

**RURAL POVERTY IN GHANA : THE FAILURE OF THE CALL
ON THE YOUTH "TO GO BACK TO THE LAND"**

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Introduction

This topic touches on two fundamental issues confronting many developing countries including Ghana, namely rural development and youth development. Rural development is one concept which is so much abused by both politicians and bureaucrats. Throughout the political history of Ghana governments have paid lip-service and continue to pay lip-service to the development of the rural areas. Rural areas are where human deprivation appears to be the norm.

Even where some amount of concern is shown, the implementation of the so called rural programmes are highly uncoordinated and therefore do not have any positive impact on the general well-being of the people. For example, the introduction of PAMSCAD (Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment)¹ and its apparent infusion of massive financial support to the rural dwellers have not had any significant impact on the rural populace.² Today the rural areas continue to be marginalised in the distribution of the nations resources. The rural areas continue to be characterized by:

- a) lack of health facilities leading to short life expectancy;
- b) sub-standard sanitation leading to debilitating diseases such as yaws, guinea worm and buruli ulcers etc.;
- c) lack of potable water with widespread and preventable diseases such as bilharzia, guinea worm, cholera etc.;
- d) small industrial output;
- e) high illiteracy rate;
- f) open poverty, manifested in the poor quality food, poor clothing and poor housing - usually wattle and daub;

The above conditions do not appeal to both the educated and school-drop-out youths from the rural areas who usually flock to the towns and cities in search of greener and more meaningful pastures, which often allude them and rather bring more misery to those migrants. One significant way to stem the flow of rural-urban migration is to see to the development of the rural areas.

The other identified issue is youth development. In fact, this is a task that no country can afford to ignore, or attempt to solve without the necessary resources, coordinated efforts and the seriousness it deserves. Raja Gomez⁴ (Director, Commonwealth Youth Programme, Commonwealth Secretariat, London) commenting on Youth Training said:

"Youth unemployment, in particular, is a serious national problem that all countries, especially in the Third World, need resolve urgently. It has been a subject of increasing debate, analysis and definition. Unfortunately the solution is still not in sight and the problem is becoming more serious. While unemployment increases with urbanization, under-employment too is wide-spread and deep seated. The youth problem cannot be solved by governments alone. It requires the concerted efforts of government, communities, individuals, international and local organizations and the youth themselves".

This statement shows the enormity of the problem of youth development. However, a nation's future depends to a large measure on the development of her human resources. It is for this reason that we have made in this paper modest suggestions which, if properly implemented, will enhance the quality of life of the large army of rural migrants to urban centres, only to fall into a state of misery.

Rural-Urban Dichotomy

The origins of this dichotomy dates back to the period of colonial rule. The tone was set when a former British governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford in describing "educated" persons wrote:

"men born and bred in British administered towns situated on the sea shore who in safety of British protection, have peacefully pursued their studies under British teachers in British Schools...." (emphasis added).

Scholars from these schools who were educated in European introduced religion, politics and economics became the administrators (even after the introduction of black-rule). In effect, the type of education alienated these elite from their indigenous roots⁶ while they lived in areas

with social amenities which made life more comfortable and therefore more meaningful. In so doing the rural areas were completely neglected, leading to serious rural-urban disparities. For example, in 1990, 93 percent of urban areas had an access to safe/potable water with only 39 percent for rural areas. In the case of sanitation 61 percent of urban centres were provided with sanitation facilities, while only 16 percent of rural areas were served.⁷ Human deprivation in Ghana becomes more depressing as it is exemplified in the following Report:

Human Deprivation (1990)⁸

Need	Million People
Without access to Health Service	5.9
Without access to Safe Water	6.5
Without access to Sanitation	10.4
Death of children under 5	0.1
Malnourished children under 5	0.7

It must be noted that these figures were reflected in the rural areas. This confirms the prevalence of poverty and deprivation in rural Ghana. It is estimated that 80 percent of incidence of poverty is found in rural areas⁹

We have been able to paint a picture which clearly differentiates rural areas from the urban centres. The question is: Who are responsible for the continuing dichotomization of the urban and rural environments?

The significance of the above question cannot be over-emphasized, especially after four decades of self-rule in Ghana, the elite rulers (politicians and administrators) who were trained in the traditions of Western colonial masters continue to control the affairs of the country. The training they received rather alienated them from the traditional environment which the rural areas depicted. While the ruling elite made sure that the urban centres were served with social amenities, which made life more meaningful, the rural areas were denied of such amenities. A few amenities which were provided in the rural Ghana were regarded as "Privileged gifts". A sad reflection of this situation is manifested in the health delivery system. As we talk of "Health for all in the year 2000" rural communities are asking the Ministry of Health to train Traditional Birth Attendants, (TBAs).¹⁰ Instead of making sure that all and sundry have access to modern health delivery system, it is common to see MOH personnel sharing first-aid boxes and certificates to the TBAs after six weeks training in hospitals and government clinics. The emphasis on TBA's suggests that we are not able to provide the rural areas with modern health care within the next foreseeable future.

Attempts at decentralization have not been very successful because the bureaucrats in the cities and regional capitals have frustrated the concept by refusing to take up appointments in the rural districts and sub-district centres.¹¹ It is believed that the idea of decentralization would help to spread development evenly throughout rural Ghana. Unfortunately, these agents of development, the bureaucrats, poised to perpetuate the under-development and marginalization of the rural areas have remained glued to their cosy offices in the cities and urban centres. We postulate that the entire political structures are all urban based and, therefore, care less for the development of rural areas.¹²

The rural dwellers as producers of staple foods have to rely on the urban markets for their products. Just like the unjust world economic order which is working against the so called Third World countries, the urban dwellers have sought to impoverish the rural farmers by paying low prices for their farm products. Furthermore, the infrastructure which are pre-requisites for development (which must be provided by the elite) have not been provided and continued to be denied in the rural areas. The last and pathetic point is that most bureaucrats have very little or no idea about the poor conditions of the rural areas. It is not surprising, therefore, that the gap in development between the urban and rural areas continues to grow wider, just as the schism between the industrialized and developing countries is becoming deeper and unbridgeable.

Having helped to create and sustain this unpalatable environment, the urban elite had wished that the rural folks lived there permanently. Unfortunately, the rural dwellers, especially the youth, who have had some level of Western training always had an ambition to live in the urban environment. Indeed, the attraction of the urban environment had been great on those rural dwellers who had passed through school. Those who braved the storm and migrated to urban areas to look for white collar jobs served as role models for their kith and kin. Therefore, as more and more rural dwellers became literate so did the rural environment become less and less attractive to them. Thus staying in towns/cities became so prestigious that parents encouraged their children to migrate to those areas.

We must be positive that moving to an urban centre in search of higher paid job is the direct result of an educational system that trained people for white collar jobs. A migrant may be willing to accept a messenger's job even though he may have a high school education. Our education is still academic oriented and designed to suit modern development pattern which has nothing to do with the progress for rural communities. The following comment was made on Kenya¹³:

"It has become increasingly evident that formal education as it is today has tended to alienate the youth from their real social and productive background and the realities of nation-building. This has been attributed to the white-collar attitudes that it builds up in most of them.... At the moment there is very little linkage between the formal education system and the real life situation under which the majority of people live and work" (p. 18).

This Kenyan situation epitomizes the general situation of many other African countries including Ghana. Ghana's recent introduction of compulsory vocational training in the latter part of the first cycle education is too early to assess its impact on job openings for the JSS leavers. As at now those who fail to reach the standard for the Senior Secondary School join the large army of semi-literate who flock the urban centres only to swell up the group of unemployed or underemployed.

Now let us examine more critically the reasons of rural-urban drift. Caldwell¹⁵ writing in 1969 on this topic said:

"While in general the causes of migration to the cities are similar to those found elsewhere certain factors can be considered to have special importance in various parts of Africa: the desire or necessity to obtain money income for such purposes as the payment of taxes, the purchase of certain highly valued consumer goods or implements or payment of bride-price, pressure of population on the land..., the desire to break away from the monotony and strict control of tribal life; the attraction of the town and its real or imagined opportunities for personal advancement and independence as well as improved material welfare; the desire to join one or more members of the family already in town; the social prestige associated in tribes with a period of residence in town and finally the pressure of labour recruiting agents, administrators and chiefs... There is also evidence that education affects the tendency towards migration".

Agyeman and Bawuah¹⁶ summaries the causes of migration as follows:

"...but youth migration in Africa occurs primarily for economic reasons. The youth respond to labour market conditions in search of higher paying jobs in the urban areas".

These causes of migration are governed by laws of migration; Revenstein¹⁷ for example proposed:

"that people move from locations of poor economic opportunities to areas of high economic opportunities".

Lee¹⁸ polished Revenstein's Law and analyzed rural-urban migration in terms of "push and pull" factors existing in areas of migrants' origins and destinations. The "push" factor exists as a result of rural poverty, under employment and lack of other social and economic amenities

which impinge negatively on the migrants. Thus migrants are "pulled" into cities/urban centres because of greater opportunities, better educational and health facilities as well as other socio-economic amenities.

During the 1950's Arthur Lewis incorporated elements of rural-urban migration model into his theoretical analysis of economic development.¹⁹ This model was latter refined and honoured by G. Ranis and J.C.H. Fei.²⁰ The assumption underlying the model is that migration is purely an economic phenomenon; the basic premise of the model is that a developing country has dual economy namely subsistence and high wage sectors. The high wage sector earns higher profits which are re-invested in the sector. In the subsistence sector, however, workers are paid subsistence wages, even though marginal productivity is zero. Thus in a market economy characterized by unfettered mobility of labour workers will move from the subsistence wage sector to higher paid industrial sector whenever the opportunity occurs.

Another theory of migration worth mentioning is the one which treats decisions by individuals and household migratory patterns as human investment.²¹ This theory which was developed by Sjaastad and refined by Tadaro²² offers a better understanding and explanation of the African situation than the dual economy model. The theory treats migration as decision-making based on cost benefit analysis. Tadaro argued that potential migrant will move if his subjective probability of getting job and the expected net present value of stream of returns are positive. Individual migrants may move to urban areas even though information flowing back to rural area show high unemployment and harsh conditions of life. This phenomenon occurs because individuals see the urban economy consisting of dual-labour markets. One that is small and modern and the other traditional. Individuals in the traditional sector may hawk products, do service jobs, serve as middlemen between sellers and buyers at times some of them operate in the underground economy;²³ individual migrants would normally take up one or the other traditional sector jobs mentioned above while they wait for better jobs in the modern sector.

In addition to the above models are other macro-economic and non-economic factors that facilitate the tendency to leave the village for an urban life. The governments' incoherent policies (for example, the budget allocation for the Ministry of Agriculture which emphasizes the promotion of agricultural activities, instead of favouring the rural areas tend to have a greater proportion being utilized on the elite who reside in two/cities) tend to encourage rural-urban migration.

Also government pricing policies tend to favour urban dwellers. As consumer goods move from cities to rural centres prices become higher. This is coupled with the artificially low urban prices paid for the basic and essential agricultural products, consequently depressing incomes in the agricultural products. Frequently food prices are too low for farmers to recover their production costs. The end result is rural poverty and migration to urban centres. This rural poverty which is evidenced in low agricultural incomes and productivity have 'pushed' many people especially the youth out of rural areas towards areas with greater employment opportunities.

Other socio-psychological factors such as the availability of better social life conditions, good educational facilities and better medical and health facilities, make city life more attractive. The so-called "bright lights" effect reinforces the economic factors. Lastly, the support new migrants to the cities, receive from relatives and friends tends to ensure security to these people even before they find jobs.

Consequences of Migration

It is known that in the long run some individual migrants improve their welfare. However, net private benefits to the individual occur at the expense of the net costs to society. The effect of the uncontrolled rural-urban migration lead to the following:

- a) high urban unemployment and under-employment;
- b) over crowding;
- c) pollution;
- d) growth of low productivity informal sectors;
- e) pressure on public utilities;
- f) development of street people.²⁴

These negative results of rural-urban migration have created a situation of near panic among the urban elite. Before we discuss the effect of this 'fear' we have to follow these migrants to see what they do for a living. In the city of Accra one can see a large army of youths whose ages range from 10 to about 32 years and are engaged in the following activities:

a) hawking of goods ranging from dog chains to newspapers and some foreign magazines. These people are mainly boys and are located along the busy streets where "go slow" of vehicles is the order.

b) Sellers of chilled water in small plastic packs and cans - these are mainly girls whose average age is about 14 years. They are found at lorry parks and markets where there are large numbers of visitors and travellers to and from the city.

c) There are also male cart pushers (*Kayakaya*), these are porters who carry people's loads at market places; the female counterpart of this group are female porters/carriers known locally as *Kayayie*. These young women and girls carry loads on their heads and are found at market places.

d) Other prominent groups are the shoe-shine boys, raffle operators/tricksters, chop bar attendants, street girls and pick-pockets. Some of these people make quite some income. A research we conducted shows the following as average daily earnings:

Kaya yoo	₦2,000.00
Iced water seller	₦1,000.00
Shoeshine boy	₦1,500.00
Truck/wheelbarrow operator	₦4,000.00
Other hawkers	₦3,000.00

There are other migrants who are in more respectable vocations such as:

- a) secondhand clothes dealers,
- b) hawkers of different types of goods,
- c) daily rated workers like cleaners and messengers,
- d) “low” salary workers like clerks, typists, elementary school pupil teachers, GPRTU police, junior ranks of police, armed forces, prisons, fire service etc. These groups of people have incomes averaging ₦80,000.00 per month. Aside from of these people are a large army of boys, girls, young women/men who do not have permanent jobs but undertake odd jobs, most of these are street people.²⁵

The harsh life these street people have to go through is something to drive a decent personality crazy. Maayang wrote:

“Swarms of hungry-looking, dirty men, women and children lay on huddled slabs and cobbled pavement where a strong stench of sweat and urine reeks and rules the air waves” (p.2) Also the mosquitoes are a predictable nuisance and so can be tolerated but the rains come when we are not aware, disturb our sleep and keep us standing for hours when we should be resting” (p. 14).

A typical street person talks about her experience out of house:

“No one is prepared to accommodate me. I have tried to plead with some friends but they are already crowded where they are”.

She concludes:

“you see, one day, we’ll have to quit this hard Accra life and get back home. I don’t intend to go back empty-handed”.

Maayang²⁶ concludes his article on the homeless thus:

"Be as it may, the stark truth about Ghana's homeless is that they are neglected, underprivileged lot, spin-offs of social justice, cut off from the amenities of society (compelled to squat here and there) and like migrant birds, changing their sleeping places according to the time and clime. Hunger, disease, poverty and squalor stare them squarely in the face; the bias of national policy, poor planning and misdirected investment aggravate their disintegration, rendering them further removed from the ministrations of Structural Adjustment, PAMSCAD (Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment) and Economic Recovery Programme (ERP)" (p. 18).

Maayang's statement above underscores the general conditions of the underprivileged, whether they are in the rural areas or in towns. A few of the migrants are able to break the economic barrier though, but the generality remain a struggling class just like their kinsmen in rural areas.

The Truth About the Call to Go Back to the Land

Looking at the state of life of these migrants to the cities and towns, it is only fair that they should be admonished to go back to their roots. From this angle the call to go back looks positive and appears to be for the good of those folks, namely the urban poor migrants. However, a critical examination of the intentions of the callers - the urban elite - appears contrary. Some of the main factors which underpin the call are:

a) decongestion of the cities/towns. Typical examples of choked cities are Accra and Kumasi. The phenomenal growth of Accra, about 6 percent per annum is not through natural growth²⁷. The major contributory factor is migration of individuals to seek greener pastures. Presently, it is a nightmare to experience the congestion in some parts of Accra with the exception of high class residential areas.

b) As a result of this congestion the utility services are over stretched. It is a common occurrence to see people queuing up at public toilets (especially in the mornings) to attend to nature's call in low class areas such as Bubiashie, Chorkor, Maamobi, Nima etc. This is an indication that there are not enough toilet facilities for the people in those areas. (ii) Heaps of refuse in such residential areas like Nima, Kaneshie, Osu, Chorkor, Dansoman etc. attest to the lack of solution to the problem of waste disposal in Accra. Occasional occurrence of cholera and the daily occurrence of dysentery and other intestinal diseases are the result of poor sanitation in Accra. The open gutters are choked with refuse and human excreta.

c) Since there are no jobs for these migrants it has created a large army of under employed youths roaming about in the cities. An off-shoot of the problem of underemployment is the hoard of beggars - both able bodied and handicapped persons.

It is the hope of the urban/city planners that if Accra could get rid of the excess population, then this socio-environmental problems could be solved. Unemployment breeds desperation which forces or pushes some individuals into criminality. Indeed, among these unemployed migrant youths are "wee" smokers, pick-pockets and armed robbers. The people get hardened through the harsh life they have to undergo. They are a nuisance to those who are gainfully employed and who are often robbed of their hard won properties. Therefore, to create peace and security the urban elite would want to get rid of these "undesirables".

Why has the call failed to yield result?

The question of youth migration in Africa generally raises several pertinent questions, for example

- a) Can urban unemployment be turned into rural employment?
- b) Also can the educated and semi-educated youth be induced to return to the rural areas to seek gainful employment over there?
- c) If economic incentives impel the youth to search for urban jobs can the situation be reversed by offering higher rural economic and social incentives?

These and other such searching questions have not been answered, yet the urban elite continue to give slogans of return migration. These calls have fallen on deaf ears for several reasons.

a) No migrant wants to go back home empty-handed. A street girl said. *"You see one day, we'll have to quit this hard Accra life and get back home. I don't intend to go back empty-handed"*²⁸. Even though most migrants intend to return home no one wants to go back as a failure. Indeed, those who failed to achieve their job aspirations return to their villages with a sense of failure and inferiority. This psychological reason gives the migrants tenacity of purpose to linger on in the urban environment.

b) The youth in the cities/towns, no matter their social status, tend to have a sense of superiority over their counterparts in the villages. This is, at times, the result of social amenities which they enjoy. To most of them the state of urban life is an improvement on the drab rural life.

c) The infra-structure/utilities in the rural areas do not appeal to the urban youth, for example, lack of potable water, electricity, video houses etc.

- d) Parents of most migrants do not wish that their children should come as "nobodies".

Parents aspirations are such that their children should make it socially and economically. It is interesting to know that most parents do not wish their off-springs to take up farming which they regard as non-prestigious vocation. There is a story of a parent (farmer) who became disappointed when he learnt that his son was reading a course in agriculture at the University. This illustrates the low esteem the main rural occupation enjoys among the rural folks themselves. No illiterate farmer wishes his/her educated child to take up farming as his/her permanent vocation; except, of course the drop-outs. Even with this group parents would want them to learn a trade.

Those who return to their rural roots often do not serve as good role models for others to follow. This is because most of those who return are the old (retired workers), the sick and the unsuccessful²⁰.

In view of the above we would like to propose that until the urban elite put in place some selected rural development programmes that are targeted to the youth and are aimed at making rural life meaningful, those who have migrated to the towns/cities should not go back. We propose that the rural dwellers must enjoy the same amenities as the urban dwellers. This point is relevant because independence was fought for and won precisely in the name of the people (in Ghana about 70% of the population live in rural areas). If after independence the rural dwellers are denied the fruits of independence, that is progress and development, then the rulers have been ungrateful and untrustworthy, because of the promise of "heaven" made to the masses.

Development of Rural Areas

In order to reverse the trend of rural-urban migration sustainable rural development programmes may be adopted. This calls for a wide range of policy options which aim at decelerating the rate of growth of rural-urban migration, reverse the migratory patterns, increase real incomes of rural folks and promote the growth of small towns. It is suggested that the government may have to undertake the assessment of its past and present policies and programmes that have failed to achieve the goal of rural development as well as the consequential increases in urban population due to rural-urban migration.

To achieve growth and development in rural areas, stop rural-urban migration and eventually reverse the trend, the following policies are suggested for adoption and implementation.

- a) Firstly, a policy of price control on agricultural products should be completely abolished; while at the same time agricultural inputs may be subsidized and their availability assured. Secondly, perishable agricultural products such as vegetables should not be allowed to rot. A way may be found for the farmers to dispose of such products. These suggestions may be part of a well calculated policy options which will foster confidence that will enable

rural communities to cultivate the land more intensively. Such policy option which will create an economic environment where farmers will perceive and observe equitable rates of return on their investments.

b) To unleash the entrepreneurial spirits and abilities of the youth the government may undertake fiscal tax incentives policy that will expand agricultural and non-agricultural production and employment.

c) Investment policies should encourage private enterprise in rural areas. These policies must direct resources to be allocated at an accelerated rate from lower to higher value-added activities and direct much of agricultural and manufacturing activities to overseas markets.

The success of these policies must be based on the government's adherence to new financial incentives for producers.

d) Public investments in infra-structure are *sine qua non* for the success of any rural development plans. Transportation, communication and power are the three essential variables in any development equation. In Ghana a great deal of investments are needed in these areas for the rural sector.

e) Lastly, industrial location is another contributing factor to the rural-urban migration problem. Due to poor infrastructure and the inclination to impress the outside-world industrial/manufacturing concerns continue to be located in urban centres, about 80% of all industries are located in Accra-Tema industrial zones. Many of these location decisions are made without regard to where resource inputs are located. Obviously, the net result is the increase of urban population without any compensating balance in the growth of employment within the urban sector.

f) We would like to conclude this section by saying that a congenial atmosphere should be created in the rural areas so that the rural dwellers may find it easy to make reasonable living in their local environment. By this way rural youth may not find it lucrative or more advantageous to move out to the urban centres for unavailable jobs. Whatever atmosphere that is created must be sustainable otherwise the aim of rural development will be defeated.

We have looked extensively at what should be done at the rural setting in order to halt the rural-urban migration; we may have to look at what should be done to the youth who are already in towns/cities and who are unemployed or under-employed. It seems to us that something good could be found in those young men and women who live as street people in towns/cities if targeted programmes aimed at improving their socio-economic status are put in place. A survey conducted by us indicated that most of the youth who are in jobs such as shoe polishing, hawking of goods etc. do not intend to remain in such low-paid jobs. Most of them claim that they have nobody to look after them for further training, either in school or in some vocation. They are in this harsh urban environment to make some money to be able to go in for

some technical or vocational training such as dress-making (for girls), masonry, carpentry and auto mechanic for boys. Each of those interviewed appeared to have some ambition. As Badu and Bawua³⁰ put it *"youth are hardworking, dynamic, outward-looking and entrepreneurial and place high importance on respect, dignity and self-improvement"*.

It is our contention that the training to be given to these under-privileged urban youth should be such that most of them will find it convenient to practise these new vocations in rural areas. A hair dresser, or dress maker or shoe maker trained in the city is likely to have more opportunities in his/her native environment than being in the city.

It is here that we want to make a passionate appeal to the NGOs who have the less privileged migrants (to the cities) at heart to come to their aid. It will be interesting to target say the *Kayayei*, that is the female head porters, to be trained in vocations such as dressmaking, pottery, tie and dye cloth making and see to settle them in their rural environs. This will be a positive response to a sustainable development of individuals who constitute the migrant population in towns and cities. Once properly resettled in their home areas, the likelihood of returning to the urban centres becomes less. Indeed, rural youth who are gainfully engaged normally do not migrate to towns. A study by Ohene-Konadu³¹ on the craft villages of Kwabre in Asante confirms this claim. However, we should bear in mind that the basic necessities of life such as electricity, potable water, accessible roads etc. are significant ingredients in sustaining the interest of rural youth in their native environment.

Postscript

Experiences from other Third World Countries have shown that the youth once in towns may not find it convenient to be resettled in rural areas. For example, in Zambia a group of young people who were resettled in a rural setting to engage in agriculture walked about a thousand miles back to Lusaka. In Ghana attempts at resettling people to engage in farming, for example, the Brigade Resettlement Farms in the First Republic and the resettlement of the Ghana National Reconstruction Corp. in the early 1970s were not successful. The obvious reason being that once the youth tasted the urban life (no matter how harsh it maybe) the drab rural life might not appeal to them.

Again it is not always true that the youth trained in some vocations in cities and towns, are likely to adjust and make reasonable living in rural areas. This is because some vocations do not have large markets in rural areas. For example, a well trained carpenter is likely to fare better in cities/towns where patronage of his products could be higher than the small market in a rural community. There are several examples of such trained people who have either drifted back to the city/urban setting or have completely abandoned their vocations once settled in rural areas.

We want to propose that once the youth drift to towns and cities they should be targeted to make a decent living there; while frantic and sustainable efforts are made to improve the rural areas. It is this improvement envisaged for the rural areas which could halt the rural-urban migration. We must forget about the urban-rural remigration of the youth.

Footnotes

- 1a) Republic of Ghana 1987 **Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment**. Government of Ghana, Accra (passim)
- b) Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
1991 **Public Investment Programme 1991-1993 PAMSCAD and Multi-sectional Vol. 2, 11**. Accra
- 2) Abayie Boaten, Nana A.
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- 3) Okonjo, Prof. 1979 "The Concept of Development" in **Rural Development in Ghana** (ed.) C.K. Brown, U.C.C. also see Ewusi, Kojo 1975 **Planning for the Neglected Rural Poor in Ghana**, ISSER, Legon.
- 4) Gomez, Raja 1989 (Back Cover Commentary) "Studies in Youth and Development" (eds.) Osei-Hwedie and Muno, **Commonwealth Youth, Programme** African Centre, Lusaka.
- 5) Wilfre Cartey and Martin Kilson
1970 **The African Reader**, New York, Vantage, p. 66
- 6) K. Osei-Hwedie and Bertta Zimba Osei-Hwedie
1989 "Formal Education in Ghana" in **Studies on Youth and Development** (eds.) K. Osei-Hwedie and Muna Ndulo. Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- 7) Asenso-Okyere, W., Asante, F.A., Oware-Gyekye, L.
1992 **Case Studies on Rural Poverty in Commonwealth Ghana**, London
- 8) *Ibid.*
- 9) Boateng, Ewusi, K., Kanbur, R., McKay, A.
1990 "A Poverty Profile for Ghana 1987-1988" **Social Dimensions of Adjustment on Sub-Saharan Africa Working Paper No.5**, World Bank, Washington D.C.

10) The TBAs are illiterate old ladies who serve as midwives in rural areas. They have no knowledge of either modern midwifery or general nursing. When they face problem in the course of their duties they are found to be helpless. However, they are heavily utilized in rural Ghana as midwives. In contemporary times the Ministry of Health has instituted measures to train them and arm them with simple first aid tools. A situation which presupposes that the health delivery system in rural Ghana is still inadequate or rudimentary.

- 11) See Apreku, Baffour Kofi
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- 12) See Boakye Boaten, A.
1995 **Rural Development. A Challenge to the Ghanaian Civil Service.** (Essays in Rural Development). Mimeograph, I.A.S., Legon.
- 13) See Simons **Employment Oriented National Youth Programmes in Africa: Situations Problem and Prospects**. P. 18.
- 14) Lipton, M. 1980 "Migration from Rural Areas of Poor Countries: The Impact of Rural Productivity on Income Distribution" **World Development** 8. 1 pp. 1 - 24.
- 15) Caldwell, John C. 1969 **African Rural Urban Migration**, Australia NNP Canberra Huret and Co., London.
- 16) Agyeman Badu, Y. and Kwadwo Bawua
1989 "Reversing the Migration of African Youth" Osei-Hwedie and M. Ndulo (eds.) *Ibid*.
- 17) Ravenstein, E.C. 1989 "The Laws of Migration" in **Journal of the Royal Statistics Society**, pp. 241 - 302.
- 18) Lee, E.S. 1966 "A Theory of Migration" **Demography** 3. 1 pp. 47 - 57.
- 19) W. Arthur Lewis 1954 "Economic Development with Unlimited Labour" **The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies** 22. pp. 139 - 191.
- 20) Ranis, G. and Fei, J.C.H. "A Theory of Economic Development" **American Economic Review** 51. 4, pp. 533 - 565

- 21) Sjaastad, L.A. 1962 "The Costs and Return of Human Migration" **Journal of Political Economy** 70. 5 pp. 80 - 93.
- 22) Tadaro, M.P. 1980 "The influence of Education on Migration and Fertility" in John Simons (ed.). **The Education, Dilemma: Policy Issues for Developing Countries**. Pergamon Press, New York. Also see "A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries" **American Economic Review** 59, 1969, pp. 139 - 148.
- 23) *Ibid.*
- 24) Maayang, L. Dempsey 1994 "Up and Down the City Streets - The Shocking State of Ghana's Homeless" **Uhuru** Vol. 6, No. 9 pp. 12 - 18
- 25) *Ibid.*, p. 14
- 26) *Ibid.*, p. 18
- 27) Quarcopome, S.S. 1993 **The Impact of Urbanization on the socio-political History of Ga Mashie People of Accra. 1877 - 1957** An unpublished Ph.D. thesis, I.A.S. Legon.
- 28) Maayang, *op. cit.*, p. 15
- 29) See Lipton, *op. cit.*
- 30) Badu and Bawua, *op. cit.*
- 31) Ohene Konadu, K. 1994 "The Effects of Kente and Adinkra Industries in Kwabre District of Ashanti. A study in Industrial Sociology". **I.A.S. Research Review (NS)** Vol. 10, Nos. 1 & 2.