

OUT-MIGRATION AND THE DOUBLE JEOPARDY OF RURALITY IN GHANA. AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

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Abstract

This pragmatic mix-method study, using the case of one rural community and its District, investigates the impact of out-migration on the socio-economic development of rural Ghana. To analyze the prospect of an integrated approach to rural development. The study revealed that the current development and educational models in Ghana are fueling high rural out-migration. This in turn has created a development challenge of ‘double jeopardy of rurality’. A situation where rural areas are experiencing slow socio-economic development. In addition to indirectly paying for the cost of the negative effect of rural-urban migration. This is evidenced by skewed resources allocation in favour of urban areas to combat the problems of overcrowding cities. The study argues for a double-edged approach that weaves together relevant education, innovative agriculture livelihoods, and effective decentralisation into an integrated whole. This approach has the prospect of transforming rural communities in Ghana from the current state of being the source region of socio-economic deficit to sites of rich capital accumulation and generative socio-cultural processes to drive national development.

Keywords: *Ghana, rural communities, Out-migration, socio-economic impact, integrated rural development*

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is one of the most talked-about and researched topics globally due to its significance to local, national and global socio-economic development (World Bank, 2017). Migration concerns have further heightened by increasing global terrorism, and brain drain from the periphery to metropolitan regions (World Bank, 2017). In Ghana, migration as a topic continues to occupy space in media socio-economic debates due to its effects on the socio-economic wellbeing of the people and its implications for national development planning (Ghanaweb, 2018; 2019). Rural underdevelopment and rural-urban development inequality have been long identified as the main causes for the high rural-urban migration in Ghana. Ghana made a bold attempt to tackle the twin problem of rural underdevelopment and rural

out-migration through a decentralization approach to rural development. The 1988 Local Government Act, Act 462 established the District Assemblies as the pillars upon which the people's power would be erected, the focal point for local development and a foundation for participatory democracy (Ahwoi 1992). This was to be complemented by state-community partnership approach to education that is responsive to community needs and charts the path of universal access, equity, and relevance and quality outcomes toward erecting free fair democratic socio-economically sound society. This bottom-up approach is to promote development from the grassroots level to bridge the rural-urban and regional development disparities to reduce the motivation for the high rural out-migration. However, after 30 years of operationalization of this development model, the problem of rural-urban socio-economic inequality, the main underlying cause for the high rural out-migration, has further widened and thus worsening the level of rural-urban migration in recent times. The increasing impact of rural-urban migration in Ghana is evidenced by the extinction of several rural communities, especially in the north, and the growing socio-economic inequality between the urban and rural areas (GLSS7, 2018). Several studies on migration in Ghana have offered various recommendations aimed at reversing this development gap. However, localized contextual explanations from the perspective of rural dwellers and migrants have not been sufficiently articulated. Also, there appears to be a gap in policy and practice at the District Assembly level of how to pursue contextual integrated development at the community level. The development strategies pursued by the various agencies under the local government system seem to lack coherent and integration thus undermining their efficacy in promoting sustainable rural development.

1.1 The Purpose of the Study

This study thus seeks contextualize explanations of the impact of out-migration on the socio-economic life of rural Ghana. To offer an evidence-based approach to rural development that can minimize rural out-migration and its attendants' negative impact on socio-economic wellbeing of rural dwellers. The study thus informs policy actors at the local and national levels of an integrated approach to rural development. Section two of this paper reviews relevant literature. The third section outlines the methodological approach to this study. This is followed by the fourth section which presents the findings that emerged from the data analysis. Section five discusses the major findings. The study concludes in section six by offering some recommendations as to the way forward.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Causes of Out-migration

Rural-urban migration is at the heart of the socio-economic challenges of developing countries including Ghana (Amuakwa-Mensah, 2016; Okidi & Guloba, 2007; Ghanaweb, 2019; 2018; World Bank, 2017). Rural-urban migration connects rural underdevelopment (source region) to the urban centres (destination areas) evidenced by urbanization, overcrowding, urban waste management problems, and growing urban unemployment in Ghana and the developing world in general (Amoako-Mensah, 2017; Adepoju, 1986, Nabila, 1986). Thus, rural-urban migration serves as the medium through which socio-economic problems are transferred to and shared between, the rural and urban areas in developing countries, and between developing countries and metropolitan countries through international migration (Amoako-Mensah, 2017).

According to Gyasi and Ayivor (1992), out-migration in Ghana is mostly triggered by people's response to spatial disparities in socio-economic opportunities. Mostly between the source regions (rural communities) where conditions may force or push people out and the destination regions (urban communities) which attract or pull people. Rural-urban migration in

Africa is mostly linked to the disparity in socio-economic development and perceive or real socio-economic opportunities in urban areas (Adepoju, 1986; World Bank, 2017). The paucity of social amenities such as good schools, health facilities, electricity, potable water and transportation systems in rural areas and the availability of those amenities in urban areas serves as both push and pull factor for rural out-migration (Ajayi, et al., 2009; Amrevurayire & Ojeh, 2016). Marcell and Zsuzsa (2018)'s work on Nigerian identifies forced migration induced by ethnic, religious and political conflicts as a significant factor of out-migration in that social-culturally diverse nation.

A recently held stakeholders media forum in Ghana identified lack of jobs opportunities in rural Ghana including under-employment as one of the major causes of rural-urban migration in Ghana (GhanaWeb. 2019; 2018). Research literature on Ghana's migration pattern including Nyame et al. (2009) and Nabila (1986) linked the rural-urban and north-south migration pattern in Ghana to the high level of rural poverty, the poor soils, and the long dry season in the northern part of Ghana, and the proliferation of small-scale and illegal mining popularly known as '*galamsey*' in the forest belts (southern Ghana). The research literature on Ghana further connects the high rural-urban migration to some unfavorable cultural practices such forced and child marriages, female genital mutilation, gender prescribed cultural codes which force most girls to migrate from the rural areas and the northern part of Ghana to the major cities (Fentiman, et al., 1999; Ghanaweb, 2018; Obeng-Odoom, 2015).

In analyzing the impact of successive migration on the welfare of rural households in Ghana, Egger and Litchfield (2018) found that the experience of earlier migrants or returnees is also a pulling factor that influence fellow household members' decision to migrate from rural to urban. The study further revealed that recent or 'new' migrants into Ghanaian cities tend to be of a younger generation. Hence, they tend to face lower migration costs and thus less easy to move. However, they have a lesser capacity to remit (Egger & Litchfield, 2018). This is also corroborated by Awuse, Agyei and Tandoh-Offline (2016) in their investigation into the cost-benefit analysis of out-migration in Ghana. The study found that the perceived benefits outweigh the costs of youth migration in Ghana. Suggesting that the rural-urban migration will persist and even increase if opportunities are not created in the rural communities. The high motivation for rural out-migration is further supported by an earlier observation by Adepoju (1986) that rural-urban migration is induced by perceptions of better conditions of living in cities whether real or imagined.

Amuakwa-Mensah et al. (2016)'s study on the effects of education on migration decision revealed that the effect of secondary educational attainment on migration decisions for urban in-migrants is higher than those of rural in-migrants. However, the reverse holds for higher educational attainment. The study makes a stronger case for special attention to rural education and jobs such that the educated professionals from the rural background will find it worthwhile in living and working in their communities to improve the lives of their people. Suggesting that relevant education model that will change the face of education from being a vehicle of transferring rural talents to urban areas, is long overdue. Anlimachie (2019a, b)' study on rural educational outcomes in Basic Education and Senior High School in Ghana attributed the high rural out-migration to the gap between the Ghanaian education system and rural geo-cultural and socio-economic contexts. Hence, students are not able to develop ethnographic imagination of their environment which is crucial for developing local entrepreneurs for sustainable rural development.

2.1 Effects of Out-migration

Research studies include Nabila (1986), Oberai and Singh (1983), Hance (1970), and Gyasi and Ayivor (1990) have revealed that out-migration has both negative and positive effects on

both source and the destination regions. The negative effects of migration on rural source regions are evident in depopulation, brain-drained, declining economic and social activities, and weakening of social relations. Whiles serving as a source of cheap labour, and increasing economic, cultural and social activities in the designation regions (mostly the core centers). However, the effect of migration on core centres including overcrowding, sanitation management, and cost of living tend to be more burdensome on national budgets, and rife avenue of diverting national resources to rural development to combat problems of sanitation and housing deficit in urbanised centres.

Suffice to say that research literature has identified some positive effects of out-migration on rural areas (Chotisukan, 1994). Studies by Oberai & Singh (1983) and Gyasi & Ayivor (1992), observe that out-migration reduces the pressure on rural farmlands. Thus, slowing the effect of overexploitation of land resources. However, this effect of rural out-migration is being whittled down by the rapid population growth in rural communities and its attendance increase demand for land resources in recent times (Messina, et al. 2014). More people are competing for the same land. In addition to urbanization taking over farmlands putting rural agriculture livelihood in developing world at a risk (Giddings, et al, 2002; Messina, et al., 2014). Also, the research literature on Ghana including Ajayi, et. al. (2009), Awuse, et al, (2016), Lynda (2016) and Mazzucato (2011) study have revealed that remittances from migrants' family members are not only increasing but has become an important source of support to rural households. Remittance play a crucial in childcare, education, investments in housing and petty businesses. However, remittance to rural households is becoming a major source of enticement for rural-urban migration pattern in developing countries (Awuse, et al, 2016; Amrevurayire & Ojeh, 2016; Lynda, 2016; World Bank, 2017).

2.2 Reducing Rural-urban Migration

Adepoju (1986), Gyasi and Ayivor (1992), Hance (1970), Nabila (1986) studies linked rural out-migration to rural underdevelopment and lack of job opportunities suggest that improving the conditions of living in rural communities will reduce rural out-migration. Adepoju (1986) argues that the general improvement in the agricultural sector, in term of input, technology and marketing would reduce the out-migration from the rural areas. In Ghana, this is crucial as the agriculture sector is the largest employment sector. Hence, making agriculture attractive will slow down rural out-migration (Adepoju, 1986). The current development model in Ghana which appears to skew resources allocation or socio-economic development in favour of the urban areas will continue to ignite the rural-urban migration in Ghana unless this trend is reversed (Anlimachie, 2016 Ghanaweb 2019; 2018; Nyame et al., 2009). The growing disparity between northern and southern Ghana and the attendant's north-south migration is also linked to underemployment and the high poverty in that region. Climate change, increasing population and outmoded farming practices are making the soils poorer, the dry seasons longer and drier, and the environmental conditions harsher leading to low productivity or agricultural output. These conditions are compelling most of the youth to migrate from northern regions to the southern Ghana for better economic opportunities (GLSS7, 2018; Ghanaweb, 2018; 2019). Reversing this will require an integrated approach to rural development that link education to sustainable livelihood programmes.

A study in Nigeria by Amrevurayire and Ojeh (2016) revealed a significant relationship between migration and social amenities such as recreation, water, health care, electricity, and good transportation. The study, therefore, suggested that improvement in the provision of social amenities will invariably decrease rural-urban migration in Africa. This finding collaborates earlier finding by Amrevurayire and Ojeh (2016) and Nabila (1986) on Ghana. This suggests that development approaches that ensure equitable distribution of development across or within regions are very crucial to minimizing the high rural out-migration.

Chotisukan (1994)'s study on the effect of education on rural-urban migration in Thailand revealed that education offers the strongest and sustainable tool of dealing with rural underdevelopment and out-migration. This is maximized when the educational curriculum and apprentice training resonate with industry, rural livelihoods, and resources development. Anlimachie (2019a; b)'s study on relevant education in Ghana links the underdevelopment of rural Ghana to the gap between the current Westernized Ghanaian education system and rural communities' geo-cultural context. The author argues that the first point of addressing the high rural-urban inequality and migration in Ghana is to improve basic and secondary education outcomes in rural areas to make education relevant to local livelihoods.

3. METHODOLOGY

In searching for the prospects and relevant approaches for studying rural cultural realities in Ghana, Anlimachie (2019a) being inspired by Bourdieu forms of capital, Hattam, Brennan, Zipin, & Comber, (2009) concept of ethnographic imagination and Moll et. al, (1997) fund of knowledge approaches to community and household-based study, argues that the methodological approach to rural research in Ghana should be focused on the concepts of culture, place and community lifeworlds. This elicits contextual and evidenced-based understanding to inform national policy practice. Anlimachie (2019a) thus argues for grassroots methods underpinned by qualitative strategies in tune with the Ghanaian oral traditional context and apprenticeship based-system of training. This study is therefore guided by rural or indigenous methodological approach. With focus on developing ethnographic imagination (Hattam, 2009) of the study community through researchers' immersion into community context to elicit contextualize account of real-life day-to day experiences. The fieldwork for this study was done in a 4 weeks period in September 2018. Two of the researchers who engaged in the fieldwork of this study stayed in the community throughout the four weeks period to curve ethnographic imaginations of the study community to enrich the discussion of the findings.

This study uses a pragmatic research approach to examine and elicits contextual meanings and understanding of the impact of out-migration on the socio-economic development of rural communities in Ghana. This is to predict the impact of an integrated approach to dealing with the problem associated with rural out-migration. The key research questions that guide this study are:

1. What is rural dwellers' perception of the causes of rural out-migration in Ghana?
2. How does rural-urban migration impact on the socio-economic development of rural Ghana?
3. What is the link between rural out-migration and, educational and development models in Ghana?

These questions seek to elicit contextual insights into the effects of rural-urban migration to inform the planning and executing of development programs in rural Ghana to reduce the rural-urban socio-economic inequality. The study was thus viewed within socio-cultural theories and the core-periphery model of socio-economic analysis as the analytical framework. These inform our choice for a pragmatic mix-methods approach as the research strategy and case study as the design for data collection (Bryman. 2012; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

3.1 The Conceptual and Analytical Frameworks

This study was theorized within socio-economic and cultural theories. The study is thus inspired by Bourdieu's (1998) 'form of capital' and Amin (1976) and Frank (1978) core-

periphery model in development geography (Ettema 1983). Bourdieu’s (1998) ‘form of capital’ conception argue that each habitus is endowed with economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals which are inculcated into the individuals or leverage upon by the habitus (society or school) for individuals and social advancement. Economic capital is associated with power and wealth. Cultural capital encompasses three broad levels. They include individuals’ inculcated dispositions, cultural goods like artefacts and technology, and institutionalised state like qualification or profession. Symbolic capital, on the other hand, entails social legitimacy or reward or prestige accrue from the fulfilment of social obligation including parenting and children fulfilling their roles at home or in school. Social capital is the positives that accrue from social networks and institutionalize relationships such as the family and the local community. Bourdieu (1986) argues all forms of capital are not equally distributed among regions, communities, groupings in the society thereby creating social stratifications in term of power, wealth, class, gender and ethnicity. Bourdieu, therefore, observes that social institutions including government and its policies, and the school system tend to reproduce socio-economic inequality by either explicitly or implicitly reinforcing the capitals of the middle class or core groups at the expense of the less dominant groups or periphery regions.

The proponents of the centre-periphery model including Amin (1976) and Frank (1978) argue that the global political and economic systems are structured and skewed in favour of powerful political, economic and cultural core centres at the expense of weak periphery regions (Ettema 1983). The core centres use established trade and political systems to extract economic surplus from periphery regions. Core centres thus soar up surplus capital of which some fraction is invested in the economies of periphery regions. The aim is not to develop the periphery regions, but to control the economic decisions in periphery regions and limit periphery regions to traditional modes of production (extraction of raw materials), demand for low-skilled labour and hence lower wages. Thus, making periphery regions less competitive, politically powerless, and economically dependent (Ettema 1983). The fallout from this core-periphery relationship evident in the increasing global terrorism, global warming and international migration pattern have bring to the fore the demand for integration of local, national and global economies, as well as stronger demand for decentralisation and self-determination to bridge the core-periphery development gap.

Merging the core-periphery model perspective with Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction of unequal forms of capital arguments and situating it in the context of rural-urban socio-economic development gap in Ghana, this study uses the adapted model in fig 1, to analyse the dynamics of out-migration on rural socio-economic development.

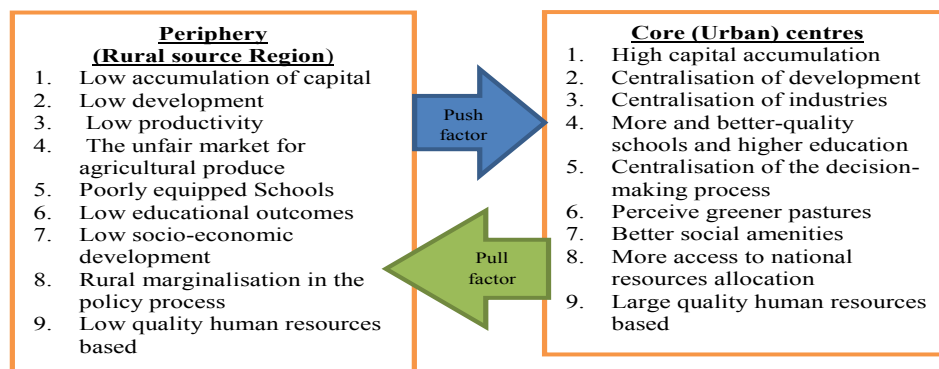


Fig 1 Core-Periphery Model Analysis of Out-migration
 Source: Authors’ conceptualization

3.2 The Concept of Migration

Migration is a geographic term, but it is also used in sociology, economics, political science/government, and management. It thus has multiple definitions within each discipline but often with a common meaning. In geography, the term is defined in relation to the spatial dimension. Hence, migration entails the movement of people permanently or semi-permanently from their habitual location to another through the covering of reasonable horizontal distance (Adams & Page, 2003; Amoako-Mensah, 2017; Adepoju, 1986). Hence, the key characteristics of migration include the existence of source and destination regions, there must be horizontal travelling distance, and the movement must be either permanent or semi-permanent involving a change of residence. Out-migration is thus used with respect to the source region (Amoako-Mensah, 2017). Also, viewing migration from transportation and economic geography perspectives entails the movement of human capital from one area to the other (Adepoju, 198; Amoako-Mensah, 2017). Situating migration into the core-periphery model, there are two main common patterns globally. They include rural-urban migration which occurs within national borders and the international South-North migration which has become a global concern in recent times. In Ghana, two migration patterns are common. The first is rural-urban migration which is the most widespread. The second is the north-south migration pattern which involves the movement of people in the northern part of Ghana toward the forest and coastal belts where raining seasons are longer, lands are fertile, and industries are localized. Rural out-migration and rural-urban migration are thus used interchangeably in this study to refer to the movement of people and human capital from rural to urban areas.

In Ghana, communities with a population of less than five thousand (5000) people are defined as rural areas. Based on this 49% of Ghana's population is rural and 170 of the 254 districts/municipal/metropolitan administrative areas (District in Ghana are predominantly rural (GPHC, 2012). There is the largest concentration of rurality towards the north. And high migration toward the coast which has the highest concentration of urban centres and manufacturing industries (Ghana Living Standard Survey- GLSS8, 2018).

3.4 Methods

The research strategy adopted by this study is a pragmatic mix method approach of concurrently collecting, analyzing and mixing quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). The design is a case study with a descriptive survey, beefed up by semi-structured interviews and reflexive participant observation of the community socio-economic context (Bryman, 2012). The study microscopically focuses on the social, cultural and economic experiences of a small rural and remote community and the District in which the community is in Ghana-The study District. Hence it is a case study (Bryman, 2012).

The site of the study was a rural farming community in a rural-dominated District in Ghana. The study community was randomly selected from a list of 30 rural communities in the study District. A combination of cluster and simple random sampling methods were used to select the study district from the 154 districts in Ghana. The accessible population targeted by this study consisted of households whose have had relatives migrated to the cities, and returnees or persons who have previously migrated but have returned either temporarily or permanently. Gender balance was taken into consideration in selecting the participants. Thirty (30) participants, comprising 15 males and 15 females well selected to participate in the survey. In addition, 5 participants made up of 1 returnee and 4 resident community members who participated in the survey were selected purposely for interviews. The four resident members of the community include 2 elderly and 2 youthful members-males and females in each category. The interviews were done individually to elicit a deeper explanation of some of the key issues. The main instruments for the collection of data were questionnaire and semi-

structured interview guide designed by the researchers. Face-to-face completion of questionnaire and interviews were used for the data collection. The quantitative data from the field survey was analyzed with the SPASS the results generated in frequencies and mean were summarized and mixed together with the qualitative data for interpretation of the findings. The qualitative data from the interviews were transcribed and analyzed manually through a grounded theory approach (Bryman, 2012) to allow synthesizing concepts to emerge out of the data to embellish the interpretation of the quantitative results.

4.FINDINGS

This section provides the key findings emerge from the study. It starts by examining the contextual causes of the out-migration situated in the socio-economic context of the District in which the study community is situated. This is followed by the analysis of the impact of rural out-migration on the study community. It ends with predicting the impact of an integrated approach to rural development as a means of tackling out-migration in the study community.

4.1 The Extent and the Contextual causes of rural Out-migration in Ghana

In order to track the extent of out-migration in the study area, the population characteristics of the study district as contains in Ghana's Population and Housing Census report (2014) was juxtaposed on the national picture. The children (1-14) and older (64 years and more) population in the study area combine represents 37%, as against 63% youthful population. However, the youthful population was 11% lower than the national figure suggesting that youth out-migration in the study District is very high. This was further confirmed by respondents' perception on the level of out-migration in the community. Sixty per cent of 60% of respondents surveyed described the phenomenon as high or very high. In addition, the results from the qualitative data further affirm the high out-migration in the study community. The interviewees linked the phenomenon in the community to low socio-economic opportunities and the little motivation for the youth to go into agriculture. Other push and pull factors of out-migration elicited include poor social amenities, low social activity and the perceived greener pastures in the cities, normally propagated by the returnee migrants. The perception of 'greener urban pastures' is further festered by the perceived or real remittances received by families who have relatives living in the cities.

The contextual causes for the high out-migration in the study community were analyzed in relation to the socio-economic context of the study District. This was done through researchers' reflexive observations, a perusal of district-level development data, coupled with the results from quantitative analysis of the data from the survey, as well as, the results from the qualitative data elicited through interviews. The district level data indicates that Agriculture is the main economic activity of the study community and the study District, employing about 67% of the population, followed by forestry and fishery 12%, then trade and craft 8%. This was also reflected in the employment characteristics of respondents that were randomly surveyed by this study as 68% of the participants were also peasant farmers. Agricultural statistics on the District indicate that 98% of the farmers are peasant food crop farmers. The farmers mainly involved in the cultivation of maize, cocoyam, plantain and vegetables like tomatoes, pepper and garden eggs. The rest 2% are into cash crops, mainly cocoa, cashew and oil palm with medium-size farms. Instructively, the researchers observed that animal/fowl rearing is a way of life in the community. Most households have some few fowls and animals, mostly sheep and goats to take care of at their backyard. This is mainly for domestic use. About 80% of households' income in the entire District and 92% of rural households' income in the District come from agriculture (Ghana, Statistical Service-GSS, 2014). Indicating that the community is intricately tied to their land.

However, the study revealed a mismatch between agriculture and income levels. Twenty-sixth (26%) of participants surveyed in the study were found to be living below the poverty line. This figure is 2% higher than the national figure of 24% (GLSS7, 2018). This suggests that poverty is high in the community notwithstanding the availability of a large tract of arable land and thus the huge potential for commercial farming and agro-processing. The study found that food crop farmers are poorer compared with cash crop farmers. Deeper responses elicited through interviews revealed that cash crop farmers have a fairly good and ready market for their commodities. This is partly due to their smaller numbers, thus higher demand for their produce. Particularly, cocoa¹ farmers were found to be comparatively better off due to a fixed pricing policy regime for the commodity in Ghana. The central government set the price for cocoa purchase based on the world market price. Also, unlike food crop farmers who are also responsible for transporting and marketing of their farm produce, in the cocoa sector, licensed purchasing companies buy the commodity at the farm gate saving farmers the cost of transportation and marketing. The study found that food crop farmers in the community are exposed to unfair pricing. Urban middle women called 'market queens' buy the food crop produce at the community's local market at relatively lower prices and sell them at higher prices in the urban centres, thus transferring the profit in agriculture from the poor rural farmers to the urban-based middlemen.

In addition, the study identified the problem of high post-harvest losses as another major cause of the low households' income, especially, among food crop farmers. Our observations from the field revealed that due to the large number of farmers involved in food crop farming, farmers end up flooding the local market with the same produce. These farm produces are also mostly perishable and there are no refrigerated storage facilities for such produce in the community. Hence, most of the harvest ends up either decaying or being given away at very low prices to the urban-based middlemen. Also, agriculture in the community is characterized by outdated practices and is rain-dependent. Hence, amenable to the growing effect of climate change. Generally, agriculture in the areas is practiced as a culture rather than a profitable economic venture. These factors have made agriculture unattractive to the youth in the community thus fueling the high youth out-migration.

Situating the findings on the relationship between rural agriculture and out-migration within the core-periphery analysis suggests that although rural Ghana serves as the food basket for the urban centres, the benefits that accrued to the farmers are very low and tilted to the urban marketers who serve as middlemen between the rural farmers and urban consumers through unfair pricing and fueled by the lack of storage facilities. The results further indicate that the vast natural capital base of the community, including the arable land and human capital, remain mostly underdeveloped. Hence unable to meet the basic developmental needs of the locality, indicating a gap between the education system and community's natural resources base and livelihood contexts.

Reversing the challenges in agriculture to make it attractive to the youth to eliminate the high youth out-migration would require a national food crop marketing board that mimics what pertains in the cocoa sector in Ghana. This is crucial if fair pricing regimes and ready markets are to be guaranteed. In addition, the provision of refrigerated storage facilities and innovative agricultural technologies that would minimize post-harvest losses are important. Further, linking Ghana's school feeding program at the Basic and Senior High school levels to locally produced food through government purchasing power will further create a better market for

¹ Cocoa is the main cash crop in Ghana, the chief agricultural export of Ghana, traditionally the main export earner for the country, but has now trailed to oil. Ghana is the second largest cocoa exporter in the world behind the Ivory Coast. All cocoa is sold at fixed prices to the Cocoa Marketing Board. Although most cocoa production is carried out by peasant farmers on plots of less than three hectares, a small number of farmers appear to dominate the trade.

rural farm produce to improved rural incomes. Central to these interventions should be an education system that connects 21-century skills needs to rural livelihood needs.

The study also found a link between education and the high rural out-migration in Ghana. The analyses of the background data of the respondents revealed that 57% were illiterates, that is, they were unable to read and write either the local Akan language or the national official language-English. The low educational attainments of households in the study community also explain the low agriculture productivity. It further explains why the rural workforce lack the ability to efficiently leverage on the rich natural resource potentials, including the large track of arable land which is suitable for commercial farming and agro-processing. Another connection between education and rural out-migration was found in the fact that some of the rural youth and children migrate to the cities to access quality or well-resourced government and private basic, secondary and higher education in the urban areas. We observed from the field that the two Basic Schools in the community were ill-equipped, in terms of quality and experienced teachers, as well as, in terms of infrastructure and instructional materials. There was no presence of a Senior High School in the community. Families who can afford tend to send their children to urban centres for schooling purpose. However, such students after being immersed into urban cultures are often reluctant to returning home after secondary and higher education. Thus, educational migration was found to be one of the pull factors draining human capital or talents from the rural to the urban areas of Ghana.

4.2 The Effect of Youth Out-migration in Rural Ghana

Participants' views were further elicited through interviews on the effects of the high out-migration of the youthful population in the area on the socio-economic life of the community. The finding established a linkage between the high youth out-migration in the community and low agriculture productivity. This, in turn, worsens the economic wellbeing of the people in the community and further fuel rural-urban migration. Participants revealed that farming in the area was becoming the preserved of the elderly. However, the elderly is less productive due to depreciation in physical strength, as agriculture in the community and Ghana in general, is labour intensive, mostly with the use of simple implements like machetes, hoes and recently weedicides and pesticides. Although the elderly population were found to have rich localized experiences on agriculture, the new risks being posed by climate change or global warming, evident in the increasing incidence of pests' invasion of crops in the area, require new innovative and modern farming practices. However, the high illiteracy level of the adult population limits their capacity to adopt ne practices to improve agriculture output. The finding from the qualitative data analysis further revealed that the high out-migration in the community has also slowed local commercial activities. The evident according to the interviewees were being felt in low demand for goods and services in the areas made possible by the high-out migration and low households' income.

The findings from the qualitative data analysis further revealed that the high youth out-migration in the area is impacting negatively on cultural and social activities including entertainment and sports. This is making the community more boring to the youth, hence fanning the desire for out-migration. A participant observed that a once vibrant local football team in the community which was a passion of the youth and a major source of social gathering on weekends had collapsed due to the high youth out-migration in the community. The study found that comparatively, men have a higher propensity to migration than women in the community creating a gap between the number of men as against women. Participants observed that there is an increasing spate of inter-personal/families conflicts due to an emerging phenomenon of multiple sexual relationships linked to the mismatch of men and women ratio. This has negative health implications. Participants also revealed that the impact of the high out-migration of the men in the community was also impacting negatively on marriages and

households' wellbeing. Participants observed that the rate at which marriages were being contracted in the community had slowed due to the high out-migration of the men. The increasing incidence of absentee husbands/fathers was disrupting marriages and dwindling the fortunes of children wellbeing. Participants observed that many women have become single parents even in marriages. More worrisome, participants revealed that the traditional communal spirit of initiating and undertaking self-help development projects such helping in school infrastructure development, water and sanitation and environmental cleanliness activities through communal labour and mobilization of funds through local levies have weakened due to the high out-migration and their worsening socio-economic development.

However, the study found some positive effects of out-migration in the study community. Remittances received from relatives who have migrated into the cities came out as the most significant one in addition to higher education. The remittances substantially support family income in a community where poverty is rife. The interviewees revealed that the remittances help them in buying farming inputs, investing in children education, and building houses. However, the remittances tend to further fester the misconceptions among the youth that becoming successful in life lies beyond their immediate community and thus heighten their appetite for out-migration. The inessential desire to migrate limits the youths' potentials in seeing and exploiting the opportunities within their locality, thus making them strangers in their own land and hungry people in a land 'flowing with milk and honey'. As it appears that the youthful population lacks enough ethnographic imagination of the economic potentials in their community. Another positive effect of out-migration elicited from participants is that some of the returnees returned home with some level of acquired skills and trades which facilitates the rural economy. However, the scale and the depth of the skill the returnees bring is quite low compared to the rate of out-migration. Most of the emigrants normally engaged in low to no skilled petty jobs such as street hawking, house-keeping, shop attendants and other menial jobs while others survive of social vices. Hence, they do not acquire relevant skills that can transform the rural economy. Also, the rate at which the community was found to be losing its human capital to the urban centres throughout-migration far exceeds any benefit repatriated by the returnees.

Generally, the findings on the effect of rural out-migration suggest that the phenomenon tends to favour the urban centres than the rural source regions. Rural out-migration serves as a source of cheap labour for urban entrepreneurs or businesses. Due to the low skills of the rural emigrants and the scarcity of jobs in the cities, the rural immigrants in the cities are mostly underpaid. This limits their capacity to remit to their families back home or accumulate the necessary level of capital for possible investment in the rural economy back home. Rural communities thus end up losing their human capital base to the urban areas. This suggests that whereas rural out-migration soars up urban capital, it dissipates rural capital both human and material, induces low rural productivity and slowed commercial activities in the rural communities. More worrisome, out-migration is weakening the once strong social structure and bond, as well as, the traditionally revered cultural values relating to marriage and relationships. These factors further feed into the rural underdevelopments and the core-periphery socio-economic inequality.

4.4 Impact of an Integrated Approach to Rural Development

The findings from the analysis of the empirical data in the study community suggest that the high rural-urban migration in Ghana is intricately connected to the problem of low socio-economic opportunities, either real or perceived, the low educational outcomes, and low productivity in the rural areas. These further heightened the rural-urban socio-economic inequalities. Situating these within Bourdieu 'forms of capitals' and 'cultural reproduction', as

well as, the core-periphery socio-economic analysis signifies that agriculture and education are very crucial capital for the sustainability of rural communities. They two offers the best potential of curbing the high rural-urban migration in Ghana. Thus, an integrated approach model to rural development that treads together relevant education and agricultural livelihood programmes are very crucial to the context of rural Ghana. This should be underpinned by effective decentralisation system that hook rural dwellers into the decision-making process. This offers better prospects for sustainable rural development in Ghana. Therefore, this section of the study seeks to predict the socio-economic impact of such an integrated approach to rural development in Ghana. Using agriculture and education sub-sectors indices, a comparative analysis of the contributions of agriculture and industry to Ghana's GDP is juxtaposed on the level of educational attainment of the workforces in these two sectors. To track the connection between educational attainment and productivity. To projects the impact of improved rural educational improvement on agriculture productivity, and its attendant impact on rural out-migration in Ghana.

The percentage of the rural workforce engaged in agriculture in Ghana is 52% (FAO, 2012). And the agriculture sector accounts for 22.2% of the GDP (GLSS7, 2018), as compared with the industrial sector² which employs only 11% of Ghana's workforce but also accounts for about 22.3% of the GDP (GLSSL, 2018.p.2). Also, only 15% of the rural agriculture workforce has some secondary education compared with some 48% for the urban workforce in the industrial sector (FAO, 2012; GSS, 2012' GLSS7, 2018). This suggests further that the low rural productivity in Ghana has a linkage to the low educational attainment of rural households. This is corroborated by the seventh Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSSL7). The report found that rural poverty increases with lower educational attainments among rural households Survey (GLSSL7, 2018).

If we project that doubling the level of secondary educational attainments among the rural workforce will lead to a 50% increase in agricultural productivity. This would mean that improving secondary educational attainments among rural workforce from the current 15% to the same level of the urban workforce 48% (by 3 folds) is likely to lead to a corresponding increase of some 75% in rural agricultural productivity. This translates to some 23% increase in the agriculture share to GDP. This is equivalent to US\$ 7.0 billion or 14 % of Ghana's GDP. Therefore, investing in rural basic and secondary education by linking relevant, quality and equitable pre-tertiary education in Ghana to agriculture or rural livelihood offer the best prospect of reducing the rural-urban socio-economic disparity and its attendant high rural-urban migration that is impacting negatively on both the rural and the urban areas. Suggesting that a rural development drive that blends education and agriculture into an integrated whole is planning for the general transformation of Ghana.

5. DISCUSSION

The findings generally suggest high out-migration of the youthful population in rural areas to the urban centres in Ghana. This is mostly driven by the desire for better life motivated by the perception of greener pastures in the cities. This perception is fueled by the lifestyles of urban returnees or earlier migrants, the misrepresentation of urban realities made by the returnees, and sometimes real and perceived change in the socio-economic circumstances of the returnees. This finding corroborates that of Egger and Litchfield (2018). The authors also found that household members' decision to migrate from rural to urban areas is mostly influenced by the experiences of earlier migrants. This suggests that rural out-migration in Ghana is most of the time not influenced by real needs but more of desire and sometimes mirage expectations. The

² About 80% of manufacturing industries in Ghana are located in the urban areas and towards the coast.

expectation for better life of the migrants are most often not readily met resulting in delusion and disappointments that forces many migrants into social vices just to survive the high cost of living in the cities. This finding also corroborates that of Fentiman, et al. (1999) and Obeng-Odoom, (2015) and Nabila (1986) that new migrants' perceptions of urban greener pastures dashes away so rapidly when they are faced with the realities of urban life including high cost of living, especially rent and the demand for skilled labour. Many of them end up having no homes and resorting to sleeping on the streets and in kiosks. Also, due to the low education attainments of the rural migrants in the cities, their acquired skills do not match with the urban jobs. They then end up flooding the streets hawking and selling petty items. Others engage in menial jobs such as head potting (popularly known as "keyayoo" in Ghanaian parlance), social vices including petty drug peddling, prostitution and robbery just to survive urban cost of living (Fentiman, Hall & Bundy 1999, p. 346; Obeng-Odoom, 2015).

The causes of, and the motivation for, rural out-migration in Ghana are diverse. They are first induced by the rural-urban disparity in socio-economic development which creates both push and pull conditions for rural out-migration. High rural poverty, low opportunities, poor rural agriculture system, and the real need for better or higher education served as the push factors. While the perception of better urban life and job opportunities, the availability of social amenities including schools serves as the pull factors. The findings on the causes of the high rural out-migration show that Ghana' current development and educational model are not responsive or relevant enough to local development needs. This finding resonates with Anlimachie (2019a)'s study on enacting relevant education in Ghana. The author established an intricate links between basic education outcomes, productivity, rural poverty, high rural-urban migration, and the widening rural-urban and socio-economic inequality. Filling this gap would require development and education models that focus on rural livelihood, natural resources and community's needs (Anlimachie, 2019b; 2016).

The findings of the study suggest that sustainable and innovative agricultural practices, reduction of post-harvest losses, and efficient and fair market for agricultural produce are crucial to reduced rural out-migration. This will whip up the interest of the youth in agriculture. Thus, getting the idle youth into agriculture means reducing the rural-urban migration in Ghana. These findings are supported by the FOA (2012)'s study on inequalities in rural employment in Ghana. The study suggests a strong connection between small-scale agriculture, incomes and rural out-migration.

The study also, revealed some benefits of rural out-migration on both rural and urban areas. However, the balance tends to favour destination urban centres than the rural source regions. Urban centres enjoy cheap labour, capital accumulation, and general improvement in socio-economic activities made possible by the growing population its associated demand for services and consumer goods, mostly induced by urbanization fanned by the high rural-urban migration. While the rural areas are also benefiting from remittances and skill transfer brought by the migrants. However, the overall impact of rural out-migration on both rural and urban areas can be described as negative as the disadvantages so far outweighs the advantages. The increasing urbanization and its attendants' overcrowding, housing deficit, waste management challenges, the high cost of living, and increasing crime rates in urban centres, coupled with slowed socio-economic activity, and the drain of human and material capital from a rural area far outweigh the benefits. A situation that this study termed as the 'double jeopardy of rurality'. This finding resonates with the findings of Adepoju (1986); Fentiman, Hall & Bundy 1999; Obeng-Odoom, (2015), Nabila (1986). The researchers observed in this study that rural-urban migration tends to draw more vibrant youth and talents from the rural areas to urban centres and diverts national investments from rural to the urban areas. This is dissipating the mobilization of political and popular pressure to lobby central government for development in

the rural communities. These observations resonate with Anlimachie (2016; 2019a; b)'s observations that rural population are less able to shape national discourse and demand their fair share of the national cake compared with their urban counterparts due to their low education attainment. There is, therefore, a strong connection between rural marginalization in national policy process and rural-urban socio-economic inequalities that fuels rural out-migration. This observation is collaborated by Anlimachie (2016), Edzii (2017), Essuman and Akyeampong (2011) and Mohammed (2016). The studies argue for an effective decentralization governance system in Ghana that whip community participation makes local context and knowledge part of the development process. Anlimachie (2019a) argues that bringing the rural-urban divide in Ghana should begin with investing into rural basic and secondary education improvements as the social returns in terms of the realization of fundamental human rights including socio-economic development are high.

The study further established a strong connection between education and rural-urban migration. The study observes that Ghana can capitalize on her recently introduced Free Senior High School Policy to transform agriculture and thus rural life. Following the introduction of the Free Senior High policy in 2017, there has been an influx of students' transition from Basic to Senior High Schools. Thus, forcing the government to introduce a double-track system to absorb the growing numbers in the short term while pursuing infrastructure expansion in the existing schools in the mediate to long term. This study argues that the expansion of SHSs must be redirected into the construction of new boarding schools in rural farming communities. This will automatically reverse the pattern of rural-urban migration in Ghana to urban-rural migration. Such a reverse in the migration pattern will provide a ready market for rural agriculture produce while reigniting the cultural and social activity in rural areas. The ready market will attract rural youth into agriculture and together with increased social and cultural activities, rural life will become more worth living thus reducing that high rate of rural out-migrate in Ghana. Further, such a strategy will provide the opportunity of immersing urban-bred children into the agricultural realities of Ghana. They would thus develop ethnographic images of the Ghanaian agricultural and rural realities (Anlimachie, 2019a). This can motivate students to contribute to innovative strategies, practices and appropriate technologies, marketing and agro-processing relating to agriculture through research, entrepreneurship and financing. This can transform the rural areas from being the source region of socio-economic problems to sites of rich capital accumulation and cultural processes. Thus, changing the phenomenon of the double jeopardy of rurality to double edge sword of sustainable integrated rural development driven by improving educational outcomes and rural livelihood.

The summary of the findings of the study suggests that the current development and educational models in Ghana are fueling rural out-migration. This will persist in the face of the widening rural-urban social inequality coupled with the decreasing cost of movements made possible by improvement in transportation. This suggests that the 30- year old District Assembly concept and the British colonial model of education in Ghana have not achieved the desired national development objective of fair and enhance socio-economic opportunities for all.

The high rural-urban socio-economic and educational inequalities are festering the high rural-urban migration. The high rural-urban migration has, in turn, created a twin challenge of 'double jeopardy of rurality'. A situation where rural areas are bearing the brunt of slowed socio-economic activity and the urban centres are grappling with the challenge of urbanization including overcrowding, housing deficit, high cost of living, and increasing spate of social vices, all induced by the high rural-urban migration. The concept of 'double jeopardy of rurality' also entails a phenomenon where the rural communities are inadvertently paying for the cost of the negative socio-economic impact of rural-urban migration on both rural and urban areas. This is evident in the skewed allocation of national resources in favour of urban areas,

mostly to combat the problems of urbanization caused by the high rural-urban migration. This stifles potential investments into rural development. In addition to the rural area losing their human capital to the urban centres. These observations are summarized in fig 2.

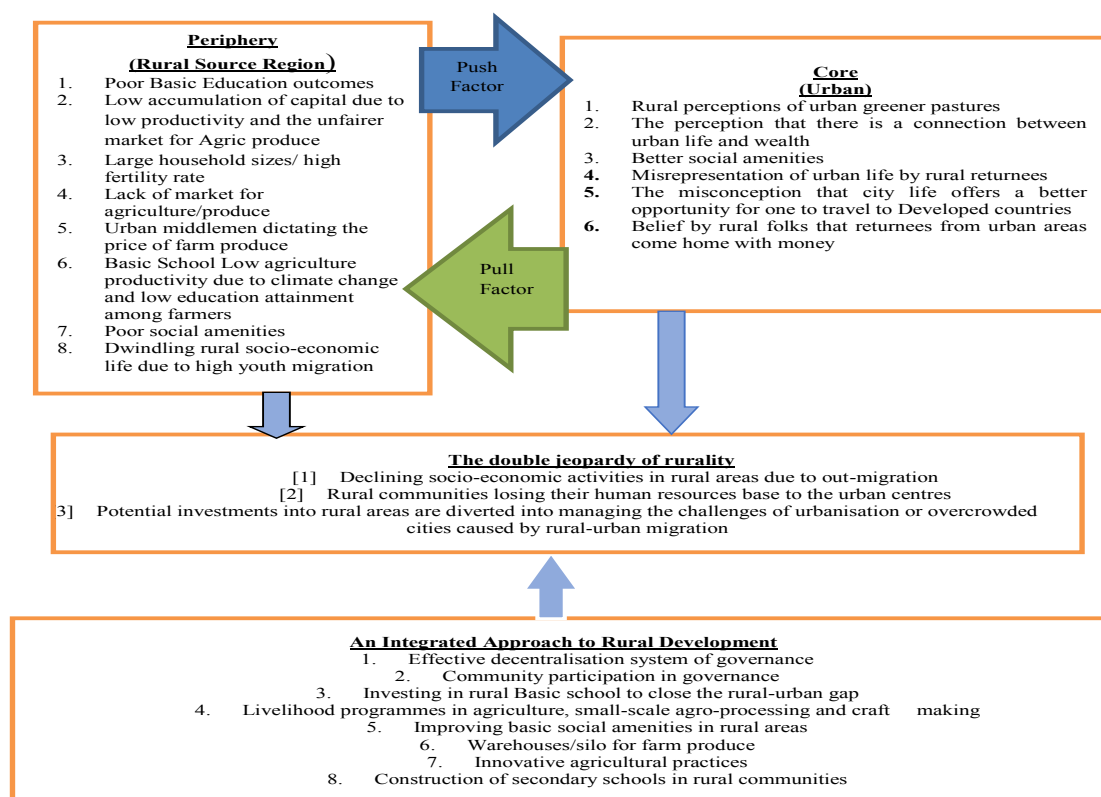


Fig 2: An integrated approach to rural development/ reversing the double jeopardy of rurality

Source: Authors' own conceptualization

This study thus argues that reversing the trend of the double jeopardy of rurality as captured in fig 2 would require a double-edged sword of an integrated approach to rural development. This approach must begin with development planning and interventions that link basic and secondary education to agriculture and community needs. Appropriate and innovative interventions that make agriculture profitable and thus appealing to the rural youth are crucial in this mix. Thus, the general development planning and policy process at the national and district levels must be underpinned by relevant and contextually responsive education, effective decentralization, community participation and sustainable livelihood interventions. The study thus supports Mohammed (2016)'s call that the 30-year-old District Assemblies concept and its funding formula must be re-looked at and revamped to place more resources directly at the community level to respond to real-time local development needs rather than the mere political patronage and symbolic rhetoric of local participation.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study concludes that the current development and educational approaches in Ghana have created what this paper termed 'double jeopardy of rurality'. A situation where rural communities in Ghana are inadvertently paying for the cost of the negative socio-economic impact of rural-urban migration on both rural and urban areas. This is evident in skewed national resources allocation in favour of urban areas to combat the problems of overcrowding. In addition to the rural areas bearing the brunt of dwindling socio-economic activities due to the high out-migration. Suggesting that lack of proper integration of development and

educational policy planning does not yield maximum returns in rural context of Ghana. The study, therefore, argues that the high rural out-migration in the study area, and by extension, rural Ghana is intricately connected to her development and education models. These models appear to be less responsive to rural livelihoods and context. There is, therefore, rippling linkages among educational outcomes, agricultural practices, productivity, rural-urban socio-economic inequality, and rural-urban migration.

The study thus recommends an integrated approach to rural development as the way forward to minimize the negative impact of out-migration on rural Ghana. The study argues that Ghana's pre-tertiary education systems should be properly aligned with rural agricultural livelihoods. The pre-tertiary education and the District Assembly system must respond directly to the local needs of each District.

The study recommends the such an integrated approach in Ghana must be underpinned by effective decentralization and community participation in the decision-making process; adequate rural lens and contextualization of development programs to suit each of the 154 districts in Ghana; relevant basic and secondary education that is properly linked to agriculture; innovative agricultural practices and small-scale agro-processing, and craft-making; equitable distribution of development including basic social amenities in rural areas and; technology and interventions that prevent post-harvest losses.

The study recommends further and detailed study within rural context to predict the socio-economic impact of each of the strategies within the integrated whole and how they ought to properly align with one another to maximize outcomes. The study has thus further stimulated the discussions on the contextual issues relating to the relationship between rural-urban socio-economic inequality and rural-urban migration in Ghana as well as the prospects of aligning education to agriculture to pursue an integrated sustainable development in rural Ghana.

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