

UNDERSTANDING RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF MIGRANTS IN AGBOGBLOSHIE, GHANA

Ronald Adamtey¹ and John Ebotui Yajalin²

¹Department of Planning, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi-Ghana

²Kreuzberg –Bonn, Stationsweg 21, 53127, Bonn, Germany

ABSTRACT: *About half of the urban growth in Africa is accounted for by migrants from rural areas yet we fail to understand migration from the perspectives of the migrants. This paper seeks to understand rural urban migration from the perspective of migrants and how this can inform rural development planning. A mixed research design was adopted to explore the decision making process around migration. In-depth interviews were held with migrants in Agbogbloshie and their families in Yendi where they have come from. The paper found that while rural-urban migration will persist for a long time because of the deprivation in rural areas, migrants have plans to return home. Planning would need to shift from the conventional approaches of general rural development towards a good understanding of rural development problems unique to certain areas.*

KEYWORDS: Africa, Ghana, Development, Migration, Planning, Urbanisation

INTRODUCTION

Rural-urban migration is increasing everywhere and has played a key role in the unprecedented growth of cities in the 21st century (Todaro and Smith, 2012; UN, 2014). Almost half the world population lives in cities and for the first time in human history the world became more urban than rural in 2008 (Todaro and Smith, 2012). The number of people living in urban areas has risen steadily by around 1 million every year. The United Nations Population Division projections show that the urban population grows at 1.8 percent per annum, while total population growth is projected to be one percent annually. This would result in an urban population of 5 billion, or 61 percent by 2030. The rural population on the other hand is expected to decrease from 3.3 to 3.2 billion between 2003 and 2030 (UN, 2003; UN, 2014).

The projection by UN further reveals that the urban population is expected to grow, so that by 2050, the world will be one-third rural (34 per cent) and two-thirds urban (66 per cent), roughly the reverse of the global rural-urban population distribution of the mid-twentieth century. In the 1950s for example, more than two thirds (70 per cent) of people worldwide lived in rural settlements and less than one-third (30 per cent) in urban settlements. The opposite will be seen by 2050 (Todaro and Smith, 2012).

Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the most rapidly urbanising regions in the world, and almost all of its growth has been in slums, where new city residents face overcrowding, inadequate housing, and a lack of water and sanitation (Todaro and Smith, 2012; UN Habitat, 2014a; Tacoli et al, 2014). In Western Asia, most of the urban growth is occurring in slums. The rapid expansion of urban areas in Southern and Eastern Asia is creating cities of unprecedented sizes. Northern Africa is the only developing region where the quality of urban life is improving. In this region, the proportion of city dwellers living in slums has decreased by 0.15 per cent annually (Todaro and Smith, 2012; UN Habitat, 2014a).

Available data shows that rural urban migration accounts for half of the growth rates in these cities. Close to 50 percent of the urban growth in many developing countries is due to the accelerated pace of rural-urban migration (Tacoli et al, 2014; UN, 2014). Rural-urban migration accounted for at least half of all urban growth in Africa during the 1960s and the 1970s and about 25 percent of urban growth in the 1980s and the 1990s.

According to the UN World Urbanization prospects, Africa and Asia will host the chunk of the world urban population by 2050. The report indicates an urban growth rate of 1.5 and 1.1 per cent per annum in Africa and Asia respectively. Other regions such as Western Europe with relatively high levels of urbanisation are urbanising at a slower pace, at less than 0.4 per cent annually (UN, 2014).

In Ghana, rural urban migration has been a major contributor to urban population. In 1931 only 9.4 percent of the total population lived in urban areas, in 1948 the population of urban dwellers increased to 13.9 percent. This increased to 23 percent in 1960, 28.9 percent in 1970, 31.3 percent in 1984 and 43.9 percent in 2000 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The 2010 population census revealed that 50.9 percent of Ghanaians are living in urban areas. The report also indicated that the level of urbanisation varied from region to region with Greater Accra recording the highest proportion of urban population of 90.5 percent, followed by Ashanti 60.6 percent with rural urban migration playing a key role in the growths of these major cities (Owusu and Oteng-Ababio, 2014). It is projected that nearly 26.5 million Ghanaians will live in urban areas by 2050 (Songsore, 2003; Owusu and Oteng-Ababio, 2014; UN Habitat, 2014a).

Urbanisation of this magnitude can place a strain on infrastructure, public health and threatens social stability. Apart from the growth of shantytowns and slums the rural sector continues to lose the needed labour force to the urban centres which could have long term ramifications on the development of the nation (Afsar, 2003; UN, 2006; Deshingkar, 2006; 2014; Awumbila, 2014). Many classical studies have argued that a major cause of rural-urban migration can largely be explained by *push* and *pull* factors (Lee, 1966, Twumasi-Ankrah, 1995; Bauer and Zimmerman, 1998). Recent findings on the causes of rural urban migration in Ghana point to climate change and adaptation of migration as a livelihood strategy (Tacoli, 2008; Jarawura, 2013; Adaawen and Owusu, 2013; Sow et al, 2014; Awumbila et al, 2014). Many of these findings have also concluded that rural areas need to be developed as a long term measure to address rural urban migration (UN SDGs, 2015).

Theoretical underpinnings of rural-urban migration

In the dualistic literature, the migration of labour out of the rural sector into industrial production was viewed as the key to modernisation and income growth (Ranis, 2004; Lucas, 2007; Todaro and Smith, 2012). The Kuznets's curve was used to show an initial inequality rising between those fortunate enough to relocate into town versus those left in poverty in the rural areas (Lucas 2007). The framework presumed the existence of a surplus pool of labour in the rural areas and the removal of labour to urban areas consequently left agricultural production unaffected and with urbanisation, average income rises and the dispersion of income later narrows because fewer are left in agrarian destitution (Lucas, 2007).

In the late 1960s, Lee (1966) put forward a theory that explained migration as a consequence of factors pertaining to places of origin and destinations. For Lee, migration is a decision that an individual or family makes which could be rational or irrational and for every act of migration the following elements are present: origin, intervening obstacles and destination. The decision to migrate is influenced by four factors namely: a) factors pertaining to the area of

origin b) factors associated with the area of destination c) intervening obstacles and d) personal factors.

In every geographic area, there are numerous factors which act to retain, attract or repel people from that area, a push-pull argument. The push-pull model has gained popularity in the migration literature and has become very dominant even though Lee did not invent the term himself, his analytical framework is commonly referred to as the “push-pull” model. Many researchers who have applied the push-pull framework have assumed that various environmental, demographic, and economic factors determine migration decisions. Two main forces are typically distinguished to create the *pushes* and *pulls*: (1) rural population growth causing a Malthusian pressure on natural and agricultural resources, and pushing people out of marginal rural areas, and (2) economic conditions (higher wages) are luring people into cities and industrialised countries (Skeldon, 1997 cited in King and Schneider, 1991; Bauer and Zimmermann, 1998).

In the 1960s, migration was seen as an investment decision involving an individual’s expected costs and returns over time. Returns comprise both monetary and non-monetary components, the latter including changes in *psychological benefits* as a result of location preferences. Similarly, costs include both monetary and non-monetary costs. Monetary costs include costs of transportation, disposal of property, wages foregone while in transit, and any training for a new job. Sjaastad(1962)’s approach assumes that people desire to maximise their net real incomes over their productive life and can at least compute their net real income streams in the present place of residence as well as in all possible destinations (Sjaastad, 1962; Boakye-Yiadom, 2008). By viewing migration as investment in human capital, the theory suggests that prospective migrants aim to maximise the present value of the net gains resulting from locational change.

The model rather fits the context of Western countries where many citizens are educated and are able to access information about the job market and even calculate their net returns in a given timeline. In Ghana, for example, although prospective migrants might have some information about wages in other parts of the country, due to high levels of illiteracy among this group of migrants, they might not be able to calculate how much exactly they may be earning since a lot of them find themselves in the informal sector where daily wages fluctuate.

The Harris-Todaro model sought to explain the phenomenon of rural-urban migration in developing countries (Harris and Todaro, 1970). This model assumes that migration is primarily an economic activity, which for the individual migrant could be a rational decision despite the existence of urban unemployment. They argued that migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected income rather than actual earnings. The fundamental premise is that migrants consider the various labor market opportunities available to them in the rural and urban sectors and choose the one that maximises their expected gains from migration. In essence, the theory assumes that members of the labor force compare their expected incomes for a given time horizon in the urban sector with prevailing average rural incomes and migrate if the former exceeds the latter.

The Harris-Todaro model has been criticised for theoretical simplification that it is static whereas migration is a dynamic phenomenon by nature, and it has not taken into account the probable heterogeneity of migrants, risk which could dampen migration incentives and render the Harris-Todaro paradox even less likely to occur (Lall et al, 2006).

In the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM), migration is seen as a family decision not individual decisions but joint decisions taken within the ambit of the household, and for different members of the household; and the decision to migrate is not only about wages and income maximisation but is also about income diversification and risk aversion (King, 2012; Massey et al, 1998, Stark, 1991). In the NELM, families and households are in the position to control risks of their economic well-being by diversifying their income-earning and livelihood resources into a 'portfolio' of different activities, spreading their labour resources over space and time. One of the key benefits of migration to a wage-labour destination is that some of the income earned can be sent back in the form of remittances. This monetary return can be used to hedge against other activities failing, to cover the basic costs of everyday life or to invest in some new project such as a house, land or small business.

The NELM theory has been criticised for being too restrictive to only the supply side of labour migration, and suits only to the poor rural settings (Arango, 2004). Moreover, it assumes that intra-household relationships are harmonious, leading to unanimous collective decision-making. It does not apply to the common situation where the entire household migrates (King, 2012).

Rural-urban migration has always been an issue of interest in Ghana and both scholars and policy makers have produced useful insights into the phenomenon. A review of the migration literature on Ghana shows that in the pre-colonial era, movements involved groups and individuals of different ethnic groups in search of security in the face of wars and for new lands safe for settlement and farming (Addo, 1971; Wyllie, 1977; Boahen, 1975; Addae-Mensah, 1983).

Early in the 1960s, Hill (1963) observed that the introduction of cocoa in the late nineteenth century resulted in unprecedented migration of farmers between the northern and the southern part of the country. Traditionally, migration involved males who undertook such movements to the agricultural and mining communities in the south (Hill, 1963; Nabila, 1975, Songsore, 2003). Female migration consisted of spouses joining their husbands or relatives to help socially and economically. The consequences of such earlier movements were quite positive on the migrants and the communities they joined (Boakye-Yiadom and McKay, 2006).

In the last two decades, studies carried out on internal migration in Ghana have focused exclusively on migration between the three northern regions and the southern sector of the country mostly to the commercial cities of Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi (see Hashim, 2007; Kwankye et al, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen 2011; Denekamp, 2011; Kwankye, 2012). A major finding is that the current north-south migration in Ghana is now dominated by female migrants commonly known as the 'Kayayei' most of whom are below the ages of eighteen (Agarwal, 1997; Hashim, 2007; Opare, 2003; Tanle, 2003). Contrary to earlier studies that identified women as associational migrators mostly moving with their male partners therefore making them dependents, young females in the current migration flow tend to be autonomous migrants who migrate despite the fact that there may be no family member at the destination area.

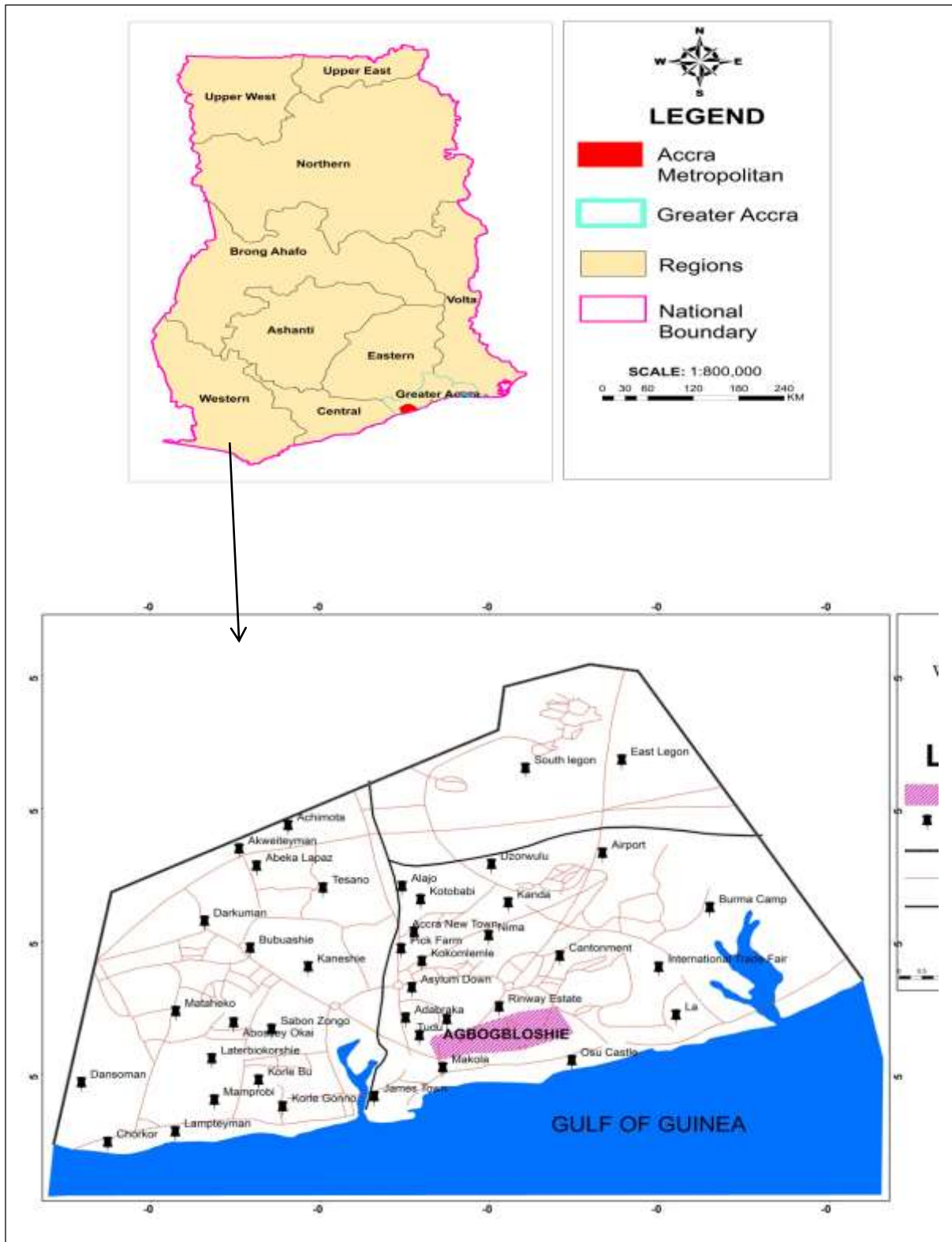
Many of these studies have argued that the main reason for migrants has been economic and desire to enhance their living standards (Opare, 2003; Tanle, 2003; Awumbila, 2007; Yeboah, 2008; Adepoju, 2004; Wiredu, 2004; Anarfi et al, 2006; Whitehead et al, 2007). Many rural development interventions have consequently been heavily influenced by this claim (Jarawura, 2013; Adaawen and Owusu, 2013; Awumbila et al, 2014). In spite of these interventions, there is still heavy drift of rural dwellers mainly from the three northern regions into the southern

regions suggesting that the rural development efforts have not been able to achieve the intended purposes. The possible conclusion then is that rural-urban migration does not appear to be adequately understood from the perspectives of the migrants in order to effectively inform rural development planning. For the avoidance of doubt, rural areas and development planning are clarified. For rural area, we adopt the definition offered by Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). According to GSS, rural area refers to settlements with less than 5000 people. In contrast, settlements with more than 5000 are considered urban (GSS, 2012). Development planning is defined by Pea (1982) as a complex form of symbolic action that consists of consciously preconceived sequence of actions that will be sufficient for achieving a goal. It is set apart from un-deliberate action, which is not preconceived. In this paper, rural development planning is used to mean deliberate and conscious policy that has both explicit and implicit intentions targeted at rural areas to improve economic, social and physical conditions. Mainstreaming the viewpoints of migrants into rural development planning remains inadequately explored. This paper therefore argues that rural development planning to address rural-urban migration will most likely be effective if the phenomenon of migration is understood from the perspective of migrants.

STUDY CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in Agbogbloshie also known as Old Fadama which is located in Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The map of Ghana showing Accra and the study area is shown in figure 1.

Figure 1 The map of Ghana showing Accra and the study area is shown in figure 1



(Source Geographic Information systems (GIS), 2014)

The paper employed the mixed-methods design involving both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Ivankova et al, 2006; Creswell, 2005; Miles and Huberman, 1994). While the quantitative approach allowed for the collection of quantifiable data relating to the causes and the decision making process in migration, the qualitative approach was used to probe into the experiences of migrants and made it possible for migrants to express their thoughts (Green et al, 1989; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003; Creswell, 2005; Ivankova et al, 2006).

Agbogbloshie was purposively selected because it is the largest slum in Accra with many of the residents coming from the three northern regions (Housing the Masses, 2009; Bain, 2011; Farouk and Owusu, 2012; Owusu, 2012). The purposive sampling technique was also employed in selecting respondents from the three northern regions who had migrated to Agbogbloshie. Using a 95 percent confidence level, a sample size of 398 was selected

The size of the area is about 31.3 hectares and less than a kilometer from the central business district (CBD) of Accra, with an estimated population of 79,000 (Housing the Masses, 2009; Farouk and Owusu, 2012; Owusu, 2013). From a population of 56,880 being the population of the inhabitants from the three northern regions in Agbogbloshie (Housing the Masses, 2009). Close-ended questionnaire was used for the interviews. The questions were around the motives behind migration. Other questions were occupation before migration, financial situation at the time of migration and expected gains at destination. Follow-up interviews were conducted with the families of 50 respondents in Yendi who were randomly selected for the purposes of corroborating and validating the data obtained in Agbogbloshie.

The quantitative data was analysed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). The qualitative data has been analysed in the form of narration through the use of quotation made by the respondents. The data was first transcribed from Dagbani and Konkomba into English and then organised into themes reflecting the research objectives.

As part of analysing some aspects of the issues, the respondents were asked to indicate and rank the risks associated with their work on the scale from 1 to 7 with 1 representing the most risky or most challenging and 7 representing the least risky or least challenging. The migrants were asked to indicate and rank the merits and demerits of migrating from northern Ghana to Agbogbloshie on the scale from 1 to 7 with 1 being most important and 7 being least important.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Agriculture has been non-productive and unattractive

The study revealed that agriculture, which is the main rural economic activity in these regions, was not productive. It is therefore not attractive to young people. There were no clear investment efforts along the agricultural production chain up to marketing point. Over 90 percent of all the interviewees at Agbogbloshie and their families interviewed in Yendi noted that if the agricultural sector was productive, migration of the youth would not be on the scale we have seen. The key problems they face as narrated by all of them can be conveniently summarized in what one of the migrants said that:

We cannot do all-year-round farming due to the lack of rainfall and no irrigation facility. We don't have fertilizers and the crops are not high yielding. In fact, pests and diseases will destroy everything at the end of the day so why should I

continue to farm? There are no credit facilities to buy the necessary inputs. We are also not able to sell our yams. All these make it unattractive to think about farming especially for us young people (Migrant in Agbogbloshie, June, 2016).

As we will see later in the discussions, this is one of the important *push* factors that explain why many people migrate from the northern regions into Accra, Kumasi and other cities. Many of the young migrants are faced with unemployment during the dry season as a result of the single rainfall pattern in the three northern regions. Besides, unavailability of credit facilities discourage the youth from engaging in farming activities. Furthermore, those who engage in agriculture are confronted with the challenge of marketing their farm produce during the rainy season because of poor road networks. The findings of this paper corroborate earlier studies by Sow et al (2013), Jarawura (2013) and Awumbila (2014), whose studies have found climate change and droughts as the recent factors behind north-south migration in Ghana.

Decision to migration to Agbogbloshie and decision logic

The study revealed that over half of the respondents took the decision without any influence from family members or peers. For about 42 percent of them, they made the decision in consultation with their families. The others moved as a result of influence by friends (5.2 percent) and their employers or work (1.7 percent).

The study found that 85 percent of both male and female migrants migrated to seek employment. The next important reason for mostly the males for migrating to Agbogbloshie was for quality education (65percent). Other reasons for migrating were to look for resources to expand or start up business (45 percent), and to escape from odd cultural practices such as female circumcision and forced marriages (70 percent).

The availability of opportunities to upgrade one's educational level as explained by many of the interviews can be seen from what one of them noted:

I came to Agbogbloshie to raise some money so that I could register as a private candidate in the November-December examination (NOVDEC) to improve upon my results so that I can continue my education. My father has three wives and we are twenty in the family. The farm work is not producing enough to feed the family let alone enough revenues to help me pay for private classes. There are also no opportunities here for me to attend private classes, all these opportunities are in Accra (A migrant, June, 2016).

The discussion with many of the respondents who had this view revealed that there were quality extra classes in Accra than in Yendi. Apart from getting access to quality tuition, one could also take up part time jobs which they claimed were only available in in Accra.

The study sought to know whether migrants had found jobs to do since many of them cited economic reasons for migrating. About 80 percent of them indicated that they were employed. Those who were undertaking various studies were 10 percent while the remaining 10 percent were unemployed.

In terms of the nature and type of jobs that migrants were doing, we found that 75 percent of the women worked as head porters or *kayayei*, and the remaining 25 percent were house-helpers and shop assistants. For the men, 60 percent of them were hand cart pushers, 15 percent worked as security guards in private companies and 25 percent worked as scrap dealers.

These findings are consistent with claims in many of the theories in the migration literature. Although several factors determine why people migrate, when to migrate, how far and where to go, the determinants of migration we found in our study fall into Lee (1966)'s two broad categories: 'push' factors and 'pull' factors. The study revealed that many of the migrants were *pushed* out of their origins by poverty, the lack of employment opportunities and even what many described as outmoded cultural practices of early and forced marriages. The issue of forced marriage as narrated by all the females can be summarised in how one of them explained it that:

My two other sisters were all forced into marriage at ages 15 and 17 and my family was planning to give me out to a certain old man so I fled with my friends to Accra. I left at the age of 13 and I am now 17 so I hope to go back home to marry when I am 20 by which time I will be able to choose my own husband I love (Female migrant, Agbogbloshie, June, 2016).

On the other hand, better employment opportunities, better facilities and the freedom from prohibitive cultural practices and family restrictions in Accra served as *pull* factors encouraging people to move into Accra all supporting the claims made by Mabogunje (1970), Lewis (1982), and Todaro (1976).

The findings further buttress the views held by Kwankye et al (2007) Awumbila (2007); and Yeboah (2008) that migration from the three northern regions to the southern Ghana is a response to the imbalances in development. As the survey results have shown, over 80 percent of the migrants in Agbogbloshie moved in response to seek job opportunities in Accra thus supporting Harris and Todaro (1970)'s model of migration which sees migration as a response to wages differentials between two geographical areas, and also consistent with Ravenstein law of migration that economic factors are the major causes of migration (Grigg, 1977).

In terms of the decision to migrate, the survey revealed that 60 percent of the migrants took the decision to migrate on their own. The remaining 40 percent did so in consultation with their families. This finding questions the claims that migration in Africa is solely a household decision. While the findings suggest that the trend is changing as majority of the respondents took the decision to migrate without consulting with their households. At the same time, the results confirm the New Economics of Labour Migration theory that migration is an investment decision taken within the ambit of the household, and for different members of the households (Stark, 1991; King 2012). Sometimes the scale of the decision to migrate goes beyond the nuclear setting to the extended families and wider communal groups (Massey et al, 1998). The NELM theory further states that the decision to migrate is not only about wages and income maximisation but is also about income diversification and risk aversion. Risk reduction is particularly appropriate in poor sending communities where there are markets failures cannot be compensated by savings, insurance or credit.

Examples of the instances of family decision for risk aversion as we obtained from Agbogbloshie and corroborated with interviews with their families in Yendi can be seen from what two of the migrants related that;

We are 9 in the family. My children are 6 girls and 3 boys. All these children only work on the farm which is not yielding so much and we have difficulty meeting the needs of the family. Since all the boys do not want to go to school, my wife and I decided that the boys help us on the farm so that the girls will go to Accra to work. They can carry goods for people or as house helps. Our

neighbours did that it has helped them a lot. Their children send them money and clothing (Family head, Yendi, June 2016).

At one dawn in 2012, my 5 children came to discuss their plans to travel to Accra for work with me and my wife. We agreed that it was good that they did that because they could send us money to support the family and improve upon our farming. It is not helpful that they are all here and we cannot support them (Family head, Yendi, June 2016).

Risks associated with work

When the migrants were asked to indicate if there were any risks associated with their work, up to 92 percent asserted that their current jobs were more risky compared to their jobs back home.

In ranking these risks, it was revealed that the carrying of heavy loads in excess of 60kg was most risky for the migrants. Many of them complained of chronic back and neck pains as one of them put it that:

I have developed chronic back and neck pain from accidents. I have fallen while carrying heavy load several times resulting in my back and neck injury. I know that many of my colleagues also suffer from back and neck injuries from accidents. Six of my friends had to be sent back to Yendi after sustaining serious back injury and they have become incapacitated (Kayayoo, June, 2016).

In addition to the back and neck injuries, all the females ranked the exposure to miscreants such as thieves and rapists as the greatest risks. The next common risks which both males and females mentioned were living in poor accommodation and getting knocked down by vehicles. Interviews with two families in Yendi corroborated the claims that *kayayei* are easily knocked and down by vehicles and many are raped.

According to my daughter, she was raped several times by different people and that resulted in her pregnancy. She said they threatened to kill her if she reported to the police. Rape is very common as we hear many of this happening to our young girls in Accra. Many other girls have come home with pregnancies and I hear many also give birth in Accra without coming home because they fear that their families would not accept that (Parent, Yendi, July 2016).

Was the decision to migrate worthwhile?

On the question of whether the decision to migrate was worth it, over 80 percent of them note that that they had not regretted making the decision. They explained that they had acquired some amount of wealth and they were able to remit their family members back home. All these claims were corroborated through interviews with their families in Yendi as noted by two of such families that:

My children send us money all the time. They give us some for ourselves and keep the remaining for them. They will come home to use the money marry and settle here in Yendi. Our daughters have also accumulated personal belongings such as cloths and jewelry which they will use to support their marriage rituals in future. We are happy about this because I could not do it for them as I don't have that much (Family head, Yendi, July 2016).

Our daughters have brought sewing machines, cloths, shoes and all the necessary things women would need in their matrimonial home. They are coming home soon to be married away and we are happy that they can support their husbands. Their husbands will respect them if they go into the marriage also prepared. If they had not gone to Accra to work, I don't think this could have been possible (Family head, Yendi, July 2016).

Overall, 64 percent of the respondents said they had been able to achieve their aims for migrating to Agbogbloshie. Some of the aims they accomplished were being able to purchase personal items (65 percent), repaid debts (50 percent), saved some money (55 percent), finance children's education (64 percent) and send money back home to relatives (87 percent). For most of these migrants, migration had increased the choices of means of livelihood apart from the traditional occupation of peasant farming which most of them were previously engaged in.

What these point to is that efforts to address rural-urban migration that does not incorporate the reality that migrants perceive that migrating has helped improved their living conditions is unlikely to be successful. Many of the migrants noted that they are against policies that seek to control mass migration from the northern part of the country to the southern part of the country.

In order to understand whether migrants would ever return, about 80 percent of them indicated their intentions of going back home. The common reasons given by those who would return in future was old-age. They noted that at a certain age, they would not have the strength to do the jobs they are doing now, therefore once they are able to save enough to enable them marry and expand their farms they would return.

According to the migrants, in order to minimise mass migration from northern Ghana to Accra and other cities, the government should focus on supporting the development of the agricultural sector for small-scale farmers for the creation of jobs that would not require high literacy as many of them have low levels of education. This is logical because, as the study has shown, most of the migrants migrated in search of better paying jobs and the jobs they are doing do not require high literacy levels. For those who would like to go into small-scale businesses and petty trading, they would need to be supported with interest free credit to enable them set up their businesses. All the female migrants raised concerns about cultural practices like forced marriages and female genital mutilation. Elimination of these practices could go a long way in reducing the migration of young girls especially.

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN AFRICA

The findings from this paper provide rich insights and useful lessons for rural development planning in Africa. Clearly, rural-urban migration is on the increase in Africa and this is likely to continue for many years. The problem of rural unemployment and underemployment, the lack of equitable social infrastructure for health and education, prohibitive cultural practices need to be appreciated and effectively addressed through responsive planning techniques. First, there is the need to mobilise the appropriate data on development problems facing rural and deprived regions of the country and effectively analysed. Good understanding of the issues would require that planning tools such as community mobilisation through participatory approaches are applied.

Second is using the information from the data obtained to make rural economy productive and attractive by not only investing in production in agriculture but most importantly, holistic investment along the agricultural production chain up to marketing point. Rural development planning should therefore focus on integrated development strategy to increase agricultural production by increasing rural labour productivity, improving farm technology, increasing farm inputs such as fertilizers, high yielding variety of seeds, insecticides, adequate agricultural extension services, price incentives and improve access to financial credit and market facilities. Anything less would rather increase the frustration of farmers and discourage the youth from going into agriculture. Third, there is the need for the government to adequately equip research institutions such as the Grain Development Board and Savannah Agricultural Research Institute to collaborate and develop irrigative technologies to support all-year-round agriculture. With the assurance of all-year-round productive activities, families may not encourage their members to move as an investment strategy.

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