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Time as the Fourth Dimension in the Globalization of Higher Education

Introduction

Since at least the invention of the pendulum clock in 1657, everyday activities in the West have been governed by quantifiable units of time. This reification of time, as Marx (1967) pointed out, is what enables a capitalist system of production, where the worker is disciplined by the clock. Yet whereas the modern capitalist sought to control time, under globalization the post-modern knowledge worker attempts to outsmart time. It is argued that globalization seeks to "obliterate" (Hongladarom, 2002), "annihilate" (Dale & Robertson, 2003), "compress" (Castells, 2000), further "commodify" (Appadurai, 1996), and radically "transform" (Castells, 2000) time. As Castells points out, asynchronous and instantaneous communication technologies distort our relationship with time. Indeed, the way in which time is conceived in the late-modern, post-industrial age departs in crucial ways from modern or industrial conceptions of time while sharing many similarities. The temporal dimension of globalization and "new" capitalism has been recognized as important by a variety of social scientists (e.g. Castells, 2000; Giddens, 1991, 2000; Harvey, 2001; Lash & Urry, 1994; Urry,

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2000, 2004). Through these analyses, we can see the dimension of time as intersecting and interacting with space, movement and place—which can be thought of as the other three dimensions of globalization.

While researchers in higher education have sought to understand how globalization impacts upon academia, they have tended to focus less on the temporal ramifications of global capitalism. Instead, the focus has generally been on how the changing demands of the knowledge economy affect the character and purpose of higher education institutions. *Academic capitalism* (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; 2006) is an influential theory that seeks to describe such changes that are occurring in higher education due to neo-liberal capitalism and globalization. This theory examines the exogenous and endogenous corporatization that is taking place in universities, and concludes that academia is becoming more and more like a capitalist enterprise.

Slaughter and Leslie's (1997) and Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004; 2006) theories on academic capitalism have been taken up by various scholars to examine different higher education systems across the world; for example, in Japan (Chan-Tiberghien, 2006), Denmark (Carney, 2006), and Latin America (Rhoades, Maldonado-Maldonado, Ordorika, & Valezquez, 2004). These authors and others compellingly show how higher education institutions are becoming more academically-capitalist in various ways. However, the concept or role of time is not examined in these analyses. There are other authors who *have* explored the role of time in the intersection of academia and globalization, though they have tended to neglect some of Slaughter and Leslie's (1997) and Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) key insights in their explorations. Instead, these previous studies have focused on how academic work has become more intensified through technologies and through techniques of managerialism, accountability, and surveillance (e.g., Currie, 2004; Fuller, 2004; Menand, 1996; Menzies & Newson, 2007; Noble, 2002). What is sorely needed is an integration of time as an essential component of the theory of academic capitalism. This will consequently provide a richer explanation of the changes that have occurred, and are occurring, in the globalization of higher education.

As Marx (1967) and Weber (1958) both noted, capitalism depends on changing how people use time, and, indeed, how they conceptualize it. Late capitalism, operating under economic globalization, has further changed the nature of institutions, as well as the role that time plays in our lives. I claim that, likewise, *academic* capitalism depends on people holding and acting out certain ideas about time. Academic capitalism requires both the reification of time and an internalization of the importance of managing time in a demonstrably efficient manner. To success-

fully manage time under academic capitalism is to ensure success for the individual student or faculty member as globally-competitive knowledge workers, and likewise to aid in the incorporation of the university into the global economy. Quintessentially, academic capitalism is premised on faculty and students both justifying their use of time and seeking to outsmart it. In this article, then, I argue that a temporal dimension should be added to theories of academic capitalism. Integrating a "theory of time" into the "theory(ies) of academic capitalism" will enable a better understanding of the ways in which globalization and academic capitalism are influencing higher education.

After engaging with ideas about time and its relationship with globalization, I then provide a more in-depth discussion on academic capitalism, highlighting the ways in which it describes recent changes in universities. I move on to show how the impact of globalization and capitalism on universities can be better understood through the introduction of a temporal dimension. While this can be considered a conceptual paper, I draw on the example of U21 Global[1], a university consortium/corporate partnership that offers online programs in business administration to people primarily in Asia, to illustrate how time and academic capitalism work together through processes of globalization. I conclude by reflecting on tensions in the relationship between globalization, time, and academic capitalism.

Time & Capitalism: From Pre-Modern to Modern to Global Time

We can understand globalization as an extension, and indeed triumph, of capitalism (Marx, 1967). In some senses, it also represents an extension of, as well as break from, modernity and the industrial age. Examining globalization as such, leads us to see that while there is something different about how we think about time compared to even fifty years ago, there are elements that remain from our modernist understandings of time present at the start of the industrial revolution.

Clock Time in the Modern Industrial Age

To understand how capitalism and time currently operate in universities, it is first necessary to explore the linkage between capitalism, modernity, and time. Both modern and postmodern conceptions of time differ from the ways in which time was understood in pre-modernity. In the modern age there was a distinct break from pre-modern and medieval understandings of time; specifically, time became divorced from space and nature (Giddens, 1991). In pre-modern and traditional societies, lunar cycles, tides, seasons, or major cultural events would mark

the progression of time. According to Lash and Urry (1994), time was not only thought of as cyclical but was also understood as "glacial," with a recognition that the relation between humans and nature was long-term and evolutionary (p. 243). Castells (2000) describes the pre-modern and pre-colonial society as a "timeless society" where changes in culture were so gradual that they were perceptible only over generations (see also Hongladarom, 2002). With the intensification of colonialism and the advent of the clock, clock-time began to take hold.

Classical economics, which spawned capitalism, was firmly rooted in the idea of producing, transporting, and selling a certain number of goods in a certain amount of time. Adam Smith (1826) observed that efficiency was key for capitalism to succeed; a precise measurement of time was essential. As Hassan (2003) explains, classical economics was underpinned by instrumentalist thinking which "takes the world largely as given and attempts to find means of living ever more productively and efficiently in it" (p. 229). The capitalist mode of production, which later became seen as a natural form of human organization, made speed "an essential element of its production process" (p. 227).

In the *Protestant Ethic,* Max Weber (1958) explored and compellingly described the inextricable link between clock-time, capitalism, and morality:

> Remember, that time is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle, one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion of idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings beside. (p.48)

Under capitalism, time became commodified and considered a resource; like money, we say that time can be wasted, saved or spent. Weber's main thesis, however, was that, under capitalism, we think of time in terms of morality, specifically linked to Protestantism and Puritanism. This thesis is also central to understanding *academic* capitalism. Capitalism requires our internalization of the importance of managing time in a morally-justifiable manner so, perhaps, to reap rewards in the afterlife. As Weber explained,

> Waste of time is thus the first and in principle the deadliest of sins. The span of human life is infinitely short and precious to make sure of one's own election. Loss of time through sociability, idle talk, luxury, even more sleep than is necessary for health, six to at most eight hours, is worthy of absolute moral condemnation. (Weber, 1958, p. 158).

As I later argue, the commodification of time continues to the present day, and a new secularized articulation of the Protestant Ethic has been inscribed into our post-secondary institutions.

Global Time

To comprehend how time under globalization, or what I am terming "global time," might impact upon life in academia, it is important to explore how understandings and operationalizations of time under post-industrial capitalism might differ from "clock-time" under "old capitalism." Indeed, while many remnants of how time was treated in modern (opposed to postmodern) capitalism have remained—particularly in terms of the moral character of time—there is something new about how time affects our lives under globalization. Under what is now being called old capitalism (Drucker, 1993), many workers' lives were based on a repetition of tasks in a particular manner intended to lead to skill mastery. Fordism and Taylorism, which dominated in the early twentieth century, were premised on this model where workers, considered no more than "cogs in a wheel" (Drucker, 1954), would tediously repeat the same tasks over and over again, performing their duties on the assembly line until the bell rang 5:00 p.m.

However, there have been distinct changes in capitalism under the so-called new economy, which signal a shift into global time. This has been driven both by technological advances as well as interrelated ideological, political, economic, and sociological changes. The invention of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and the (partial) shift to a knowledge economy intensified competition and, accordingly, led to "unprecedented speed and complexity in the management of the economy" (Brown, Green, & Lauder, 2001, p. 53). This has required universities and colleges to respond in kind to prepare "knowledge workers" (Drucker, 1993) who are adaptable, flexible and able to excel in such an environment. Moreover, global capitalism is not only operating in an accelerated form, where massive financial transactions can occur with a click of a mouse (see Kuttner, 2000); but also time duration is, to some degree, "only limited by our technical capacities" (Hassan, 2003, p. 233). Therefore, the pressure to perform increases.

What is perhaps unique to globalization is the phenomenon of time-space compression, a concept explored by social scientists such as Harvey (2001), Urry (2004), and Castells (2000). Marx presaged that the compression of time would signal the ultimate triumph of capitalism (Marx, 1967). However, while modernity sought to distance time from space, globalization is said to seek to annihilate space through time. Space becomes virtual and global transactions occur in "real time." Due to the ostensibly pressing needs of the global economy, time becomes further compressed.

Not only is time compressed but also activities that were once easily allocated to separate blocks of time, bleed into different time chunks.

Bauman (2000), for example, describes ours as a "liquid modernity" where time can be thought of as being more like a fluid than a solid. Unlike under modernity and old-capitalism where time was more divided into chunks—with 5:00 p.m. signaling a clear transition from work to family time, for example—we can now see work time spilling or spreading over into our "family time," "couples' time," "personal time" etc., and vice versa, (Urry, 2004), without any neat delineation or clear demarcation between what is work time or "other time."

Coupled with the idea of "time fluidity" is the notion of "time urgency." Sociologist Ulrich Beck highlights how we have become a *World Risk Society* (Beck, 1999), where we collectively face the ongoing threats of global warming, AIDS, world war, or a bird flu pandemic. In other words, we are constantly faced with a sense of time-urgency given the precarious state of the world. In addition, we are implored to gain time, beat time, save time, or at least be in control of time. According to a recent edition of *Scientific American*, "Time has become to the 21st century what fossil fuels and precious metals were to previous epochs" (Stix, 2006, p. 3). There is simply a limited amount of time; "time is the ultimate scarce resource and for some reason, even as one time-saving bit of technology after another comes our way, the burdens on our time seem to increase" (Schwartz, 2004, p. 111). In addition, we are all too aware that we cannot neatly order and schedule our lives. As Schwartz writes, "We can't pencil in the needs of friends and family into our Palm Pilot" (p. 111). This sense of being unable to control time coupled with the normative assumption that we should control, and in fact master it, creates a paradox which manifests itself in heightened feelings of anxiety and powerlessness.

The Relativity of Global Time

The relativity and situatedness of global time makes it fundamentally different to non-global time. In fact, the difference between modern and post-modern understandings of time has been likened to the difference between Newtonian and Einsteinian physics (Urry, 2004). Newton saw time as an absolute entity, completely separate from space, which moved in a steady linear progression from the past to the present and then to the future (Zukav, 2001). What Einstein's theory of relativity showed, however, is that time is intrinsically linked to space and it is neither absolute nor necessarily linear. Zukav explains:

> Time is a social construct: "sooner," "later," and "simultaneous" are local terms. They have no meaning in the universe at large unless they are tied down to a specific frame of reference. What is "sooner" in one frame of ref-

> erence may be 'later' in another frame of reference and "simultaneous" in a third . . . there is no single time which flows equally for all observers. There is no absolute time . . . our reality is four-dimensional, and the fourth dimension is time. We live, breathe, and exist in a four-dimensional space-time continuum. (2001, pp. 168–171)

While we sense time as linear, this intuition is demonstrably wrong; Einstein himself stated that "the past, the present and the future are only illusions, even if stubborn ones" (as quoted in Davies, 2006, p. 7). Time cannot exist without space. In addition, the physical properties of a thing appear different depending on its speed relative to an observer. Yet while some measurements of time have a subjective component, time itself "is as real as space" (p. 8).

Einstein's theory of relativity, and the departure it makes from Newtonian understandings of time, is a useful analogy for our analysis of what has happened to time under globalization. The Newtonian theory of time is evident in Fordist production under old-capitalism. Time is easily measured in 60-minute increments, and it is viewed as progressing along in a linear fashion. The employee of the Ford manufacturing plant, for example, worked in an assembly line that was not particularly reliant or affected by other assembly lines around the world. What has happened under globalization, however, is that time is treated in reference to the "temporality of other firms, networks, processes or products" (Castells, 2000, p. 468); in other words, the job that one performs under "new" capitalism is affected by the time jobs take in other companies across the world. Time is no longer measured as separate to the time other activities take but is quite literally relative to the time taken elsewhere.

The notion of space is also thought about differently in the so-called knowledge economy from the way it was in the Ford assembly plant. While physical objects (such as cars) were the focus of old capitalism, what has become more important in global capitalism is the idea of knowledge as product, manifest in the notion of intellectual property and in virtual technologies. While we think about there being space on a computer hard drive, for example, this is not the physical space occupied by a three-dimensional object. In addition, distance in a computer network is different from physical distance; destinations that are close in the network may not be close in reality. The interrelation between space and time—which were treated more as separate entities under Newtonian old-capitalism—becomes increasingly obvious under globalization (Raddon, 2006). Non-physical transactions can take place across time and space, where both time and space is relative to the technology we use to undertake such a transaction.

The Tensions Between New and Old

While globalization may be characterized by the aforementioned changes in time, this does not mean that modern, or even pre-modern, conceptions of time have been replaced (Hassan, 2003). Although some have argued that globalization is enveloping the economy, society, and culture into a timeless time (Castells, 2000; Harvey, 2001; Urry, 2004), modern, pre-modern, and postmodern time work together. There is, as Hassan argues, a "deep intractability of clock-time" (2003, p. 233) which is still linked to national interests and control, with clock-time remaining essential to capitalist time consciousness.

Local (or pre-modern), clock, and global times work together. Take for example HITEC city, which stands for Hyderabad Information Technology Centre, a high-security area located to the northwest of Hyderabad centre that houses numerous important multinational and national high-tech firms, all linked to the global economy. Just outside is what could be termed "Tent City," or rows of small, blue-tarp tents that house temporary, often (domestic) migrant, workers who, during daylight hours, are involved in the construction of roads and new buildings. Surrounding these tents are beggars and people selling their wares to the hi-tech workers driving by (not infrequently in BMWs or Mercedes). The contrasts between these three groups and three areas are jarring, not only in terms of the vast disparities of wealth. What is also interesting, however, is how each area operates on a different time. Those working for Microsoft or Google, for example, might be working on global time. Construction workers may be paid hourly wages (working in national clock-time) for their work in constructing buildings and roads to support India's new knowledge workers. The beggars and hawkers operate on yet a different time that would neither be characterized as clock-time nor global time, nor completely pre-modern time: their days are marked by the comings and goings of traffic rather than changes in nature. Even more interesting is the idea that the HITEC employee may go home to see his parents in rural Andhra Pradesh and be once again linked with more pre-modern time, where time is marked by cultural events, the monsoons, and the harvest.

In short, there are marked tensions between pre-modern, modern clock-time and post-modern global time. These tensions, along with the increasing stress placed on efficiency due to an intensification of capitalism and to the dizzying velocity at which we can now undertake activities, have exacerbated our sense of anxiety (Aslaksen, 2002, p. 119). The various tensions between the different tempos as well as the rise in concern with efficiency and productivity manifest themselves in academia as they do also in a wide range of arenas.

Academic Capitalism

Beyond their role as centers of knowledge, universities and colleges have become increasingly important participants in the global marketplace, bearing responsibility for responding to the increasing demands of an ever-accelerating knowledge economy and ever-expanding capitalist system. These market-like behaviors displayed by higher education institutions are fundamental ways in which academia has changed under globalization. While there have been numerous accounts of how globalization has made its impact on higher education, Slaughter and Leslie's (1997) and Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) analyses are particularly insightful, since they bring global (neo-liberal) capitalism to the fore in examining changes which have occurred. I argue, thus, that these theorizations of academic capitalism are useful tools for understanding these changes that are happening in universities and colleges across the developed world.

In both books, the authors make explicit connections between academic capitalism and globalization. Quoting from page one of Slaughter and Leslie's 1997 study, "Globalization is creating new structures, incentives, and rewards for some aspects of academic careers and is simultaneously instituting constraints and disincentives for other aspects of careers" (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997, p. 1). They note the demolishing of walls between state, market and (non-profit) civil society, as well as ways in which interactions, movement and communication have been facilitated through technologies. Academia is one of the most visible sites of globalization in at least five ways: first, there are large flows of information, ideas, people and courses, and growing numbers of networks formed between people and between institutions; second, it is the home to numerous global cosmopolitan elites who "know no bounds" (Bauman, 2001); third, it can be seen as the birthplace of many new technologies; fourth, it works within and outside the confines of national policy; and, lastly, globalization is evident in academia in the numerous cross-country and cross-campus interactions. According to Slaughter and Leslie (1997), academic capitalism is also present,

> [in the] channeling of students and resources into well-funded curricula that meet the needs of a global marketplace, preparing of more students for the post-industrial workplace at lower costs, and [the] managing of faculty and institutional work more effectively and efficiently. (p. 63)

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) describe academic capitalism as the process by which universities are being integrated into the new economy (see also Slaughter & Rhoades, 2006). The reason why this is occurring, they write, is due to pressures from outside the university—from the

business world, organizations and government—and from within due to ideological preference and/or a perceived need for streamlining and commercializing the university. Indeed, increased managerialism in universities has often occurred in the absence of direct external pressures of globalization (Fuller, 2004; Manicas, 2007) and, instead, due to faculty decisions. The ideological shift towards the vocationalization of higher education and the global economy is evident in students also. In a poll taken of incoming university students in the U.S. in 1966, 84% indicated that their prime motivation for attending higher education was "to develop a meaningful philosophy of life" and 44% stated that their main purpose of attending college was to "to be very well-off financially." Strikingly, in a similar poll taken in 1990, these numbers were reversed (taken from Manicas, 2007).

Universities as institutions are also focusing more on making money, seeking support from outside institutions, people, and businesses; these, in turn, bring their missions, as well as constraints, to the university. The result is universities and colleges engaging with the market and displaying market-like behaviors (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; 2006). Academic capitalism manifests in universities marketing to students who shop around for education that suits their tastes, and in the expansion of disciplines more directly linked to the business world and the knowledge economy: MBA programs, computer science, communication, and media arts etc. While not all of these aspects have coincided with globalization—indeed, universities were marketing themselves to an elite group of students in the nineteenth century—this marketization and commercialization of academia has intensified. There are growing links between universities and businesses, and increasing commercialization of knowledge and research in the academy. These changes have been accompanied by an intensification in competition, as institutions and faculty compete for money wherever this money may be, for example, "[in] endowments, university-industry relations, spin-off companies, fees, and tuition etc" (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997, p. 11).

It should be noted, however, that while the university may appear to "mean business" (Newson & Buchbinder, 1988), it can generally be thought of as a very poorly-run business (Bok, 2003; Manicas, 2007). It is a business, Manicas (2007) notes, with a bloated administration, insufficient accountability, waste, entrenched bureaucracy and with "almost no attention paid to demand and . . . little attention paid to the 'product'" (p. 473). This, perhaps, should come as no surprise. Trained and experienced in research and teaching, university higher administration personnel tend to lack corporate experience (Bok, 2003). Nonetheless, while no university across the globe can be seen as having succeeded in becoming an entirely efficient, market-driven, and globally-responsive business, most universities have become more academically-capitalist over the past two decades.

We can distil three dimensions of academic capitalism from Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004; 2006) work. The first dimension can be seen as a new flow of knowledge; the second is the existence of interstitial and intermediating organizations; and the third dimension, managerialism. Academic capitalism is said to be evident (at a university) if there is increasing reliance on these new flows of information or circuits of knowledge, if there is a high concentration of interstitial and intermediating organizations; and, if there is expanded managerialism and managerial capacity. I describe the three dimensions in detail below:

1. *New flows of knowledge (or circuits of knowledge)*: We can think of knowledge in academia traditionally moving solely or mostly within the scholarly community and with teaching being the province of faculty members. In academic capitalism, industry and administration play a more important role in creating and transmitting knowledge, and sessional instructors and adjunct faculty take over some of the teaching responsibilities that were previously almost exclusively the purview of tenure-track faculty. Information on the perceived quality of education also flows from without, rather than from within, in the form of international university rankings, such as those from *The Times* or the *US News & World Report.*
2. *Interstitial and intermediating organizations*: Academic capitalism is visible in this dimension where there is a high concentration of new organizations created in universities that link to corporations and/or the state, like spin-off companies. It is also visible in an emergence of intermediating networks that occur when public, non-profit, and private sectors come together to address certain issues or work on research problems (see also Metcalfe, 2006).
3. *Managerialism*: This third dimension of academic capitalism relates to the extent to which managerial capacity and capabilities have been intensified at the higher education institution. Under academic capitalism, university administrators gain power, and faculty power decreases (see also Fuller, 2004). Furthermore, both faculty and administrators internalize the values of managerialism. The effect is all parties shifting their behavior to deal with the new economy environment and its demands.

I have plotted these dimensions on the three-dimensional graph below. The graph shows that it is possible to have higher or lower concentrations in each three dimensions, with higher concentrations in all three signaling greater academic capitalism in these three particular dimensions.

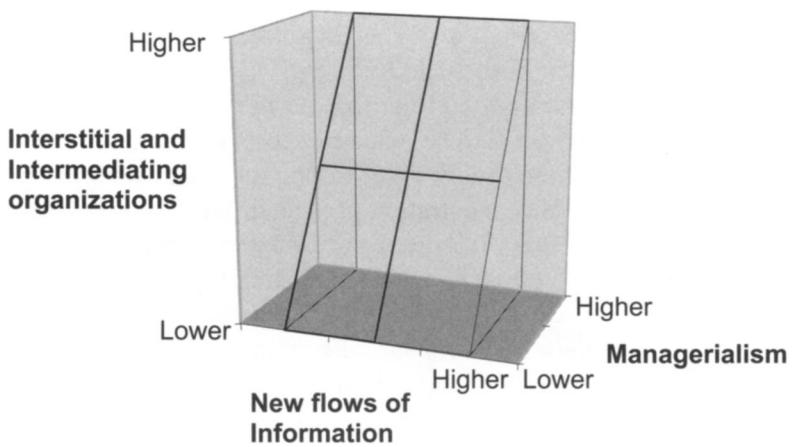

FIG. 1. The Three Dimensions of Academic Capitalism

However, I am arguing that we need to integrate a fourth dimension of time to our analysis of academic capitalism to better understand how global time and clock-time impact upon academic capitalism. Furthermore, as with Einstein's theory of relativity, time is not separate to the other three dimensions but rather impacts upon them; thus, integrating a temporal dimension to our analyses also allows us to examine the fundamental role time plays in the new circuits of knowledge, the emerging interstitial and intermediating organizations and in the expansion of managerial capacity. As the public knowledge/learning regime of academia past morphs into an academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime, time affects both institutions and individuals.

Changing Times in the University: Adding Time to Academic Capitalism

Here I tie together theories of time as they relate to capitalism, modernity and globalization, and affect both higher education institutions and individuals.

Time Shifts in the Institution

Clock-time and capitalism have always informed how the modern university operates, at least since the Humboldtian institution was formed in the 1800s. Nonetheless, the modern and even postmodern university retains the memory of Plato's academy and the Greek philosophical tradition, which has meant that pre-modern time continues to be present in the university today. Not everything in academia is bound by

the clock, nor has higher education been entirely commodifed with faculty and students channeling their efforts into producing a product whose value can then be assessed.

The pursuit of answering the question of "what makes a good life?" was a fundamental drive in the formation of the traditional university in Ancient Greece. It is fair to assume that this question still drives at least some individuals (at least partially) in their endeavors within the social sciences and humanities. Clearly, it makes little sense placing time constraints on answering such questions. Similarly, pre-modern approaches to time persist in the sciences; for example, in the realization that research takes time and that many mistakes precede a discovery, which will later almost certainly be amended, updated or even replaced. In fact, most scientists are quick to point out that it is almost impossible to predict how long research will take or to give a time-bounded answer to when they might make the next big new discovery. Creativity—a key ingredient in research and effective teaching—takes time. As (in)famous DNA-researcher James Watson once noted, "Tto encourage real creativity you need to have a good deal of slack" (quoted in Bok, 2003, p. 31). Yet while there is resistance to global time, clock-time, and academic capitalism in general, there are particular changes that have occurred through academic capitalism and globalization that lie in tension with this pre-modern approach to time in academia.

One pivotal example of how globalization is acting upon academia is through the insertion of online learning into the core mandate of higher education institutions. This has implications for a shift in thinking about time and is often linked to academic capitalist endeavors, as I highlight below. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) discuss, for example, how universities have been involved in the development of Internet2, the provision of online programs, and the forming of virtual networks with other universities and companies. They explain that, in doing so, the university becomes more business-like. These changes can be thought of as institutional changes, which both arise from and feed into the three dimensions: reliance on new circuits of knowledge, interstitial and intermediating organizations, and managerialism and managerial capacity.

Temporal shifts in the university due to globalizing processes have also been noted in a recent study released on the effects of time constraints in the university. Canadian academics Menzies and Newson (2007) note that as universities seek to become more integrated into the global knowledge economy, they focus more on cost-efficiency, productivity, accountability, grants, commercialization and performance. While Menzies and Newson's report does hint at the influences of academic capitalism, and is one of the few that does touch on the role of time in

academia, they do not draw directly on prior writings on academic capitalism as developed by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) or Slaughter and Rhoades (2004; 2006). If Menzies and Newson had taken up these theories on academic capitalism they would have concluded that some institutions and disciplines have been more subjected than others to pressures of commercialization and accountability.

I claim that the disciplines that can be considered more academically capitalist are, in general, the same disciplines that have both transitioned more into global time and that are also more constrained by clock-time than other disciplines. Indeed, disciplines like management, computer science, medicine, and life sciences are arguably more subjected to the demands of a business-like environment than, say, philosophy. Faculty members working in these disciplinary areas arguably spend more time than those in English or Philosophy on trying to generate funds and on producing research for assessment. Furthermore, those in the sciences are much more likely to be locked into time-limited projects funded by industry (which may also be co-funded by government). While disciplines and universities are affected differentially, life for everyone within academia has changed due to academic capitalism and globalization.

Time Shifts for the Individual

While the aforementioned changes can be understood as *institutional* changes, to understand how global time and clock-time work together within a capitalist framework in the academic institution, it is also necessary to focus on the temporal effects on *individuals* working within the academy. In this section I will first elaborate on how time/space compression and marketization/corporatization lead to demands on student and faculty time. I then focus on the link between efficiency, time and academic capitalism, which has become strengthened due to technological changes and the intensification of capitalism and its reinvention in neo-liberal form This section ends with an exploration of how time remains a moral issue in academia, with guilt acting as the great motivator.

No time. In the academic capitalist university under globalization, time is accelerated, leaving faculty and students feeling as though they are rushed and left with little or *No Time* (Menzies, 2005; Pronovost, 2007). Canadian academic, Heather Menzies, has found that academics suffer particularly badly from this cult of speed, compression of time and intensification of work. In fact, although working hours have decreased overall in Western countries, longer working hours afflict two particular groups: "high-level professionals and unskilled service workers" (Castells, 2000, p. 472). In universities, which house and produce

knowledge workers, work knows no time-bounds; it seeps into every nook and cranny of one's life. Notwithstanding the differences in terms of departments or disciplines, which I mentioned in the previous section, academics generally all face a "time crunch" (Menzies, 2005), where everything has become more time-sensitive—to absorb more information in a limited amount of time; to publish more; to serve on more committees—all while maintaining a nominally strong research record, serving the public, teaching, and being a public intellectual. Time becomes a limited resource used to get grants and accumulate publications and patents (Menzies & Newson, 2007). As a result, faculty members may not have as much time as they need to read books, engage in face-to-face meetings with students, and actually reflect and conduct research. It is fair to assert that academic institutions once (at least partially) resisted the capitalist clock-time pace (Dick Pels, 2003). However, in an academically-capitalist regime, both clock-time and global time engulf the individual faculty member, sometimes resulting in a "loss of 'timeless time' for research" (Menzies & Newson, 2007, p. 90), as the "staccato, now-this, now-this beat of real time augments the metronomic, externally regulated beat of regulated and scheduled time . . ." (p. 94).

Virtual technologies and ICTs demand a large percentage of an academic's time, exacerbating stress and a pervasive sense of time crunch. As Raddon notes, this is also a reality for students, not just faculty, where demands of online courses with their asynchronous and short-term nature bring about "anxiety attacks and stress" (2006, p. 70). In her empirical study of the effects of online learning on part-time Masters' students, Raddon concluded that the completing a Master's degree online exacerbated feelings of insecurity in the students as they responded to a context where any time could be class time, though they also had to fit in this study around their working life.

It should again be noted that time pressures affect different people differently—not only in terms of disciplinary affiliation. Menzies and Newson (2007), for example, noted distinct gender differences in how faculty members are affected by time pressures. For example, they found that fewer women than men felt that a large part of their time was taken up by solving technological problems (40% of women vs. 47% of men) (p. 87), while more women felt that the expectations placed upon them had increased (70% of women vs. 50% of men). Interestingly, more men in their study responded that they did *not* thrive on time pressures (81% of men vs. 56% of women). Despite certain divergences between men and women and across disciplines and departments, it is clear that time pressure under late-capitalism and globalization is becoming common-

place in universities as both academics and students "become entrained to the rhythms of the dominant economic order" (Purser, 2002, p. 157).

An efficient use of time. Globalization has undoubtedly sped up the pace of life. This is not solely because of technological changes, which have enabled this increase in tempo to occur, but is also due to the ideology of capitalism, which is concerned with efficiency. As capitalism has seeped into academia, so has the perceived necessity of managing time in an efficient manner.

In fact, it is not so much a "cult of speed" but rather a "cult of efficiency" that undergirds globalization and also academic capitalism. Janice Stein (2001) contends that global markets and firms enshrine efficiency's purported inherent value. While the concept of efficiency preceded global capitalism, its importance and value has visibly increased under economic globalization. According to Hassan (2003), for example, this has come as a consequence of a further "triumph of instrumental reason" (p. 234), impacting on our operationalization of time. He writes, "We are compelled to think fast and apply instrumental knowledge to the here and now" (p. 238). Professors, like nurses or teachers, are expected to work efficiently; "they are constantly enjoined to become efficient, to remain efficient and to improve their efficiency in the safeguarding" (Stein, 2001, p. 3).

It has been repeatedly stated that the capitalist incursion into academia has fundamentally transformed the mission of the liberal university (Bok, 2003; Gould, 2003; Readings, 1996; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; 2006). One way in which this transformation has become most visible is in institutions' mandate to be efficient, regardless of whether this is an achievable goal. Indeed, applying business logic to academia has led to universities extolling efficiency as an end to itself (Menzies, 2005; Stein, 2001). The word "efficient" signifies doing something both quickly and cheaply. "Cutting the fat" in the university consequently has led some to assert that "the liberal education that once was the central *raison d'être* of the university is viewed increasingly as a time-consuming irrelevance" (Hassan, 2003, p. 245); though, Manicas (2007) is fair to point out that "institutions of higher education were never ivory towers, single-mindedly devoted to truth for its own sake" (p. 464) However, both institutions and individuals are encouraged to use cost-benefit analysis to determine how they should use their time in the most efficient way. Being efficient means managing one's time well: it means doing more with less.

The pressure to be efficient is intertwined with the pressure to perform, i.e. to use one's time productively. Using time productively can be demonstrated in producing countless articles and books or generating

successful grant applications so to bring in more money. This is an individualized process, in the manner of "do it yourself scheduling" (Urry, 2004) where the responsibility falls more and more on the individual to manage her time to be efficient and responsive. For the academic there is an overt tension: between being a "flexible, autonomous worker," and being increasingly more regulated by time and by demands of accountability. Paradoxically, even those sectors where working time has significantly fallen, there are more time constraints and greater regulations of time (Castells, 2000). However, this is not always due to overt time-disciplining from outside, but can occur through technologies of the self (Foucault, M., Martin, L. H., Gutman, H., & Hutton, P. H., 1988) and processes of governmentality (Foucault, 1977) whereby individuals internalize the values of the neo-liberal capitalist society and engage in their own self-regulation. In academia there is both heteronomous and autonomous disciplining of the self. We work to increase our efficiency at least partially by our own choice.

The moral imperative of time use. In the academic-capitalist and knowledge/learning regime we are encouraged not to waste funds and implored not to waste time. Accordingly, both academics and students internalize the value of being efficient and productive; time remains a moral issue. Time not spent on producing can be thought of as time-theft—procrastination, the deadliest of sins. As we guiltily indulge our time playing spider solitaire and surfing the internet, we are conscious that we will be seen as wasting time and not doing anything useful.

The morality of modernity, old capitalism, and liberalism has thus continued into new global capitalism and neo-liberalism and has become intensified in the process. With greater tools for productivity come greater expectations. In the academy we must constantly justify our use of time to ourselves and others. Furthermore, how we use time is tied to merit. We are seen as deserving, and accordingly will be rewarded, if we can mange our time well. Instead of a *theodicy* (Weber, 1968) where we seek theological justification for why there is evil in the world, under globalization we now understand the world in terms of *sociodicy,* looking for a sociological justification for poverty and inequality as well as our own privilege and position in society. Bourdieu (1998) claims that the notion of *competence* is at the heart of that sociodicy. Competence, he argues, is what justifies one's privilege over another's poverty. In the realm of the academically-capitalist institution, I argue that competence is demonstrated by *producing*—for example in the form of publications and bringing in grants—in the least amount of *time*. Competence, therefore, becomes analogous with merit. Therefore, time justification is a fundamental element of the production/time/merit triangle. In other

words, producing more in less time come together justifies merit. Academic capitalism intensifies this triangle as institutions become more business-like and entangled with the global economy:

Yet there is not enough time for everyone to be successful in the academic capitalist structure—this is true for both professors and students. Given the neo-liberal framework under which global capitalism operates, students and faculty individually and institutionally compete to demonstrate their competence thereby justifying their merit. The academic capitalist system is premised on universities competing with each other for funding, good students, academic superstars, status or prestige. Academic rankings can aid in this process. For example, the Shanghai Jiao Tong academic ranking of universities, *The Times* "Higher World University Rankings" or the *US News & World Report* rankings of U.S. universities and colleges can place universities in prime positions for competitions for students, grants or status.

In conclusion, the current focus on performance, accountability, and competition can be viewed in relation to changes in perceptions and in use of time—specifically, the ever-increasing exigency to justify time and to take individual responsibility for doing so. There are visible remnants of old capitalism and modernity in the way time impacts upon academia, with an added dimension of time/space compression and time intensification which have become part-and-parcel of post-modernity owing to neo-liberal globalization. Nonetheless, while universities cur-

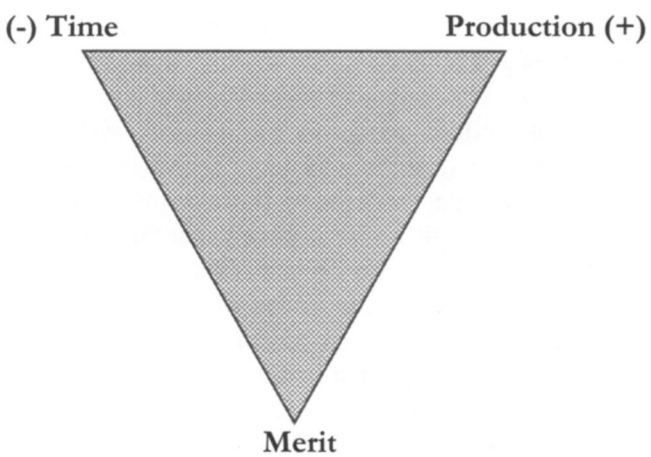

FIG.2. The Sociodicy of Competence in Academia

rently serve a post-industrial and post-Fordist society, this does not necessarily translate into departments all being constrained by global time and academic capitalism, nor does it mean that vestiges of modern and even pre-modern time have been left behind.

Academic Capitalism, Globalization, and Time Collide: The Case of U21 Global

One way in which higher education institutions are evolving and transforming is through the emergence of global or transnational universities, online or distance learning, and increased collaboration and communication between institutions. All of this can often occur within the context of corporatization and commercialism (Denman, 2002). Competition can result in monopolistic behavior in capitalism. Similarly, radically different institutions which seek to diversify tend to form consortia and come together to offer joint degrees and standardized programs. This process of simultaneous diversification and homogenization has happened on a global scale to numerous institutions, organizations, and businesses.

One example that illustrates this trend is Universitas 21 Global (U21 Global), a multi-university/corporate venture that delivers online business and management degrees for profit. The university consortium that forms the academic partner of U21 Global is Universitas 21 (U21)[2], a consortium of 21 "research-intensive" universities from North America, Asia, Oceania and Europe formed in 1997. Although "collaboration and cooperation" (Cohen, 1999, p. A71) between institutions are touted as goals of the consortium, increasing links with commercial organizations and generating profits are others. Together, member universities can take advantage of the multinational business opportunities that are "too large for any one individual institution to deal with" (Cohen, 1999, p. A71). It is interesting to note that while University 21—a non-profit university consortium—has 21 members, four of these members decided not to affiliate with U21 Global. Therefore, U21 Global is backed by 17 universities from 11 different countries. The corporate partner is Thomson Learning, a subsidiary of the Toronto-based publishing company, Thomson Corporation. U21 Global is currently based in Singapore, and launched its first online program, a Masters of Business Administration (MBA), in mid-2003, targeting the purportedly under-served market of Asia (Chai, 2003).

Online programs like U21 Global are one of the most evident ways in which many universities are both globalizing and commercializing (Delanty, 2004; Noble, 2002; Van Damme, 2002). This implies a temporal

shift also. Distance education critic, David Noble (2002), argues that Western universities have capitalized on the credentialism craze and are taking it the developing world, seeking to make a profit in the process. As in the example of U21 Global, courses tend to be overwhelmingly in the areas of business and management—the backbones of capitalism. Not only often a capitalist enterprise, online education makes for an interesting case study of the notion of global time, where global networks are "transforming the contours of time and space" (Urry, 2000, p. 185). Courses use "chat-rooms" that depend upon ICTs to connect students and instructors in different parts of the world simultaneously—in effect, destroying the physical distance between students and/or instructors. Students log in, post, or chat whenever they want, wherever they are; study time, like work time, is, thus, flexible. Further, students are still tied to deadlines, or to a date by which they must submit their papers. In order to meet these requirements, they must organize their working and student lives efficiently to be accountable. Instructors too must do the same, as they often work on a contract basis, juggling their time between jobs, or even perhaps between graduate school and teaching.

Reports and papers have been written on the commercial aspects of the U21 Global agreement (Arnone, 2002; Walker, 2006; Walker, 2007). Indeed, in previous work Walker (2006) argues that U21 Global can be understood as an example of academic capitalism in action: universities came together seeking out a corporate partner to offer business degrees abroad at a profit by utilizing part-time sessional labor from the West. It is an interesting instance of academic capitalism on many levels—universities are commercializing and corporatizing, all while promoting capitalism to communist China! Furthermore, the public (i.e. the university) is melded with the private (i.e. the corporation) (see also Santos, 2006, for further discussion on this topic). Moreover, with learning often broken down into commodified units to be "consumed" (Noble, 2002), online learning can be seen as a clear instance of a capitalist incursion into the teaching and learning arena.

If we integrate an analysis of time into the equation, as a fundamental component of academic capitalism, we see also the melding of space and time, the spill over of work or study time into other times, and the intensification of work-time for instructors in the pursuit of profit maximization. It is clear that by undertaking a diploma or degree-programme through U21 Global, students will be engaging with global, networked time in their online courses; their days, perhaps, might be divided across three vastly different—yet in some respects overlapping—understandings of time. This may also be the case for instructors, who, most likely, are working other jobs, and with commitments of family and outside

life. In fact, it is readily becoming the case in universities that part-time, sessional instructors bear the brunt of the teaching load in many courses; in 2007, Manicas (2007) wrote that part-timers do 44 percent of all teaching in universities. Online courses, in particular, are often taught by doctoral students or part-time sessional instructors who tend to be paid per student and whose pay decreases if students happen to drop the course.[3] Alternatively, hours might be set for an online course—say, at 12-hours a week—but these hours can tend to be an underestimate, where the course quickly spirals into a 30-hour a week commitment, with student expecting immediate responses—regardless of the difference in time zones. Furthermore, online instruction and ICTs are taking away from face-to-face time between those instructors who also work as faculty members and their students in their physical home institutions. In the online, post-modern teaching and learning condition (Lyotard, 1984), time—although shared with others—becomes further individualized. Such teaching and learning can result in feelings of alienation, given the increase in virtual and decrease in physical contact.

Reflections: The Dilemma of Globalization and Time in a Capitalist Academy

Distinct changes have occurred under globalization in terms of how we use and understand time, and this, in turn, is transforming how we interact with others, think about space, and carry out our daily lives. Social theorists like Castells (2000), Bauman (2000; 2001), and Beck (1999) have explored the shift from modern to post-modern time under globalization that can be seen in the blurring of weekend and work-week, work and leisure, and in time acceleration. Globalization, they explain, offers us the chance to be more flexible with our time and lives. Flexibility, however, is as much a burden as it is a blessing; as the mantra went in Silicon Valley in the dot-com boom: "you can work any 20 hours of the day you want." Furthermore, the need for extreme flexibility "carries the economy and the temporality of the network into almost every aspect of our lives" (Hassan, 2003, p. 236).

At the heart of globalization and capitalism itself is the idea of expansion. In the academy, this leads to institutions and individuals becoming "over-extended" or "stretched" across time and space. There is a sense of movement as students and academics are spread thin; there is also a sense of physicality together with the virtuality of new technologies. In addition, neo-liberalism, propelled by globalization, has extended capitalism into those aspects of our lives previously not associated with the economy. In academia, the disciplining of time and the commercializing

of the academy have fundamentally changed the way academia is run, leaving us with feelings of anxiety and of having less control. In the capitalist academy we are expected to spend our time competing—filling out applications for grants, scholarships, or job positions. Likewise, we must meet the deadlines imposed on us to be awarded tenure or to graduate. This is quickly becoming a global phenomenon. Indeed, many of the patterns in higher education noted in Western countries are being mirrored in non-Western countries (see, e.g., Chan-Tiberghien, 2006; Rhoades et al., 2004)—even in those countries traditionally 'less' capitalist (Mok, 2003). This is most likely due to the power the U.S has internationally in setting the 'rules of the game' in globalization, as well as to the strength and success of the American higher education system, as Slaughter and Rhoades (2006) rightly note. This is not to suggest that higher education institutions across the globe are becoming fully Americanized; yet while divergences exist, there is, in fact, something global about academic capitalism as other countries begin to imitate an American, academic capitalist model

Nonetheless, it is important not to over-extend the argument to say that globalization and academic capitalism have had nothing but deleterious effects on the institution. While Menzies and Newson (2007) lament that "the university is no longer a refuge from the hustle-bustle, a slow zone for reading and reflection, critical dialogue and knowledge creation" (p. 83), it is important not to hold a Pollyanna view of what the university was—either in its pre-modern Greek form or in the Humboldtian institution in the 1800s. A time when the academy was relegated to the elite—or more specifically, to the rich, white European man—is not one to which we should wish to return. Moreover, universities were sorely criticized in the past for being less relevant to society. This criticism should be kept in mind; a university that is irrelevant to the majority but retains a quiet space for the few to reflect is a symbol of self-indulgence and is simply not viable in our globalized postmodern age.

It is also important to remember that the academy today is not purely a capitalist enterprise. As Slaughter and Leslie (1997) noted, there is still a gap between industry and university. Industry places timelines and applies benchmarks to academia where it just does not make sense; the university has a different culture to the corporation in spite of globalization and academic capitalism. Furthermore, academia does not function solely within the seamless time/space compression of globalization. It still combines the "timeless time" of antiquity in its pursuit of scholarly truths; it is constricted by clock-time; and, it is exposed to the demands and new realities of the global, knowledge merit-based society. Most of all, it is these tensions between the three notions of time, within the con-

text of capitalism, that throw both academics and students into a state of anxiety. We are still governed by the clock though exhorted to work beyond it and outside it; we are urged to place time restrictions on those pursuits that cannot be easily time-bound. As post-Fordist knowledge workers, we are told we are not controlled by the clock but at the same time we are required to be in control and take control of our activities and our own disciplining. While academic capitalism and globalization intersect and shape higher education institutions, pre-modern time, clock-time, and global time are all present and interact with each other in conflicting and disharmonious ways. However, the result of living in such times can often be deleterious and increase our sense of precariousness. Increases in alienation, stress, and exhaustion can ensue. Furthermore, a decrease in critical thinking in the academe can likely occur when thought is directed away from learning and towards meeting performance-based indicators and jumping through hoops for tenure and promotion, or building up one's CV to be able to compete in the globally-competitive labor market. What's more, as work intensifies and as learning and teaching become more individualized, there is decreased chance of collective resistance or even collective dialogue to raise concerns about particular working conditions.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that to better understand the influences of globalization on higher education, it is essential to understand how, where, and why time fits in to our already existing understandings of academic capitalism. I have contended that the way we use time has shifted with the advent of new technologies, with online learning constituting a case in point. Yet, I have also attempted to show that understandings of time, and the way time may be conceptualized and used to mobilize others, is not neutral. Indeed, time under modernity and now globalization is reified and utilized to promote the interests of capitalism. Efficiency and productivity have been promoted as values to be internalized and goals to which we must aspire. Academia, through influences of globalization and capitalism, has likewise intensified the promotion of these values. The internalization of these values and achievement of these goals have not been complete, by any means. But rather different purposes of higher education conflict with others through the three time constructs that remain visible in the institution: timeless time, clock-time, and global time.

While I have provided one concrete example of how time, globalization, and academic capitalism interact in the case of U21 Global, this

paper has stayed generally at the conceptual level, showing why and how focusing on time can further our understanding of academic capitalism, seen in the changes taking place in our higher education institutions and in the daily lives of people who work and study there. Further empirical studies are crucial in order to see how academic capitalism and globalization affect people's conceptions and operationalizations of time within the academy, and how this may have differential effects on groups of individuals depending on their gender, class, race, age, seniority, or on the academic discipline in which they work. This will help us to better understand and respond to our everyday lives in our own institutions and the changes occurring in universities and colleges worldwide.

Nonetheless, it is clear that a number of the shifts highlighted in this article are having detrimental effects on the academe; increasing workloads, decreasing faculty-student ratios and face-to-face contact, or eliminating or monetizing programs as a response to global capitalism clearly impact negatively on education and on our lives as academics and students. However, academic capitalism or globalization are not totalizing and nor are their processes thrust upon us deterministically. The academy has been through various iterations, as have the conceptualizations of time. And, like time itself, the university does not stand still.

Endnotes

[1]See http://www.u21global.com/web/guest/home
[2]See http://www.universitas21.com/
[3]As an online instructor, I fit this description and know many others who also do.

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