

RURALITY, NIGERIA'S MASSIFICATION POLICY ON ACCESS TO BASIC EDUCATION AND TURNOVER CAUSATIONS AMONGST TEACHERS

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ABSTRACT

World Bank's data indicate 70 per cent of the African population lives in rural areas. Additional evidence made available by the African Development Bank [Africa's own version of the World Bank] suggests 65 per cent of Africa's urban dwellers live in slums. This paper relies on these data to conceptualise Africa's global rurality and issues around access to basic education in Nigeria – as a situation where systemic infrastructure deficit and socio-economic issues constrain access to the delivery of a decent basic education to the populace. Further reflection on the World Bank data shows about one-third of Nigeria's school-age children are still out of school, and that school attendance was as low as 43 per cent in some regions. Elements of rurality, such as access issues, poverty and a lack of systemic motivation, are the main causes. Thus, confronting the challenges of access to basic education is a major project for the Nigerian government. Several efforts around this have been introduced (since 2004). A larger mass of out-of-school population [i.e. school age and adult population who have not had a chance to access or complete basic education previously] are now able to receive education. The massification efforts [defined as a combination of policies and statutory actions dedicated to a massive increase in student enrolment] have resulted in a significant rise in enrolment numbers in elementary and high schools. Enrolments have risen by 31 per cent in elementary schools and doubled in high schools between 2000 and 2010. However, pre-existing issues have often diminished the incentive to achieve the greater goals of massification efforts. Intense poverty, issues relating to access infrastructure, poor resourcing in schools and teachers' motivation to remain or quit their roles are among the widespread problems. This study reviews literature on one of such issues: causations of teachers' intention to quit, and the logical relationships between turnover causations and the concept of rurality in the Nigerian basic education policy. Findings on these objectives are critical. This paper makes a useful contribution to the body of knowledge on the concept of global rurality by providing a framework upon which further (finer-grained) analysis could be conducted to ascertain the statistical relationship between turnover causations and teachers' demographic variables. Educational administrators and development fund administrators will find the findings useful.

Keywords: educational management, massification, Nigeria, turnover.

STUDY BACKGROUND

Africa and South Asia have had the largest rural population in the world. According to a dataset of the World Bank on global *Rural Access Index* (2010), about 70 per cent of populations in these

regions live in rural areas (see Appendix). This represents nearly half of the global rural population. However, in terms of rurality, South Asia and Africa are not so similar. The World Bank's data suggest about 60 per cent of rural South Asia is accessible, whereas two-thirds of Africa's rural areas are not. The African Development Bank (2012) also adds, 65 per cent of Africa's urban population are slum dwellers. These dwellers are mostly migrants from rural areas, living in low income areas, largely overcrowded, and in sprawls. One convenient interpretation from this is that Africa's urban areas also have significant features of rurality. Educational facilities in these areas conform to the characteristics of rural schools as summarised by Balfour et al. (2008). These include:

- the presence of clear evidence of extreme poverty, e.g. in pupils, school neighbourhoods and in the facilities used for teaching and learning;
- poor resource support, e.g. acute shortage of instructional materials and inadequate staffing;
- teaching and learning environments that are less-than-ideal, e.g. classes without shelter, classrooms without doors, ceilings and windows;
- limited chance of obtaining assistance, e.g. students who require special needs (i.e. autistic, intellectually impaired) receive no care;
- poor transportation, i.e. schools lack proper road access, pupils have had to trek a long distance before getting to school;
- neglect, i.e. teaching and learning activities are held in uncompleted structures, periodic maintenance are infrequent;
- lack or insufficient access, i.e. support infrastructures such as roads (e.g. transport within and around school areas), access for the disabled, paved and covered walkways and common areas;
- poor services, e.g. infrequent or no water supply, unstable or no power supply and internet services are in acute shortage; and
- systemic absence of ideal facilities and social policies that guarantee equal access to education to all children, whether from poor and rich families.

These characteristics have persisted in media discourse and in educational management literature as commonplace issues in Nigeria. As an update to the dataset by the World Bank (in the Appendix), Adebayo (2017) reports on a recent publication by the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics, the 2016 *Social Statistics Report*. This report states that in 2013, Nigeria had close to 24.2 million students in elementary schools (and some 42 students to a teacher), and that 3,187 classes were held without shelter in 2010 (i.e. classes were held only under tree shades). Such infrastructure inadequacy is rife in urban areas just as they are in remote rural areas [see Adelaja's (2013) report on schools in Lagos, Nigeria's most populated and premier commercial city, where pupils study only under trees; and another report by Abdul'aziz (2012) in which 265 classes without shelter were identified in suburban and remote settlements in Nigeria's north-eastern state of Adamawa]. In further reinforcing the rurality of urban areas in Nigeria, Osinubi (2003) identifies the nature of urban poverty in Agege, a suburb of Lagos, where the social economic condition of the area makes it difficult for pupils to access quality basic education as parents are unable to afford costs. Dada (2013) finds that pupils in many areas of Lagos engage in street hawking before and after school, and that this impacts their learning significantly. A report by Omotere (2013) explains overcrowding in schools in the Agege area and the negative impact this has had on student performance. The situation is no better in other parts of Nigeria. Uwaifo and Uddin (2009) also report a student-staff ratio that ranged from 160 to 1211 students to one teacher in elementary sciences and 130 to 1312 students to one workshop in Ekpoma, a metropolitan city in Nigeria's Midwest, Edo State. Other authors have also written about the systemic primitiveness of the

content in Nigeria's education system, and the lack of support infrastructure for learning (see Ajadi, Salawu, & Adeoye, 2008; Jegede, 1999).

Among other issues, the inability of the populace to access basic education became a persistent debate in the international community, and also in Nigeria's government cycle. Implementation of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) policy, a key element of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) engineered by the United Nations, has meant that basic education is no longer a privilege to be enjoyed by a few, rather it is the rightful dignity of every child to have a functional fundamental education, that includes both elementary and high school education. In particular, many countries (including in Africa) have enacted obligatory laws that facilitate universal basic education. This helps the countries to demonstrate a commitment to MDGs, and to attract external funding (for examples in Ghana, see Akyeampong, 2009; in Malawi, see Stromquist & Monkman, 2014; in Nigeria, see Aluede, 2006). In Nigeria, parents who fail to send their children to school are liable to face jail terms. Furthermore, there is legislation against child labour and human trafficking. Many special schools such as nomadic schools have been created in several locations in northern Nigeria, an area where access to education is least prominent in the country. Adebayo's (2017) report indicates that well over half a million students are now enrolled in nomadic schools across Nigeria, a fraction of the population that was unable to access formal education previously. Meanwhile, as access to education improved, there were burgeoning issues which massification can only aggravate. For example, a study by Adelabu (2005) identifies a systemic lack of motivation and incentives amongst the issues that existed before the UBE policy: teachers often refuse postings to places they do not like, and teachers' absenteeism is a problem. Schools in suburban and remote areas are most impacted by these, however the experience in city schools can be very similar as the issues are quite systemic (see Evans & Olumide-Aluko, 2010).

THE NIGERIA'S MASSIFICATION EFFORTS AND RESULTS

The result of efforts around the UBE policy is such that access to basic education has been given to a larger mass of the Nigerian population – a phenomenon described as massification by many authors (Akinyemi, 2011; Nwauwa & Anyanwu, 2007). Massification means the removal of social impediments, making education more accessible to the populace such that the disadvantaged (i.e. those who are out-of-school, and those who are constrained to access education because of, for example, finance, cultural prejudice or social preclusion,) are given equal opportunity as others, or at least a fair chance, to attend schools and to have an opportunity to learn. In addition to legislations, Nigeria's approach to massification of access to basic education is further facilitated by socialist policies such as making basic education tuition-free for all students. Some states also provide food, textbooks and school uniforms at no costs to parents.

Normative literature shows achieving the goals of massification of access to basic education in Africa is often constrained by funding, resourcing, management issues, culture (e.g. child labour, child marriage, nomadism and religion), security issues (e.g. displacements due to impacts of terrorism) and policy issues (Akyeampong, 2009; Bruns & Rakotomalala, 2003; Heyneman, 2003; Stromquist & Monkman, 2014). However, amidst these challenges, student enrolments have improved radically, although resource commitments (and outcomes) have remained insufficient. Many issues have had to compete for resources that have become increasingly scarce. For example enrolments are increasing, however planners are still uncertain about trends and how political situations and workers' continued disutility might impact accruable outcomes. A difficult dimension to this challenge is in identifying the salient issues and in prioritising proficient solutions to them. Without these, target outcomes are unlikely to evolve. It will also become increasingly difficult to sustain earned value for the success that accrues over time.

In context, a dataset published by the World Bank (2015) on school enrolments in Nigeria shows annual enrolments into elementary schools increased by 13 per cent, from 19.15 million to 21.56 million pupils between 2000 and 2010 (see Table 2). According to the dataset, the average yearly increase in elementary school enrolments was nearly 1.2 per cent, whereas Nigeria's average annual population growth rate is about 2.3 per cent, mostly by birth (see the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics' (2016) report on Nigeria's demographic statistics). By implication, despite the massification policy, only about half of Nigeria's new additions are able to access elementary education. What about the other half? Answering this question will help uncover the magnitude of problems that the massification policy is aimed to solve. Child mortality is a critical problem, exacerbated mostly by extreme poverty, poor access to health facilities and public health issues. As shown in Table 2, about 190 out of every 1000 children born in Nigeria in 2000 did not make it to school age (6 years). However, evidence suggests that mortality has reduced consistently every year, to about 131 of every 1000 children born in 2010. More children are now able to survive to school age, but available data suggests the gap between child mortality and school enrolment numbers is still significant. The World Bank's data in Table 2 underlines this: out-of-school children at elementary education level rose by 31 per cent, from 6.6 million in 2000 to 8.7 million in 2010. Enrolment rates have increased, however at a rate lower than population growth. In addition, some of those who had access have had reasons to withdraw (Adebayo, 2017).

Table 1: School Enrolment Data, Nigeria.

Indicators	2000	2004	2005	2010	Diff. over
Child mortality (under 5 years old)	18.77	16.48	15.89	13.11	-5.66%
Elementary education, pupils	19,151,442	21,395,510	22,115,432	21,558,460	13%
Pupil-teacher ratio, elementary	42.90	35.81	36.91	37.55	-12%
% of trained teachers in elementary	n.a	49.24	49.97	66.15	17%
Elementary education, teachers	446,405	597,532	599,172	574,078	29%
Children out of school, elementary	6,628,619	6,905,795	6,996,643	8,709,243	31%
Children out of school, elementary,	3,794,365	3,869,852	3,901,578	4,963,815	31%
Children out of school, elementary,	2,834,254	3,035,943	3,095,065	3,745,428	32%
High education, pupils	4,104,345	6,279,562	6,397,581	9,056,768	121%
Pupil-teacher ratio, high	30.89	40.62	40.16	33.08	2%
% enrolment in private high schools	n.a	n.a	n.a	21.53	n.a
High education, teachers	132,884	154,594	159,283	273,781	106%

Source: Country data on School Enrolments in Nigeria, World Banks (2015)

n.a = not available

It is one thing to incentivise mass access to education, it is another thing to commit adequate resources to encourage enrolments and to ensure school environments are conducive for learning. In addition, teachers' motivation is crucial. Administrators also need to ensure success both as stage completion and as progression to higher levels. These require sustained commitment and research, for example, regarding the appropriate actions that stakeholders need to take to ensure that intakes are retained, and that massified access is genuinely fair to all. However, both funding commitments and capacity for research still grapple with the basics. Most studies are still limited to identifying the problems, but not exactly solving or exploring the hearts of the issues (Uko-Aviomoh, Okoh, & Omatseye, 2007).

There is another side to enrolment issues: gains in increased enrolment in elementary schools have impacted student population in high schools. In contrast to available data on enrolment to elementary schools, Table 2 also shows annual enrolments in Nigerian high schools doubled, from 4.1 million in 2000 to 9.05 million in 2010. With an actual rate of increase of 121 per cent, this change

is four times higher than the rate of change in elementary schools' enrolments between 2000 and 2010. In addition, as more pupils enrolled into elementary schools, interventions have helped to sustain gains in retention and progression rates in elementary schools. For instance, drop-out cases have reduced from 15 million pupils yearly in 2000 to 13.5 million in 2010. More students are now able to progress to high schools, however resource commitments are not comparable in both levels. Whereas the pupil-to-teacher ratio reduced by 12 per cent in elementary schools (from 42.90 in 2000 to 37.55 in 2010), the same indicator increased by 2.19 per cent in high schools (from 30.89 in 2000 to 33.08 in 2010). These numbers are much higher than similar indicators in most emerging economies, even in China, India, Mexico and Brazil where populations are much higher than Nigeria's (see The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) (2015) report on global education).

A critical question to ask is why the situation in high schools is significantly different from the elementary schools', that is, whilst elementary schools' enrolments and number of teachers have increased and students-staff ratio reduced; enrolments, number of teachers and students-staff ratio have increased in high schools. Table 2 shows teachers' recruitment increased significantly in high schools (by 106 per cent between 2000 and 2010, despite 121 per cent rise in enrolments), while the number of teachers in elementary schools only rose by 29 per cent (against a 31 per cent rise in enrolments) within the same period. The 15 per cent gap between the rise in enrolments and new recruitments is significant. Teachers have had to increase their already strenuous workload to accommodate the gap. Michie identifies such a situation as stress: *a psychological and physical state that results when the resources of the individual are not sufficient to cope with the demands and pressures of the situation* (2002, p. 67). Stress is a critical cause of workforce attrition (Billingsley, 2004). Mulkeen, Chapman, DeJaeghere and Leu (2007), identified workforce attrition as a dominant problem amongst Nigerian high school teachers. Nonetheless, other critical factors also contribute to attrition; there is hardly a shortage of literature on this around the world, albeit only limited findings have been reported in relation to the rurality of basic education in Nigeria. An understanding around these will help education administrators in constructing enduring solutions to the problems. In particular, it is best to localise some understanding around the factors through which intervention efforts will be constructed.

CAUSATION FACTORS OF TEACHERS' TURNOVER

Industrial psychology literature provides extensive information on causation factors regarding employee turnover. In particular, studies have reported several themes on workforce turnover and how they impact workers and organisations (Crossley, Bennett, Jex, & Burnfield 2007; Hom & Kinicki, 2001; Locke, 1976; Michaels & Spector, 1982; Williams & Hazer, 1986). For example, Akintayo (2014), Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, (2000), Hassan, Hassan, & Mabekoje (2008) and, James and Clement (2013) have identified and explored the correlation between job satisfaction, organisational commitment, stress, workers' intention to quit, and actual turnover. The potency of these turnover causations can only be different in various parts of the world; between industries, across job roles and by localization [e.g. outcomes are often different between observations in urban and rural areas]. Turnover can also be voluntary and involuntary. Essentially, both are not caused by the same factors (Shen, 1997; Stuit & Smith, 2010).

So, why do teachers who are impacted by rurality quit, whether voluntarily or involuntarily? What circumstantial peculiarities are likely to aggravate such causations in the Nigerian UBE system? There is a large body of work around this in African literature, some of which is likely to provide substantial answers to these questions. For example, Akintayo's (2014) work, a study that focuses on Nigeria, finds some personal factors which affect teachers' work attitudes and their intention to quit. According to Akintayo, personal factors of turnover causation include the teacher's general well-being, conflict between teacher's work and family life, stress, remuneration issues, excessive

workload, students' behaviour, and unsatisfactory work conditions. Pressure from peers, family and industrial disputes are also potent causations (Ndiyo, 2007; Ugoani, 2013). Ajayi (2013), and Phillips and Coy (2013) have added ageing and maturational crises as well as environmental problems. The work of James and Clement (2013) points out the evidence that suggests voluntary turnover reduces when organisational climate and workload assignment are significantly fair and just.

Literature is replete with studies on why employees quit, and many of such reports correspond with why teachers quit, not least under the constraints of rurality. It is not uncommon to find turnover causations in several dozens. For example, in Ajayi and Olatunji (2017), 96 causations were identified. In order to facilitate a logical analysis of literature on the causation, it is only appropriate to articulate the commonalities within the causation factors and arrange them into themes. The works of Pomaki, DeLongis, Daniela and Woehrle (2010) and Richardson, von Kirchenheim and Richardson (2006) are quite instructive. Themes such as job satisfaction, teachers' personal health, actual intention to quit and work-life conflict have been reported in many turnover studies around the world (see Evans & Olumide-Aluko, 2010; Hassan et al., 2008). Eight such themes are reviewed below as major factors to consider carefully when managing commitments to improve outcomes of educational systems within the context of rurality, in particular Nigeria's UBE environment.

- **Job (dis)satisfaction:** When employees become dissatisfied with their work, their work environment or employer, it is logical for them to lose their intention to remain on the job, or with the employer with whom they are dissatisfied. It is also likely that they decide not to remain in the same (or a similar) work environment. The findings of Michaels and Spector (1982) are in contrast. The authors report that workers may choose to quit when they are satisfied with their achievement in current positions, and might choose to look for new challenges elsewhere. Other industrial psychologists have added many more reasons why employees might consider quitting. Davies, Taylor and Savery (2001) identify remuneration as a motivation for hospitality employees to stay-on or quit. Smith (2005) reports how certain child welfare employees' motivation were impacted by their perception regarding their supervisors' competence and support, and the support they receive from their organisations. Abbasi and Hollman (2000, p. 337) argue also, that it is important for employees to receive recognition for their achievements and find jobs in how they relate their work to the larger picture. In the opinion of Ferres, Connell and Travaglione (2004) and Matzler and Renzl (2006), employees tend to stay on, satisfied, if they like and trust their co-workers, managers and employers. Wagner, Pfeffer and O'Reilly (1984) also report that communication with appropriate quality and frequency is important in staff retention. Spector (1985) reports a high correlation between promotion and staff turnover and retention i.e. staff are likely to consider quitting if they think they do not get ahead as staff in other organisations, and would consider staying-on if they think the benefits they receive are equitable to what others receive in other organisations. Spector's work also underlines the fact that workers are likely to quit if their efforts to excel are often blocked by red tape (see Baldwin, 1990; Giaque, Ritz, Varone & Anderfuhren-Biget, 2012) who report on the significance of red tape and workers' satisfaction at turnover.
- **Organisational commitment:** Committed workers often feel a sense of belonging in their organisations. They are unlikely to quit unless their sense of commitment is impacted. Abraham (1999) reports on how emotional dissonance impacts organisational commitment. Markow and Klenke (2005) identify a strong correlation between personal meaning and organisational commitment. Winter-Collins and McDaniel (2000) conclude

that sense of belonging helps workers to become committed to their jobs, and that workers who feel their organisations do not deserve their loyalty are likely to consider leaving. In the work of Helm (2013), findings show workers who are proud of their work and workplace often tend to remain, perhaps stay on until they retire, tell others about their work and workplace, and commit to the goals as well as the problems of their organisations. Hom and Kinicki (2001) add also, the role of workers' personal life in choosing whether to stay on or quit. For example, workers whose personal lives are committed to an organisation often find it hard to quit even if they want to, and could choose to ignore opportunities they might have if they choose to remain or quit. This could be because their personal life would be disrupted significantly if they choose to quit (or remain) at a particular point in time, or whether quitting (or remaining) at a particular time could be at a much higher or lower cost for them than pursuing other alternatives.

- **Voluntary turnover:** Teachers are often tempted to consider other career opportunities outside teaching for different reasons, e.g. where there are higher remunerations, opportunities for career advancement, new challenge, job security, satisfactory job location, improved workplace culture, life-work balance, autonomy, reputation, personal safety and organisational values and management. Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablinski and Erez (2001) argue that workers often benefit from their connections, and their perceptions about themselves and their organisations, to look for new opportunities whether they are happy or are dissatisfied with their jobs and organisations. In the context of rurality and the issues within the Nigerian education sectors, it is a convenient conclusion to have the view that teachers are often looking for opportunities to improve and prepare themselves for career paths outside teaching, and to motivate their children and relatives to learn from them (Moja, 2000).
- **Leadership behaviour:** Leadership behaviour is an important trigger of workers' intention to quit or remain. According to Egan, Yang and Bartlett (2004), positive leadership behaviours inspire teamwork, just as examples set by leaders help to challenge unproductive traditions, enable others to grow courage, shape how organisations see and reward workers' loyalty and performance, and help to renew organisational capacity to deliver outcomes. The work of Green, Miller and Aarons (2013) explains how a model of leadership, developed from how good leadership fosters excellence and accelerates the potential of the staff. This is also known as the LEAP leadership model which helps to transform the team climate for innovation. Deploying the model also helps transform workers' attitude towards achieving higher satisfactory results for themselves and their organisations. Other studies have further explained the relationship between good leadership culture and how workers decide on whether to stay on or to quit. As part of such key elements of good leadership practice, Van Schalkwyk, Du Toit, Bothma and Rothmann (2010) identify the delegation of authority to the staff, and making their opinions count. Kim (2002) adds the participative approach to management as another good approach. This is an approach in which the staff participate in the processes that shape their jobs and outcomes; they are encouraged to offer their suggestions and make their opinions count, and are encouraged to improve their performance by way of teamwork. The work of Dirks and Ferrin (2002) is at the heart of it all: workers are encouraged to give their best efforts when they receive appropriate information from their leaders, information that is precise, timely, trustworthy, and that gives courage, praise and reprimand when due; a true representation of facts and perspectives.

- **Workload stressors:** Excessive workload and workers' continued disutility are major causes of stress, and could aggravate workers' intention to quit (Michie, 2002). Liu and Onwuegbuzie (2012) suggest heavy workload issues are a common feature of the teaching profession in most parts of the world, and that rurality only aggravates this. The findings of Goddard and Goddard (2006) indicate also that teachers who have experienced burnout have felt they have been made to work harder and quicker than they normally do, and have often felt they have been left with little time to get things done while a great deal of work is still waiting to be done. Liu and Ramsey (2008) report that teachers were least satisfied with workload stress, and are hardly well compensated for it. Bennell (2004) concludes, in Asia and Africa, the two leading contributors of rural education globally, reform programmes around massification of access to basic education have often been implemented at the expense of teachers, whose workloads have increased but their conditions of service have worsened.
- **Work-life balance:** Conflicts between a worker's work life and social life (i.e. life outside work) often trigger a crisis that could diminish the worker's intention to remain on a job (Hang-Yue, Foley, & Loi, 2005). Such conflicts occur when family demands, and strains and pressures from home interfere or limit a worker's commitment to work (Kinman & Jones, 2008). The situation could also be the other way around; work demands could reduce worker's commitment to family responsibilities and home duties. Blomme, Van Rheede and Tromp (2010) report how work-life balance has often facilitated workers' intention to quit.
- **Personal health and well-being:** There are multiple dimensions to health issues that could result from teachers' exposures to some of the turnover causations explained above. For example, stress and psychological trauma arising from job dissatisfaction could lead to emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment (Houkes, Janssen, de Jonge, & Nijhuis, 2001). According to Goddard and O'Brien (2003), when worker's health situation is impacted as a result of work, accomplishment rates plummet. In particular, the authors find that worker's immune responses could become weaker as a result of excessive workload, and that workers who are unable to accomplish their share of teamwork due to personal health issues often feel they have been abused emotionally. When this aggravates, the worker could become depressed and hopeless (Weisberg & Sagie, 1999). Weisberg and Sagie (1999) also add that workers with extreme health issues are prone to accidents, are vulnerable to illnesses and do often suffer frequent headaches, nausea, bodily pains, and do experience changes in their eating patterns and body weight.
- **Self-motivation:** Intrinsic work motivation is crucial in how teachers conduct themselves on the job, and in considering their decisions to stay on or quit. Workers become motivated in different ways: some by additional pay, others by non-financial incentives, many with breaks, and there are those who are motivated to achieve greater outcomes when their work conditions improve or their positions become stable (Delfgaauw & Dur, 2008). In addition, there are those who are motivated by training, robust retirement benefits, opportunities to advance in their career, value-added benefits (e.g. medical) and the opportunity to become more visible to the top management (Ajayi, 2013). In the findings of Akintayo (2014), it is evident that some workers are impacted by the recognition and delegated authorities they receive from their superiors as this makes them feel relevant. Additional sources of workers' motivation to perform, or to stay on or quit include the sense of satisfaction they have

had about their job responsibilities and the status they achieve from them, especially the acknowledgement they receive from their community(ies) of practice. Some workers also receive their motivation to perform or quit from the success, or the lack thereof, that accrued from their efforts, and those of others. Wentzel (1998) reports how some teachers were motivated by their peers and the stakeholders within their organisations. In contrast, other studies have shown that teachers who are likely to consider quitting are those who are not motivated to achieve their ultimate personal potential nor desire to be the best at their own jobs or are unable to see opportunities for career advancement in their roles (Baldwin, 1990; Egan et al., 2004). These also include those who feel they have not received satisfactory support from the human resource department (Bennell, 2004; Egan et al., 2004; Giauque et al., 2012).

Each of the elements of worker's satisfaction or dissatisfaction leading to turnover also relates to rurality and teachers' retention issues in Nigeria. Evans and Olumide-Aluko (2010) emphasize how Nigerian teachers are impacted by systemic lack of motivation, a general belief amongst teachers that their profession does not command sufficient dignity from government and the perennial problem of teachers' poor remuneration, the delays and the erratic nature of the payments they receive. Moja (2000), in a report for the World Bank on issues in the Nigerian education sector, reports a nexus between poor funding, organisational management and a general loss of confidence in the education system. Bennell's (2004) synthesis of these issues around massification is quite instructive. Bennell argues that intervention efforts have continued to ignore teachers' satisfaction and motivation to succeed; rather employers have focused only on increasing access to knowledge seekers and have demanded an exceptional increase in performance at a time when work conditions have deteriorated significantly. A convenient conclusion to draw from this is that massification efforts are unlikely to deliver enduring outcomes unless issues of teachers' motivation and satisfaction are resolved.

CONCLUSION: MANAGERIAL AND RESEARCH INSIGHTS

Teachers who are dissatisfied with their work may choose not to perpetuate their displeasure. If they do not quit, they may not have appropriate motivation to succeed or to support initiatives that require higher performance from them. This does not benefit anyone: organisations will become vulnerable to crises and may lose good hands; impacted teachers are likely to quit, and others who were not impacted originally may become 'infected'; and students will be at the receiving end. Ultimately, huge investments made into education are not likely to deliver appropriate outcomes. This implies much work is required to address the root causations of teachers' disaffection. Most studies that have attempted to look into these have only focused on a few of the themes discussed above. As a result, outcomes are still fragmented, and are sometimes difficult to reconcile. This study has provided a detailed review of turnover causations, and of empirical integration which has been attempted by Ajayi and Olatunji (2017). However, the conclusions of Evans and Olumide-Aluko (2010) also add another dimension where turnover studies have failed: the authors conclude that the geographical uniqueness of the samples under examination is not transferrable. In essence, solution constructs from outside Africa (the authors looked at satisfaction and motivation of teachers in Nigeria actually) are found not to apply to the situation of Nigerian teachers. Therefore, an appropriate understanding around the implications of generic causations of turnover should focus on finer-grained analysis of the issues within the context of observations in population samples, and the unique conditions under which the issues and the potential solutions apply. For example, rurality has a unique context to developing countries, and Nigeria in particular, where 70 per cent of the population live in rural areas, two-thirds of which are not accessible; and where 65 per cent of those in urban areas live in slums and have had limited access to a functional basic education. The question of rurality in such an

environment is not whether urban and rural schools are distinguishable; rather whether systemic turnover issues that impact the entire teachers' population can be analysed further across demographic variables such as age, years of experience, career status, and qualifications. Empirical findings around this will help administrators to identify solutions that are most appropriate, and action areas where resources are likely to deliver the most results.

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Appendix: World Bank's dataset (last updated in August 2010): Rural Access Index: all countries (and territories) included in World Development Indicators (WDI)

Regions	No of countries included	Population	% of rural population [*]	% of rural population with access ^ℓ	% of rural population without access
Africa [†]	46 [‡]	635,085,565	69.38%	33.64%	65.60%
East Asia Pacific	36	2,061,063,733	56.65%	89.74%	10.03%
Europe and Central Asia	55	858,014,955	31.14%	80.41%	17.91%
Latin America & the Caribbean	38	548,355,600	23.07%	59.37%	40.50%
Middle East and North Africa	21 [#]	332,322,607	40.50%	58.98%	40.29%
South Asia	8	1,446,265,182	71.81%	57.30%	42.69%
North America	3	293,719,948	21.72%	77.08%	12.88%
Overall[^]	207	6,174,827,590	52.46%	68.22%	31.22%

Legends' explanatory note.

* Years of latest data collection ranged from 1993 – 2004.

ℓ 'Access' here means transport headline indicator, established to focus on the critical role of access and mobility in global reduction of poverty.

† Data reflect only 8 of Nigeria's 37 statutory states and territory. Apparently 8 African countries were not included here.

‡ South Sudan was not reported as an independent country, rather as a part of Sudan in the dataset.

8 North African countries were included here.

^ Addition of percentages is not equal to 100 due to procedural approximations in the dataset.