Original Paper

Causes of Rural Urban Migration in Rwanda

Emmanuel Niyonzima¹

¹ Assistant Lecturer in the Faculty of Development Studies, Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences, Rwanda

E-mail: emniyonzima1@gmail.com

Received: October 26, 2024 Accepted: November 11, 2024 Online Published: November 19, 2024

Abstract

The primary objective of this research was to examine the factors behind rural-urban migration in developing countries, using Rwanda as a case study. Specifically, it sought to analyse the drivers of rural-urban migration in developing countries and the demographic influences on migrants. Only secondary data sources were utilized for this study. These secondary data were gathered through a review of reports from reputable institutions, as well as consultation of books, articles, and other scholarly materials. The findings indicate that rural-urban migration is prompted by a combination of push and pull factors. Push factors consist of factors such as diminished agricultural productivity, poverty, the aspiration for better opportunities, limited arable land, and high rates of unemployment. Conversely, pull factors encompass the attraction of more lucrative employment opportunities in urban centres, as well as access to improved services such as healthcare, education, and overall quality of life. Evidence also reveals certain demographic indicators that influence migration patterns. For instance, individuals within the middle age range exhibit a greater propensity to migrate compared to both younger and older age groups. Moreover, unmarried individuals are more likely to migrate than those who are married. Nevertheless, empirical evidence indicates that the factors compelling individuals to move from rural to urban areas outweigh those drawing them in the opposite direction in Rwanda. Consequently, in light of the aforementioned migration catalysts, it is advisable for the government to equitably allocate resources to both urban and rural regions, mobilize rural communities to enhance agricultural practices, and prioritize efforts to improve education in these areas.

Keywords

causes of rural Urban migration in Rwanda, pull factors, push factors, demographics causes of rural urban migration

Introduction

Migration is a historical phenomenon that has been present throughout human history. It has been a fundamental aspect of human activity since ancient times. In recent years, international migration has been steadily increasing, becoming more complex compared to previous eras. Historical evidence suggests that rural-urban migration has been closely linked to industrialization, urbanization, infrastructure development, improved living conditions, and economic growth (Steinbrink, 2010., Ashine, 2013; Harzig & Hoerder, 2013; Greenwood & Hunt, 2003; Manning & Trimmer, 2020).

The migration of people from rural to urban areas is a widely researched topic among scholars, and it is increasing not only in developing countries but also in developed countries. In the 1950s, less than 30% of the global population lived in cities, a percentage that had risen to 47% by 2000. It is projected that by 2050, 60% of the world's population will be living in urban areas. The presence of informal settlements, also known as slums, crime rates on the rise, environmental degradation, and the onset of global warming present significant challenges for urban planning authorities, especially in less developed countries. This has resulted in issues such as urban unemployment, drug trafficking, prostitution, and the formation of street families. In Nairobi, for example, one of the primary obstacles faced is the problem of street vending, which has disrupted regular business operations, led to property damage, and caused social unrest in the city (Jahan, 2012; Zang et al., 2016; Mulcahy & Kollamparambil, 2016).

In 2015, Global Estimates indicated that there were 244 million migrants worldwide, representing 3.3% of the total global population (UN, 2016). Europe, East Asia, and West Asia are identified as the primary destinations for migrants. The estimates also reveal that Europe had a migrant population of 76 million, while Asia had 75 million migrants. The United States of America welcomed immigrants from various countries worldwide, reaching a total of 47 million, the largest number accommodated by a single country. In collaboration with Canada, the United States hosted a combined total of 54 million immigrants, ranking third globally in terms of immigrant population (UN, 2016; Lagakos, et al., 2008, Wondimagegnhu, 2012).

The phenomenon of rural to urban migration has played a significant role in the process of urbanization in various countries, and its importance remains high, despite a slowdown in migration rates in certain regions (Zhang & Shunfeng, 2003., Mazumdar; Parida & Raman, 2020). According to a report by the United Nations Population Division (2005), the urban population is anticipated to increase by 1.8 percent annually, while the total population growth rate is predicted to be 1 percent per year. By 2030, it is projected that the urban population will reach 5 billion, accounting for 61 percent of the total population. In contrast, the rural population is anticipated to decline from 3.3 billion to 3.2 billion between 2003 and 2030 according to various researchers (Chan, 1994; Goodall, 2004; Yan, 2016; Byerlee, 1974; Mlambo, 2018). Furthermore, The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) reported in 2009 that an estimated 10.2 percent of global migrants in 2010 would originate from Africa. Only a small fraction of the global population, specifically three percent, is involved in migration, with

approximately 1.9 percent of Africa's populace participating in international migration. This statistic is not surprising given the established fact in migration research that the most impoverished individuals tend not to migrate, and Sub-Saharan Africa stands out as the most economically disadvantaged region worldwide. Consequently, migration trends from Sub-Saharan Africa are taking place against a backdrop of severe poverty, ongoing conflicts, and the pervasive HIV/AIDS crisis, all of which significantly influence the dynamics of migration (Adepoju, 2008; Byerlee, 1974; Mlambo, 2018).

Over the past decade, Rwanda has experienced a significant increase in urbanization, particularly in its capital city of Kigali. Kigali has become the primary destination for internal migration, with 37 percent of individuals moving there. Despite the government's efforts to improve socio-economic conditions and infrastructure in rural areas through initiatives like the Vision Umurenge Program, the uneven development has resulted in a migration of young people to urban areas, accounting for 15 percent of the population. This trend has presented challenges for urban areas, including heightened pressure on social services such as water, education, healthcare, and housing (MINECOFIN, 2003).

Previous research indicates that urban areas, specifically Kigali, have experienced a significant increase in population migration from rural areas due to relative development compared to the rural areas. The growing phenomenon of rural exodus can also be attributed to the diminishing availability of arable land and demographic pressure leading to land degradation. Despite the government's focus on the impact of international migration, particularly the contribution of the Rwandese Diaspora to Rwanda's development, there is a lack of understanding regarding internal migration and its effect on agricultural and rural advancement. Consequently, the issue of labor migration within urban and rural regions has not been adequately acknowledged (Smith, 2012; Gakuba, 2020; Hitayezu et al., 2018; Goodfellow & Smith, 2013).

Studies conducted in developing countries often reveal that urban areas do not offer sufficient livelihood opportunities, despite this, the urban population continues to increase. Individuals who relocate to urban areas with hopes of improving their quality of life often encounter challenges in finding adequate housing. Most rural-urban migrants end up settling in makeshift settlements or informal colonies on the outskirts of the city, leading to a lack of security, access to clean water, efficient waste management systems, and quality health services for many inhabitants. Nevertheless, research suggests that the trend of migration to urban centers in developing nations will persist, possibly due to limited prospects in their places of origin (Meng & Zhang,2013., Rahman et al., 2018; Johnson & Taylor, 2019; Nwalusi, 2020).

The most recent migration data indicates that the Eastern Province and Kigali City have attracted the highest number of in-migrants, with 364 thousand and 329 thousand individuals respectively. Conversely, the Southern, Western, and Northern provinces are characterized as primarily 'sending' provinces, as they have experienced a significant outflow of migrants. Popular destination districts for migrants include Gasabo, Nyagatare, Kicukiro, and Nyarugenge, which boast a high proportion of non-native residents. On the other hand, districts such as Nyaruguru, Nyamasheke, Ngororero,

Gakenke, Rutsiro, and Burera are less preferred by lifetime migrants. Although uncommon, there are individuals who have relocated from Kigali City to other areas, predominantly neighboring districts. Over the past five years, districts such as Rulindo, Rwamagana, Kamonyi, Gicumbi, and Bugesera have experienced an influx of individuals who were previously residing in Kigali City. The migration patterns indicate that a significant percentage of the migrant population in these areas originated from Kigali, with Rulindo and Rwamagana each receiving 43% of such individuals, followed by Kamonyi (28%), Gicumbi (28%), and Bugesera (22%). The primary destinations for recent internal migrant's mirror those of lifetime internal migrants, with Gasabo in Kigali City and Nyagatare in the Eastern Province emerging as the most popular choices. These areas have seen a greater influx of individuals compared to other regions, (NISR, 2014), Blumenstock, 2012., Mutandwa et al., 2011; Niyonzima, 2023).

This research paper seeks to investigate the factors contributing to rural-urban migration in Rwanda. Due to the unique and context-specific nature of these factors, it is crucial to conduct thorough research to uncover the root causes of this phenomenon, as there is a lack of comprehensive information available. According to NISR (2016), the movement of individuals from rural to urban areas, transitioning from agricultural and labor-intensive industries to industrial and service sectors, is a trend more commonly observed during periods of economic growth and development. In the Rwanda case, according to NISR (2014), approximately 7 percent of residents in rural areas and 23 percent of those in urban areas have recently migrated internally. This trend is driven by various pull factors such as economic growth, higher education levels, and improvements in physical transportation infrastructure (World Bank, 2017). Conversely, as noted by UNFFPA (2005), push factors can also contribute to rural-urban migration. For instance, data indicates that the diminishing availability of farmland due to population pressure and land degradation is a significant factor in driving this migration. Therefore, this study aims to explore the primary causes of rural-urban migration by evaluating both pull and push factors. Additionally, it will analyze the impact of demographic factors such as age, gender, education level, and marital status in influencing rural-urban migration patterns.

Exploring Literatures on The Causes of Rural Urban Migration

The correlation between migration and unemployment has been a focal point of numerous research studies. It is important to note that the causal relationship between migration and unemployment can be bidirectional. Migration can act as both a catalyst and a result of unemployment, while unemployment can serve as both a cause and an outcome of migration (Todaro, 1969; Harris & Todaro, 1970; Pissarides & Wadsworth, 1989., Oliver, 1964, Bencivenga & Smith, 1997).

Migration is defined as the relocation of individuals from one area to another, either temporarily or permanently. The decision to migrate is influenced by various factors, with different individuals having unique reasons for their migration based on their individual circumstances. It is a discriminating process that impacts individuals or families with specific economic, social, educational, and

demographic traits (Adewale, 2005).

Migration can be defined as the process of individuals moving from their original place of residence to new locations (Agensa, 2011). This phenomenon can be categorized into two main types, namely international and internal migration. International migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another, generally involving the crossing of international borders (Atnafu et al., 2014). On the other hand, internal migration involves the relocation of individuals from predominantly rural areas to urban centers within the boundaries of the same country. Moreover, within this form of migration, the origin refers to the rural areas from which the migrant originates, while the destination indicates the urban areas to which the migrant is relocating. Migration can alternatively be seen as a circular or temporary process, involving multiple movements back and forth between rural and urban locations by the same individual (Boure, 2001).

A consensus exists among the majority of studies regarding the primary factors that contribute to migration, notably age, level of education, marital status, and family size. According to Zelinsky (1971) and his theory on mobility transition, future generations are more inclined to migrate compared to previous ones. Similarly, research conducted by Chattopadhyay (2006) in Ghana revealed that migrants tended to have fewer children than non-migrants.

According to several researchers, migrants base their decision to migrate on various factors such as disparities in income between rural and urban areas, variances in cost of living between regions, the anticipation of higher lifetime earnings from migrating compared to remaining in their current location, and the likelihood of securing employment in urban areas. These considerations influence their choice to move from one place to another (Pissarides & Wadsworth, 1989), Saracoğlu and Roe, 2004; Todaro, 1969; Harris & Todaro, 1970).

Challenges at the rural level, such as limited access to financial resources, low agricultural output, small land ownership, high levels of poverty, meager wage levels, and inadequate social services including education, healthcare, and recreational facilities, are often identified as significant factors contributing to rural-urban migration (Mahmud, Musaddiq, & Said, 2010; McMillan & Rodrik, 2011; Ikramullah, Shair, & Rehman, 2011; Douglas, David, & Michael, 2014; Imran, Bakhsh, & Hassan, 2016). The advantages and disadvantages of migrating from rural to urban areas are evident on an individual, household, and/or community level. There is a disparity in evaluations regarding the impact of rural-urban migration on the lives of rural communities. Certain studies suggest that the movement of people from rural to urban areas results in a loss of valuable labor force in rural regions, often referred to as a "brain drain," and has negative repercussions on the rural economy (Drissi, 2014; Sauer, Gorton, & Davidova, 2015).

According to Atkinson (1997), the migration of individuals is impacted by job prospects and the availability of enhanced governmental services. Recent migration trends suggest that previously marginalized and disadvantaged groups, such as women, occasionally leave predominantly patriarchal rural systems. The movement of individuals from regions like the Transkei and Ciskei (designated as

"deep rural" areas) to the Western Cape may reflect similar patterns. Thus, reasons for migration may range from extreme desperation to strategic employment-seeking, from a desire for personal empowerment to aspirations for social advancement, and from practical concerns regarding governmental assistance to a strong thirst for education and training.

Additionally, the nature of migration flows ensures that connections between rural and urban areas are maintained. Informal support provided by acquaintances already living in the city, who can assist with finding housing and employment opportunities, plays a crucial role in gaining the trust of incoming migrants. These networks sustain migration flows and often revolve around specific destination locations (known as chain migration), where local support systems develop, typically based on a shared origin a well-documented phenomenon globally (Steinbrink, 2010). This complexity in rural-urban linkages arises not only from migration itself, but also from the exchange of money, ideas, cultural identity, and livelihoods. Steinbrink (2010) suggests that internal migration should be viewed as a fundamental aspect of economic challenges deeply rooted in a broader informal connection between rural and urban areas, as many impoverished individuals seek their livelihoods spanning vast distances between these regions.

Migration is often viewed as a strategic move made by individuals seeking to improve their economic and social prospects, driven by the anticipation of greater financial well-being in urban settings (Mazumdar, 1987). Mazumdar argues that various factors serve as a catalyst for the migration process, with individuals feeling compelled to leave rural areas due to the perceived saturation of agricultural resources and limited opportunities for sustenance, prompting them to seek a better life in cities. Conversely, the "pull" theory highlights the allure of urban living and the wage disparity between rural and urban areas.

One of the key factors to consider is job security, as highlighted by various studies (De Witte and Na"swall, 2003; Buitendach & De Witte 2005; Cimete et al., 2003). Individuals often seek employment in fields they are passionate about, and enjoying one's job is linked to increased job satisfaction. However, the fear of unemployment can diminish a worker's sense of fulfillment in their job. Workers with insecure job positions are less likely to be content with their current salary and opportunities for career advancement compared to those employed in more stable positions. In addition, individuals who have secure employment experience a greater sense of control over their work circumstances and exhibit lower levels of concern regarding potential job loss, ultimately leading to higher job satisfaction.

Individuals who are not satisfied with their current employment are more inclined to consider changing jobs and dedicate significant time and energy to seeking new opportunities (Chen et al., 2011; Egan et al., 2004; Sverke et al., 2002). The process of contemplating job changes and actively searching for new employment can be highly stressful, diverting attention away from one's current job duties and diminishing focus on personal enjoyment. Consequently, individuals who persistently seek new job opportunities are more prone to experiencing a diminished quality of life. Prior research has

demonstrated a strong link between unemployment and mental health issues among both migrants and the broader population, highlighting the importance of stable employment in enhancing quality of life for individuals of working age. Furthermore, for many migrants, securing employment and engaging in work-related social interactions serve as the primary means of adapting and integrating into the new society in their host country (Vandenberghe et al., 2011).

Similarly, Kebede (1994) contended that the scarcity of land resulting from population growth, unfavorable land tenure systems, agricultural standstill due to flawed government policies, poverty, environmental crises, and subsequent famines, along with a host of other related factors, have collectively or individually served as forces propelling individuals away from rural areas in impoverished nations. Breese (1969) asserts that excessive urbanization stemming from rural emigration is primarily a result of the "push" factors from rural regions rather than the demand for labor in urban centers, or what is known as their "pull factors (Gugler et al., 1978).

In his research, Todaro (1997) identified a correlation between educational attainment and urban migration, indicating that individuals with higher levels of education are more inclined to migrate. Zelinsky (1971) developed the theory of mobility transition, suggesting that future cohorts are expected to exhibit higher levels of mobility compared to previous generations. However, the study did not find any significant impact of the Cohort variable on migration behavior.

Theories of Rural Urban Migration

The New Economics of Labor Migration theory

The New Economics of Labor Migration theory aims to uncover the key factors that influence labour migration. In this framework, it is proposed that the choice to migrate is typically made at the household level as a strategy to spread risk. As noted by De Haas (2006; 2010), decisions regarding individual migration, such as who will migrate, where to go, how long to stay, and what activities to pursue, are made collectively by all members of the household, rather than in isolation. The decision-making unit's scope may at times encompass the level of extended families and larger communal organizations (Massey et al., 1993). In addition to optimizing salary and earnings, the rational decision-making process also considers risk diversification and aversion strategies for the household (De Haas, 2010; 2006).

Structural Theory

The structural theory offers a contrasting perspective to the neoclassical migration theory by characterizing migration as a process fraught with emotional distress and hardship. According to this perspective, migrant remittances are not able to fully offset the hardships faced by households of migrants. Furthermore, proponents of the theory argue that the number of remittances sent back home is inadequate to have a significant impact on the overall economy. Moreover, the remittances being sent exacerbate existing inequalities and contribute to a brain drain in the community, as educated migrants are leaving (Richard, 1998). Furthermore, advocates of this argument argue that remittances are

frequently allocated towards conspicuous consumption and unproductive ventures (Lipton, 1980), as well as contributing to escalating inflationary pressures (Russell, 1992). Critics of migration often attribute a decline in productive workforce, the proliferation of households reliant on remittances, and unequal distribution of resources between urban and rural regions (Lipton, 1980).

Neo-Classical Theory

The neo-classical theory posits that over time, labor markets and economies naturally trend towards stability due to factors such as trade and migration. According to this theory, individuals move from areas with an abundance of labor and low wages to regions with a scarcity of labor and higher wages. The decision to migrate is typically based on the expectation that advantages gained from the move will eventually outweigh the expenses and risks involved (Lee, 1966). Migration is viewed as an investment in this framework, with the theory suggesting that the benefits derived from migration generally surpass the associated costs (Borjas, 1989). Tangible benefits of migration are classified as a transfer of monetary resources, skills, knowledge, and expertise

Factors That Influence Migration

Gender

Weeks et al. (2010) propose that the phenomenon of rural-urban migration exhibits a gender bias, as exemplified in South Africa during the Apartheid era when males predominantly migrated in response to the high demand for labor in mining industries. Conversely, the rate of internal migration among females was limited as they were perceived as perpetual dependents within traditional African social structures. Female migrants were required to seek approval from their husbands before relocating (Collinson et al,2006). However, there has been a paradigm shift, allowing women to migrate to urban areas in pursuit of educational opportunities and career advancement (Agensa, 2011). Presently, females are the primary gender engaged in migration as a result of empowerment initiatives such as the Affirmative Action policy, empowering women to make independent decisions unfettered by societal norms dictating male dominance in decision-making (Collinson, 2007).

Strengths

Disability status and rural-urban migration are aspects often overlooked in many studies focusing on demographic variables. The White Paper on the Integrated National Disability Strategy (2003) highlights the lack of equipment and services for individuals with disabilities in rural areas, prompting many to relocate to urban areas where they are legally guaranteed access to facilities designed to accommodate their needs. The absence of specialized doctors and facilities in rural areas further fuels this migration trend (Antobam, 2016; Funnah, 2001). However, the decision to migrate is not solely influenced by the availability of services in urban areas, but also by the individual's financial standing.

Impact of family responsibilities

The survival of parents significantly influences an individual's choice to migrate from a rural to an urban setting. In instances where the parents are deceased, the individual is frequently compelled to relocate to

alternative regions in pursuit of work opportunities, particularly if they come from a financially disadvantaged family reliant on daily wages. Scholars such as Agensa (2011), Nunn et al. (2014)have noted that migrants often bear substantial family obligations, such as looking after siblings, supporting parents, and making financial contributions to the household.

Age

Previous research has demonstrated that children under the age of 14 are at risk of experiencing involuntary migration as a result of their parents' movements (Brettell, 2017; Hall & Posel, 2012). For example, military families may be required to relocate for their job, leading to their children being uprooted without any say in the matter, due to their lack of capacity to make independent decisions and their status as minors. The impact of such circumstances on a child's development can vary, with both positive and negative outcomes possible (Konsiega et al., 2006). Research indicates that children without a stable home environment often struggle to assimilate into the society r community in which they find themselves (Hall & Posel, 2012).

Marital Status

The global rise in female migration has resulted in a decrease in marriage rates, causing a shift in traditional household and family structures. This decrease in marriage rates may be attributed to women choosing to migrate while single in order to have independence in decision-making without having to seek permission from a spouse (Adepoju, 1998). It also allows them the freedom to migrate in search of better employment opportunities. Similarly, research suggests that women are more likely to migrate without needing approval from a male counterpart, enabling them to do so at their discretion. married women are less inclined to migrate compared to unmarried women, as societal expectations often dictate that women stay home to care for children while men provide financially for the family (Crivello, 2011).

Methods

This research delves into the factors contributing to rural-urban migration in developing nations, with a specific focus on Rwanda. Only secondary sources were utilized in this study to examine the reasons behind rural-urban migration in Rwanda. The secondary data was obtained from reports published by reputable national and international entities, scholarly articles, books, and other scientific literature.

Findings

Causes of Rural Urban Migration in Rwanda

Initially, research data indicates that various factors such as gender, level of education, occupation in the industrial and service sectors, marital status, and geographic location play a crucial role in influencing individuals' decisions to migrate and their choice of migration destination. Conversely, living in rural areas and the size of one's household are found to have a negative correlation with recent migration decisions and destination selections (EP R N, 2021).

The factors contributing to rural-urban migration can be categorized as push and pull factors. It is evident from data that both types of factors play a role in motivating individuals to relocate. Push factors, such as high unemployment rates, decreased agricultural productivity, limited land availability

for farming, and low wages in rural regions, drive individuals to seek opportunities elsewhere. On the other hand, pull factors in Rwanda consist of improved amenities in urban centers, aspirations for a higher quality of life in cities, and greater employment opportunities in urban settings.

Push Factors

According to Parkins (2010) Push factors are situations or conditions that compel people to move away from their areas of origin, resulting in migration. These factors may encompass financial difficulties, political unrest, conflict, environmental disasters, and limited prospects, prompting individuals to look for a better life elsewhere. Recognizing push factors is crucial in examining migration trends and the choices made by migrants in pursuit of better living standards.

According to Niyonzima (2023), a multitude of factors act as catalysts driving individuals, particularly young people, to migrate from rural to urban areas. Through his research conducted across two sectors in Nyaruguru district, it was uncovered that key push factors such as poverty and limited agricultural land were primary drivers of rural-urban migration in this specific region of Rwanda.

Musabaganji et al. (2019) further support the correlation between rural-urban migration and poverty prevalent in rural areas. Drawing from data collected from 5033 rural households during the 2016/2017 fifth nation-wide cross-sectional survey on Household Living Conditions, the findings indicated that rural areas experienced higher rates of urban migration due to heightened poverty levels compared to urban centers characterized by lower poverty rates. For instance, statistics revealed a migration rate of 31.9% in the southern province and 24.3% in Kigali, underscoring the disparities in migration patterns between rural and urban areas influenced by poverty levels.

According to the findings of the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda in 2007, migration is influenced by factors including conflicts, changes in climate patterns, and natural disasters in rural areas. The data from the national institute of statistics of Rwanda reveals cases of people moving from specific locations due to unfavorable climate conditions. For example, in Bugesera district, Eastern province, individuals have been observed migrating because of excessive exposure to sunlight (UNFPA, 2007).

Evariste's (2001) analysis also points to the dearth of employment opportunities in rural areas as a key factor driving migration from rural to urban areas in Rwanda. The sampled households from five rural sectors - Mutete (Gicumbi), Shyorongi (Rulindo), Nyamiyaga (Kamonyi), Ntarama (Bugesera), and Fumbwe of Rwamagana District revealed that a significant number of individuals departed those regions in search of employment prospects in urban centers, with expectations of securing jobs upon arrival.

Pull factors

According to Parkins (2010), Pull factors are the favorable characteristics or circumstances that lure individuals to move to a specific area. These factors may comprise of job opportunities, stability in governance, standard of living, and social connections. Recognizing pull factors aids in explaining the

reasons behind people's decision to relocate from their native areas to different places, which is crucial in analyzing the various forms and trends of migration, along with the particular impacts of migration from rural to urban areas.

Various factors have been identified in data analysis as pull factors of rural-urban migration in Rwanda. Among these factors are the aspiration for improved employment opportunities, access to superior services, and enhanced infrastructural development present in urban centers.

For instance, research conducted by Niyonzima (2023) and Mutandwa et al. (2011) illustrated that young individuals opt to migrate from their rural communities to urban settings in pursuit of a higher quality of life. An investigation carried out in the Karama and Mukura sectors by Niyonzima (2023) revealed that some youths aspire to relocate to cities where they can benefit from modern amenities such as improved transportation networks, sports facilities, and upgraded living conditions. Furthermore, based on the perspectives of certain participants, they may choose to reside in urban areas despite lacking stable employment or facing periods of unemployment, simply seeking to experience a more fulfilling lifestyle there. Mutandwa et al. (2011) further contends that a significant number of individuals have left numerous villages in Rwanda in order to access enhanced living standards in urban places. These essential services comprise of superior educational institutions and infrastructural resources that are often lacking in rural regions.

Evidence indicates that the lack of essential services in rural areas is a significant factor that drives migration to urban areas. Research conducted by NISR (2017) and Evarist (2017) illustrates how families often relocate in search of improved access to services such as education, healthcare, and transportation, which are often lacking in rural regions. This disparity in service availability between urban and rural areas significantly influences migration patterns.

Demographics causes of rural urban migration in rwanda

Data indicates that there are multiple demographic variables that play a role in migrations within Rwanda. For instance, according to a study carried out by NISR (2017), the number of male and female migrants differs. The data illustrates that in Kigali, the number of male migrants surpasses that of female migrants, particularly among individuals aged between 16 and 30 years. Traditional norms dictate that women are often viewed as caregivers, while men are seen as the primary breadwinners, resulting in a small percentage of women migrating. Research also indicates that women may be less likely to migrate due to their household responsibilities and the influence of men on migration decisions. In regions where rural-urban migration is common, there is often a larger presence of women engaged in agricultural activities compared to men. Evidence suggests that men are more likely to migrate to urban areas.

Furthermore, Mutandwa et al (2011) suggest that age also influences migration patterns. Their research indicates that individuals between 17 and 22 years of age are more likely to migrate compared to other age groups. Findings from the study reveal that young migrants are often motivated by their energy levels and encounter fewer obstacles compared to older individuals or those who are already married.

Furthermore, young individuals have a tendency to move to other places because there are not many obstacles that could prevent them from doing so, such as familial obligations or marital status. The analysis of respondents' perspectives in various studies highlights that younger individuals have a higher propensity to relocate, as they are typically more mobile and face fewer barriers to migration compared to older demographics.

Similarly, Musabanganji et al. (2019) demonstrated that factors such as residing in a rural area, age, household size, level of education, and being a female household head acted as 'push factors', increasing the likelihood of migration to another region by approximately 30% or more. Their research also indicated that individuals with higher levels of education were more inclined to relocate compared to those with lower levels of education. Correspondingly, Niyonzima (2023) found that a significant proportion of migrants were youthful and educated individuals. Data gathered from Nyaruguru district revealed the scarcity of individuals with bachelor's and master's degrees in rural areas. Moreover, it was noted that individuals with larger families encountered difficulties in relocating due to various family-related challenges such as caring for family members, ensuring the education of children, and managing the logistics of moving with an extended family.

Discussions of Results

This study sought to examine the underlying reasons for rural-urban migration in developing countries, with a specific focus on the case of Rwanda. The research exclusively relied on secondary data analysis.

The data uncovered a significant correlation between push and pull factors and the phenomenon of rural-urban migration in Rwanda, as evidenced by previous studies. Similarly, data suggest that demographic factors like gender, age and status can also determine a number of who migrate (Mahmud, Musaddiq, & Said, 2010; McMillan & Rodrik, 2011; Ikramullah, Shair, & Rehman, 2011; Douglas, David, & Michael, 2014; Imran, Bakhsh, & Hassan, 2016). Based on secondary data analysis, the causes of rural-urban migration in Rwanda can be broadly categorized into two main factors: push factors and pull factors.

For instance, data indicates that the high rate of unemployment in rural areas serves as a key factor driving rural-to-urban migration in Rwanda. Furthermore, statistics reveal that when individuals, particularly young people, cannot secure employment opportunities in rural regions, they tend to migrate to urban areas in search of work. Moreover, data suggests that a significant number of young individuals, upon completing their secondary or university education, opt not to return to rural areas. Concurrently, data illustrates that limited agricultural productivity and land scarcity in rural areas dissuade individuals from engaging in agriculture. It is observed that individuals facing challenges such as low agricultural output or insufficient land for farming often choose to relocate to urban centres in pursuit of non-agricultural employment opportunities. Similarly, earlier researches have demonstrated that inadequate agricultural production and land scarcity propel individuals towards urban areas in search of employment opportunities. For example, Todaro (1969) and Harris-Todaro (1970) conducted

studies that introduced probabilistic models, highlighting how migrants are drawn to urban areas due to the expectation of higher wages compared to those offered in agriculture. Similarly, research by Uwimbabazi and Lawrence (2011) emphasized that limited agricultural production and lack of sufficient land for farming serve as catalysts for young people to relocate.

Data indicates that individuals may relocate from rural to urban areas as a result of poverty in rural regions. Studies have demonstrated that when individuals do not have the same earning opportunities in rural areas or earn less, they opt to migrate to urban areas in search of higher income and personal development. Previous studies on the causes of rural urban migration also revealed the same findings. For instance, a significant number of individuals living in extreme poverty choose to move from rural to urban areas to improve their financial situation and provide better opportunities for their families (Pissarides & Wadsworth ,1989., Saracoğlu & Roe, 2004; Todaro, 1969; Harris & Todaro, 1970).

Data also indicates that certain factors greatly influence rural-urban migration in Rwanda. For instance, it has been observed that many individuals, particularly young people, are attracted to urban areas due to the presence of better infrastructure such as well-maintained roads, reliable internet connectivity, and sports stadiums. Previous research has highlighted that individuals may relocate in search of enhanced recreational opportunities, with the belief that urban living offers superior amenities like improved road networks, modern housing, a cleaner environment, and overall better quality of life (Atkinson, 1997; Mazumdar, 1987; Buitendach & De Witte, 2005).

Research data also indicates that one of the driving factors behind rural-urban migration in Rwanda is the aspiration to access improved social services in urban areas that are lacking in rural areas. During interviews with various individuals, it was revealed that many opted to relocate to urban centres in search of better hospitals, schools, government facilities, and places of worship. Previous studies conducted by migration scholars have demonstrated a consistent trend of individuals in developing nations moving to more developed areas over the past two decades, motivated by the desire for enhanced services that may not be readily available in rural settings. Data further illustrates that certain individuals departed rural areas in pursuit of superior educational institutions, religious centres, healthcare facilities, and closer proximity to governmental establishments such as ministerial services, which are predominantly situated in urban locales (Cimete et al., 2003; Chen et al., 2011; Egan et al., 2004; Sverke et al., 2002).

Ultimately, data indicates that a variety of demographic variables such as age, level of education, socio-economic status, and gender are influential in determining migration patterns. For instance, analysis of secondary data has revealed that individuals between the ages of 16 and 30 are more likely to relocate compared to their younger and older counterparts. Moreover, unmarried individuals are more inclined to move than those who are married. Additionally, there is a tendency for educated individuals to migrate within Rwanda compared to those with lower levels of education. These findings are consistent with previous research that has highlighted the impact of demographic factors on migration trends. Previous studies have shown a higher prevalence of educated individuals in urban

areas, as opposed to those with less education. Furthermore, it has been observed that there is a higher proportion of male migrants compared to females. Lastly, it is noted that young, energetic individuals are highly represented in various businesses and industries in urban regions of developing countries (Agensa, 2011; Nunn et al., 2014; Crivello, 2011; Burns & Grove, 2001)."

Conclusion and Recommendations

This research delved into the factors contributing to rural-urban migration in developing countries, using Rwanda as a case study. The findings emphasized that rural-urban migration is driven by a combination of push and pull factors. Data reveals that push factors in Rwanda include dwindling agricultural productivity, limited land for farming, poverty, and a lack of job opportunities in rural areas. On the other hand, pull factors for rural-urban migration consist of aspirations for a higher quality of life in urban centres, opportunities for better-paying jobs, and access to improved infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and healthcare facilities. This trend is evident in various other developing states as well. For instance, statistics indicate that a significant proportion of individuals relocating to urban centres in Africa do so in search of higher-paying employment opportunities, for career advancement, to escape poverty, to be closer to family members who migrated earlier, and to access better infrastructure in urban areas. Additionally, data suggests that various factors play a role in influencing migration patterns, such as the age, level of education, marital status, and physical abilities of migrants. In addition, research indicates that men are more likely to migrate than women, and younger, more educated individuals are more inclined to move compared to older, less educated individuals. However, the data indicates that push factors are more significant than pull factors in driving rural-urban migration in Rwanda. In light of the mentioned causes of migration, I suggest that the government allocate resources equitably between urban and rural areas and engage rural populations in enhancing agriculture and education. Additionally, I propose conducting empirical research on the effects of rural-urban migration on urban environments and investigating the influence of land pressure on migration patterns in Rwanda.

DISCLAIMER (ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE)

The author affirms that no advanced generative AI technologies, such as Large Language Models (e.g. ChatGPT, COPILOT, etc.) or text-to-image generators, were utilized in the creation or revision of this manuscript. Both the written content and accompanying images are authentic and not a result of AI generation.

COMPETING INTERESTS

The author has stated that there are no competing interests present.

References

Adepoju, A. (1998). Linkages Between Internal and International Migration: The African Situation.

- Published In Selected Articles Initially Published In 1984 To Commemorate The 50th Anniversary of International, *Social Science Journal, UNESCO, Paris*.
- Adewale, J. G. (2005). Socio-Economic Factors Associated with Urban-Rural Migration in Nigeria: A Case Study of Oyo State, Nigeria. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 17(1), 13-16.
- Agensa, R. (2011). Rural to urban migration as household decision evidence from Kenya. *Review of Development Economics*.
- Antobam, S. (2016). Migration, Urbanisation and Development in South Africa: Social Development of South Africa, 117-143.
- Ashine, E. (2013). *Trafficking of Ethiopian women and girls to the Middle East*. Hungary: Central European university.
- Atkinson, D. (2019). Rural-Urban Linkages: South Africa Case Study. Working Paper Series N° 125. Working Group: Development with Territorial Cohesion. Territorial Cohesion for Development Program. Rimisp, Santiago, Chile.
- Atnafu, A., Oucho, L., & Zeitlyn, B. (2014). Poverty, youth and rural-urban migration in Ethiopia.: Migrating out of Poverty. RPC
- Aycan, Z., & Berry, J. W. (1996). Impact of Employment-Related Experiences on Immigrants' Psychological Well-Being and Adaptation to Canada. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 28(3), 240.
- Bencivenga, V. R., & Smith, B. D. (1997). Unemployment, Migration and Growth. *Journal of Political Economy*, 105(3), 582-608.
- Blumenstock, J. E. (2012). Inferring patterns of internal migration from mobile phone call records: evidence from Rwanda. *Information Technology for Development*, 18(2), 107-125.
- Borjas, G. J. (2018). The economics of immigration. In *The New Immigrant in the American Economy* (pp. 1-52). Routledge.
- Bouare, O. (2000). Determinants of internal migration. *Southern African Journal of Demography*, 8(1), 23-28.
- Breese, G. (1969). The city in newly developing countries. USA.
- Brettell, C. B. (2017). Marriage and Migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 46: (Volume publication date November 2017).
- Buitendach, J. H., & De Witte, H. (2005). Job insecurity, extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction and affective organisational commitment of maintenance workers in a parastatal. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 36(2), 27-37.
- Bull-Kamanga, L. (2003). Urban Development and The Accumulation of Disaster Risk and Other Lifethreatening Risks in Africa, *Environment and Urbanization*, 15(1), 93-204
- Burns, N., & Grove, S. (2001). *The practice of nursing research: Conduct, critique and utilization* (4th ed.). W.B.Saunders. USA: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Byerlee, D. (1974). Rural-urban migration in Africa: Theory, policy and research implications.

- International Migration Review, 8(4), 543-566.
- Chan, K. W. (1994). Urbanization and rural-urban migration in China since 1982: a new baseline. *Modern China*, 20(3), 243-281.
- Charles, B. W. (1975). The Decision to migrate under uncertainty: A case study of rural urban migration in tropical Africa (Ph.D. Dissertation). University of Maryland.
- Chattopadhyay, A., White, M. J., & Debpuur, C. (2006). Migrant fertility in Ghana: Selection versus adaptation and disruption as causal mechanisms. *Population studies*, 60(2), 189-203.
- Chen, X., Yu, B., Gong, J., Wang, P., & Elliott, A. L. (2018). Social Capital Associated with Quality of Life Mediated by Employment Experiences: Evidence from A Random Sample of Rural-To-Urban Migrants in China, *Social indicators research*, 139(1), 327-346.
- Chernina, E., Dower, P. C., & Markevich, A. (2014). Property Rights, Land Liquidity, And Internal Migration. *Journal of Development Economics*, 110, 191-215.
- Cimete, G., Gencalp, N. S., & Keskin, G. (2003). Quality of life and job satisfaction of nurses. *Journal of nursing care quality*, 18(2), 151-158.
- Collinson, M., (2007). Migration, Settlement Change and Health and Post-Apartheid South Africa: Triangulating Health and Demographic Surveillance with National Census Data. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*.
- Crivello, G. (2011). "Becoming somebody": Youth transitions through education and migration in Peru. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *14*(4), 395-411.
- Dahl, G. B. (2002). Mobility and the return to education: Testing a Roy model with multiple markets. *Econometrica*, 70(6), 2367-2420.
- De Brauw, A., Huang, J., Rozelle, S., Zhang, L., & Zhang, Y. (2002). The Evolution of China's Rural Labor Markets During the Reforms. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 30, 329-353.
- De Haas, H. (2010). Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227-264.
- De Haas, H. (2012). The migration and development pendulum: A critical view on research and.
- De Witte, H., De Cuyper, N., Handaja, Y., Sverke, M., Näswall, K., & Hellgren, J. (2010). Associations between quantitative and qualitative job insecurity and well-being: A test in Belgian banks. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 40(1), 40-56.
- Diamond, R. (2016). The determinants and welfare implications of US workers' diverging location choices by skill: 1980-2000. *American Economic Review*, 106(3), 479-524.
- Douglas, G., David, L., & Michael, W. (2014). The Agricultural Productivity Gap. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(2), 939-993.
- Drissi, M. E. H., & Aghrib, S. (n.d). Presentation Des Resultats De L'etude Sur Les Tendances Migratoires Des Femmes Instruites Au Maroc: Les Determinants Et Les Facteurs.
- Evariste, T., Theogene, M., & Ferdinand, T. (2017). Analytical Effects of Causes and Consequences of Rural Urban Migration in Rwanda-Case of Rural Neighbouring Areas to The City of Kigali. In

- international conference of advance studies in engineering and sciences, Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Sciences, India (Vol. 2).
- Ezra, M. (2001). Ecological Degradation, Rural poverty, and Migration in Ethiopia: A Contextual Analysis. *Policy Research Division, population council working paper*, 149.
- Fei, J., & Ranis, G. (1964). Development of the Labor Surplus Economy: Theory and Policy, the Economic Growth Center. Yale University, pp. x, 324.
- Fu, Y., & Gabriel, S. A. (2012). Labor migration, human capital agglomeration and regional development in China. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 42(3), 473-484.
- Funnah, T. P. (2001). The Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of Rural-Urban Youth Migration in the North West Province Of South Africa. Mahikeng: North West university
- Gakuba, E. (2020). Effects of City of Kigali expansion on the livelihood of the surrounding communities: case of Rwamagana District (2009-2019) (Doctoral dissertation).
- Gakwandi, (2008). The Role of Rural-Urban Migration on Livelihood in Bugesera District, Rwanda.
- Goodall, S. K. (2004). Rural-to-urban migration and urbanization in Leh, Ladakh. *Mountain research* and development, 24(3), 220-227.
- Goodfellow, T., & Smith, A. (2013). From urban catastrophe to "model" city? Politics, security and development in post-conflict Kigali. *Urban studies*, 50(15), 3185-3202.
- Greenwood, M. J., & Hunt, G. L. (2003). The early history of migration research. *International Regional Science Review*, 26(1), 3-37.
- Gugler, J. (2004). World Cities Beyond the West, Globalization. Development and Inequality.
- H. Selod, F. Shilpi. (2021), Rural-Urban Migration in Developing Countries: Lessons from The Literature, Regional Science and Urban Economics, Volume 91, 103713, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.regsciurbeco.2021.103713
- Hall, K., & Posel, D. (2012). Inequalities In Children's House-Hold Contexts: Place, Parental Presence and Migration. Cape Town: University Cape Town.
- Hare, D. (1999) "Push" Versus "Pull" Factors in Migration Outflows and Returns: Determinants of Migration Status and Spell Duration Among China's Rural Population. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 35(3), 45-72.
- Harris, J. R., & Todaro, M. P. (1970). Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysisl. The American Economic Review, 60, 126-142.
- Harzig, C., & Hoerder, D. (2013). What is migration history? John Wiley & Sons.
- Hitayezu, P., Rajashekar, A., & Stoelinga, D. (2018). *The dynamics of unplanned settlements in the City of Kigali*. Laterite and International Gowth Center, Kigali.
- Hunnes, D. (2012). Understanding Rural-To-Urban Migration in Ethiopia: Driving Factors, Analytical Frameworks, And Recommendations. *Journal of Global health perspectives*.
- Ikramullah, Shair, G., & Rehman, N. (2011). Economics And Social Dimension of Rural-Urban Migration in Pakistan: Results from A Recent Survey in The North West Pakistan. *International*

- Journal of Business and Social Science, 2, 119-126.
- Imran, M., Bakhsh, K., & Hassan, S. (2016). Rural To Urban Migration and Crop Productivity: Evidence from Pakistani. *Mediterranean Agricultural Sciences*, 29(1), 17-19.
- Jaganyi, D., Njunwa, K., Nzayirambaho, M., Rutayisire, P. C., Manirakiza, V., Nsabimana, A., & Nduwayezu, G. (2018). Rwanda: National Urban Policies and City Profiles for Kigali and Huye. glasgow: The GCRF centre for sustainable, healthy and learning cities and neighbourhoods (SHLC).
- Jahan, M. (2012). Impact of rural urban migration on physical and social environment: The case of Dhaka city. *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, *I*(2), 186-194.
- Johnson, J. E., & Taylor, E. J. (2019). The long run health consequences of rural-urban migration. Quantitative Economics, 10(2), 565-606.
- Kaplan, G., & Schulhofer-Wohl, S. (2017). Understanding The Long-Run Decline in Interstate Migration. *International Economic Review*, 58(1), 57-94.
- Kebede, M. (1992). Migration and Urban Development in Ethiopian: The case of Nazareth. Addis Ababa University.
- Konsiega, A., Zulu, E. M., & Ye, Y. (2006). Assessing The Effect of Mother's Migration on Childhood Mortality in The Informal Settlements of Nairobi.
- Kosten, J. W. (2013). Living On the Edge: Rural-Urban Migrants in Kigali, Rwanda (Master's thesis).
- Lagakos, D., Mobarak, A. M., & Waugh, M. E. (2018). The welfare effects of encouraging rural-urban migration (No. w24193). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Lanzona Jr, L. A. (2001). Labor, HRD and Globalization: The Filipino Worker in a Global Economy (An Integrative Report). PASCN Discussion Paper, Philippine APEC Study Center Network, Philippine Institute for Development Studies.
- Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. Demography, 3(1), 47-57
- Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *The Manchester School*, 22(No.2), 139-191
- Lipton, M. (1980). Migration From the Rural Areas of Poor Countries: The Impact on Rural Productivity and Income Distribution. *World Development*, (8), 1-24.
- Lucas, R. E. (1997). Internal Migration in Developing Countries. In M. R. Rosenzweig & O. Stark (Eds.), Handbook of Population and Family Economics (Vol. 1B, pp. 721-798). Amsterdam, North Holland: Elsevier.
- Mahmud, M., Musaddiq, T., & Said, F. (2010). *Determinants Of Internal Migration in Pakistan-*Lesson from Existing Pattern. Internal Migration Patterns. Pakistan.
- Manning, P., & Trimmer, T. (2020). Migration in world history. Routledge.
- Massey, D. S., Axinn, W. G., & Ghimire, D. J. (2010). Environmental Change and Out-Migration: Evidence from Nepal. *Population and Environment*, 32(2), 109-136.
- Mazumdar, D. (1987). Rural-urban migration in developing countries. In Handbook of regional and

- urban economics (Vol. 2, pp. 1097-1128). Elsevier.
- McKenzie, D., Stillman, S., & Gibson, J. (2010). How important is selection? Experimental vs. non-experimental measures of the income gains from migration. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 8(4), 913-945.
- McMillan, M. S., & Rodrik, D. (2011). *Globalization, structural change and productivity growth* (No. w17143). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Meng, X., & Zhang, D. (2013). The Social Impact of Rural-Urban Migration on Urban 'Natives'. Research School of Economics, CBE, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, 200.
- MFEP (2002), Enquête Integrale Sur Les Conditions De Vie des Ménages Au Rwanda: 2000-2001. Kigali, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Direction de la Statistique.
- MINAGRI. (2007), Strategic Plan for Agricultural Transformation in Rwanda, document prepared by GECAD. Kigali, Rwanda
- MINECOFIN. (2003). General Census of Population and Housing. Report on the Preliminary Results. National Census Service. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN), Kigali.
- Mlambo, V. (2018). An overview of rural-urban migration in South Africa: its causes and implications. *Archives of Business Research*, 6(4).
- Morten, M. (2016). Temporary Migration and Endogenous Risk Sharing in Village India. NBER Working Paper No. 22159.
- Mulcahy, K., & Kollamparambil, U. (2016). The impact of rural-urban migration on subjective well-being in South Africa. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 52(9), 1357-1371.
- Munshi, K. (2011). Strength In Numbers: Networks As a Solution to Occupational Traps. *Review of Economic Studies*, 78(3), 1069-1101.
- Musabanganji, E., Ruranga, C., & Maniriho, A. (2019). Migration Decisions Among Rural Households in Rwanda: What Does the Push-and-Pull Model Reveal? *AGROFOR*, 4(3).
- Mutandwa, E., Taremwa, N. K., Uwimana, P., Gakwandi, C., & Mugisha, F. (2011). An analysis of the determinants of rural to urban migration among rural youths in northern and western provinces of Rwanda. *Rwanda Journal*, 22, 55-95.
- National Institute of Statistics for Rwanda. (2007). Rwanda Development Indicators http://statistics.gov.rw/] site visited on 7/7/2007.
- NISR. (2014). Kigali: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda. *Thematic report: Migration and spatial mobility*.
- NISR. (2017). 2016 Statistical Year Book. Kigali: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda.
- NISR. (2017). Labor Force Survey August Trends. The Republic of Rwanda, (December), 1-64.
- Niyonzima, E. (2023). Assessing the Impacts of Rural-Urban Migration on Agriculture Production in Rwanda: A Case Study of Huye District, in Southern Province. *International Journal of Academic Multidisciplinary Research (IJAMR)*, 7(4), 1-15.
- Nunn, C., McMichael, C., Gifford, S. M., & Correa-Velez, I. (2014). "I Came to This Country for A

- Better Life": Factors Mediating Employment Trajectories Among Young People Who Migrated to Australia as Refugees During Adolescence. *Journal of youth studies*, 17(9), 1205-1220.
- Nwalusi, D. M., Okeke, F. O., Anierobi, C. M., Nnaemeka-Okeke, R. C., & Nwosu, K. I. (2022). A study of the impact of rural-urban migration and urbanization on public housing delivery in Enugu Metropolis, Nigeria. *European Journal of Sustainable Development*, 11(3), 59-59.
- Oberai, A. S. (1978). Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration and its Implications for Rural Areas with Special Reference to ILO Research. Economic and Demographic: Issues for the Proceedings of the Conference, Volume 2 Helsink: International Union for Scientific Study of Population.
- Okereke. O. (1976). Migrant Labor and Its Economic Implication to African Agriculture. *East Africa Journal of Rural Development*, 8(92-1040.
- Oliver, F. R. (1964). Inter-regional migration and unemployment, 1951-61. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (General)*, 127(1), 42-69.
- Omoro, A., Babi, M. et al. (2017). Causes And Consequences of Rural-Urban Migration: The Case of Juba Metropolitan, Republic Of South Sudan. IOP Conf. Ser.: *Earth Environ. Sci*, 81 012130.
- Parida, J. K., & Raman, R. K. (2020). Migration and urbanization. Handbook of internal migration in India, 449-461.
- Parkins, N. C. (2010). Push and pull factors of migration. American Review of Political Economy, 8(2).
- Pissarides, C. A., & Wadsworth, J. (1989). Unemployment and the inter-regional mobility of labour. The Economic Journal, 99(397), 739-755.
- Pottier, J (2002), Re-imagining Rwanda: Conflict, Survival and Disinformation in the Late Twentieth Century. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rahman, M. M., Hassan, M. S., Bahauddin, K. M., Ratul, A. K., & Bhuiyan, M. A. H. (2018). Exploring the impact of rural-urban migration on urban land use and land cover: a case of Dhaka city, Bangladesh. *Migration and Development*, 7(2), 222-239.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885), The Laws of Migrationl, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48, 167-235.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1889), The Laws of Migration: Second Paperl, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 52(2), 241-305.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The Laws of Migration^{II}, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48(2), 167-227.
- Richard, A. (1998). Remittances, Investment and Rural Asset Accumulation in Pakistan. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 47(1), 155-173.
- Roback, J. (1982). Wages, Rents, and the Quality of Life. *Journal of political Economy*, 90(6), 1257-1278.
- Russell, S. (1992). Migrant remittances and development, *International Migration*, 30(3/4), 267-288.
- Rwanda, E. P. R. N. (2021). Determinants of Internal Migration in Rwanda.
- Saracoglu, D. S., & Roe, T. L. (2004). Rural-urban migration and economic growth in developing

countries.

- Sauer, J., Gorton, M., & Davidova, S. (2015). Migration and farm technical efficiency: evidence from Kosovo. *Agricultural economics*, 46(5), 629-641.
- Shilpi, F., Xu, L., Behal, R., & Blankespoor, B. (2018). People on the Move: Spatial Mismatch and Migration in Post-Apartheid South Africa. World Bank.
- Smit, A. J. (2012). Impact of rural-urban migration on rural migrant households in the surroundings of Kigali. *How migration affects their livelihood* (Master's thesis).
- Stark's. (1991). compilation of migration research papers entitled The Migration of Labor.
- Steinbrink, M. (2010). The Role of Amateur Football in Circular Migration Systems in South Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 45(2), 35-60.
- Sverke, M., Hellgren, J., & Näswall, K. (2002). No security: A meta-analysis and review of job insecurity and its consequences. *Journal of occupational health psychology*, 7(3), 242.
- Tatlidil, E. (2004). *Global Changes and Human Resourches: Rural-Urban Migration in Turkey*. Paper presented to the Modernization and Structural Changes in Turkey Symposium, Hamburg University for Economics and Politics in cooperation.
- Todaro, M. P. (1969). A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. American Economic Review, 59, 138-148.
- Todaro, M. P. (1997). Urbanization, unemployment and migration in Africa: Theory and policy.
- Todaro. M. P., & Smith. S. (2006). Economic development.
- UNFPA. (2005). Population Growth in Rwanda.
- United Nations Populations Fund. (2007). *Growing up urban; the state of the urban population in 2007*. New York: USA
- United Nations. (2016). Sustainable Development Goals Report 2016". https://www.un.org/development/desa/publications/sustainable-development-goals-report2016.htm l.
- Uwimbabazi, P., & Lawrence, R. (2011). Compelling Factors of Urbanization and Rural-Urban Migration in Rwanda. *Rwanda Journal*, 22, 9-26.
- van den Berghe, V., Stappers, E., Vandesande, B., Dimidschstein, J., Kroes, R., Francis, A., ... & Seuntjens, E. (2013). Directed migration of cortical interneurons depends on the cell-autonomous action of Sip1. *Neuron*, 77(1), 70-82.
- W.B (2017). Reshaping Urbanization in Rwanda. Economic and Spatial Trends and Proposals. Note 2: Internal Migration in Rwanda. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Weeks, J., Davis, J.. & Lopez-Carr, D. (2010). Migration, Remittances, and Cattle: Implications for Land Use Change and Food Security in Central America: Papers of the Global Land Project Open Science Meeting., Central America: Arizona State University Press
- White, Michael J. and David P Lindslrom. (2015). *Internal migration, in Dudley I Boston and Michael Micklin (cds.)*. Handbook of Population. New York Kluwei Press

- Wondimagegnhu, B. A. (2012). Economic impact of rural-urban migration on income and poverty of migrant sending rural households: With evidences from Southern Ethiopia. *Ruhr University of Bochum*.
- Xiang, A. O., Jiang, D., & Zhong, Z. H. A. O. (2016). The impact of rural-urban migration on the health of the left-behind parents. *China Economic Review*, *37*, 126-139.
- Yan, T. (2016). Migration and urbanization. In *Critical Issues in Contemporary China* (pp. 174-192). Routledge.
- Yao, L. (2015). Internal Migration, International Migration, And Physical Growth of Left-Behind Children: A Study of Two Settings. *Health & Place*, *36*, 118-126.
- Zang, Y., Liu, Y., Yang, Y., Woods, M., & Fois, F. (2020). Rural decline or restructuring? Implications for sustainability transitions in rural China. *Land Use Policy*, 94, 104531.
- Zelinsky. Wilbur. (1971). The Hypothesis of The Mobility Transition. *Geographical Review*, 61(2), 219-249.
- Zhang, H. (2017). Opportunity Or New Poverty Trap: Rural-Urban Education Disparity and Internal Migration in China. *China Economic Review*, 44, 112-124.
- Zhang, K. H., & Shunfeng, S. O. N. G. (2003). Rural-urban migration and urbanization in China: Evidence from time-series and cross-section analyses. *China economic review*, 14(4), 386-400.