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Demographic Variables and their functions in forecasting turnover Intentions among librarians in public libraries in Nigeria: A survey

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Demographic Variables and their functions in forecasting turnover Intentions among librarians in public libraries in Nigeria: A survey

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ABSTRACT
So far, there have been series of researches on factors that predicate employees' turnover intentions like job satisfaction, gender, environment and management but this particular study takes a look on the function of demographic variables in forecasting turnover intention among librarians in public libraries. The principal areas of focus among the demographic variables were age and gender and their function in forecasting turnover intentions among librarians working in public libraries in Nigeria. The study further identified some factors that may bring about intents to leave and retention among these librarians. 350 sampled librarians in public libraries in Nigeria formed the respondents. Turnover intention (a = .87) was assessed using 3-item from prior research, while to test the hypotheses, Independent Sample T-test for gender and one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between age groups were used. The study found that demographic variables have a significant contribution which has both positive and negative effect on turnover intentions of librarians working in public libraries. The outcome of the study also indicates that male librarians were more likely to leave the libraries or librarianship than their female counterparts and that older librarians were more likely to stay on the job and profession than their younger colleagues. The study after identifying certain factors that influence librarians' turnover intentions, made recommendations.

Keywords: Employee turnover, turnover intention, demographic variables, Gender, Age, public library

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study and statement of problem

The library as a social institution is designated to provide and satisfy the information needs of her publics who are always searching for knowledge to solve one problem or the other. In the characteristics of classification, almost all the libraries have circumvented clients or users except

one which is known as the 'public library. Public library as the name denotes, is meant to serve the general public without restriction attachment to sex, creed, age or status. It is in this regard that Rubin (2010), posits that a public library is a library that is accessible by the general public and is usually funded from public sources, such as taxes. It is operated by librarians and library paraprofessionals, who are also civil servants. The implication of its nature is that librarians who are designated to work in these types of library are seen and treated as civil servants, which means that they are also exposed to the same conditions of service like other civil servants in the local and state civil services. In Nigeria, it is an established fact that employees in local and state government payrolls are in their worse when you talk about remuneration and other welfare packages which means librarians in public libraries in Nigeria are also receiving the heat. This no doubt is a dangerous signal to any librarian who is hoping to be like his counterparts in academic libraries, special libraries, national library etc and this development as envisaged has created in the minds of some of these librarians the intent to leave .otherwise called turnover intentions.

All the same, as explained by Lee, Hung and Chen (2012), turnover intention is a wind that blows no good to any organisation no matter the circumstances as they reveal that it is one of the most important attitudinal challenges that managers constantly faced at work. They defined it as the tendency of employees to leave their jobs or organization that they are currently working for, while Price (1977) did define employee turnover as the ratio of the number of organizational members who had left, either voluntarily or involuntarily during the period under consideration, to the total number of people in that organization during the period.

As it is popularly said; 'one man's meat is another man's poison' holds firmly in any working environment. To this end, while some may be having turnover intentions as searching for greener pastures somewhere else, others may be seeing the public library in an economy that is in shamble as a milky and soft landing ground. It is after considering the working conditions of librarians in public library and also having observed that of their professional colleagues in other types of library that the researcher felt that there is the need to look inward as to establishing the demographic variables function in forecasting turnover intentions among librarians working in public libraries in Nigeria as well as identifying those factors that can motivate these variable to think of leaving or staying on the job.

1.2 Statement of Problem.

It has been observed in recent time a paradigm shift in the number of professional librarians seen working in many public libraries in the 36 states of Nigeria unlike during our days as students when visiting the state central library to read or take books on loan was the dream of every student. Furthermore, there was this feeling of professional touch as one notice the presence of professionals who are always handy to provide answers to ones enquiry and solution to your information needs. Today, the story has changed as one notice this nonchalant behaviour exhibited by these librarians. In furtherance, one notices the absent of young librarians and zeal driven librarians working in this librarians this no doubt affect commitment, performance and productivity thereby living the once glorious public libraries as a shadow of their former selves. This development has actually taken away the glory hence discouraging to users.

It is after overhauling the situation on ground that the researcher deemed fit to carry out a survey as to finding out the function of demographic variables in forecasting librarians' turnover intentions in public libraries and further identify those factors that can influence these variable to think of leaving or staying on the job. The study also becomes necessary as the researcher discovered that no such research has been carried out in librarianship in Nigeria.

1.3 Research objectives

The purpose of this study was to examine the function of demographic variables in forecasting turnover intention among librarians in public libraries in Nigeria. Other objectives are to:
1. Establish the place of gender in turnover intentions of librarians working in public libraries in Nigeria.
2. Know the effects of age on turnover intentions of these librarians.
3. Identify some factors that can influence the variables into thinking of leaving or staying on the job

1.4 Research questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:
1. What function do demographic variables generally play in the turnover intentions of public service librarians?

2. What is the place of gender in the turnover intention of librarians working in public libraries in Nigeria?
3. Does age has effect on the turnover intentions of these librarians?
4. What factors can influence the variables to think of leaving or staying on the job?

1.5 Hypotheses

Ho1: There is no statistically significant (p<0.05) difference between the male and female librarians' turnover intentions in public libraries.

H2: Age is a statistically significant (p<0.05) factor in the turnover intentions of librarians working in public libraries.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Overview

2.1.1 Employee turnover and turnover intention

According to a Gallup's 2015 Workforce Panel study, 51% of employees are actively looking for a new job at any given time. An indication that employee turnover should be a major concern of businesses of all size. But what does employee turnover really mean? According to BambooHR (2020), employee turnover, or employee turnover rate, is the measurement of the number of employees who leave an organization during a specified time period, typically one year. While an organization usually measures the total number of employees who leave, turnover can also apply to subcategories within an organization like individual departments or demographic groups. To Mayhew (2019), Employee turnover refers to the number or percentage of workers who leave an organization and are replaced by new employees. Whereas, Workest (2020), simply defines employee turnover as the loss of talent in the workforce over time; this includes any employee departure, including resignations, layoffs, terminations, retirements, location transfers, or even deaths. BambooHR (2020), further explains that employee turnover could be involuntary or voluntary and Voluntary turnover according to her is any instance in which an employee actively chooses to leave an organization. This can happen as a result of better job opportunities elsewhere, conflict within the workplace, disengagement, and more.

On the other hand, employee turnover intention has been defined as the intention of employees to quit the organization. Intentions are a statement about a specific behaviour of interest .Turnover intent is the probability that an individual will change his or her job within a certain time period and thus it leads to actual turnover. It is the individual's intention to voluntarily quit the organization or the profession (Kaur, Mohindru & Pankaj, 2013). Turnover intention has been seen as a prelude to actual turnover. This means that actual Turnover is likely to increase as the intention increases. The measurement of Turnover Intention can determine the likelihood of the staff leaving the organization as Ngamkroeckjoti, Ounprechavanit and Kijboonchoo (2012), defined it as the likelihood of an employee to leave the current job he/she is doing

2.1.2 Demographic variables

According to Encyclopedia of Research Design (2010), the term demographic refers to particular characteristics of a population. The word is derived from the Greek words for people (demos) and picture (graphy). Examples of demographic characteristics include age, race, gender, ethnicity, religion, income, education, home ownership, sexual orientation, marital status, family size, health and disability status, and psychiatric diagnosis. While Sage Research Method (2020), explains that demographic variables are independent variables by definition because they cannot be manipulated adding that In research, demographic variables may be either categorical (e.g., **gender**, race, marital status, psychiatric diagnosis) or continuous (e.g., age, years of education, income, family size). To this end, IGI Global (2020) defines them as attributes of a human population that are studied statistically. For example, in the present study, gender, age, etc., are studied to determine whether attitudes toward bribery vary based on gender or age. According to Business Dictionary (2020), such statistics include such information as income level, gender, educational level, location, ethnicity, race, and family size.

2.1.3 Public libraries

Public libraries as defined by Onwubiko and Uzoigwe (2004) are tax-supported libraries serving the reading public without bias to sex. Race, status, educational background or religion and their services are supposed to be free of charge. They revealed that in Nigeria, public libraries are owned by states thus located in state capitals and are called by the state name. Rubin (2010), corroborate the definition of Onwubiko and Uzoigwe (2004) as he defines a public library as a library that is accessible by the general public and is usually funded from public sources, such as taxes. It is operated by librarians and library paraprofessionals, who are also civil servants

Dictionary. Com (2020), sees it as a nonprofit library established for the use of the general public and maintained chiefly by public funds. Merriam Webster Online dictionary (2020) defines it as a nonprofit library maintained for public use and usually supported in whole or in part by local taxation. To Cambridge Dictionary (2020), it is a building where people can read or borrow books without having to pay.

However, American Library Association (ALA) (2019), opine that public libraries by the governmental definition used by the Institute for Museum and Library Services applies that a public library is established under state enabling laws or regulations to serve a community, district, or region, and provides at least the following:

- ❖ an organized collection of printed or other library materials, or a combination thereof;
- ❖ paid staff;
- ❖ an established schedule in which services of the staff are available to the public;
- ❖ the facilities necessary to support such a collection, staff, and schedule, andis supported in whole or in part with public funds

In all the definitions, the glaring facts are that; public libraries are owned by state, supported with public fund and services provided are for the general public in the area of location and beyond as well as providing basic services without charge.

2.2 Theoretical and empirical overview

As explained by David (2011), a better understanding of demographic factors may build a difference in strategically managing employees. In the present study, gender and age were included to further understand their role in predicting turnover intention. Gender and ages variables were considered in this study since both factors are the most commonly demographic variable included in organizational studies. To this end, as revealed by William and Hazer (1986), empirical studies have shown that demographic variables are relevant with turnover intentions. While Cotton and Tuttle (1986); Morrow, (1983) and Gregersen and Black (1982) identified that age, income and tenure as negatively related to turnover intentions. Although

posits Naumann (1993 the effects of employee demographic variables on turnover intentions may differ in different international environment, but noted that empirical research in international context is scanty.

All the same, Samad (2006), carried out a study that consisted of 292 IT staff in Telecom Malaysia (TM).on the contribution of demographic variables: job characteristics and job satisfaction on turnover intentions The study found that demographic variables, job characteristics and job satisfaction had a significant contribution and negative effect on turnover intentions. Choong; Keh, Tan and Tan (2013), in their study on the Impacts of Demographic Antecedents toward Turnover Intention amongst Academic Staff in Malaysian Private Universities found that there are significant differences between gender and marital status toward turnover intention, such as female has higher intention to leave as compared to male, while married respondents have higher job commitment as compared to single respondents. Furthermore, Abubakar, Chauhan and Kura (2014) research result also displayed that there is a significant difference among age group towards turnover intention, however no significant difference from educational levels. The result re-affirmed that elders are willing to retain their respective institutions as compared to those younger ones.

In a study on gender, Lyness and Judiesch (2001) studied 11,076 female and 15,283 male managers who had held diverse jobs, including both supervisory and professional positions from different locations in the United States. They found that men were more likely to leave their organization than women. Conversely, Thatcher, Stepina and Boyle's (2002) study among 128 males and 63 females information technology (IT) workers in a Southeastern U.S. State government showed that the rates of turnover intention was higher in women than men. Whereas. Lee's (2012) longitudinal survey of 6,199 sample found that married women had higher turnover rates than men, plausibly due to family reasons and domestic commitments. Ho, Sambasivan, and Liew, (2013), in a study among 187 surviving employees of downsized organizations in Malaysia, reported that there was no significant difference in turnover intention for the males and the females. Furtherance, the result of Akovaa, Cetin and Cifcic, (2015) study on the relation between demographic factors and the turnover intention in pre-opening hotel businesses reveal

that turnover intentions of the employees in opening hotel businesses are low but also found that there is difference on turnover intention based on gender variable

Age is another antecedent that affects the turnover intention. According to Tepeci and Barlett (2002), there is a positive relationship between age and turnover intention in educational sector. There are several past studies that have also concluded that age and turnover intention have an inverse relationship such as; Griffeth et al.(2000); Mitchell et al. (2000). Byrid et al (2000); Iverson and Currivan, (2003) and Henneberger and Souza-Poza (2007)

Generally, researches regarding age differences in turnover intentions have consistently shown that overall turnover rates were higher for younger employees than the older employees. For example, Jiunn-Horng, Hsing-Yi, Hsiu-Yueh and Hung-Da (2007) studied 76 male nurses working in southern Taiwan. They found that younger nurses were more likely to leave their organizations than their matured counterparts. Similarly, in their longitudinal survey of 754 Nursing personnel working in various departments at a large Sweden hospital, Fochsen et al., (2006) reported that younger nurses were more likely to leave their organizations compared to their older counterparts.

Furthermore, Simon, Müller, and Hasselhorn (2010), study of 2119 Registered Nurses from 16 small, medium and large-scale hospitals in Germany showed that age was related to nurses' tendency to leave their organization; and younger nurses were more likely to leave their organizations or the profession than did their mature colleagues. Almalki, FitzGerald and Clark (2012) studied a total of 508 primary health care (PHC) nurses in the Jazan Region of Saudi Arabia and reported that overall turnover rates were higher for younger nurses compared to older ones.

.3.0 Research Methodology

3.1 Research design

A cross-sectional research design was used to obtain the desired data for this study. Campbell, Machin and Walters (2007) described it as the study of a group of subjects at one particular time. On the other hand, a non-probability sampling technique was applied in selecting the respondents

among practicing librarians in public libraries in Nigeria with the aid of 2019 list of certified librarians in Nigeria (Librarians Registration Council of Nigeria (LRCN), 2019). The librarians numbering 350 were invited to participate in the research. The aim and objectives of the study were thoroughly explained to the librarians. Those who agreed to participate signed the written informed consent forms and the questionnaire sent through e-mail. Participation was therefore completely voluntary, anonymous and confidentiality of the information generated was ensured

3.2 Population sample

The sample of this study stands at 350 certified librarians working in public libraries in Nigeria of which 94 were male and 256 were female selected through purposive random sampling method which according to Nworgu (2015), ensures that specific elements which satisfy some predetermined criteria are selected. (In this study, the determining criteria for selection are that the respondents are working in any of the 36 public libraries in 36 states of the federation and are certified librarians) All the librarians who were selected and agreed to be part of the study returned their questionnaires.

3.3 Instrument for data analysis

The main instrument used in collecting data for this study is the questionnaire. It was divided into 3 parts, the part 1 was for collection of demographic data and the part 2 of the questionnaire which was on turnover intentions was designed based on Lam, Chen and Takeuchi (2009) earlier research in which 'Turnover Intention (a=.87) was assessed using 3-item. In the instrument, the respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed to each statement like: 'Are there any likelihood that you will resign from the library' and 'there is the likelihood that you would not continue to be a staff of the library during your tenure of employment with the present public library'. The items were rated on Likert 5 point scale ranging from 1: 'Strongly disagree' to 5: Strongly agree. The part 3 of the instrument was on factors that can influence the variables into leaving or having the will to stay with the library and they were in open-ended format

3.4 Analytical Procedure

Data generated from the study were exported into SPSS-IBM version 21 after the demographic variables of age which was a continuous variable was coded '1' and gender which was nominal variable, coded '2'. They were analyzed using t-test for Gender and Librarians' Turnover Intentions and one -way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between age groups as to establishing the rejection or acceptance of the 2 hypotheses.

Several assumptions of multiple regressions were met before testing the simple mediator model. Specifically, no missing data was found. Using Mahalanobis 5 multivariate outliers were detected distance. None of these 5 outliers detected were deleted because according to Osborne and Overbay (2004), removal of outliers does not produce a significant change in the mean differences between two groups either before or after removal of outliers. To ensure that normality assumption was not violated, all items in the dataset were screened. The results of the normality test show that only one item was found to violate the normality assumption, hence, the item was transformed using cumulative distribution function norm.

4.0 Presentation and analysis of data

Figure 1: GENDER
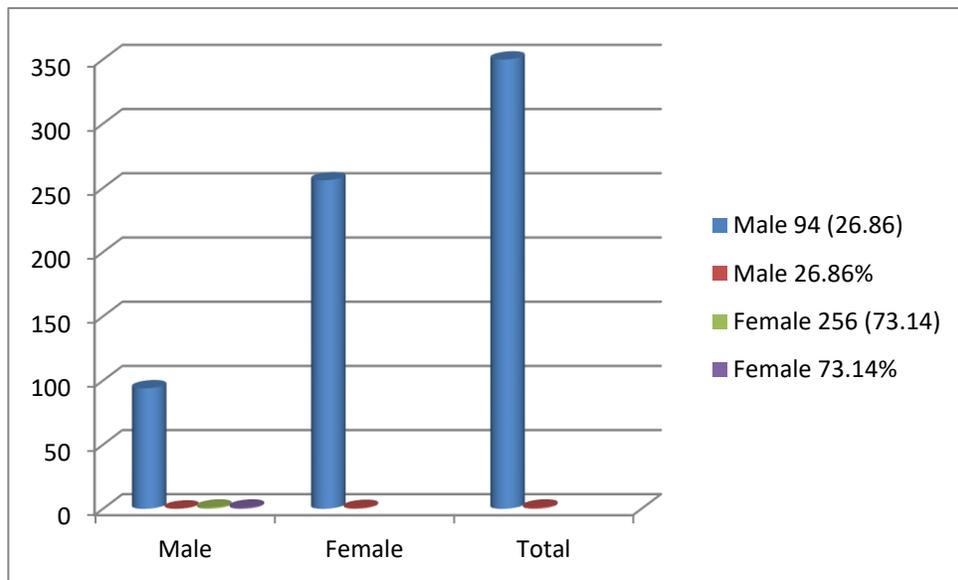
The data as displayed in figure 1 show that of the 350 respondent, 256 or 73.14% are female while the remaining 26.86% or 94 respondents are male.
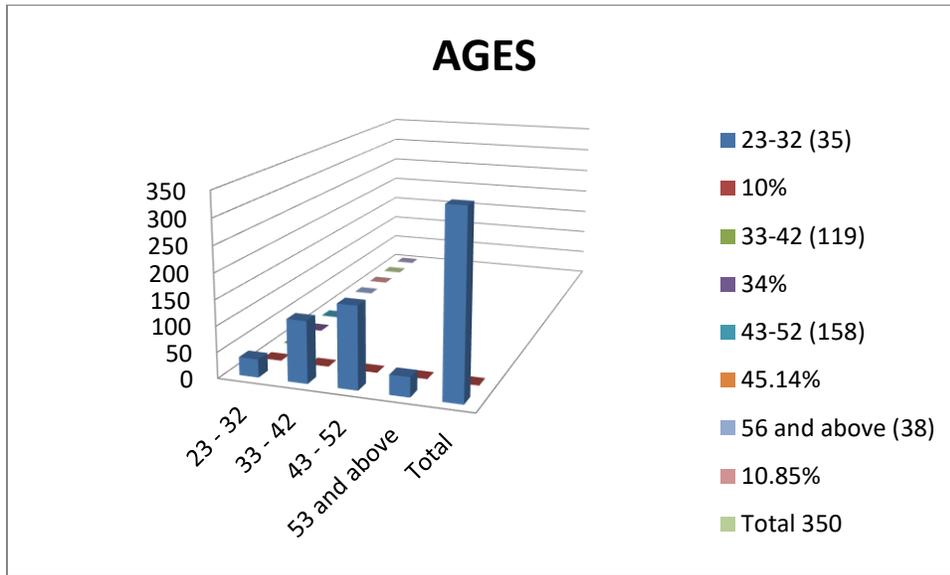
Figure 2: AGES

Figure 2 data indicate the age range of the respondents. As shown, 10% or 35 of the respondents were within the age range of 23-32; 119 respondents or 34% were between 33-42 years of age, 45.14% or 158 of the respondent were within the age range of 43-52, while only 10.85% representing 38 respondents were within the ages of 56 and above. The data reveal that most of the respondents fall within the age range of 33-52 year which was 79.14% of the entire respondent

Figure 3: MARITAL STATUS
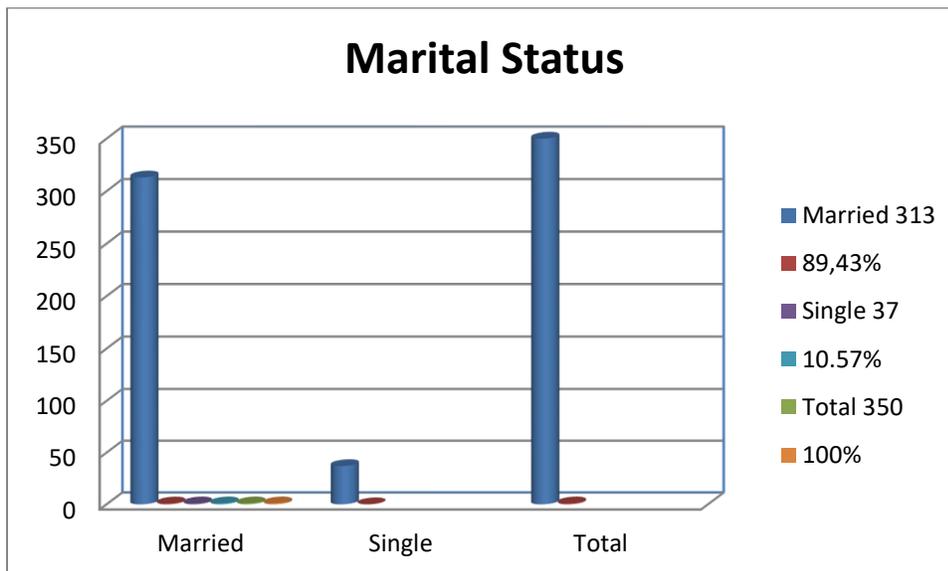
The data in figure 3 above shows that 313 representing 89.43% of the respondents were married and the remaining 10.57% or 37 respondents were single

Testing of Hypotheses

To test the two hypotheses in this study which are: 'There is no statistically significant (p<0.05) difference between the male and female librarians' in forecasting turnover intentions in public libraries' and Age is a statistically significant (p<0.05) factor in forecasting the turnover intentions of librarians working in public libraries, independent sample t-test and one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between age groups were applied and the results are as shown in tables 1 and 2

Table 1: Summary table of Independent Sample T-test for Gender and Librarians' Turnover Intentions

Gender	N	SD	Mean	t-cal	df	L. Sig	Sig (2-tailed)
Male Librarians	94	59	4.35	2.416	347	0.05	.017
Female Librarians	256	90	3.97				

The data in table 1 above reveal that the first hypothesis which is: 'There is no statistically significant (p<0.05) difference between the male and female librarians' in forecasting turnover intentions in public libraries' was not confirmed thus rejected. The result shows that there is statistically significant difference between the male and female librarians in forecasting turnover intentions in public libraries at a significant level p<0.05 the male librarians' mean stands at 4.25 with a standard deviation (SD) of 59 and the female librarians' mean=3.97 and SD=90. The result therefore shows that female librarians have higher turnover intentions than their male colleagues which means, they have higher propensity to leave the public library job than the male librarians.

1 there was a significant difference regarding librarians' gender in forecasting turnover intention at $p < 0.05$ level for the males (mean = 4.25, SD = .59) and the females (mean = 3.97, SD = .90). The findings of the current study suggest that male librarians are more likely to leave their organizations or the profession than their female counterparts. Finally, *Hypothesis 2,* which stated that younger nurses are more likely to leave their organizations or the profession than their older colleagues, was tested using one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between groups. In this test, the participants were divided into four age groups (i.e., 23-32 years, 33-42 years, 43- 52 years and above 53 years).

Table 2: Summary table of one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between age group and Librarians' Turnover Intentions

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.164	3	.388	.555	646
Within Groups	119.640	171	.700		
Total	120.804	174			

The data in table 2 above is a summary of the result of one-way analysis variance (ANOVA) applied to test hypothesis 2 which is: 'Age is a statistically significant ($p<0.05$) factor in forecasting the turnover intentions of librarians working in public libraries'. This hypothesis is confirmed and accepted as the result shows there are statistically significant differences in turnover intentions of the 4 age groups as shown in figure 2 with a significant equation model $F(1.164) = .555$, $p<0.05$ level of significance. In whole, those within the age range of 23-32 years with a mean of 4.23 and SD of .77 had the highest turnover intentions than the other 3 groups. The implication of this result is that younger librarians have higher intentions to leave the job and librarianship than their older counterparts

5.0 DISCUSSION

The main focus of the present research was to examine the function of demographic variables especially gender and age in forecasting turnover intentions of librarians in public libraries in Nigerian. The outcome of this study shows that demographic variables (gender and age) have significant contribution in forecasting turnover intentions among librarians working in public libraries more so in Nigeria. There have been earlier studies that affirm to this finding. Samad (2006), carried out a study that consisted of 292 IT staff in Telecom Malaysia (TM).on the contribution of demographic variables: job characteristics and job satisfaction on turnover intentions The study found that demographic variables, job characteristics and job satisfaction had a significant contribution and negative effect on turnover intentions.

In the same vain William and Hazer, (1986) empirical studies indicate that demographic variables are relevant with turnover intentions. While Cotton and Tuttle, (1986); Morrow, (1983) and Gregersen & Black (1982), identified that age, income and tenure as negatively related to turnover intentions. Furthermore, Choong, Keh, Tan and Tan (2013) in their study on the Impacts of Demographic Antecedents toward Turnover Intention amongst Academic Staff in Malaysian Private Universities also conform to the finding of this study as they found that there are significant differences between gender and marital status toward turnover intention,

In view of the function of gender as a demographic variable in forecasting turnover among librarians, this study discovered (as summarized in table 1), that male librarians have higher turnover intentions than their female counterparts and this corroborates earlier studies like Lyness, and Judiesch, (2001) who also revealed that male nurses are more likely to leave their organizations or the profession than their female colleagues. It is also consistent with previous studies of Almalki et al., (2012); Simon et al.,(2010). Jiunn-Horng et al.,(2007) and Fochsen et al., (2006) that demonstrated that. It was also discovered that most male librarians who indicated interest to leave the job were willing to leave the profession because of various reasons ranging from poor pay package; professional prospect to lack of job satisfaction which in consonance with the findings of Arendtb and Bosselmanc (2014) and Brown, Güzel et al.,(2014). On the other hand, the married female librarians revealed that though the pay satisfaction was nothing to write home about but willing to stay because of the flexibility of the job which gives them ample time to take care of their home-front

.

On the issue of age and its function in forecasting turnover intentions among the librarians, the finding shows just like other researches regarding age differences in turnover intention have consistently shown that overall turnover rates were higher for younger employees than the older employees. Imperatively, younger librarians have higher turnover intentions than their older colleagues. As the younger were willing to leave the job and even the profession the older were willing to stay if not for anything let them reach the tenure of retirement that will guarantee their pension. For example, in their longitudinal survey of 754 Nursing personnel working in various departments at a large Sweden hospital Fochsen et al., (2006) reported that younger nurses were more likely to leave their organizations compared to their older counterparts. Similarly, Jiunn-Horng, Hsing-Yi, Hsiu-Yueh and Hung-Da (2007) studied 76 male nurses working in southern Taiwan. They found that younger nurses were more likely to leave their organizations than their matured counterparts.

Other studies that corroborated the finding of this study include Simon, Müller, and Hasselhorn (2010), who in a study of 2119 Registered Nurses from 16 small, medium and large-scale hospitals in Germany showed that age was related to nurses' tendency to leave their organization; and younger nurses were more likely to leave their organizations or the profession than did their mature colleagues and Almalki, FitzGerald and Clark (2012) that studied a total of 508 primary health care (PHC) nurses in the Jazan Region of Saudi Arabia and reported that overall turnover rates were higher for younger nurses compared to older ones.

5.1 Conclusion and recommendations

The study found that demographic variables have a significant contribution which has both positive and negative effect on turnover intentions of librarians working in public libraries. The implication is that these variables are relevant in understanding turnover intentions of librarians working in public libraries thus special attention should be paid to them in considering job descriptions and remuneration as well as in formulating strategies and program to overcome turnover problem among librarians working in public libraries in Nigeria as these will ensure efficiency, effectiveness and high productivity. It is in view of the above that the following

recommendations are considered necessary and their implementations by those involved a necessity.

- ➢ To encourage young librarians into seeing working in a public library as a social service, government and policy makers should consider a review of salary structure for these librarians by so doing, the librarians will see the career prospect encouraging just like their counterparts in academic and special libraries;

- ➢ The working conditions of librarians working in public libraries in Nigeria should be made attractive and encouraging. To this end, there is the need for various state governments to include staff welfare packages like: over-time allowance; health insurance policy, living pension scheme among other packages as part of the working conditions which form parts of conditions of service and this should be made known at the point of recruitment as this will definitely encourage the male librarians to stay on job and the profession of librarianship;

- ➢ Nigerian Library Association (NLA) and Librarians Registration Council of Nigeria (LRCN) should stand with one voice and fight this noble course of a professional salary structure for librarians in Nigeria regardless of place of work just like other professional bodies in Nigeria in the spirit of 'Aluta Continua';

- ➢ In all honesty, public libraries in Nigeria are nothing but dump of books that cannot make any librarian working in them proud to say, 'I work in a public library'. The truth is that there is need to overhaul the entire working environment of public libraries in Nigeria by providing conducive working offices for the librarians and the general staff as well as making the entire libraries welcoming to both old and potential users,

- ➢ Board members of these libraries should be professionals who worth their onus and not what is obtainable today where only ruling political party loyalists are appointed as compensation thereby making them abattoir for embezzlement and misappropriation of fund at the detriment of the well-being of the library staff and effective functioning of these libraries.

The totality of it all is that positive emotion will be if librarians working in public libraries are perceived as being taken care of by various governments with regards to their job characteristics and job satisfaction, definitely this will develop and increase level of loyalty and commitment to

the organization and also encourage young librarians to make out career working in public libraries rather than seeing them as make-shift.

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