resource librarians wanted, but one that faculty members had and wanted to retain.

Librarians spoke and wrote about "giving" people their time: "The limits of time and expertise are certainly valid judgement calls. If you have expertise, the demand for your time may exceed what you have to give. If you have time and no expertise, people will soon get the idea and you will have less demand" (PUBLIB, post to email discussion list). In this example, a lack of time was a barrier to service. Having to spend too much time with a client could negatively affect the service (or time) another client received. However, time was also a symbol for the care librarians felt for their clients: "Our services include 'information' but what people respond to is our availability, our one-on-ones, the time we have to answer questions, explain treatment regimens and drugs, and guide people to who can best help them" (MEDLIB 2010, post to email discussion list). The amount of time a librarian spent helping a client was only one indication of how dedicated they were to their clients. They also used time to demonstrate their commitment to serving their clients by drawing attention to the number of years they had worked in public service, the amount of time they spent helping clients outside of regular work hours, and even the time they spent supporting professional values: "I take information privacy seriously. I devote time and energy to protecting my personal information and in maintaining properly professional relationships with students" (ILI_L 2011, post to email discussion list). When connected to service, librarians' time, therefore, was as important as the information they were helping their clients find or that they were finding on behalf of their clients. In these examples, time was still a resource, but its expense was worthwhile because it was in service to their clients.

For pharmacists, their professional time could be spent improving patient care and the delivery of health care services. Prescribing authorization was de-

scribed as a way to save both physicians' and patients' time. Treating patients in a timely manner was viewed as "an improvement to patient care" ("Pharmacist Prescriber Profile: Blain Colton" 2011, 15). For instance, in a series profiling the first fifteen pharmacist prescribers in Alberta, one pharmacist described how her new prescribing authority improved the service she gave her patients: "I work with diabetes specialists, endocrinologists, and some internal medicine specialists . . . With my additional authorization I am able to provide education, switch products, make product recommendations, and do follow-up dosages with less hassle and less time spent waiting to get approval for certain things" ("First Fifteen Profiles" 2008, 7). In this example, time is framed as a resource the pharmacist can save on behalf of her or his patient. Time was also positioned alongside activities that may be perceived of by patients as a hassle. This positioning implied that wasting time was an annoyance for patients, while any activity that saved patients' time was positive. This reference positioned pharmacists in a helping role with patients. Pharmacists were saving patients time as an act of caring.

In contrast, pharmacy documentation positioned pharmacists in a subservient role with physicians. In another profile of one of the first fifteen pharmacist prescribers in Alberta, the discourse suggests that the value attributed to professional time spent by pharmacists and physicians was unequal. By using their prescribing authority, the pharmacists could save the physician time by reducing "some of the workload on the health care team—the physician dealing with . . . routine prescriptions, as well as the pharmacist/nurse having to track down the physician for certain prescriptions" ("First Fifteen Profiles" 2008, 9). When the pharmacists saved the time of physicians, they positioned themselves as "helping" by freeing doctors to focus on other, more important tasks. This positioned the work of pharmacists as less important than the work of physicians. Regardless of how the pharmacists positioned themselves when they used time as a resource, there was a sense that if they did not take up their new prescribing roles they would waste the valuable time of both the patients and the physicians.

Time as professionalism

Time was a symbol for both the librarians' and pharmacists' professionalism. For librarians, not being constrained by time was an indication of their professional status: "That would be a wonderful strategy [*sic*] if I . . . punched a time clock—I'm considered 'professional'" (LM_Net_2012, post to email discussion list). This idea was best captured by Amanda Bird (2012, 58): "I'm not just a librarian when I get paid: I'm a librarian all of the time." Time here was used to extend the professional role of librarians beyond the expected work day. Being a professional meant acting like a professional even when they were not at work: "If I get a reference question at 11 o'clock at night, . . . I have no problem dropping whatever I'm doing and [answering it], . . . at its most fundamental level, that's what my job is, is serving my users" (academic librarian interview participant). The connection between professionalism and time was explicit when connected to the educational requirements of being a librarian—

namely a Masters of Library and Information Science: “I went to school specifically for this . . . I did a Master’s degree. It took extra time and it was a lot of work. So I want to be recognized for that” (public librarian interview participant). The purpose of using time in relation to professionalism was to highlight librarians’ dedication to their profession. This had the effect of making librarians’ time more valuable than that of their para-professional colleagues. In contrast to support and casual workers, librarians, as professionals, had to spend their time doing important work: “In our library, where we have a small number of public services librarians being asked to engage in an ever increasing number of professional-level projects, to have librarians roving the stacks just to help locate books on the shelf frankly is a terrible use of librarian time when students can do just as good a job” (ILI_L 2012, post to email discussion list). As professionals, librarians considered time to be a precious resource that could not be wasted. If a librarian was perceived to have somehow wasted her or his time, the librarian’s professionalism was called into question. Phrases such as “too much time on your hands” were used to dismiss the actions and professional decisions of other librarians (LM_Net 2012, post to email discussion list).

Pharmacists recognized that prescribing authority was changing the way they spent their time. Prior to prescribing legislation, pharmacists were cautioned to “clearly understand how assuming [prescribing] authority will affect their role” and were urged to consider if “they have the time and support to complete all of their professional responsibilities” (Pearson et al. 2002, 61). Prescribing was recognized to require more of a pharmacist’s time—both because the new role required time for additional training and because the pharmacist would be spending more time with patients. Spending more time with patients required pharmacists to make adjustments to the time they spent on other professional practice activities. In an article detailing the changes prescribing authority brought to a pharmacist’s professional practice, one pharmacist stated that prescribing “forced me to be more diligent in documentation as well as maintaining a more complete record of care” (“Additional Prescribing Authority” 2013, 4). The pharmacists asserted that the time required to fulfil the professional responsibility of prescribing would necessitate “abandoning the traditional ‘banker’s hours’ that many clinical pharmacists currently enjoy” (Barry and Pearson 2010, 59). In this example, encouraging pharmacists to abandon banker’s hours points to how the shift to a prescribing role was influencing pharmacists’ professional work, namely how their day was shaped. The professional responsibility of prescribing required that the pharmacists structure their workday around the demands of patient care.

Pharmacists connected time to place in their professional discourses; they made this connection because “we are never going to be considered indispensable if we are not available and present in patient care areas” (Barry and Pearson 2010, 59). In this example, the word “indispensable” has a particular discursive significance. When performing professional roles related to dispensing drugs, health products, information, and professional advice to clients, phar-

macists traditionally work in a dispensary—a physical space in pharmacies, hospitals, or other health care facilities where drugs are stored and given to patients. The play on words implied by the word *indispensable* in this quote draws attention to the time spent in different spaces apart from a dispensary as a result of changing professional practices. The pharmacists emphasized the need to make shifts in both time and space to render their patient care role, or prescribing role, *indispensable*.

Time to count

Both of the professions used time as a way to count. Librarians used phrases such as “most of the time” (PUBLIB 2010, post to email discussion list), “the only time” (Mary, academic librarian participant), “umpteenth time” (LM_Net 2011, post to email discussion list), and even “reference desk time” (ILI 2010, post to email discussion list) to provide a sense of regularity to their professional activities. Pharmacists, on the other hand, used time as a way to monitor the extent of change. Because prescribing authority was a new opportunity for the profession, close attention was paid to the number of pharmacist prescribers over time. Starting with the initial “first fifteen” pharmacists in 2007 (“First Fifteen Profiles” 2008), growth in the number of prescribers was reported frequently in the Alberta College of Pharmacists’ newsletter, *acpnews*. Three years following the implementation of pharmacist prescribing, the authorization of the hundredth pharmacist prescriber was announced, and pharmacists were asked the question: “Could you be next?” (“100th Additional Prescribing Authorization Issued!” 2010, 4). By the end of Schindel’s study period, a total of 348 pharmacists were authorized as prescribers in Alberta (“Thank You, Registrants” 2013). The number of prescribers was equated with improving practice and patient care: “A quick look at the number of pharmacists applying for authorizations to prescribe ... makes it clear that Alberta pharmacy practitioners are stepping up to enhance their practices and provide better patient care” (“Thank You, Registrants” 2013, 1). The juxtaposition of the “number of pharmacists” and “providing better care” drew attention to a tension in the pharmacists’ discourses.

Discussion

The different discursive functions of time by librarians and pharmacists can, in part, be attributed to the difference foci of the two studies presented here. Hicks’ study was focused on the overall professional identity of librarianship. Professional change was just one of the many topics librarians discussed in her data set. In contrast, Schindel’s study was focused on how the pharmacists made sense of emerging professional roles. However, the different discursive functions of time for the two professions are also explained by the different contexts in which each profession operates. Although societal, economic, and technological changes had affected the professional roles of the librarians, librarianship, for the most part, was an established profession. These established roles positioned librarians as passive recipients of change and placed a greater emphasis on

preparing the profession for the future. Future-proofing librarianship was not about creating new professional roles for librarians. Instead, preparing for the future allowed librarians to challenge their own positioning of librarianship as being passive in the face of change by providing librarians with specific and concrete actions designed to provide continuity while the profession progressed. The pharmacists, in contrast, are currently undergoing a period of profound professional role change. Hepler and Strand's (1990) shift in focus from product-centred practice to patient-centred pharmacy practice, and legal changes to pharmacist prescribing authority, dominated the pharmacists' professional discourses. These changes had a direct influence on the professional roles available to the pharmacists. Dispensing roles were positioned as evolving into prescribing roles. This change was characterized as dramatic, unprecedented, inevitable, and logical.

The contexts in which each profession functioned affected pharmacists' and librarians' use of time as a linguistic resource in different ways. Both professions framed time as a resource to be expended. The pharmacists framed prescribing authority as a gift, and the time expended pursuing prescribing authority was worthwhile since it would bring benefits for the pharmacists, health care teams, and their patients. The librarians framed the time they spent providing services as a gift they gave to their clients. The expense of time was worthwhile as it allowed them to help their clients. Each profession described spending time on behalf of their clients differently. However, the reason for its expense was the same—helping clients. In a study examining academic librarians' relationships with faculty members, Heidi Julien and Jen Pecoskie (2009) argue that librarians depend on faculty members to give them time to teach information literacy skills. The gift of time placed the librarians in a subservient role in relation to faculty members. Hicks' study also reveals a relationship of dependence between academic librarians and faculty members. Classroom time was framed as a resource librarians wanted but faculty members already possessed. Librarians were reliant on faculty members for this resource. Once librarians had access to the resource of classroom time, they could spend it on meeting students' information needs.

In the professional documentation surrounding prescribing authority, pharmacists described a similarly dependent relationship with physicians. By expending their own time prescribing medication for patients, pharmacists could save physicians' time and allow physicians to pursue more important tasks. Marjorie Weiss and Jane Sutton (2009) assert that despite the re-organization of work and time allocated to prescribing activities, physicians have retained an overseer role in the case of pharmacist prescribing. Pharmacists framed these unequal relationships as being beneficial for clients. For pharmacists, physician oversight in prescribing may be framed as contributing to patient safety, collaboration, or teamwork (Weiss and Sutton 2009). For librarians, however, this framing overlooked the fact that faculty members were also part of the client base. Academic librarians were willing to accept the unequal relationship they had with faculty members as long as it benefitted students. How

this relationship did or did not benefit faculty members as clients was not addressed.

In the literature examining how professionals use time as a linguistic resource, there is a connection made between how certain professions, namely physicians and nurses, discuss time in relation to space or location. Halford and Leonard (2006), for example, find that the time of day affects how health care workers understand their workplace. The connection between time and space was almost completely missing from the text and speech of the librarians. Although librarians did refer to spending time at the reference desk, it was just a location where they spent time helping clients. The use of time, in these instances, referred to the opportunity to help clients and not to the reference desk as a space or location. The connection between time and space was deeper for the pharmacists. Makowsky and colleagues (2013) find that the practice environment, or space, affects the ways that pharmacist prescribing is implemented. Shifting professional roles means pharmacists have to spend their time in different locations. Pharmacists can no longer remain in the pharmacy or dispensary. The demands of patient-centred care and prescribing authority mean that pharmacists have to spend their time where their patients are, such as hospitals and clinics, where pharmacists access patient information, and in proximity to other health care providers (Makowsky et al. 2013). Time itself does not affect how pharmacists understand the spaces they inhabit; instead, changing professional roles alter where and how pharmacists are spending their time.

Conclusion

Both the librarians and pharmacists used time as a linguistic resource as they constructed their professional identities and made sense of their professional roles. Time served as a way for the members of both professions to account for changes occurring outside and within their professions and to create a sense of continuity as their professions developed with the goal of better positioning in the future. Time acted as a symbol of the librarians' and pharmacists' professionalism. Not being constrained by specific hours of work, spending more time with clients, and working on professional-level tasks were indications of each profession's dedication to their clients. Pharmacists' and librarians' use of time as a call to action and as a resource that could be spent, saved, and gifted were also suggestive of each profession's commitment to ensuring that their clients received the highest level of service. Pharmacists positioned prescribing authority and librarians positioned adapting to change as being for the benefit of their clients. Clients were further supported when librarians and pharmacists spent, or gave, their valuable professional time to help their clients save time.

The examination of time as a linguistic resource provides a unique opportunity to examine how two different information-rich professions define who they are and what they do. Although past research has examined the similarities and differences between librarianship and other female-intensive professions, such as social work and nursing (Brand 1983; Harris 1992), and the differences and

similarities between pharmacists and nurses (Maddox et al. 2015; Wilbur et al. 2015), there have been no studies juxtaposing librarianship and pharmacy practice. Librarians, as information specialists, and pharmacists, as health information specialists, provide their clients with important services for their work, educational, recreational, and health needs. By exploring how librarians and pharmacists talk and write about time, these research projects provide insights into how these professions account for their professional practices, which, in turn, influences how they design and provide their information-intensive services. The action-oriented linguistic resources associated with time used by both librarians and pharmacists underscore the fact that they are professions rooted in the past but excited about the future. Changes in professional roles and identity occur over time. Gloria Dall'Alba (2009, 60) argues that there is value in past experiences, stating that "threads carried forward from the past can serve as resources in the present, as well as providing openings for change that continues into the future." In other words, a sense of time, specifically a sense of the past, provides a profession's members with a sense of professional continuity as they move from old to new (Goodrick and Reay 2010) that can enrich an existing professional identity (Pratt, Rockmann, and Kaufmann 2006). For librarians and pharmacists, time is a linguistic resource that members of both professions use to organize narratives of librarianship and pharmacy practice. As librarians construct their identities and pharmacists make sense of their new roles as prescribers, the past, present, and future of each profession becomes the focus of writing and speech. For both professions, the function or purpose of time is to highlight the continuity of professional practice; the readiness of both professions for challenges and changes resulting from legislative, technological, economic, and service changes; and the abilities of both professions to seize future possibilities.

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