

An Analysis of the Determinants of Rural to Urban Migration Among Rural Youths in Northern and Western Provinces of Rwanda

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Abstract

The problem of rural to urban migration is a relatively old and ubiquitous phenomenon globally. However, in recent years, it has become a cause of concern at the global, regional and national levels. The unprecedented levels of urbanization characteristic to most developing countries have resulted in the movement of people from rural to urban areas subsequently resulting in the emergence of slums and informal settlements. Like many developing countries, Rwanda has been facing increasing challenges related to rural to urban migration. It is in this context that the broad objective was to analyze factors that determine rural youths' decision to migrate to urban areas in Nyabihu (Western Province) and Burera (Northern Province).

A combination of non-probability and probability sampling methods were used to select a total of 113 for inclusion into the survey. Structured questionnaires were used as the principal data collection instruments. Secondary data was used to complement primary data collected in this study. The study was pillared on two hypotheses. Firstly, the lower the income an individual, the higher the probability of migrating to urban areas. Second, the study also postulated that the desire for better employment opportunities explains the likelihood to migrate.

The results of the study showed that youths who are likely to migrate are predominantly aged between 17 to 22 years, and earn incomes of less than 34129Frw per month, are male, have primary education, are currently not employed. Youths migrate for a number of reasons which include the need for temporary and permanent job opportunities, access to social services and infrastructure, as well as schooling opportunities. Factor analysis showed that there are three factors which are critical in rural to urban migration and these are availability of social services in rural areas, which is likely to deter youths from migrating. However, presumed stable jobs in the cities and towns coupled with an inauspicious social environment in rural areas are likely to give incentive to youths to migrate from rural to urban areas.

The problem of rural to urban migration is a complex issue that requires a comprehensive holistic policy strategy emphasizing on income diversification to non-agricultural activities, vocational skills, public and private sector partnerships and management of value chains for effective mainstreaming of disadvantaged youths into development processes of the country.

Key words: rural to urban migration, Nyabihu, Burera, factor analysis, cluster analysis, rural youths, Rwanda

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1.1 Introduction

The problem of rural to urban migration is a relatively old and ubiquitous phenomenon globally. However, in recent years, it has become a cause of concern at the global, regional and national levels. The unprecedented levels of urbanization characteristic of most developing countries have resulted in the movement of people from rural to urban areas subsequently resulting in the emergence of slums and informal settlements. Developmental challenges that include spread of disease pandemics (cholera, dysentery), supply of unclean water, insecurity, poor infrastructures and poor service delivery are common in these regions. Furthermore, problems such as pollution, congestion and crime are linked to this concept (Siddiqi, 2004). Yet rural to urban migration is also sometimes seen as an important livelihood strategy for rural youths mostly domiciled in poor rural areas in developing countries.

Like in other countries in East Africa, Rwanda has witnessed high rates of urbanization since the war of 1994. The rate of urbanization was 5% before 1994 and it increased to 16% in 2002 and to an estimated 25% in 2009. Before 1994, rural-urban migration was not a significant problem as only 6 percent of Rwanda's population lived in urban areas in 1990, and the annual urban growth rate decreased from 5.6 percent in the period 1955-60 to 4.9 percent in the years 1985-90. This could be explained by the relatively stable rural conditions or unfavorable urban conditions. The rural economy of the country remains predicated on agriculture, with 90% of the population depending on this activity for their livelihoods (MINAGRI, 2007). Since the livelihoods of about 90 per cent of Rwandan people are inextricably linked to land, population growth is the main driver for the increased demand for natural resources leading to limited economic opportunities in rural areas. Many youths who are under 25 years of age and accounting for 67% of the population have been migrating to urban areas.

Various theories have been put forward to explain why rural to urban migration occurs. Such theories include the Harris and Todaro model (1970). In this model, the two authors considered migration to be

influenced by the wage differential between rural and urban areas (Harris and Todaro, 1970, p126). They also viewed the decision to migrate as an individual decision. Improvements to this model have been suggested, which consider migration to be a family decision rather than an individual decision. Agesa and Kim (2001) conducted a study in Kenya focusing on the household unit maximizing its utility through various forms of migration. They observed that because of large households, including numerous dependents, the majority of rural-to-urban migrants engage in split migration where the household head typically moves to an urban area initially without his family and the family follows later after sufficient income has been generated to stay in an urban area. Literatures also points out that lack of jobs, famine, drought, various kinds of poverty for example landlessness, the hope to find a job, increase one's income, educational opportunities, in search of better services—generally to improve one's economic welfare influence the tendency of individuals to migrate to urban areas (Macharia, 2003). Studies have also shown that farm mechanization; farm size, education, marital status, non-farm income and land tenure influence the decision to emigrate towards urban zones (see Nabi, et al 1986, Das, 1989 and Singh, 1986). These factors tend to differ from one socio-economic context to another. In the Rwandan context, few formal studies (for example Gakwandi, 2008) have attempted to focus on analyzing why many youths are migrating to different urban areas of the country. This research therefore analyses the main factors causing rural to urban migration in Northern and Western Provinces.

1.2 Problem Statement

In the last decade, Rwanda has witnessed high rate of urbanization particularly in Kigali city, the capital of the country. Kigali is the main destination, accounting for 37 per cent of internal migration (MFEP 2002). Even though the government has made strides to develop the socio-economic and infrastructure in rural areas of the country through various initiatives such as Vision Umurenge Program, the skewed developmental pattern has led to youths migrating to urban areas (15%). This has posed developmental challenges to urban areas because of increasing pressure on social services such as water, education, health, and housing (MINECOFIN,

2003). Theoretically, this phenomenon can have negative repercussions on agricultural productivity due to limited labor availability. Because of the context specific nature of the causes of rural to urban migration, it is important to undertake a research that identifies the underlying causes of this phenomenon as there is a general dearth of information on this concept. Therefore this study seeks to explore the underlying factors that influence majority of Rwandan youth to migrate from rural to urban centers.

1.3 Objectives of the research

The main objective of the study is to analyze the factors influencing rural to urban migration among rural youths domiciled in the Northern and Western provinces of Rwanda.

Specific objectives are as follows:

1. To identify the current socio-economic activities that rural youths are engaged in the two study areas
2. To determine the likelihood of youths to migrate from rural to urban areas
3. To identify underlying socio-economic and institutional determinants that pull and push youths from rural to urban areas
4. To provide policy recommendations that can be used by government to stave off this problem.

1.4 Significance of the study

Study outputs are important as they will contribute to the growing literature on rural to urban migration both in the region and the country. It is also going to help the government to understand why youths are emigrating and therefore craft the necessary policies and strategies necessary to reduce this problem. Stakeholders who will benefit from this study include youths, local district authorities, MINICOM and other related ministries.

2 Literature Review

Despite rapid urbanization in recent decades, rural populations continue to grow in absolute numbers in all major world regions, outside the western industrialized nations. Rural poverty is also

growing and the most extreme examples of poverty, hunger and deprivation continue to be centered in rural areas. The failure of most rural development strategies to provide adequate livelihoods for large sections of rural society has created a great challenge to policy-oriented research in this area. Such research on the changing socio-economic structures, livelihood conditions, and production relations of rural areas and related urban centers, under the influence of population dynamics, changing market structures and government policies, technological innovations, and globalizing processes, is urgently needed.

A key issue concerns the process of rural transformation under conditions of advancing (regional) incorporation and rural-urban interaction. These conditions may lead to very different responses among the rural communities and farmers are always affected. They may diversify the rural resource base (i.e. develop non-farm activities and engage in rural-urban labor mobility), intensify food crop agriculture, switch toward cash-crop farming or withdraw from subsistence agriculture. Together with the accompanying changes in socio-economic and spatial structures, institutional arrangements and production relations, these processes constitute the core of the study of rural transformation.

In this section literature on rural to urban migration is discussed. Specifically, the authors begin by defining rural to urban migration and other foundational terms related to it. We also identify the various studies that have analyzed this concept in the developing country context including the analytical frameworks used in these studies.

2.1 What is migration and a migrant household?

Migration has been defined as permanent as a form of geographical or spatial mobility that involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of usual residence between geographical units. Change must be between clearly defined geographical units. Movement within the country is referred to as in-migration and movement out an area is called out-migration, while movements between countries are immigration and emigration (Mwageni, 2007). Different types of migration are noted in literature and these are inter alia internal

migration, external migration, emigration, immigration, impelled migration, step migration, return, seasonal and chain migration. However, this study delves on internal migration particularly from rural to urban areas.

A household has been defined as a dwelling unit where a group of persons usually live together and takes food from common kitchen. It, however, includes those who live outside the village but claim the household to be their own. Persons of this category work outside the villages and often send remittances. Such persons are called the migrated members of the household and such households are known as migrant households (Ellis, 2000).

2.2 Theories of migration

This section reviews approaches to migration studies, starting from Ravenstein (1885) 'laws' of migration, to the Todaro model, and the 'new economics' of migration. The literature has also looked at some common views on migration that emphasize on its negative aspects in terms of threat to social or political stability, or environmental degradation. The start of migration studies is usually traced back to Ravenstein's 1885 article that aimed to describe 'laws' of migration, in which the relation between distance and the volume of migration was central. The migration model that is most often cited is probably Todaro's analysis of rural-urban migration (Todaro, 1969, Harris and Todaro, 1970), which built on Lewis' (1954) analysis of the process of development in economies with a labor surplus. These analyses and others, such as Sjaastad's (1962) model of human investment - assume that migrants act individually according to a rationality of economic self interest. The decision to move to cities would be determined by wage differences, plus the expected probability of employment at the destination.

Marxist (or structuralist) tradition has emphasized the structural nature of migration, not just in the context of permanent rural-urban migration, but also with respect to the temporary migration of workers between rural areas. Authors like Safa (1982) challenged the individualistic emphasis in the analyses of Todaro and others. They see labor migration as inevitable in the transition to capitalism. It is not a choice for poor people, but the only option for survival after

alienation from the land. This strand of analysis draws attention to the advantages of migrant labor for capitalist production, and emphasizes the instrumentality of migration in capitalists' control over labor.

A recent development in the literature is the emphasis on family and family strategies as crucial elements in migration decisions. Whereas the Todaro-type of models focuses on the individuals as rational actors, the 'new economics of migration' emphasizes the family as unit of analysis (Stark, 1991). Using household as the central unit of analysis fits in with much anthropological literature, though this would emphasize the difficulty in defining households in different contexts, and the need to take cultural factors more seriously, Krokfors (1995), analyzing migration in Africa as a demographic response to poverty and environmental stress, uses a concept of 'multi-active households', with members of households engaging in different income generating activities.

2.3 Policies and Migration

Policy makers perceive population movements as a threat to stability, or a challenge to established lifestyles. Rural-urban migration, and the consequent urbanization, is regularly portrayed as undesirable. Pinto, formerly at the Economic Commission for Latin America, wrote in 1984 that "any Latin American of my generation has seen with his own eyes the transformation of cities which two or three decades ago were hospitable and attractive, and which today are laboring under the well-known evils of metropolitan congestion and deterioration." The Chinese revolutionary model, according to Fei (Roberts, 1997) "with Chinese characteristics ... ensures that our peasants will never repeat the experience of those farmers who during the early stage of capitalism flooded into the cities after going bankrupt." Though extreme controls have been abolished, China still fears its 'floating population'. Similarly, Ethiopia's current government has not given up the hope to immobilize the population (McDowell and de Haan, 1997). But also in other countries, migration is not always welcomed. The Purulia District Plan in West Bengal in India saw migration as a 'menace' (Rogaly, 1998), and many more examples of this can no doubt be found. In

Rwanda also negative images of migrants in cities continue to prevail where urban infrastructure, and social and political order start to buckle under the strain of massive rural influx, urban planners are worried because of the increased demands migrants place on health service, water, electricity, and public transport. Migrants are blamed, for causing, the rise in crime rates and also an upsurge in HIV/AIDS as a result of prostitution.

2.3.1 Migration as a driver of economic growth and poverty reduction

There seems to be little doubt that migration can reduce poverty and stimulate economic growth. While the evidence is most clear in situations where economies are growing rapidly as in Asia, other contexts present a more mixed picture with both push and pull factors operating, creating less accumulative types of migration as seen in African countries with stagnant economies. For example Afsar (2003) argues that migration has reduced poverty directly and indirectly in Bangladesh as remittances have expanded the area under cultivation and rural labor markets by making land available for tenancy. Similarly two studies in Thailand by Guest (1998) show that remittances are an important supplement to household income and have a multiplier effect on the economy with many major items of expenditure such as construction materials and labor being obtained locally. A study conducted in the Mekong delta area also illustrates the positive multiplier effects of migration and the important role that it has played in the development of the entire Mekong Delta region (ADB, 2003). There the development of infrastructure raised the productivity of agriculture which created a demand for migrant labor and the remittances sent by them helped people staying behind. Anh (2003) draws similar conclusions based on data from Bangladesh, China, Vietnam and Philippines. Anh (2003) further notes that migration is a driver of growth and an important route out of poverty with significant positive impacts on people's livelihoods. The author concludes that attempts to control mobility will be counterproductive.

2.3.1.1 Migration as a livelihood strategy

The linkage between migration and its contribution to livelihoods can be best conceptualized using the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF). The livelihoods framework is a tool to improve our understanding of livelihoods, particularly the livelihoods of the poor. It was developed over a period of several months by the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Advisory Committee, building on earlier work by the Institute of Development Studies. It's one way of "organising" the complex issues surrounding poverty. It's not the only way, but it needs to be modified, adapted, made appropriate to local circumstances, made appropriate to local priorities (DFID, 2001).

This framework recognizes five categories of assets which form the basis of the lives of rural people namely natural, physical, financial, human and social capitals. These are used to sustain livelihood activities for the household. The model also assesses the Vulnerability Context of livelihoods. This refers to shocks, trends and seasonality with their potential impact on people's livelihoods, while policies, institutions and processes on the other side comprise the context of the political and institutional factors and forces in government and the private and the civil sectors that affect livelihoods (DFID, 2001). Figure 1 depicts the schematic presentation of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.

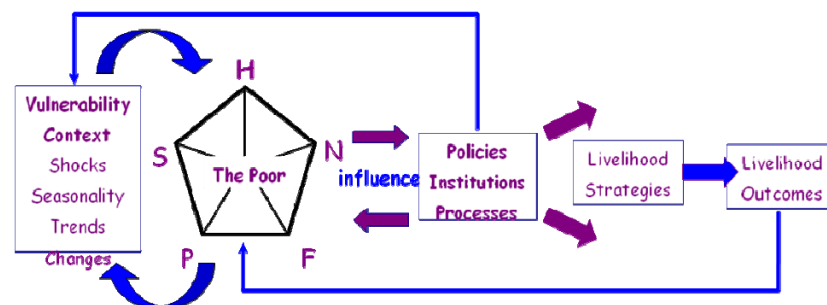


Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Source: DFID (2001)

In the context of Rwanda, many rural youths usually operate in an external environment or vulnerability context characterized by

shocks and seasonality of the agricultural sector. Agricultural shocks may emanate from the stochastic nature of agricultural production activities where rainfall is highly variable as a result of many factors such as climate change leading to droughts. Shocks may also be in the form of price risks as a result of market gluts for crops like Irish potatoes on the market. In the Northern Province for example, prices of this crop are usually depressed to 50 Frw per kg. This translates into extremely low incomes for rural farmers. In addition, many youths are involved in seasonal labor through which they earn some economic rents. Vulnerability could also be related to a lesser extent to insecurity. This scenario coupled with a dearth and paucity of natural, physical, financial, social and human capitals often leads people to seek other economic alternatives. In Rwanda, many youths lack the land entitlements because of land shortages in a setting where population is increasing. They also lack the requisite physical assets such as agricultural implements, houses among others. This context often leads youths to seek for alternative sources of income. Rural to urban migration is thus seen as a viable alternative for many people. An individual may decide to migrate if the expected utility to be gained from migration is greater than the status quo. This is sometimes referred to as the theory of differentials. Literature reflects that individuals migrate to urban cities because of a plethora of factors which are *inter alia* job opportunities, to consume non traded goods, and social amenities. It is also observed that migration cannot take place in the presence of risk (see for example Daveri and Faini, 1999).

Let the status quo be defined in the form of a utility function as follows:

$U_{ij} = U_i(y_i, z_j, q^o, \varepsilon_{0j})$, where Y is income, Z represents a vector of socio-economic variables and attributes of choice-age, gender, education etc and E is the error term

Let the utility of the individual after migration be expressed as follows:

$$U_{2j} = U_i(y_i, z_j, q^o, \varepsilon_{0j})$$

An individual will migrate if the expected utility after migration is greater than that of the status quo or of other competing locations (Arzaghi and Rupasingha, 2008). Discrete choice models such as the

logistic, probit and tobit models are suggested as potential analytical tools.

2.3.2 Rural to urban migration in East Africa

Black, Hilker and Pooley (2004) note that in East Africa there is significant knowledge gaps pertaining to the phenomenon of rural to urban migration. They observe that there is a dearth of data on the numbers of people who are migrating from rural areas and the significance of their contribution to development. Studies have shown that rural families increase their livelihood security by splitting the locations of the family. Migration is also motivated by the need to search for schooling opportunities. In Uganda, the Bank of Uganda Forex and Trade Department is now generally supportive and positively inclined towards granting permission to Money Transfer Organizations (MTOs) to facilitate the transfer of mobile money by people working far from their homes. Remittances from people who have migrated are an important source of livelihood for rural poor; however no information exists about the contribution of this activity in national economic development. In Rwanda, mobile money transfer systems are also being used to reduce the transactions costs of sending money to family and are done through MTN's money transfer system. Rwanda's net migration rate between 1995 and 2000 has been particularly high and this could be linked to instability that was experienced in the early and mid 1990s. (Table 1)

Table 1 Migration trends for some countries in East and Central Africa

Country	Population (m) 000	GDP per capita	HDI	Migrant Stock (%)	Net Migration rate (1995-2000)
Angola	13.1	2187	0.403	0.4	-1.4
Burundi	6.3	591	0.313	1.2	-12.9
Djibouti	0.6	2377	0.445	4.5	6.8
DRC	50.6	765	0.431	1.5	-7.1
Eritrea	3.7	837	0.421	0.4	0.6
Ethiopia	62.9	668	0.327	1	-0.1
Kenya	30.7	1022	0.513	1.1	-0.1
Rwanda	7.6	943	0.403	1.2	62.8
Tanzania	35.1	522	0.440	2.5	-1.4
Uganda	23.3	1208	0.444	2.3	-0.6

Source: UNDESA (2002a)

2.4 Rwanda's Main Historical Migration Trends

Between 1918 and 1959, an unknown number of Rwandans left to work in the mines of Belgian Congo (Zaire), the cotton plantations of East Africa and Burundi. During the 1959-61 period, first major wave of Rwandan refugees, fled to neighboring Uganda, Congo, and Burundi (UNFPA, 2005). In Habyalimana regime, an unknown number of Rwandans left to work in Uganda's coffee Plantations (Pottier, 2002). The fleeing former regime took an estimated 1.7 million Rwandans with them into neighboring Zaire (DRC) and Tanzania, an unknown number guilty of organizing or participation in the genocide. In 2001, the government launched the Rwanda Global Diaspora Network (RGDN). One of the aims of this network is to establish a Diaspora Investment Bank, to try to promote the productive investments and savings of the Diaspora (UNFPA, 2005). One of the aims of the RGDN is to engage Diaspora skills and knowledge to contribute to Rwanda's development.

If one studies the numerical difference between those entering and leaving a province, one obtains a balance reflecting the population gain or loss of that province. With regard to data (the last two Censuses) on the phenomenon of migration and its development over time, it is apparent that there is very little mobility within the Rwandan population (UNFPA, 2005).

After the genocide, the "urban myth" maintained for so long collapsed. The towns, in particular Kigali, experienced a massive influx of people from rural areas since there was relative peace while insecurity raged across the country (UNFPA, 2005). Another significant factor in the rural exodus is the increasing lack of farming or arable land caused by demographic pressure and the degradation of farmed land. With regard to the current government effort to concentrate on the role of international migration especially the contribution of the Rwandese Diaspora in development of Rwanda, much less is known about internal migration and its role on agricultural and rural development. Hence labor migration within urban and rural areas has not received the attention it deserves.

2.5 Causes of rural to urban migration: A generalized view

Generally, the following factors have been identified to be the primary causes of rural to urban migration.

1. The wage – gap between the urban and rural areas. People move to towns in search of well – paid jobs.
2. Chances of getting employment (especially white – collar jobs) are high towns
3. Social services – gap between the rural and urban areas e.g. good roads, schools, hospitals etc are concentrated in urban areas and this attracts people to move to towns etc.
4. Localization of industries in towns which increases employment opportunities in towns than in rural areas.
5. Increase in population in rural areas.
6. Nature of education system which prepares students to work in urban areas especially in the tertiary sector.
7. Political instabilities in some rural areas. Security organs (e.g. the police) are concentrated in urban areas.
8. Low prices for agricultural products which force people to abandon agriculture.
9. Low demand for commodities in rural areas. Business people in rural areas who become rich shift to urban areas where demand for commodities is high.
10. Shortage and unfair distribution of productive land in rural areas.

2.5.1 Causes of rural to urban migration according to different studies

In many developing countries, rural poverty manifested in low agricultural incomes, low productivity and underemployment is pushing many migrants out of rural areas towards areas with greater (perceived) employment opportunities. In this study, we hypothesize that rural youths migrate to seek employment opportunities.

(Hypothesis 1).

The pressure of population in terms of higher people/land ratios has been hypothesized as an important cause of increasing poverty and of rural out–migration: with given technology, there is only a certain proportion of the labor force which can be absorbed by

agriculture, and indeed as technology advances, demand for rural labor may. Schultz (1971) analyzed the push and pull factors of rural to urban migration in Colombia. The study showed that in addition to the traditional push and pull factors, violence in the rural areas was an important determinant of rural to urban migration in Colombia.

Lucas (1985) analyzed the impact of employment opportunities and wage differentials on internal migration in Botswana. The study showed a positive correlation between income and migration, implying that the higher the wages the higher the likelihood to move to town. We hypothesize that the lower the income earned in rural areas, the higher the probability of migrating to urban areas.

(Hypothesis 2).

Nabi, et al (1986) studied rural to urban migration in Pakistan using the probit model. They found out that farm mechanization, land size, tenure system, value of the output were important factors affecting the decision to migrate. They also showed that rural indebtedness was also positively correlated to migration. In Kenya, Agesa and Sunwoong (2001) used a simple inter-temporal expected-utility model for the household to explore the determinants of split and family migration. Split migration occurs when the household head moves from a rural to an urban area first, and the rest of the family remains behind to join him later. Family migration occurs when the household moves together. The validity of the theoretical model was tested using data from Kenya. The findings supported the predictions of the theoretical model and suggested that a large number of dependents may increase the likelihood of split migration. In Rwanda, Gakwandi (2008) conducted a study on rural to urban migration in Bugesera District of Rwanda. The results revealed that remittances were an important livelihood strategy for people living in the district. However, the transactions costs of money transfer were high, thus cheaper money transfer alternatives had to be explored. In this study 10 variables were used to explain rural to urban migration. These are better permanent employment opportunities, social or family environment, seasonal employment opportunities, social services such as education and health, lack of assets, high population density, satisfaction with current employment in rural areas, diffi-

culty of living in the city and availability of infrastructure in rural areas.

2.6 Policy solutions to rural to urban migration

According to the Rural Urban Migration theory, unemployment can be reduced by reducing rural – urban migration. This can be achieved through:

1. Improving economic infrastructure like roads and electricity in rural areas.
2. Extending social services like schools, hospitals, television and radio accessibility and entertainment facilities rural areas.
3. Rural industrialization especially establishing agro – processing industries.
4. Modernization of agriculture to make it an attractive occupation e.g. encouraging use of tractors and improved seeds and animals breeds.
5. Subsidization of agricultural inputs and increase of prices of agricultural products.
6. Land reforms which would improve the land market, access land to land users and distribute land fairly to land users.
7. Population control through family planning programs.
8. Extending credit at low interest rate to farmers.
9. Encouraging foreign and local investors to invest in rural areas e.g. by charging them lower taxes.
10. Changing education system to that which would prepare the youth to work in the agricultural (rural) sector.
11. Opening up new areas in rural areas where population is still low, to settle people from land – shortage areas.
12. Encouraging or even forcing people who have no jobs in towns to go back to land.
13. Political stability in the rural areas.
14. Decentralization of civil service to enable people to get services near their homes.
15. Encouraging non-government organizations to work in backward rural areas.
16. Improvement of rural trading centers to enable people get commodities and inputs very near.
17. Making the minimum wage uniform throughout the country

The government of Rwanda adopted a migration policy in 2009. This project mainly focuses on external migration, that is, it seeks to help people who have been displaced by the socio-economic upheavals experienced in the country in the mid 1990s. A pilot project called “capacity building on migration management for the Tanzanian borders with Burundi and Rwanda” was commissioned in September 2008 and officially ended on 31 August 2009. This project has two arms viz. the development of Personal Identification and Registration System and the establishment of a National Training Centre in Kigali (accessed on <http://www.migrationinformation.org/>).

3 . Research Methodology

3.1 Description of Research sites

The study was conducted in Nyabihu and Burera Districts of Rwanda. These two areas were purposively selected on the basis of the high number of youths who are migrating to nearby towns and to Kigali city. Nyabihu district is one of the 7 districts of the Western Province of Rwanda. It is composed of the former districts of Gasiza, Buhoma, Mutura and Nyamutera. It is currently divided into 12 sectors, which are subdivided into 73 cells. The surface area of Nyabihu district is 512 km², with a population of 280,210 and a population density of 541 people per square km. The district is bordered in the north by Musanze District and Democratic Republic of Congo, in the south by Ngororero and Rutsiro districts, in the east by Gakenke district and in the west by Rubavu district. The climate is basically characterized by four seasons namely the short dry season (December-February), long rainy season (March-May), long dry season (June-August) and short rainy season (September-December). Nyabihu is a predominantly agricultural zone because more than 95% of the population are farmers. The main crops grown are sorghum, maize, wheat, rice, beans, peas, groundnuts, soybeans, bananas, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, yams, cassava and fruits (Nyabihu District Report, April 2007). In terms of economic activities, the local communities are mobilized into cooperatives. There are 14 youth based cooperatives and these are COCOAT, KODIZU, KOKO, KOAIKI, COPCM IMPHUMWE, COAVARU, ITIKI,

COPROME, COAPTIKA, KOARU, COOPROC, COTACOM, COOSODER and ZAFIC (Nyabihu District Report, 2010).

Burera district is located in Northern Province and it has a surface area of 644.8 km². It is limited by Uganda in the north, Gicumbi in the south, Gakenke and Rulindo in the east and Musanze in the west. The total population is estimated to be 320128. There are a total of 110 cooperatives in spanning the whole district. However, in Rwerere sector there are 37 cooperatives. Out of this total, only 7 have a legal status. Thus the 7 cooperatives constituted our sampling frame.

3.2 Sampling frame

The study was conducted between July and August 2010 by a team of 5 researchers and 3 research assistants. A multi stage sampling procedure was used to guide the sampling process. The sampling frame consists of all members or elements of a given population (Higson-Smith, 1995). In Nyabihu District, the sampling frame consisted of all the 14 youth based cooperatives whose ages are mainly between 18-35 years. In the first stage, the researchers purposively selected youth based cooperatives out of many different types of cooperatives operating in the district. In the second stage of the sampling process, we randomly selected one cooperative using a simple random sampling procedure since all the cooperatives are rural and youth based therefore similar. The names of each cooperative were put in a crucible and one cooperative randomly chosen. Each cooperative had an equal chance of being selected into the survey. Using this process, cooperative COCOAT from Rurembo sector was selected with a total membership of 54 members. All the members of this cooperative were interviewed.

In Burera district, we purposively chose Rwerere sector because of financial limitation. From there we then chose one through a lottery technique. Using the process, Duteraninkunga cooperative was chosen. At the time of doing the research, the cooperative had a total compliment of 87 members. Following, Poduri (2000) we calculated the sample size using the formulae below:

$$N_e = \frac{n_e}{1 + \frac{n_e}{N}}$$

Where: n_e is the sample size for big populations ($N > 30$)

N is the size of the population (87)

To calculate n_e , the following formula was used:

$$n_e = \left(\frac{Z_\alpha}{d}\right)^2 p(1-p)$$

Where:

Z_α is the quantil of standard normal distribution

D is precision error

P is proportion of presence

Our calculations are as follows:

$$n = \frac{87 * 384.16}{87 + 384.16} \approx 71$$

On the basis of our calculations, the sample size was 71 respondents. However, because of financial limitations the researchers randomly selected 59 people from lists obtained from the cooperative.

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Primary data

The primary instrument for data collection in this research was structured questionnaires, which contained a mixture of closed ended and open-ended questions. According Boyd, et al, (2004) the questionnaire method has advantages in terms of versatility of the method as well as speed and cost. However, it may have disadvantages as a result of unwillingness of respondents to provide information, inability of respondents to provide information and influence of the questioning process. A Likert scale is a common type of attitude scale that was used in this research. Respondents were presented with a list of statements related to rural to urban migration for which they indicated their relative feelings or evaluations. Researchers then used a 5-point likert scale where 1-strongly agree, 2-agree, 3-neutral, 4-disagree and 5-strongly disagree. Pre-testing of the questionnaires was done by conducting a small

pilot survey in Nyabihu district, to pick any questionnaire administration problems.

3.4 Data analysis

Primary data (mainly quantitative) generated by the study was entered and cleaned to ensure consistency and transcribed in coded form (pre- and post-coded) into the computer using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

3.4.1 Analytical Framework

3.4.1.1 Cluster Analysis

Using, cluster analysis the researchers establish the socio-economic characteristics of rural youths who are likely to migrate to urban areas. Cluster analysis entails partitioning data into sub groups when information about their composition is unknown (Frailey, and Raftery, 1998). Explicitly this approach combines observations on consumers into clusters by minimizing the within group variance in each cluster. This is expressed as follows:

$$[1] \\ W = \sum_{k=1}^{k=g} \sum_{j=1}^{j=m} \sum_{i=1}^{i=n_k} (x_{ijk} - \bar{x}_{jk})^2$$

Where: \bar{x}_{jk} is the mean value of the variable j in cluster k,
 X_{ijk} is the value of an observation assigned to cluster k,
 N_k is the number of observations in cluster k,
 M is number of variables,
 G is the number of clusters

3.4.1.2 Exploratory factor analysis

Factor analysis was used to identify the factors that local rural youths consider important when deciding whether to migrate or not. According to Cunningham and Maloney (1999), factor analysis is concerned with finding a small number of common factors that linearly reconstruct a large number of variables such that:

$$Z_{ij} = \sum_{p=1}^h F_{ip} a_{pj} + e_{ij}$$

Where Z_{ij} is the value of the i^{th} observation, F_{pi} is the set of linear coefficients or factor loadings; e_{ij} is the variable's unique factor or residual. The extracted factors are linear combinations of variables such that:

$$F_{pi} = \sum_{j=1}^k q_{pj} z_{ji}$$

Where F_{pi} is the value of factor p , for individual i for each of the n individuals with observations on k variables and q is the weighting of the p^{th} factor in variable j (Cunningham and Maloney, 1999). A rotated Varimax factor solution was used to interpret results. Following Norusis (1990), small factor loadings of less than 0.5 in absolute value were omitted from the factor analysis solution. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient was used to test the reliability of the importance rating scale. Factor analysis has been used to test the hypothesis 1 stated as follows:

“Rural youths migrate to seek employment opportunities”

Hypothesis 3

“The lower the total income earned in rural areas, the higher the probability of migrating to urban areas”.

In order to test the above hypothesis, chi-squared test was performed to determine the relationship between incomes and the probability to migrate to urban areas. Malhotra (1993) defines Chi square as “The statistic used to test the statistical significance of the observed association in a cross tabulation. It assists us in determining whether a systematic association exists between the two variables”. The null hypothesis is always that there is no association between the variables, that is, the two variables are independent of each other and there is no relationship whatsoever.

4 Results And Discussions

4.1 Demographic characteristics of the sample

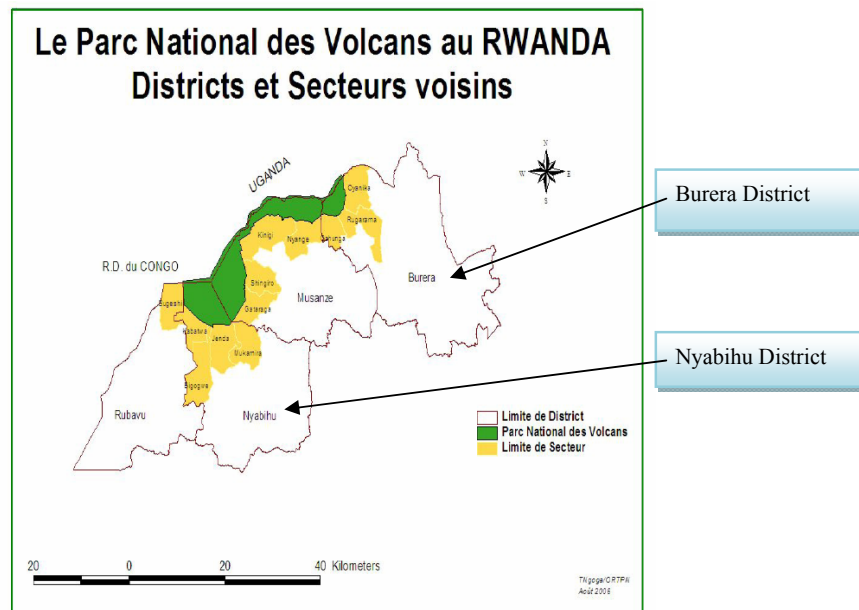


Figure 1 Map showing Burera and Nyabihu Districts

In this section, we present the demographic characteristics underlying the two study areas. Demographic characteristics considered in the survey include gender, civil status, age, household size, educational (highest) level, trainings status and employment. These demographic characteristics are important because they help to enumerate the sample and could also be important factors in influencing rural to urban migration (Lucas, 1985, Singh, 1986 and Siddiqi, 2004). Results basically reflect the scenarios in Nyabihu and Burera Districts.

4.4.1 Educational levels

Extant literature on rural to urban migration in many developing countries shows that education has an important influence on the decision by rural youths to migrate. Thus it was expedient to analyze

the education levels of attainment in the two areas. Figure 1 depicts the picture in the two districts.

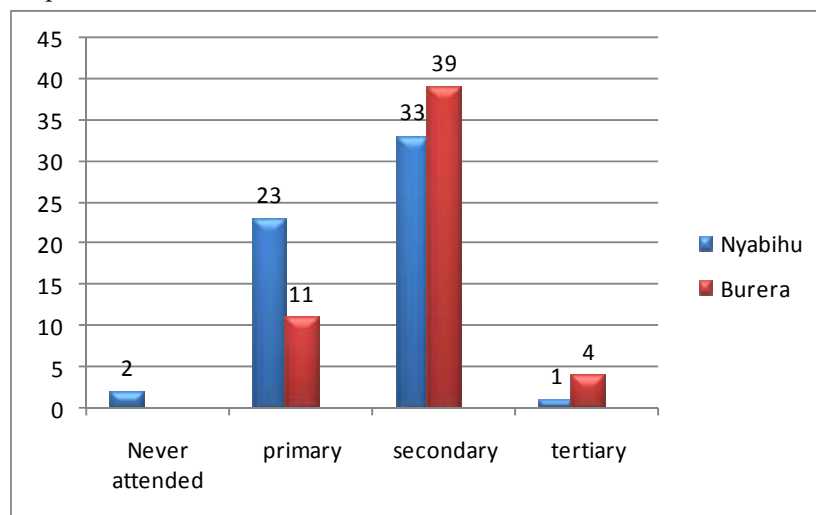


Figure 2 Education level of respondents in Nyabihu and Burera

The majority rural youths domiciled in the two areas have attained secondary education. Whereas, the country has a low proportion of the population who are literate, the above results may reflect the efforts by the government to bolster access to basic education in all areas of the country (MINEDUC, 2008).

4.4.2 Gender distribution

Table 2 Gender distribution

	District (Number and % within district)	
	Burera	Nyabihu
Male	39 (66%)	38 (71%)
Female	20 (34%)	16 (29%)
Total	59	54

It is evident that a greater proportion of male youths were included in the survey when compared to females. These results are at variance with the fact that women account for 53% of the Rwandan population. However, these results may be due to the fact that more youths who participate in cooperative associations are male.

4.4.3 Employment status of rural youths

Employment status of the interviewees is shown in Figure 3.

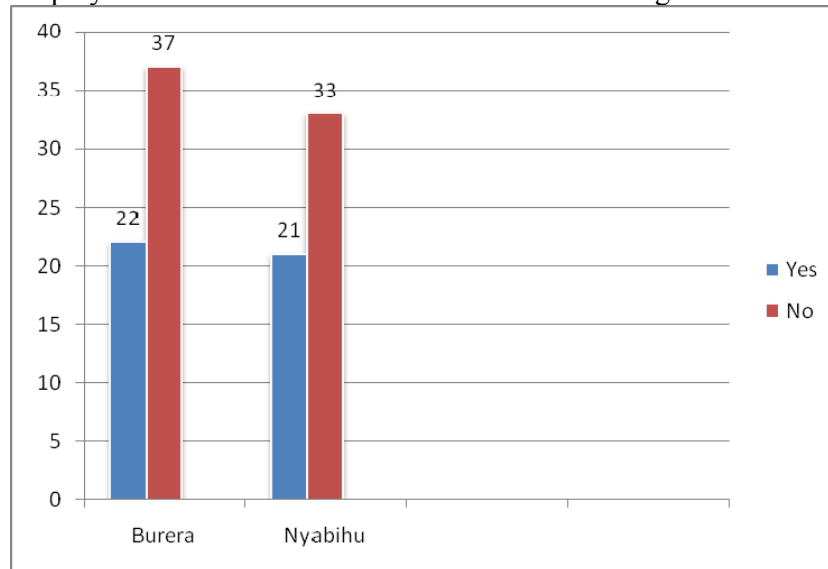


Figure 3 Employment status of the interviewees

Approximately 63% and 61% of the rural youths in Burera and Nyabihu respectively are not formally employed. These results are not surprising as it is argued that there are limited employment opportunities in rural areas of Rwanda and developing countries in general. Lack of formal and lucrative employment opportunities is often cited as one of the most fundamental push factors of rural to urban migration. Results are showed that about 51% of the respondents have not received any training other than formal education.

4.4.4 Age and household size

Researchers predominantly focused on youths who are aged between 17 to 35 years since these are economically active but also have a high likelihood to migrate to urban zones of the country (NSIR, 2006). The average age was 24.7 and 26 years in Burera and Nyabihu districts respectively.

On the other hand, the average household sizes for the two areas were 6 and 5 members per household in Burera and Nyabihu districts respectively. These observations are consistent with the National Institute of Statistics (2007) who showed that the national average for the country is 6 members per household (Table 2).

Table 3 Mean age and household size

	Districts (means)		P-value for the difference between means
	Burera	Nyabihu	
Age	24.7	26	0.1
Household size	6	5	0.021

Approximately 56% of the interviewees' parents are both alive while 39% have one parent alive and 16% are orphans and are mostly involved in farming.

4.4.5 Civil status

The pattern of marital status is similar across the two districts with the majority of youths being single (Figure 3).

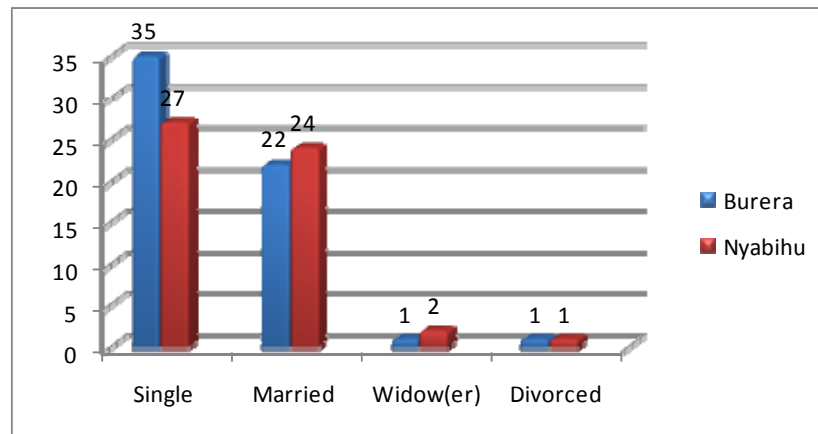


Figure 4. Marital status of respondents

Researchers observed that a greater proportion of youths who are married are 30 years and above implying that many youths marry around this age.

4.4.6 Economic activities sustaining rural youths

In this section two issues were of interest to the researchers. Firstly, we sought to characterize the different professions among the youths and secondly the monetary contribution of these activities per month. Income has been shown in many studies to be one of the principal explanatory variables in rural to urban migration (NSIR, 2006).

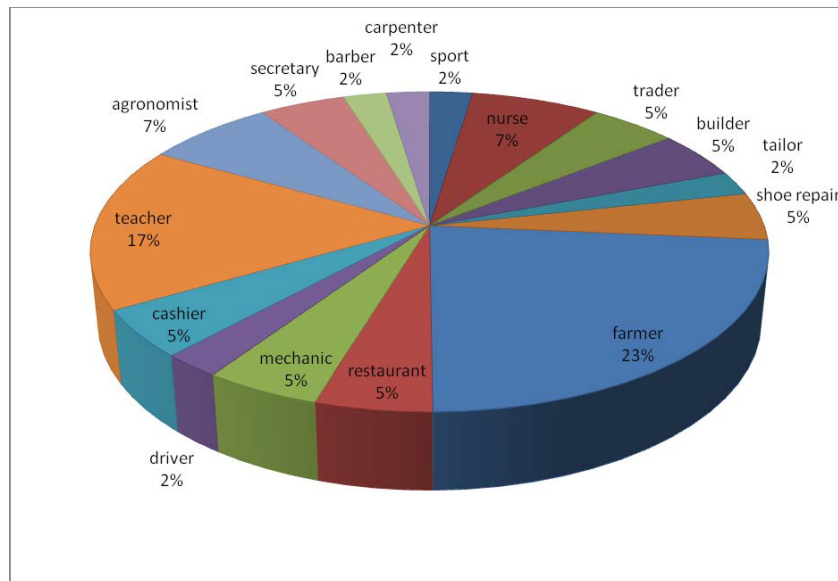


Figure 5 Professions of respondents in Burera and Nyabihu Districts

There is a large diversity of the professions which rural youths are involved in. However, the majority of the youths are involved in agricultural activities. Rwanda is an agrarian country and agriculture is the main activity sustaining the lives of rural people (MINAGRI, 2008). In order to calculate the monetary contribution per month of each economic activity, the above mentioned activities were categorized into formal, informal, crop, livestock activities.

Table 4 Average monthly contribution of each economic activity

Activity	Mean monthly income (Rwf)
Formal employment	41,547 (74 US\$)
Informal employment	28,637 (51 US\$)
Crop agriculture	15,648 (28 US\$)
Animal husbandry	17,450 (31 US\$)

Even though formal employment accounted for a significant proportion of the income earned by rural youths, agricultural activities were also important sources of livelihood contributing a combined income of 59 US\$ per month. These results are corroborated by Kinuthia (2003) and Agesa, et al (2001), who argued that income earned by rural youths is low.

To test the hypothesis 2 that there is an association between income levels and the probability to migrate, chi-squared tests were conducted. The chi-squared value of 0.017 and p-value of 0.896 indicates that there is no association between the current amount of money earned by an individual and his/her decision to migrate. This result is confirmed by cluster analysis and might be due to lack of significant variation in income levels. Other studies have considered income earned in the urban area, for example Lucas (1985) whereas this study considered what is earned in the person's current employment in the rural area. This might reflect that rural-urban migration is a complex decision.

4.4.6 Asset holdings

Table 4 gives a summarized view of the physical assets owned by the households from which the youths reside with.

Table 5 Asset holdings in households

Asset	District	
	Burera (%)	Nyabihu (%)
Bicycle	14.5	35.3
Motor	5.5	5.7
Land	67.3	82.1
House	51.9	84.6

Cattle	43.6	61.5
Goats	20.4	53.8
Sheep	24.1	37.8
Pigs	3.7	10.5
Rabbits	16.7	13.5
Chicken	7.3	2.7

In Burera district, the main physical assets owned were land, houses, cattle, goats and sheep. In Nyabihu district, the most common assets were land, house, cattle, goats, sheep and bicycles. These patterns reflect the importance of land in rural areas since it is used in agricultural production, the main activity in rural areas. The land size is nevertheless small with an average of 1.27 ha, which is also similar to the national average of between 0.5-1.5 hectares (National Institute of Statistics, 2007). Most households also owned livestock mainly in the form of cattle, sheep and goats. Cattle constitute a fundamental resource in the provision of milk, meat and manure while sheep and goats are significant indicators of rural household wealth. These results are consistent with Gakwandi (2008) who also observed a similar pattern of asset ownership in Bugesera District of Rwanda. Bicycles are also owned by many youths in Nyabihu since they are used for transporting people, goods and services for short distances.

4.4.7 Satisfaction with current activities

Researchers sought to assess whether rural youths are satisfied with the current economic activities.

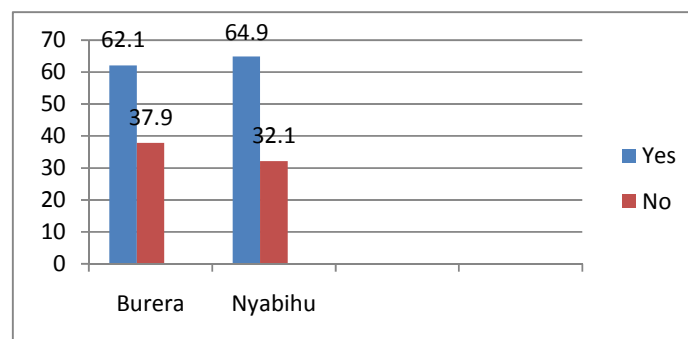


Figure 6 Satisfaction with current economic activities

A greater proportion of the rural youths are satisfied with the current economic activities that they are engaged in. Respondents noted that they are able to sustain themselves in the current socio-economic context, a situation that could reflect the role being played by government programs such as UBUDEHE, Vision Umurenge Program (VUP), and one cow per poor household among others. Youths who expressed dissatisfaction opined that lack of employment (18%), lack of assets (15.3%) and low incomes (27%) are the main reasons for their position.

4.5 Modeling the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas

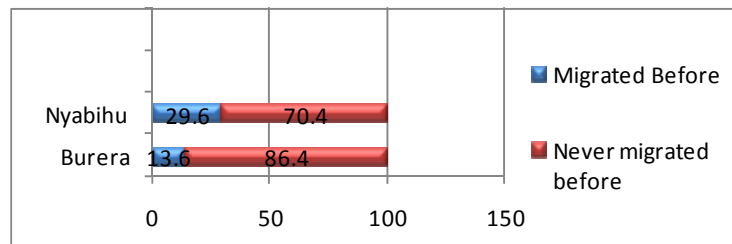


Figure 7 Whether youths have migrated to urban areas before

Researchers were interested in analyzing whether rural youths in the two areas had migrated before. In Nyabihu district, only 29.6% of the respondents have attempted to migrate before while 13.6% had done so in Burera District. Youths living in Nyabihu district had mostly migrated to Gisenyi town where commercial activities are significant because of the town's proximity to Goma, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. On the other hand, youths domiciled in Burera had migrated to Kigali city and Uganda to seek better employment opportunities.

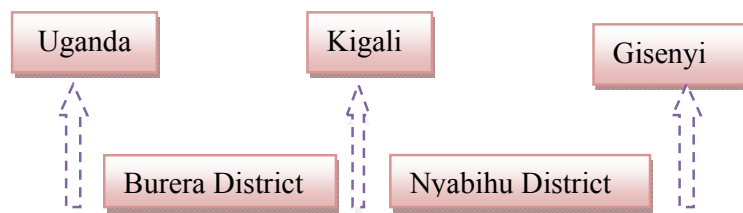


Figure 8 Schematic presentation of rural to urban migration in the two Districts

It was also critical for this study to analyze the likelihood or intention of rural youths to migrate to urban areas.

Table 6 Intention to migrate to urban areas

	District (Frequency and percentage)	
	Burera	Nyabihu
Yes	36 (61%)	45 (83.3%)
No	23 (39%)	9 (16.7%)
Total	59	54

In contrast to the earlier result, a significant proportion of the youths expressed their intention to migrate to urban areas. A larger percentage (83.3%) of the respondents in Nyabihu district intends to migrate while 61% in Burera intend to migrate. The push factors are shown in Table 6.

Table 7 Reasons why youths will migrate to urban areas

Reasons	District (Frequency and Percentage)	
	Burera	Nyabihu
To seek permanent jobs	33 (55.9%)	25 (46.3%)
To seek part time employment	1 (1.7%)	4 (7.4%)
Access to better life (social services such as electricity, infrastructure)	15 (25.4%)	35 (64.8%)
Schooling opportunities	5 (8.5%)	2 (3.7%)

Two main reasons were noted as key explanatory variables in the decision to migrate and these are the need to seek for permanent job opportunities and access to better life. This result is corroborated by NSIR (2006) who observed that the major reasons for rural-urban migration are the search for convenient access to services, infrastructure, amenities and employment.

Using k-means cluster analysis we identified the basic socio-economic characteristics of youths who are likely to migrate to urban areas. Cluster analysis is a technique that entails partitioning data into sub groups when information about their composition is unknown (Frailey, and Raftery, 1998). Two groups were identified, those who are likely to migrate and those who will not migrate.

Table 8 Socioeconomic characteristics of youths who are likely to migrate to urban areas

	Cluster	
	1	2
Are you likely to migrate to urban areas? Yes=1, No=2	2	1
Age of respondent, 0=17 to 22 years, 1=23 to 28 years, 2=29 to 34 years, 3=35-39 years	3	0
Household size, 0=less than 5 members, 1=5 or more members	1	0
Total income, 0=less than 34129Frw/month, 1=more than 34129Frw/month	0	0
Sex of respondent, 1=male, 2=female	1	1
Education, 1=never attended, 2=primary, 3=secondary, 4=tertiary	3	2
Employment, 1=employed, 2=not employed	2	2
Training status, 1=trained, 2=not trained	1	2
Parents alive, 1=both alive, 2=father dead, mother alive, 3=mother alive, father dead, 4=both parents dead	4	1
Land, 1=Yes, 2=No	1	2
House, 1=Yes, 2=No	1	2
Cattle, 1=Yes, 2= No	1	2
Goats, 1=Yes, 2=No	1	2
Sheep 1=Yes, 2=No	2	1

According to the cluster analysis, youths who are likely to migrate are predominantly aged between 17 to 22 years, and earn incomes less than 34129Frw per month, are male, have primary education, are currently not employed. In addition, their parents are alive but they do not possess any land, houses, goats, and sheep. The empirical data have revealed that migration is generally selective of the young (Ritchey, 1976; Browning & Feindt, 1969). On the other hand, youths who are not likely to migrate are older, between 35-39 years, male, have secondary education, trained, and generally possess strategic assets such as land, cattle, goats but no sheep. The young and less educated youths who do not possess any assets are likely to migrate to seek opportunities for menial jobs in urban cities such as Kigali whereas those who have some assets will be more stable

economically. Even though cash income does not explicitly separate the two clusters, it is clear that asset possession is one of the main determinants of the decision to migrate. Most of the income in rural areas is locked up in fixed assets, which are in turn used to generate income. Therefore one could argue that these findings are not different from the traditional Todaro and Harris model of 1970, in which they found that income and wage differentials explain the likelihood to migrate to urban areas (see Todaro and Harris, 1970).

4.6 Identification of factors influencing the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas

In this study, we used 10 push and pull variables often cited in literature to create a conceptual framework of items affecting the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas. Each item was ranked on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1-strongly agree, 2-agree, 3-neutral, 4-disagree and 5-strongly disagree. We then used confirmatory factor analysis to reduce the 10 items into factors. The Cronbach Alpha Score was 0.500 indicating that the scale used was reliable. The results of the analysis are depicted below.

Table 9 Eigen values

Component	Total	Percentage of variance (%)	Cumulative
1	2.991	29.912	29.912
2	1.966	19.657	49.569
3	1.067	10.668	60.237

The 10 items were reduced to three main factors as depicted in Table 8. These three factors account for 60.237% of the total variation in rural to urban migration. In addition, we considered factors whose Eigen values are above 1 (Norussis, 1990). The rotated Varimax solution is shown in Table 10.

Results of factors have revealed that there are three factors that are important in explaining rural to urban migration. The first factor, availability of social services in rural areas including roads, communication networks, will deter rural youths from migrating to urban areas. This implies that one of the key strategies of reducing the tendency by youths to migrate to urban areas is to provide the necessary infrastructure in rural areas. This strategy has also been

noted by Nwokocha (2008) in Nigeria where the author argues that provision of basic amenities in rural communities to the extent that they alleviate life and economic activities among rural dwellers on one hand and as a result discourage unnecessary relocation to cities. In Rwanda, development of rural infrastructure is cited as an important vehicle for achieving the Vision 2020. The second factor, availability of stable jobs in urban areas tends to push youths out of rural areas in search for better employment opportunities. The third factor, unfavorable social environment as shown by high poverty levels, high population density and abusive family environment are likely to cause youths to migrate to urban areas. This is corroborated by several studies that have showed that out-migration from rural areas is closely associated with negative (push) factors including, the difficulties in rural areas such as poverty, as highlighted above.

Table 10 Rotated Varimax Solution

	Component 1=Availability of social services in rural areas	Component 2=Stable job opportunities in the city	Component 3=Unfavorable social environment in rural areas
I will not migrate to an urban area because I am satisfied with my current employment	0.743		
I will not migrate because of current infrastructural developments where I am currently staying (government support)	0.735		
I will not migrate to urban areas because life is	0.737		

difficult in the city			
I will move to an urban area to seek better employment opportunities		0.647	
I would move because of the seasonal nature of my job in the rural area		0.647	
I will move to an urban area to seek menial jobs because I am not educated		0.699	
I will move to seek better social services such as education, health and entertainment		0.511	
I will migrate to an urban area because I have no assets (poverty)			0.606
I will migrate to an urban area because of high population in the rural area			0.770
I will move to an urban area because of an abusive social/family environment			0.796
Total variance	29.912	19.657	10.668
Eigen values	2.991	1.966	1.067

The above analysis permits the acceptance of hypothesis 1, which states that rural youths migrate to urban areas to seek better employment opportunities.

4.6 Participation of youths in cooperatives

In Rwanda, the government has identified cooperatives as an important vehicle for economic development especially in rural areas. It is in this context that researchers established the extent to which cooperatives are helping rural youths. According to the study results, 57% of the respondents belong to cooperatives. These cooperatives are involved in different domains which include loan provision, farming, environment, furniture, agro-forestry and food marketing.

Table 11 Domains for cooperatives

Domain	District (Frequency and Percentage)	
	Burera	Nyabihu
Loans	6 (35%)	19 (51%)
Farming	4 (24%)	9 (24%)
Training	6 (35%)	1 (3%)
Environment	1 (6%)	5 (14%)
Furniture making	-	1 (1%)
Agro-forestry	-	1 (1%)
Food marketing	-	1 (1%)

The main activities for the cooperatives include loan provision and farming. This reflects the structure of the rural sector in which agriculture plays a dominant role in economic development. Availability of such economic activities can have an important bearing on rural to urban migration since cooperatives provide an avenue for rural development. Many of the members indicated lack of training, materials and other inputs as the main constraints faced. Because of low incomes many youths decide to abandon membership for lucrative job opportunities in urban cities.

5. Conclusions And Recommendations

The main objective of this study was to analyze the factors influencing rural to urban migration in Nyabihu and Burera districts

of the country. These two districts were chosen purposively because they are experiencing high rates of rural to urban migration especially among the youths age between 17-35 years. In this section, we present the conclusions and recommendations.

Objective 1

To identify the current socio-economic activities that rural youths are engaged in the two study areas

Conclusion

Less than 50% of the youths domiciled in the two districts are formally employed as teachers, agronomists and nurses. A significant number of the respondents are also involved in farming reflecting the underlying structure of the Rwandan economy. Trading and commerce are also some of the key activities done in the two districts. The study has also established that income earned per month is low.

Objective 2

To determine the likelihood of youths to migrate from rural to urban areas

Conclusion

In Nyabihu district, only 29.6% of the respondents have attempted to migrate before while 13.6% had done so in Burera District. Youths living in Nyabihu district had mostly migrated to Gisenyi town where commercial activities are significant because of the town's proximity to Goma, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. On the other hand, youths domiciled in Burera had migrated to Kigali city and Uganda to seek better employment opportunities. Many youths (71%) in both areas expressed their intention to migrate to urban towns or cities.

Objective 3

To identify underlying socio-economic and institutional determinants that pulls and pushes youths from rural to urban areas

Conclusion

According to the cluster analysis, youths who are likely to migrate are predominantly aged between 17 to 22 years, and earn incomes of less than 34129Frw per month, are male, have primary education, are

currently not employed. Youths migrate for a number of reasons which include the need for temporary and permanent job opportunities, access to social services and infrastructure, as well as schooling opportunities. Factor analysis showed that there are three factors which are critical in rural to urban migration and these are availability of social services in rural areas, which is likely to deter youths from migrating. However, stable jobs in the cities and towns coupled with an inauspicious social environment in rural areas are likely to give incentive to youths to migrate from rural to urban areas.

5.1 Recommendations

In view of the above conclusions, the researchers propose the following recommendations:

1. To policy makers, policy must be put into place as a mechanism to track the influx of the population into urban centers so as to increase government preparedness to the problem of rural to urban migration.
2. From the above results, it can be observed that youths who intend to migrate from rural to urban areas lack natural assets mainly land resource, which is limited in the country, hence are not able to depend on agriculture in the current status quo. There is need to diversify economic opportunities available to youths to non-agricultural initiatives to ensure that the youths are integrated into the rural cash economy and guarantee a future for them.
3. Focus should also be placed on the establishment of vocational training into non-traditional areas such as brick making, carpentry, and value addition of agricultural products. However, there will be need to manage value chains to ensure market access for the products developed by the youths.
4. Even though rural areas in Rwanda have been developing in terms of roads, communication networks and other physical infrastructure, there is need to target and engage, in a participatory manner, specific vulnerable groups to ensure that their needs are taken into account.

5. Creating partnerships between public and private sectors is important as a way of generating innovative ideas among different groups. Forums of information exchange such as regional and national exchange visits could be adopted for sharing experiences.
6. To rural youth, they should also be addressed to, to have confidence in themselves and see their rural areas as a place not to evacuate but rather build as vibrant and health place to stay in and them being the driving force towards this end (of course this will stop the intention to move)

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