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This publication contains the author's articles and research findings of recent years on migration issues in Armenia. Several of them were published in some format earlier in various publications and presented as reports on international projects. The publication is intended for specialists and for all those who take interest in the migration processes that have been taking place in the Republic of Armenia.

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ARMENIAN MIGRATION

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Articles and Research Findings of Recent Years on Migration Issues in Armenia.

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CURRENT SOCIAL TRANSITION AND DEPOPULATION

The social transformations at the end of the 20th century following the breakup of the Soviet Union are referred to as the beginning of a new historical era. Events of this type require time for understanding and scientific comprehension. The reforms implementation has been an on-going process. But definitive social changes and consequences of the reforms are already evident. Below, I contribute to the process of evaluating scientifically the outcomes of these reforms, which politicians called "transition."

Western theories of modernization have recently been revised. The main idea of the theoretical revision is to account for an absence of a universal modernization model for all countries on the way to "postindustrial" development. The "postindustrial" period which comes after developed industrial capitalism[1] represents the future social order, but there are multiple paths leading toward it.[2] Post-socialist countries involved in the process of social modernization experience serious developmental difficulties, regression, a partial decrease in industrialization, and even some *"archaic reverse"* of separate sectors of the economy.

The "modernization rebound" and some deindustrialization represent a common stage of post-socialist development. As a rule, classical Western models of modernization applied to post-Soviet societies bring some social destruction. The problem lies in the failure to include distinct ethno-cultural variation and processes into models of modernization.

[1] Bell D. The Coming of Postindustrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting. Moscow, Academy, 1999.
[2] Huntington S. The collision of civilization and the transformation of World Order. - In *The New Postindustrial Wave in the West*. Moscow, Academy, 1999.

Many researchers believe that Soviet society embraced modernization, but that it could not continue and finish it because it was a closed society and lacked democracy since the Soviet government suppressed civil society and did not provide a place for civil initiative and self-organization[3]. The results of social reformations in the post-Soviet countries are not clear yet, even to reformers and analysts. Whatever the final result will be, it will not repeat the ways of Western development exactly, because of the post-Soviet countries' unique political and economic history. As American sociologist Neil Smelser notes, "The Russian evolution in the next few decades will make us revise and do the reevaluation of our current theories of development."[4] Well-known American sociologist Francis Fukuyama notes, "One of the great problems in Poland, Hungary, Russia, Ukraine, and other former communist states is that they have tried to establish democratic political institutions without the privileges of functioning capitalistic economy. The absence of enterprise, markets, and competition brings not only to aggravation of poverty, but it impedes to forming extremely necessary forms of public support for proper functioning of democratic institutes."[5]

Almost all former communist countries suffer from weakness of civil society, which results, in part, from centralization of authority in state institutions. Today, the post-Soviet areas provide extremely different pictures of liberal, pseudo-liberal, and simply authoritarian regimes. This necessarily suggests that the development of civil society institutions will continue to vary across the region.

In every country of the former Soviet Union, the architects of post-Soviet modernization had neither an exact general plan nor a specially

[3] Social and economic problems of transitional society: from the practice of CIS countries. Moscow, Nauka, 2000 (in Russian); Kozik L.P., Koxno P.A. CIS: realities and perspectives. Moscow, Juridicheski mir. BK, 2001 (in Russian).
[4] Neil J. Smelser, Sociologia, Moscow, Feniks, 1994, pp.12-13. (in Russian).
[5] Fukuyama F. Trust. The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity. New York: Free Press, 1995. p. 356.

elaborated national concept of social reformation. The process of transforming the economy thus became a stumbling block in each of these states. Many countries experienced a "modernization rebound" represented by a sudden decline in production, a loss of markets, a halt in enterprise-related activity, and an increase in mass unemployment, especially in the earliest period of the reformation. In the case of Armenia, for example, "modernization rebound" brought real deindustrialization to the country, moving it toward more archaic forms of economic activity, especially in agriculture.[6]

The process of capital accumulation by private landowners was very slow. In addition, there was no flow of private investments from outside. New landowners had to resort to the natural economy as members of peasant families by using physical handwork. While the Government should focus on the prevailing of state economic input due to land reforms.

Agriculture was brought down to the level of natural production with considerable subsistence agriculture practiced by the population in both urban and rural locations. Sociological researchers[7] provide evidence of land privatization, which was done in cases of infringement on the economic rights of peasants. The high rate of out-migration resulted in the "aging" of the rural population. As a result, one-third of private, arable land is not being used by peasants or anyone else simply because of a labor shortage[8].

Economic reforms in post-Soviet countries during the transition period could be divided into three stages: (1) the beginning of institutional reforms, (2) comparative stabilization and some

[6] Poghosyan G. Current Armenian Society. Peculiarities of Transformation. Moscow, "ACADEMIA", 2005, pp.94-96 (in Russian).
[7] Ibid., pp. 100-103.
[8] Poghosyan G. Current Armenian Society. Peculiarities of Transformation. Moscow, "ACADEMIA", 2005, pp. 96-98 (in Russian).

macroeconomic growth, and (3) the strategic change "from stabilization to development."

Concerning the strategy of privatization of industry, of the millions of certificates distributed *gratis* among inhabitants, practically all were sold at lower prices within several years. The majority of inhabitants preferred to sell their certificates rather than participate in the privatization process. As a result, these certificates were accumulated by a small segment of the population (5-7 percent). During Soviet times, the state sector had a near monopoly on ownership, while in the post-Soviet period privatization resulted in property being concentrated in the hands of a minority of private owners. The unequal distribution of property has, in part, resulted in extreme poverty, and is an example of poor organization of the privatization process as well as bureaucratic unwillingness to allow ordinary citizens to privatize property. In fact, the post-Soviet countries' inhabitants, the main participants in economic reform, were not involved in the privatization process owing to functionaries and bureaucrats at various levels. The stratification of property ownership increased immensely, and the process of economic modernization was ruined. In Armenia, this has resulted in the lack of development of a middle class of private property owners[9].

In the last decade of the 20th century, the strategy of post-Soviet modernization brought the former Soviet republics to deindustrialization and a rollback of development. Some kind of mixed, hybrid economy was created. As a whole, the market economy became noncompetitive and monopolistic in a range of branches.

The current model of economic transformation represents a post-socialist market without developed and free competition, and mainly it is managed by local clans in cooperation with the government authorities. Western experts mention that most post-Soviet countries are

[9] Poghosyan G. Armenian Society in Transformation. Yerevan, "Lusabats", 2003, pp.102-112 (in Russian).

regarded as states with a middle level of development and "parasitical authoritarian governments."[10]

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The social structure is related to the basic characteristics of the society. In the social stratification you can see the results of implemented reforms and the actual statement of society, also the tendencies of its future development.

The social structure belongs to a number of constant, conservative subsystems of society. But if changes touch the social structure, then they have an irreversible, unfilled characteristic. The social structure is the "solar plexus" of the society.[11]

The social stratification, which was universal for all republics of the former Soviet Union, has been subjected to irreversible changes. My research shows that the transformation of the structure of modern Armenian society, which is not yet over, is already resulting in striking changes.

My sociological surveys provide a basis for elaborating the following model of social stratification of the current Armenian society[12]:

- *The highest stratum*: political and economical elites, important owners, oligarchs, and directors of leading industrial and trade corporations: 5 percent to 7 percent of the population;
- *The middle stratum*: small businessmen and entrepreneurs, private owners, highly paid professionals, and state functionaries and managers: 10 percent to 12 percent;

[10] Nations in Transition, 2004. Freedom House, USA, 2004.

[11] Zaslavskaya T. Sociostructural Aspect of Transformation in Russian Society.- "Sociological Researches", Moscow, 2001, N 8, pp. 3-11.

[12] Poghosyan G. Current Armenian Society. Peculiarities of Transformation. Moscow, "ACADEMIA", 2005, pp.178-180.

- *The main stratum*: office workers, service workers, peasants, representatives of intellectuals, pensioners, merchants, and people who are temporarily unemployed: 65 percent;
- *The social "bottom"*: homeless, permanently unemployed, prostitutes, social "losers": 15 percent.

Here are, of course, the main levels and groups of society. On the whole, Armenian society has become more "multilevel", and the gaps between the living standards of the different social levels have increased many times over. The size of the working class has been rapidly reduced (by 310,000). There has been an expansion of the number of workers in the sphere of trade and service, and there are levels that did not exist in the former social structure (main owners, oligarchs on the one side, and homeless people, prostitutes, social "losers" on the other).

The growth of the marginal levels of the population has started. The transition structure of society is characterized by its amorphousness, extreme instability, and uncertainty, which is typical for societies in transition.

NEW POVERTY

The unprecedented growth of unemployment brought mass poverty to the national population. The most difficult problem of poverty was raised before the transforming society. I am developing a conceptual point of view according to which this new phenomenon for social reality at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century should be designated as "New Poverty." It needs to be examined not as an inherited but as a received poverty. This is a result of reforms and the fundamental breaking up of the former economic system, and not a statement on the chronic state of the society. Such poverty was not characteristic of society throughout the Soviet period[13].

[13] Poghosyan G. The "New Poverty" in Post-Soviet Armenia. "Global Dialog", Internet journal of International Sociological Association, 2012, Volume 2, Issue 3, http: www.isa-sociology.org global-dialogue 2012 03 a-note-on-the-"new-poverty"-in-post-soviet-armenia

The "New Poverty" of the post-Soviet countries has nothing in common with the mass poverty of the inhabitants of the Third World countries. But present strategies and approaches for studying and overcoming this poverty are, as a rule, based on the experience of the Third World countries with large segments of chronically poor population. As a rule, poverty in those countries is characterized by misery, illiteracy, high child mortality rates, and poor public sanitation. But none of these conditions are relevant to the phenomenon of the post-Soviet "New Poverty," which affects a population with a high level of education, a good healthcare system, and good conditions of life. Rather, the "New Poverty" has affected people who were satisfied enough in the past, such as laborers, state office workers, the intelligentsia, pensioners, and homemakers.

The differentiating feature of the "New Poverty" is visible in its urban character. In contrast to the Third World countries, where poverty strikes most of all rural population, the poverty of industrial Armenia, for example, appears to be a condition of people in small and middle-sized towns. Forty-eight percent of the population of the country is poor; 16 percent are considered the "extremely poor." The richest 20 percent of the population have 32 times more income than the poorest 20 percent. In fact, the richest 10 percent of people in the country own 46.2 percent of the national income.[14] Such extreme polarization of property ownership and the presence of large numbers of poor people impede economic development and make fast growth difficult. The economic reforms resulted in poverty which became a brake on further reform.

The Armenian "New Poverty" includes a significant category of poor people who are the working poor – their low level of salaries cannot provide a living wage. This kind of poverty among employed citizens visually testifies that this poverty cannot be overcome merely

[14] Poghosyan G. Current Armenian Society. Peculiarities of Transformation. Moscow, "ACADEMIA", 2005. See also, Poghosyan G. Armenian Society in Transformation. Yerevan. "Lusabats", 2003.

through the expansion of workplaces and the simple reduction of unemployment. Besides, even future increases in economic indexes and gross domestic product (GDP) will not lead to automatic reduction of poverty. The fact is that the future growth of GDP will widen the present income disparity because of unequal participation of different social groups in the distribution of the national income. Rich people are becoming richer, and poor people are becoming poorer.

Aging of the population is occurring because of high rates of out-migration and growth in the percentage of unemployed people. The exodus of the younger and more economically active part of the population has exacerbated the situation and has significantly changed the social and demographic structure of the population.[15]

MIGRATION AND DEPOPULATION

For Armenia as well as the entire South Caucasus, the main historical trend of the last decade of the 20th century is the phenomenon of depopulation. Unprecedented in its scale, the historical process of *depopulation* in the countries of the South Caucasus became one of a large number of negative results of the collapse of the communist empire. A total of about 3 million people have left the three countries of the region (Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia). The main reasons for such a powerful wave of out-migration were the economic crisis, an extreme reduction in workplace and living standards, the conflict situations, and continuing blockade of the Armenian railways by the neighboring Azerbaijan. [16]

The three countries have become an exporter of labor and qualified personnel. Moreover, there has been talk of a spontaneous and uncontrolled exodus of labor resources. In fact, the main danger lies in the demographic characteristics of the migrants, the largest segment of

[15] Poghosyan G. Migration processes in Armenia. Yerevan, 2003, pp. 116-128.
[16] Poghosyan G. Out-Migration from Armenia In "Transboundary Migration in Post-Soviet Space". Three Comparative Case Studies. Nikolai Genov, Tessa Savvidis (eds.), Peter Lang. Berlin 2011, pp. 39-77.

which are people (mostly men) from 18 to 55 years of age with postsecondary or professional secondary education. According to official statistics, 30 percent of the migrants are scientists, teachers, engineers, or other specialists. [17] The loss of a segment of society with such a social-demographic attributes has made society noticeably weaker. One result has been an increase in the size of the unemployed population and of social groups such as indigent people and people receiving assistance from the state (pensioners, children, single mothers, large families, etc.).

The primary impetus for depopulation had been out-migration but after several years a decline in the birthrate also became a factor. In 1995 the birth rate was 13.0 (per 1,000 population), while in 1998 it was 10.4 and in 2006 the same indicator was 11.7: as a result the natural growth of population went down from 6.4 in 1995 to 3.2 in 2006.[18] The marriage rate and family size have both been reduced[19]. The process of ethnic homogenization of the South Caucasus societies also followed the depopulation process. The problem was that members of minority nationalities who had lived in the three countries for many decades had left along with native people. In addition to expatriate Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians, these included Russians, Jews, Greeks, Ukrainians, and Germans. For example, in Armenia 97 percent of the native population is now ethnic Armenian. The growth of nationalist spirit in society, the *"ethnical homogenization"* of the leading elite, and the promotion of the national ideology alongside state policy are possible reasons for this trend, together with cultural consolidation. The growth of national self-awareness is typical in many societies in post-Soviet countries, which are now experiencing various kinds of national rebirth.

[17] Papoyan A., Baghdasaryan N. About Several Questions on Migration of Armenian Population into Russia. Yerevan, 1999, p.10.
[18] Statistical Yearbook of Armenia, 2001, 2008. www.armstat.am
[19] Khodjabekyan V.E. The Reproduction and Movement of Armenian Population in IX-XX and in the beginning of XXI century. Yerevan, Academy Press "Gitutyun", 2001, pp. 414-415 (in Armenian).

DEVELOPMENT OF VALUES

The social sphere in general and public opinion in particular suffer from a distinct inertia which is especially evident during periods of major change. The scale and pace of economic and political reforms sometimes leave social transformation far behind. This is a time when the society rejects the former and starts implementing new values.

In general, the direction and success of modernization will depend on how quickly society becomes ready to accept new values and models of individual organization of life. The formation of new values is a very difficult and contradictory process. It is a fundamental replacement of value systems and life stereotypes, which can occur not only in an empty place but on "the ruins of a fragmenting normatively valued system."[20]

In any case, the public consciousness of a certain part of Soviet society was ready to perceive the values of democracy. European democracy looked attractive at first. However, soon a disappointment in democratic values came. After several years, the sociological surveys of the second half of the 1990s registered the evolution of value attitudes in public consciousness. The disappointment in democratic values became deeper with the growth of an "anarchic" tendency in the society and with misfortunes resulting from economic reforms. The resulting *"axiological vacuum"* brought to some kind of de-moralization of public consciousness, and tendency to moral pluralism in society.

The period of disappointment formed an atmosphere of nostalgia for the communist past. Moral relativism and the wish for an authoritarian "strong hand" characterize in part the moral-psychological state of the axiological consciousness of society.

Traditional values such as honesty, devotion, decency, and fairness became devalued. Pragmatism and social egotism usurped the pseudo-collective spirit. Step by step, the strategies of personal success began to play a dominant role in mass behavior. Today, the values of family and

[20] The Dynamic of Population's Values of Reforming Russia. Moscow, Editorial URSS, 1996, pp.44-45.

individual environment are dominant in the consciousness of simple people. Individualism has become deeper in terms of market relations.

TRANSITION RESOURCES

One of the main reasons of the transformation management lost was an irrelevant account of the transformational resource of the society. The reformation of the social sphere was naively examined as a secondary process, which should follow the institutional reforms of economic and political spheres.

The architects of post-Soviet modernization missed the main factor in any social transformation, the formation of the exact social resource, with the direct and interested participation of which the reforms will be realized and will be kept in social life. The intensity and scale of the reforms during the economic crisis, local conflicts, and energy crisis became a reason for bewilderment and defensiveness of the society. The result was that the social resource of modernization was not implemented, and the reforms slipped.

The experience of post-Soviet democracy shows that market economy can be combined with authoritarian political management (like Russia, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and others). The point is that all reforms lie on the culture "matrix" of a society and incorporate public practices and local traditions. The same transformation models are quite differently implemented in different socio-cultural spheres.

It is clear that the great part of the post-Soviet societies did not comprehend and did not support the reforms of the transforming period. That is why the transitive model of post-Soviet modernization did not get wide social support and could not attract necessary social resources.

The process of transitional reforms initiated by the Armenian government was, unfortunately, not supported by scientific social and economic research and analysis.

Strange as it may seem, even though the post-Soviet countries possessed such a solid scientific potential, they failed almost entirely to provide a scientific foundation for the reforms.

The faith in Western recipes and the distrust in the society's own scientific manpower provided conditions for final excommunication of science from the processes of social transformation. Meanwhile, *the modernization theory should have a national face, and not to be something universal to all modernizing societies*. The development of democracy on the basis of a nation's own historical and ethno-cultural peculiarities now seems a necessary condition.

Finally, socially specific cultural-historical and national features, on the one hand, and global international conditions, on the other hand, will determine what type of modernization will be best suited to a post-Soviet society. Still, the post-Soviet countries today are more State than society.

The network structure of the coming social order is one of the essential characteristics of globalization.[21] The national model of modernization must be built with accounting of that peculiarity. For a long time, the fate of the Armenian diasporas has lain in a certain network structure that extends far beyond the borders of the Armenian state. The globalization century can become a period of productive integration into the new world order by means of the realization of the network potential of the Armenian diasporas.

[21] Poghosyan G. Global Tendencies of World Development and Perspectives of Caucasus. Society and Economy. Moscow, 1999, N 10-11, pp. 226-230.

OUT-MIGRATION FROM ARMENIA*

INTRODUCTION

The 20th century was rightfully called «the epoch of migrations» (Castles / Miller 1996: 43). The amount of international migrants had increased from 75 million in 1965 to 120 million in 1990 and reached the level of 140 million at the turn of the century. The amount of migrants in the world increased faster than the growth of the earth's population (Yudina 2002: 102). As a consequence of the migration increase, modern societies became culturally, ethnically and religiously more diverse.

The main flows of migrants from different countries are directed towards the West (to Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand). The European countries-receivers first of all are Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the emergence of 15 independent states in 1991, the marketization of the economy and the globalization caused massive out-migration that was increased by ethnic conflicts as well as social and economic problems in the South Caucasus countries. During the last decade of the 20th century, the three South Caucasus republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia lost about three million inhabitants. Since 1991, flows of migrants from that region, consisting of many thousands of people, joined the international migration flows. In addition to increased international migration regional migration – i.e. the transfer of populations inside the countries

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of the former Soviet Union - also increased significantly. According to the data of the European regional bureau of UNHCR, in the space of the *Commonwealth of Independent States* (CIS) already in 1991-1992 about 700,000 refugees and 2.3 million of internally displaced persons (IDPs) were registered (IOM 1999: 7).

In 1999, the *International Organization of Migration* (IOM) issued its report "The Migration of the population in the CIS countries: 1997-1998", in which it stated: "The main migration trend in 1997 on the post Soviet territory was the movement to/from Russia. In 1997, comparing with the previous year, the immigration to Russia from CIS countries and Baltic countries decreased only for 7.5%, whereas the emigration from Russia decreased for 20%. Russia is the main point for the majority of emigrants from the CIS countries. While the superiority of emigration over immigration is still observed in the majority of CIS countries, for Russia opposite tendencies are typical." (IOM 1999b: 14) More than the majority of all intra-CIS migrants are Russians (54%), followed by Ukrainians (16%), Belo-Russians (3.5%) and migrants of the South Caucasus (6%) (IOM 1999: 14-15).

Compared with the universal migration trends, there are certain specifics in migration processes from the South Caucasus region. The main results of massive emigration during the last two decades in Armenia and the South Caucasus as a whole are depopulation and mono-ethnicization. The historically unprecedented depopulation process in the South Caucasus was one of the numerous negative consequences of the collapse of the communist system and the modernization attempts in those countries. On the whole, about three million people left the South Caucasus countries. At the turn of the 21th century, about one million people had emigrated from Armenia. The main reasons which caused such an exodus are the abrupt reduction of work places, the economic crisis and the immense deterioration of living

conditions. Armenia became an exporter of her work force and of skilled workers. The export of labor resources combined with the emigration of the economically active population on a large scale essentially changed the demographic structure of Armenia's society.

BRIEF OVERVIEW

There were several massive migration flows in the Armenian history. A closer look at the 20th century reveals that Armenians, together with other ethnic groups of the country migrated because of 'genocide, deportation, political and religious pressure, because of war, bad economic conditions and crisis, social conflicts and natural disasters. Except for the 1915 genocide, the reasons of migration in the 20th century did not differ from those in previous centuries (Karakashian, Poghosyan 2003: 227).

According to the data in the *National Library of Armenia*, in 1917 there existed 202 migration settlements ("colonies") of Armenians, spreading from Madras in India to Australia, Argentina, Ethiopia, North America, to European and Russian cities. There is also information about gradual emigration of Armenians from the Ottoman Empire to the USA and Europe that took place until 1895 (Akopian 1988: 67-76). Until 1915, the majority of Armenians was rural or provincial, with numerous specialized craftsmen. But there were also successful Armenian traders, merchants and entrepreneurs in the provincial centers and in particular in the Ottoman capital city of Constantinople (Istanbul).

Repeated massacres in 1894-96 and 1909 and the genocide of 1915/16 caused massive flight of the survivors. It was estimated that during 1894-96 200,000 Armenians died from massacres and starvation in their aftermath (Karakashian, Poghosyan 2003: 229). At the same time about 100,000 Armenians found sanctuary in other countries

(Dadrian 1995: 112), not only in the neighborhood, but also in Trans-Atlantic destinations: In 1895-1899 about 70,980 Armenians left for USA (Tashjian 1947: 18).

The genocide and forced deportation of Armenians from Western Armenia and other areas of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, which was committed by the order from the ruling *Ittihat ve terrakki Cemiyeti ("Committee for Union and Progress")*, or so-called Young Turks' Government, was followed by the dispersion of the survivors to different countries. To a large extent, the present-day Armenian Diaspora emerged as a result of that genocide.

Although Armenian Diasporic settlements existed since the loss of Armenian statehood in the 11th century, they grew significantly in size and number after the Genocide: 1.5 million Armenians perished, others managed to escape and established communities in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Middle Eastern countries. Many thousands also settled in Western Europe (i.e. France) and in both Americas (North and South). Substantial Armenian communities also emerged in the Russian Far East as well as in the former Soviet republics. Armenian communities can also be found in India, Australia, New Zealand, Sub-Saharan Africa (Sudan, South Africa, and Ethiopia), and as far east as Singapore, Myanmar and Hong Kong. Armenian exile communities even thrived once in China, Japan and the Philippines.

According to different present-day expert estimates, the amount of Armenians in the world is estimated between 8 and 9 million (Haydaran 2009: 594; IOM 2008a: 23; Panossian 2003: 12; IOM 2002: 51; Sanoyan, Epstein 2010: 66; www.armeniandiaspora.com). Today, the countries with the largest number of Armenians (excluding Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh) in rank of order are Russia, the United States,

Georgia (Republic), France, Ukraine, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Argentina and Canada.

However, this is estimated data. It is obvious that the true amount of the Armenian Diaspora in many countries of the world is still under-researched, and that statistical 'hard figures' are difficult to established due to ongoing migration processes inside the Armenian Diaspora. For example, as a result of conflicts in the Near East and low human rights standards there, thousands of Armenians emigrated from Turkey and Middle East countries to establish themselves in the United States, Canada, France and elsewhere.

A massive wave of 'repatriation' to Armenia started in the Near East in 1946. At that time the government of Soviet Armenia invited Armenians of the Diaspora to come to live in Armenia. Many people of different professions in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Greece, Iran and France were selling up their property and made their way towards their historical homeland. The total amount of foreign ethnic Armenian immigrants to Soviet Armenia in the 1921-1962 period was given as 220,000, and for the years 1962-1973, as 26,140 (Koutcharian 1989: 196).[1] The 'repatriation' climaxed during the immediate post-war years of 1945-48, when about 90,000 Armenians emigrated from twelve different countries (Armenian Diaspora. Encyclopaedia 2003: 15)[2], but declined sharply after 1965.

As a result of Armenia's geostrategic position and the circumstances causes by this position, Armenians had always to be mobile and to develop qualities that allow them to adapt to new habitats. However,

[1] Slightly different figures are named in the 2009 "Hayadaran": From 1920 to the 1980s, about 170,000 ethnic Armenians immigrated to Soviet Armenia: in 1920-1936 42,200 people, in 1946–1948 89,700 and in 1962-1982 32,500 (Hayadaran 2009: 593).

[2] Khatanassian mentions a total of 178,000 immigrants for the 1945-65 period (Khatanassian 1965: 42).

under the Soviet rule their mobility was artificially restrained. The Soviet regime harshly limited the freedom of movement, especially out-migration. With the collapse of the Soviet regime, a «migration spring» started.

Labor surplus is another relevant reason for Armenian out-migration. Already in Soviet times, Armenia was a region with higher labor resources than the country could actually provide with work. Therefore seasonal migration among the Armenians was widespread even at that time. At present, this situation has not changed (Khojabekyan 2004: 209-212). Armenians continue to make their way to Russia and to other countries of the former Soviet Union in search of earnings. Their destinations are places where they already established longstanding business contacts and even relationship with the local Armenian Diaspora. "Somehow exceptional is the high amount of arrivals from Armenia despite the fact that Armenia is no direct neighbour of Russia (19,123 arrivals in 1997 related to 30,751 in 2007). Among the CIS states, Armenia has the highest share of her workers abroad (perhaps 700,000 in a labour force of 1.2 million)" (Savvidis 2009a: 150).

Economists confirm that in future too Armenia will produce an annual labor surplus of about 70,000 to 80,000. "Provided that the economic growth will be 6% per year and can create 30-35 thousand work places, then even under these circumstances the home market will not be able to absorb the incoming labour force within the next few years" (Papoyan/Bagdasaryan 1999: 9). Academician Khojabekyan notes that during the 1986 and 1990 period Armenia's workforce was just one million on average. But according to his estimate, this figure grew to 1,350,000 people already in 1996-2005 (Khojabekyan 2004: 305). In other words, the number of persons who are in need of job placement increased for more than 25%.

Armenia belongs to the countries that lose qualified specialists and intellectual workers. It can turn out very destructive for a small country to spend means on preparing and educating specialists and then 'export' them in significant numbers. With the so-called "brain drain", Armenia loses her intellectual and spiritual wealth that has been developed for decades.

The waves of forced emigration of Armenians from Azerbaijan began in 1988. Many people found refuge in Armenia, Russia, USA and other countries fleeing massacres perpetrated in 1988-1990. According to the UNHCR data, among the 360,000 of all the refugees from Azerbaijan, today 264,339 people reside in Armenia (UNHCR 2001: 27). During the first decade of the 21st century, about 100,000 of them became citizens of the Republic of Armenia. Others left Armenia in search of earnings and better life.

The adaptation of refugees lasted for several years. The Armenian society and the State were not prepared to solve a problem of such dimensions. The economic, social and cultural integration of 360,000 refugees from Azerbaijan seemed close to 'mission impossible'. Nevertheless, the authorities eventually determined their policy concerning the refugees and focused on their full integration.

During the decade of 1990-2000, almost 900,000 people emigrated from Armenia (IOM 2002: 51), which was then about a quarter of the entire population and is now one third of it. According to the last population census of 2001, there were 3,200,000 residents in the country (Statistics, analysis and state register committee of RA 2002: 79). In general, hundreds of thousands of migrants from Armenia made their way to Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, USA, Europe and remoter destinations.

In Central Europe, Armenian migrants tried to settle down in Germany (Poghosyan 1997: 20), Belgium, Netherlands and Poland

(Marciniak 2001: 107-116). The immigration to Germany remained small and unsuccessful, since most asylum applications were rejected. In recent years, there is some migration to Austria and more to France, Spain and Greece. In some cases the migration flows of Armenians are directed to the countries where relatively large groups of the historical Armenian Diaspora already exist.

Many of Armenia's out-migrants have departed without any preparation of documents before departure. Initially, they assumed to leave not for a long time to earn some money and then return. But the absolute majority did not come back yet and persists to live in different countries as irregular or even illegal migrants. The others belong to the increasing category of seasonal migrants.

The social-demographic structure of migrants includes people from different strata of the Armenian society. The majority of them (65%) are men of working age (UNDP 1999: 46). Their education level is high – as a rule these are qualified workers with average and professional-technical education. A significant share of them completed higher education (30-35%) (UNDP 1999: 46). In the 1991-1994 period, male migrants were leaving as singles and tried to settle down abroad; but later on they started to leave with their families.

Another effect of out-migration is the contribution of migrants to economic survival of their families and friends at home by remittances. At the same time, the migrants' absence harms the economy of Armenia. They deprive a potential Armenian class of businessmen of markets and slow down the formation of a middle class.

Today new migration processes take place in the country, in which the State still does not take an essential part. First of all, this is the return of migrants to Armenia and their reintegration. A second problem relates to the trafficking of women to Arabic Emirates, Turkey and

Greece for exploitation in the so-called "sex-industry" (Poghosyan 2005b: 23). Finally, there exists the problem of transit migrants within Armenia (Poghosyan 2009: 193-212).

During the last 10 or 15 years, refugees from Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Iran, Turkey and even African countries have arrived in Armenia. Usually they become part of the global flows of migrants from the South to the North. In this scheme, Armenia appears as a buffer State, from where the transit migrants try to leave for Western Europe. During the last years, Kurdish refugees lived in the Republic of Armenia. They had crossed the Armenian-Turkish border and were arrested in the international airport "Zvartnots" when they were trying to depart to Amsterdam (Karakashyan, Poghosyan 2003: 239). During the last years Armenia increasingly has become a transit country for migrants from India, Afghanistan and Pakistan making their way to Russia and Western Europe. However, their numbers are still small. In 1998-2000, just 232 transit migrants were registered in Armenia (IOM 2002: 51-52). The majority of them fails and returns to their countries of origin with the help of international organizations.

A causal analysis of migration can provide a detailed classification of the motives and objectives of circumstances that caused a large-scale outflow of the population that occurred in Armenia during the last 18 years (Kharatyan 2003: 9). The reasons of large-scale migration differ widely. As Nikolai Genov notes, *"International migration is a phenomenon categorically rejecting any kind of mono-causal explanations. Material structures and value-normative orientations are simultaneously involved in decisions to emigrate and in the efforts to accommodate in the country of immigration. Individual preferences and calculations together with collective patterns of orientation and action mix in the decision to take the path of emigration. Which of these factors might be more influential in determining international migration might*

be matter of specific empirical proof but not a matter of a generalized analytical decision" (Genov 2009: 171).

Researchers concerned with the subject identified as main reasons the war and blockade of Armenia by Azerbaijan since 1989 and by Turkey since 1993 and the subsequent energy crisis, cold and starvation in the early 1990's (Poghosyan 2005: 206-208). But there are other 'driving' factors, too:

Cultural-historical factors: Here we may refer to numerous Armenian Diasporas in many countries of Europe, Asia and America. The presence of the Armenian Diaspora is surely an important factor that stimulates the migratory disposition of the people, taking into consideration the closeness of the contacts and relations that are typical for Armenians.

Political-historical factors: First of all, we shall refer to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of 15 new independent states that are based on the freedom of movement. That process is also called "anti-camp" syndrome when the citizens of the previous socialist camp member states suddenly obtained the right to travel freely. Longstanding political propaganda, including the appraisal of Western values, liberties and the Western way of life - addressed to the Soviet population should also be counted among those factors. Many Soviet people were influenced by such propaganda and made their ways to Europe in search of better living conditions.

In addition, a special domestic political situation has been formed in the new independent states where new national political elites came to power. In the case of the three South Caucasus states the declaration of and the focus on the national issues such as language, culture, traditions, etc. was typical. The Russian-speaking community of Armenia felt

largely ousted. For such communities, emigration became a mean of opting out of nationalist or even chauvinistic processes. By the way, the ousting of the Russophone community partly explains the tremendous difficulties in the integration of ethnic Armenian refugees coming from Azerbaijan to Armenia, in particular urban populations from Baku and Sumgait. Many of these immigrating Armenians were Russophones and also many highly qualified specialists. The national 'renaissance' in Armenia during the early 1990's created some discomfort for these refugees that in its turn triggered their migratory disposition.

Not a less important role among the political-historical factors of migration was the change of the political system. This factor is mentioned in the literature least of all, but in our opinion has a very important meaning. During the Soviet reign, large groups of qualified cadres emerged in Armenia and elsewhere. For the majority of them the collapse of the Communist regime meant an end of their work career and a profound change of their life strategy. These people found themselves if not in the position of social outcasts in the new society but at any rate among the outcasts under the conditions of a new lifestyle. Many of them emigrated to Russia and other countries at the first opportunity.

War and conflict factors: These are the factors that caused multiple groups of refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs) in the country. The armed conflict over Nagorno Karabakh, which gradually developed into an undeclared war of Azerbaijan against the Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh, became the cause of the displacement of a huge amount of people on both sides of the conflict. About 500,000 Armenians were forced to flee from Azerbaijan, including some 48,000 temporary refugees from Nagorno Karabakh proper, who were able to return to Nagorno Karabakh several years later. The majority of these Armenian refugees, approximately 360,000, were directed to Armenia.

Besides, 72,000 inhabitants of Armenian villages situated near the border to Azerbaijan were forced to leave their homes temporarily because of constant shelling and insecurity (UNHCR 2001: 27; Khojabekyan 2004: 233; IOM 2002: 51). In 2006, the number of refugees located in Armenia was 113,714 (IOM 2008a: 15). The depressing situation of war and long-lasting conflict became the main reason for the emigration of thousands of people.

Economic factors: Armenia found itself confronted with a wide range of harsh economic conditions: blockade of international roads and communications, suspension of almost half of the industrial enterprises of the country, a heavy energy crisis, a high level of unemployment, an abrupt drop in the living standards for most of her people, the loss of former markets and of providers of raw materials and many other. The break-down of Armenia's economy became the main migration reason for almost one-third of the population in recent years and in particular in the last decade of the 20th century.

Psychological factors: At different stages the impact of that kind of factors sometimes weakened, sometimes intensified; but as a rule they showed a strong impact on the social self-esteem of the citizens and influenced migratory dispositions. For a certain part of the population, the psychological factors are first of all connected with the awareness of some loss of 'tranquil life' and the desperate present situation. People did not see a better future for their children and tried to establish their life abroad. The psychological factors of despair and an uncertain future appeared as a driving push-factor (Poghosyan 2003a: 116-124; Poghosyan, Haroutyunyan, Arakelyan, 2007: 133-155; Poghosyan 2007a: 236).

Undoubtedly, these are the most relevant, although by far not the only reasons. Thorough, social-historical analysis of the reasons and

circumstances that caused such large-scale migratory flows confirms the fact that the Post-Soviet migration of Armenians is a multidimensional phenomenon. Sometimes it is wrongly simplified and limited to only few obvious reasons.

PURPOSE OF STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

The ArGeMi project covers the whole cycle before, during and after migration. Our survey included the field study of out-migration of population from the Republic of Armenia. We conducted surveys before, between and after travels abroad in order to explore the motives, forms, courses, results, potentials and perceptions of the observed cases of migration. Special attention was paid to ways of labor migration, structures of qualified labor migration, practice of money transfer and remittances, as well as the return potential.

The diversity of survey methods was applied for exploring the experience and expectations of migrants, migration related experts and main stakeholders of the Post-Soviet migration process. Following methods were applied in the ArGeMi project in Armenia:

- Surveys before, during and after the migration cycle in Yerevan (the capital and largest city), Gyumri (the second largest city), Vanadzor (the third largest city), Goris in the South of the country and Alaverdi in the North;
- Monitoring of events;
- In-depth interviews with experts and other relevant stakeholders.

The field study was conducted during February, March and April 2009, when seasonal migrants from Armenia normally leave abroad in spring. The survey was conducted among a sample[3] of 300 returnees from Europe, Northern America and Asia, 200 returnees from Moscow

[3] Called henceforward "other destinations".

and 100 potential migrants in Yerevan, Gyumri, Vanadzor, Goris and Alaverdi. The sampling technique applied was the snowball procedure of the identification of respondents.

20 expert interviews were conducted in Armenia with political administrators and decision-makers, representatives of international bodies, human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs), scientific experts and organizations of migrants. The interviews revealed different degrees of problem awareness, flaws, failures or even a complete lack of migration regime and legislation, and a general weakness in statistics. The interviews of the experts were carried out within the three months of February- April 2009. Preliminarily, 20 experts were selected from five different spheres - three experts working as state officials in migration-related sectors, five as representatives of international organizations which are accredited in Armenia, three were Armenia-based journalists, four were leaders of Armenian NGOs and, finally, five were scholars. All of them were selected according to one guiding principle – their involvement in Armenian migration problems for several years. All experts possessed intense work experience in that sphere and had proven their knowledge in published articles and reports on the research issues.

The monitoring of outmigration-related events was conducted with special attention to out-migration from Armenia to Russia and particularly to Moscow. 'Event' is defined as an occurrence, significant happening, or outcome of a previous phenomenon. Events were identified and analyzed according to information from official documents of the state or other actors, mass media reporting and scientific studies. The monitoring of events was carried out twice: The first round of migration-related event monitoring was conducted in Armenia during the February-April 2009 period, while the second round

took place between January and March 2010. Both monitoring rounds covered three months each.

A particularly challenging issue related to the monitoring is the distinction between the manifest appearance of the event and its hidden causes and latent meaning. For this reason the tool for monitoring of events includes two blocs of questions: One of them was oriented towards the description of the event presented by a specific source or by various sources. The other was intended to guide the structured interpretation of the event and the reactions to it.

Three main Armenian newspapers – official "Hayastani Hanrapetutyun" (in Armenian), independent "Golos Armenii" (in Russian) and "Aravot" (in Armenian) and also the two main Armenian public TV stations 'H1' and 'H2' have been monitored on migration events. In total, twenty newspaper articles and eight TV programs were outlined during the first round of monitoring of events and 25 newspaper's articles and eight TV programs during the second round.

RECENT MIGRATION TRENDS IN ARMENIA AND PROFILE OF MIGRANTS

The common pattern in the answers of the interviewed experts was that none of them possessed exact information concerning the amount of migrants, particularly of those who departed to Russia and Moscow. The dominant opinion of the experts was expressed by the representative of the IOM office in Armenia: "*According to the official data and the results of independent studies, 800,000 to one million people have left Armenia since 1991. There is no exact statistics in relation to how many of them reside in Russia and particularly in Moscow. However, taking into account the fact that the main flow of the migrants was to Russia, we can suppose that 60-70% reside there*". Some of the experts (members of local NGOs) mentioned that approximately 500,000 Armenians live in Russia, while about 150,000 to 200,000 of those live

in Moscow. But this was still just an expert's opinion that is not based on precise statistic figures.

All experts mention the amount of roughly one million émigrés from Armenia. Meanwhile, in the opinion of the experts' majority the overwhelming part of Armenian migrants leave for Russia and there, as a rule, to Moscow. This closely corresponds to the results of a sociological survey conducted in 2007: "*The Russian Federation continues to be the most popular country of destination for Armenian labour migrants (93%).*" The survey also reported that most of the migrants (39.8%) looked for jobs in Moscow (OSCE 2007: 25-26).

In the ArGeMi survey, experts named a wide range of estimates, although agreeing that the vast majority of migrants from Armenia go to Moscow. Thus, in the opinion of a sociologist from the Yerevan State University, 2.5-3 million Armenians reside in Moscow, the majority of them unregistered. In other expert's opinion it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of migrants in Moscow because the data of the official statistics of the Russian Federation cover only a small part of all migrants from CIS countries, Armenia included, because the majority of migrants lives there illegally and without official registration. But all experts agreed on the fact that the majority of migrants from Armenia in Russia live in Moscow. Some experts with scientific background referred to data published in Armenian mass media which mentioned that in 2008 about 50,000 migrants went to Moscow in search of employment.

The experts were unanimous in the opinion that 60-70 % of all migrants from Armenia were male and of working age: "*I think women account for nearly 40 percent or less, well, certainly the rest are men, about 60 percent and more*" /Academician/.

This coincides with the published data of surveys conducted in Armenia at different times (IOM 1999: 14-15; IOM 2008a: 23; UNDP 1999: 46; Poghosyan 2007a: 376; Poghosyan 2005 b: 59; Poghosyan 2003a: 195). These data also coincide with those of the ArGeMi project survey, according to which 67.5 percents of the interviewed returnees from Moscow were male.

In the experts' opinion, the majority of migrants have secondary, secondary professional or even incomplete higher education. In other words, migrants from Armenia have quite a high educational level. A representative of the OSCE office in Armenia mentioned: *"Previously mainly smart, educated people and scientists left. These were the ones who left in 1994. Today mostly seasonal labourers leave, i.e. common workmen. There are lots of seasonal labourers here."* This opinion is confirmed also by the data of several surveys including the ArGeMi survey with returnees from Moscow: According to that data, 29 percents of the respondents had higher education, 40 percents secondary special or professional education. Some experts or scientists from NGOs believe that migrants from Armenia in Moscow work mainly on construction sites. *"Migrants from Armenia are mostly occupied in the sectors of construction and service. They are occupied in the construction sector not as cheap workers but as foremen. They are usually working for Armenian contractors. The migrants who are occupied in the service sector are not seasonal migrants, but have asserted there for some time, for example in car service or restaurant."* (Sociologist of the Yerevan State University).

According to the interviewed experts, the local population in Moscow *"has a negative attitude towards the migrants from the Caucasus. Of course, their rights are violated. There is murder, violence because of national identity. Migrants are unprotected"* (Academician). Some experts even mentioned that there are numerous incidents of open aggression towards migrants. *"I think that there is no special treatment*

of those migrants from Armenia who came to Moscow after the 1990s. Skinheads do not look into passports. The treatment is one and the same for all ethnic groups. That is a nationalistic approach. It does not matter. They may confuse Tajik people with Udmurts and kill them. The Russian President says that they do not act against Armenians and he also says that Armenians are our relatives. Everything is OK on state authority level, but in practice no attention is paid" (Journalist).

The experts agree that labor rights of migrants in Moscow are poorly protected. *"The rights of those who illegally stay in Moscow are not protected. Their passports are taken and they become victims of trafficking. The rights of those who live there illegally are protected only as much as the rights of the local residents are protected"* (President of the *Women Union of Armenia*).

The experts were not optimistic as to whether many migrants from Armenia would return. They rather believe that there is no obvious return flow back and secondly that the situation in Armenia has not improved sufficiently enough for economic and labor migrants to return. In their interviews, returnees from Moscow and other destinations expressed the same skepticism.

Least of all it was possible to receive the experts' answers concerning the national legislation on migration, although several laws on transit migration, labor migration, trafficking, etc. were passed in Armenia after 1990. But almost all experts could provide information about remittances from the migrants working in Russia. They named different amounts, but in all cases the estimate was quite an impressive sum. *"The remittances are estimated 1.7 to 2 billion US-$. This amount was registered in 2006-07 and it was a record" (Academician).*

"According to the data, before 2009, the amount of migrants' remittances was annually 2 billion US dollars. Due to the crisis, there

will be serious changes here and the data need to be updated. Russia has seriously suffered from the crisis and it is natural that the migrants in Russia earn less than before. Consequently the amount of remittances declines. Therefore, today it is necessary to talk about a 34% decrease in remittances. Most of the money comes from Moscow since it is the main destination of out- migration from Armenia" (Representative of IOM mission in Armenia).

These assessments correspond with the opinion of experts in Russia. *"The estimation shows that the situation in Armenia is difficult: the crisis fully affected the economy ... Today already 71% of the population feels that the crisis affected economy of the country... The situation in the republic was aggravated by the fact that an essential stake of the GDP of the country was formed by the means transferred by the representatives of the Diaspora. The worsening of the financial standing of the representatives of Diaspora seriously and negatively affected the Armenian economy. The other factor that affected the economic situation in the republic was the problem of the return of the Armenian workers who worked abroad. Armenian sources do not bring the exact statistics on the number of those who returned but it is supposed that there are a considerable number of them. Those categories of Armenian citizens join the dole queue and increase the social expenses of the government"* (Grinyaev 2009: 10-23).

The most informed expert was the head of the *Migration Agency* at the Government of the Republic of Armenia. According to his data, for the first time a positive balance of leaving and returning to Armenia persons was observed in March 2009, the month when seasonal migrant workers typically return to their jobs abroad after a 'hibernation' period at home. The number of Armenians leaving the country for work decreased by 56% in spring 2009 compared to their number in the previous year. The reported reversal of the trend in Armenia's outward migration during the typical departure period of labor migrants naturally

means that more people in Armenia were in search of jobs in 2009 after they lost job opportunities abroad.

The monitoring of events in January-March 2010 verified to a large extent the social expectations of the experts. The rate of under-employment according to the officially registered cases increased from 75,200 in 2009 to 84,700 in the first quarter of 2010 (See Table 9). In the same period thousands of labor migrants did not leave for work in Russia because numerous jobs were eliminated there due to the crisis.

"Migration is a very sensitive phenomenon", concludes the head of the Migration Agency. *"Changing social, economic and political processes are reflected in migration phenomena as well. Naturally, a cataclysm like the current economic crisis could not but have an impact on it."* Seasonal migrant workers who return in late autumn and leave for work abroad in early spring were the first to feel the impact. An estimated 95 percent of the total number of migrants from Armenia seek jobs in Russia, with about 60-70 percent in construction. Meanwhile, Russia is affected by the deepening global crisis resulting in dwindling of construction and other sectors that used to provide jobs for foreign workers.

The estimates of Armenia's *Migration Agency* about the movement of people are based on information from the state border customs. As a rule, the largest negative balance of the cross-boundary movement is observed in the period from February to April. The negative balance of departures and arrivals during February-March in 2008 increased by 46 percent as compared to the same period of 2007. Thus, a positive migration balance of 1,200 was reported for March 2008, with nearly 70,000 people who stayed and potentially joined the army of unemployed in Armenia.

Dwindling private remittances transferred to households in Armenia by family members or relatives working abroad appear to be another major consequence of the reduced "migrant worker export" in 2009, according to the head of the *Migration Agency*. Official statistics posted by Armenia for January-May 2009 show a fall of approximately 40 percent in remittances against the same period in 2008.

In the past five to six years, remittances grew by an average of 25 percent annually. The fourth quarter of 2008 showed a 20 percent (or more) decrease in remittances as compared to the preceding three-month period. But as a matter of fact remittances transferred to Armenia tend to increase at the end of the year. Already in the fourth quarter of 2008, remittances to individuals through bank transactions decreased from $530 million to $430 million. Would the 2008 trend have continued, the amount of remittances in the mentioned period would have totaled some $700 million.

The decline of remittances continued throughout 2009. In January 2009, remittances decreased by 25 percent and in April by 39 percent. And again, 80 percent of private remittances to Armenia come from Russia. In contrast to previous years characterized by rapid growth in passenger flows, this indicator has also fallen in 2009 according to the *Migration Agency*: *"This year the flows of passengers have reduced by 1-2 percent (or 7,600 people). Perhaps the number is not large, but the phenomenon shows that fewer people can afford to travel. This is also the consequence of the crisis"*.

MONITORING OF EVENTS

The monitoring of events was done twice during the three months of February-April 2009 and of January-March 2010 and included a daily-based mode. It should be mentioned that in 2009 the overwhelming majority of the ascertained events monitored on TV channels were the

messages in the news blocs about different cases that happened to migrants from Armenia in Russia. Other monitored programs covered three-four interviews with specialists on the problem of refugees and the return of migrants to Armenia, or were a special program dedicated to trafficking and its Armenian victims. A separate program was about the Government of France that had assigned huge means for assistance to returnees.

Since February 2009, most newspaper articles covered the effects of the global economic crisis on migration from Armenia and the reactions of migrants. There was official newspaper information that remittances from Armenian out-migrants (mainly from Russia) decreased by 40% because of the crisis. It was also reported that for 2009 the Russian Government reduced labor quotas by 30% for all migrants from CIS countries. As a result, many migrants from Armenia remained unemployed in Russia and were expected to return. Newspapers articles reported that according to expert estimates, the possible number of potential returnees to Armenia might reach 100-120,000 as a result of the crisis. For the country that faces great difficulties in creating about 30,000 new work places every year this will be a too large number to accommodate in the national labor market. Subsequently, the number of unemployed will increase.

In their newspaper articles experts also mentioned that the economic crisis in Russia reached a top level just in those winter months when the migrants from Armenia, as a rule, return home to spend the New Year holidays with their families. Therefore a significant part of migrants from Armenia faced the crisis at home. The experts expected that those migrants would not leave for Russia in spring as they had done in previous years. As a result, the influence of the global crisis on Armenian economy happened by means of remittance reduction from

abroad, on the one hand, and by increased unemployment, on the other hand.

In many newspaper publications in February-March 2009 three attacks in connection with homicide of persons of Armenian nationality in Moscow were mentioned. Wide attention in the republic drew the murder of two Armenians on 7th February 2009 in Moscow. A mother and her son were killed by unidentified bandits (Savvidis 2009b :49). Almost all the newspapers in Armenia wrote with great indignation about this incident of threat towards the Armenian community in Moscow. As always, the reaction of the state officials in Yerevan and the Armenian Embassy in Moscow was highly passive. Sometimes this indifference was criticized in Armenian newspapers.

The newspapers monitored in February-March 2009 addressed also several other criminal incidents against persons of the Armenian nationality in Russia and Moscow particularly.

All newspaper publications on migration issues were registered by our monitoring in February until mid-March 2009. Thereafter there was not a single publication or news message on migration. The issue of migration was extruded by the problem of Armenian–Turkish relations and events related to the forthcoming 94th commemoration of the 1915 Genocide victims in Ottoman Turkey, which annually takes place on April 24.

In 2010, the overwhelming majority of monitored events in the Armenian media were messages in the news segments about the connection of migrants and crisis, Armenian migrants in Turkey, trafficking and return of labor migrants from Russia. During these three months the mass media continued to pay special attention to the situation of Armenian migrants in Russia and to the problem of their

return connected with the global crisis that led to the reduction of work places in Russia. The data of the *Central Bank of the Republic of Armenia* were reported, concerning the fact that in 2009 the money transfers to Armenia decreased by 17% in comparison to 2008. The return of labor migrants from Russia was also extensively discussed and the Government of Armenia was criticized because in its anti-crisis program of 2009 it did not take into consideration the potential return of those Armenian migrants. Annually the Government of the Russian Federation sets quotas for labor immigrants. Some years ago this quota was as high as six million but in 2009 it was cut down to three million ("Aravot", 24 March 2010). Meanwhile migrants from Armenia have made a major contribution to the economy of Russia. Thus, during the years preceding the crisis Armenians created about one million work places in Russia. In order to transfer one dollar from Russia to Armenia the migrants make a contribution to the Russian economy equal to 7 dollars. Thereby the economies of the migrants-receiving countries benefit from migration.

According to the data of a sociological survey conducted by the Armenian representative of the Czech organization *People in Need*, 63% of 155 interviewed potential migrants from Armenia would like to leave for Russia ("Golos Armenii", 18th February 2010). According to the data of the ArGeMi survey conducted among 100 potential migrants from Armenia, 46% would like to leave for Russia, 14% to USA, 9% to France, while 28% mentioned other destinations. According to the data of both surveys, the majority of all potential migrants intend to leave for Russia. The survey of the Czech organization also indicates that 60% of the migrants leave in search of a well-paid job; i.e. they are labor migrants.

During the second round of the event monitoring, the expectation was articulated that the decrease of work places and quotas for migrants in Russia caused an emigration to other countries. This assumption is based on information of the UNHCR that reported a 43% (= 6,226

applicants) increase of the number of asylum seekers from Armenia who applied in different European countries in 2009. Essentially, most applicants went to France, Belgium, Austria, the Netherlands, and Germany ("Aravot", 27 March 2010).

Again the issue of murder of Armenians in Russia was discussed in Armenian mass media. During the three months of monitoring three reports and TV news on cases of murder of Armenians in Moscow and other cities of Russia were published. Also the problem of xenophobia in Russia was discussed at length in the media.

Another much discussed media topic was the notorious statement of Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayipp Erdoğan who in a BBC interview of 17th March, 2010 threatened to deport Armenian migrants from Turkey after the Swedish legislator and the Foreign Committee of the US House of Representatives had issued resolutions on the Ottoman genocide against Armenians, Pontian Greeks and Assyrians. In his interview, the Prime Minister mentioned a grossly exaggerated figure of 170,000 Armenian residents in Turkey; 100,000 of these would be 'illegal migrants'. According to an opinion poll among Turkish citizens by MetroPOLL, 48.8% of the respondents support Erdoğan's threat to deport illegal Armenian migrants. This figure coincides with the votes that the PM's party AKP got during the last general elections.[4] But according to Armenian media coverage, Erdoğan's statement was opposed by a large part of the Turkish opposition ("Aravot", 18 March 2010).

[4] For the results of this poll see http://www.metropoll.com.tr/report/oscar-odulleri-farkindaligi-ve-ermeni-sorunu-mart-2010 (in Turkish); comments by Bekdil, Burak: We are all deeply moved! "Hürriyet Daily News", 23 March 2010. - http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=we-are-all-deeply-moved-2010-03-23 (Last accessed 28 June 2010)

The issue of migrants from Armenia, their possible deportation by Turkish authorities and alleged figures was at length discussed on both sides, in the Armenian and the Turkish media[5]. In the Turkish mass media, articles appeared saying that the number of 100,000 was exaggerated and that in reality there were no more than 30-40,000 migrants from Armenia in Turkey. The head of the Armenian Church parish board in Istanbul, Petros Shirinoghlu, met with Erdogan and stated that the mistake in the speech of the Prime Minister happened by Shirinoglu's fault, as he once had mentioned the figure of 100,000, meaning 70,000 Armenian nationals of Turkey and another 30,000 migrants from Armenia. On March 27th, during a special program of the "Yerevan" TV channel, the head of the RA *Migration Agency*, Gagik Yeganyan, explained that according to his calculations, about 70,000 Armenians left for Turkey in 2000-2009. Of these, 60,000 had returned, i.e. the balance was not more than 10,000. Yeghanyan mentioned also that in 2004, Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül (now president of Turkey) spoke of 40,000 migrants from Armenia in Turkey.

Yeghanyan's estimate is also confirmed by empirical surveys: According to the 2009 survey "Identifying the state of Armenian migrants to Turkey: Sociological Qualitative Research"[6] funded by the *Eurasia Partnership Foundation* and conducted among migrants from Armenia in Turkey, the overwhelming majority are women (96%) and almost the half of them (48%) come from Shirak region of Armenia that is bordering Turkey and is still suffering from social and economic problems in the aftermath of the 1988 earthquake. Most women from Armenia seem to have Armenian employers of Turkish nationality. 72 % of the Armenian women work as housemaids in Turkey, 18% as

[5] See for example the critical comment by Burak Bekdil: The Exodus – Part II? "Hürriyet Daily News", 18 March 2010. - http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=the-exodus-8211-part-ii-2010-03-18 (Last accessed 28 June 2010).

[6] For the full report of this survey, see the research paper of project leaders Alin Rozinian: http://epfound.am/files/epf_migration_report_feb_2010_final_march_5_1.pdf

caregivers of sick persons, 6% as shop assistants, and the rest (4%) mentioned different jobs in the service sphere. Their situation in Turkey is highly complicated by the circumstance that Turkey refuses since 1991 to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia. In all, there are 12-13,000 illegal migrants of Armenian nationality residing in Turkey.[7] The survey also revealed that according to official data during the last years 600-800 Armenian children were born in Turkey who do not have Armenian or Turkish citizenship and remain stateless, with right to attend Armenian classes in Istanbul, where the vast majority of Armenian migrants resides. The future of these stateless children is entirely uncertain.

Periodically the problem of trafficking migrants to Turkey and also the problem of child trafficking were discussed. Funded by the EU the association of social workers *Harmonious Society* conducted a survey among 1,200 households in Armenia. The survey was aimed to find out the degree of awareness of child trafficking among the Armenian population. The survey revealed that 86.7% of the respondents were informed about this problem ("Aravot", 31 March 2010).

Since 1997, non-governmental organization *Soldier's Mother* conducts projects aimed at the solution of migration problems connected with the national military service. The last project "Civil Society and Migration" has been conducted since 2007 with the assistance of the *Partnership Eurasia Foundation* in seven migration resource-centers, which are located in different regions of Armenia: Armavir, Goris, Sisian, Noyemberyan, Martuni, Gyumri and Vanadzor. The aim of this program is to bring legal and informational support to out-migrants and also to potential migrants who are going to leave for CIS countries, in particular persons of military draft age and their families. As part of this

[7] Kurt, Süleyman: Report: 12,000 Armenian citizens working illegally in Turkey. "Today's Zaman", 5 December 2009. - http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-194672-100-report-12000-armenian-citizens-working-illegally-in-turkey.html (Last accessed 28 June 2010).

project a consulting center has been established, which was contacted by over one thousand persons. The center faces a lot of work; anonymous electronic correspondence and help is carried out on more than hundred calls daily. People call for help from Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, France, Ireland, Holland, and many other countries. (www.zinvori-mair-ngo.am).

SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF RETURNEES FROM MOSCOW AND OTHER DESTINATIONS AND OF POTENTIAL MIGRANTS IN ARMENIA

Three different questionnaires were worked out for the sociological survey of the returned migrants to Armenia and those who intend to go abroad but do not have an international migration experience. The first questionnaire was for the interview of 200 residents of Armenia who returned from Moscow after at least one month of stay there. The second one was for 300 returnees from all other destinations than Moscow after a period of at least one month. Finally, the third one was for 100 residents of Armenia who did not have an international migration experience but intended to leave abroad in the nearest future to stay there for more than a month (it did not matter what country was destination).

It is clear that it was impossible to conduct such a survey by means of the usual method of random selection. Instead the well-known 'snow ball' method was applied.

Examining the social-demographic characteristics of the interviewed samples we find similarities on several parameters but also essential differences. Among the returnees from Moscow the prevalence of male respondents is noticeable. Perhaps this is not surprising as the number of

men leaving for Russia (and particularly for Moscow) in search of work is more than that of women. This result is confirmed also by the data of previous surveys. *"Approximately three-quarters of the Armenian emigrants in the last decades have settled in the former Soviet Union countries, mainly in the Russian Federation, 15 per cent in various European countries, and 10 per cent in the United States. More than 60 per cent of emigrants are men, of working and reproductive age (20-44), and with average educational level that significantly exceeds the average national standards"* (IOM 2008a: 12; see also UNDP 1999: 46).

"In the 2005 survey 14 percent of men were reported as not living at home at the time of the survey. Given that three-quarters of Armenian men who were not living with their family were residing in Russia. The majority (52 percent) of men who were staying elsewhere at the time of the 2005 survey have occupations as skilled manual workers and 7 percent do unskilled manual work. The 14 percent of migrant men did professional, technical, or managerial work" (Johnson 2007: 7).

Table 1: Gender of interviewed migrants

Respondents	Male	Female
Returnees from Moscow	67.5	32.5
Returnees from other countries	53.0	47.0
Total	100%	100%

The interview showed that those 300 returnees come back from 38 other countries in North and South America, Europe, Asia and Africa.

Table 2: Country of stay

Country of most recent stay abroad (with duration longer than one month)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
USA	42	14.0
Ukraine	29	9.7
Georgia	25	8.3
France	24	8.0
Germany	22	7.3
Turkey	17	5.7
Other 32 countries	141	47.0
Total	300	100.0

Among the 300 interviewees of the 'returnees' samples most mentioned such countries of stay as USA (14%), Ukraine (9.7%), Georgia (8.3%), France (8%), Germany (7.3%), and Turkey (5.7%). This corresponds in the first four cases with the countries of the largest

Armenian Diasporas. According to the *Armenian Diaspora Encyclopaedia*" (Armenian Diaspora: Encyclopaedia, 2003: 732) the main countries are:

Table 3: Main countries of Armenian Diaspora

Country	Number of Armenians
1. Russia	2,200,000
2. USA	1,200,000
3. France	450,000
4. Georgia	350,000
5. Ukraine	130,000

So the 'snow ball' method applied in the ArGeMi project revealed an authentic image of out-migration from Armenia. In Georgia as well as in Azerbaijan there were very large Armenian communities until the end of the 20th century. At present there are nearly no Armenians left in Azerbaijan. Although Georgia suffers from the same economic and social hardships as Armenia, migrants from Armenia go there to sell and buy farm produce. Because of tense relations in Georgian regions with predominantly Armenian population, particularly in Javakhk, many Armenian families migrate to Armenia or send their children to Yerevan to study there. This, in its turn causes the exchange flows of the seasonal and temporary migration between Armenia and Georgia.

Turkey does not maintain diplomatic relations with neighboring Armenia, and since 1993 the state border is closed following a resolution of the Turkish government for the purpose of supporting Azerbaijan that was at war with Nagorno Karabakh at that time. Since then the blockade of Armenia has not been lifted and Turkey keeps the border closed. Nevertheless, thousands of Armenians travel to Turkey by bus via Georgia, and businessmen from Turkey come to Yerevan for

commercial purposes. Business activities between Armenia and Turkey are obviously growing: The trading turnover, which means here the import from Armenia, was officially registered in Turkey since 2005 and started to increase since 2008[8]:

2005 – 392,000 US dollars;
2006 – 41,000 US dollars;
2007 – 57,000 US dollars;
2008 – 1,489,000 US dollars;
2009 – 1,052,000 US dollars.

During the January 2010, 92,824 persons left Armenia for Turkey and 89,066 people arrived. Half of them returned by buses, the other half by air transport.[9] The difference is 3,758 people, who probably stayed in Turkey in January 2010.

The following Table 4 shows the distribution of age groups of the ArGeMi respondents in the three cohorts:

Table 4: Age of respondents

Age	Returnees from Moscow %	Returnees from other countries %	Residents of Armenia without migration experience in %
18-24	9.0	7.4	8.0
25-34	31.5	23.9	20.0
35-54	46.0	50.6	53.0
55-64 and more	13.5	18.1	19.0
Total	100%	100%	100%

[8] See www.turkstat.gov.tr
[9] According to the official site of the *RA Migration Agency* - www.backtoarmenia.am

The age group of 25-34 year-olds (31.5%) has the highest representation among returnees from Moscow, compared to returnees from other destinations (23.9%) or potential migrants (20.0%). The generally provided explanation sounds that migrants in Moscow are mainly occupied in constructions, transportations and trade, where a need of a physically able and therefore young labor force exists. According to the 2005-2006 survey of the Armenian office of OSCE, the overwhelming majority of migrants from Armenia were employed in the construction industry (77.3%), followed by trade (5.3%) and services (7.7%) (OSCE 2007: 29). However, the ArGeMi poll revealed a different picture, with only 14.7% occupied in the construction sector, whereas the relative majority worked in trade, followed by public health and transportation.

Table 5: Employment spheres of migrants

Sector	Migrants from Armenia in Moscow
Trade	31.9%
Construction	14.7%
Public health	10.3%
Transportation	9.5%
Industry	6.9%
Education	6.9%
Agriculture	0.9%
Other	19%

The education level among the three interviewed groups is nearly the same and quite high, with the only difference of a higher education level among the returnees from other destinations than Moscow (35.7% with higher education), while the ratio among returnees from Moscow is 29% (see diagram 2). This testifies that the migrants from Armenia to Russia

are mainly labor and office workers without high professional skills and that the returnees from other destinations have a 6.7 point higher level of proficiency and education.

Table 6: Percent of migrants with higher education

	Destination	Total %	Men %	Women %
1	From Moscow	29.0	58.6	41.4
2	From other destinations	35.7	49.5	50.5
3	Potential migrants in Armenia	22.0	45.5	54.5

Table 6 also reveals some reverse gender segregation of migrants with higher education: The percentage of males with higher education among returnees from Moscow is higher (58.6%) than among migrants from other countries (49.5%) and higher than among the interviewed potential migrants in Armenia (45.5%). On the other hand, among female respondents the group with higher education was larger among the interviewed potential migrants (54.5%) than among migrants from other destinations (50.5%) and returnees from Moscow (41.4%).

A difference in the command of foreign languages between the three cohorts was observed; particularly the knowledge of the English language was explored. Among the returnees from other countries, 34.7% claimed to have an excellent or good knowledge of English, while among the returnees from Moscow only 23% mentioned that their command of English was excellent or good. Among the potential migrants in Armenia, 30% mentioned that they knew English, but it seems to us that this rather reflects rather their own opinion about their language skills without any evaluation by a third party. On the other

hand, among the 300 interviewees who have returned from other countries the assessment of foreign language skills (in particular English) looks more reliable due to their experience of living and communicating abroad.

Half of the interviewed migrants proved to be permanent residents of the capital city of Yerevan, while the rest were residents of two big cities and further two small towns of Armenia. See Table 7 for the exact numbers:

Table 7: Migrants' place of residence

City	Population	Percent of employees	Number of interviewed migrants from Moscow	Number of interviewed migrants from other countries
Yerevan	1,104,900	75.1	100	151
Gyumri	147,700	60.6	35	49
Vanadzor	105,200	58.5	35	50
Alaverdi	16,700	63.8	15	26
Goris	23,200	60.6	15	24
Total	1,397,700	74.4	200	300

The employment rate in the provinces (*marzer*) of Shirak, Lori and Syunik is rather low (OSCE 2007: 19). That is the reason why we chose for the ArGeMi survey those two cities (Gyumri and Vanadzor) that are capitals of respective provinces together with two other towns in the Syunik and Lori provinces (Goris and Alaverdi). More than a half of all interviewees from Armenia (56.4%) came from Yerevan[10] as well as from Shirak and Lori provinces. The largest amount of migrants in 2007 was in real numbers 33,300 migrants from Yerevan, 31,000 migrants

[10] Yerevan is one of eleven *marzer* ('provinces'), which is the largest administrative unit of Armenia.

from the Shirak province, and 21,500 from the Lori province (OSCE 2007: 26).

Table 8: Social demographic structure of migrants

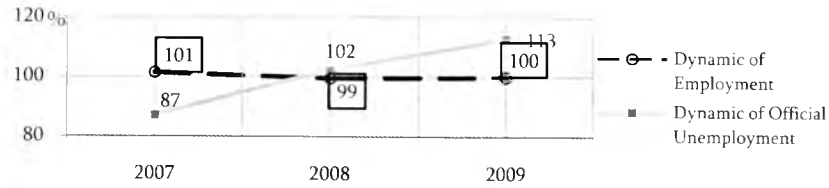
City	Returnees from Moscow					Returnees from other countries				
	Gender %		Education %			Gender %		Education %		
	Men	Women	Secon-dary	Profes-sional	Higher	Men	Women	Secon-dary	Profes-sional	Higher
Yerevan	64.0	36.0	21.0	31.0	8.0	9.7	0.3	13.9	31.8	4.3
Gyumri, Vanadzor, Alaverdi and Goris	71.0	29.0	41.0	33.0	6.0	6.4	3.6	36.3	30.8	2.9

Two thirds of the interviewees were family people (63-65%). The ratio of unmarried (singles, widowed, divorced) in all three interviewed groups was slightly less than a quarter (23-25%). This indicates again that the motive to support their families prevails among migrants from Armenia.

Table 9: Economically active population in Armenia

Year	Economically active population, in thousand	Among them		Unemployment Rate %
		Employed	Officially registered as unemployed (in thousands)	
2008	1,156.1	1,082.4	73.7	6.4
2009	1,150.7	1,075.5	75.2	6.5
2010 (January)	1,158.1	1,073.4	84.7	7.3

Figure 1: Dynamic of Employment



Source: State Statistical Agency 2010: 35

The Armenian official statistics indicates increasing unemployment during the period 2007-2009 due to the impact of the global financial and economic crisis, resulting, among other things, in a decrease of out-migration from the country. The number of officially registered unemployed receiving compensation from the government in January 2009 was 16,700, while in January 2010 their number had increased to 26,300, which makes a 58% increment (State Statistical Agency 2010: 36). As compared with 2009 and according to the same official statistics, in 2010 the quantity of crimes in the country has increased by 42.1% (State Statistical Agency 2010: 71). Of course the unemployment is one of the causes of crime.

The majority of the ArGeMi respondents have been abroad several times since the early 1990s. About 60% of the interviewed returnees from Moscow and other destinations were 1-2 times abroad; 22-27% of the respondents were abroad 3-4 times and the rest (13-16%) even more often than 4 times. Among the returnees from Moscow the majority (80%) has visited Moscow 1-2 times and the rest of them (20%) has visited that city 3, 4 and more times. Nearly half of the interviewed (47%) made their last trip to Moscow between 2006 and 2008. The remaining respondents made their last trip between 1990 and 2005. On average, their stay in Moscow lasted from one month to a year, as

79.5% of all returnees from Moscow and 76% of the returnees from other destinations report (see table 10 for further details).

Table 10: Duration of stay abroad

Duration of last stay abroad	In Moscow %	In other countries %
From 1 to 6 months	46.0	56.7
From 6 to 12 months	33.5	19.3
From 1 to 2 years	14.0	17.0
From 2 to 4 years	3.5	5.7
Longer than 4 years	3.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

The ArGeMi data correspond to the results of previous surveys: "As for the duration of the last trip, the majority of migrants stayed abroad for 5-10 months (68.9%) and the mean duration of the trips coincided with the planned duration of 8 months. Over 75% of the migrants left Armenia by the end of spring, March being the most active month for departures. The majority of migrants (78%) returned to Armenia between October and December, but mostly closer to the New Year." (OSCE 2007: 29)

Nearly every fifth respondent gave as reason for the return from Moscow the end of the labor contract or the end of studies at universities (19-5%). For 7%, the reason for the return was the visa expiry and for 3.5% the deportation by the authorities. The vast majority of respondents, however, have returned for personal reasons (63%).

Unlike this sample, among the returnees from other destinations personal reasons numbered less than a third – 30.7%, while the percentage of other reasons for the return is higher: 24.7% of the respondents in this sample named the end of the labor contract (or end

of studies) as a reason, and 35% the visa expiry. The deported migrants accounted for 4%.

Table 11: Reasons for return

Returnees	Personal reasons	End of contract or studies	Visa expiry	Deportation	Total
From Moscow	63.0	19.5	7.0	3.5	100 %
From other Destinations	30.7	24.7	35.0	4.0	100 %

It becomes obvious that the main reasons why Armenian migrants return from Moscow are personal or family motives. A special visa is not required for a trip to Moscow and travel expenses are lower than in case of travel to countries outside the CIS. Therefore migrants to Russia (and particularly to Moscow) can freely move and repeatedly return for their personal affairs, even if they have to fear the police. But corruption offers 'chances' as well. The 2007 OSCE survey describes the ambiguous situation as follows: "For most migrants working in Russia, the biggest problem is the police, who check the migrants' documents every now and then. Since a majority of the migrants do not have proper documents, the police often let them go only after paying a bribe. The migrants are afraid of encounters with the police not only because they mean additional expenses but also because the migrants feel they may be subjected to bad treatment, including physical violence. On the other hand, especially for those who leave to work abroad often, it is important to avoid deportation, because they can lose their main source of income. However, the migrants see deportation as quite an unlikely outcome of an encounter with the police" (OSCE 2007: 50).

The picture is different in case of those who have returned from other destinations. A visa or work permission is required in order to enter a country of the Schengen Agreement or the so-called "far abroad". The

travel expenses are higher, and for this reason most migrants avoid to return, but stay on until the visa expires, the working contract or studies end, or until the authorities deport them.

In general, it is important for migrants to legalize their stay in the countries of destination. It is interesting that in both samples (returnees from Moscow and from other destinations) the most frequently reported difficulty was the legalization of their stay (24.5% and 18.7%). No less difficult for them was to find a job in those countries (10.5% and 16%).

Table 12: Main difficulties abroad

Returnees	Legalization	Work
From Moscow	24.5	10.5
From other countries	18.7	16.0

Undoubtedly, besides these main problems (legalization of stay and search of work) that migrants face in foreign countries, the returnees from Moscow indicated also many other difficulties such as problems connected with health care (10%), difficulties with receiving information about their rights and duties in the country of stay (6%), discriminatory attitude of local authorities (5.5%), problems connected with the growth of their businesses (4.5%) and housing difficulties (3.5%).

The returnees from other countries also indicated a multitude of difficulties, but to a lesser degree than for returnees from Moscow, like problems connected with health care (5.3%), difficulties with receiving information about their rights and duties in the country of stay (2.3%) and discriminatory attitude of local authorities (0.7%). In contrast to the other group, this cohort emphasized more the above mentioned problems connected with the growth of their businesses (6%) and housing difficulties (5.7%).

It is also symptomatic that in case of a problem the interviewees apply for help to the local citizens whom they already know (32.5% and 25.3%), rather than to local authorities or the Armenian embassy in that country. In other words, in case of need, both samples apply either to their compatriots or to local acquaintances (18% of the returnees from Moscow and 13.3% of returnees from other destinations), but not to the official bodies or human rights organizations and not even to the Armenian Church there. According to a 2005 sociological survey on trafficking and labor exploitation of Armenian migrants, only 9.1% of migrants have personally sought help of an Armenian representation abroad. The vast majority of them (87.9%) do not even know any organization or NGO abroad that would help persons who has been subjected to violence (Poghosyan 2005b: 46-47). After conducting this survey in 2005, we gave recommendations to widely inform our migrants already here in Armenia and of course abroad about the local organizations, NGOs and diplomatic representations of Armenia to which the migrants could apply for help, if necessary. After these recommendations and with the support of the *State Agency on Migration* and the IOM, a large quantity of information booklets were prepared, published, and sent to all Armenian embassies abroad. These data were also published on the website of the *Agency on Migration*. But in spite of this, the quantity of those who apply for help has not sharply increased. Evidently, it is the migrants' profound distrust of state bodies that prevents them from turning to those bodies for information. Migrants are aware of the general disapproving attitude of the officials of the Republic of Armenia to persons who leave the country and maybe this is the reason why migrants do not apply there for help.

Table 13: Help appeal

Returnees	To local acquaintances	To their compatriots
From Moscow	32.5	18.0
From other countries	25.3	13.3

Judging by the respondents' answers, the vast majority of migrants from Armenia felt unprotected during their last stay both in Moscow (74%) and in other destinations (89.3%). Returnees from Moscow mentioned more reasons for feeling unprotected (26%) than migrants from other countries (10.7%).

As explanation for xenophobia in Moscow the returnees from Moscow named in the first place a general antipathy against foreigners ("Muscovites do not like foreigners"; 14.5%) and migrantophobia ("Muscovites do not like labour migrants"; 10.5%). 15.5% of the respondents felt threatened or in danger during their last stay in Moscow, while 19.5% mentioned that they were verbally abused. In other countries the ratio is 1% of those respondents who felt threatened or in danger, while 13% were verbally abused. Compared with the cohort of returnees from Moscow, these rates are considerably lower. In conclusion we can say that migrants leave Armenia not in search of a good life. The majority of the returnees from Moscow experienced persecution, humiliation and exploitation. The attitude towards migrants from Armenia in other countries was more neutral; at least they did not feel threat or serious danger during their stay in these countries, but the majority of them felt nevertheless unprotected.

The majority of migrants from Moscow (65%) are married or live with a partner and 63.5% have children. 44.5% have 2-3 children; 16.5% have only one. Among the returnees from other destinations, 63.0% were married or living with a partner, 9.7% were divorced, 6.0% widowed and 71.3% have children.

During their stay in Moscow, 89.5% of migrants had permanent contacts with their family and relatives in Armenia. As to the frequency of contacts, 25.5% have daily contacts, 54% every week and 10% every month. Nearly the same results were in case of returnees from other destinations: 89% have permanent contacts with their family and relatives in Armenia: 20.7% have daily contacts, 50% weekly and 16.7% every month. As we can see, the returnees from other destinations have slightly less frequent contacts with their family in Armenia.

Asked whether their occupation abroad corresponded with their level of education and professional skills, the majority of the returnees from Moscow and other destinations gave positive answer (61.6% and 63.4%).

In spite of all the difficulties like discomfort due to threats and dangers that migrants from Armenia experienced abroad, a considerable part of them is sure (46.3% of the returnees from Moscow, 43,6% of returnees from other destinations, 30.1% of the potential migrants) that migration from Armenia is blessing for the Armenian people because they can travel and work abroad freely. But it must be mentioned that the majority of the interviewed migrants (53.7% and 56.4% and 69.8% correspondingly) disagree with this statement.

Table 14: Migration is a blessing for Armenia

	Respondents	Total %	Men	Women
1	Returnees from Moscow	46.3	45.2	47.7
2	Returnees from other destinations	43.6	42.2	45.4
3	Potential migrants	30.1	30.0	30.1

As we can see from Table 14, migration is rather considered as a blessing by those respondents who already have a migration experience. It is interesting to mention that interviewed men and women agree regarding this issue. At the same time the overwhelming majority of the interviewees (78.5% and 77% and 64% correspondingly) mentioned that emigration from Armenia is a curse because migrants suffer exploitation and discrimination abroad, and they families suffer as well. On the basis of the ArGeMi polls, we can suppose that migrants think in general that migration is a "blessing" for Armenia, because there is a lack of job vacancies in the country and the high level of unemployment forces migrants to search for jobs abroad. Due to the emigration of the surplus labor, social tensions within Armenia are eased or avoided. But on the other hand, migration is a "curse" for the country, as it loses the economically active group of its population and the migrants themselves transform into the so-called risk group abroad; some of them even are victims of trafficking.

Table 15: Migration from the country is a curse for Armenians

	Respondents	Total %	Men	Women
1	Returnees from Moscow	82.0	85.3	80.1
2	Returnees from other destinations	84.7	89.2	84.5
3	Potential migrants	85.0	91.3	74.0

With regard to Armenia herself, most interviewees (82%, 84.7% and 85% respectively) see migration as a curse for the country because it loses its best people. More men than women agree with this statement.

More than a third (35.5%) of the returnees from Moscow believed that some day Armenians would return home, while 48.5% did not believe in this. For the returnees from all other destinations, the level of optimism is even lower: Less than a quarter (24.7%) believe in the future return of migrants from Armenia, while 55% are sure that they will never return to Armenia. Among the potential migrants optimism about return is much higher: 44.0% believe in it, while 42.0% disagree with this assumption.

Table 16: Will migrated Armenians come back?

	Respondents	They will return %	They will not return %
1	Returnees from Moscow	35.5	48.5
2	Returnees from other countries	24.7	55.0
3	Potential migrants	44.0	42.0

It is evident that those who were abroad in non-CIS countries least of all believe that migrants from Armenia will ever return. Probably the

reason is that respondents do not believ in the improvement of the general situation. Therefore they see no sense in leaving everything and returning to Armenia after long years of their difficult integration in foreign countries. Whatever a developed country Armenia will eventually become, it cannot compete with Europe in the level and quality of living conditions in the foreseeable future. In the interviews of experts, doubts were voiced about the likelihood of return. In fact in this issue the opinions of experts and interviewed migrants fully coincided.

Table 17: Will migrants go abroad again?

	Future Destinations	Intend to go abroad again (%)
1	Returnees from Moscow to Moscow	24.0
2	Returnees from Moscow to other destinations	19.3
3	Potential migrants to Russia	46.0
4	Potential migrants to other destinations	51.0

Interestingly, a quarter (24%) of the returnees from Moscow intends to re-migrate to Moscow (basically to get a job – 13%), while 19.3% intend to re-migrate to other destinations (again basically to get a job – 16%). Among the potential migrants 46% intend to migrate to Russia and 51% intend to migrate to any other destination. So, among the returnees there are a lot who are ready to leave the country again. But in comparison with inexperienced potential migrants, the number of persons who wish to leave is twice more among those who have not been abroad yet. These results are explained in the following way: Returnees from Moscow or elsewhere who have probably failed there or have not managed to settle properly, had to return. It is clear that there are not so many among them who want to leave again. But, on the other hand, we do not go wrong in the assumption that those without migration experience are more inclined to leave the country because they do not imagine all the difficulties that migrants, especially illegal

ones, may face abroad. So it is very appropriate to provide potential migrants with as much information as available concerning the migration laws, rules and living conditions in the countries of their destination. Probably some of the potential migrants will change their mind and cancel their trip or at least will get better prepared before their departure. In any case reliable knowledge of migration conditions for labor migrants in different countries will not be useless; on the contrary, it will help migrants to better adapt their expectations and plans. In previous publications we have written about the necessity of precise information on migration issues. During the past years a lot has been achieved in this area. Special articles were published in the press and mass media, and also a lot of useful information appeared on the official internet sites, particularly on the sites of the *State Agency on Migration* and the *RoA Ministry of Diaspora*.

REMITTANCES

The global amount of remittances is at a historically high level. The remittances to developing countries were US$ 308 billion in 2008 and US$ 293 billion in 2009 (UNDP 2009: 72).

The *World Bank* defines "migrant remittances" as the sum of workers' remittances, compensation of employees, and migrants' transfers. "Workers' remittances", as defined in the IMF Balance of Payments manual, are current private transfers from migrant workers who are considered residents of the host country to recipients in their country of origin. If the migrants live in the host country for a year or longer, they are considered residents, regardless of their immigration status.[11]

[11] See http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTDECPROSPECTS/Resources/476882-1157133580628/FactbookDataNotes.pdf)

Table 18: Amount of incoming migrant remittances in Armenia
(million USD)

Year	Amount	As % of GDP
2003	686	-
2004	813	-
2005	940	-
2006	1,175	18.3 %
2007	1,273	-

(IOM 2008a: 19)

The *Central Bank of Armenia* notes that remittances from the worldwide Armenian Diaspora are double the size of the country's budget and keep many families above the poverty line. According to a study of *International Monetary Fund* (IMF), most of the remittances sent to Armenia come from the Russian Federation (70%), and correlate strongly with Russia's GDP growth. The study also indicates that Armenians in most cases send remittances in US dollars (90%) and through banks (from 55 to 85%). (Oomes 2007: 19). According to the IOM, the total amount of incoming migrant remittances into Armenia was 1,273 million USD for 2007 (IOM 2008a: 19).

In 2005-2007, labor migration included about 15% of all Armenian households. Approximately 47% of all the households with labor out-migrants would belong to the group of very poor, who did not receive remittances from their migrant family members. Moreover, if the monetary support provided by labor migrants to their families is deducted from the income basket of the Armenian households, the number of poor in the country would increase by 20%. In order to keep poverty at the same level, a state budget of several times bigger than the current one would be required. The conclusion is obvious: Labor migration significantly alleviates the social burden of a large number of Armenian households and reduces the poverty level. Finally, according

to the 2007 data, the volume of money remittances equals almost one fifth of Armenia's GDP.[12]

At the macroeconomic level, remittances have been particularly important for Armenia during the transition period. They were a key financing component of the external imbalance that enabled Armenia to run large deficits with the outside world and maintain decent living standards and investment. Remittances continue to be an important source of external deficit financing, and major positive or negative shocks to remittance flows may have important repercussions for the Armenian macro-economic situation (IOM 2008a: 20). The appearance of two transfer systems in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), *Anelik* and *Unistream* significantly lowered transactions costs and were thus encouraging remittance transmission through formal and controllable channels.

The report on "Remittances in Armenia: Size, Impacts, and Measures to Enhance Their Contribution to Development" shows that remittances contributed to the reduction of poverty in Armenia (Roberts 2004: 61). Some studies (such as the 2008 Armenian household survey of Armenian National Statistical Service (NSS)) revealed that in Armenia remittances contribute also to the reduction of inequality. According to income data reported in the survey, remittances make up to 80% of the income of the receiving households. Remittances seem to be directed to some of the most vulnerable households in Armenia. The survey also highlights that in general there is the same percentage of urban and rural households that receive remittances, but that rural households receive relatively more remittances from CIS countries and less from the United States and Canada (IOM 2008a: 21).

The remittance flows from Russia to migrants' countries of origin have significantly grown compared with inward flows sent by Russians

[12] Policy Brief of European Union's "Support to Migration" 2007; available at: www.ichd.org

from abroad. In 2007, this amount was 4billion US dollars (IOM 2008b: 41). The remittance volume in Armenia (almost 80% of which came from Russia) that constituted $2.5 billion annually (it is almost 20% of the Armenian GDP) decreased by 25% in 2009 (Grinyaev 2009: 16-17).

In the ArGeMi project a considerable part of the returnees from Moscow answered that they had the opportunity of sending money to their relatives (40.5%), while 32.5% answered that they had sent money regularly. Another 8% said that they had sent money home from time to time. The returnees from other destinations had sent money to their relatives to a lesser degree (36.3%). 33% of these had sent money regularly and only 3% answered that they had sent money from time to time. As a rule, the amounts they had sent were not less than 100 USD per month, with an average amount of 250 USD per month. The data received in the ArGeMi polls is slightly higher than the results obtained by the 2007 OSCE survey. According to the OSCE data, in 2007 the total amount of money sent home by every Armenian labor migrant was 2,720 USD that is 226 USD per month on average (OSCE 2007: 31).

Table 19: What was the average monthly amount that you used to send to Armenia?

	Amount (in US$)	Returns from Moscow	Returnees from other destinations
1	Less than 100	7 %	3.7 %
2	From 100 to 200	13 %	10.7 %
3	From 200 to 300	9 %	10.7 %
4	From 300 to 500	7 %	8.7 %
5	Over 500	4.5 %	4.7 %
6	No answer	59.5 %	63.5 %
	Total	100 %	100 %

Nearly a third (29-30%) of the interviewed returnees from Moscow or other destinations sent their family members and relatives monthly amounts of 100 to 500 US USD. If we take into consideration that in 2009 the average monthly salary in Armenia was about 150 USD (and the minimal salary was 30,000 Armenian drams, or 80-85 USD), these amounts were really an essential support for the families in Armenia. According to the interviews with returnees from Moscow, 7% of their families in Armenia had less than 100 USD. Among the returnees from other destinations such a very low monthly income had only 3.7 % of their families. As for other groups of income, it is shown in Table 16 that an essential difference between the families of returnees from Moscow or other destinations was not observed.

More than three quarters of the returnees preferred bank transfers for sending money to their families. According to the ArGeMi polls among the returnees from Moscow, 77% were sending money by bank transfers, while only 23% were sending cash through carriers. Slightly fewer migrants to other destinations - 75.3% - sent their remittances by bank transfers, while 24.7% preferred personal carriers. The 2007 OSCE survey revealed higher amounts of bank remittances: *"In total 86.2% of*

the migrants have made bank transfers and 15.5% transferred money through individuals and in addition, more than half of the migrants have brought some of the earnings themselves" (OSCE 2007: 31).

How are the remittances spent in Armenia? The *International Center for Human development* made the following general remarks: *"It is worth noting that remittances from foreign countries are mostly used for consumption. Another part is directed to payment of educational fees for family members. Actually, the scope of investments in education is growing due to migrant remittances. Many Armenian banks have started to treat the remittances sent by labor migrants as a stable source of income and a sufficient basis for providing consumer loans to the households. Those migrants who have lived abroad for 5-10 years send the lion's share of remittances. In contrast, Armenian citizens living abroad for more than 10 years tend not to send any money at all. Most probably residing in a foreign country for over ten years, they lose touch with their homeland and one of the reasons might be that over this time they take their families and relatives with them"* (ICHD 2007: 1).

ASSESMENT OF MIGRATION POLICY IN ARMENIA AND NATIONAL LEGISLATION ON MIGRATION

Government institutions responsible for migration policy

In a broader meaning of the term, migration-related legislation includes laws, decrees and regulations not only on migrants, but also on refugees and asylum applicants, arriving in Armenia. It covers necessarily both internal and external migration.

Migration-related legislation certainly needs improvement in the Republic of Armenia (RoA). The existing regulations accepted by the RoA National Assembly do not address the issues in an entirely appropriate and complete way. Different aspects referring to migration

issues are regulated by separate rules and governmental decrees. For example, until 2007 the legal field that regulated migration problems of foreigners was not coherent and in several cases did not been correspond to the internationally accepted and effectively used models. Sometimes these regulations did not even correspond to the current Constitution of Armenia. Frequently the legislators left substantial situations and decisions to the discretion of executive authorities. By doing so they put into question democratic principles of law enforcement practice in migration issues (Kabeleova / Mazmanyan / Yeremyan 2007: 27).

After proclaiming its independence,' the Republic of Armenia adopted a number of laws that alongside other issues were intended to regulate issues pertaining to migration. Among the major adopted laws are the following:

- The RoA Law on Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Republic of Armenia – 1994
- The RoA Law on Citizenship – 1995
- The law on IDPs – 2000
- The law on political asylum – 2001
- The law on Refugees – 1999 (amended in 2002)
- Draft Law on labor migration

The RoA Law on Refugees was adopted on March 3, 1999. Prior to it, in 1993, Republic of Armenia acceded to the 1951 Geneva Convention *on the Status of Refugees* and its 1967 New York Protocol. The law defines grounds, order and conditions for temporary accommodation of asylum seekers on the territory of the RoA, for granting, rejecting or terminating of refugee status, the responsibilities of the authorized state bodies engaged in refugee issues, the rights and obligations of the asylum seekers as well as guaranties for their legal and social protection.

The *Law on Legal, Socio-Economic Guarantees to the Persons Forcibly Deported from the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1988-1992 and Acquired Citizenship of the RA* was adopted on December 6, 2000 (www.dmr.am). The law determines guarantees to persons who were forcibly deported from Azerbaijan in 1988-1992 and who acquired citizenship of the Republic of Armenia for exercising their rights as well as social and legal guarantees for protection of their interests. The law aims to encourage adoption of the RoA citizenship by these refugees.

Another problem of the Armenian legislation on migration concerns the democratic nature of this legislation. Meanwhile draft laws were discussed several times and are reviewed in different committees of the Parliament. However, the Government resolutions and decrees, and also other sub-legislative acts (for example the rules established by the state ministries and agencies) are not reviewed thoroughly. For that reason the working order of those bodies lack transparency. The imprecise distribution of responsibilities among different state organs promote the phenomenon of sometimes overlapping functions of each other that causes imprecise distribution and implementation of laws.

"It must be mentioned that the practice of transition of specific details originates from the basic law to the secondary legislation. Sub-legislation acts, as a rule, hamper the formation of a stable and effective legal field and administrative limits. Such an approach may be effective for a short period of time but nevertheless it must be realized that a clear and distinct legislation must be worked out, and a proper democratic control must be established." (Kabeleova / Mazmanyan / Yeremyan 2007: 46).

In June 2004, the Government of Armenia adopted and approved the Concept Paper on population migration. It contains the principles of the state migration policy, priorities, and possible mechanisms and directions for their solution. It also outlines the changes required for a

harmonization of legislation with the priorities of the state migration policy. The Concept Paper lists the state bodies engaged in the migration issues and their functions, the proposals concerning the separation of their functions, and the mechanisms securing active collaboration between the migration system bodies.

These and a number of other actions allow an improvement of Armenia's migration legislation and of the legal field that regulates the migration processes. However, it is quite obvious that along with the improvement of the legislative basis the control over the law enforcement practice must be reinforced and administrative structures must be strengthened that are engaged in the problems of migration both within the country and outside of it.

From 1989 on, the *State Committee on Migrants and Refugees* has been operating in Armenia. It was created to provide help and work for 360,000 Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan. But over time it expanded its activities to migrants and asylum seekers from different countries. However, the assistance and impact of social and international organizations in this field is hard to overestimate. Today, in Armenia there is a network of organizations (10-15 NGOs) working on migration issues. Many of them have accumulated profound competence through their work with refugees, illegal and transit migrants, victims of trafficking, and migrants returning to Armenia.

The current system of statistics on out-migration, which is based on the data of population registration and the registration carried out by the passport services of the territorial divisions of the RoA Police does not reflect the real volume of population movements, since a considerable number of persons leaves the country and resides abroad for a rather long period of time without being struck off the register. In practice, the information on long–term emigrants and immigrants is collected and processed by data from that system. In its current form, statistics on the

population migration are more or less identical with the statistics on registered population and the population being stuck off the register.

To fill this gap and to acquire a more precise understanding of the external migration volumes, the *State Department for Migration and Refugees of the RoA* in co-operation with the *RoA National Statistical Service*, transportation companies and services of the RA border-crossing posts, have initiated a process of data collection on arrivals in and departures from Armenia.

Since 2000, the Department monthly receives relevant information
- from the RoA Central Department of Civil Aviation,
- from the RoA State Customs Committee,
- from the Border Guards of the RoA National Security Service.

According to data of the *Agency on Migration of the Ministry of Territorial Administration of the Republic of Armenia*, the total number of arrivals and departures in March 2008 was the following:

Table 20: Number of arrivals and departures of persons, 2008

	Total	**Including transport**		
		Airway	Railway	Car
Arrivals	88,524	38,423	1,137	48,964
Departures	104,109	56,369	1,301	46,439
Balance	-15,585	-17,946	-164	2,525

The analysis of the data on passenger registration made at entry points of Armenia shows that in the period from January to March 2008 the number of departures outnumbered the number of arrivals (negative migratory balance) by 32,100 persons. This is 10,900 persons or 51.7% more than the corresponding index of the same period of 2007. The

negative balance only in March was 15,600 persons, which in comparison with March 2007 increased by 5,400 persons or 52.4 %.

The number of arrivals and departures in March 2009 was the following:

Table 21: Number of arrivals and departures of persons, 2009

	Total	Including transport		
		Airway	Railway	Car
Arrivals	85,619	37,654	928	47,037
Departures	88,671	44,084	955	43,632
Balance	-3,052	-6,430	-27	3,405

During the same period of 2009 (January-March) the number of departures outnumbered the quantity of arrivals by 10,947 persons, which is three times less than it was in 2008. The negative balance only in March 2009 was 3,100 persons, which in comparison with March 2008 has decreased three times too[13]. It is interesting to mention that according to the official site of the RoA Migration Agency in March 2010 the total numbers of arrivals was 111,098 and the number of departures was 104,744. As we can see the balance in March 2010 was even positive – 6,354 persons.

Occasionally these flows intensify, for example at times of political instability. This happened, for example, in 2003 during the USA war in Iraq, when several thousand refugees from Iraq – most of them ethnic Armenians - arrived in Armenia. The majority of these immigrants were Iraqi citizens who were troubled and frightened by the martial law in their country.

[13] Cf. http://backtoarmenia.am/upfiles/2008balance.html

In some cases return migrant flows occur. For example, during the recent military operations of Georgia against South Ossetia and the riposte acts of the Russian Federation armed forces, about 20,000 migrants returned from Georgia to Armenia. There were 8-10,000 foreigners among them who left Armenia by airplane to Europe and the USA. There were also ethnic Georgians and Armenians of Georgian citizenship among them who left their homes after martial law was imposed over Georgia. At the same time and because of the termination of any flights between Moscow and Tbilisi, Georgians who lived in Russia were returning to their homeland via Armenia.

Recently, the RoA *Migration Agency of the Ministry of Territorial Administration* drafted the Concept Paper on migrants' return to and reintegration in Armenia.

In recent years a slow but stable return flow of Armenian citizens from foreign countries can be noted. A certain part of migrants had no legal status in their destination countries. In order to legitimate their status they apply for asylum, but as a rule their applications are rejected and they face the demand to return or even deportation to Armenia.

As an integral part of the EU's *European Neighborhood Policy*, Armenia signed readmission agreements with five European countries in order to take back Armenian citizens who reside in these countries without legal grounds. These countries are Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, Lithuania and Bulgaria. Negotiations on readmission agreements with other countries are going on.

After their return some Armenian citizens depart again from Armenia because after spending 5-6 years abroad these re-migrants find themselves in the following situations:

- a totally changed legal field and new institutions;
- disappearance of social connections / relatives, kin, friends;
- stressful situation (connected first with the departure from their homeland and then with return) (Poghosyan 2007b).

In other words, a returnee finds himself in an absolutely different environment and therefore looks for ways to go back. The survey among returnees conducted by the OSCE office in Armenia also confirmed that the majority of returnees do not have specific job offers in Armenia. *"Some people, after failing to find appropriate employment following their return with the family, had to leave the family in Armenia and migrate for work abroad"* (OSCE 2008: 35). To avoid the re-migration the some provision of reintegration assistance for citizens who returned to the homeland seems highly important. The implementation of the "Return Assistance Program for RoA Nationals from Switzerland" conducted since 2004 by the efforts of the *Federal Office for Migration* (FOM) of Switzerland, Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency as well as the RoA *Migration Agency of Ministry of Territorial Administration* are indicative of that. As a result of this program, no returnee from Switzerland has ever since departed from Armenia within more than four years.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

The global amount of migrants has increased faster than the population of the earth. The number of international migrants increased to 140 million at the end of the 20th century, which has been rightfully called "the epoch of migrations".

The main flow of migrants is directed towards Western Europe and North America. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many thousands of migrants from the post-Soviet successor states joined the international migration flows. Together with the external migration, the population

transfers inside and between the countries of the Former Soviet Union (FSU) increased considerably.

According to the UNHCR, in the FSU countries already in 1991-1992 a number of 2.3 million internally displaced persons (IDP) were registered. The main migration trend in the post-Soviet space was the movement from or to Russia. Russia is the main destination point for the majority of emigrants from the CIS countries.

The South Caucasus of today changes its traditional image. The main change in the last decade of the 20th century for Armenia and the South Caucasus in general was the depopulation of the area as a result of massive migration. The historically unprecedented process of depopulation at the end of the 20th century in the South Caucasian countries was but one of the many negative consequences of the collapsed Soviet system.

Altogether about three million people left the South Caucasus, including one million people from Armenia. The main reasons for such massive flows of population were the abrupt reduction of work places, the deterioration of living conditions and currently the international financial and economical crisis. Armenia became an exporter of her surplus labor force and in particular of skilled workers. The export of labor recourses and the outflow of economically active population on a large scale essentially changed the demographic structure of the Armenian society. Mostly the healthy, young, and professionally skilled citizens departed. The social-demographic structure of migrants from Armenia includes people from quite different strata of the Armenian society. In general these are the people aged from 18 to 55, and they are people of a capable working age.

It could turn out to be very destructive for a small country to spend means on preparing specialists and then hugely export them abroad. With "brain drain", Armenia loses the intellectual and spiritual wealth of the country that has been developed for decades and it will be difficult to build up new irreplaceable resources.

The key problem for migration legislation in Armenia is that many procedures are not very clearly defined in the laws and sub-legislative acts, including the Government's resolutions and decrees as well as many rules and orders established by different state committees and commissions.

The experts confirm that also in the future Armenia will face the excess of her labor resources. Subsequently, people will continue to search for a job out of Armenia. The 2010 UNDP national migration report on Armenia stated that 200-300,000 Armenians would leave the country in the nearest future (UNDP 2010).

The common answer of the majority of interviewed during the ArGeMi survey of experts was that none of them possessed exact information on the amount of migrants, particularly to Russia and in Moscow. The experts deplored the lack of information and doubted its reliability as far as migrants from Armenia to Moscow were concerned. Almost all the experts mention the number of about one million for the general number of emigreés from Armenia. Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of Armenian migrants (60-80%) leave for Russia, and there, as a rule, to Moscow.

An estimated 95 percent of the total number of migrants from Armenia to Russia seeks jobs there, with about 60-80 percent in construction. Since autumn 2008, Russia was affected by the deepening global economic crisis resulting in the dwindling of real estate

construction and other sectors that used to provide jobs for foreign workers.

At the end of 2008, a reverse migration trend was revealed, with a gap closing by 56 percent against figures reported for February-March 2008. Thus, a "positive migration balance" of 1,200 people was reported for March 2009, with nearly 70,000 people who stayed on instead of departing. Most probably, they joined the army of the unemployed in Armenia. Official statistics posted by Armenia for the January-May 2009 period showed a decline of roughly 40 percent in remittances against the same period in 2008. In January 2009, remittances decreased by 25 percent and in April 2009 by 39 percent. The same tendency continued in the first decade of 2010, when remittances decreased by another 17 percent. 80 percent of private remittances to Armenia come from Russia. In contrast to previous years, which were characterized by a rapid growth in passenger flows, this indicator has also decreased in 2009 and early 2010.

Since February 2008, the global economic crisis affected out-migration from Armenia. It was mentioned that in 2009-2010 the Russian Federation Government reduced labor quotas for migrants from CIS countries. As a result, many Armenians remained unemployed in Russia and had to return. The economic crisis in Russia reached its peak in winter 2009, when migrants, as a rule, come back to spend the New Year holidays with their families. Indirectly, the influence of the global crisis on Armenia's economy showed in the reduction of remittances, on one hand, and by means of growth of the unemployment level, on the other hand.

Asked in the ArGeMi polls about their opinion on the prospect of a general return of out-migrants to Armenia, both migrants and experts were not really optimistic. They assume that there is not an obvious return flow among the migrants from Armenia because the socio-

economic situation in Armenia has not improved enough. Only 35.5% of the interviewed returnees from Moscow believed that migrants from Armenia will return some day. The returnees from other destinations expressed even stronger doubts about the return potential. Re-migrations potential, on the other hand, is quite high among the temporary returnees: A quarter of the respondents intend to re-migrate to Moscow to get a job, while 19.3% intend to re-migrate to Europe.

The monitoring of events in 2009 and 2010 on the Armenian media included news about homicide incidents that had happened in Russia. In many publications cases of assault and murder of Armenian citizens in Moscow were mentioned. The monitoring of events fixed several other criminal cases that were connected to Armenian nationals, in particular in Moscow.

Among the 300 interviewed returnees, most mentioned such countries of stay as the USA, Georgia, France, the Czech Republic and Germany. In all, 38 countries of destination were named.

According to the results of the ArGeMi survey, the main purpose of migration was to find work abroad. Therefore the legalization of work and residency were named as the highest priorities. In both cases, i.e. in Moscow and in other destinations returnees found it most difficult to legalize their stay in that country. Not less difficult for them was to find a job abroad at all.

The interviewed respondents returned home after they had spent a certain time abroad. The reasons for return were different. The main factors of return from Moscow are personal or linked with the family. Migrants who leave for Russia (and for Moscow in particular) repeatedly return for their personal affairs, simply because they do not face a visa regime and travel expenses are low. The situation is quite

reverse for the returnees from other countries: Travel expenses are higher, and migrants do not return until the visa expires, a work contract or studies are over, or until they are deported by the authorities.

The ArGeMi respondents reported certain difficulties connected with health care, problems to receive information about their rights and duties in the country of stay, discriminatory attitude of local authorities, problems linked to the growth of their own businesses, and housing difficulties. It is indicative that in case of any such or another problem the migrants rather turn for help to the local citizens whom they already know than to local authorities or the RoA embassy in a given country. In case of emergency, migrants from Armenia turn either to their compatriots or to their local acquaintances but not to official bodies or human rights organizations. As a rule, a large majority of migrants from Armenia felt unprotected during their stay both in Moscow and in other destinations.

The ArGeMi survey also revealed that migration is perceived as a blessing rather by those respondents who already have a migration experience. At the same time the overwhelming majority of the interviewees mentioned that out-migration from Armenia is a curse for Armenian nationals because migrants suffer exploitation and discrimination abroad, and their families suffer as well. As for the country or state of Armenia, most ArGeMi saw migration a curse because the country loses its best people.

20 years passed, and during this period several laws and governmental decisions were issued. A special migration service was established in Armenia. There are intergovernmental agreements on readmission, etc. But still the problem of out-migration continues. In the last 10-12 years, three million people left the South Caucasus. This is massive depopulation with all its negative consequences: a decrease in

birth rates, gender imbalance, social structure deformation, and many others.

Experts in Russia currently discuss the demographic crisis of the country and the necessity of the return of ethnic Russians, but most of all the long-term immigration from CIS countries. The economy of Russia is obviously in need of migrants. Already the population decrease in some borderland areas is considered a threat to national security. Several hundred scientific surveys were conducted on migration issues. There are results and conclusions. It has been evident for a long time that migration problems cannot be solved individually in Armenia, in Georgia, or in Russia alone. They are common issues like environmental problems. Scholars have to raise the awareness of the authorities in the countries in question to understand this. The space of migration in the CIS countries is a common one. This common migration space was generated by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The problems of labor migration can be solved only by common efforts of the receiving (Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine) as well as the sending countries (Armenia, Georgia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova). A common migration space needs a common regulation, and common rules are required.

55-60% of the out-migrants from the former Soviet republics stay within the borders of the CIS. Despite this fact, the governments of the CIS member and associated states never assembled their experts or scientists to give them concrete instruction – in order to work out a common migration policy agreed on by each of the countries and according to their interests. One reason could be the stagnation and conservatism of the authorities concerned and their indifference to the destiny of the people and the country as a whole. This indifference shows also a lack of understanding of the situation and incompetent management.

Meanwhile, the population itself, while not expecting constructive solutions from the authorities, made own tracks to those places where we hope that in the future civilized routes will be developed. This process began long ago, but it is never too late to regulate and legalize it for the benefit of all participants in migration. There is not merely one reason for migration – there are at least ten of them. Without going deep into details here, we can say the following about labor (and only labor) migration: There are countries with a low level of employment and there are countries with a high demand in work resources. Hence, migration flows as the redistribution of labor resources take place. This happens largely without regulation and is therefore connected with losses, exploitation, crime and many other negative consequences. To avoid this, migration processes should be included into the civilized discourse and should be regulated by the involved CIS countries within the framework of the CIS.

In the case of Armenia and Russia the problem is very simple. Armenia is in need of its citizens and cannot afford that they move to Russia to settle there permanently. Russia, on the other hand, needs foreign workers and specialists, including the ones from Armenia. Therefore, we recommend that Armenian nationals can easily leave for earnings in Russia up to five times per year without particular problems and within an official agreement. In that case one will reside in Armenia and work in Russia. This will benefit both Armenia and Russia, and above all the migrants themselves.

Proceeding from the ArGeMi survey in Armenia, most relevant suggestions for this country are:

1. Simplification of departure and entry for labor migrants within CIS countries. Special preferences for legally organized groups of labor migrants.
2. Creation of international agencies on labor migration.

3. Coordination and improvement of national legislation on migration.
4. Quotation of organized flows of labor migrants by receiving countries.
5. Total legal protection of labor migrants. High legislative responsibility of the sending and receiving parts.
6. Maximal simplification and easing of money transfers through legal channels. The control and security of them.

In this context, the ArGeMi polls lead to the conclusion that countries like Armenia gain from "circular migration", receiving returnees who return with an increased skill, knowledge and resources due to their stays abroad and particularly in Russia.

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OUT-MIGRATION FROM ARMENIA. SECOND POLL*

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The South Caucasus of today changes its traditional image. The main change in the last decade of the 20th century for Armenia and the South Caucasus in general was the depopulation of the area as a result of massive migration. The historically unprecedented process of depopulation at the end of the 20th century in the South Caucasian countries was but one of the many negative consequences of the collapsed Soviet system.

Altogether about three million people left the South Caucasus, including one million people from Armenia. The main reasons for such massive flows of population were the abrupt reduction of work places, the deterioration of living conditions and currently the international financial and economical crisis. Armenia became an exporter of her surplus labor force and in particular of skilled workers. The export of labor recourses and the outflow of economically active population on a large scale essentially changed the demographic structure of the Armenian society. This was a massive depopulation with all its negative consequences: decrease of birth rates, gender imbalance, social structure deformation, and many others. Mostly the healthy, young, and professionally skilled citizens departed. The social-demographic structure of migrants from Armenia includes people from quite different strata of the Armenian society. In general these are the people aged from 18 to 55, and they are people of a capable working age.

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This sociological survey is second poll of the ArGeMi project started in 2008-2009 (See: Nikolay Genov / Tessa Savidis eds. "Transboundary Migration in the Post-Soviet Space. Three Comparative Case Studies." Peter Lang, 2011) and covers the whole cycle before, during and after migration. Our survey included the field study of out-migration of population from the Republic of Armenia. We have conducted surveys before, between and after travels abroad in order to explore the motives, forms, courses, results, potentials and perceptions of the observed cases of migration. ArGeMi project in Armenia includes surveys before, during and after the migration cycle in Yerevan (capital and the largest city), Gyumri (the second largest city), Vanadzor (the third largest city), Goris in the South of the country and Alaverdi in the North. Special attention was paid to ways of labor migration, structures of skilled labor migration, practice of money transfer and remittances, as well as the return potential.

The field study was conducted during March, April and May of 2012, when seasonal migrants from Armenia normally leave for abroad in spring. The survey was conducted among a sample of 300 returnees from Europe, Northern America and Asia, 200 returnees from Moscow and 100 potential migrants in Yerevan, Gyumri, Vanadzor, Goris and Alaverdi. The sampling technique applied was the snowball procedure of the identification of respondents.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS OF RETURNEES FROM MOSCOW AND OTHER DESTINATIONS AND OF POTENTIAL MIGRANTS IN ARMENIA

The sociological survey was conducted among the returned migrants to Armenia and those who intend to go abroad but do not have an international migration experience. The first questionnaire was for the interview of 200 residents of Armenia who returned from Moscow after

at least one month of stay there. The second one was for 300 returnees from all other destinations than Moscow after a period of at least one month. Finally, the third one was for 100 residents of Armenia who did not have an international migration experience but intended to leave abroad in the nearest future to stay there for more than a month (it was not important which country it was).

For conducting such a survey again a well-known 'snow ball' method was applied.

Examining the social-demographic characteristics of the interviewed samples in 2009 and 2012 we find similarities on several parameters. Among the returnees from Moscow the prevalence of male respondents again is noticeable as it was found out in 2009 survey. Still the number of men leaving for Russia (and particularly for Moscow) in search of work is more than that of women. As shown in Table1, there were no significant differences between data on gender among the interviewed in 2009 and 2012 surveys.

Table 1: Gender of interviewed migrants 2009/2012

	2009		2012	
Respondents	**Male %**	**Female %**	**Male %**	**Female %**
Returnees from Moscow	67.5	32.5	65,5	34,5
Returnees from other	53.0	47.0	55,7	44,3
Potential migrants	50,0	50,0	53,0	47,0

The 300 returnees, who come back from about 40 other countries (North and South America, Europe, Asia and Africa) in 2009 and 2012 were from:

Table 2: Country of stay

Country of most recent stay abroad (with duration longer than one month)	**2009 Percent**	**2012 Percent**
USA	14.0	9.0
Ukraine	9.7	17.0
Georgia	8.3	7.7
France	8.0	5.7
Germany	7.3	7.3
Turkey	5.7	3.0
Belarus	2.3	6.0
Other 32 countries	44.7	44.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Among the 300 interviewees of the 2012 'returnees' samples most mentioned such countries of stay as Ukraine - 17.0% (in 2009 it was 9.7%), USA - 9.0% (in 2009 it was 14%), Georgia - 7.7% (in 2009 it was 8.3%), Germany - 7.3% (same was in 2009 -7.3%), France - 5.7% (in 2009 it was 8%), Turkey - 3.0% (in 2009 it was 5.7%), and Belarus - 6.0% (in 2009 it was 2.3%). The list of countries from where Armenian migrants have returned did not change during these three years from 2009. But some countries became more attractive like Belarus and Ukraine instead of the USA, France and Turkey.

By the way, the list of these countries corresponds with the countries of the largest Armenian Diasporas, see Table 3. (Armenian Diaspora: Encyclopaedia, 2003: 732):

Table 3: Main countries of Armenian Diaspora

Country	Number of Armenians
1. Russia	2,200,000
2. USA	1,200,000
3. France	450,000
4. Georgia	350,000
5. Ukraine	130,000

So the 'snow ball' method applied in the ArGeMi project revealed an authentic image of out-migration from Armenia.

The following Table 4 shows the distribution of age groups of the ArGeMi respondents in the three cohorts:

Table 4: Age of respondents

Age	Returnees from Moscow %		Returnees from other countries %		Residents of Armenia %	
	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012
18-24	9.0	11.5	7.4	11.0	8.0	11.0
25-34	31.5	23.5	23.9	27.6	20.0	23.0
35-54	46.0	48.5	50.6	46.4	53.0	50.0
55- and more	13.5	16.5	18.1	15.0	19.0	16.0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In Moscow, the ArGeMi respondents were mainly occupied in construction, transportations and trade, where a need of a physically able and therefore young labor force exists. According to the survey of

the Armenian office of OSCE, the overwhelming majority of migrants from Armenia were employed in the construction industry (77.3%), followed by trade (5.3%) and services (7.7%) (OSCE 2007: 29). However, the ArGeMi 2012 second poll revealed a picture, with 24.1% occupied in the construction sector and 24.1% in industry, whereas the relative minority worked in trade, education, public health and transport.

Table 5: Employment spheres of migrants

Branch	Migrants from Armenia in Moscow	
	2009	2012
Trade	31.9%	13.8%
Construction	14.7%	24.1%
Public health	10.3%	5.6%
Transport	9.5%	9.3%
Industry	6.9%	24.1%
Education	6.9%	14.8%
Agriculture	0.9%	2.8%
Other	19%	5.6%

As shown in the Table 5, in comparison with the 2009 survey in 2012 survey Armenian migrants from Moscow were less occupied in such sectors of Russian economy as "trade" and "public health" and twice more were involved in "construction", "industry" and "education". It could be one of indirect impacts of the global crisis on the Russian economy.

It is interesting that when asked whether their occupation abroad corresponded with their level of education and professional skills, the majority of the returnees from Moscow (60.0%) and from other

destinations (65.4%) said yes (61.6% and 63.4% respectively in the 2009 survey).

The education level among the three interviewed groups is nearly the same and quite high, with the only difference of a higher education level among the returnees from other destinations than Moscow (34.0% with higher education), while the ratio among returnees from Moscow is 25.5% (see Table 6.). This testifies that migrants from Armenia to Russia are mainly workers without high professional skills and that returnees from other destinations have a 8.5 point higher level of proficiency and education. The same picture was obtained in the 2009 survey; only the education level among Armenian migrants returned from Moscow was a little bit higher (29.0%).

Table 6: Percent of migrants with higher education

	Destination	2009			2012		
		Male %	Female %	Total %	Male %	Female %	Total %
1	From Moscow	58.6	41.4	29.0	57.2	42.8	25.5
2	From other destinations	49.5	50.5	35.7	48.9	51.2	34.0
3	Potential migrants in Armenia	45.5	54.5	22.0	44.9	55.1	20.0

Table 6 reveals some reverse gender segregation of migrants with higher education: the number of males with higher education among returnees from Moscow is higher (57.2%) than among migrants from other countries (48.9%) and higher than among the interviewed potential migrants in Armenia (44.9%). On the other hand, among female respondents the group with higher education was larger among the

interviewed potential migrants (55.1%) than among migrants from other destinations (51.2%) and returnees from Moscow (42.8%). The same picture was obtained in the 2009 survey.

A difference in the command of foreign languages between the three cohorts was observed in the 2009 survey; particularly the knowledge of the English language was explored. Among the returnees from other countries the knowledge of English was better than among returnees from Moscow. Unlike in the 2012 survey, the knowledge of the English language was probably the same among all groups of those interviewed: 28.6% (34.7% in the 2009 survey) among the returnees from other countries claimed to have fluent or good knowledge of English, and among the returnees from Moscow 31% (in the 2009 survey -23%) mentioned that their command of English was fluent or good. Among the potential migrants in Armenia 33.0% (30% in the 2009 survey) mentioned that they knew English. It seems that knowledge of the English language improved since 2009 among all the surveyed groups of Armenians. While the assessment of foreign language skills among the 300 interviewees who have returned from other countries (in particular English) looks more reliable due to their experience of living and communicating abroad.

Half of the interviewed migrants proved to be permanent residents of the capital city of Yerevan, while the rest were residents of two big cities (Gyumri and Vanadzor) and of two small towns (Alaverdi and Goris) (cf. Table 7).

The demographic picture of interviewees in 2012 was slightly different from those in 2009. The percentage of women among the returnees from Moscow, who were interviewed in other towns of Armenia (Gyumri, Vanadzor, Alaverdi and Goris) increased to 35% against the 29% among the same group of interviewees in 2009. In

opposite to this, the percentage of men interviewed in Yerevan, who returned from other countries, increased from 49.7% in 2009 to 57.3 in the 2012 ArGeMi survey. The gender imbalance among the both groups of migrants from Moscow and from other countries during 3 years after first ArGeMi poll in 2009 became smaller.

Table 7: Residence of migrants

City	Overall Population	Number of interviewed migrants from Moscow		Number of interviewed migrants from other countries	
		2009	2012	2009	2012
Yerevan	1,104,900	100	100	151	150
Gyumri	147,700	35	35	49	50
Vanadzor	105,200	35	36	50	50
Alaverdi	16,700	15	14	26	25
Goris	23,200	15	15	24	25
Total	1,397,700	200	200	300	300

The employment rate in the Armenian provinces (*marzes*) of Shirak, Lori and Syunik is rather low (OSCE 2007: 19). That was the reason why we chose for the ArGeMi 2009 survey two provincial capital towns (Gyumri and Vanadzor) together with two other towns in Syunik (Goris) and Lori (Alaverdi) provinces. More than the half of all interviewees from Armenia (56.4%) came from Yerevan as well as from Shirak and Lori provinces. (Yerevan is one of the eleven provinces, which is the largest administrative unit of Armenia.) In the ArGeMi 2012 survey we chose the same towns for comparability of results.

Table 8: Social demographic structure of migrants 2009/2012

2009

City	Returnees from Moscow					Returnees from other countries				
	Gender %		Education %			Gender %		Education %		
	Men	Women	Secon-dary	Profes-sional	Higher	Men	Women	Secon-dary	Profes-sional	Higher
Yerevan	64.0	36.0	21.0	31.0	48.0	49.7	50.3	13.9	31.8	54.3
Gyumri, Vanadzor, Alaverdi and Goris	71.0	29.0	41.0	33.0	26.0	56.4	43.6	36.3	30.8	32.9

2012

City	Returnees from Moscow					Returnees form other countries				
	Gender %		Education %			Gender %		Education %		
	Men	Women	Secon-dary	Profes-sional	Higher	Men	Women	Secon-dary	Profes-sional	Higher
Yerevan	66.0	34.0	31.0	33.0	36.0	57.3	42.7	33.3	22.0	44.7
Gyumri, Vanadzor, Alaverdi and Goris	65.0	35.0	39.0	37.0	24.0	54.0	46.0	32.0	40.7	27.3

The comparison between the 2009 and 2012 polls reveals a general decrease in the percentage of the respondents with secondary and tertiary education: In the cohort of returnees from Moscow the share of those with tertiary (higher) education decreased from 48% (2009) to 36% in the 2012 survey. The same trend was observed among the returnees from other destinations (54.3% against 44.7% in 2012).

In the cohort of returnees from Moscow there was a noticeable increase of married/partnered respondents with children in the 2009-2012 comparison: Nearly three fourths (72.5% vs. 65%% in the 2009 survey) were married or lived with a partner, while nearly as many (73% vs. 63.5% in the 2009 survey) had children. Half of them (51.5% vs. 44.5% in the 2009 survey) had 2-3 children; 20.5% (vs. 16.5% in the 2009 survey) had only one child. The picture in the cohort of returnees from other destinations remains basically the same: 60% (63.0% in 2009) were married or living with a partner, 5.3% (9.7% in 2009) were divorced, 5.3% (6.0% in 2009) widowed and 65.7% (71.3% in 2009) had children.

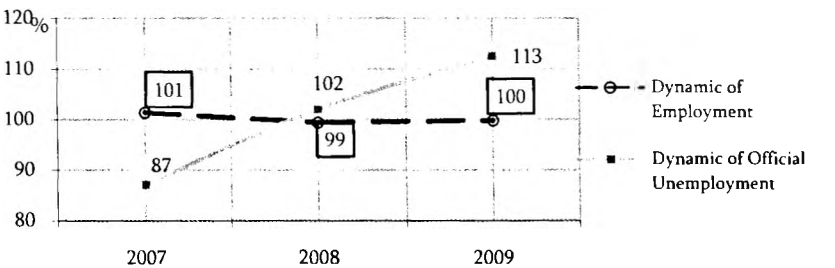
As in the 2009 survey, about two thirds of the interviewees were family people (60-72.5%). This again indicates that the support of families is still the driving force among migrants from Armenia. On the other hand, however, the ratio of unmarried respondents (singles, widowed or divorced) in all three polled groups had increased to more than a quarter (27-39%), making an increase of 4-15% against the results of the 2009 survey.

Table 9: Economically active population in Armenia

Years	Economically active population, in thousand	Among them		Unemployment rate %
		Employed	Officially registered as unemployed (in thousands)	
2008	1,414.6	1,183.1	231.6	16.3
2009	1,418.8	1,152.8	265.9	18.7
2010	1,463.3	1,185.2	278.2	19.0
2011	1,440.9	1,175.1	265.7	18.4

http://www.armstat.am/file/doc/99469883.pdf

Figure 1: Dynamic of Employment



(*State Statistical Agency 2010: 35*)

The Armenian official statistics indicates increasing unemployment during the 2008-2011 period due to the impact of the global financial and economic crisis, causing among other things, an increase of out-migration. As compared with 2009 and according to the official sources in 2012 the unemployment level is estimated to be 35%.

The majority of the ArGeMi respondents have been repeatedly abroad since 1991: about 65% of all interviewed returnees up to 2 times, 18-25% 3-4 times and the remainder (12%) even more than 4 times.

Among the returnees from Moscow the majority (81.5%) has visited Moscow up to 2 times and the rest of them (18.5%) has visited that city 3 and more times. More than half of the interviewed (53%) made their last trip to Moscow between 2009 and 2011. The remaining respondents made their last trip between 1993 and 2008. On average, the stay in Moscow lasted from one month to a year (63.5% of all returnees from Moscow and 69.7% of the returnees from other destinations). In the 2009 survey, the percentages were much higher: 79.5% and 76% respectively (see Table 10). There is significant growth in the number of long-term stays (more than 4 years) among all cohorts of returnees (3% among the returnees from Moscow and 1.3% among those from other destinations in 2009 against 12.0% and 11.7% in 2012; cf. Table 10). The increased return of long-term migrants can also be interpreted as an effect of the international financial and economic crisis.

Table 10: Duration of stay abroad

Duration of last stay abroad	In Moscow %		In other countries %	
	2009	2012	2009	2012
From 1 to 6 months	46.0	32,5	56.7	42,0
From 6 to 12 months	33.5	31,0	19.3	27,7
From 1 to 2 years	14.0	15,5	17.0	14,3
From 2 to 4 years	3.5	9,0	5.7	4,3
Longer than 4 years	3.0	12,0	1.3	11,7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The ArGeMi data correspond to the OSCE 2007 survey results: "As for the duration of the last trip, the majority of migrants stayed abroad for 5-10 months (68.9%) and the mean duration of the trips coincided with the planned duration of 8 months" (OSCE, 2007: 29).

Similarly to the 2009 survey results, the majority of the respondents polled in 2012 returned because of personal reasons (55%). However,

nearly one-third of the respondents gave as reason for the return from Moscow the end of a labor contract or completion of studies at universities (31%). Only 4.5% returned because their visa expired, while 0.5% of the polled returnees from Moscow were deported by the authorities.

Unlike the Moscow sample, among the returnees from other destinations personal reasons numbered only about a third – 36.7% (30.7% in 2009), while the percentage of reasons for a return that were not personal is higher: 27% of the respondents in this sample named the termination of their labor contract (or end of studies), and 25.7% the visa expiry (35.0% in 2009). Deported migrants accounted for 7.7%, which is nearly twice of the 2009 findings (4.0%). In longitudinal comparison, however, there is a slight tendency of increasing personal return reasons.

Table 11: Reasons for return

Returnees	Personal reasons		End of contract or studies		Visa expiry		Deportation	
	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012
From Moscow	63.0	55.0	19.5	31.0	7.0	4.5	3.5	0.5
From other countries	30.7	36.7	24.7	27.0	35.0	25.7	4.0	7.7

It becomes obvious that the main reasons why Armenian migrants return from Moscow in 2009 and 2012 are personal or family motives. A special visa is not required for a trip to Moscow and travel expenses are lower than to countries outside the CIS. Therefore migrants to Russia (and particularly to Moscow) can freely move and repeatedly return for personal or familial affairs, even if they have to fear the Russian police (corruption, however, offers 'chances' as well, when a

migrant is confronted with the police). The 2007 OSCE survey describes the ambiguous situation as follows: "For most migrants working in Russia, the biggest problem is the police, who check the migrants' documents every now and then. Since a majority of the migrants do not have proper documents, the police often let them go only after paying a bribe. The migrants are afraid of encounters with the police not only because they mean additional expenses but also because the migrants feel they may be subjected to bad treatment, including physical violence. On the other hand, especially for those who leave to work abroad often, it is important to avoid deportation, because they can lose their main source of income. However, the migrants see deportation as quite an unlikely outcome of an encounter with the police" (OSCE 2007: 50).

The picture is different for returnees from other destinations. A visa or work permission is required in order to enter a country of the Schengen Agreement or the so-called "far abroad". The travel expenses are higher, and for these reasons most migrants avoid to return, but stay on until the visa expires, the labor contract or studies end, or until the authorities deport them.

In general, it is important for migrants to legalize their stay in the countries of destination. In the 2009 survey both polled samples - returnees from Moscow and from other destinations - reported legalization of their stay as the most frequent difficulty (24.5% and 18.7%). It is interesting that in the 2012 poll this difficulty was reported significantly less frequently by the migrants from other countries (13.7%) and even by the migrants from Moscow (8.5%), despite increased restrictions in Russia since the beginning of the international financial crisis.

In 2012, the situation changed: It was twice as difficult for migrants in Moscow to find a job than in 2009 (20.5% against 10.5%), while the

legalization of their stay remained a problem only for one-third of those polled in 2009 (8.5% against 24.5% in 2009). For returnees from other destinations the percentage of those who mentioned job finding as a main difficulty remained nearly the same (16.7% against 16.0% in 2009), but was slightly lower than the share in the cohort of returnees from Moscow (20.5% in the Moscow returnees sample against 16.7%). This could indicate increased difficulties of migrants in Moscow to deal with the effects of the crisis than in other destinations.

Table 12: Main difficulties abroad

Returnees	Legalization		Work	
	2009	2012	2009	2012
From Moscow	24.5	8.5	10.5	20.5
From other countries	18.7	13.7	16.0	16.7

Besides these major problems of legalization of stay and search for employment that out-migrants generally face abroad, the returnees from Moscow indicated in addition many other difficulties such as problems related to health care (5.5% instead of 10% in 2009), difficulties in receiving information about their rights and duties in the country of stay (1% instead of 6% in the 2009 survey), problems related to growth of their businesses (3.0% instead of 4.5% in the 2009 survey) and difficulties with housing (3.0% and 3.5% in 2009). However, the longitudinal comparison here reveals a slight decrease of such problems, in particular as far as health care and access to information were concerned.

The returnees from other destinations also indicated a multitude of difficulties but to an even lesser degree than the returnees from Moscow

and with a likewise declining trend: Indication of problems related to health care and housing declined from 5.3% (2009) to 4.3% (2012) and 5.7% (2009) to only 0.7% respectively, while indication of difficulties with receiving information about rights and duties in the country of stay increased from 2.3% (2009) to 3.0%. As in 2009 (0.7%), indication of a discriminatory attitudes on the part of local authorities remained minimal (0.3%). In contrast to the cohort of returnees from Moscow the returnees from other destinations mentioned more frequently the problems related to the growth of their businesses (5.7% and 6% in 2009).

The overall picture for the migrants' situation in Moscow and other destinations is that of slight improvement during the 2009-2012 period.

In case of an emergency most interviewees apply for help to local citizens whom they already know - 19.0% in Moscow and 17.3% in other countries, rather than to local authorities or the Armenian embassy in that country. The results of the 2012 survey are significantly lower than in 2009, when twice as many (32.5%) of the polled returnees from Moscow and every fourth returnee from other destinations (25.3%) mentioned that he would seek help from local people. In other words, in case of emergency, both samples apply either to their compatriots or to their local acquaintances (2012: 15.5% of the returnees from Moscow and 14.0% of returnees from other destinations), but not to the official bodies or human rights organizations and not even to the Armenian Church there. It seems that the situation worsened since 2012. The general mistrust of established institutions had obviously extended to informal social networks, as indicated by a considerate decrease in the migrants' preparedness to seek help from local acquaintances (cf. Table 13).

Table 13: Appeal for help

Returnees	To local acquaintances		To their compatriots	
	2009	2012	2009	2012
From Moscow	32.5	19.0	18.0	15.5
From other countries	25.3	17.3	13.3	14.0

Such results confirm earlier polls in Armenia: According to a 2005 sociological survey on trafficking and labor exploitation of Armenian migrants, only 9.1% of migrants personally sought the help of an Armenian representation abroad. The vast majority of the respondents (87.9%) did not even know any organization or NGO abroad that would help persons who suffered violence (Poghosyan 2005b: 46-47). As a consequence of such alarming polls, we gave recommendations to widely inform our migrants already here in Armenia and of course abroad about the local organizations, NGOs and diplomatic representations of Armenia to which the migrants could turn for help if necessary. After these recommendations and with the support of the *State Agency on Migration* and the IOM, a large quantity of informative booklets were prepared, published, and sent to all Armenian embassies abroad. These data were also published on the website of the *Agency on Migration of the RoA*. But in spite of this, the quantity of those who apply for help has not significantly increased. Evidently, it is the migrants' profound distrust of the state bodies that prevents them to seek information. Migrants are aware of the general attitude of disapproval on the part of the officials of the Republic of Armenia towards persons who leave the country and maybe this is a major reason why migrants do not seek help from diplomatic or other formal Armenian representations, including the Armenian Apostolic Church.

With regard to the security of migrants abroad, the situation remains nearly unchanged: 74.0% of the ArGeMi migrants from Armenia felt unprotected during their last stay in Moscow (2009: 74%), while there was a slight decrease in the number of returnees from other destinations who held that opinion (83.7% against 89.3% in the 2009 survey). Returnees from Moscow gave more reasons for feeling unprotected (26%) than migrants from other destinations (16.3%).

As explanation for xenophobia in Moscow the returnees from Moscow named in the first place a general antipathy against foreigners ("Muscovites do not like foreigners": 13.5% vs. 14.5% in 2009) and in the second place "migrantophobia" ("Muscovites do not like labor migrants": 7.5% vs. 10.5% in the 2009 survey), 3% of respondents felt threatened or in danger during their last stay in Moscow (15.5% in the 2009 survey), while 22.5% (2009: 19.5%) had experienced verbal offence. In other destinations the ratio is 4.3% (compared to 1% in the 2009 survey) of those respondents who experienced threat or were in danger, while 22.3% (compared to 13% in the 2009 survey) were verbally offended. Compared with the data of the 2009 survey we notice that negative experience of xenophobia in Moscow slightly decreased, while at the same time such incidents visibly increased in other destinations.

In conclusion we can say that migrants do not leave Armenia in search of a better life. The majority of the returnees from Moscow experienced the feeling of insecurity, threat, humiliation and exploitation. The attitude towards migrants from Armenia in other countries was probably the same; at least they felt some threat or danger during their stay in those countries and the big part of them felt unprotected.

During their stay in Moscow, 96.0% (2009: 89.5%) of the ArGeMi migrants maintained permanent contact with their relatives in Armenia.

As to the frequency of contacts, 46.0% (2009: 25.5%) have daily contacts, 42.5% (2009: 54%) every week and 7.5% (2009: 10%) every month. Subsequently during the 3 years following 2009 the migrants from Armenia in Moscow significantly intensified their contacts (especially in the "daily contact" category) with relatives in their country of origin. Nearly the same results were obtained from returnees from other destinations: 92.3% (2009: 89%) maintain permanent contacts with their family and relatives in Armenia: 38.3% (2009: 20.7%) have daily contacts, 43% weekly and 11% monthly (2009: 50% and 16.7%). The same trend of increased frequencies can be found among the returned respondents from other destinations. Intensified contacts with countries of origin are undoubtedly the result of a broader access and use of the internet and in particular of Skype communication technologies between migrants and their families in their home cities.

In spite of all the difficulties like discomfort due to threats and dangers that migrants from Armenia faced abroad, the majority of the ArGeMi respondents (57.0% of the returnees from Moscow, 52.6% of returnees from other destinations, and 65.0% the potential migrants) is sure that migration from Armenia is blessing for the Armenian people because they can travel and work abroad freely. This result comes in contrast to the 2009 survey, when only a minority in all three polled cohorts believed that migration is blessing for Armenia (46.3%, 43.6% and 30.1% of interviewees). It should be mentioned that among the potential migrants (both male and female) this difference is even more pronounced than among the cohorts of returnees (cf. Table 14). This indicates that out-migration became a more and more acceptable concept in the social consciousness of contemporary Armenian citizens. Only a minority of the interviewed migrants - 41.0% among the returnees from Moscow, 43.7% returnees from other countries, and 28.0% of the potential migrants disagreed with this statement (2009: 53.7%, 56.4% and 69.8%).

Table 14: Migration is a blessing for Armenia

Respondents	Total %		Male %		Female %	
	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012
Returnees from Moscow	46.3	57.0	45.2	60.3	47.7	52.1
Returnees from other countries	43.6	52.6	42.2	51.4	45.4	54.2
Potential migrants	30.1	65.0	30.0	64.2	30.1	66.0

As we can see in Table 14, in the 2009 survey migration was considered rather as a blessing by those respondents who already had a migration experience, unlike the 2012 survey, where the mention of migration as a blessing was most frequent among potential migrants. It is interesting that both men and women were unanimous on this issue.

At the same time the overwhelming majority of the interviewees mentioned that emigration from Armenia is a curse because migrants suffer exploitation and discrimination abroad and their families suffer as well. But the number of people who agreed with this statement declined by 17.5% as compared to the 2009 survey (cf. Table 15). On the basis of the ArGeMi polls we can suppose that migrants today tend rather to believe that migration is a "blessing" for Armenia because there is a significant lack of job vacancies in the country and the high level of unemployment forces migrants to search for jobs abroad. Due to the emigration of surplus labor, social tensions within Armenia are eased or avoided. But the respondents were also well aware of the negative aspects of migration. Therefore the majority of all interviewed cohorts agreed simultaneously with the statement that migration is a "curse" for the country, as Armenia loses the economically active group of its

population and the migrants themselves transform into a so-called risk group abroad; some of them even became victims of trafficking.

Table 15: Migration from the country is a curse for Armenians

Respondents	Total %		Male %		Female %	
	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012
Returnees from Moscow	82.0	64.5	85.3	63.4	80.1	66.7
Returnees from other destinations	84.7	56.6	89.2	57.4	84.5	55.7
Potential migrants	85.0	58.0	91.3	56.6	74.0	59.6

Nevertheless, the ratio of those who perceive migration as a curse for the country has been declining by up to 18.1%. It is also interesting to note that more women than men agree with this statement, opposite to the previous 2009 survey (cf. Table 15).

The respondents' belief in the return potential is also declining: Only a quarter of all returnees from Moscow still believes that someday Armenians will return home unlike the 2009 polls, when more than a third (35.5%) of the returnees mentioned the return possibility (cf. Table 16). Today a majority of 61.5% does not believe in the return of migrants (2009: only 48.5%). For the returnees from all other destinations, the level of optimism is even lower: 65.7% are sure that migrants will never return to Armenia, while 26.3% believe into the future return to Armenia. Even among the potential migrants optimism about return is low with 30.0% of the polls, while 61.0% disagree with this belief. Between the two ArGeMi surveys the number of respondents who doubt the possible return to Armenia increased significantly. This

widespread skepticism represents a real threat to the improvement of the return situation in the country, fostering the solidification of permanent emigration.

Table 16: Will migrated Armenians come back?

Respondents	They will return %		They will not return %	
	2009	2012	2009	2012
Returnees from Moscow	35.5	25.0	48.5	61.5
Returnees from other countries	24.7	26.3	55.0	65.7
Potential migrants	44.0	30.0	42.0	61.0

It is evident that those who migrated to non-CIS countries least of all believe in the possibility of the return. Probably the explanation of these polls is that the respondents do not trust in any improvement of the general situation. Therefore they see no sense in leaving everything in their countries of residence in order to return to Armenia after long years of their difficult integration into foreign countries. Whatever a developed country Armenia will eventually become, it still cannot compete with Europe in the level and quality of living conditions in the foreseeable future. The trend, which is visible in the 2009 and 2012 ArGeMi polls, reveals also an increasing frustration and resignation.

Table 17: Will migrants go abroad again?

Future Destinations	Intend to go abroad again %	
	2009	2012
Returnees from Moscow to Moscow	24.0	22.5
Returnees from Moscow to other destinations	19.3	30.5
Potential migrants to Russia	46.0	42.0
Potential migrants to other destinations	51.0	50.0

Interestingly, nearly a quarter (22.5%) of the returnees from Moscow intends to re-migrate to Moscow (basically to get a job), while the relative majority of respondents (30.5%) intends to re-migrate to any other destination (again basically to get a job). Among the potential migrants only 42% in 2012 intend to migrate to Russia (2009: 46%) and 50% intend to migrate to any other destination (in 2009 it was 51%). It seems Russia became less attractive country for potential Armenian migrants. Even the returnees who used to stay in Moscow are now looking out for other destinations.

The re-migration potential is highest among potential migrants. This result can be explained in the following way: Returnees from Moscow or elsewhere who have probably failed there or have not managed to settle properly, had to return, but do not wish to repeat this experience. On the other hand, we may assume that respondents without migration experience are more inclined to leave the country because they do not imagine the difficulties yet, that migrants, especially irregular ones, may face abroad. So it seems very appropriate to provide potential migrants with as much information as available concerning the migration laws, rules and living conditions in the countries of their destination. Probably

some of the potential migrants will change their mind and cancel their trip or at least will get better prepared before their departure.

In all our publications we have written about the necessity of precise information in migration issues. During the past years some improvements were achieved. Special articles were published in the press and mass media, and also a lot of useful information appeared on the internet sites, particularly on the official web-sites of the *RoA State Agency on Migration* and the *RoA Ministry of Diaspora*.

REMITTANCES

On the macroeconomic level, remittances have been particularly important for Armenia during the transition period. They were a key financing component of the external imbalance of state budget that enabled Armenia to run large deficits with the outside world and maintain decent living standards and investment. Remittances continue to be an important source of external deficit financing, and major positive or negative shocks to remittance flows may have important repercussions for the Armenian macro-economic situation (IOM 2008a: 20).

The migrants' remittances include workers' remittances and migrants' financial transfers. 'Workers' remittances', as defined in the IMF Balance of Payments manual, are current private transfers from migrant workers who are considered residents of the host country to recipients in their country of origin.[1]

The analysis of the pre-crisis secondary data revealed high economic and social relevance of remittances sent by migrant workers to their country of origin. The *Central Bank of Armenia* notes in 2007 that remittances from the worldwide Armenian Diaspora are double the size of the country's budget and keep many families above the poverty line.

[1] Cf. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/ EXTDECPROSPECTS/ Resources/476882-1157133580628/FactbookDataNotes.pdf

According to a 2007 study of the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF), most of the remittances sent to Armenia came from the Russian Federation (70%), and correlate strongly with Russia's GDP growth. The study also indicated that most migrants from Armenia sent remittances in US dollars (90%) and through banks (from 55 to 85%) (Oomes 2007: 19).

Approximately half of all the households with labor out-migrants would belong to the very poor of the country, if they did not receive remittances from their migrant family members.

Some pre-crisis studies such as the 2008 Armenian household survey by the Armenian National Statistical Service (NSS) concluded that in Armenia remittances contribute also to the reduction of inequality. According to income data reported in the survey, remittances make up to 80% of the income of the receiving households. Remittances seem to be directed to some of the most vulnerable households in Armenia. The survey also highlighted that in general the percentage of remittance receiving households is equal with regard to urban and rural populations. However, rural households received relatively more remittances from the CIS countries and less from the United States and Canada (IOM 2008a: 21).

Before the 2008-2010 crisis the remittances flows from Russia to migrants' countries of origin grew significantly compared to the in-flows sent by Russian citizens from abroad. In 2007 this amount was 4billion US dollars (IOM 2008b: 41). However, the overall remittance volume, almost 80% of which came to Armenia from Russia, constituted $2.5 billion annually (nearly 20% of the Armenian GDP) decreased by 25% in 2009 (Grinyaev 2009: 16-17). But starting from 2011, the Armenia's Central Bank reported an 23.1% increase in private remittances for January-November, with a total amount of $1,380,600

million; of these, the biggest share and more than two thirds comes from Russia (Savvidis 2012).

According to the OSCE data, in 2007 the average monthly remittances volume sent home by labor migrants from Armenia was 226 USD (OSCE 2007: 31). In the ArGeMi project nearly every second returnee from Moscow confirmed that he or she had send money to their relatives: 45% (vs.40.5% in the 2009 survey), while 37% (2009: 32.5%) mentioned that they had sent money regularly. Another 8% answered that they had sent money now and then. To a slightly lesser degree the returnees from other destinations had sent money to their relatives: 42.7% (2009: 36.3%), of which 31.0% (2009: 33%) had transferred money regularly and another 11% occasionally. As a rule, the minimum volume of remittances was not less than 100-150 USD per month, with an average amount of 300 USD per month (2009: 250 USD). The data received in the second ArGeMi poll is considerately higher than the results of the first 2009 survey, confirming the trend that the medium income groups of migrants in Moscow remitted higher percentages than in the pre-crisis period, whereas the numbers of remitters in the highest margin of the ArGeMi poll—average monthly remittances of over 500 USD—declined from 4.5% (2009) to 1.5% (2012).

Table 19: What was the average monthly amount that you used to send to Armenia?

Amount (in USD)	Returnees from Moscow		Returnees from other countries	
	2009	2012	2009	2012
Less than 100	7 %	5.5	3.7 %	4.3
From 100 to 200	13 %	9.0	10.7 %	15.0
From 200 to 300	9 %	19.0	10.7 %	14.7
From 300 to 500	7 %	10.0	8.7 %	6.0
Over 500	4.5 %	1.5	4.7 %	2.7
No answer	59.5 %	55.0	63.5 %	57.3
Total	**100 %**	**100%**	**100 %**	**100%**

Nearly a third of the interviewed in 2012 returnees from Moscow or other destinations sent their family members and relatives monthly amounts of 100 to 500 USD. Taking in consideration that in 2012 the average monthly salary in Armenia was about 200 USD (and the minimal salary was 32.500 AMD, or 85 USD), these amounts mean an essential support for the families in Armenia. According to the interviews with returnees from Moscow, 10% (2009: 7%) of their families in Armenia had a monthly income of less than 200 USD. Among the returnees from other destinations such monthly family income was 8% (2009: 3.7 %), which indicates a slight pauperization trend in the cohort which otherwise is considered to be composed of the rather better off, or 'middle class' population group. As for other income groups, Table 19 reveals that an essential difference between the families of returnees from Moscow or other destinations was not observed.

The emergence of two transfer systems in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), *Anelik* and *Unistream* significantly lowered transactions costs and was thus encouraging remittance transmission through formal and controllable channels.

More than three quarters of the polled ArGeMi returnees preferred bank transfers for sending money to their families. According to the ArGeMi polls, 82.3% (2009: 77%) of the returnees from Moscow relied on bank transfers, while only 17.7% (2009: 23%) transferred their money through carriers. In comparison nearly all returnees—90% against 75% in 2009--from other destinations had used bank transfers, while only 10% (2009: 24.7%) preferred personal carriers. As we can see, during the past 3 years the number of remitters relying on bank or similar transfer systems has significantly increased, not at least due to the higher and therefore confidence-raising reliability of such systems.

How are the remittances spent in Armenia? In 2007, the *International Center for Human development* made the following general remarks: *"It is worth noting that remittances from foreign countries are mostly used for consumption. Another part is directed to payment of educational fees for family members. Actually, the scope of investments in education is growing due to migrant remittances. Many Armenian banks have started to treat the remittances sent by labour migrants as a stable source of income and a sufficient basis for providing consumer loans to the households. Those migrants who have lived abroad for 5-10 years send the lion's share of remittances. In contrast, Armenian citizens living abroad for more than 10 years tend not to send any money at all. Most probably residing in a foreign country for over ten years, they lose touch with their homeland and one the reasons might be that over this time they take their families and relatives with them"* (ICHD 2007: 1).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

23 years passed since the dissolution of the USSR, and during this period numerous laws and governmental decisions were issued. A special migration service was established in Armenia. There are intergovernmental agreements on readmission, etc. But still the problem of out-migration continues.

The overwhelming majority of migrants from Armenia (60-80%) still leave for Russia, and there, as a rule, to Moscow. An estimated 95 percent of the total number of migrants from Armenia to Russia seeks jobs there, with about 60-80 percent in construction, which is a new trend in comparison to the pre-crisis situation. 80 percent of private remittances to Armenia arrive from Russia. In contrast to previous years, which were characterized by a rapid growth in passenger flows, this indicator has decreased during 2009-2011. At the end of 2008, a reverse migration trend took part, with a gap closing by 56 percent against earlier figures reported for February-March 2008. Official statistics posted by Armenia for the years 2009-2010 showed a decline of roughly 40 percent in remittances.

The global economic crisis did affect out-migration from Armenia. When in 2008 the Russian Federation Government started to reduce labor quotas for migrants from the CIS countries, many Armenians remained unemployed in Russia and felt compelled to return (while others obviously decided to stay on despite all difficulties, mainly because of the lack of alternatives in their country of origin). The economic crisis in Russia peaked in 2009. Indirectly, the global crisis showed in the reduction of remittances on the one hand and in increased unemployment level on the other hand.

Asked about their opinion on the prospects for a general return of out-migrants to Armenia the ArGeMi respondents were not optimistic—

despite increased unemployment abroad and the subsequent compulsion for the return. They nevertheless assumed that there is no obvious return flow among the migrants from Armenia because the socio-economic situation in Armenia has not improved enough. Only 25% of the interviewed returnees from Moscow believed that migrants from Armenia will return some day. The returnees from other destinations expressed the same doubts about the return potential. The re-migration potential is accordingly high among the temporary returnees: 22.5% of the respondents intend to return to Moscow, while 30% intend to re-migrate to Europe.

Among the 300 interviewed returnees from other destinations, most mentioned such host countries as Ukraine, the USA, Georgia, Germany, Belarus and France. Overall, the picture is rather diversified, with 40 countries of destination mentioned.

According to the results of the two ArGeMi surveys, the main purpose of migration was to find work abroad. Therefore, legalization of work and residency was named as the top priorities. In both cases, i.e. in Moscow and in other destinations, returnees found it most difficult to legalize their stay and find a job in these countries. But in 2012 the respondents mentioned that the main difficulty was to find abroad any job at all.

The interviewed respondents returned home after they had spent a certain time abroad. Their return reasons were different. The main factors of return from Moscow were personal or linked with the family. Migrants who leave for Russia (and for Moscow in particular) repeatedly return home for their personal affairs, simply because they do not face a visa regime and travel expenses are low. The situation is different for the returnees from other countries: Travel expenses are

higher, and migrants do not return until the visa expires, a labor contract or studies are over, or until they are deported by authorities.

The respondents of the two ArGeMi surveys reported certain difficulties connected with health care and health insurance, problems to receive information about their rights and duties in the country of stay, discriminatory attitudes on the part of local authorities and population, problems linked with the growth of their businesses, and housing difficulties. It is indicative that in case of any such or other problems the respondents turn for help rather to local citizens whom they already know than to local authorities or the RoA diplomatic representations in the country in question. In case of emergency, migrants from Armenia turn either to their compatriots or their local acquaintances but not to official bodies or human rights organizations. As a rule, the large majority of migrants from Armenia felt unprotected during their stay both in Moscow and in other destinations.

In the 2009 ArGeMi survey, migration was considered rather as a blessing by those respondents who already had a migration experience, unlike the 2012 survey, in which this view was mostly shared by potential migrants. This change could be seen as an indirect indicator of increased hardships experienced by the cohorts of returnees. At the same time the overwhelming majority of the interviewees mentioned that out-migration from Armenia is a curse for Armenian nationals because migrants suffer exploitation and discrimination abroad, and their families suffer as well. As for the country or state of Armenia, most ArGeMi considered migration a curse because the country loses its best people.

Over the years and world-wide, several hundred scientific surveys were conducted on migration issues. There are results and conclusions. It has become evident for long time that migration problems cannot be solved individually or on national levels, be it in Armenia, in Georgia,

or in Russia. They are common issues like environmental problems. Scholars have to raise the awareness of the authorities in the concerned countries to understand this. The common migration space was generated by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The problems of labor migration can be solved only by common efforts of the receiving (Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine) as well as the sending countries (Armenia, Georgia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova). A common migration space needs common regulation, and common rules are required.

Despite this fact, the Governments of the CIS member States never assembled their experts or scientists to give them concrete recommendation – in order to work out a common migration policy agreed on by each of the countries and according to their interests. This indifference reveals also a lack of understanding of the situation and incompetent management.

There are countries with a low level of employment and there are countries with a high demand in work resources. Hence, migration flows as the redistribution of labor resources take place. This happens largely without regulation and is therefore connected with exploitation, crime and many other negative consequences. To avoid this, migration processes should be an integral part of a civilized discourse and should be regulated jointly by the involved CIS countries.

In the middle and long term, Armenia is in need of its citizens and cannot afford that they move to Russia to settle there permanently. Russia, on the other hand, needs foreign workers and professionals, including the ones from Armenia. Countries like Armenia gain from "circular migration", receiving returnees who return with increased skills, knowledge and resources due to their stay abroad. For Armenia, migration and remittances represent a significant input for her

developing economy. The returning workers have obtained new skills as a result of migration experience. At least some proportion of the workers actively put their new knowledge and skills to use and engage in some business at home. The money earned abroad allows for additional investments in Armenia. Additionally, workers transfer their money from abroad through banking institutions.

Against this background, the establishment of a migration system between Armenia and Russia is recommended in which Armenian nationals can easily leave for earnings in Russia a few times per year without particular problems and within the framework of an official agreement. This will benefit both Armenia and Russia, and above all the migrants themselves.

Proceeding from the recent ArGeMi survey in Armenia, most relevant suggestions for this are:

1. Simplification of departure and entry for labor migrants within CIS countries. Special preferences for legally organized groups of labor migrants.
2. Creation of international agencies on labor migration.
3. Coordination and improvement of national legislation on migration.
4. Quotation of organized flows of labor migrants by receiving countries.
5. Total legal protection of labor migrants. High legislative responsibility of the sending and receiving countries.
6. Maximal simplification and easing of money transfers through legal channels. The control and security of them.

In this context, the ArGeMi polls lead to the conclusion that countries like Armenia gain from "circular migration", receiving

returnees who return with increased skills, knowledge and resources due to their stay abroad and particularly in Russia.

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SOCIAL IMPACT OF EMIGRATION AND RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN ARMENIA*

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

Armenia is a small landlocked country with Turkey to the west, Georgia to the north, Azerbaijan to the east and Iran to the south. It still has bitter disputes with its neighbor countries Turkey and Azerbaijan.

In 1991 when Soviet Union collapsed, Armenia regained independence. After that Armenia quickly became drawn into the conflict and war with Azerbaijan over the mostly Armenian-populated region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which fought for independence. The war in Nagorno-Karabakh was an armed conflict that took place from 1988 to 1994, in the small enclave in soviet Azerbaijan, between the majority ethnic Armenians and the Republic of Azerbaijan. Inter-ethnic fighting between the two broke out after the parliament of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomy in Azerbaijan, voted on February 1988 to unify the region with Armenia and a referendum was held, whereby the vast majority of the voters of Nagorno-Karabakh voted in favor of independence. The demand to unify with Armenia began in a relatively peaceful manner; however, in the following months it gradually grew into the violent conflict between ethnic Armenians and ethnic Azerbaijanis. International mediation by several groups including Europe's OSCE failed to bring an end resolution that both sides could work with. In the spring of 1993, Armenian forces captured regions outside the enclave itself. By the end of the war in 1994, the Armenians

* See - G.Poghosyan, H.Manasyan "*Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe. Final Country Report. Armenia*", *April, 2012*. http://files.gvg.org/fTZzT44CWs/Country_reports_Executive_Summaries.zip

were in full control of most of the enclave and also held and currently control of Azerbaijan's territory outside the enclave. The many Armenians from Azerbaijan and Azeris from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh have been displaced as a result of the conflict. A Russian-brokered ceasefire was signed in May 1994 and peace talks, mediated by the OSCE Minsk Group, have been held ever since by Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Nagorno-Karabakh is currently a de facto independent republic in the South Caucasus.

As a result of the war, there was trade blockade in the country imposed by Azerbaijan, while the other neighboring country – Turkey, had no economic or diplomatic relations with Armenia at all.

The country is also pursuing a deepening of relations with Russia, USA, and the European Union and other countries. Armenia became a member of the Council of Europe in 2001. Through instruments such as the EU's Eastern Partnership and steps towards negotiating a free trade agreement with the EU, the country will be able to raise standards and modernize across a wide range of activities, strengthen competition, and obtain a political anchor.

Along with almost all of the former Soviet bloc countries, Armenia adopted a "shock therapy" strategy aimed at introducing a series of major economic reforms as rapidly as possible. These reforms included comprehensive price liberalization, the transfer to the private sector of state owned land, housing and productive enterprises, a reduction in public expenditures, the introduction of some tax reforms and a general shrinkage (and weakening) of the state, the introduction of tight monetary policies to control inflation, and the adoption of free trade policies including very low tariffs, abolition of non-tariff barriers to trade, removal of controls over capital movements, currency convertibility, and a floating exchange rate. However, an effective

implementation of macroeconomic adjustment programs became possible only with the pause resulting from the conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh in 1994, when international financial organizations and donor countries became involved in financial, technical, and humanitarian assistance to Armenia. The economy became market-oriented, open to trade, and technological innovation. However, today it is largely dependent on few sectors that are sensitive to internal and external shocks. GDP has been increasing by two-digit rates annually (see Table 1.1) until 2008, and slowed down essentially in 2009-2010 mainly due to downward trend in construction and agriculture.

Before gaining independence in 1991 Armenia was an industrial country, producing textile, rubber, chemicals and machinery. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, all main plants have stopped working, leaving the urban population with no means to survive. Unemployment and poverty remain widespread. In 1991 GDP per capita was about 580 and in 1993 – about 360 current USD[1] (for reference – same indicator for 2008 was over USD 3,500). Naturally, emerging situation created a wave of migration to other countries.

Starting from the mid 1990s, Armenia has been one of the fastest-growing transition countries. Moderate but vigorous economic growth in the initial years of the recovery (5% on average during 1994–2001) and double-digit rates annually on average in 2002-2007 (which due to global crisis slowed down to 6.9% in 2008 and has shrunken by 14.2% in 2009) is a result of steady pursuit of the market-oriented reforms. Although the high rate of economic growth for the population means a general increase of income, employment rate and improvement of other macroeconomic indicators, and the poverty reduction during those years was significant (it decreased from 56.1% in 1999 to 34.6% in 2004 and

[1] See http://www.indexmundi.com/facts/armenia/gdp-per-capita, retrieved on July 25, 2011.

to 28.7% in 2009[2]), the transition link between the growth and employment was weak.

Inflation remained in the single digits despite fuel and food price shocks, but the underlying structural fiscal position did not improve because of continued weaknesses in tax administration (see the Table 1.2). However, Armenia's GDP in 2009 compared a year ago shrunk by 14.4%. In 2010 there was indicated a relative recovery, although the GDP modest growth recorded in 2010 (2.1% compared to 2009) was accompanied by notable increase (8.2%) of consumer prices. (NSS of RA www.armstat.am;"Socio-Economic situation in Armenia", 2011, p. 53).

GDP is projected to grow 6.5% in 2011 with downside risks. Even as Armenia benefited from greater openness, those same channels have now transmitted the global crisis to its economy. A loss of export demand, a collapse of commodity export prices, and a sharp decline in remittances and private capital flows have occurred. The depth of the crisis has eroded benefits accrued during several years of rapid economic growth and development. Real GDP has been set back in Armenia three years ago. (The Jobs Crisis. World Bank, 2011, p. 4.)

Around 33% of households in Armenia were affected by the crisis. Of the 33% of households that reported income declines in 2009 relative to 2008, 13% reported income declines from lower wages, 14% of households reported a reduction in self employment income, and 19% reported declines in both internal and external remittances. (The Jobs Crisis. World Bank, 2011, p.15.)

[2] In 2009 the poverty assessment methodology was revised to reflect the changes in composition of minimum consumption basket since 2004 (see Annex 3.1). However, to enable comparison over several years, NSS provided estimations on selected poverty indicators for 2009 based on the previous methodology as well. According to the new methodology the poverty incidence comprised: extremely poor 3.6%, very poor 20.1% and poor 34.1%. Source: NSS of RA www.armstat.am publications on: "Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia" (Series of Statistical Analytical Report Based on ILCS Results for relevant years).

Along with social and economic transition Armenia experienced a continuous decline in population. The negative demographic developments in the 1990s are explained by natural growth decline, an increase in mortality rate and population migration, leading to a decrease in population and to a significant change in its composition by age. Thus, the trends described above, combined with these projections, clearly identify that Armenia is faced with an aging population and the notable factor behind it is the decline in the total fertility rate, which does not assure even the simple reproduction.

Territorial disparities became a serious obstacle to the socio-economic development of Armenia. Since the beginning of the 2000s regional development disparities have been increasing in parallel to the accelerated economic growth, and are mainly reflected in the growth of the economic role and significance of the capital city, Yerevan. Harmonized regional development of Armenia became one of the main priorities as the Government of Armenia announced in its Sustainable Development Program (SDP) for 2008-2012. The regional development scenario proposed in SDP envisages the implementation of a targeted regional development policy and is aimed at promotion of increased economic growth outside Yerevan.

There has not been any change in urban and rural population ratios. The average proportions for 2005-2009 were 64.0% and 36.0% respectively, highlighting a high degree of stability of the population distribution between urban and rural areas. However, the share of rural population for the period of 1990-2004 has grown slightly - from 31.2% to 35.8%. It was caused by flows from urban to rural settlements in the 1990s due to the socio-economic situation, by internal migration trends due to opportunities for widespread land privatization, as well as by relatively higher birth rates among the rural population.

The demographic trends in Armenia over the recent decades have changed the shape of the age pyramid. Due to changes in the age and sex composition of the population of the country, like many countries in the world, Armenia faces the challenges of aging.

The sex-age composition of population in Armenia essentially is affected by migration. Since the 1990s, the external migration balance of the country is negative (emigration exceeds immigration). The current procedures for administrative registration of migration do not allow assessment of the real size and composition of emigration by age and sex, to judge properly on aging of population. The state registration of migratory movements does not have the capacity to report their real sizes. The data on the migration of population is defined based on the statistical processing of data from the statistical records (forms on arrivals and departures) presented by territorial passport services of the Police. The data on external passenger transportation (arrivals and departures in/from the republic) is presented as total volumes of passenger turnover implemented through RA Border Crossing Controls by air, road and railway transport, provided by the Migration Agency of the Ministry of Territorial Administration of the Republic of Armenia.

The ethnic composition of population in Armenia's can be considered homogenous. According to 2001 Census data 97.9% are Armenians. However, ethnic groups having 1,000 or more people at the country-level are Yezidis (1.27%), Russians (0.46%), Assyrians (0.11%), Ukrainians (0.05%), Kurds (0.05%), Greeks (0.04%) and others (0.15%). Thus, the total weight of national minorities numerically less than 3% in Armenia. Despite the relatively large number of communities of national minorities in Armenia, the number of persons belonging to those communities is small, and this does not enable them to have their own parliamentary representative, even from places of compact residence. Due to this factor, they do not have a representative

in the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia. However, the representatives of national minorities have an equal right to participate in the life of political parties and establish their own political parties. The citizens belonging to national minorities and meeting the legal requirements assume positions in different branches of the executive power. In the places of compact residence, they are also involved in bodies of territorial administration and of local government. In addition, financial assistance to national minorities is allocated from the state budget. Meanwhile, the amount of assistance has been growing proportionate to the socio-economic development of Armenia.[3]

The share of working age population (15-64 years) in 2008 was 67.9% in Armenia, and the share of population under 15 years was relatively large - 20.5%. The tendency toward growth in the working-age population is expected to continue for a few more years and country will undergo an ageing process and slight feminization of the labor force (*see Graph 3.1.1*). In 2050, retired people aged 65+ are expected to total around one-quarter of the population. (Labor markets and employability trends and challenges in Armenia (ETF), 2010, p.7.)

Migration trends in Armenia are facilitated by its large Diaspora. Having a huge Diaspora, Armenia has always experienced waves of emigration but the exodus of recent decades has caused real alarm. It is estimated that Armenia has lost up to a quarter of its original population since independence[4]. The lost was somehow compensated due to inflow

[3] (Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision, http: esa.un.org unpd wpp index.htm, retrieved on Monday, May 24, 2010: 7:19:03 am.).
[4]According to the estimates of experts, 700,000-1,300,000 people (22-40% of Armenia's 2008 nominal population) left Armenia and settled abroad during 1990-2005 alone. Source: UNDP NHDR 2009 "Migration and Human Development: Opportunities and Challenges", UNDP-Armenia, Yerevan, 2010, p. 19.

of about 360,000 refugees from Azerbaijan[5]. Meantime, migration outflows resulted in an increase in remittances. According to the National Bank of Armenia, remittances from the Diaspora are double the size of the country's budget (World Bank Report Country Partnership Strategy for the Republic of Armenia, May 12, 2009.) Armenia adopted the dual citizenship in 2007 (Article 13th has been added on 26.02.2007), which allows granting citizenship to members of the Armenian Diaspora. During 2007-2010 about 2,000 Armenians from abroad took dual citizenship.

Improved economic performance since 2000 and increasing remittances from abroad have translated into better living conditions for the population. However, the reduction in poverty rates has been accompanied by increasing inequalities in terms of employment opportunities; access to education; regional disparities in development; large income differences between urban and rural areas; and a clear polarization of societies. In 2007, the share of people living on minimum subsistence or less was 25% in Armenia. (Labor markets and employability trends and challenges in Armenia. (ETF), 2010, p.7.) Moreover, work does not protect many families from poverty, as the working poor constitute two-thirds of the poor. And now Armenia is expected to witness sharp reductions of one-third to one-half of 2008 remittance levels. These remittances have provided vital income for families and, hence, these reductions could affect household welfare. (The Jobs Crisis. World Bank, 2011. p. xxii. Overview.) The recent UNDP Armenian national report 2009 on migration stated that 200-300,000 Armenians will out-migrate from the Republic in the nearest future (Human Development Report Armenia, UNDP, Yerevan, 2010, p. 48).

[5] UNDP NHDR 2009 "Migration and Human Development: Opportunities and Challenges", UNDP-Armenia, Yerevan, 2010, p. 35.

MAIN EMIGRATION TRENDS

A large-scale migratory flow along with socio-economic and historical developments in Armenia evidences the diversity of reasons and circumstances that caused such a multidimensional phenomenon, the accurate size and impact of which is not thoroughly estimated yet. Meantime Armenia experienced different waves of migration with a different set of main characteristics, causes and consequences. As stated above, by the end of the 1990s about a million people left Armenia. The main reason which caused such a huge outflow of population was the abrupt reduction of work places, the economic crisis and the drop in living conditions. Armenia became an exporter country of labor force and skilled workers. The outflow of the labor resources and economically active population on a large scale essentially changed the demographic structure of the Armenian society.

According to different expert estimations, the number of Armenians in the world, including the Diaspora-based ones, is about 8-9 millions (Haydaran 2009, p.594; Migration in Armenia 2008, p.23; Panossian R. 2003, p.12; Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 2002, p. 51; Sanoyan D., Epstein A. 2010, p.66; www.Armeniandiaspora.com). According to the 2001 Armenian census data, 3,200,000 people lived in the country (Statistics, Analysis and State Register Committee of RA 2002, p.79). Currently, the countries with the largest number of Armenians outside of Armenia are in ranking order Russia, the United States, Georgia, France, Ukraine, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Argentina and Canada. The existence of a large Armenian Diaspora is a pull factor for out-migration from the country. In some cases the migration flows of Armenians are directed to the countries where there are big groups of historical Armenian Diaspora representatives.

Such an important push factor as a labor excess must also be mentioned. Even during the Soviet years Armenia was a region which could not absorb its labor resources. The seasonal migration among the

Armenians was well known since those times. In nowadays Armenia this situation has not changed. (Khojabekyan V.,2004,p.209-212). Today Armenians take their way mostly to Russia and to other countries of former Soviet Union in search of job, where they already have long business contacts and relationship with the local Armenians. Among the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Armenia has the highest share of her workers abroad (expert estimation by Savvidis T. 2009, p.150). Khojabekyan notes that in 1986-1990 in Armenia the working-age population amounted to one million on average. In 1996-2005 it was estimated at 1,350,000 people (Khojabekyan V. 2004, p.305). In other words, the number of persons who needed job placement and who were in working age increased.

From the beginning of the transition period the migration situation in Armenia changed abruptly under the influence of factors such as the Karabakh conflict, the 1988 Spitak Earthquake, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the transition to a market economy, the crash of the traditional industry and the transport and energy blockade of country by Turkey and Azerbaijan.

The migration flows that occurred in Armenia during 1988-2011 could be phased better in the following 3 periods.

First period: 1988-1995: mass emigration

The collapse of the Soviet Union, coupled with political instability, the inter-ethnic conflicts and social tensions led to an increase in external migration. The migration exchanges with the Armenia's neighbor countries, first of all the Russian Federation, increased. This period was marked by a surprising volume of external migration. In 1988-1995, almost 800-900,000 people (about 25% of total population) migrated from Armenia (Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and

Central Asia 2002, p.51). Data for 1990-1995 given in Table 1.1 reflect the official statistics, which was constructed on the basis of annual extrapolation of the census results of 1989, with no account of the population migration. As can be seen from the same table, the 2001 census has made substantial amendments to the official statistics about the population number of Armenia. Before the census, in 2001, the population number according to the official data was 3,802,000 but the census results showed that the actual number was much smaller – 3,213,000.

This phase, a direct and indirect consequence of extraordinary economic and social factors, can be phrased as the period of mass emigration of the population. The main reason which caused such a huge flow of population was the abrupt reduction in work places, the economic crisis and the drop in living conditions. Armenia became an exporter country of labor force and skilled workers. The export of the labor resources, the flow of economically active population on a large scale essentially changed the demographic structure of the Armenian society: the absolute and relative size of the reproductive group diminished considerably, and men emigrated much more than woman. This eventually turning into a crisis - the birth rate more than halved, an even larger decline in the number of marriages occurred, the mortality rate increased. (Migration of Armenia's Population, UNFPA, 1996.) Along with ethnic Armenians, representatives of national minorities left the country too. As the result of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, Armenia lost its predominantly agricultural population of about 200,000 ethnic Azerbaijanis and Kurds. In the early 1990s, Russians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Georgians, Jews, etc. have emigrated from Armenia as a rule in entire families.

The direct consequence of the disastrous Spitak earthquake started with an outflow during 1989: a total of about 200,000 persons were evacuated to other republics of the former Soviet Union (mostly women

and children). The majority (about 160,000 persons) were evacuated through state-organized efforts., while the rest left on their own (Human Development Report Armenia, 2009, p.27). Later, during 1989-1990, about 150,000 persons of those that had been evacuated returned to Armenia; factually some of those did not return. As a result of this process, Armenia lost about 50,000 of its population. The most negative consequence was the fact that this group pulled family members and relatives in a bad situation in the earthquake zone, which created a huge wave of mass outflow of the population during the next few years, reducing the population of the Shirak and Lori regions affected by the earthquake.

Second period: 1995-2000: decline and stabilization

A key feature of this period was a considerable decline in external migration activity relative to the previous period. Over this period, the outflow was about 600,000 and the inflow about 350,000. The net migration balance was about 250,000 or 7.8% of the country's population.[6]. The flows of migrants from Armenia made their way in general to Russia, Ukraine, the USA and Europe.

The turnaround was due to the stabilization of the socio-economic situation in Armenia and the end of war due to the Russia-brokered ceasefire in 1994, which stopped the Nagorno-Karabakh fighting. This transformation was obviously caused also by the slow socio-economic recovery, the unfavorable moral-psychological atmosphere in the society and the fact that migration activity in the previous period had been very high.

The migration situation in Armenia showed the new trend - the long-term external labor migration; the work travel lasting a year and more

[6] A Survey of the External Migration Processes, TACIS, Eurostat, 1999.

becomes the most prevalent migration flow from Armenia in this period. In case of finding employment with an adequate earning the Armenian labor migrants were ready to postpone their return for an indefinite time. Though the most popular destination country for labor migrants was remaining Russia, no special changes were made in the migration policies of both countries.

The RoA citizens also attempted to enter the territory of the "developed countries" as asylum seekers. According to the data provided by the UNHCR office in Armenia, in 28 countries of the world, which are regarded to be the most often applied countries, among the CIS countries the RoA with its number of applicants is on the second place after the Russian Federation. So, in the aforementioned countries the number of the asylum seekers in 1999 was 9,399 citizens of the RoA, in 2000 – 8,587, in 2001 – 8, 610, and in 2002 it was 7,977.

As to the satisfaction of the applications, we can say that it is more of an exception than a norm. The data provided by the German Embassy can be a good testimony of the aforementioned words. According to the data, only one family from the applied 1,239 Armenian citizens was granted asylum, while the applications of the rest were rejected. Probably, the situation is the same in Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and other Western European countries (General Questions on Illegal Migration. DMR, 2011).

Third period: 2000-2010: long-term migration, returning

If during the previous periods negative migration balance was around 50,000 persons annually, starting from 2000 this number went down. Though according to the official statistics (see Table 1.1), the biggest decline in the number of the population took place from 2001 (3,802,000) to 2002 (3,213,000), evidently this confusing fact was only a statistical effect due to the national census in the fall of 2001. Actually, during the entire last decade of the 20th century Armenia lost a

significant part of its population. The official statistics as usual understates the actual figures on migration. But even according to the official data, the negative balance in 2002 was reduced to 3.000 and in 2003 - to 10.000 (State Department for Migration and Refugees, Republic of Armenia, www.dmr.am). Moreover, starting from 2004 negative balance of migration turned into positive: in 2004 2.000 were recorded, in 2005 - 12.500 and in 2006 there was already 21.800 of positive residual. Such statistics allows stating that in the last years a slow but stable return flow of the RoA citizens from foreign countries was noted (State Department for Migration and Refugees, Republic of Armenia, www.dmr.am).

The number of seasonal migrants who periodically leave for a while for earnings and then come back to their homeland was increasing. In addition to construction, labor migrants to varying degrees became engaged in trade, public catering, services, production, and agriculture (Survey of Migrants Returning to Armenia during 2002- 2008, OSCE, 2008.). The nature of employment became much more risky. In contrast to the pre-transition period, when work was performed mostly on the basis of a contract, the relationship with employers began to be "regulated" mostly by oral agreements. As a result, payment delays and partial or full non-payment became widespread (Human Development Report, 2009).

Today new migration processes take place in the country, in the regulation of which the State still does not take an essential part. First of all it is the process of returning of irregular Armenian migrants and their reintegration in the society (Poghosyan G. The Migration Flows in Armenia 2009, p. 193-212). Thus, a positive migration balance of 1,200 people was reported for March 2009 in Armenia. In contrast to previous years characterized by rapid growth in passenger flows, this indicator has also fallen in 2009 and early 2010 (G.Poghosyan. Out-Migration from Armenia, ArGeMi project, 2010).

According to the official statistics, the recent years were marked by slowing downward trends in external migration, which to some extent contributed toward somehow upward fertility and birth-rate trends. Hence, the rate of net migration declined by 2.5 times (Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia, NSS, 2010, page 22).

The 2009 Integrated Living Conditions Survey (ILCS 2009) sheds some additional light on recent migration trends in Armenia . According to the findings published by the NSS, 33.8 percent of all migrants were internal and resided in Yerevan and in other regions of the country, whereas the remaining 53.6 percent were international and resided in the Russian Federation, 2.2% in other CIS countries, 2.9 in European countries and 7.5 in other countries (Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia: 2010, NSS, 2010, page 23). Of those migrants who have left for Russia or other countries 55.1 percent specified the need to work, search of work, or lack of work as the main reason for their migration (see Table 2.1).

The same survey shows that among households with migrant members who had migrated since January 1, 2007 and returned home as of 2009, some 55.1 percent returned from Yerevan or other regions of the country, and the remaining returnees (44.9 percent) were from the CIS countries (37.6 percent), Europe (1.6 percent) and other countries (5.7 percent).

A sociological survey concerning migration processes in Armenia during the period of 2002-2007 shows that the migrants that returned from foreign countries constitute one-third of the total number of migrants involved in foreign migration processes ("Report on sample survey on external and internal migration in RA", UNFPA, 2008, p.35)

The migrants returned to Armenia after a certain time of stay abroad indicated different reasons for the return. For example, the reason for the return from Moscow for 19.5% was the end of a labor contract or the end of studies in a university. The reason for the return for 7% was the visa expiry and for 3.5% - the deportation by authorities. The majority of the respondents have returned because of personal reasons (63%) (G.Poghosyan. Out-Migration from Armenia after 1990, 2009, # 3, pg.61-80). It is obvious that the main reason for the return from Moscow for Armenian migrants is personal or family motives.

Among the reasons for the departure of migrants from far abroad, prevalent was the "Absence of jobs" (38.3%); followed by the "Impossibility of sufficient earnings to ensure adequate living standards" (23.2%) and "Family circumstances" (19.7%). This means that for 61.5% of the household members included in this particular group the problem of earning sufficient resources was of primary importance ("Report on sample survey on external and internal migration in RA", UNFPA, 2008, p.33).

More than 42.2% of the migrants that returned from foreign countries mentioned that they have been able to accumulate "some" or "significant" savings. Around 65.8% of the financial support has been remitted through the banking system, 27.9% has been sent off through friends and relatives, and 6.3% has been transferred through other avenues ("Report on sample survey on external and internal migration in RA", UNFPA, 2008, p.43).

In 2005, the Danish Refugee Council initiated a survey aiming to reveal the reintegration process into the Armenian society of migrants' families returning from various European countries: Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, France, Sweden, etc. In the 1990s many Armenians, who had left as illegal migrants or asylum

seekers, after some time, when the economic situation in Armenia started to improve, were dislocated and even deported back by the migration authorities of a number of European countries. Aiming to realize this project, the Armenian Sociological Association decided to conduct a sociological survey of 200 families of migrants, who had returned from EU countries, and for comparison purposes to conduct a similar survey with 100 families of migrants, who returned from Middle Asia, in particular from Turkmenistan. First of all, the return for them means the worsening of their social-economic situation. In the social-economic aspect, their conditions abroad were better than they are now in their homeland. For many returnees' families it just means loss of a properly paid job, and also the loss of dwelling (apartments, houses). Of course, returnees from the EU countries find themselves in a more favorable situation than returnees from Turkmenistan. The returnees from the EU come back with some capital that they managed to save up there. It helps them to settle better in their homeland, to buy a new apartment or to repair the old one. Besides, in the EU they obtained new professional knowledge and experience as well as new life skills, which they can inculcate in their homeland when they come back. Whereas returnees from Turkmenistan do not have all these advantages. Nearly a quarter of the respondents think that they did not manage to be integrated for various reasons. The main reasons are financial, language and social problems. According to the survey results, quite a significant part of the entire surveyed group (20-25%) is ready to go abroad as soon as they have the opportunity.

MAIN INTERNAL MIGRATION TRENDS

Republic of Armenia is divided into 10 regions (marz) and capital city of Yerevan (See the attached map of Armenia in the Annex). Unfortunately, there is no reliable statistics on internal migration in Armenia and only a few surveys provide some information about internal displacements and flows.

For decades the population of Armenia increased mainly due to urban residents. Since 1926, the urban population of the republic increased from 19% to 64.9% in 2000 (See Table 1. The information on individuals forced to change their residence since1988 due to the earthquake, or due to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh or due to forced expulsion from other countries, was not included to the 2001 census). Since the late 1960s Armenia has been an urbanized country. In other words for decades in Soviet Armenia, there was a steady exodus from the countryside into urban areas. Most streams directed to the capital, Yerevan city, the population of which by the end of the last century was more than a third (34.0%) of the total population of the republic. About 1.1 million people lived in Yerevan, while all the Armenian population was about 3.2 million. Thus, for instance, according to the 2001 census data, the population of Yerevan counted 1,103,488 inhabitants, 325, 681 (or 29.5%) of whom were people not born in the capital and moved there from other regions of the country and from abroad. And the number of those who moved to the capital from rural areas was 198,397 (or 18%) of the population of the capital. However, since the early 1990s the balance of urban and rural population changed a bit. The part of urban population stopped growing and even decreased somewhat from 64.9% in 2000 to 64.0% in 2010. At the same time slightly but nevertheless the share of rural population of Armenia increased from 35.1% in 2000 to 36% in 2010.

Table 1. Population size by the census data (except 2010) at the beginning of the year

Years	Of total population in %	
1926	19.0	81.0
1939	28.6	71.4
1959	50.0	50.0
1979	59.5	40.5
1989	68.7	31.3
2001	64.3	35.7
2010	64.0	36.0

From 1999 to 2010, the rural population of the republic decreased by 7% and the urban one by 17%. In some areas, such as the Lori region, the population over this period (1999 to 2010) decreased by 28% (the data calculated by the author based on the 2001 census and the official statistics). In particular, the urban population in the same region of Lori decreased from 265,600 in 1999 to 165,100 in 2010, or as much as by 37%. At that time, the population of the capital decreased by only 10% over the same period. This demonstrates once again that there is an intensive out-migration from small and medium-sized cities of the country. If we compare the data on urban and rural population areas (except Yerevan), it is quite clear that the rural population of areas of Armenia decreased by 7% for 1999-2010, while the urban population of the same areas and during the same period lost 25% of its population.

The reasons for the urbanization process stop lie in the fact that with the establishment of independence in 1991 the privatization of land was held in Armenia and rural population became the owner of land holdings. Even some number of residents of small towns returned back to live in the village in order to receive ownership of land. In addition, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the economic crisis and the loss of

former markets led to a sharp loss of jobs in the industrial enterprises in cities. A huge number of factories simply shut down or went bankrupt. The industry of Armenia entered a period of protracted crisis and stagnation. As a result, workers and engineers, mostly city residents began to look for work outside of the country.

Currently, out-migration from rural to urban areas (mainly to Yerevan) continues. Some rural communities of Armenia already experience the strongest depopulation. However, the rural population that has moved to the cities continues to migrate and goes to work outside the country. Along with this direct migration of the rural population from Armenia to Russia and other CIS countries increased. Thus, internal migration flows are correlated with the flow of external migration.

A special countrywide sample survey on external and internal migration in Armenia conducted among 2,500 households in June-November 2007 by the National Statistical Service and the RoA Ministry of Labor and Social Issues, with the UNFPA support, showed that just 3.2% of the surveyed household members had been involved in internal migration (UNFPA, 2007, p.9). 61% of internal migrants defined their resettlement as for "permanent residence", and 39.0% as for "temporary residence". A significant portion of the internal migrants were those who resettled from the regions of Shirak (20.5%), Tavoush (16.7%), and Gegharkunik (12.8%). 50 % out of internal migrants moved because of work; 31.2% because of education; and 18.8% for other reasons. The capital city of Yerevan accommodated the migrants mainly from the regions of Vayots Dzor, Lori, Tavoush and Syunik (UNFPA, 2007).

62.3% of internal migrants were men and 37.7% were women. The prevailing majority of the internal migrants, namely 73.1%, were people

aged from 15 to 49. Their average age category was 26 (See the attached map of Armenia in the Annex).

While in rural areas people were able to survive by the products received from agricultural activities, the urban unemployed did not have any options for jobs within the country and had to migrate abroad. It is obvious that before 2007 most of the migrants looking for jobs abroad were from urban areas, while the trend reverses in 2009 (Labor Migration from Armenia. ILO 2010). By 2009, permanent migrants were gone and urban population had some job opportunities (mainly in the capital), so migrants from rural areas had a higher share in the total number of migrants (see Figure 4.1).

Among the internal migrants there is a big portion of those who could be identified as internally displaced persons (IDP) in Armenia.

The Head of the Migration Agency of the Ministry of Territorial Administration of the Republic of Armenia indicates three groups of internal migrants in Armenia during 1988-2008: first, about 100,000 people who were displaced by the 1988 earthquake; second, some 70,000 people who were displaced during the bombing of border areas in Armenia by the Azerbaijani military forces in 1992-1994, and third, another 20,000 people displaced by more recent man-made and natural disasters. By the way, some refugees from Azerbaijan first settled in border areas of Armenia, and only later on they became internally displaced (Parliamentary Assembly. Doc. 11942. 8 June 2009. APPENDIX. Summary of the main issues discussed by the Rapporteur during his visit to Armenia and Azerbaijan, 4 – 8 May 2009.)

There are conflicting figures on the number of IDPs who have returned to their homes. In 1998, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees believed most IDPs had returned (Cohen, R., Deng, M., F.,

1998), while in 2000 the Government reported that only 28,000 had done so (Armenia: Need to monitor progress towards durable solutions. Norwegian Refugee Council, 2010, p. 7).

The five Armenian provinces that have a border with Azerbaijan (Tavush, Gegharkunik, Ararat, Vayots Dzor and Syunik) were targeted for the IDPs survey that was conducted in 2004 by the Norwegian Refugee Council and the RoAState Department for Migration and Refugees ("IDP Mapping Survey 2002 2004", 2004.). A total of 186 villages and towns in 165 communities were selected for the survey from the list of the border communities that had suffered damage during the conflict. There were a total of 65,647 households in the targeted communities. According to the survey results, many of the 186 villages along the border with Azerbaijan were totally evacuated during the 1991-1994 conflict period - many of them more than once. The vast majority of those displaced returned shortly after evacuation orders were lifted. A significant number of people also left their villages after the ceasefire in 1994. It was difficult to determine whether post-war departure is due to residual effects of the conflict or to economic circumstances, as these motives are not mutually exclusive ("IDP Mapping Survey 2002 2004", 2004, p.8; see Figure 2.1 in the Annex).

In 2006, the Norwegian Refugee Council reported that more than half had returned (Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), 28 December 2006). However, in 2009 the US State Department reported that most of the original IDPs had returned or settled elsewhere but that about 43,000 could not return due to socio-economic constraints, fear of landmines or because their villages were surrounded by Azerbaijani territory (U.S. Department of State, 25 February 2009, 2008 Human Rights Report: Armenia). In fact, the 100,000 IDPs displaced by the 1988 earthquake had mostly returned to their original places. Some of those 70,000 IDPs displaced from the areas on the border with Azerbaijan returned too,

And a big proportion of IDPs displaced by the natural disasters returned to their villages.

Housing conditions play a significant role in whether an IDP wishes to return. In Yerevan IDPs are the most likely to indicate a desire to return -the number of those disposed to return is nearly 2.5 times higher than those who have chosen to stay. This is due to the low level of integration for IDPs in the capital city ("IDP Mapping Survey 2002 – 2004", 2004. p.12).

As mentioned in the "IDPs Europe Regional Report", no new information was available in 2010 on the number of IDPs in Armenia. Current information on IDPs who have integrated in the place of displacement or settled elsewhere is not available. There have been no major barriers to integration but there have not been any programmes in place to facilitate it (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 2009). Some have managed to buy houses, while others rent or look after homes of Armenian labor migrants working abroad (Armenia: Need to monitor progress towards durable solutions, 2010, p.7).

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

The social-demographic structure of migrants includes people from different strata of the Armenian society. The overwhelming majority of the migrants (90.8%)[7] were 20-54 years old, when leaving to work abroad, and the proportion of male migrants stood at 89.1%. Due to the gender and age specifics of the labor migration flow, every fifth Armenian man between the ages of 20-54 worked abroad. (Labour Migration, ILO, 2010). In the first period (1988-1995) the men were leaving alone and were trying to settle down abroad. But later on they began to leave with their families.

[7] Figures are for the period from 2007-2009.

Men dominated the external migration flows. It seems that women are mostly migrating to the EU and the USA and men to Russia. The proportion of females who have worked in the EU and the USA is much higher than that of males (3.4 times higher in case of the EU and 4.3 times higher in case of the USA). Additionally, the mean age of those that work in the EU and the USA (44.8 years old) is higher than that of those who migrated to the CIS countries (38.5 years old) (Labour Migration, ILO, 2010). Correspondently the sociological survey conducted in the framework of ArGeMi project shows prevalence of males among the migrants who returned from Moscow. (Poghosyan G. Berlin, 2009, # 3, p 61-80). This might be explained by the fact that the number of men leaving for Russia and particularly for Moscow in search of work is higher than that of women, as the main occupations of migrants in Russia is in construction, cleaning of big buildings, petrol stations, repair and adjustment of different equipment, and also in distribution network, or drivers and delivery men.

The government-funded study in 2006 sees every third passenger among RoA citizens as unemployed (A.Gevorkyan, K. Mashuryan, A. Gevorkyan, 2006. p.17). Employment as a purpose of potential migrants mentioned 35.7% of men and 25.4% of women. A small portion of men (7.9%) and women (6.3%) expressed desire to travel abroad in order to receive education. Those between the ages of 18 and 35 are the most active in migration for education purposes (Migration Processes in the South Caucasus, 2008-2009, ENUT-TASO. p.12).

The majority of both men and women were in active employment age and represented an economically active population of Armenia. The majority of those (over 60%) who remained abroad were members of families that continued to live in Armenia which, over time, would either return or take their families abroad.

People with below- and above-average prosperity were not active in migration because of not having any opportunities to migrate. The share of persons with non-public employment, the unemployed, and people with an average degree of prosperity was disproportionately high.

Concerning the internally displaced persons (IDPs), 53% of IDPs were females, while 47% were males. Women tend to dominate all age groups, except the youngest (under 18). Females were especially predominant in the 18-30 age group (over 58%), confirming that many men of working age have emigrated from the country. (See Figure 2.1 in Annex 2).The gender distribution among IDPs does not differ significantly from that of the population of Armenia in general ("IDP Mapping Survey 2002–2004", 2004. pp.10 -11).

Incidentally, within the category of men the proportion of the 20-49 age group formed 71.5%, and within the category of women the same indicator showed 56%. In all represented age groups the specific weight of men was significantly higher than that of women (Report, UNPF, Yerevan, 2008, p.35).

Among the purposes of utilization of their earnings, predominant was the incidence of the expenses for current household needs (43.9%). A considerable portion of costs referred to social needs like healthcare, education and so on (15.8%). Utility and household needs like renovations, reconstruction and so forth comprised only 14.3% of the costs (Report, UNFPA, 2008, p.42).

Some economists estimate that in the future Armenia will also have a labor supply excess, about 70-80,000 a year, and people will have to search for job outside Armenia (Papoyan A., Bagdasaryan N., 1999: 9). The proportion of those in Armenia who would like to migrate to live

abroad is 33% of men and 22.2% of women (Migration Processes in the South Caucasus, ENUT-TASO, 2008-2009. p. 11).

In Armenia, among those planning to migrate 37.6% women are and 62.4% men. The average age of potential migrants of both genders in Armenia is 42. The vast majority of men and women planning to leave for Russia within the next twelve months are motivated by the presence of their relatives there (especially women respondents) and prospects of economic stability. The majority complain that their income at home is not sufficient to support their families, while inability to find a job consistent with their professional qualifications prevails among respondents of the 18-35 age group. The latter are mainly young individuals with higher education. In addition, better educational prospects attract 26-30-year-old respondents as well as older respondents (26-55-year-old) who are concerned about education of their children. Respondents in Armenia mainly blame the upper-level authorities (64.2%) for the fact that citizens of their country are forced to go abroad to work (Migration Processes in the South Caucasus, 2008-2009, ENUT-TASO. p.19).

Armenia was among the countries that exported labor recourses, qualified specialists, and intellectual workers.

EMIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHY: AGING POPULATION

For small countries such as Armenia, intensive outflow of population means depopulation, which is a huge historical phenomenon at the end of the 20th century with all the negative consequences – a birthrate decrease, gender imbalance, deformation of social structure, etc. Armenia is an ageing society with a deterioration of fertility rates from about 2.6 per women in reproductive age in 1990 to about 1.6 in 2009, far below the replacement rate (see Figure 3.2). Apart from other

reasons for decreasing fertility rates in many cases young families avoid getting children because of their migration intentions.

The current demographic profile of the population in Armenia is undergoing dramatic changes also because of the trend of temporary labor migrants' getting settled in destination countries. The sex-age composition of population of Armenia in 2010 illustrates a gap in the population in the most productive age group (35-45; see Figure 3.1). However, the current procedures for administrative registration of migration does not allow to assess the real size and composition of emigration by age and sex, to judge properly on aging of population, as well as on losses of intellectual labor force just due to migration.

The literature on the influence of migration on fertility in origin areas is scarce, too; research by Sevoyan and Agadjanian on "Male Labor Migration and Fertility of Women Left Behind in Rural Armenia" suggests that migration in rural Armenia is associated with lower birth rates (see http://paa2009.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=91929). However, the paper also concludes that the negative effect is mostly attributable not to spousal separation but rather to higher average age and mean number of children of women with migrant husbands, compared to those married to non-migrants. The authors assume cautiously that "in rural settings in Armenia, couples with more children, and probably already completed fertility, turn to seasonal migration as a way to struggle with economic hardships related to larger family needs, compared to those with fewer children" (page 13).

So, migration is considered as coping strategy to deal with economic hardships driven by higher fertility.

ECONOMIC AND LABOR MARKET DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION

The migration flows in Armenia had a major impact on the dynamics and structure of the population and labor force, especially in the 1990s. Internal and external labor migration has affected labor supply in the country and in certain regions in two important ways. First, it arises as a response to the lack of employment (or employment acceptable to the migrating individual); and second, it relieves the pressure on the local labor market for those who do not migrate, thus helping to achieve equilibrium in the local labor market (although those departing may be more likely to possess marketable skills and be more productive workers). Labor migration to Russia and other countries in search of work, and remittances to support families at home, played an important role in mitigating unemployment and providing household income.

The scope of external but temporary labor migration is less significant, however. According to the 2004 labor force survey, 2.4 percent of members of households, and 5.5 percent of the employed that participated in the interview, comprised the people who left for work outside the country (for up to a six-month period) at the time of interview. Extrapolating the results of the survey to the whole population, it can be estimated that slightly more than 60,000 Armenian citizens were working outside of the country for more than six months at a time. (Economics of Labor Migration from Armenia: a Conceptual Study, 2006, World Bank, Washington, D.C.).

The above seems to work in areas of Armenia with a high density of well-trained and educated professionals, especially in recent years as students have continually been returning from abroad and finding themselves at odds with either seeking jobs outside the country or waiting on opportunities at home (Economics of Labor Migration from Armenia: a Conceptual Study, 2006, World Bank, Washington, D.C.).

With regards to employment status and industry breakdown of Armenian migrants at home, approximately half (50.7%) of labor migrants were involved in some income activity before their first trip abroad. 64.6% of them had permanent jobs, and 35.4% relied on finding occasional employment. (Economics of Labor Migration from Armenia: a Conceptual Study, 2006, World Bank, Washington, DC, p 12). On the other hand, a government-funded study showed that 19.0% of arriving short-term trip passengers and 25.2% of departing short-term trip passengers are unemployed. Additionally, this last study sees every third passenger among RoA citizens as unemployed ("Report On Sample Survey Of Passenger Turnover (Migration) At The Border Guarding Posts Of The Republic Of Armenia", NSS RoA jointly with European Union's TACIS Program and the IOM, 2003).

The analysis of the labor demand conducted by ILO in 2008 showed that in companies from the IT sector, as well as construction and commerce, the demand for skilled labor is high. According to the survey results, the specialists most in demand are programmers, banking clerks and customer service specialists, as well as construction specialists of various qualifications (welders, layers/builders, and concrete makers). The most popular qualification requirements from the prospective employees included higher education and knowledge of at least one foreign language. Many employers voiced preference for male workers (ILO 2009: Migration and Development Armenia Country Study, p 19). Most of the surveyed companies had cases when their employees migrated from Armenia to work abroad. These mainly happened in the IT and construction sectors. Construction workers mainly migrated to Russia, and IT specialists left for Western Europe and the USA. According to the respondents, the main reasons for labor migration were higher salaries and more favorable working conditions abroad.

The surveyed companies were asked to assess the effect of labor emigration on their line of business. The breakdown of responses illustrated in Figure 3.3 shows that 55% of the respondents assessed it as entirely negative. The banking sector was the least affected by labor emigration because of its emerging trend and high number of job openings along with higher than the average in the country salaries offered (ILO 2009: Migration and Development Armenia Country Study, p 25).

However, the majority of the respondents believe that emigration of skilled human resources from Armenia was and still is a grave issue, which can seriously harm sectors of strategic importance to Armenia, such as the IT sector. Working conditions, and especially the remuneration, offered by Armenian companies are not competitive in the international labor market, while the rapidly developing Russian economy can easily absorb skilled labor from Armenia: according to the NSS data, the average wage in the country in 2008 was equal to 87,406 drams, or about 150 Euro (NSS of RoA, LABOUR MARKET IN THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA, 2004-2008, 2009, p 68)[8], while in Russian Federation it was 17,290.1 Russian rubles, or about 500 EURO ("Труд и занятость в России", 2009г.).

On the one hand, some respondents think that recent economic growth and tendencies of salary increases may actually contribute to the return of skilled labor. However, the majority of employers are rather skeptical of such a possibility, since the economic situation in Armenia, the business environment and democratic developments are still at a poor level as compared to the countries that attract the Armenian labor force.

[8] http: www.armstat.am file article trud_09_5.pdf

Almost all respondents believe that the return of skilled labor would have a positive effect on both their companies and on the entire sector in which they are active. They believe that economy of Armenia needs the application of the best international practices, and the specialists returning from abroad can in this respect seriously foster economic development and increase the quality of labor force in Armenia.

Furthermore, the survey brought up an interesting finding that the percentage of persons with professional education is almost equal in the groups of permanent migrants, temporary and permanent returnees. This is to say that the level of education does not seem to influence the migrants' decisions to return, and also that there is no explicit tendency for people with higher levels of education to permanently emigrate from Armenia. In fact, highly skilled labor (persons with tertiary education in particular) show lower migration activity, which is mostly conditioned by bigger access of skilled labor to the domestic labor market. Although the level of education was found to have no effect on migration and return patterns, a remarkable finding was that the professional breakdown of permanent migrants, temporary and permanent returnees differed significantly (Survey of Migrants Returning to Armenia during 2002-2008, OSCE, Advanced Social Technologies, Yerevan, "Asoghik," 2008, p.23).

Two thirds of the returnees assess their migration experience as rather useful or very useful in terms of acquiring or enhancing knowledge and skills. More than half of them found it useful in terms of enhancing language skills, each third returnee stated he or she improved job-related knowledge and skills, while the others benefited from the migration experience in terms of know-how in modern technologies and soft-skills.

Although half of the returnees stated that their migration experience had no effect on their competitiveness in the Armenian labor market, about 40% of the returnees claimed that it actually increased their chances to find good employment. Most of them believed that the experience acquired abroad made it easier to meet the requirements of the employers and, having returned to Armenia, they could aim for higher remuneration. This finding was supported during the interviews with employers, who confirmed that the specialists who previously studied or worked abroad would usually take managerial positions and be offered higher wages.

The positive impact of migration experience on competitiveness of the returnees in the domestic labor market is further sustained when comparisons are drawn between their employment status and incomes before migration and after return. The share of the employed among those with migration experience has risen from 46% to 53%, and the average monthly incomes have actually doubled to 64,000 AMD or 120 EURO (ILO 2009: Migration and Development Armenia Country Study, p.16).

The survey actually found that the proportion of skilled labor among migrants has actually been decreasing (see Figure 3.4). The level of education of migrants who went to work abroad in 2008 and 2009 was considerably lower than of those who departed in 2007 or earlier. The authors brought two parallel explanations of the phenomenon: (1) they argued that the decision to engage in labor migration could have negatively affected the migrants' possibilities for attaining higher levels of education, and that the steady increase of the labor migration rates could in the long run result in decreased level of education of population of Armenia and (2) they also argued that this probable negative effect may be mitigated by the fact that some of the migrants' income is used in Armenia for education purposes.

The survey suggested that returnees were relatively older than migrants who stayed abroad (41 and 35 years old on average) (Survey of Migrants Returning to Armenia during 2002-2008, Yerevan, 2008, p.22).

Along with the economic development ups and downs during the last two decades described in the previous chapter employment also went through essential structural changes: the share of employed in industry decreased from 27.4% in 1991 to 10.6% in 2009. In construction the indicator comprised 10.6% and 4.6% respectively, the ratio of employed in the service sector has been relatively stable (38.7% in 1991 and 39.2% in 2009), while the share of employed in agriculture remained steadily high – about 45% (see the Table 3.1.1). It is worth recalling that the share of agriculture in the 2009 GDP was just about 17%, i.e. the productivity level here is about three times lower than the average for the entire economy. Respectively the earnings are much lower, and one should expect much higher rates of migration outflows from rural areas.

According to the LFS 2009 data, 22.1% of the employed were engaged in temporary, seasonal, occasional, or one-off activities (24.4% in 2008, of which 41.0% were self-employed)[9]. This situation means that a large share of the population is essentially unprotected against economic risks. While considering the profile of the unemployed, it should be mentioned that the pool of the unemployed is relatively young. The LFS data for 2009 suggest that the share of youth (aged 16-24) in the total number of the unemployed comprised 28.3% (vs. 17% in total population). Thus, we should expect large migration intentions especially among youth, especially while taking into account the mismatch between the composition of the unemployed by specialties and the composition of demanded jobs in the labor market. A survey among students of vocational education establishments - both at primary vocational and secondary specialized schools - indicated that although

[9] NSS of RoA www.armstat.am Publications: "Labor Market in the Republic of Armenia, 2005-2009, page 116.

the youth with medical and pedagogical specialties have the highest unemployment rates, these specialties are still among the most popular areas of study in vocational schools and higher educational establishments. The choice of specialization was mainly based on the interest of young people in the given specialty (83%) but in 12% of cases the lack of alternative options or financial means also played a role in selection of a specialty (Arvo Kuddo, "Employment Services and Active Labor Market Programs in Eastern European and Central Asian Countries", October 2009, SP Discussion Paper #0918, p.43).

Another factor that contributes toward migratory intentions is a low level of compensation. Based on the 2009 LFS, 13.0% of employees earned less than the minimum wage (32.500 AMD or about 60 EURO), 71.2% earned in the minimum and average wage (about 200 EURO, see table 3.1.2) range, and 15.8% earned more than the average wage ("Labor Market in the Republic of Armenia, 2005-2009", RoA NSS , p. 116).

The data based on a recent representative survey conducted by the Caucasus Research Resource Centers among 2,000 Armenian households indicate strong correlation between earnings and migration intentions: 70% of the respondents in 2010 expressed their disagreement with the statement that they are fairly compensated, and 64% reported that they are interested in temporary migration (see the Figures 3.5; 3.6a, 3.6b and 3.6c). Temporary migration intentions were stronger among youth (77% vs. 64% on average)[10].

Interestingly, migration intentions went up during the recent 2-3 years most probably due to economic recession. To see the trend one should compare the data above with the ones reported based on the NSS UNFPA survey, according to which 83.1% of the respondents interviewed in 2007 mentioned that they had "no intention" or "little intention" to ever, permanently or for a long-term period (three or more months) leave their given residence, and 5.3% have mentioned that they

[10] The CRRC datasets are available at http://crrccenters.org/caucasusbarometer datasets/.

were "definitely determined" or "probably would" leave the given residence some time, permanently or for a long-term period (three or more months) (Report on Sample Survey on External and Internal Migration in RA, NSS/UNFPA, 2008, p.6; http://www.armstat.am/file/article/rep_migr_08e.pdf).

So, it is quite clear that economic hardships and imbalances in the labor market caused and continue causing temporary emigration outflows, which in a long-term perspective seriously affect the demographic structure and social behavior of population. When asked whether "migrants will return and permanently settle in Armenia", 34% of the households surveyed in Armenia by the ILO in 2008 responded that their migrants will never return for permanent residence, 13% thought they would return after some years, 33% believed they would return if certain conditions were fulfilled, and the remaining 20% did not know whether or not their migrants would return to and settle permanently in Armenia. Among the households that expected their migrant(s) to return to and settle permanently in Armenia, 63% stated 0.5-3 years as the likely time of the return. Of the households that expected their migrant or migrants to return subject to certain conditions (the specific "conditions" most frequently cited were economic ones) 64% linked the return *to the ability to find well-paying employment, and 8% mentioned that their migrant(s) would return "if the situation in Armenia improved" by which they understood mainly economic factors, including a more favorable business climate and the like*[11].

EMIGRATION AND REMITTANCES

Remittances from abroad play an important social and economic role in Armenia. As stated above, long- or short-term labor migration outflows from Armenia are mostly directed to Russia and other CIS countries. However, Armenian households do receive remittances also through family networks of the Armenian Diaspora. Remittances from abroad to Armenia are an important source for high economic growth and poverty reduction recorded in the country in recent years.

[11] National Human Development Report 2009, p. 125.

Remittances have a direct effect on the recipient households' well-being as well as strong secondary multiplier effects for those, who do not receive remittances directly[12]. Thus, remittances have direct effect not only on the incomes, expenditures and usage of social services by households, but also on business expansion, investment and, eventually, on the foreign exchange market.

Armenia is ranked as one of the first countries in terms of ratio of remittances to GDP: according to the date excavated from the World development indicators (WDI) database during the period 1995-2010 the remittances account for about 5-12% of GDP (Figure 3.7). The average ratio for 1995-2003 was notably lower than during 2004-2010 (5.4% and 9.8%, respectively). The data show clearly that the amount of remittances went down immediately after the Asian crisis (from 136 mln USD in 1997 to 92 and 95 mln USD in 1998 and 1999. Starting from February 2008, the world economic crisis affected the migrants' behavior and the Armenian migration on the whole. In 2009-2010, the Government of Russia reduced labor quotas for migrants from the CIS countries. As a result, many Armenians remained unemployed there and they would have to return. The economic crisis in Russia topped out just in winter 2009, when Armenian migrants, as a rule, come back to spend New Year holidays with their families. So, a big part of migrants faced the crisis at home in Armenia. As a result, the indirect influence of the global crisis on Armenian economy happened by means of remittance reduction from abroad, on the one hand, and by means of growth of the unemployment level in the country, on the other hand. Again, according to the WDI, the amount of remittances in 2009 went down to 769 mln from 1,062 mln USD in 2008.

Remittances are received in a number of formal and informal ways; therefore, it is an extremely difficult task to keep accurate record of remittances in all countries. According to the CBA assessment, remittances constituted USD 965 m in 2005, whilst according to the

[12] Migration and Remittances (Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union). The World Bank, 2007.

were "definitely determined" or "probably would" leave the given residence some time, permanently or for a long-term period (three or more months) (Report on Sample Survey on External and Internal Migration in RA, NSS/UNFPA, 2008, p.6; http://www.armstat.am/file/article/rep_migr_08e.pdf).

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[12] Migration and Remittances (Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union). The World Bank, 2007.

Balance of Payments (BOP) statistics, in the same year they were USD 777 mln and grew to reach USD 1,360mln in 2006. This includes labor income and remuneration as well as current and capital private transfers from abroad. During the last years, the methodology[13] of estimating the remittances in Armenia was modified and adjusted; therefore, the data is not compatible with much earlier data. The overall amount of remittances estimated is based on the national balance of payments, according to the IMF methodology and relevant figures are available on the websites of some international organizations. In the case of Armenia, the inflow of formal remittances – all three components taken together – shows a very rapid increase in 2004 – 2007/2008, and a notable decline in 2009, during the peak of the economic crisis (see Table 3.1.5).

As far as the remittances in the BOP are defined in terms of current private transfers, including all the private transfers from *Diaspora*[14], the amounts of remittances and their ratio to GDP are much higher than the ones using WDI. As it is evident from the Table 3.1.5 based on BOP data, the ratio of remittances to GDP during the years 2004-2009 comprised about 16% (vs. 9% according to WDI). Once the Diaspora transfers are added, there is an impression that remittances contribute essentially to economic development. Meanwhile, these transfers actually are Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) the inflow of which since 1990s was essentially attached to privatization and establishing of green-field businesses. According to the paper "The Role of Diaspora in Generating Foreign Direct Investments in Armenia" (Economy and

[13] Overall methodology on recording remittances in literature is not unified; certain disagreements exist. The statistical basis for external sector transactions is the International Monetary Fund's (IMF's) *Balance of Payments* (BOP) manual (5th edition, 1993). However, remittances in this manual are defined only in terms of current private transfers. G8 Heads of State, meeting at Sea Island in 2004, emphasized the importance of the accurate measurement of remittance flows. Steps are being taken to improve the methodology through joint efforts of the Development Data Group of the World Bank, Statistics Department of IMF, and the Statistics Division of the United Nations.

[14] Armenian Diaspora counts about 7 mln Armenians who have migrated long time ago (starting from early 20th century), reside permanently and accepted citizenship of other countries.

Values Consulting, 2004), about 69% of direct investors in the Armenian economy during 1998-2004 were persons with ties to the Diaspora (about 84% in 2004 when privatization was intensively implemented).

A primary source of information on remittances to Armenia and remittance-receiving households are the "Integrated Leaving Conditions Survey" (ILCS) carried out by the National Statistical Service of Armenia (NSS).[15] By using the 2002 ILCS data, Roberts and Banaian analyzed the impact of remittances on household income and poverty and concluded that "in Armenia, remittances reduce inequality, because the households that receive them would otherwise be at very low levels of income".

To study the role and impact of remittances in Armenian realities and fill the gaps of knowledge about the use and distribution of remittances and access to remittances as well the impact on poverty and HHs' consumption, saving and investment behavior, the Asian Development Bank launched a regional study on remittances in Central Asia and the South Caucasus in 2006. The study covered Armenia alongside with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan. The study for Armenia had two components: one component assessed the effects of remittances on poverty, and the other one examined the relationship between remittances and financial sector developments[16]. The study provides some analysis of effects of remittances on consumption,

[15] These surveys were first carried out in Armenia in the end of 1996, thereafter – during July, 1998 to June, 1999. Starting from 2001, the ILCS are carried out regularly on an annual basis and cover the entire calendar year period. Nonetheless, these surveys mostly focus on expenditures of households and poverty. Remittances are covered only to the extent they are one type of income among others. These surveys do not specifically focus remittances; nor do they contain detailed data on transfer modes, regularity or ways of transfer.

[16] Asian Development Bank, A Study on International Migrants' Remittances in Central Asia and South Caucasus, Country Reports on "Remittances of International Migrants and Poverty in Armenia" and "Remittances of International Migrants and the Financial Sector in Armenia", Yerevan, Armenia, 2007

savings, investments, and poverty and income distribution of HHs as well as the effects of remittances on community development. One of major findings from the face-to-face survey among 3,000 households in 2006 is strong correlation between remittances and poverty indicators. While including remittances, poverty incidence for poverty line of US$ 1 per day equals 2.7%, and 7.5%, if remittances are excluded from the total income of remittance receiving households (see Table 3.1.4).

Meantime, some household surveys carried out by NGOs within Armenia with over-sample for migrants shed some additional light on the social impact of remittances. In this respect, the surveys conducted by the Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRC)[17], Advanced Social Technologies should be mentioned[18]. Also the UNDP National Human development report for 2009 contains interesting information on the impact of remittances on wealth of the population. The report states that although the most part of remittances is used for current consumption, the second and third items of expenditure due to remittances are education and healthcare within households that receive such transfers[19]. The CRRC survey conducted in 2007 among 2,000 Armenian households indicates that a) remittances are vital for 55% of households, and b) the *proportions* of spending remittances on food, cloth, educational and healthcare services, as well as housing and savings are as follows 5.3 : 3.2 : 1.5 : 1.0 : 0.35 : 0.25, respectively. So, the most expenditure item is food (45%), then cloths (27%) and education (13%). The share of remittances spent on healthcare was 9%, housing - 3%, savings comprised just 2% and the remaining 1% went to serve special ceremonies (wedding, funeral, etc.). The households with

[17] "Remittances and Migration", slide show presented during the AIPRG Conference "Looking Forward: Global Competitiveness of the Armenian Economy" (May 17-18, 2008).
[18] Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey ' Yerevan, Armenia and Anna Minasyan and Blanka Hancilova (2005), Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005, Yerevan, Armenia, Supported by OSCE, Armenia and Advanced Social Technologies.
[19] National Human Development Report 2009, p. 119.

migrants do not expect their migrants to save enough money to be back and start their own business in Armenia: according to the ILO 2008 survey, only 5% among the households that expected their migrant(s) to return to and settle in Armenia responded that their migrants would return if they saved enough money to establish their own business[20].

Given the numerous evidences to stay abroad, we should expect a lowering trend of remittances along with migrants' getting permanently settled abroad and taking their families to the destination countries. This applies to elite migrants first of all. To reveal the pattern of elite migration a pilot survey was conducted in 2008 by the CRRC among about 400 alumni of selected elite schools (with concentration in Math, English and Russian): it showed that 22% of this cohort are migrants (the majority was in Russia - 50% and in the US - 30%). This percentage was particularly high in the so-called *physmath* and Russian-language schools where around one in three have migrated. Interestingly, the majority of the elite migrants reside abroad legally, are quite well integrated in the society, have many native born friends, the majority speaks the state/working language of the country, is quite happy with their situation in the country of residence and their employment. Correspondingly, the likelihood of their return is much less (just 33% before retirement, see Figure 3.8).

Hence, one should conclude that human capital in Armenia undergoes significant inflation because of migration outflows, especially of skilled professionals and workers (the "brain drain"). At the same time we do fully agree with the statement that it is difficult to measure the impact of migration on human development clearly as it has both positive and negative effects, individual and national, economic and social long-term and short-term aspects. The above example shows that

[20] National Human Development Report 2009, p. 125.

gains on individual level often affect the societal level negatively. Meantime, another source – the ILO 2010 report made a survey data-driven conclusion that the proportion of skilled labor migrants among migrants has actually been decreasing at least in 2008-2009 compared to 2007 (ILO 2010, p.33). The survey conducted in 2008-2009 among 5,000 households throughout Armenia suggested that almost 60% of labor migrants had secondary education (vs. 47% in general population), while the share of skilled migrants, i.e. those with vocational or tertiary education, comprised 34.4% (vs. 40.4% in general population, see Figure 3.9).

SOCIAL SECURITY

While Armenia continues to feel the effects of increased labor migration, migration of Armenian citizens and their work abroad remains mostly irregular and initiated by themselves, with weak assistance from the Government and coordination of social insurance systems with the governments of at least the main destination countries. In order to respect the rights of and to offer social guarantees to Armenian migrants the signing of social insurance bilateral and/or multilateral agreements with the main destination countries was needed and is underway slowly.

Armenia has signed several important international treaties on labor migration, such as a number of the International Labor Organization Conventions (the Migration for Employment Convention of 1949 and the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention of 1975), but it still has not signed a few other important international treaties on labor migration.[21] Armenia is a party to major international human rights conventions and should ensure the protection of human rights for those on its territory, including labor migrants. Armenia is also a party to several regional or bilateral agreements: the CIS Agreement on Cooperation on Labour Migration (1994) and the CIS Agreement on the

[21] For example, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, and the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers.

Social Protection of Migrant Workers. The latter instrument, however, relies heavily on further bilateral support of its principal agreements.

Armenia maintains a number of bilateral agreements on labor migration with CIS partners such as Ukraine, Belarus and Russian Federation as well as with Georgia. Agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Armenia and Ukraine on "Labor and Social Security of Citizens of the Republic of Armenia and Ukraine Working Abroad", signed 17 June, 1995; Agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Belarus on "Temporary Labor and Social Security of Citizens Working Abroad", signed 19 July, 2000. Agreement with the Russian Federation was signed in 1994 and with Georgia – in 1993.

In 1992, Armenia signed the CIS agreement regarding the pensions of people moving in CIS countries[22]. According to that agreement, pensions will not be paid from the source country. Instead, the pension should be recalculated according to the law of the country they move to and the source country should only provide them with necessary information. Another important document to secure rights of migrants was the Agreement signed in 1994 by all CIS countries on "Cooperation on Labour Migration and social protection of migrant workers". For Armenia, this Agreement became effective on 26 February 1996. It includes a series of mutual commitments in the field of labor migration, specifically related to the social protection of labor migrants in other CIS countries. In particular, the Agreement provides for:

- mutual recognition of diplomas, qualification, certificates, documents certifying degrees, titles, qualifications;
- mutual recognition of work records and work experience records;

[22] Moldova, Georgia, and the Baltic countries did not sign that document, which made it less important.

- equal treatment of migrant workers under a party's national labor legislation, including social benefits and special conditions granted to workers;
- veto on double taxation;
- migrant workers' eligibility for social protection, insurance and medical treatment provisions under national legislation, except for pension benefits.

The Agreement authorizes quotas for labor migrants, subject to regulation by bilateral agreements between parties.

The most of concluded bilateral interstate agreements are to regulate labor activity of migrants and readmission of illegal migrants. Readmission agreements are concluded with the following states: Denmark, Switzerland, Lithuania, Germany, Bulgaria, Sweden, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Cheek Republic, Norway and Russia. Negotiations with Cyprus and Estonia are underway. Currently a readmission agreement between Armenia and the European Union is also actively discussed.

International experience proves that in order to shift labor migration processes out of illegal space into a legalized movement a strong commitment is required on the part of both host and home economies. Migration policies of host countries are quite important for social security of legal migrants. Most of labor migrants from Armenia work in Russia, so it will be fair to consider Russian Federation migration regulations first.

The Russian legislation envisages taxes and duties on the part of both employers using foreign labor and labor migrants, the total expense for the migrant worker could overweigh the risks related to illegal employment in Russia. Article 16 of the 2002 Federal Law of Russia "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation" prescribes that foreign citizens are guaranteed medical, material and

housing provisions for the entire period of the foreign citizens' employment in Russia. The inviting party/employer, who can be anyone from international organizations and their representatives in the Russian Federation to legal entities and Russian citizens, is obliged to provide written pledges for these provisions. Particularly, the inviting party is expected, by this law, to provide a guarantee of its ability to provide the foreign worker with:

1. a subsistence minimum in accordance with the legislation of the respective subject of the Russian Federation, as well as funds sufficient to enter and exit the Russian Federation for the period of the foreign worker's stay in Russia;
2. social security and medical insurance, agreed upon as it is provided for in the international agreement between the two countries or, if not envisaged by the international agreement, funds to cover such medical expenses.

It should be noted that despite the existing provisions, violation of migrant's rights by employers is not infrequent because of a) complexity of procedures of getting jobs legally, b) lack of awareness of migrants on conditions of legal employment. According to Zh. A. Zayonchkovskaya "the inefficiency of state institutions, which carry out migration policy, the inefficiency of legal systems and of the mechanism of control over the implementation of legislation, mass corruption, which are the biggest weakness of the system of legal protection of migrant workers, block up its activities and constrict the possibilities of employment even in those cases when laws allow it (for example, in Armenia, Russia and other countries)"[23].

[23] Zayonchkovskaya Zh.: 2004, UNESCO "The Protection of the Rights of Migrants Workers in the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS and Perspectives of Joining the 1990 UN Convention, p.9.

In existing conditions, where the mechanisms of state regulation of migratory processes are not established, Armenia is not ready to accede to such international conventions on labor migration as, for instance, the 1990 UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, since this may introduce additional bureaucratic difficulties in labor migrants' activity.

Consular missions of the Republic of Armenia are responsible for the protection of interests of Armenian citizens abroad. These missions also organize the return of Armenian citizens to Armenia. The findings of a study of infringements on Armenian citizens' rights in various countries are presented below. The analysis of complaints received from Armenian citizens in Ukraine, for instance, has revealed that most of them are related to violations of the migration laws of Ukraine. There are described cases in which Armenian citizens have been denied entry into Ukraine without any explanation at airports or railway stations.

As to the territories outside the CIS, in 2001 the Republic of Armenia signed the European Social Charter (adopted in 1996) which was subsequently ratified by the republic in 2004. This formalized the cooperation with the European Union to improve consistency between the Armenian legislation applicable in the social sector and norms of the Social Charter, improving legal acts of the Republic of Armenia, and social security system in compliance with the requirements of the European standards.

According to Kabeleova, Mazmanyan and Yeremyan, the substantive division of responsibilities between Armenian agencies responsible for migration regulation remains unclear. Several actors often claim to have implementing power over various migration issues, which can lead to bureaucratic infighting and ineffectiveness. Perhaps the greatest confusion lies between Ministry of Labor and Social Issues (MLSI) and

the Ministry of Territorial Administration (MTA), both of which claim responsibility over labor migration issues. The MTA's charter indicates that it is the designated executive body for the implementation of the RoA policy on migration, labor migration and refugee matters. Previously, a government-approved concept paper on migration conferred upon the Department for Migration and Refugees (DMR) the power to articulate an action plan and schedule the implementation of the terms of the concept paper (Kabeleova, Mazmanyan, Yeremyan, 2007).

POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Poverty in Armenia was recognized since its independence. A sharp fall in GDP in the early 1990-s (see Table 1.1) resulted in the emergence of poverty as the most negative consequence of transition to market economy. Sharp fall of real wages, coupled with high unemployment and widespread unpaid leave or reduced pay for shorter working hours, removal of subsidies, cuts in public expenditure on social services, including social transfers, health, education and infrastructure, deteriorated living standards of the population. The main coping mechanisms for the poor in Armenia became family transfers, remittances, humanitarian assistance, and informal self-employment, mostly in open-air trade-markets and in agriculture. Based on the Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS) (1996) and the Integrated Living Conditions Survey (ILCS) 1998/99 data in 1996 54.7% of the population was poor[24], half of which was in absolute poverty with per capita expenditures below the food poverty line.

[24] As poor were considered the households with per capita expenses lower than minimum consumption basket, i.e. lower than poverty line (10784 AMD or 24.8 USD in 1996). The food poverty or absolute poverty line was based on the value of the minimum food basket that accounts 2040 kilocalories per day per capita; in 1996 it totaled 6612 AMD or 15.2 USD. Source: Social Snapshot and Poverty in the Republic of Armenia, NSS, 2000, page 23 (http://armstat.am/file/article/poverty_99e_3.pdf)

Economic growth observed since the mid-1990s played an essential role in poverty reduction but was not sufficient to erase poverty either in the short or long term. The poverty in Armenia notably diminished in 2004-2008. More than 350,000 people were able to move out of poverty and the share of poor people dropped from 34.6% in 2004 to 23.5% in 2008. The recent migratory processes from regions to the capital city as well as from Armenia to other countries are caused by the situation of labor market and living conditions especially in rural areas (see Table 3.3.1). The data from the table show evidently that the poverty indicators in rural areas are highest, and are more severe in other urban areas than in the capital city.

However, the recent economic crisis seriously affected the economic growth and poverty reduction path. Although the Government has taken a number of steps to cushion the impact of the crisis by providing protection to the poor by keeping a consistent level of public spending on social protection at the pre-crisis level and pro-poor programs, however, the steps undertaken were not enough to avoid an essential deterioration of the situation: in 2009 the poverty incidence increased to 34.1%, compared to 27.9% in 2008 (recalculated based on the 2009 methodology), the share of extremely poor increased from 1.6% in 2008 to 3.6% in 2009[25] (see Figure 3.10).

Another subject of concern in Armenia *is inequality* that measured by the Gini coefficient (by income) remains quite high (0.389 in 2009 vs. 0.57 in 1999).

The Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia documented by the National Statistical Service of Armenia (NSS of the RoA[26]) in 2010 shows that there is a major material deprivation gap between different income groups of the population. For example, it shows that while 18 percent of all children live in households without a refrigerator, 44

[25] NSS of RA www.armstat.am; "Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia", 2010, p.30.
[26] Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia, NSS of the RoA, 2010.

percent of poor and 58 percent of extremely poor children live in households lacking this item.

In order to combat poverty the Government of Armenia initiated in 2000 a participatory process for the development of a poverty reduction strategy. The Interim PRSP was adopted in 2001, the full-fledged PRSP-1 in 2003, and a "Sustainable Development Program" (SDP) in 2008. While very limited social transfers are the largest and most important component of social policy in Armenia, the households strategy of combating poverty remains private transfers from labor migrants. The 2008 Sustainable Development Program of the Republic of Armenia states that labor migration from Armenia plays a dual role from the standpoint of poverty risks for migrants and their families. In a short-term perspective it has substantial significance for poverty reduction – taking into account a still high unemployment rate in Armenia.

As the impact of remittances on poverty was already discussed in chapter 3.1.3, we need just to emphasize once again heavy dependence of poverty reduction on external financing and remittances. Consequently it requires further improvement of social inclusion and migration policies as parts of Armenia's development.

LABOR MARKET DEVELOPMENT IN NET MIGRATION LOSS / GAIN REGIONS

Along with the transition to market economy living standards of the population, especially rural population, deteriorated essentially. As a result, the impact of the land reform, which was implemented successfully in 1990 (even before the collapse of the former USSR), changed the whole snapshot of the rural economy. Lack of opportunities for the processing of agricultural land, lack of agricultural machinery, and limited opportunities to use advanced technologies in agriculture largely due to small sizes of farms, as well as lack of employment

opportunities contributed to migration processes to a larger extend compared to the capital city and other urban areas. Concentration of business activities in the capital city, especially in the field of construction and services, pushed out labor force from rural areas first of all. However, in Armenia there are no net migration-gain regions. Meantime, emigration outflows are stronger from the regions with higher than average unemployment rates – Gegharkunik, Shirak, Lori and Aragatsotn (see also Table 4.1). Some justification and more details in regard of regional disparities are presented below.

The internal labor markets in Armenia have very unique characteristics. This is explained by the following factors[27]

- different speed of reforms across different marzes,
- imbalanced investment activities,
- geographical locations and differences in demand

Even within one region more specific areas can be identified as separate labor markets and will have different characteristics of the workforce. The same logic applies to the demand for different specialists in every region and in urban/rural areas within the region.

Wages are also different across the country. The World Bank 2007 study on Labor Market Demand shows that wages in Yerevan and in Kotaik marz are on average 1.7 times higher than in the lowest-paid regions in Armenia. This is explained by differences in workforce and job characteristics.

Labor mobility across marzes is limited because of high transportation costs and in many rural areas even because of the lack of regular transportation. There are significant differences in rental apartment prices in different regions which in turn also restricts internal

[27] Armenia: Labor Market Dynamics, World Bank 2007.

migration. And last, but not least, is the fact that specific areas require specifically adjusted skills.

Given that labor migration from Armenia was mainly motivated by the lack of domestic employment opportunities, the ILO 2010 study on Labor Migration from Armenia in 2008-2009 tried to seek explanations to regional differences in migration activity in the regional indicators of economic activity and unemployment. The authors found that regions with higher than country average economic activity (i.e. with higher than average percent of able-bodied population employed or actively looking for employment vs. those not looking for jobs) and with higher than country average unemployment rates (i.e. with higher than average percent of the unemployed in the economically active population) would be showing higher migration activity. (ILO 2010: Labor Migration From Armenia In 2008-2009: Labour Migration Trends And Insight Into Migration Experiences in Armenia).

Nonetheless, the data collected by ILO suggested that it may not help to fully explain the situation. Thus, Table 4.1 shows that although in Lori and Shirak (the two regions with the highest migration activity) the unemployment rates were also found to be highest in the country (respectively every second and every third economically active person being unemployed), in all other regions with higher than average migration rates (Aragatsotn, Gegharkunik and Syunik), the unemployment rates were significantly lower than the country average. In contrast, Tavush, Kotayk and Vayots Dzor, where the recorded unemployment rates were higher than the country average of 24.2%, were among regions with the lowest migration rates.

Considering the available data, the appropriate conclusion would be that the migration activity is not influenced directly and/or solely by the access of general population to local labor markets but by other factors

as well, unobservable by the current survey. Such factors may include but not be limited to the type of jobs available in the local labor markets (e.g. relative proportion of seasonal or odd jobs vs. permanent employment), the sectors and industries providing most of jobs, the requirements for available jobs (particularly as to the age, level of education and work experience), the wage levels as well as factors unrelated to the local labor markets, such as established migration patterns in every particular case. Also, most of the regions with a border with Azerbaijan are not considered as attractive ones to stay for security purposes.

The following description of life of those left behind in the Gegharkunik marz is very descriptive of the situation in the highest migration-loss marzes. With an estimated 17,000 to 20,000 of the region's residents migrating abroad each year to find work, Gegharkunik marz has the highest rate of labor migration in Armenia more than 8 percent of its total population of 243,000, according to the National Statistical Service. The Soviet-built industrial plants that once offered area residents an opportunity to earn an alternative living have long since been closed and farming is not profitable in the region's 49 highland villages. Gayane Abrahamyan and Justyna Mielnikiewicz in their article "Armenia: A Woman's World in One Mountain Village" describe women's life in the village of Dzoragyugh in Gegharkunik marz. "Ninety-eight percent of the village's male population --nearly half of its population of 5,000 people -- has migrated abroad in search of work. Those residents left behind jokingly call their village "a women's club," a place where women do everything – plough fields, raise children, officiate at funerals and somehow, through sheer grit, try to hold their fragmented families together." Most of these migrants, overwhelmingly men, return each autumn, but some simply vanish. Accidents, often at construction sites, frequently claim lives; Russian

women pose another threat, assert some of Dzoragyugh's left-behind wives. (http://www.eurasianet.org/node/63019).

POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN NET MIGRATION LOSS/GAIN REGIONS

To present social exclusion in Armenia by region, the UNDP social exclusion index calculation methodology[28] and respective calculations are used. Those calculations are fueled from the data collected by the CRRC-Armenia throughout 3,200 households equally distributed among 11 marzes of Armenia within the UNDP-Armenia Social Cohesion project. The Social Exclusion Index for marzes[29] showed interesting results:

- Yerevan shows the lowest level of exclusion, while Gegharkunik the highest
- Kotayk is the second least excluded region.
- Syunik and Shirak show quite similar rates of exclusion.
- Ararat and Lori is another pair with very close rates of exclusion.
- Aragatsotn, Tavush and Vayots Dzor form another group with similar exclusion rates.
- Armavir shows high headcount of exclusion.

Ranking (from 1-12) of marzes is presented in Table 4.2. The data from Table 4.3 show clearly that the regions, which are poor from an

[28] Deprivations are expressed in terms of 24 indicators – eight indicators for each of the three dimensions of social exclusion. The first dimension – economic exclusion – indicators reflect deprivation in incomes and basic needs; employment, financial services and material assets; amenities that households need but cannot afford; and dwelling size. The second dimension – exclusion from social services – encompasses education and health services, as well as public services of utilities. The third dimension – exclusion from civic and social life – covers deprivation in political, cultural and social networks, as well as reflects diminished opportunities for social and civic participation. See: more at
http://europeandcis.undp.org/poverty/socialinclusion/show/42657151-F203-1EE9-BD91C886217E49BA.

[29] Mihail Peleah was responsible for the calculations and main findings.

economic point of view, experience more social exclusion because of being more excluded from social/public services and from participation in civic and social life.

IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON VULNERABLE GROUPS

While many researchers have analyzed who migrates and what causes migration, there were very few studies of the effects of this migration on vulnerable social groups. It is assumed that since a family of migrants in general gains from the process of migration, then women, children, or elderly members of the family should do as well. The evidence shows that high male out-migration does not lead to modifications in the structure of family. The changes in the family structure in Armenia were studied based on the results of the Sociological Survey of Households. In the opinion of the respondents, temporary migration of the family member does not significantly affect the family structure, namely – they support the opinion that the number of children and married couples would be the same if there was no migrant in the family. It is true if we consider that the majority of migrants are 41-50 year-old married males. In case with younger migrants, short-term migration does not really affect their decision to get married and have children. In fact, this happens quite frequently – family members stay in Armenia, while the migrant works abroad for a specific period of time. The highest cost a migrant pays in this case is losing his social network – many migrants' families mention that due to migration they visit and contact their relatives and friends less frequently. (Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005: A Sociological Survey of Households - Chapter: Chapter 5: Causes and consequences of labor migration). As we see, the migration does have a high "social cost" in terms of family ties and relations. The analysis below shows the direct impact of migration on individual social groups.

WOMEN

Most migrants in Armenia are men. It can be explained by patriarchal attitudes in the country, with a man expected to work, while a woman takes care of children. The high demand for male migrants in construction and agriculture in Russia is an additional argument to explain the high share of Armenian men in recent temporary movements. In 2005, a community survey and a survey of 1,040 rural married women was conducted in 52 rural areas in Ararat and Tavush provinces of Armenia. The main purpose of the survey was to observe the impact of the men's labor migration on their families and economic conditions. The survey revealed considerable differences between two groups of women in likelihood of having engaged in collective activities with other village women: women married to migrants were significantly more likely than women married to non-migrants to have engaged in collective work in the fields, in selling produce in markets, making preserves for winter, and being involved in children's afterschool activities. While the intention to move internally was somewhat more prevalent among women married to non-migrants, women married to migrants were much more likely to want to move abroad. Through in-depth interviews the authors (Agadjanian, Sevoyan, Menjivar)[30] found that women's migration aspirations and expectations are conditioned by a variety of constraints of personal and family nature. However, it is important to stress that from women's perspective, a major issue is not financial, social or psychological costs of moving. One of their main concerns is about prolonged separation from their husbands that migration engenders. This concern has both emotional and practical aspects: on the one hand, the woman realizes that because of migration she loses the company of her husband and lacks sexual

[30] Victor Agadjanian, Arusyak Sevoyan, and Cecilia Menjivar, Reshaping the Post-Soviet Periphery: The Impact of Men's Labor Migration on Women's Lives and Aspirations in Rural Armenia (http://paa2007.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=71032)

intimacy, at the same time she is worried that extended absence of her husband might lead to disruption of their marriage, and lead to termination of financial support for her and her children.

Besides the psychological impact, there is also a health impact of migration on migrants' wives. Labor migration has been shown to increase STD/HIV risks of migrants and to contribute to the spread of infection to areas of migration origin. A representative survey of over 1,200 married women in thirty villages of Gegharkunik province of Armenia conducted in 2007 served as a base for a study that observed STD/HIV risks of rural married women in Armenia, caused by the temporary labor migration of their husbands. The study examined STD/HIV risks of rural married women in Armenia stemming from their husbands' seasonal labor migration abroad (primarily to Russia). The survey sample included equal shares of women married to migrants and women married to non-migrants. The study showed that each additional year of the husband's migration in the three years preceding the survey increases the odds of women having been diagnosed with at least one STD in the same time period by 80 percent. Moreover, in the case of number of symptoms, being married to a current migrant increases the odds of having an additional STD symptom by about 18 percent ($p \leq 0.01$).[31]

CHILDREN

Another factor forcing the decision of working abroad is the need for financial resources for some additional projects. For example, these would be the cost of educating children - hiring a tutor, covering university fees or the need to support children who moved to another town within Armenia in order to further their education, wedding

[31] Sevoyan, Arusyak, and Victor Agadjanian. 2010 "Male migration, women left behind, and sexually transmitted diseases in Armenia", p. 12
(http://www.asu.edu/clas/ssfd/cepod/working/CePoD_WP_2009_102.pdf).

expenses, the purchase or renovation of a flat/house, start-up expenses for own businesses, etc. It is interesting to know that every fourth migrant needed some cash for renovation of the house and every fifth migrant had to pay for education of children, or purchase some durable goods, like equipment and furnishings for the house.

A key reason that brings working migrants back to their homes are their families. These groups of migrants could not live any longer without their families and also did not have the opportunity to take them to host countries. However, some of those who had taken their families, preferred to return as they *"would not like children to grow up in Russia: alcoholism, drugs – it is not safe for them. Besides this, children attend Russian schools and do not have the opportunity of learning to read and write in their native language"*(Migration and Development Armenia Country Study, *ILO 2009*). Migrants to Moscow are rather matching the resident population, since most of them know Russian. Majority of Armenian children born in Moscow lose their mother tongue. The solution to the problem is the situation when a migrant does not take the family and children abroad. This, in turn, has a negative effect on the psychology of the child. Expert interview with Garik Sahakyan, a Deputy Head of the State Employment Agency of Armenia, revealed that children raised without paternal attention experience a psychological trauma, feel less secure, have difficulties with discipline and are behind in achievements in school.

THE ELDERLY

Armenia is a country where there are traditionally large families composed of several generations. The main reason for that is harsh socio-economic environment in the country and low-level of state social support to the elderly people. The adult population takes care of their elderly, who in turn support the family while taking care of children and performing some household duties. In this context the internal and

external migration creates a new social group of 'elderly orphans' and gives rise to a new emigration trend, the 'migrating grannies', who follow their children abroad in order to resume their family role and help their children with child and domestic care.

But mostly the elderly household members were found to considerably strengthen the possibility of temporary migration. They seem to play a supportive role in caring for children and in performing household duties while younger household members are away for work. On the contrary, Garik Sahakyan says, elderly people in migrant families are hesitating in receiving any health support or care they need – they cannot abandon the role of caregiver to become care receivers.

After the land privatization in rural regions due to the lack of machinery all agricultural work became rather labor-intensive, and since younger family members migrate abroad, the burden of agricultural work is transferred to elderly people. Quite often they physically cannot take this responsibility and as a result many fields are abandoned in rural areas.

POST-CONFLICT REFUGEES AND IDPS

The Armenian legislation grants all refugees and naturalized persons the right to protection and assistance. However, the living conditions of most refugees have not improved. Most conflict-induced refugees are isolated in particular areas, mainly in the capital Yerevan and in Syunik, Tavush and Gegharkunik provinces (Internal displacement, IDMC, 2009, p. 78). Among IDPs only a few were capable of purchasing a home, so many are still in need of shelter. Unemployment among post-conflict refugees and IDPs is about three times higher than among local residents. Presumably, this category of population is below the level of extreme poverty.

Addressing issues of an adequate shelter for these people became the main concern of the Government. Donor organizations have also been actively involved in solving the housing problems of IDPs. Particularly, the UNHCR and Norwegian Refugee Council renovated many dormitory buildings that were then available for privatization (Refugees and displaced persons in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, PACE Doc. 10835 of 6 February 2006, p. 5.).

After the situation in the conflict zone stabilized, many IDPs went back to their homes, where they unfortunately do not get enough access to health or education services because of weakened infrastructure or destroyed buildings. These factors together with limited employment opportunities discourage many other IDPS from homecoming[32].

Today there are many international agencies that are involved in the poverty issues resolution in border areas but none of them is providing assistance and protection to IDPs. Long-term solutions could be provided if issues like housing, access to farmland and increased employment opportunities are addressed. Specific regional development programs are needed to boost economic development of bordering areas in the country (Parliamentary Assembly. Doc. 11942. 8 June 2009. APPENDIX. Summary, 4 8 May 2009).

REINTEGRATION OF IDPS AND REFUGEES

The Government of Armenia has given priority to integration of refugees and IDPs. The key priority for the Government is managing the return of the IDP families to their permanent residence. Unfortunately, so far there are no special regulations for the protection of IDPs in Armenia. The Law on Protection of Population in Emergency Situations covers only natural or human-made disasters and excludes displacement

[32] "Internal displacement: Global Overview of trends and developments in 2008", IDMC and Norwegian Refugee Council, May 2009, p. 78.

as a result of conflicts and human rights violations. The Armenian Government views conflict-induced IDPs as normal citizens who have the same constitutionally-guaranteed rights as other citizens. The problem of IDPs has been shadowed by the needs of the greater number of refugees from Azerbaijan and IDPs from the earthquake zone. The Government support to this group has been limited and most assistance has come through general poverty alleviation and welfare programs, which do not acknowledge internal displacement among entitlement criteria.

There has been no specific national attention to IDPs and little information on their numbers and needs. The 2000 visit of Dr. Francis Deng, the Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, prompted the Government to pay greater attention to conflict-induced IDPs, but this happened over a ten years after their displacement and has not resulted in any significant improvement in their situation. Following this visit, the Government proposed several programs to help conflict-induced IDPs and others in return areas, but none has been implemented due to financial constraints. The most recent one was meant to help 626 internally displaced families return to their homes, as well as to assimilate returnees and conflict-victim families and to restore infrastructure in the areas of return. Foreign donors were not willing to contribute to these programs in the absence of resources allocated by the Government. (Armenia: Need to monitor, 2010, p.7).

That IDPs are not well defined in national legislation of Armenia causes misconception about their position and status. Some IDPs have been placed in the border zone under the program "Post-conflict rehabilitation of bordering territories of the Republic of Armenia", adopted by the Government of Armenia in 2008. Nevertheless, the Government needs 45 million USD donor aid to be able to solve

housing problems for the refugees and IDPs that have been temporarily placed in community centers, plus another 38.5 million USD to arrange the homecoming of 1,005 families to their permanent residence in the border areas (Parliamentary Assembly. Doc. 11942, 2009. Report. Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population. Point 47).

So it is clear that returned migration is reinforced with the circumstance that the Government, public organizations and international organizations pay little attention to the problems of returnees. According to their conviction (all three groups of migrants) the Government does not deal with their reintegration issues in a proper way. Representatives of local authority and the community understand them to some extent. In this sense, refugees' situation is quite different. In this case, the Government, local authorities, and especially international organizations, local NGOs provided great support and assistance, as well as humanitarian aid to refugees. It is not the same in case of returnees. In fact, nobody dealt with their problems sufficiently (Reintegration. ASA DRC, Yerevan, 2005, pp.20-21).

Nevertheless, the Government has taken some relevant measures. In some border areas the Government has enhanced drinking water systems, modernized houses and restored irrigation systems. Some IDPs living in temporary shelters received land and shelter in border areas under this program. (Decision of Government of Armenia, 5 November 2004). The State Migration Service in the Ministry of Territorial Administration was taking care of all issues for all those affected by forced displacement in 2010.

The housing purchase certificate model was successfully piloted in Armenia by USAID/ Urban Institute and turned into a large program that provided permanent housing for more than 6,000 earthquake-displaced IDPs and refugees. Through its technical assistance program, the USAID transferred the housing purchase certificate model to the

Government of Armenia, which was a successful method of addressing housing needs of remaining earthquake-displaced, refugee or other families in housing need. In 1998, the World Bank commissioned the Urban Institute along with partners (the Institute for Urban Economics Moscow and the Center for Policy Analysis at the American University of Armenia, Yerevan) to develop a new strategy to address the lingering problem of displaced people resulting from the massive 1988 earthquake. A high rate of mass departure during the 1990s, national lodging privatization, and general absence of demand for housing caused by a stagnated economy resulted in the excess of permanent housing supply. It was supposed to be reallocated to the needy households through such market mechanisms like housing purchase certificates. Needless to tell that in this case the housing would cost much less, than if acquired through new construction. (Anlian, Steven J.,)

The families that were housed in trailers and temporary shelters were qualified for shelter assistance, and the certificates were used to both provide permanent housing and clear the site for future development. Later, the housing purchase certificate model was used based on a housing waiting list approach.

Beneficiary satisfaction surveys conducted immediately after completion of the construction showed a high satisfaction rate by residents. The Armenian Government is aware of the need to help families that lost their housing during the earthquake and were not able to rebuild or purchase new ones. With fairly modest grants, 664 housing units were brought to a reasonable level of completion so the assigned families could finally inhabit them. Many houses were converted to "duplexes" for two families in order to increase cost effectiveness ("Armenia Housing Study" H. Stepanyan, A. Varosyan, Habitat for Humanity, Armenia, 2010, p.38-40).

STATE POLICY RESPONSES

Unfortunately, Armenia has not yet implemented a comprehensive migration policy that would enhance the economic benefits of migration for the country, assess the benefits and losses from migration flows, discover their causes, promote desirable and prevent undesirable migration flows, and rely on clearly-defined objectives and priorities. Different state agencies (with many overlapping functions) are responsible of managing and supporting migration flows (see Annex 3).

Experts vary in their opinions about the state policy on migration. Some believe that current policy contains threats to the national security and State interests. Some others think that it does not ensure the RoA citizens' right to free movement hindering implementation of the internationally adopted norms on a) protection of human rights and b) providing shelter for humanitarian purposes, which in its turn makes the country less attractive for organizing and providing business, education, health and other services. In any case the current policy is far from the international norms yet. Meantime the third group of experts thinks that the current liberal policy does not have any other alternative because of the limited inventory of officially regulating emigration, and because of regulating immigration is unnecessary due to low number of immigrating foreigners. At the same time almost all of them share the opinion that Armenia needs such a system and policy on migration regulation that will diminish the current negative impact of the migration processes and will instead direct these processes towards the development of the society.

On 20 July 2011, President of Armenia Serj Sargsyan invited a special round table to discuss the current migration policy. "Migration in Armenia has a pronounced seasonal pattern during the year, which is almost exactly preserved during the last 10 years. In January-May there is mostly departure, in June there is a large number of arrivals, during the remaining summer months and in September the number of those

who depart dominates, and by the end of the year again sharply increases the number of arrivals. That is, at the beginning of the year the part of the population of our country leaves to work abroad, mainly to the CIS countries, and returns to the end of the year," said Sargsyan. (http://www.azatutyun.am/content/article/24271294.html. Accessed on 20.10.2011).

According to the President, the population census can provide the exact statistical data on migration flows and the permanent population in Armenia. "The main factor that concerns us is the negative difference of the leaving and entering citizens. That is, during a year more leave than enter. In 2000, around 57 thousand people did not come back to Armenia, in 2001 - 60 000 people, but already by 2004-2006 a positive balance was recorded. The number of people who did not return to Armenia in the last few years is 23-29,000 people," noted the President. Sargsyan also noted that the only factor that can completely eliminate the negative migration balance is "to create conditions in the country for which people are leaving the country ... there is no other way. Until then, we must take steps in the direction of the suspension of the process."

In its Concept Paper on the Policy of the State Regulation of Migration in the RoA, which was adopted by the Government of Armenia in December 2010, the State Migration Service admits that "the experience of recent years has demonstrated that the RoA state system of migration regulation along with the political approaches, as well as the former institutional and administrative mechanisms, was incapable of effectively solving the migration problems faced by the RoA" (Concept Paper for the Policy of State Regulation of Migration in the Republic of Armenia – approved by the RoA Government, Protocol Decision #51 dated 11, 30, 2010). This statement is not striking given that the State Migration Service has about thirty employees and no

budget for the implementation of a proactive migration policy. To fill this gap the State Migration Service cooperates with the international donor community. But, according to the State Migration Service, this approach is not effective, because each donor organization is promoting its specific agenda.

Armenia tries to resolve this situation by negotiating with the European Union regarding the Mobility Partnership program, which would establish between them joint management of migration flows. The activities proposed within the framework of the partnership aim at developing a more beneficial environment for people's mobility and legal migration, specifically including measures such as building Armenia's capacity in migration management, raising the awareness of migrants and returnees, assisting the latter to reintegrate and providing protection. Mobility Partnership is essentially a tool for a practical dialogue and cooperation between the EU, its members and Armenia.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF CIRCULAR MIGRATION

It is clear that main labor migration flows from Armenia are oriented to Russia. There are no special visa regimes between Armenia and Russia. Besides, travel expenses to Russia are cheaper, compared to travel to European countries. Knowledge of the Russian language by Armenian migrants and cultural similarities also make Russia a more attractive destination point. Those migrants who leave for Russia (and particularly for Moscow) can more freely move and repeatedly return for their personal affairs. (Poghosyan G.,Berlin, 2009, # 3, 61-80 pp.). Circular migration seems desirable from the points of view of both Armenia and Russia, as Russia will receive labor and skills, while Armenia will benefit from remittances sent by these people and from the returning skilled migrants. Circulation and return are an integral part of the whole process of development, and are driven by developments in

home and host countries. Such circular and temporary migration can be managed to promote the development in Armenia.

Return migration has proved to be perhaps the most difficult dimension of an already problematic field in which to measure, as well as to assess, the impact. The absorption of large numbers of returning migrants into Armenian economy, where unemployment is high, is difficult. Skills learnt in Russia and abroad may not be relevant to life at home.

Thus, over time, it can be expected that the circulation is gradually transformed to more permanent migration, which may eventually undermine the Armenian society by removing a greater proportion of its productive and reproductive capacity. Systems of circulation are subject to 'leakage' as family members stay longer in destination countries, perhaps because they marry someone they met there or because they have secured employment with attractive longer-term prospects.

The cumulative nature of migration, with initial migrants encouraging siblings and other relatives to join them, is an integral part of this process. Hence, its ultimate impact may be the disintegration of the community and depopulation (Temporary and circular migration, 2011, working paper no.35, pp. 56-57).

There are several intergovernmental agreements signed by the Government of Armenia regulating the free movement of the labor from countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Among recent agreements could be mentioned those with the Russian Federation, and with the Republic of Qatar. In particular Qatar is interested in the Armenian professionals specialized in the sectors of healthcare, engineering, architecture and technologies.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF RETURN MIGRATION AND SUPPORT TO INTEGRATION OF RETURNEES

After returning to homeland from foreign countries the returnee finds himself in an absolutely different environment and therefore looks for ways to go back. It is obvious that for the returnees the reintegration process into the contemporary Armenian society lasts rather long and contains some difficulties. At present, certainly, the situation in the country has greatly improved. However, there still exist stimulating factors in society, which made persons leave the country in the past. Besides, once left, they lost contacts, links, i.e. the so-called social capital. During their absence the events developed rapidly and upon the return it became quite difficult for them to find their place in the society. All this concerns the social-psychological context of reintegration. Before leaving the country many of them had sold their apartments and other items of property, meaning that return was not inherently planned.

Table 6.1 provides a detail description of the voluntary return and deportation of Armenian citizens from abroad during 2004-2009 (Migration And Human Development, UNDP, Armenia 2010).

Many problems connected with reintegration of returnees in Armenia are caused by the discrepancy between their expectations and the reality they find back in Armenia. The biggest problems that the returnees come across in Armenia include unemployment, low wages and low chances for professional growth. This mostly applies to younger migrants who study abroad and return to Armenia after graduation. Most of them consider that there are very few jobs available that match their skills and knowledge and that, most importantly, employers in Armenia do not see the need for this type of labor (Return Migration to Armenia, OSCE, 2008, p.64).

To avoid such dreary picture the provision of reintegration assistance for citizens returning to Armenia is extremely important. In order to

receive back the RoA citizens who reside in foreign countries without legal grounds the Government of Armenia signed readmission agreements with more than a dozen European countries (including Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, Lithuania and Bulgaria).

The following joint programs on return and reintegration are currently being administered in Armenia:

The "Return Assistance Program for RoA Nationals from Switzerland" conducted since 2004 by efforts of Federal Office for Migration (FOM) of Switzerland, Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency as well as Migration Agency of Ministry of Territorial Administration of RA also witnesses it (www.dmr.am). Owing to this program no person *who returned from Switzerland had departed from Armenia within more than* four years. The aim of the "Return Assistance Program for RoA Nationals from Switzerland" is to organize return and further reintegration on place of those RoA citizens residing in Switzerland whose applications for asylum submitted to Swiss authorities have been rejected (See 6.6 for more information).

In November 2005, the "Return to Origins" program of the French-Armenian Development Foundation in Armenia, the National Agency for Receiving of Foreigners and Migration of the Government of France, and the Armenian Association of Social Aid in France was launched. Since the start of the program more than 400 persons have made a decision to return to Armenia to start a new life.

The "Stable Reintegration after Voluntary Return" programme of Armenian CARITAS and the Government of Belgium and International CARITAS of Belgium funds around thirty returnees annually.[33]

The "Support of migration policy development and forming of correspondent potentials in Armenia" programme is sponsored by the

[33] http://www.caritasarm.am/index.php/en projects-migration-a-integration migration-a-integration

British Council of Armenia, the Migration Agency of the RoA Ministry of Territorial Administration, and the International Centre of Human Development with the support of the European Union.

"People in Need" in Armenia holds a project that provides funding for new start-up businesses by returnees. Since its launch in 2009, the project funded the development of twenty new businesses for returnees. Together with the Armenian State Employment Service Agency it established three resource centers and trained one hundred returnees. The trainings, which take two to three months depending on the subject, are co-funded by the Government of Armenia.[34]

Some actions towards reintegration and attraction of repatriates were also taken by the Armenian Government and different Ministries. The Armenian Government adopted a special programme for returning migrants. Point twenty-five of the "Priority Tasks for 2011 of Government of Armenia" included upholding the process of repatriation. Particularly:

- organizing public events and presenting TV-Radio documentary materials on the life of those who returned to Armenia.
- Preparing and launching programs to increase awareness about possibility and conditions of repatriation through Armenia's diplomatic missions[35].

In 2009, a special program "Ari Tun" was successfully launched by the Ministry of Diaspora. Within the framework of the program young people from Diaspora visit Armenia and stay in a host family for a few weeks. They get to learn Armenian culture, history and traditions through attending public events and visiting national parks, museums and historical monuments. One of the major goals of the program is establishment of relationship between Diaspora youth and the

[34] http://www.migrant.am s . assessed on the 29th of June, 2011.
[35] http://www.gov.am u_files file home_files MAR-111-eng.pdf

Homeland. Through this programme in 2009-2010 visits of over 900 Diaspora Armenian youth from 26 countries were organized.

A special web-page (www.backtoarmennia.com) was created by the Migration Agency of the RoA Ministry of Territorial Administration. Visiting this page potential returnees from foreign countries will be able to get information on the issues of return and reintegration to Armenia as well as receive trustworthy answers to their questions directly through internet connection.

Also, for the implementation of return and reintegration of returnees the special assistance package was elaborated by the Migration Agency of the RoA Ministry of Territorial Administration. The return and reintegration assistance package includes:

- Obtaining, changing and registering documents;
- Job placement;
- Social assistance issues;
- Health protection issues;
- Education issues;
- Issues connected with military service.

Each of these state programs is very important and useful but more programs need to assist those who already decided to return, while Armenian society needs to elaborate the return and reintegration programs for those Armenians who still are working abroad and not yet considering repatriation.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

In its 2008-2012 program, the RoA Government assumes proportional territorial development and active demographic policy as a primary objective and recognizes the need to direct public policy instruments to prevent migration from high mountainous and border regions as well as trying to slow down emigration from the country.

This should mainly be achieved through business and infrastructure development projects.

The RoA National Security Strategy (NSS) states that the country infrastructure is underdeveloped: there is a need for improvement of supplementary roads, communication networks and water mains, particularly in border areas, since the lack of all this brings forward issues of the national security in the country (Section 1, Paragraph 3). The NSS takes note of the gap between Yerevan and other marzes, as well as Yerevan and other urban and rural settlements, indicating that disproportionate territorial development raises problems for the country's internal stability, contributes to undesirable outflow of the population from less developed regions and to their concentration in the capital. For these considerations, the NSS envisages restraining the further growth of the current sharp disparities by means of developing and implementing a targeted territorial policy that will ensure accelerated development of the lagging territories. It foresees the extension of activities targeted at the improvement of the infrastructures of education, health care and cultural institutions in remote areas and increased access to services delivered by them.

The RoA General Resettlement Plan (GRP) declares the border areas as territories that require specific regulations for further economic evolution by viewing the elaboration of the priorities of their territorial organization in connection with the resettlement of the whole of the RoA territory and the principles of territorial organization. In particular, it recommends a priority development system for border areas that have underdeveloped urban system development possibilities, which means expansion of rural areas, revival of abandoned settlements, and necessity of cooperation between the settlements, which will lead to joined resource exploitation. But in any case this document does not

analyze the state of disproportionate resettlement of border regions in direct relationship with migration processes.

The RoA 2011-2015 State Education Development Program (EDP) ensures access to education to all RoA nationals in accordance with their objectives and abilities as a main concern in the area of education (Section 2, Paragraph 9). The 2008-2015 Pre-school Education Reform Strategy Programme approved by the RoA Government in 2008 (PSESP) plans a raise in enrolment of pre-school children of 5-6 years of age to 90% by 2015 as a result of introduction of cost-effective education program. It gives priority to poor families and to communities, which do not have pre-school establishments. According to the EDP, access to high school is a serious challenge to small rural settlements in the area of general education. As a result of the new education reform this problem is going to be more urgent, since rural regions are not included in the high-school program. And since the rural regions are more vulnerable in terms of poverty, incurring additional costs for sending children to the nearest town to school will be a real challenge for many families. The quality professional education is among the main priorities of The Plan of Action of the RoA Ministry of Education and Science, since it contributes to elimination of territorial disproportionality and social inequality between different areas in the country (Paragraph 9).

The 2003-2015 Strategy for Mother-and-Child Health Care in the RoA states that although the immuno-prevention program was successfully implemented, there are still many problems to be addressed, particularly the development and implementation of safe injections policy and safe destruction of waste (Section 1, Paragraph 1.2, Point 2).

Another program has been launched recently and aims at balancing jobs between different areas of the country. The State Employment Service has a program for the reimbursement of costs involved in movement to a different location, which helps to implement a regionally balanced, uniform and effective employment policy through the regulation of local movement of labor force, thus helping to ensure employment in population centers in remote locations and border regions. Unfortunately, unemployed people do not seem to be willing to move from their current location because salaries paid by jobs offered are not sufficient for taking care of the family in a new location.

POLICIES TARGETING VULNERABLE GROUPS

Armenia adopted a new Law on Asylum and Refugees entered into force on 24 January 2009. It regularizes most aspects of admission and treatment of refugees in accordance with international standards, ensuring respect for the right to asylum while attending to national security issues.

UNHCR with its implementing partner, Mission Armenia (MA), keeps supporting 6,000 refugees from Azerbaijan living in communal centers in Yerevan and Kotayk marz, as well as Iraqi refugees. This group of refugees is considered extremely vulnerable, since most of them are confined to bed, elderly or disabled. Through well established mechanisms they receive basic social and health care assistance, social support and counseling[36].

On 24 October 2005, the Law of the Republic of Armenia on Employment of the Population and Social Protection in Case of Unemployment was adopted. It aims to generate full employment and more productive conditions for it.

[36] http://www.un.am/?laid=1&com=module&module=static&id=97

This law guarantees social protection, especially to unemployed persons from vulnerable groups in the labor market. Under this law, unemployed job seekers who receive a pension for long-term service or a pension under special terms can have the chance to participate in a program of professional training, thanks to which they will get necessary skills and expertise to choose appropriate work, including the option of going into business.

Qualified unemployed and disabled that wish to start a business can receive funding from The State Employment Agency for registration as a private entrepreneur or commercial organization. This will promote entrepreneurship and may boost the number of people willing to have their own businesses. The following social groups benefit: the unemployed, refugees, migrants, the disabled, young people and women (especially those in charge of supporting their families).

Among the programs being implemented by the State Employment Service one might single out the program involving wage compensation to assist job placements for vulnerable groups in the labor market (the State Employment Service reimburses 50 per cent of the wage set by the employer, but no more than the minimum monthly wage). The program helps to promote work, ensure employment and implement a just social policy according to the principle of social partnership.

Each year, the Ministry of Labor and Social Issues of the Republic of Armenia prepares an Employment Program and submits it to the Armenian Government for consideration. Employment Programs include both passive programs (unemployment benefits, consultations, etc.) and active programs (vocational training for the unemployed and disabled, wage compensation to assist job placements for vulnerable persons in the labor market, financial support to help the unemployed and disabled to set up their own businesses and become self-employed, organization of paid public work, etc.).

These programs may involve Armenian citizens returning from other countries as well as foreign citizens or persons without citizenship in accordance with the laws of the Republic of Armenia and the relevant international treaties.

BEST PRACTICES

One of the positive consequences of out-migration from Armenia is the fact that many of those Armenians who left abroad in the 1990s, have started to invest assets in the development of their homeland. Having got a good job or having started their own business abroad, particularly in Russia, many Armenians, who had left, have accumulated impressive assets in five to ten years. Initially, they helped their relatives who stayed at home by sending them money for living. Then they started to repair, upgrade and build new homes for relatives and for their families in their native towns and rural communities in Armenia.

Some time later Armenians that had migrated abroad began to invest in the economy and in social development sphere in their homeland. Kindergartens, schools, and health clinics were built, pipelines for drinking water in villages were constructed and many other things were done by charitable funds sent by Armenian migrants. The names of many Armenians, who left after the collapse of the Soviet Union to Russia and other countries, now are known throughout the republic. Among them are very wealthy people, occupying a prominent position in the Russian business sphere, such as Ruben Vardanyan, Ara Abrahamyan, Samvel Karapetyan, Mouradian brothers, Levon Hayrapetyan, and many others. In addition to them, there are many Armenian businessmen engaged in medium-size businesses. They are also engaged in charitable activities in Armenia, in their native towns and villages as a rule, but also investing in the development of private businesses. Very many cases are known, when small and medium-size businesses are started in Armenia with the means of citizens migrated

from the republic. In these cases the Armenian Government strongly promotes and facilitates the mobilizing of migrants' assets to the development of the country's economy. In 2006, the Government worked out a project for creating a special All-Armenian bank in Armenia, which will allow more efficient use of capital of the Diaspora in the development of the Armenian economy. The establishment of the All-Armenian bank is already underway in one of the small towns of the republic - in Dilijan, which is planned to be turned into a major financial center in Armenia.

In addition, in 1992 All-Armenian Fund "Hayastan" was set up in Armenia, which regularly and annually organizes charity telethons, collecting large sums of money from overseas Armenians, as well as from the RoA citizens. The fund spends impressive amounts (a few tens of millions of dollars as a rule) received from the charitable actions and private donations on the implementation of special social programs in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Apart from the work of the Pan-Armenian Fund "Hayastan", all the embassies and diplomatic missions of the RoA Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Ministry of Diaspora carry out constant and active economic activities with compatriots abroad. Thus, an active economic policy of the RoA Government of RA to attract funding of migrants and the Diaspora abroad is carried out mainly through those three formal structures: the Pan-Armenian Fund "Hayastan", the Ministry of Diaspora and the diplomatic missions of the RoA Ministry of Foreign Affairs abroad.

It should be added also the intensive activity of the Armenian Apostolic Church (AAC), which has its parishes in all the countries of the world where Armenians live. And this is about a hundred countries. Through the efforts of the AAC many Armenian communities and

separate foreign Armenians provide a solid financial aid to the construction and restoration of churches as well as libraries, schools, cultural institutions and much more.

Unfortunately, there are no statistic data that would measure an exact extent of financial investment received by the Republic from Armenian migrants. But it is obvious that these are large sums that are comparable to the state budget for science, education, culture and health.

The "Return Assistance Program for RoA Nationals from Switzerland" can be selected as the best model for the program assisting returnees. The aim of the "Return Assistance Program for RoA Nationals from Switzerland" is to organize return and further reintegration on place of those RoA citizens residing in Switzerland whose applications for asylum submitted to Swiss authorities have been rejected.

The program started on the basis of Memorandum "On Assistance Program for RoA Nationals in Switzerland" signed between the Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency and the Migration Agency of Ministry of Territorial Administration of the Republic of Armenia. The program was continued up to December, 2008. Returning citizens' development was implemented through the following directions:

1. Catch-up courses for minor children;
2. Training courses for adults;
3. Support in setting up a business company;
4. Job placement support;
5. Psychological counseling, social and medical assistance

Within the frameworks of the program twenty-two families consisting of fifty-two persons have returned from Switzerland. Six beneficiary families that had returned to Armenia have received loans for starting up business. These loans have been spent for mushroom

cultivation, cattle-breeding, soft furniture production, preservation and sale of fresh fruits. One person has got a job placement, three persons have completed computer courses, ten persons have passed medical examination and six minor children have taken intensive courses. All beneficiaries received psychological counseling. The program staff also helped them with obtaining documents, getting a disability group and receiving a pension. The "success stories" have been prepared for respective individuals.

Since April 2006, a new component has been included in the program: advisory assistance sub-program for persons returned to the RoA from European and CIS countries. This program allows receiving a qualified hot-line consultancy regarding migration-related issues. An information booklet has been produced for RoA citizens residing in Switzerland who are intended to return. Since due to the Program the number of the RoA citizens seeking asylum in Switzerland had sharply decreased, in 2008 it was decided to bring to life the following arrangements:

- find out which European authorities are competent for returning foreign citizens back to their countries;
  - present a program proposal to partner European authorities for implementation of the Swiss program model in a particular country;
- inform Swiss state authorities about importance and successful results of the Program and present it to European partner authorities;
- organize meetings with high officials of embassies of European countries in Armenia and keep them aware of importance and prescribed procedures of reintegration program;

- highlight the importance of the program at various international conferences;
- prepare the web-page titled "Return and Reintegration";
- provide the RoA citizens who returned from Switzerland with reintegration assistance in prescribed procedures.

KEY CHALLENGES OF THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF EMIGRATION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

Since February 2008, the world economic crisis has been affecting migrants' behavior and Armenian migration on the whole. Lay-offs and late wage payments, rising unemployment, industry declines, and cancellation of construction and other projects where migrants tend to congregate began with the onset of the global economic crisis. In 2009-2010, the Government of Russia reduced the labor quotas for migrants from CIS countries. As a result of this, many Armenians remained unemployed there causing a need to return. The economic crisis in Russia had just topped out in winter 2009, when the Armenian migrants, as a rule, left to spend the New Year holidays with their families. A large portion of migrants faced the crisis at home in Armenia. As a result, an indirect influence of the global crisis on the Armenian economy happened by means of remittance reduction from abroad, on the one hand, and by means of growth of an unemployment level in the republic, on the other.

The experts foresee in Armenia's future labor resource excesses and that people will have to search for work outside Armenia. It means that Armenia will supply labor force to other countries, as it will not be able to provide jobs to such a large number of workers. The recent UNDP Armenian National Report 2009 on migration stated that 200-300,000 Armenians will out-migrate from the republic in a near future.

Emigration profoundly affects domestic labor markets in Armenia through a variety of closely linked channels. It is taking place against a background of depopulation, a critical decline in fertility rates, and higher than average mortality rates (among adult males). Though it worsens the extant demographic imbalance, it also helps people cope with continuing economic hardships, limited jobs, and unemployment in the region. One obvious contribution is the increase in remittances that help reduce poverty.

Today, new migration processes are taking place in the country, in regulation of which the State still does not take an essential part. One such process is that of returning irregular Armenian migrants and their reintegration in the society. A "positive migration balance" of 1,200 people was reported for March 2009. Official statistics for January-May 2009 show about a forty percent fall in remittances against the same period in 2008. The same tendency continued in the first three months of 2010.

The temporary and seasonal nature of migrant flows is another feature; mainly as a result of geographical proximity, easy travel connections and visa-free entry to some countries temporary migration became a feasible option. It has been clear to many for some time that migration problems are not solved alone, separately in Armenia, similar to solving environmental problems. The problem of labor migration should be solved solely through common efforts of receiving countries and donor countries. There are countries with a low level of work opportunities and there are countries with high demand in labor resources. These factors create the need for redistribution of labor resources along with the issues regarding social inclusion, crime, and other problems that should be addressed in the origin and receiving countries.

POLICIES TO BE ADDRESSED BY DIFFERENT ACTORS

In Armenia there are fourteen outstanding issues related to migration problems. All these questions are included in a new Concept paper approved by the Government of Armenia. This was stated by the Deputy Director of the RoA Migration Service Irina Davtyan who further stated, "The Concept paper adopted at the end of last year will finally be approved in October 2011, after then the implementation of it will start. Among the key outstanding issues - housing for refugees from Azerbaijan and the solution of problem of labor migrants abroad." According to the Deputy Director, 94% of migrants from Armenia are located in Russia, the rest goes to work in Ukraine and Kazakhstan, and only a small part - to the U.S. and Europe (http://www.golosarmenii.am ru/20144 headlines/).

If Armenian policy-makers are serious about introducing temporary and circular migration policies, they will have to develop specific targeted policies and make provisions for the additional impact this would have on public services, perhaps in cooperation with local authorities and city councils (Temporary and circular migration, 2011, working paper no.35, p. 74). This transformation can be the result of a specific development policy. The current migration tends to be primarily short-term and over relatively short distances. Normally, it could be some cities and regions of Russia. Temporary and circular migrants from Armenia could fill low to medium-skilled job vacancies in certain seasonal and non-seasonal sectors, particularly in Russia. It is important that those contemplating circular migration policies design them in such a way as to both prevent the exploitation of workers and ensure that they return to Armenia, when their contracts end (Temporary and circular migration, 2011, working paper no.35, p. 75).

As migrants will move from Armenia for relatively short periods of time in order to achieve an objective set, the impact of migration will

likely be supportive for their families and local communities. An ideal model of the Armenian circular migration is that migrants act collectively as working groups rather than as individuals. In this approach the circular migration can be conceptualized as a form of organized exportation of the national labor force.

Central to the success of such schemes should be policies to protect citizenship rights of migrants in the host regions of Russia. Ideally, dual citizenship would go a long way towards resolving such issues. As is known, Armenia adopted dual citizenship by adding a special article (Article 13, amended on 26.02.2007) to the Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Armenia.

Migration is not adequately recognized in Armenia as a security or strategic issue. Numerous and varying issues within migration regulation are created when defining general policy as well as creating institutional conditions for its implementation. However, for Armenia it is important to balance the topics of emigration and immigration within a common policy framework.

Armenia needs balanced policy which reflects the realities of internal and external migration, draws on national interests, and is in accordance with the external commitments of the country. There is no agency that is responsible for Armenian migration policy development, implementation, coordination, or monitoring. The Migration Agency does not have a mandate to deal with the whole spectrum of migration issues. The same is true of the other state agencies with responsibilities in the framework of migration policies. It is necessary to distinguish between functions in the sector; to define the roles and responsibilities of each agency; and to introduce inter-agency coordination, collaboration, and common procedures for regulation of information flows.

Effective governance and prevention of irregular migration have been recognized as a target for the RoA strategy regarding national security. This means that the Republic of Armenia will participate in international programs and activities of reputable organizations regarding migration, as well as integration processes in this field both in Europe and in the CIS area. Some concrete steps have already been taken in this direction: a working group set up by the RoA Prime Minister has already developed a list of recommendations and presented it to the Government. Another working group affiliated to the RoA National Security Council has been created, which is working on migration reforms, and relevant responsibilities have been defined.

In economic development strategies, migration processes should be considered as developmental resources. An objective assessment of the effectiveness of a migration policy includes a positive shift in the migration balance, which means that citizens of Armenia actually move back to the country. The investment of the returnees in creating new employment opportunities, developing businesses and sharing new skills and technologies are still quite limited. It is already an imperative to develop a business- supportive environment, enhance legal and social justice in the country in order to reduce the pace of development of the new Diaspora and to ensure the return of migrants. Alleviation of urban areas from labor concentration and provision of employment opportunities in rural areas should become one of the most crucial axes of strategic business development programs.

The Government policies should focus on issues such as legislative regulation of labor migration and the state protection of the rights and legal interests of labor migrants. Issues of accepting and reintegrating returning migrants as well as prevention of emigration are very urgent. Activities of the employment agencies offering jobs abroad to Armenian citizens are not being regulated as they should be.

Armenia has not implemented a special state policy on investment attraction (with a differentiated approach for various cohorts of migrants and parts of the Diaspora) and the transfer of the migrants' experience, technologies, and knowledge. The international best practice suggests that such policies can be very helpful. And, obviously, it is necessary to harmonize the legislation regulating migration, education, economy and labor, and consider the relevant needs and issues.

The State policy should be directed towards assuaging migration dependence on one country through diversification of the capabilities of Armenian labor migrants, such as their knowledge of language, cultural compatibility, competitiveness of the labor force, and bilateral agreements on entry-exit, etc.

A first step to be considered is starting a liberalization visa regime with EU countries; developing and introducing the international standards for collection and analysis of data regarding migration; harmonizing the systems of the RoA entry visa and residence, by equally liberalizing the system and regulating the process of border crossing.

Fifty-five to sixty percent of out-migrants from the former Soviet republics stay within the borders of the CIS. Despite this fact, the governments of the CIS member and associated states never assembled their experts or scientists to give them concrete instruction in order to work out a common migration policy agreed on by each of the countries according to their interests.

Meanwhile the population itself, while not expecting constructive solutions from the authorities, made its own tracks to those places where it is hoped that in the future civilized routes will be developed. This happens largely irregular, and is therefore connected with losses,

exploitation, crime, and many other negative consequences. To avoid this, migration processes should be included into the civilized discourse and should be regulated by the countries involved, particularly within the framework of the CIS.

The temporary and seasonal nature of many flows is an important feature; mainly as a result of geographical proximity, easy travel connections and the visa-free entry to CIS countries temporary and circular migration became a feasible option. It has for a long time been clear that migration problems cannot be solved by one country only. There is a common migration space generated by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The problem of labor migration can be solved only by common efforts of receiving countries (Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine) and donor countries (Armenia, Georgia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova). The common migration space needs common regulation. So, redistribution of labor resources within the post-Soviet space causes many other issues of social inclusion, criminal, and other problems that should be addressed in the countries of origin and receiving countries.

Against this background, the establishment of a migration system between Armenia and Russia is recommended in which Armenians can easily leave for earnings in Russia a few times per year without particular problems and within an official agreement. For these purposes the following measures are important:

- Simplification of departure-entry for labor migrants within CIS countries. Special preferences for officially organized groups of labor migrants.
- Creation of international agencies on labor migration.
- Coordination and improvement of national legislation.
- Quotation of organized flows of labor migrants.

Total legal protection of labor migrants. High legislative responsibility of sending and receiving parties.

- , Maximum simplification and easing of money transfers through legal channels. The control and safety of them.

Countries like Armenia gain from "circular migration", receiving returnees who return with increased skills, knowledge and resources due to their stay abroad. For Armenia, migration and remittances represent a significant input into the developing economy. The returning workers have new skills as a result of the migration experience. At least some proportion of the workers actively put their new knowledge and skills to use and engage in some business at home. The money earned abroad allows for additional investments in Armenia. Additionally, workers transfer their money from abroad through the bank institutions.

Another wave of migration, especially of skilled workers is expected with the introducing of Blue cards by the EU.

Increasing labor outflows recently prompted the EU to open dialogue on migration with some destination countries in the CIS region. This dialogue is fundamental for the countries of the region to coordinate and effectively implement migration management. It is proposed by the EU to discuss the signing of a Mobility Partnership with Armenia in the near future. The mobility partnership deals explicitly with labor mobility and return migration within the notion of circularity (including illegal migrants, refugees, and border control). The better management of labor migration is a valuable policy option with mutual benefits for the CIS partners and destination countries. Armenia needs to work harder on pro-actively encouraging migrants to return, become entrepreneurs and create environments conducive to a more productive use of their skills, knowledge and savings at home.

For example, the Philippines government sees temporary labor migration as the foreign policy priority in both bilateral and regional trade negotiations. In the mid-seventies the Philippines government established control over the temporary contract workers flows by instituting a regulatory system overseeing the process (Alburo and Abella, 2002). The main message is that the government is trying to prevent its citizens from using unregulated channels to migrate. The Philippines example offers valuable conclusions for the Armenian case. The regulated circular migration regime could be developed and work for Armenia with real results.

Some countries already have well-developed systems to regulate entry of seasonal migrant workers to take up available jobs in certain seasonal sectors. For example, Germany's seasonal migrant workers program issues permits for seasonal work across the agriculture, hospitality and carnival sectors. The receiving countries, especially Russia, should attract seasonal migrant workers from Armenia based on the needs of national labor markets.

Migrant workers in low-skilled seasonal jobs risk being exploited by employers, and policy-makers need to introduce measures to prevent this. They should design policies to prevent exploitation of seasonal migrant workers. Another important point is that receiving countries should formulate effective mechanisms to ensure the return of seasonal workers.

The potential that circular migration has for developing countries of origin is clear in terms of the economic impact through remittances and in the return of skills and experience. Through the evaluation of existing temporary and circular migration policy it is possible to assess their impact on development. Armenia experiences the 'brain drain' when the educated labor force moves abroad. A system of 'brain circulation'

could go some way to compensate for that. The back-and-forth movement of skills workers would potentially contribute to Armenia by way of training the local population and sharing ideas and experience. For Armenia it will also be useful to develop the circular migration among the skilled labor force.

Circular migration would need to be facilitated and encouraged by policies protecting the residence and naturalization rights of migrants in their host countries. Losing accumulated rights associated with residence in a host country constitute a barrier to return.

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Annex 1: Tables

Table 1.1. Selected macroeconomic indicators, 1990-200

	1990	1991	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Nominal GDP. EUR bln	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.9	3.9	5.1	6.7	7.9	6.1
Nominal GDP EUR per capita	N/A	N/A	N/A	642	736	783	774	896	1222	1582	2086	2451	I885
Real GDP growth rate.	-	-	6.9	5.9	9.6	13.2	14.0	10.5	13.9	13.2	13.7	6.9	-14.2
Industry. % of GDP	30.2		24.3	25.2	23.2	22.6	22.5	22.1	21.7	17.2	15.0	13.3	13.8
Agriculture. % of GDP	15.K		40.7	23.2	25.6	23.5	21.5	22.6	19.1	I8.7	I8.3	16.3	16.6
Services, % of GDP	54.0		35.0	51.6	51.2	53.9	56.0	55.3	59.2	64.1	66.7	70.4	69.6
Inflation (CPI). %	7.8		176	-O8	3.1	1.1	4.7	7.0	0.6	2.9	4.4	9.0	3.4
Memorandum indicators"													
Population, min. aop	3.515		3.753	3.803	3.802	3.213	3.210	3.212	3.216	3.219	3.223	3.230	3238.O
Exchange rate. AMD/EUR				498.7	497.2	541.6	653.8	662.3	570.4	521.2	467.8	450,2	507.35

Source: NSS of RA www.armstat.arn Statistical Yearbooks for relevant years.

Table 1.2 Consolidated Budget of RA, as % of GDP*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008*	2009
Revenues and Official Transfers	21.2	19.1	20.1	20.1	22.2	22.4	22.9
Public Expenditures	19.2	17.5	18.6	18.1	20.2	22.7	29.9
Dcficit(-)/surplus (+) of consolidated budget	1.9	1.6	1.4	2.0	2.0	-0.3	-4.8

* Since 2008. the classification of the RoA State budget indicators has been implemented in line with the classification of the "Government Finances Statistics-2001" manual. Internal transfers between the RoA State and communities budgets are not included.
Source: NSS of RoA www.armstat.am Publications: "Finances Statistics of the RoA" for relevant years. year 2010. p. 9.

Table 3.1.1 Employment by sphere of economic activity in 2002-2009 (share of total, %)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Employed , total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Agriculture, hunting , forestry, fishing	45.3	45.9	46.9	46.2	46.2	46.0	44.1	45.6
Mining & quarrying	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.7
Manufacturing	10.7	10.3	10.3	10.4	10.1	9.4	8.5	7.7
Electricity, gas & water supply	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2
Construction	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.2	2.7	2.8	5.4	4.6
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles & personal household goods	8.8	9.2	9.5	9.9	9.7	9.6	10.1	9.6
Hotels & restaurants	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.1	1.1
Transport & communication	3.6	3.8	4.3	4.5	4.4	4.3	4.6	4.9
Financial intermediation	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.0
Real estate, renting & business activities	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.7	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.4
Public administration	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.6	3.2	3.4	3.6	3.7
Education	10.6	10.1	9.3	9.0	9.2	9.2	9.0	9.2
Health & social work	6.0	5.4	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.6	4.0	4.2
Community, social & personal services	3.8	3.9	4.1	4.4	3.7	3.8	3.3	3.1

Source: NSS of RA www.armstat.am "Statistical Yearbook of Armenia", year 2010, page 57, year 2007, page 55.

Table 3.1.3 Average Monthly Nominal Wages by RoA Marzes, 2009

	Nominal Wage,	Nominal Wage, ratio to
Yerevan	107,362	111.8
Aragatsotn	75,956	79.1
Ararat	76,363	79.5
Armavir	87,129	90.7
Gegharkunik	79,397	82.7
Lori	75,657	78.8
Kotayk	85,604	89.2
Shirak	74,354	77.4
Syunik	102,456	106.7
Vayots Dzor	72,523	75.5
Tavoush	70,598	73.5
RA average	96,019	100.0

Source: NSS of RoA www.armstat.am; "Labor market in the Republic of Armenia, 2005-2009, p.62. (http://www.armstat.am./file/article/trud_10_6.pdf)

Table 3.1.4. Poverty Incidence among Sample Household Members (based on per adult equivalent population)

	Poverty Incidence, %				
Poverty Line, per day at PPT	US $1	US $1.5	US $2	US $3	US $4
	When remittances are included in total income of remittance-receiving HHs				
COUNTRY	2.7	6.7	12.6	29.6	45.1
Capital	1.2	3.2	5.5	17.1	31.5
Other Urban Areas	2.6	6	11.8	32	47.3
Rural Areas	4.3	10.5	20	39.6	56.6
	When remittances are excluded in total income of remittance-receiving HHs				
COUNTRY	7.5	13.3	20.7	38.8	54
Capital	4.3	7.2	10.8	22.4	36.5
Other Urban Areas	9.2	15	22.6	44.6	59.1
Rural Areas	9.2	17.7	28.8	49.9	66.8

Source: Remittances and Poverty in Central Asia and South Caucasus, 2008, December, p.59.

Table 3.1.5 Amount of Remittances to Armenia in 2001-2009, million EURO

	Workers' remittances	Migrants' transfers	Compensation of employees*	Diaspora transfers	Total	As % to:	
						Previous year	GDP
2001	4.22	-2.74	80.97	128.28	210.74	...	8.9
2002	3.82	-2.24	111.60	140.68	253.86	+20.5	10.1
2003	3.31	2.93	118.40	153.77	278.41	+9.7	11.2
2004	21.01	3.48	144.02	237.62	406.13	+45.9	14.1
2005	33.66	6.83	237.32	371.67	649.48	+59.9	16.5
2006	44.58	1.80	356.27	485.35	888.00	+36.7	17.4
2007	65.12	3.00	421.62	583.80	1073.53	+20.9	15.9
2008	76.55	2.78	516.66	696.69	1292.68	+20.4	16.3
2009	53.57	1.92	391.53	497.82	944.84	-26.9	15.4

* *Including border, seasonal and other workers*
Source: NSS of RoA www.armstat.am "Balance of Payment of Armenia"; years 2006, 2009, 2010, pp. 18-21.

Table 3.3.1 Poverty indicators in Armenia during the period 1999-2008 (% of total) [37]

	1999*		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008	
	Extremely poor	Poor	Extremely poor	Poor	Extremely poor	Poor	Extremely poor	Poor	Extremely poor	Poor	Extremely poor	Poor
Urban areas	....	....	7.5	36.4	5.3	30.7	5.0	28.2	4.6	24.7	3.9	23.8
Yerevan	24.8	58.4	6.1	29.2	3.6	23.9	3.5	21.0	3.2	20.0	3.2	19.7
Other urban	27.4	65.5	9.2	43.9	7.2	37.8	6.6	35.8	6.1	29.8	4.6	28.3
Rural	14.1	48.2	4.4	31.7	3.2	28.3	2.4	23.4	2.3	25.5	1.7	22.9
Total	*21.0*	*56.1*	*6.4*	*34.6*	*4.6*	*29.8*	*4.1*	*26.5*	*3.8*	*25.0*	*3.1*	*23.5*
Gini co-efficient (by income)	*0.57*		*0.395*		*0.359*		*0.369*		*0.371*		*0.389*	

Source: RoA Government www.gov.am Programs "Sustainable Development Program" (2008)
NSS of RoA www.armstat.am Publications: "Social Snapshot and Poverty", 2009 Statistical Analytical Report, pp. 29, 44.
*Calculated according to the methodology used since 2004.

[37] The indicators for 2008 in the upcoming text may differ from the once on this table due to methodology change in 2009 and recalculations of poverty indicators for 2008 for consistency purposes.

Table 3.3.2 Armenia: Durable goods lacked *(percent)*

	All children	Poor children	Extremely poor children
Refrigerator	17.6	44.2	58.0
Washing machine	18.9	37.5	66.3
Mobile phone	20.7	47.6	63.1
Vacuum cleaner	45.5	71.9	83.3
Video recorder	48.3	73.3	74.8
Photo camera	65.0	84.6	91.7
Audio system	68.0	82.6	90.2
Car	80.2	97.3	98.0
PC	83.5	96.6	98.8

Source: ILCS 2009x 2:

Table 4.1 Regional indicators of economic activity and labor migration rates*

Region	Urban areas			Rural areas			Total		
	Economic activity	Unemployment rate	Migration rate	Economic activity	Unemployment rate	Migration rate	Economic activity	Unemployment rate	Migration rate
Lori	80.7	55.1	14.9	65.9	40.6	17.8	74.3	49.6	16.1
Aragatsotn	68.5	21.9	10	76.2	10.9	10.1	74.4	13.3	10.1
Gegharkunik	63.7	24.1	8.6	76.7	9.4	10.6	71.4	14.7	9.8
Shirak	65.2	47.9	6.3	71.6	14.3	14.7	67.8	33.2	9.7
Syunik	76.3	16.9	8.6	80.5	12.4	9.9	77.7	15.4	9
Ararat	63.3	14.5	8	75.9	9	7.2	72.6	10.3	7.4
Yerevan	68.1	22.2	6.6	-	-	-	68.1	22.2	6.6
Tavush	69.6	40.9	5.2	78.4	24.9	6.2	74.8	31	5.8

Kotayk	63.7	35.2	4.5	61.6	22,2	5.3	62.8	29.6	4.8
Vayots Dzor	72.9	36.7	5.9	71.6	18.2	3.9	72.1	25.4	4.7
Armavir	68	37.6	3.3	75.6	7.6	4.4	72.6	18.7	3.9
Total	68.5	29.4	7.2	72.9	15.6	9.2	70.1	24.2	7.9

* Ratio of labor migrants to the total de jure population of ages 16 and above in each region.
Source: Labor Migration from Armenia in 2008-2009: Labor Migration Trends and Insight into Migration Experiences, ILO 2010, pp. 31-32.

Table 4.2. Ranking of marzez by Social Exclusion index for working set of k between 1 and 12

	Aragatsotn	Ararat	Armavir	Gegharkunik	Kotayk	Lori	Shirak	Syunik	Vayots dzor	Tavush	Yerevan
1	4	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	3	2	11
2	4	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	3	2	11
3	4	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	3	2	11
4	4	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	3	2	11
5	4	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	3	2	11
6	5	4	7	1	10	6	8	9	3	2	11
7	4	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	3	2	11
8	4	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	3	2	11
9	3	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	4	2	11
10	3	5	8	1	10	6	7	9	4	2	11
11	3	5	9	1	10	6	7	8	4	2	11
12	3	5	10	1	9	6	7	8	4	2	11

Note: marked cells shows ranking of marzez

Table 4.3. Drivers of social exclusion by Marz in Armenia, 2011

	Aragatsotn	Ararat	Armavir	Gegharkunik	Kotayk	Lori	Shirak	Syunik	Vayots dzor	Tavush	Yerevan
Economic exclusion	28.3	29.2	26.6	32.3	35.4	34.4	32.0	32.5	32.8	30.0	37.3
Exclusion from social public services	34.0	32.1	35.6	29.4	24.6	24.9	26.5	28.2	29.9	31.7	23.3
Exclusion from participation in civic and social life and networks	37.7	38.7	37.9	38.3	40.0	40.7	41.6	39.3	37.3	38.3	39.5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6.1. Voluntary Return and Deportation of Armenian Citizens from Abroad, 2004-2009, by Countries, persons*

	Total number of Armenian citizens who returned voluntarily	Total number of Armenian citizens who were deported
Argentina	5	
Austria	40	
Belarus	56	25
Bulgaria	168	75
Canada	20	
China		2
France	640	429
Georgia		1
Germany	1,307	187
Greece	35	
Israel	8	
Italy	4	79
Netherlands	74	39
Poland	1,178	
Russian Federation	30,497	2,731
Spain	53	
Sweden	127	127
Switzerland	264	
Turkey	77	
Turkmenistan	98	9
United Arab Emirates	3	19
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	25	76
United States of America	1,961	238
All countries	36,640	4,037

*1 The table was prepared on the basis of data from the reference letter of the Republic of Armenia Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department.
Source: Human Development Report Armenia, UNDP, Yerevan, 2010, p. 92.

Annex 2: Figures

Map of the Republic of Armenia: Marzes



Figure 2.1 IDP Distribution by Age

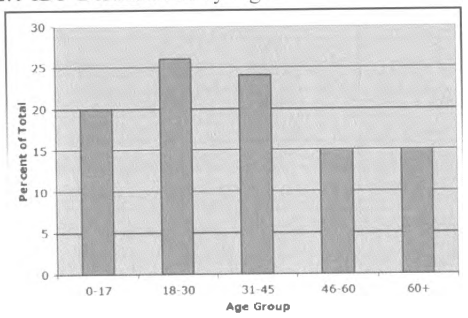
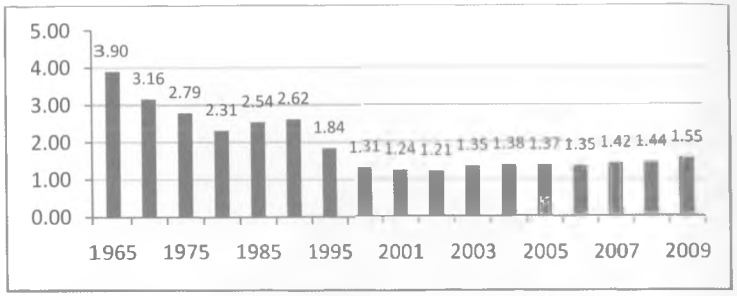


Figure 3.1 Composition of Armenia's population by age and gender (as of January 1, 1999 and 2010, % of total)

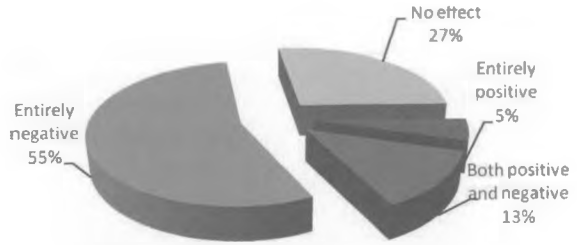


Figure 3.2 Fertility Rates in Armenia for 1965-2009



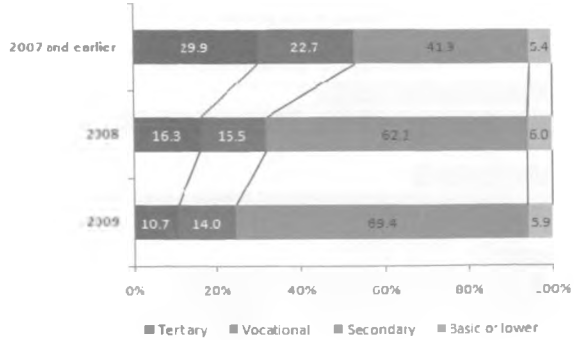
Source: NSS of RoA www.armstat.am Publications: "Demographic Handbook of Armenia, 2010", p.55.

Figure 3.3 The effect of labor migration on key industries



Source: ILO 2009: Migration and Development Armenia Country Study, p. 25.

Figure 3.4 Breakdown of labor migrants by level of education



Source: ILO 2010: Labor Migration from Armenia In 2008-2009: Labor Migration Trends and Insight into Migration Experiences, p. 33.

Figure 3.5. Satisfaction of compensation for work (% of total)

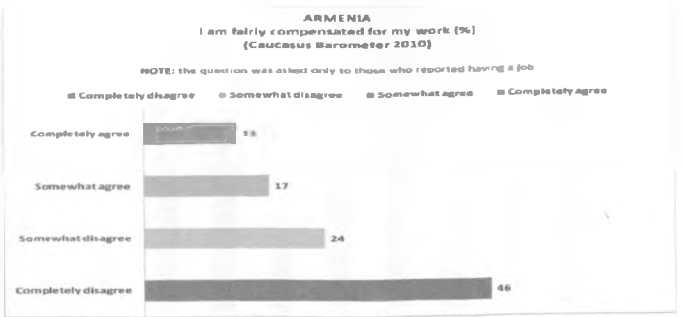


Figure 3.6a Interest in permanent and temporary migration (% of total)

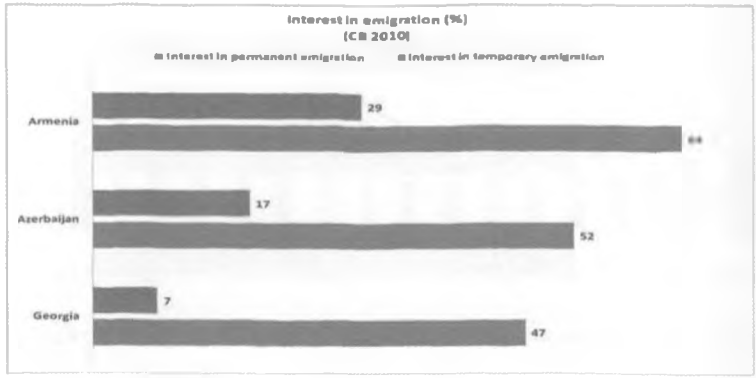


Figure 3.6b Interest in temporary migration by age group (% of total)

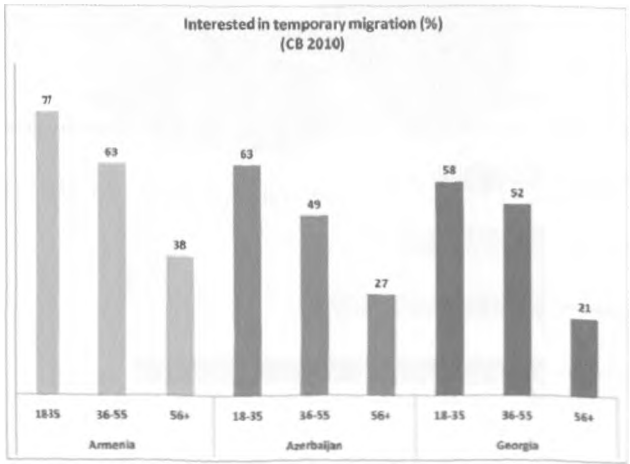


Figure 3.6c Interest in permanent and temporary migration in 2008-2010 (% of total)

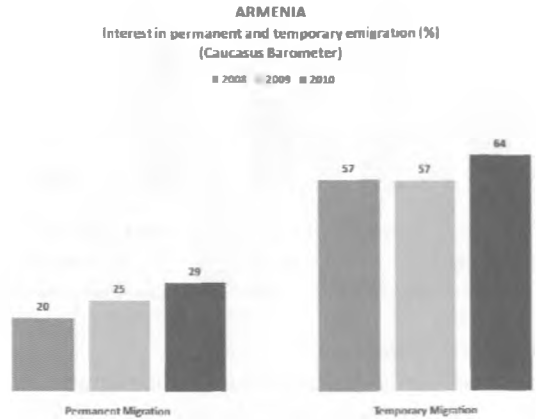
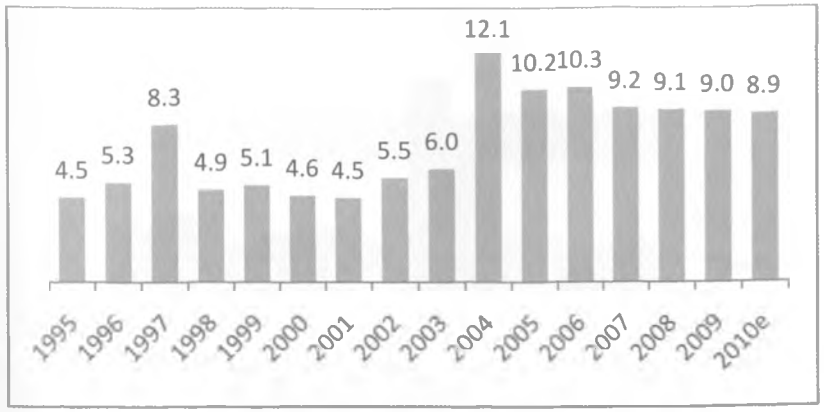
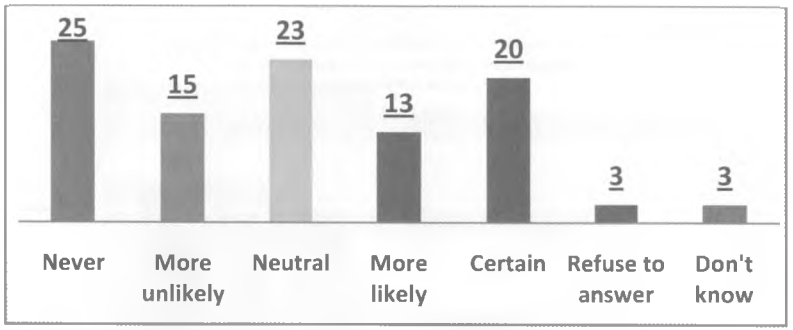


Figure 3.7 Remittances to GDP ratio in Armenia for 1995-2010 (%)



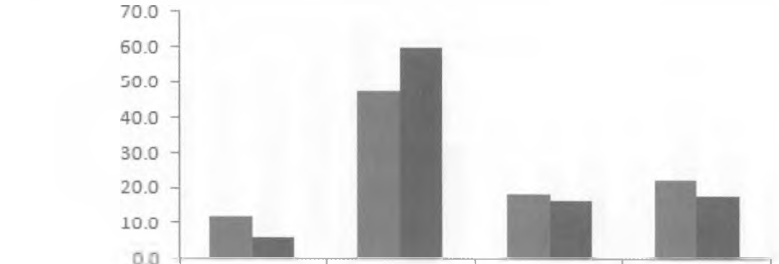
Source: World development indicators (http://data.worldbank.org/country/armenia).

Figure 3.8 Likelihood of return of elite migrants to Armenia before retirement (% of total)



Source: "Elite Migration Research at: http://www.epfound.am/english/accomplished/labor-migration.html

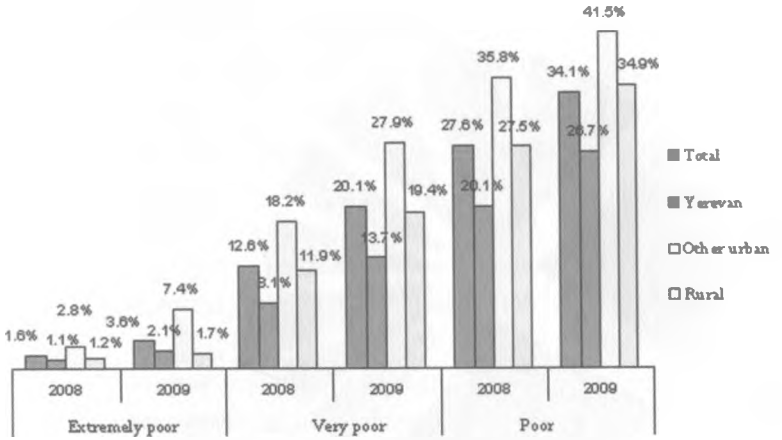
Figure 3.9 Breakdown of the general population and labor migrants by level of education



	General basic and lower	Secondary	Vocational	Tertiary
General population	12.3	47.3	18.3	22.1
Migrants	5.8	59.8	16.6	17.8

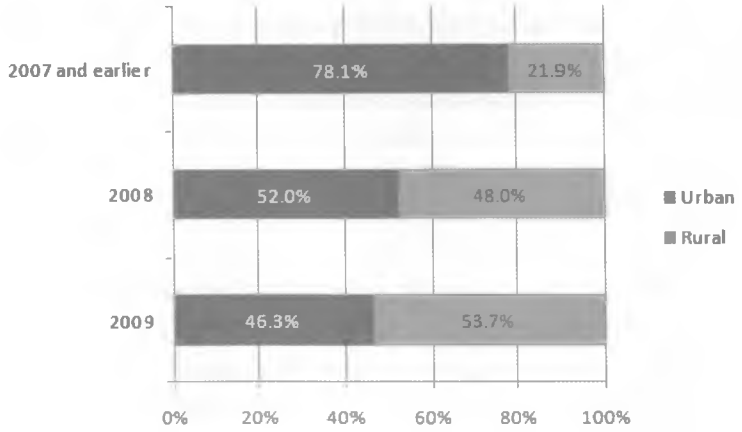
Source: ILO 2010: Labor Migration from Armenia In 2008-2009: Labor Migration Trends and Insight into Migration Experiences, p. 32.

Figure 3.10 Poverty frequency by Urban/Rural Areas of Armenia: 2008-2009



Source: ILCS 2008-200; see: Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia: 2010, NSS, p. 33.

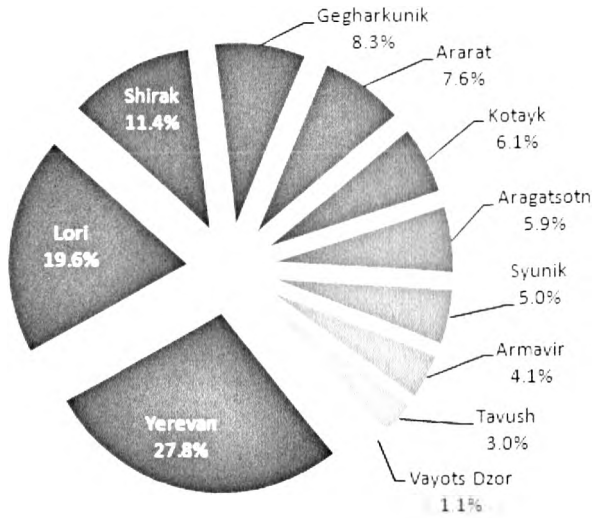
Figure 4.1 Changes in proportions of migrants from urban and rural areas of Armenia



Source: ILO 2010: Labor Migration From Armenia In 2008-2009: Labor Migration Trends And Insight Into Migration Experiences

Figure 4.2 Breakdown of labor migrants by place of residence in

Armenia



Source: ILO 2010: Labor Migration From Armenia In 2008-2009: Labor Migration Trends And Insight Into Migration Experiences

Annex 3: The principal agencies that participate in administrative decision-making on international migration issues or are responsible for those issues as part of their mandate:

- The Ministry of Labor and Social Issues (MLSI) (Department of Labor and Employment): labor migration,
- The Ministry of Territorial Administration (MTA): Developing migration management policy and coordinating its implementation, developing state policy on labor migration and its organization.
- The Migration Agency (currently within the structure of the Ministry of Territorial Administration (MTA) based on the Governmental Decision N 633-N of 19 May 2005): design and implementation of projects aimed at management of migration and refugees issues.

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Legal Department, Consular Department, Migration Desk): visa and passport issuance, relations with Armenians abroad.
- The Ministry of Diaspora: Developing and implementing the state policy on development of the Armenia-Diaspora partnership and coordinating the activities of the state bodies in this field.
- Border Guards (National Security Service, reporting to the Prime Minister): border management and control.
- Visa and Passport Department (OVIR), within the structure of the Police, reporting to the Prime Minister: irregular migration, visa issuance at the borders, registration of foreigners on the territory, issuance of exit stamps (passport validation) for RA citizens.
- The Office of the President: granting citizenship.

Annex 4: Reforms in migration management information system

The management twins

It is indisputable that the effectiveness of the migration policy is largely contingent on the proper and detailed statistics describing migration flows. At the same time, the effectiveness of the procedures of migration regulation and the quality of the provided services are conditioned by the adequate coordination of the information flows on migration and registration tasks.

The current system of registering migration flows

The administrative registration of migration flows in the Republic of Armenia is carried out by a number of agencies, each responsible for some specific aspects of the process. For instance, the Border Management Information System (BMIS) of the National Security Service (NSS) ensures both the collection of data on immigrants and the registration of those leaving the country. The Police are the agency that

deals with collection of data required for granting Armenian visas to foreign citizens, visa extension and residence permits both at the Armenian border points and in the Armenian territory. Data on granting the RoA entry visas to foreign citizens abroad are partly collected at the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its diplomatic missions and consulates. Data on granting citizenship to foreigners and those without such a status, as well as data on granting a residence status in Armenia are managed by the Police. The database on *personae non grata* in the Republic of Armenia is supervised by the National Security Service. The Migration Agency is responsible for the registration of and development of a database on those seeking asylum in Armenia and those having already been granted a refugee status. It is also responsible for the database on deportation of illegal migrants.

The major source of data on emigration flows in the Republic of Armenia is the Police regional departments of passport services, which are responsible for registration of the population and the tracking of the records. However, these services do not accurately reflect the real scope of the population movement, since a significant part of the population leaves the territory of the Republic of Armenia and resides in a foreign country for a comparatively long period without necessarily removing their respective data from the registration lists.

The European standards

Logically, the migration statistics should be in compliance with the requirements of the statistics in general in Armenia. However, it should comply also with the internationally acclaimed standards of impartiality, reliability, objectivity, evidence-based validity, cost-effectiveness and privacy of data. In order to develop statistical data on migration comparable to and in compliance with the European standards, introducing a reliable system of data collection is not enough. It is also necessary to develop common concepts used in the field of migration,

largely approximating the current definitions to the ones found in the Acquis. For instance, there already exist legal definitions of concepts, such as asylum, voluntary return, refugee, family and citizenship. Still, the major concepts of migration, including immigration and emigration, are not yet defined. The protection of private data on foreign citizens in Armenia is ratified by law. However, in the absence of a unified register of foreigners and the narrow circle of agencies with access to individual data restrict the effectiveness of migration regulation procedures and extend the duration of certain administrative procedures.

An information puzzle

Generally, notwithstanding the availability of discrete entry/exit data on foreigners in the above-mentioned agencies, a common statistical analysis of these data is absent. The current system of registration of those arriving to Armenia and those departing does not allow the Armenia's National Statistical Service to evaluate the structure and trends of migration flows in the country.

The information on the change of the migration status of foreign citizens, including information on the expiration of the visa validity and the registration of foreign students in Armenia, is lacking. In particular, the National Statistical Service does not have direct access to the databases of the NSS, BMIS and the Police. Though the Government of Armenia has already initiated concrete steps towards developing and implementing an e-governance information management system on the Armenian borders, the system of administrative registration of migration is still ineffective; the above-mentioned administrative databases are not physically interconnected; the regular, timely and fast provision of compatible data through a unified system is still missing and there is no opportunity to carry out a comprehensive data analysis. Moreover, the lack of interconnectedness of information databases, as well as the complete information on the movement of foreign citizens on the territory of the Republic of Armenia put national security at peril.

Three steps

In order to work out, implement and monitor a migration policy in Armenia, as well as to increase the effectiveness of the procedures of migration regulation and, finally, to complete the statistical data describing migration trends in the country, it is necessary to implement three essential steps.

First, it is necessary to ensure that data collection and statistical methodology comply with the EU standards. In particular, it is necessary to define major concepts in the field of migration and general requirements for statistical information on migration and protection of individuals as regards the automated processing of private data in compliance with the EU Acquis. Bi- and multi-lateral agreements on exchanging information on internal and international movements should be signed. Moreover, biometric documents on private data should be introduced and national reports and yearbooks on migration statistical data should be published.

Second, it is necessary to create a common electronic system of regulating migration data through:

- working out a methodology of data collection, based on statistical indicators on migration,
- data analysis and data exchange;
- introducing automated procedures for storing, exchanging and using migration data in electronic databases, as well as for coding and decoding the data;
- managing the databases;
- defining the scope of responsibilities of the agencies dealing with a certain group of data and the scheme of restricted availability of information;
- working out data exchange regulations among the agencies involved;

- defining the surveillance mechanisms for the database management and the use of data.

Finally, it is necessary to improve the capacities of the agencies involved in the migration regulation processes: to define the responsibilities of the state agencies coordinating the data management process; restrict the rights to code and decode information to concrete state agencies and provide in-service training to the staff of this agency and the border security staff.

Source: (A policy brief developed by the ICHD based on expert discussions on Sept 18, 2009;
http: www.ichd.org ?laid=1&com=module&module=static&id=172);

MIGRATION AND ARMENIAN DIASPORA*

During almost 100 years following the Armenian Genocide Armenian Diaspora underwent several stages of development. Different fragments of the Diaspora history are studied rather thoroughly. Nevertheless, we think that it needs generalization and complete reinterpretation. Now let us discuss several conceptual aspects relating to the issue.

The main task for the first generation of the Armenian Diaspora was to survive physically and assert themselves in new settlements.

Although the Armenian Communities had existed since the loss of the Armenian Statehood in the 14th century, they grew in size after the Armenian Genocide. 1.5 million Armenians were exterminated, others managed to escape, and established themselves in various Eastern European, Balkan, and Middle Eastern cities. Thousands of Armenians settled in Western Europe (France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands) as well as in the North and South Americas. Substantial number of Armenian communities also exists in Russia as well as in the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia. Armenian communities can also be found in India, Australia, New Zealand, Africa (Sudan, South Africa, and Ethiopia), and as far east as Singapore, Myanmar and Hong Kong and the Philippines.

According to different expert estimates, today the number of Armenians all over the world is approximately 8 million.

Today, the countries with the largest number of Armenians are Russia, which is the first as to the size of the communities, the United States, France, Iran (although the communities have shrunk in size since 1970s), Lebanon, Georgia, Syria, Argentina, Canada and Ukraine.

* This article was published in 2009 - Gevorg Poghosyan. *PROBLEME OF THE THIRD GENERATION OF ARMENIAN DIASPORA, Yerevan, "Dar 21-st", 2009, #2, pp. 59-67.*

State	The number of Armenians
Armenia	3,215,800
Russia	1,130,491 (according to the 2002 census)
USA	1,000,000
France	500,000
Iran	400,000
Georgia	248,900 (according to the 2004 census)
Syria	190,000
Lebanon	140,000
NKR	138,000
Argentina	130,000
Ukraine	99,894 (according to the 2001 census)
Poland	92,000
Turkey	40,000 to 70, 000
Jordan	70,000
Uzbekistan	70,000
Germany	42,000-60,000
Canada	40,505 (according to the 2001 census)
Greece	35,000-55,000
Brazil	40,000-50,000
Australia	45,000
Abkhazia	44,869 (according to the 2003 census)
Spain	42,000
Turkmenistan	30,000
Bulgaria	30,000
Belarus	25,000
Kazakhstan	25,000
Iraq	20,000
Uruguay	19,000
United Kingdom	18,000
Hungary	15,000
Belgium	10,000
Czech Republic	10,000
Israel	9,800

Egypt	8,200
Moldova	7,000
Netherlands	6,000
Tajikistan	6,000
Latvia	5,000
Switzerland	5,000
Sweden	5,000
Kiewit	5,000
Kyrgyzstan	3,285
United Arab Emirates	3,000
Denmark	3,000
Austria	3,000
Nicaragua	2,907
Ecuador	2,800
Cyprus	2,740 (according to the 1987 census)
Venezuela	2,500
Lithuania	2,500
Italy	2,500
Estonia	2,000
Romania	1,780
Norway	1,000
Finland	1,000
Chili	1,000
Sudan	1,000
Thailand	1,000
Honduras	900
New Zealand	600
Mexico	560-10,000
Albania	500
India	500
Colombia	250-300
Monaco	200
South Africa	200

Qatar	150
Cuba	100
Ethiopia	100
Dominican Republic	75
Ireland	50
Costa Rica	40
Singapore	35
Peru	35
Zimbabwe	28
Indonesia	20
Pakistan	20-200
Japan	20-100
Guatemala	20-50

Approximately 10,000 Armenians are said to reside in Mexico. While the Armenian community in Iraq has dwindled after the 2003 US invasion of Iraq and according to www.wikipedia.org., www.armeniandiaspora.com a scattering number of Armenians remain in East Asia.

These are rather general data and it is quite obvious that the current number of the Diaspora, its potential as well its place role in different countries of the world need to be seriously studied by applying various scientific methods. To have the real picture, we need to conduct a census-like study in all those countries of the world where the number of the Armenian community is rather big, i.e. in the USA, Russia, Georgia, France, Lebanon, Iran, etc. It is not an easy task and for this purpose we need to mobilize the efforts and structures in the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Only one-third of the world's Armenians live in Armenia. Immediately after the Armenian Genocide, the resettled Armenians lived in refugee camps. However, as their financial situation improved, the camps grew into towns, and these towns became cities. This was case with many of the Armenian-populated regions in Lebanon. In time,

Armenians organized themselves by building churches, schools, cultural centers, etc. Various political parties and charities, such as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) "Dashnaktsutyun", Ramkavar-Azatakan Party, Social-Democrat Hnchakian party ("Hnchak"), and the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), started to act wherever there was a considerable number of Armenians.

As a result of the Pan-Arabism in Egypt and Syria, Islamism in Iran, and the Lebanese Civil War, tens of thousands of Armenians emigrated from the Middle East and established themselves in the USA, Canada, France, and elsewhere, where they are lobbying to support the Republic of Armenia and to extend the international recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide.

Armenians are introduced to the world by their three segments: the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Artsakh (Nagorno Karabagh) and Armenian Diaspora. By the way, these three parts are important subjects in the international relations existing in the modern world: an independent State, a non-recognized State and international movement (in this case, ethnic movement).

Today the world differs completely from the traditional conceptions. It is not merely a family of independent States but a rather diverse and many-faced phenomenon. Today it exists also in the form of different international, supranational and transnational structures, also non-recognized State entities, as well as non-State, non-official movements and associations. Thus, today Armenia is introduced to the world in three different forms: State, non-recognized State entity and international trans-State movement.

This can be of a great advantage, if the three parts coordinate their activities, in other words, if they are treated as the implementers of common all-national programmes. The interrelation between these three segments, their harmonized and nation-oriented development, as well as elaboration of conceptual ideology of their roles and contribution can be considered as an all-national scientific programme.

Traditionally Armenian Diaspora activities were managed by the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Armenian Catholic Church, Evangelistic organizations, political parties (Dashnaktsutyun, Ramkavar-Azatakan, Hnchak), cultural associations, countrymen unions and charities. But it is already high time to coordinate and unite all these historically established organizations by one, all-national, elective body with representative functions. The already established Diaspora structures act as "ministries" for the Armenian Diaspora, which does not have and cannot have a structure of a State.

If, for a moment, we assume that they execute the functions of a state, we can say that the Diaspora "ministries" have proved their vitality and efficiency long ago. Today it is often mentioned that it is high time to find a body, which will coordinate the Diaspora structures' activities as well as to establish an all-National Assembly or Parliament to pass legislative resolutions. Undoubtedly, this initiative is long overdue.. Not at all trying to underestimate the role of the above-mentioned structures, we find it important to mention that Diaspora does not and cannot have a structure of a State. Diaspora in general, and Armenian Diaspora in particular, has a network structure; hence, we need to think about creating such units that will correspond to that structure.

The Diaspora investment in the RoA economy is rather big. It becomes obvious when we study the data related to the Diaspora direct investments in Armenia: Russia 29%, the USA 17% and Iran 14% (www.crrc.am). We always appreciated the financial support of the Diaspora. But today it is evident that for Armenia the intellectual potential of the Diaspora is probably more important than the financial assistance it provides.

The Republic of Armenia together with the Armenian Diaspora has initiated a number of significant events; among them Armenia-Diaspora conferences (1999, 2002, 2006), Pan-Armenian Olympic games (1999, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2010, 2014) and different events ("One Nation, One

Culture", "Golden Apricot" etc). And finally, the new edition of the RoA Constitution of 2005 set forth the legislative basis for dual citizenship and in 2007 the National Assembly adopted the corresponding law. The RoA Government established the Diaspora Ministry.

Every single Armenian should realize that all the events of national importance are more essential than personal or private affairs and family matters and events. That is we need to make fundamental changes in the mentality of the Armenian people. As long as the wedding ceremonies and christening celebrations of Armenians in California are more luxurious and extravagant than the events organized by the Diaspora, which are aimed at well-being of our people, we can say that the Armenians historical-political consciousness needs to be cured.

Every nation, which has established a State, has also a Diaspora. In other words, every State consists of the main part or the bulk of the given nation, and as a rule, a definite part of the nation representatives live abroad in foreign countries. This is a natural phenomenon and it holds true for all nations and countries. The representatives of a given nationality that live abroad may be very small in number but sometimes they can make 15-20% of the population of the given country or even more. However, in the case of Armenia, we deal with an exceptional phenomenon, when one-third of the nation lives in Armenia and two-thirds live abroad, in different countries. It is a unique phenomenon, when the number of the Diaspora exceeds the main population of the state in two or three times, which can only be compared with the case of the Jewish and Irish people. You can never come across such a phenomenon elsewhere. But this is not the only thing that makes Armenians exceptional, due to the national homogeneity inside the country. The thing is that 97% of the population of Armenia is ethnic Armenians. This is also an exceptional phenomenon and, probably, you will not be able to find any other country in the world with such homogeneity of population structure. Only 3% of Armenia's population

belongs to other ethnic groups. They are mostly Kurds and Russians. There are also a few representatives of other ethnic groups. According to the world statistics in different countries the national minorities make 10-25%, sometimes 50-60% of population.

Thus, we can say that the Republic of Armenia is a unique phenomenon in the world due its ethnic structure as well as the much bigger Diaspora, The historical reasons for this are quite clear and understandable. It can be explained by the historical process related to the creation of the Armenian Statehood, the Genocide phenomenon and the formation of the Armenian Diaspora. Nevertheless, the outcome of the phenomena of being exceptional and the perspectives of the further development of the Armenian statehood are not sufficiently studied.

In our opinion, the scientific research work and the scientific approaches to the Diaspora on the whole are belated. All of us know very well that during many years communists prohibited not only scientific studies but even speaking about the Genocide. In this respect one can say that the Soviet Union acted as accomplice to Turkish perpetrators of the Genocide. Now we are doing what our previous generations were supposed to do some 70 years ago. We started to study freely the Genocide about 20 years ago. It means that we do not have time; we are to hurry, in order to fill the gap, resulting from decades of silence. The Soviet Union did everything so that the Armenian Genocide would be forgotten. But it failed.

ARMENIAN MIGRATION AND DIASPORA: A WAY OF LIFE*

Meline Karakashian and Gevork Poghosyan

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a study of migration of the Armenian people in the past one hundred years. While there are studies of Armenian migration and settlements in specific countries, such as the United States (Hagopian, 1988; Kulhanjian, 1975; Mirak, 1983), there is a need for a global study of Armenian migration with an understanding of its antecedents, consequences, and implications. The chapter attempts to address this need within space limitations.

In the span of the past one hundred years numerous routes existed for Armenian emigrants which necessitates the adoption of a criterion for including them in the chapter. To avoid oversimplification, examples are presented from five types of migration respectively based on: (A) political determinants, (B) ecological determinants, (C) repatriation, (D) economic and educational determinants, and (E) transient migration. The study looks at migration flows starting from 1894, since significant changes in migration habits occurred after that date and these are relevant to a better understanding of Armenian migration in the 20th century. The sources of this information can be found in the Republic of Armenia's State Library archives, the Genocide Museum library in Yerevan, historical and contemporary research studies, eyewitness accounts, interviews, and news releases. Since narration offers information on the human experience aspects of migration, case examples are cited.

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The chapter provides information on the fate of a people who lived on the biblical lands where Noah's arch is believed to have landed (Mt. Ararat is in historic Armenia), were the first nation to adopt Christianity as a State religion in 301 AD, and who embarked on a world-wide celebration of their 1,700th anniversary in the year 2001. Table 1 presents the latest statistics of Armenians in the world (See Table 1).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Republic of Armenia is situated in the Near East, specifically, south of Georgia and Russia, east of Turkey, west of Azerbaijan, and north of Iran. David Marshall Lang (1970) called it *The Cradle of Civilization*. Armenians from ancient times were described as migratory merchants and wealthy entrepreneurs (Walker, 1980). Walker states that the location of Armenia and people's perception that Armenians were wealthy contributed to its fate in history, which has included invasions, deportations of its inhabitants, and attempts at their extermination.

Historically, Armenian merchants migrated along the "Silk Route" from Europe to China, and established settlements in distant countries. In the first century B.C.E., the Armenian king Dikran created an empire extending *from sea to sea*, meaning from the Mediterranean to the Caspian. Not only did Armenians settle in these lands but King Dikran brought artisans from Jerusalem to his capital, including 10,000 Jews whose descendants now form the Jewish community in Armenia.

In the Middle Ages, Armenian feudal princes settled in Cilicia, presently south central Anatolya, Turkey and established the Cilician kingdom. Cilician Armenia played host to the Crusaders and participated in their marches to the Holy Land. Many settled in Jerusalem and their descendants form the core of the Armenian residents of Jerusalem. Armenia was also referred to as "Theater of Perpetual War" by Edward Gibbons in *The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Indeed, Armenia was at the crossroads of invasions by the Mongols,

Tatars, Seljuks, and Ottoman Turks who contributed to the dissolution of the Armenian kingdom in the 14th century. The population lived under the Ottoman Turkish rule for several centuries thereafter. At the turn of the 20th century, the majority of Armenians lived in central Anatolia in Turkey, the historical Lesser Armenia, in Iran, and in Russian held territories, east of Turkey, the historical Greater Armenia.

In religion, Armenians followed the Apostolic or Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant doctrines. The seats of the heads of the Armenian Apostolic church, the Catholicosi were in Etchmiadzin, Greater Armenia and in Sis, Cilician Armenia. At one time in history four Catholicosates concurrently existed due to the prevailing political situation. The Armenian Apostolic church has had Patriarchates in Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey and in the Holy City. Other significant religious institutions included the Catholic Mekhitarist brothers' seminaries on the San Lazzaro Island in Venice, Italy (established in 1711) and in Vienna, Austria (established in 1817). These two centers that were the bastions of Armenian spiritual and intellectual life continue to serve religious needs of Armenian Catholics and educational needs of all Armenians. The Armenian Missionary Association of America is located in Paramus, New Jersey. It serves the spiritual needs of Armenian Protestants and educational and charitable needs of all Armenians.

A review of the archives at the National Library in Yerevan, Armenia reveals that by 1917, 202 migratory settlements (*kaghtojakhner* or "migration homes") existed ranging from Madras, India to Australia, Argentina, Ethiopia, North America and to various European, Middle Eastern and Russian cities. Indeed, the first Armenian newspaper was published in Madras in 1794, suggesting that a substantial Armenian community lived in India at that time.

There is evidence (Hagopian, 1988; Kulhanjian, 1975; Mirak, 1983) that a slow rate of emigration from Turkey to the United States and Europe existed prior to 1895. The emigrants mostly pursued commerce

and education. Hagopian (1988) attributes expatriation from Turkey to the United States in the second half of the 19th century to the efforts of American missionaries. The American Missionary Society established schools for Armenian youth and children in Turkey, who upon graduation looked toward the United States to pursue their higher education in medicine or theology. Some of these youth returned to Turkey, while others sought permanent residence in the United States.

CATEGORIES OF MIGRATION IN THE 20TH CENTURY

POLITICAL DETERMINANTS

Political determinants include forced emigration, emigration due to adverse political conditions, including human rights violations and civic restrictions, and emigration due to internal instability and war. It is our hypothesis that not only the location of the country and the wealth of the merchants, as Walker states, but also the personality characteristics of the Armenian people contributed to victimization. The majority of the Armenian population was agrarian, while a minority was artisans and merchants. Religion played an important role in the moral, spiritual, and intellectual life of the people. In the Bagratid city of Ani, currently in ruins in eastern Turkey, there were "1001 churches." Ruins of numerous seminaries and churches exist in the Republic of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Anatolia, Turkey and Nagorno Karabagh. Seminaries were spiritual and intellectual centers where literature was created. Armenians traditionally loved peace and strived to maintain the integrity of the beautiful land they lived on. In fact, their folklore and music is filled with themes of love for their country and its mountains and rivers. Mount Ararat, where Noah's Arch is said to have landed in the Great Flood and which is situated in historic Armenia, symbolizes resilience, protection, hope, and pride. Nature takes on sensual characteristics for romantic poets and writers. A flowering cherry tree is likened to a beautiful bride, a mountain to a proud man, and wheat fields

to oceans. Its peace-loving nature, religiosity, and also its serf mentality acquired through centuries of domination by the Ottoman Turks prevented the people from asserting their human and civil rights as Turkish citizens. Toward the end of the 19th century, however, Armenian young adults having obtained higher education in European universities and exposed to political thoughts, founded political and civic organizations that lobbied for civil rights for Armenian citizens of Turkey. The events that followed were efforts to crush this spirit once and for all.

EMIGRATION FROM TURKEY

Major changes occurred in the life of Armenians in Turkey from 1894 to 1914 and from 1915 to 1922 resulting in significant migratory flows. The consequences of these changes are observed currently in the Diaspora at the close of the 20th century.

From 1894 to 1915. In 1894, the people of two villages in Sassoon (Dadrian, 1995), eastern Turkey refused to pay taxes, claiming the burden of double taxation by the government and local Kurdish feudal lords. As Christians, Armenians were considered to be of lower class and had few or no civil rights. The refusal resulted in the government's order to massacre the residents of 25 villages. Subsequent to the massacres, 4,000 Armenians held peaceful protest demonstrations in Constantinople which ended with their massacre. The following year, an uprising took place in Zeitoon, which ended in the massacre of the population of Zeitoon and the environs. In addition, organized massacres continued in the southeastern town of Adana in 1909.

All together, it is estimated that 200,000 Armenians (Dadrian, 1995) perished from 1894 to 1896, which set the stage for the organized attempt of the Ottoman government to annihilate the Christian Armenians or *giavours* (the infidels) in 1915 and to end the "Armenian Question" once and for all. Between 1894 and 1896, some 100,000

Armenians found refuge in other countries (Dadrian, 1995), and between 1895 and 1899, an estimated 70,982 Armenians entered the United States (Tashjian, 1947, p. 18).

Jamgotchian (1998) cites in his memoirs his mother's report that his grandfather was axed by Turks in the village of Gurun in 1895. He called his three sons to his deathbed and advised them to leave Turkey. After the massacres, numerous Armenian men left their towns and villages for the United States in order to work, support their families back home, and pave their way to freedom.

The emigration out of Turkey continued into the early 20th century. Hagopian (1988) observes that from 1899 (when the nationality of immigrants was recorded rather than the country of origin) to 1907, 14,583 Armenians migrated to the United States, and between 1908 and 1910, 11,915. Of these people, 10,441 came from central Turkey and approximately 2,000 from the Shirak district in Russian held territories. Between 1899 and 1910, the remaining went to the following countries: Austria-Hungary, 12; Belgium, 10; Bulgaria, 95; Germany, 20; European Turkey, 1,267; Spain, 5; Italy, 24; Greece, 109; Great Britain, 411; Sweden, 1; Switzerland, 10; Portugal, 1; Rumania, 69; Russia, 663; France, 160; other European countries, 1. From 1911 to 1917, 4,922 more arrived in the USA, including Armenians from Norway and the Netherlands. Hagopian (1988) summarizes that between 1899 and 1910, 26,498 Armenians left for the United States and between 1911 and 1917, 28,559. The total between 1899 and 1917 is 55,057. Of the immigrants, 39% were skilled craftsmen (e.g., blacksmiths, cobblers, tailors, carpenters), 23% farmers, 17% factory workers, 17 % had other jobs (e.g., tradesman, agents, servants), and 2% were intellectuals (e.g., teachers, lawyers, editors, musicians, artists). Twenty- four percent of the immigrants were literate. Hagopian notes that 80% of the immigrants between 1908 and 1910 paid their own way, and 84% stayed with a relative upon arrival. About 5% had previously been in the USA. In fact, during that period, 1,316 Armenians emigrated from the USA.

The Genocide. The Genocide and forced deportation of Armenian residents of Anatolya, Turkey in 1915, which was ordered and carried out by the Young Turk Ottoman government, resulted in the dispersion of survivors in various parts of the world. To a great extent, the Armenian Diaspora of today is a consequence of the Genocide.

Recent research places the Genocide in the context of large schemes developed by world powers. Historically, Great Britain and France financially supported the Turkish Sultan to wage war against Eastern Armenian feudal princes in an effort to halt the Tsarist expansion toward Iran. Armenians who handled Anatolian commerce as entrepreneurs, also stood in the way of the German government's economic expansion interests to the Caspian Sea (Walker, 1980). Colluding with the Ottoman Turkish government, the German government supported the latter's efforts to eliminate the Armenians from the corridor leading to the Caspian Sea, then a Russian stronghold (Dadrian, 1995; Walker, 1980). While the major commerce was in the hands of the Armenians, Walker (1980) estimates that 70% of the Armenian population were peasants. These peasants felt the brunt of the Turkish sword during the Genocide and were victims of the major deportations.

On April 24, 1915, the Turkish government ordered the imprisonment of key intellectuals and leaders. In the weeks to follow, Armenian men were imprisoned in towns and villages and taken away in chains with the excuse that they were to serve in the Turkish army. Later reports indicated that these men were shot, or forced to work in labor camps and then buried alive. The remaining women, children, and elderly were forcefully deported. There are different estimates of the number of Armenians who perished as a result of the Genocide, deportations, and death marches.

Taking the report of the Armenian Patriarchate of 1878 and adding a conservative estimate of the normal growth statistics for Armenians, Khatanassian (1965) estimated the Armenian population in Ottoman

Turkey in 1915 to have been 2,623,000, with a minimum of 2,500,000. Khatanassian's estimate of the number of Armenians who were massacred and who perished is a minimum of 1,500,000. These calculations leave the number of survivors of the Genocide from Turkey at 1,000,000. The first column in Table 2 presents the number of Armenians living outside of Turkey until 1914, and the second column the number of Genocide survivors that found refuge in the countries noted above until 1922 (Khatanassian, 1965) (See Table 2).

The refugees, mainly women, children, and the elderly walked for months through the hot and dry mountain chains to southern Kurdish villages and towns seeking shelter (Dadourian, 1995; Jamgotchian, 1998; Papazian, 1978). Many died from exposure, starvation, and attacks. Large numbers were sent to Deir el Zhor in the deserts of Syria and perished. Others went along with a conversion-to-Islam ceremony to avoid being sent to Deir el Zhor. They were taken in by Kurds as domestics and thus survived. In the city of Ayntab, Near East Relief founded orphanages where the children were fed, cleaned, and cared for. After the armistice, Near East Relief transported the refugees and orphans to Aleppo and then to Lebanon where orphanages were founded and where the children received elementary education and vocational training (Jamgotchian, 1998; Zaroukian, 1985).

There are individual reports that a small proportion of Armenian refugees returned to their homes in south central Turkey, such as in the city of Ayntab from Aleppo, Syria where they had found refuge in 1915. Some of them left Turkey again in 1922 when civil laws changed. At this time, Turkish citizens were given permission to take over the abandoned homes of deported Armenians. For instance, in the town of Gurun, the St. Mary's Armenian Apostolic church appears to have been made into a mosque. The dome of the church still appears next to a minaret. An inscription on the mosque states the date of its founding as 1922. The shape of the windows on the first floor carry the Moorish design while the windows on the dome have the rounded tops of the

Armenian churches, suggesting that a quick facelift had converted the church into a mosque. Currently, residents refer to it as the formerly Armenian church (Karakashian, 1997). The alteration of historical monuments continues to date (Markarian, 1999).

There is evidence that localized massacres in Eastern Turkey continued to 1922. On May 18, 1918, a widespread uprising in Sardarapad (outskirts of Yerevan, capital of present-day Armenia) contributed to the creation of an independent State on a small portion of the historical lands. The independence was recognized by major nations, including the United States. The independence lasted two years. In 1920, the Bolshevik expansion to the south of Russia resulted in the take-over of the Republic of Armenia and the eventual formation of the Soviet Armenian State. The leadership of the independent Republic escaped to safety in Iran. Later, Stalin, drawing the boundaries of Soviet states, annexed the Karabagh (historic Artsakh) and Nakhichevan regions of Armenia to Azerbaijan in his effort to create a union of interdependent states.

From 1922 to 1953. Another wave of forced emigration took place in 1922, when organized fires swept the Armenian and Greek quarters of the coastal city of Izmir, then called Smyrna in Turkey (Housepian, 1966 / 1972). The fire was an attempt to force the Christians to leave the city and the environs. Currently, Turkish tour guides refer to it as "the population exchange program when Armenians, Greeks, and Jews were exchanged with Turkish citizens from the respective countries." In fact, no such exchange of Turks took place with Soviet Armenia. Karakashian (1990) reported that her family in Odemis was forced to board a train to Smyrna. The train was attacked in the night and passengers hid behind bushes. When daylight arrived and she boarded the train, she could not find her mother. She lamented the loss of her mother until her death in 1997. Upon arrival in Izmir, she jumped into the waters of the Aegean and swam a long distance to reach the large boat since the shuttle boats were full. Boats took the refugees to

Salonica, the island of Paros, and Pireus in Greece (Arpiarian, 1962; Karakashian, 1990).

A number of survivors migrated from Greece to Lebanon and Syria (Khashkhashian, 1962), some to Jordan (Karakashian, 1990), Australia (Hairabedian, 1998), France (Bedrosian, 1997), the United States (Arpiarian, 1962), Argentina (Karakashian, 1990) and to other countries. The remaining survivors form the core of the Armenian population in present-day Greece.

EMIGRATION FROM EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

An American program for displaced people was initiated after World War II. A large number of Armenians lived on territories occupied by Nazi Germany. Many Armenian prisoners from the Soviet army were held hostage by Germany. They were spared from the Holocaust through negotiations held by Armenian representatives who presented proof that Armenians were from the Indo-European family of peoples. ANCHA, an organization headed by the late San Francisco restaurateur, George Mardikian appropriated congressional funding for the transportation and establishment of displaced Armenians in the United States.

Later, ANCHA conducted a similar service for the Armenians of Bulgaria and Romania. Armenians had been established in these countries since medieval times. Having survived the Communist regime, a substantial proportion of them left their homes in order to offer their children safety as well as educational, social, and economic opportunities in the United States.

EMIGRATION FROM MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES

From Jordan. A wave of Armenian migration occurred concurrent to the 1947 takeover of the Palestinian section of Jerusalem by the new Israeli state. A demilitarized buffer zone was created. Armenians who lived in the demilitarized zone migrated to the Jordanian section of

Jerusalem. Many sought shelter in the cabins of the Armenian Patriarchate complex where centuries earlier the Crusaders had lived. Others settled in Amman, the capital of Jordan. In the 1950s, UNRWA sponsored their resettlement in the United States as "Palestinian refugees" (Karakashian, 1999).

From Lebanon. Another wave of migration occurred in the 1970s during the Arab-Israeli war. Thousands of Armenians sought the safety of countries in Europe, Australia, United States, and Canada. The once 250,000-strong Armenian community of Lebanon was reduced to 120,000 in the span of two decades. These immigrants brought their own subcultures and traditions and changed the profile of established communities. A considerable number of them live now in California together with Armenian immigrants from Iran, Jordan, Syria, Armenia, and native Armenian-Americans.

From Egypt. In the 1950s, the **ascension** of Gamal Abdul Nasser to power saw a wave of Egyptian nationalism and the nationalization of businesses. Armenians, many of whom were business owners, feared the loss of their enterprises and consequently emigrated from Egypt to other Middle Eastern countries, Canada, and the United States.

EMIGRATION WITHIN AND FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

From Soviet Armenia To Siberia. In the 1920s and 1930s, Stalin's policy in Soviet Armenia resulted in the forced exile of thousands of nationalistic residents—many with connections to the former government of the independent Republic. They were exiled to Siberian labor camps where few survived, and their descendants can still be found in Siberia (Tjeknavorian, 1998). The suffering of these exiles has not been studied yet, nor fully documented. A recently released documentary film, *Enemy of the People* (Tjeknavorian and the Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1998), describes the mass hysteria that the Armenians endured under Stalin's regime.

From Azerbaijan. Waves of forced emigration of Armenians took place in Azerbaijan from 1988 to 1992. In February of 1988, the Azerbaijani government conducted pogroms of Armenian residents of Baku (Mosesova & Hovnanyan, 1992) that were reportedly witnessed by Russian soldiers. Massacres in Sumgait and Kirovabad (Shahmuratian, 1990) followed. Hundreds of thousands of survivors of these massacres found refuge in Armenia, Russia, and also the United States. For instance, the Pentecostal church sponsored the transfer of some of these refugees to the United States and helped them to become established in Pentecostal communities located in Cleveland, Ohio and in Washington State. The majority, who remained in Armenia, presented "management challenges" for the Armenian government due to the language barrier.

In the wake of the post-Soviet transitional period, Russian is less frequently spoken and taught in Armenia since a new national awakening there has focused on the promotion of the Armenian language. The Armenian refugees from Baku, Sumgait, and Kirovabad knew Azerbaijani and Russian only; they had to learn Armenian. In addition, their professional expertise was appropriate to large industries and could not be utilized in a country that experienced an energy crisis. Armenia faced a crisis due to Azerbaijan's economic blockade and the devastations caused by the earthquake. With the help of international humanitarian programs, the Armenian government adopted programs for the refugees' adaptation and integration into the society since a return to their homes would not guarantee their safety.

In 1992, during the Armenian-Azerbaijani war, the residents of the Shahumian and Martakert districts of Azerbaijan (neighboring the Karabakh enclave) were forced to emigrate. These refugees reported that Russian armored tanks invaded their villages together with the Azeri military, and that the population was asked to leave their homes. The refugees expressed the belief that their homes and lands were used as pawns by the "leadership" (Karakashian & Tavosian, 1992).

The number of Armenian refugees that migrated to Armenia from Azerbaijan between 1988 and 1992 is estimated to be 375,000. However, the UNHCR journal "Refugees" reports the number in 1994 to be as high as 500,000. In addition, 6,000 settled in Armenia coming from Abkhazia and about 78,000 citizens were internally displaced from border villages due to constant shelling.

Many refugees from Karabakh and Azerbaijan encountered different lifestyles and customs in Armenia from those prevailing in their homeland. They found city life in Yerevan very different from their agrarian life in Karabakh (Karakashian, 1993). For example, they complained that the price of bread and meat in Yerevan had skyrocketed and that the residents of Armenia were not actively resisting this. They pointed out that if the price of meat rose in Karabakh, residents boycotted the item and thereby bring about price cuts.

ECOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS

The catastrophic earthquake of 1988 in Soviet Armenia produced a wave of internally and externally displaced persons. In the days immediately following the disaster, an evacuation was organized that brought the survivors to shelters in the capital city of Yerevan. Numerous injured people were flown to other countries for medical treatment. According to government statistics, about 130,000 people were displaced to the countries of the Soviet Union and 70,000 left for other countries, 25% of whom have remained in their host countries (Poghosyan, 1990a).

REPATRIATION

There were two major waves of repatriation after the Sovietization of Armenia. The first had its origins in some Middle Eastern countries in 1946 and the second one originated all over the world in the early 1990s after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Table 3 presents Khatanassian's (1965) figures of migration to Soviet Armenia from 1925

to 1965. Considering the fact that the major repatriation took place in 1946, Katanassian's figures probably represent realistic estimates of this repatriation (See Table 3).

To Soviet Armenia

In 1946, the Soviet Armenian government extended invitations to the Armenians living in the Diaspora to migrate to Armenia. The invitation was well received by many people. For instance, Jamgotchian (1999) reports witnessing trains of repatriates going from Aleppo to Beirut (seaport capital of Lebanon) and passing through the village of Bhamdoon. There she heard repatriates sing as the trains moved: *"Hey garavan, jan garavan, kushir ko jampan; garodel em hairenikis koones chi danir"* ["Oh, caravan, oh caravan, drive along your route; I miss my homeland, I have lost sleep"]. Similarly, Karakashian (1999) recalls the song repatriates sang while they boarded the boat, "Pobeda" in the Mediterranean port of Jaffa. "Pobeda" transported them through the Bosphorus to Odessa in the Black Sea, from where they traveled by land to Soviet Armenia. Here are the lyrics: *"Ov too Pobeda shdabeh shoodov tebi baghestin; menk hay zavagner achkernis haradz michergraganin; kez yenk sbasoom poorn garodov hayoo trakhdin."* ["Oh, Pobeda, hurry fast to Palestine; we are children of Armenians gazing with our eyes at the Mediterranean; we wait for you with longing for the Armenian heaven"]. Though Soviet, Eastern Armenia was nevertheless regarded by Genocide survivors and their families as the motherland.

Jamgotchian (1998) reports that the Soviet Armenian government advised the leadership in the Diaspora to encourage only the working class to migrate. Soviet Armenia had lost tens of thousands of men during World War II in addition to the loss of the exiled men and women in Siberia; the country needed working hands. Now, tens of thousands people from all walks of life in the Middle Eastern countries of Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Greece sold their possessions

and embarked on boats. Ultimately these migrants encountered numerous difficulties, especially since the Soviet government confiscated their possessions. They had to live in dire conditions in the cold mountainous country just like other citizens. Karakashian (1999) recalls that repatriate relatives of his family agreed to send abroad information about their well-being in coded messages. A standing position in the photographs meant well-being, while a sitting position meant poor conditions. The photos that arrived from Soviet Armenia showed relatives lying on the floor! Disillusioned repatriates began to leave Armenia in the 1970s when their relatives petitioned for their migration to the United States. Their migration to the United States and to European countries continues to this date.

To Armenia

The second large wave of repatriates came to Soviet Armenia following the catastrophic earthquake in 1988. They came in connection with national and international projects, including disaster relief. Soon after the independence of 1991 and the creation of a republic opened doors to more projects in the fields of health and education, social reforms, and the establishment of businesses. Armenians from the Diaspora bought homes and established residence in Armenia in an effort to quench their longing for the motherland and to help rebuild it.

ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL DETERMINANTS

Migration due to economic and educational determinants continued in the 20th century. The major migration routes were from the Middle Eastern countries, Turkey, and Armenia to western countries, such as some of the former Soviet states, Australia, and North and South America.

From Turkey

Following World War II, Armenian survivors of the Genocide who still lived in central and Eastern Anatolia migrated to Constantinople (Istanbul) to obtain higher education and better jobs (Khatanassian, 1965). This flow continued to recent times. As late as 1997, for instance, residents of Gurun, Turkey reported to the first author that a handful of Catholic Armenians who had lived in Gurun until 25 years ago, had sold their properties, closed the church, and left for Constantinople.

Armenian residents of Constantinople emigrated to Europe and North America starting in the 1950s to avoid civic restrictions, obtain higher education, and pursue economic goals. The emigrants have formed organizations and held cultural programs to fund educational and charitable programs and preserve their subculture in the host countries. Currently, it is estimated that there are still about 50,000 Armenians living in Constantinople and its surrounding areas.

From Syria and Lebanon

In the 1960s, a wave of migration to the West took place. A brief civil war and instability in Lebanon in 1958, the gradual leaning of the Syrian government toward the left, fear of nationalization of businesses, perceived limitations in business and professional fields, and the attraction of American and European cultures prompted the college age generation (i.e., children of survivors of the Genocide) to migrate to countries in Europe, such as France, Germany, and the United States in order to obtain higher education and possibly establish themselves in these countries. They formed cultural and charitable organizations similar to the ones in Syria and Lebanon and founded Armenian language schools. Examples are the Hamazkain Cultural and Educational Association, and the Tekeyan Cultural Association.

From the Independent Republic of Armenia

The dissolution of the Soviet Union, the opening of the iron curtain in the early 1990s, and economic hardships led to a new wave of emigration from Armenia to Russia, Europe, and the United States. The winters of 1992 and 1993 were particularly harsh. Apartments had no gas, and electricity was restricted to daily periods of one to two hours. Industrial fuel was unavailable and the factories were idle. More than 80% of the industry and public transportation did not function. Motor fuel was scarce and expensive. Hundreds of thousands left Armenia. In the course of the past decade, close to 700,000 individuals have emigrated, some with their families (Poghosyan, 1997a). They established themselves mostly in former Soviet states, in particular Russia, and 15%-20% of them left for Europe and the United States. Many left the country temporarily, preserving their citizenship and apartments. In fact, they frequently live illegally in Russia where they engage in commerce. In the early 1990s, the majority of emigrants to the CIS countries, Russia, and Europe were men between the ages of 20 and 45 who supported their families left behind *(Human Development Report, 1996)*. Others took their families with them.

These economic migrants or "gastarbeiters" provide assistance to a considerable proportion of the population of the Republic; they support the social conditions of the state and attract outside funds for economic development. While these migrants contribute to the population's survival, their absence hurts the economy of the Republic. It depletes the country of enterprising citizens for the free-market economy and retards the establishment of a middle class. There are also moral consequences. For instance, very often simple conflicts occur in Russia between local Russians and newcomer Armenians, Georgians, and Azeris that contribute to a negative attitude of Russians toward persons of "Caucasian nationality." The anti-Caucasian attitude has intensified in the central region of Russia where there are established Armenian communities, such as in Krasnodarsk and Stavropol. With the process

of privatization of land, these attitudes may lead to future conflicts and consequently some of the migrants may return to Armenia.

The Armenian government announced in 1998 that it is ready to accept back Armenian migrants from Europe, in particular from Germany, Belgium, and Greece. The German government has already adopted a decision for the gradual return of 7,000 Armenians who had found temporary shelters (Poghosyan, 1997b). The return of tens of thousands migrants from Western Europe is expected in the near future. In addition, families are migrating back to Armenia from Central and Middle Asia, in particular from Turkmenistan and Russia.

TRANSIENT MIGRATION

Transient migrants are people who find temporary residence in a country prior to settlement in a country of choice. In the 1950s, Armenians from the former Palestine found temporary residence in Lebanon prior to boarding the boats that brought them to the United States on behalf of UNRWA. Similarly, Armenians from Rumania and Bulgaria found temporary residence in Lebanon in the 1950s and 1960s prior to obtaining their visas for the United States.

In recent years, the Republic of Armenia has seen transient migrants such as Kurdish refugees who illegally crossed the Armenian-Turkish border, reached the capital, and were detained at Zvartnots International Airport while they tried to leave for Amsterdam. Currently, Armenia seems to be used as a buffer state from where transient migrants attempt to leave for Western Europe.

IMPLICATIONS OF MIGRATION

Migration and acculturation are known to be difficult adjustment processes for most ethnic groups. Acculturation is generally facilitated by established ethnic communities where elements of the ethnic culture are preserved while adaptation to the host country begins.

Armenian immigrants to the United States, Canada, and Australia for example, joined already established institutions and organizations or founded their own, thus creating unique subcultures. This was based on the traditions of the country of origin and the cultural demands of the host countries. The subculture changed in a dynamic manner as children of immigrants assimilated in the host culture. For instance, Peter Balakian's (1998) *Black Dog of Fate* describes the subculture of Armenian Americans in New Jersey in the early 1960s, which differs from today's subculture.

Migration may cause problems to the country of origin and the host country as well. For example, emigration from Armenia reduces the number of working hands in Armenia while causing housing and management problems in the host country. The second author proposes a three-step process to settle the refugee problem in the post-Soviet era: (1) Establish a system that can predict varying types of migration long before they occur; (2) assist the states of the region in establishing their own migration services for taking accurate account of displaced persons; and (3) regulate the process of labor migration in the region by creating state services and programs through interstate agreements. These three steps should prove useful for regulating the migration processes and for addressing problems of security to some extent.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted to present an overview of the migration of Armenian people in the past 100 years. Our study has led to interesting information and human interest stories, the collection of which could fill a book. There is a need for volumes of information on the subject.

A look at the past 100 years indicates that like some other ethnic groups, Armenians have migrated for reasons of genocide, deportation, political and religious oppression, war, economic disadvantage and crises, education, and natural disasters. The reasons for migration have

not been very different from those prevailing in the past centuries with the exception of the Genocide.

In the 20th century, the Genocide and the *en masse* dispersion of survivors contributed to the establishment of close-knit Armenian communities throughout the world. These communities support the motherland financially and spiritually in its transition to democracy. It is noteworthy that a small nation numbering less than ten million has been able to survive under adverse conditions and perpetuate its culture. Its resilience in overcoming adversities is a testament to the psychological strength of individuals, the family, various institutions, and Armenian culture.

The Armenian case represents only a small sample of the human condition and behavior. The global perspective on migration represented by this book indicates that populations move throughout our world in times of peace and in times of upheaval. While some persons are forced to leave and adjust to host countries, adapt and acculturate, others migrate in order to better their existence and to avail themselves of economic opportunities and achieve personal growth. When one takes a global look at world migration, one wonders whether there are actual boundaries in the world among people, whether the existing state boundaries are artificial means of **having one** group's interests prevail over those of others, and whether human beings as residents of this planet will ever enjoy equal rights and equal access to the resources and wonders of this world.

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Table 1

Armenian Population in the World

Formerly Soviet States		Africa & Asia		The Americas & Australia		Europe	
Russia	1,800,000	United Emirates	5,000	USA	1,000,00	England	17,000
Ukraine	50,000	Turkey	65,000	Argentina	100,000	Austria	4,000
Kazakhstan	20,000	Israel	3,000	Brazil	20,000	Belgium	4,000
Byelorussia	5,000	Iran	180,000	Canada	70,000	Bulgaria	30,000
Uzbekistan	60,000	Iraq	22,000	Uruguay	15,000	Germany	15,000
Georgia	430,000	Cyprus	4,000	Venezuella	4,000	Denmark	4,000
Tajikistan	6,000	Lebanon	120,000	Chile	1,500	Italy	3,000
Moldova	3,000	Jordan	4,000	Other countries	2,000	Poland	10,000
Latvia	3,000	Syria	130,000	Australia	30,000	Holland	3,000
Lithuania	2,000	Kuwait	10,000			Greece	15,000
Estonia	4,000	Hindustan	1,000			Hungary	8,000
Karabagh	160,000	Asian countries	10,000			Sweden	4,000
Turkmenistan	60,000	Egypt	10,000			Switzerland	5,000
Kirghizstan	5,000	R. of South Africa	3,000			Rumania	6,000
		Sudan	1,000			France	400,000
		Other African countries	2,000			Other	3,000
Total	2,608,000	Total	570,000	Total	1,242,500	Total	531,000

Table prepared in 1995 by Armenag M. Voskanian, Curator / Historian of the Genocide Museum at Dzidzernagaperd Monument in Yerevan, Armenia

Table 2

Armenian Settlements Before and After 1915

Number of Armenians Living Outside of Turkey until 1914		Migration Sites of Genocide Survivors 1915-22	
US and Canada	75,000	USA and Canada	22,000
Iran	60,000	Iran	35,000
Syria, Lebanon and Palestine	60,000	Syria and Lebanon	85,000
		Palestine	8,000
Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia	12,000	Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia	15,000
Bulgaria	8,000	Bulgaria	20,000
Romania	5,000	Romania	15,000
Greece	1,000	Greece	35,000
India, Java and other Asian countries	15,000		
Mesopotamia, Bagdad, Musul, Basra	1,000	Iraq	15,000
Europe	10,000		
		Cyprus	7,000
		South America	10,000
		Constantinople	55,000
		Turkey	50,000
Total	247,000	Total	402,000

Source: Y. Khatanassian (1965). The number of the Armenians. Boston: Hairenik Press

Table 3

Number of migrants to Soviet Armenia from 1925 to 1965

Iran	50,000
Iraq	5,000
Lebanon, Syria	55,000
Egypt	5,000
Cyprus & Palestine	5,000
Greece	35,000
France	10,000
Bulgaria	5,000
Romania	5,000
The Americas	3,000
Total	178,000

Source: Y. Khatanassian (1965). The number of the Armenians. Boston: Hairenik Press

MIGRATION AND BRAIN DRAIN: THE CASE STUDY

GENERAL MIGRATION TRENDS

The history of Armenia has a lot of examples of mass migration, while migration flows were mostly focused outside of the country. Meanwhile there are also cases of repatriation.

In a course of the last 10 years several migration streams appeared in Armenia. Catastrophic earthquake of 1988 caused deaths of 25,000 residents of the northern part of Armenia. Tens of thousands of houses and other buildings were destroyed; about 500,000 people remained without shelter. In the first days after the disaster an evacuation of people from the disaster zone was organized. A part of the population was settled in rest houses and hotels within the republic. About 150,000 people were taken to the countries of the former USSR. Besides, about 70,000 people left the country on their own and settled down outside of Armenia. Also there were about 100,000 displaced persons in other regions of Armenia.

This was the first migration flow following the natural disaster.

The second flow was a result of the Karabakh conflict. After a massacres within the territory of Azerbaijan, in the town of Sumgait, Kirovabad, afterwards in Baku, in 1988-1992 hundreds of thousands Armenians escaped to Armenia and Russia.

360,000 refugees from Azerbaijan in a course of 1988-1990, later about 75,000 refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh, about 72,000 residents of villages from the border regions with Azerbaijan. They had to leave their areas of residence, which became the scene of battle and frontier wars. They were followed by 6,000 refugee Armenians from Abkhazia, the victims of conflict in the Georgian territory. Meanwhile, as a result of this conflict, about 167,000 Azeris left Armenia in 1989-1990. These are the figures of the second flow.

Thus, the international conflict and the war have become reasons for the second, vaster migration flow that affected the frontier states and the whole region.

Many of refugees from Azerbaijan were not satisfied with conditions in weakened Armenia and moved to the West, Russia, Europe and the USA. After the Genocide of 1915 it was the second by its amount flow of Armenians - refugees of the 20th century. Here we speak about migrants, who left their houses, possessions, and savings gained in a course of many years.

Finally, the third flow of migration in Armenia started in hard winter of 1990-1991. It was a time of an acute energy crisis, when people had electricity for only 1-2 hours a day. Apartments had no gas, no central heating. Armenia was in blockade imposed by Azerbaijan, and no petrol, gas and fuel entered the republic. Hundreds of thousands of people became unemployed. Armenia was experiencing its hard economic crisis. Once again thousands of Armenians moved abroad.

According to independent experts, approximately 700,000 Armenians left the country in a course of several years. They moved mostly to Russia, and only 15% - to Europe and the USA. Many of them left the country temporarily, preserving their citizenship and apartments. In fact, they live in Russia illegally, with no citizenship, with any right to ownership. In most cases they have their commercial business there.

It should be noted that at the beginning the majority of migrants, 66%, were men and 74% were in the age group of 17-60 year-olds. It means that economically active and enterprising people used to leave the country to seek jobs.

The peak of migration was in 1993, when about 250,000 people left the country. The flow of big migration started in the harsh winter of 1991 and it stabilized only in 1996-1997, at the level of 50-60,000 persons per year. But after the 1998 presidential election and especially after the terrorist act in the National Assembly building on 27 October

1999, again the flow of migrants sharply increased. Continuous economic crisis and political unstable situation of last years are the main reason of increasing migration flows.

We would like to mention that the level of education of migrants, who left the country, is high enough. About one third (30%) are people with higher and incomplete higher education. Also about 50% of migrants have secondary or secondary special education.

First, they used to support their families that were left behind in Armenia and then took them also to Russia. They are currently also assisting their relatives and friends with some money they earned. These economic migrants or "gastarbeiters" assist the population of the Republic a lot.

The volume of monetary investments from Armenians who left for other countries as labor migrants makes up quite big sums. We would like to mention that starting with the disastrous earthquake in 1988 monetary assistance from the Armenian Diaspora (mainly from Europe and the USA) grew considerably. Further to this assistance were added investments from members of families, who migrated to other countries for seeking a job.

Thus, they improve the social condition of the state, and besides, they are attracting funds from outside the country without the government's involvement. The main flow of monetary transfers is taking place outside the official channels. As a rule, money is transferred through acquaintances in cash and in US dollars. Primarily, almost all sums were transferred in this way. Gradually different private companies, dealing with money transfer from abroad to Armenia from physical persons to physical persons started to work, such as Western Union, "Anelik" bank and others.

Even though there were advantages other than the ones mentioned above, the economy of the Republic suffered because of the economic migration. As far as the economically active part of the population left

the country the independent market faced the lack of enterprising people; thus formation of the middle class in a new social structure of the society has been dragging on for decades.

"BRAIN DRAIN"

We would like to mention at once that in spite of persistent talks about serious "brain drain" from Armenia, today there is no special survey on this problem.

Weak attempts of the RoA Government in 1995 to reveal the scale and volume of the "brain drain" from the academic sphere were not successful. They mentioned completely ridiculous number about several tens scientists, left our country, which did not correspond to the real data. And there were two main reasons. First, the matter was in the fact that the system of the RoA Academy of Sciences itself during past years "grew thin" twice. Instead of 6,000 scientific workers today there are only about 3,500. It means nothing but the following: the flow of the scientific personnel to other spheres, and first of all to the business sphere, partly sphere of education, state services and international organizations. Many of those who left the sphere of science at the beginning later went abroad. Due to this reason such "double" "brain drain" was not fixed in the academic sphere as departure of scientists abroad.

The second reason is the fact that many scientists are working on a contractual basis, mainly in foreign countries but they are still registered in their scientific institutions as staff members, who are on a long-term business trip. Together with this, administration of these scientific institutions close their eyes on the fact that contracts of the scientists are extended year by year, or after their short-term return to the motherland their contracts are renewed and they again leave for a "long-term business trip". In fact, this is the "brain drain", which is not registered officially. This type of departure of specialists and scientists can be

called "soft brain drain". They are still registered in their institutions, while in fact all their efforts and knowledge they put in the development of science of foreign countries.

Unlike this soft form of brain drain, the first one, described above, can be called "latent" brain drain. It characterizes the form, during which scientists and specialists firstly leave the usual sphere of scientific-professional activity, and later leave for abroad for looking for better conditions for work.

In order to get a better idea of the scales of the brain drain, it is enough to mention that among 700,000 people who left Armenia 30% were with higher education, 16% - secondary special and 33% - secondary education.

Data testify that most of all among emigrated specialists were representatives of humanitarian and technical sciences, and also sciences about nature. Approximately one-third of specialists in these spheres left the country in 1991-1997. Specialists in other spheres also left but in smaller numbers. Thus, approximately 12% of lawyers, economists and teachers left the country during the same period. This disproportion is explained, of course, by the demands of market economy. As a rule, those specialists are leaving, who are turned out to be unclaimed in their country, or those, who are looking for better conditions for work and for possibilities to realize their potential. In this regard, Armenia today can offer little to its specialists and scientists. Armenia is characterized by a high level of education of the population (the literacy rate is 98.9%) and high percentage of people with higher and special professional education. In the past Armenia also was considered a labor redundant republic, including specialists with higher and professional education, i.e. there were always more labor resources and specialists than working places for them. But during last ten years the outflow of specialists became a mass phenomenon. Armenia quickly became a country, the main articles of the export of which were qualified personnel and specialists with higher education.

Till now not a single serious survey has been conducted among persons, who left Armenia. Armenian Sociological Association (under the head of the author of the given article) conducted the only survey in 1997 in Germany among illegal Armenian migrants, who left for finding job and asylum. The book "Back to Homeland. Armenian Returnees from Germany" was published on the basis of the survey results. The book describes the condition of the Armenians deported from Germany to their homeland. We can confidently say that specialists who migrated from Armenia have no intention to return, at least until the economic and political situation in the country improves at least to some extent. They are not going to return to the homeland to becoming unemployed again. For many of them, the return to the homeland is a somewhat distant and unrealistic prospect. But we can judge about the intention to return at least by two sufficient factors. In Armenia, and particularly in Yerevan, there are many empty apartments now. These are houses of the migrants who went abroad. Until they sell their apartments and houses in Armenia, still there is hope that they would return to the homeland. Together with this, we would like to mention here that some of them do not sell their apartments because of low prices. Some others keep them consciously, as a dacha or houses in the homeland, where they will never live, but from time to time they will visit and see their relatives.

The migrants' intention to return is quite clearly indicated also by the fact that practically all Armenians try to settle basically in the new places of living. Approximately one fourth of all migrants have already completely settled there, even bought their own houses and apartments. Children of Armenian migrants attend local schools, wives work and acquiring home. Very many of them have received or are waiting to receive new citizenship. Particularly it concerns those migrants who left for Russia. A characteristic feature of migrants who left for Europe and the USA is a firm decision to settle there forever. It is not merely a chance that these migrants sell their houses and property before departure. It is explained, firstly, by the fact that the departure of the

migrant's family to "far abroad" is connected with big expenses. Secondly, those who have ventured to do it have a firm intention never to come back. Unlike them, among those migrants, who left for Russia and "near abroad", there are many people who left temporarily for finding a job and earning money for the family. These migrants see their departure from Armenia as being of a temporary, sometimes seasonal character, and they are attentively following the changes of the situation in the homeland, hoping to return there some day.

Frequency of these migrants' personal and business visits to Armenia is very high. Many specialists, who left temporarily, even intentionally are working abroad in such firms that have close business contacts with partners in Armenia. Their unwillingness to lose touch with the homeland, family, relatives and friends is so high that they are looking for any chance to visit the homeland. Huge bills for international telephone calls, which are paid monthly by Armenians here and abroad, also testify about the frequency of contacts. The necessity of permanent communication for them is so high that they are using effectively even the most modern possibilities of the Internet.

It is completely obvious that many specialists who went abroad will be glad to get any opportunity to have personal and business contacts in the homeland and to assist in their development. The opportunities existing in Armenia for this purpose are not big. But the increased bureaucratic State apparatus also impedes their development and expansion. Corrupt State bureaucrats are a serious hindrance for the development and enlargement of business contacts between local and migrated specialists and scientists. Even scientific contacts are sometimes weakening, meeting insuperable bureaucratic barriers, raised by corrupt bureaucrats in the field of science.

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ANNEX

1. Some specific of the 1997 Survey of illegal emigrants to Germany. 300 illegal migrants, returned (deported) from Germany to Armenia and about 100 migrants-Armenians, seeking asylum in different cities of Germany, participated in the survey. During 1997-1998 about 3,000 Armenians were deported from Germany, which is approximately a quarter from the total number of illegally emigrated Armenians in this country.

2. Migration policy of the USA, Canada and Australia is quite tough and has no special peculiarities for Armenians. The USA, as is known, has set quotas on emigration and for Armenians it makes up several thousand per year (5-6,000). Another matter is that Armenians more often and more maybe than other nations of the CIS countries appeal to the Embassies of these countries for permission for permanent residence. The main reason here is the fact that there are big Armenian Diasporas in these (and other) countries and many Armenians leave for those countries due to invitations of their close relatives and family members. One can get an impression because of this that a big number of Armenians immigrate to these countries. But there are no explicit preferences in the emigration regime for Armenians with higher education skills.

3. A big number of Armenians (and also Georgians, Azeris and others) live in Russia without citizenship, without visa, and even without registration, i.e. illegally. They are working in different private enterprises (for example, building of private houses and dachas) without registration and receiving money in "black cash".

Regime of entrance without visa to Russia gives the opportunity to hundreds of thousands of Armenians to earn money in that country. There is a series of both bilateral agreements between Russia and

Armenia (including agreement on labor migration) and general agreements within the framework of cooperation between the CIS countries. But there are no legal privileges for Armenians. Besides, it is well known that in Russia (particularly in Moscow and Saint Petersburg) there exists the strikingly expressed negative attitude to so-called "people of Caucasian nationality". The public opinion of Russians includes in this category all nationalities from the Caucasus without exception.

Armenians in Russia who earn big money, sometimes buy private houses, apartments and dachas on behalf of other person's name (as a rule on behalf of people, who have Russian citizenship). Just in the same way, they sometimes have to open private business on behalf of another (dummy) person.

4. According to the data of the State Statistics, in 1985-89 in Armenia the level of education of the population made up 95,3% (19,2% - higher education, 62,7% - secondary and 13,4% - elementary education).

At present time there are some official data but exact numbers on the population and level of education can be received only through the results of census of the population, which was carried out in Armenia in 2011.

In the late 1980s, 75% of all universities students were in basic, natural and applied science. In 1995, they were 65%.

RETURN MIGRANTS FROM GERMANY*

INTRODUCTION

The earthquake, the breakup of the Soviet system, several hard winters without work, heat, electricity. All of these factors led to a surge of Armenians leaving the country in search of work and improved living conditions. In Armenia, a family sells its apartment, furniture and borrows money from friends. They do this so they can pay travel to Germany, where they believe they can make a better life. They arrive and request asylum but after long deliberations their claim for asylum is denied and they will be returned to Armenia.

A young Armenian man in the Russian army is stationed in Germany. He asks asylum. During the time his case is being adjudicated he cannot work and receives a subsistence allowance from the German Government. It is not enough so that he can send some of it back to Armenia. In several years, the authorities decide that he does not have a valid claim for political asylum and he must return to Armenia. He does not want to return but he is deported and forced to leave.

These and 7,000 other people from Armenia who requested political asylum in Germany have had their claims rejected. They will be either deported or will voluntarily return to Armenia. 1,500 have already returned. They have been deemed to be persons of international protection and are referred to as economic migrants.

In an effort to understand why people are willing to radically change their lives IOM proposed to undertake a research project to attempt to answer many questions.

* This article was published in 2003 - *Migration processes in Armenia. Ed. Gevork Poghosyan, Yerevan, 2003, pp. 82-116.*

IOM had a subcontract with the Armenian Sociological Association (hereinafter referred to as ASA in this report) to carry out this research. Working with returnees, ASA together with input from IOM, devised a questionnaire to be used to gather information and other facts about life in Germany, expectations, feelings upon return, reception upon return to Armenia and so forth.

During several months the ASA interviewers conducted a survey of those individuals who had been deported by the German authorities. All in all, it proved possible to gather evidence of only 300 deported Armenians. The analysis of the sociological survey of 300 deported Armenians and of the official data as well as of the numerous interviews and conversations with migrants, their families and representatives of the German authorities is presented in this report.

We would like to thank the staff of the IOM and UNHCR in Armenia and in Germany, the Embassy of Germany in Armenia and the Embassy of Armenia in Germany, the Interior Office of the Land Nordrhein Westfallen, and the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Armenia, the Armenian TV and Center for Development and Human Rights, as well as numerous representatives of the Armenian Diaspora and the Armenian Church in Germany for their support, contribution and cooperation.

THE REASONS AND SCALE OF MIGRATION

The history showed that huge migrations are usually the consequence of wars or natural disasters. They used to make a big number of people displace and resulted in new cataclysm.

The history of Armenia has a lot of examples of mass migration, while migration flows were mostly focused outside of the country. Meanwhile, there are also cases of repatriation. The most famous repatriation took place after the World War II, in 1946. More than 80

thousands Armenians moved to Soviet Armenia from the Near East, Iran and Turkey.

Today, 50 years later, many of those repatriates have left for America and Europe. They could not adjust to the Soviet environment and were just expecting a suitable chance to leave the country. They were social-political migrants of sorts.

In the course of the last 7-8 years several migration flows appeared in Armenia. A catastrophic earthquake of 1988 caused deaths of 25,000 residents of the northern part of Armenia. Tens of thousands houses and other buildings were destroyed, about a half million people remained without shelter. In the first days after the disaster the evacuation of people from the disaster zone was organized. A part of the population was settled in rest houses and hotels within the republic. About 130,000 people were taken to the countries of the former USSR. Besides, about 70,000 people left the country on their own and settled down outside Armenia. It was evacuation and temporary displacement of the population, meanwhile about 25 % have not come back yet, and it seems they are not going to. This was the first migration flow following the natural disaster.

The second flow was a result of the Karabakh conflict that caused the Armenian-Azeri war. After the bloody battle within the territory of Azerbaijan, in Sumgait town, Kirovabad, afterwards in Baku, hundreds of thousands of Armenians escaped to Armenia and Russia.

300,000 refugees from Azerbaijan in a course of 1988-1990, later about 75,000 refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh were followed by 6,000 Armenian refugees from Abkhazia, the victims of conflict in the Georgian territory. These are the figures of the second flow.

Moreover, internally displaced persons appeared in Armenia - about 78,000 residents of the regions with a border with Azerbaijan. They had to leave their native places that had become the scene of battle and frontier wars.

Meanwhile, as a result of this conflict, about 160,000 Azeris left Armenia in 1989-1990. Thus, the international conflict and the war have become reasons for the second, larger-scale migration flow that affected the frontier states and the whole region.

Many refugees from Azerbaijan were not satisfied with conditions in weakened Armenia and moved to the West, Russia, Europe and the USA. After the Genocide of 1915 it was the second by its amount flow of Armenians - refugees of the 20th century. Here we speak about refugees only, who left their houses, possessions, and savings gained in a course of many years. Many of them escaped without even a suitcase or a purse. Of course, there were also people who managed to sell or exchange their apartments and some of their possessions. But according to the definition they were still refugees.

Finally, the third flow of migration in Armenia started in hard winter of 1990-1991. It was a time of an acute energy crisis, when people had electricity for only 1-2 hours a day. Apartments had no gas, no central heating. Armenia was in blockade, and no petrol, gas and fuel entered the republic. There were cases when some lonely people were found dead in their apartments due to freezing cold and hunger. More than 80% of industry and the transport did not function. Hundreds of thousands of people became unemployed. Armenia was experiencing its hard economic crisis. Once again thousands of Armenians moved abroad.

Due to the migratory processes within the last five years Armenia has lost about 700,000 (seven hundred thousand) people. The biggest loss apparently occurred in 1992-1993.

- In 1991 the loss was about 100,000
- In 1992 --250,000
- In 1993 --500,000
- In 1994 --600,000
- In 1995 --700,000

Now this process has slowed down dramatically and has been stabilized probably at the level of about 50-60,000 per year.

Two flows are distinguishable within the general migration: families that have left their homes and detached themselves from Armenia and individuals or family members, who have left the country temporarily, mainly in search of employment, with the intention of supporting financially their families back home.

Males (66%) and active able-bodied ages (75%) prevail in the migratory flows. The share of males in the total population is 48%, that of the able-bodied labor force -about 55%.

Approximately a half of the migrants have university or professional education. The proportion of the same education groups in the total population is about 17% and 8% respectively. The available data demonstrate that emigration is most intensive among specialists with education in the humanities as well as in natural and technical sciences. Within five years Armenia has lost 1/3 of its specialists in those fields. The level of emigration of skilled workers exactly matches the level of the internal CIS migration.

The poor and wealthy are the least active in migration. The peak of migratory activity falls on the segment of the population with medium means. The main factors encouraging migration from Armenia are absence of work (25%), low income (36%), geopolitical instability in the region (15%) and inadequate living conditions (deficit of electricity, gas heating, water supply, frequent disruptions transportation etc.).

There are numerous materials about migration in issues # 1-3 of "Economica", the official Journal of the Ministry of Economy of

Armenia. The growth of population has gone down 2 times. The data concerning the birth rate and mortality are published there:

	Births (thousands)		Deaths (thousands)
1980	70.3	1980	17.1
1985	80.3	1985	19.6
1986	81.2	1986	19.7
1987	78.5	1987	20.0
1988	74.7	1988	35.6 (big earthquake)
1989	75.3	1989	22.0
1990	79.9	1990	23.4
1991	77.8	1991	25.8
1992	70.6	1992	27.5
1993	59.0	1993	27.5
1994	51.2	1994	24.1

The analysis of the migration situation comes to prove that a little bit less than 1,000,000 people left Armenia during 5-6 years.

The Dynamic of Legal Migration

	Immigration (thousands)		Emigration (thousands)
1987	43.3	1987	32.9
1988	48.1	1988	30.0
1989	37.0	1989	29.4
1990	23.0	1990	26.0
1991	20.0	1991	25.4
1992	15.0	1992	8.1
1993	30.3	1993	5.1
1994	25.6	1994	3.3

Refugees from Azerbaijan and from Armenia are not mentioned. These data show legal migration only. Illegally about one million people left Armenia.

Most of them went to the CIS countries:

To Russia - 71.4 %

Georgia - 4.0 %

Ukraine and other CIS countries about 3.0%-5.0%

70% of migrants are from big or small cities and 30 % from villages. Most of them are young people.

Even though there were advantages other than the ones mentioned above, the economy of the Republic suffered because of the economic migration. As far as the economically active part of the population left the country the independent market faced the lack of enterprising people; thus the formation of the middle class in a new social structure of the society has been dragging on for decades.

As for the classification of the population according to their living standards, here everything happened very quickly: 5-10% are rich and 75-80% are poor. Impoverishment of the population, on the one hand, and fast enrichment of a small group of businessmen, on the other hand, resulted in undesirable consequences threatening the internal stability and security of the State.

Many people would like to return to their protected Communist past. Social ideas have become popular. The rating of the Communist party, which was forgotten, has risen again. In other words, internal threat for secure democratic development was obvious. On the other hand, a big number of refugees seeking asylum and permanent job under conditions of its deficit have become a reason for conflict with local population.

OLD ARMENIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

Armenians settled in the territory of nowadays Germany since the 14th -15th centuries. However, some German sources state that first Armenian settled in Germany even earlier - at the end of the 11th century. He was the Armenian archbishop Grigoris, who fled Armenia occupied by Seljuks, and after long peregrinations he found refuge in the Nidernburg temple near Pasau (Bavaria) in 1071, where he died in 1093. In the late Middle Ages Armenian traders had their trade houses in a number of German lands, like Bavaria, Saxony, Pfalz.

The number of Armenians living in Germany increased due to the students from Armenia and Artsakh (Karabakh) studying at the universities of the country.

The number of Armenians in Germany mostly increased just after the World War II, when the rehabilitation of economy was being strongly fostered in West Germany. A considerable number of Armenians came here from Turkey, especially from Istanbul. They were mostly involved in the field of industry and services. Later, Armenians came to Germany from Lebanon, Iran and Greece. Armenian communities were formed and enlarged in Munich, Köln, West Berlin (before the reunification of Germany), Stuttgart, Mainz and in other cities.

In the early 1990s many Armenians (approximately 8-10,000) applied for political asylum in Germany from Armenia as well as from Abkhazia and Georgia. Currently (1996) the number of Armenians in Germany is about 15,000, and according to the data of the German Diocese of the Armenian Church, it is maximum 25,000. The majority of Armenians, who are skilled specialists, are most of all involved in industry, construction, science and health sector. Armenians settled in Berlin since the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century. These

were particularly the Armenian students studying at Berlin University and other Institutions for professional education. Nevertheless, the Armenian community of Berlin was officially formed in 1923. In 1914, the German-Armenian association was established in Berlin, which operated until 1956 and restarted its activities only in 1972.

Until the reunification of Germany (1991), the Armenian community of West Berlin was the most organized. It had established its Electoral Committee and opened a club called "Hai Tun" ("Armenian House").

DORTMUND, a city in the Nordrhein Westfalen province. The small Armenian community was formed there after the World War II due to Armenians who fled Turkey (Istanbul). Armenians were employed mostly in industries. In November 1995, the Armenian national-cultural center was established in Dortmund.

MUNICH, BAVARIA - the governmental center of the country. Armenians settled on this land in the late Middle Ages, and here they owned several trade houses. Later, at the end of the 19th century and in early 20th century the number of Armenians living in Munich increased due to the Armenian students studying here, who had their Union of Compatriots.

Step by step the Armenian Colony of Munich was formed. In the 1970s, it numbered 600 people. Over the next decades the Armenian Community grew. In the 1990s dozens of Armenian families from Armenia, Azerbaijan and other places of the former Soviet Union settled down in Munich. Currently (in 1996) the Armenian Community of Munich has 1,000 members.

The Diocese residence of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Bavaria and two Cultural Unions are situated in Munich.

KÖLN - a city in the land Nordrhein Westfalen. The Armenian Community in Köln was formed after the World War II, though at the end of the 19th century there already was a small Armenian population in the city. The Armenian Community of Köln was officially registered in 1965.

The Armenian national life became alive, especially after the formation of the German Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church in 1991.

The spiritual life of the Armenian Community in Germany is headed and directed by the German Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church, established in 1991, according to the will of Vazgen I, the Catholicos of All Armenians. The residence of the Diocese is situated in Köln. The Armenian Communities of Köln, Southern Germany and Northern Germany have their clergymen.

There are no Armenian churches in Germany and the premises of evangelical churches are used for religious ceremonies. In the Armenian Communities of more than 10 cities (Berlin, Braunschweig, Hanau, Munich etc.) services are held and various ceremonies are performed systematically, whereas in a number of communities these are held periodically by visiting priests.

There are no systematically operating Armenian schools in Germany. One-day schools were organized in Frankfurt, with the efforts of the Armenian Cultural Union in land Hessen and in Köln, due to the local Armenian Community. Armenian Communities are eager to arrange lessons of the Armenian language and religion for Armenian pupils studying in German schools.

At the beginning of the 20th century Armenian political parties, particularly the Dashnaks and Ramkavars, had their organizations in Germany. Small groups of these parties had been operating in Berlin and Köln. At the start of the World War I, when Turkey became a Germany's ally, the number of Armenians in Germany notably decreased and the operation of the Armenian political parties came to a stop.

In the first half of the 20th century many other organizations, such as the German-Armenian Association and the Armenian National Council, were operational, besides the Unions of Compatriots, which were established by the Armenian students studying in Germany and the organizations of political parties.

The GERMAN-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION was established in Berlin, in June 1914 by a German scholar, atheist Doctor Johannes Lepsius, who became the first chairman of the Association.

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL was formed in Berlin in 1942 by some members of the Dashnak party who believed that Armenians could be set free from the Soviet regime through the victory of Germany in the World War II.

Currently many Armenian non-governmental organizations operate in Germany, which play a great role in the civic life of Armenians living in Germany.

The GERMAN-ARMENIANS CENTRAL COUNCIL was founded in 1970 by the All-Armenian Assembly held in Frankfurt am Mein.

PHYSICIANS' UNION OF GERMAN ARMENIANS consolidates Armenian physicians working in Germany.

ARMENIAN YOUNG PEOPLE'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION was established in 1991, with the assistance of the German Diocese of the Armenian Church.

ARMENIAN RELIEF CENTER was formed in 1989, in the city of Wetzlar (land Hesse).

ARMENIAN COORDINATION GROUP OF DISADVANTAGED NATIONS was formed in 1979.

In fact, the Armenian Community of Germany is not as numerous and effective as those in France, Lebanon, the USA, Argentine or Russia. It has neither power nor wealth which could be attracting migration flows to Germany. As we managed to discover, the reason of its being attractive is based on its legislation, according to which a considerably wide population of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers may get asylum.

WAY TO GERMANY

Since 1990s, migration flows have started from the newly formed CIS countries to Europe. At first, migrants were in tourist groups, scientific delegations and were not coming back. From Armenia those 'tourists' migrated through Paris or Moscow, as at the time air connection was only with those cities.

Gradually, there appeared special groups of people that dealt with illegal transportation of migrants to Germany. In fact, those people were forming 'tour' groups for visits to the country. However, all the members of the group knew about the real aim of the 'tourists'. Others preferred individual ways of getting into the country. There were many cases, when a member of a musical troupe, scientific delegation or a sport team stayed abroad and did not come back. People left also by individual invitations and visas as well as using third countries.

The so-called 'Polish Corridor' is well-known among illegal migrants. During several years on the Polish-German border there were 'chelnoks' / "shuttles", who transferred people through the German border for a considerable payment. There were several corridors of that kind. One of them, which was very popular among those who were

doing car business, started after Vrotslav near border town Zgorzelec (Gö-rlits, and was used to get migrants into Bavaria).

There were also dangerous corridors, which lay through marshy areas. Passages through them were not safe and in winters there were cases when people froze on the way. Those kind of risky passages were rather expensive. 'The specialists', who took the responsibility to transfer the illegal migrants, charged $300 - $500 per person. It can be assumed that the money was shared with representatives of the border region authorities, who did not look and 'did not notice' the illegal transfer of migrants. The migration business prospered on the Polish-German border. Many people made quite good money off illegal migrants.

However, crossing the border is just half the work. The most important thing was to stay in Germany. German laws are rather strict for those who seek a refugee asylum or a status of a political migrant or some other. The German UNHCR conducted an analysis of the situation with Armenian asylum seekers. Hereby, the extracts from that analysis are presented.

ASYLUM SEEKERS FROM ARMENIA IN GERMANY*

DECISIONS OF THE FEDERAL OFFICE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF FOREIGN REFUGEES

(first instance) 1995-1996.

The total number of requests for asylum lodged by Armenians remained stable at around 4,300 - 4,500 (persons) in 1995 / 1996. The number of persons to whom asylum (Art. 16a Basic Law) was granted dropped from 92 in 1995 to 26 in 1996. Protection against deportation according to Section 51 of Aliens Act (which is the German equivalent to Convention status) was in 1995 granted in 30 and in 1996 granted in 12 cases. The number of aliens protected against deportation under Section 53 Aliens Act (individual obstacles to deportation according to ECHR or danger for life or limb) dropped considerably from 38 to 8. An analysis of 104 cases (not persons: some cases include several family members) decided by the Federal Office in 1996 revealed that about two thirds of the claims were rejected as unfounded and about one third as manifestly unfounded. While one case was recognized as refugee according to Section 51 Aliens Act (Convention status) in the first instance, this decision has nor acquired legal force since the Federal Asylum Commissioner (representing the Interior Ministry) has appealed against the recognition, and the court decision is still pending.

The reasons brought forward by the applicants for their claims were manifestly unfounded. The majority of cases rejected as manifestly unfounded concerned applicants who either claimed fear of recruitment or punishment for draft evasion or desertion. Another significant group sought protection because they participated in demonstrations in the

* The data were kindly provided by UNHCR and IOM offices in Bonn.

coarse of the presidential elections and claimed they would be subject to arrest and/or interrogation.

(In some cases Kurdish, Azeri and Turkish ethnic origin was brought forward to justify the need or protection). In those cases rejected as (simply) unfounded. The largest group of applicants claimed to be members of the Dashnak party, or to be the member of a Dashnak member's family. A significant number of applicants claimed that they had evaded recruitment and were therefore subject to interrogation and arrests. Some of draft evaders even reported that family members were taken hostage. Several applicants claimed fear of persecution because of their Yezidi religion.

SOME GERMAN COURTS DECISIONS ON ARMENIAN ASSYLUM REQUESTS IN 1996 (second instance)

(This section presents results of a review of some 1996 decisions of administrative courts - the second instance in the German asylum procedure. The decisions reviewed were from the Administrative Court Würzburg (10). Regensburg (5), Lüneburg (1), Schleswig-Holstein (1), as well as third instance decisions rendered by the Higher Administrative Court of Rheinland-Pfalz (5)).

None of the applicants was recognized as refugee in second instance, either according to Article 16(a) of the Constitution 01- under Section 51 Aliens Act. Five claims were rejected on grounds of the "safe" third country rule (Section 26a of the Asylum Procedure Act), however, out of this group one applicant was granted protection from deportation according to Section 53 Aliens Act. In nine other cases, courts granted protection from deportation under Section 53 (4) in connection with Article 3 and/or 6 or 8 of the European Human Rights Convention (ECHR). Additionally, in two cases (each involving minors) protection

from deportation was granted because the applicants would face a substantial risk for life or limb (Section 53 (6) Aliens Law).

The largest group eligible for protection from deportation (Section 53 (4) Aliens Act) consists of draft evaders and deserters from Armenia. Protection was not granted when the applicant claimed simply that Armenian soldiers were forcibly deployed in and around the enclave of Nagorno Karabakh.

The courts did however acknowledge that the often brutal recruitment measures of the Armenian authorities (e.g. visits to private apartments, threatening of recruits and family members, spontaneous recruitment in public places) amounts to inhuman and degrading treatment which is prohibited under Article 3 of the European Human Rights Convention. The courts also found that the treatment of evaders who face the risk of being arrested and subjected to unfair criminal proceedings for draft evasion or desertion was contrary to Article 6 ECHR.

Courts refused protection in cases of applicants who claimed simply to be ordinary Dashnak party or otherwise associated with the opposition. If the applicants brought forward that they were subject to threats and ill-treatment, the courts rejected this argument, holding that such attacks, were committed by non-state agents and therefore (according to German case-law) not relevant in an asylum context.

One higher administrative court -- contrary to the UNHCR assessment - did not recognize the mixed Armenian-Azeri married couples to be in danger of persecution. The court stressed the fact that the government of Armenia is in principle able to protect these persons against individual attacks. The same court decided -again contrary to the assessment of the situation of religious minorities in UNHCR's mission

report on Armenia from July 1996 that 7th Day Adventists were not in need of protection.

The general emergency and poor economic situation in Armenia was acknowledged in exceptional cases only. One such case concerned a minor child applicant with an already precarious health condition. Another case concerned a family with two children under the age of 16.

The numbers brought above state that only a small number of Armenians has a chance to stay in Germany. The rest will sooner or later be forced to return to the homeland. Our observations and conversations in different German towns prove that the migrants themselves realize the whole marginality of their situation. Only very few of them settle down. On the contrary, many of them understand that sooner or later they will have to leave Germany. And at the same time they psychologically prepare themselves to leaving the country. Some of them find beforehand other European countries in case of moving.

Even a short-term, or temporarily stay of migrants in Germany help them to solve some financial problems. Although officially it is not allowed to get employed or get allowances from the social services of Germany, many of them manage to get illegally employed. Of course, they get only half of the salary, which the legal citizens of the country usually get for the same job. Nevertheless, the employer and the employee are satisfied with the situation. Migrants are the cheapest employees for the private sector of the German economy, and there is no insurance or any tax for them.

The migrants, as a rule, send the earned money back home to support their families or relatives who are left in Armenia. Almost every tenth migrant manages to make a small capital, which will in the future

become a basis for establishing their own business in Germany or in any other European country.

The majority of the migrants say that they are ready to return to Armenia as soon as the economical situation there improves. But when will that be, nobody can tell. As a result of conversations and the study of materials it has become clear that Armenians used all possible ways to persuade the German authorities to grant them asylum. Many refugees presented themselves as political migrants: members of the banned Dashnak party, opposition supporters, participants of the September 25 events that took place after the presidential elections. Others presented themselves as followers of the religious groups whose members are conscientious objectors. Regarding that fact, they had to leave the country because there is no alternative military service in Armenia yet.

And others simply state that they were not able to find a job and provide for the family. They indicated numerous reasons for leaving Armenia and to be recognized by the migration legislation of Germany. Moreover, people presented a lot of documents and papers, which proved that they were persecuted by the Armenian authorities. Some of those "documents" were ridiculous; others were perfect examples of forged papers.

People used all the possibilities to remain in the country, if not forever, then at least for some time. We talked to people who engaged in stealing in large supermarkets. People steal food, other goods, which later could be resold at a cheaper price on the black market. Minor stealing is widely spread among teen-agers and women. Adults commit more serious crimes, like illegal resale of second-hand cars, car-stealing, forging documents, and other grave violations of law.

There were rumors that crime bosses from Armenia had gone to Germany and tried to tax the migrants. Their efforts were in vain.

All the above-mentioned facts make the relations of the migrants with the old Diaspora difficult. There is no mutual understanding between them, as the 'new' Armenians expected a warmer welcome and more real assistant from the Armenia community. On the one hand, the migrants complain that local Armenians do not help them to find a job and treat them with distrust. On the other hand, local Armenians do not approve of the migration flow from independent Armenia, regard them as deserters from the improved home land because of economic hardships. Last but not least is that the image of the Armenian migrants and the whole atmosphere around them is not applicable to the respectable Diaspora. They had spent much time and effort to gain a dignified "ethnic recess" in the German society. During long years of hard work and law-abiding they have managed to create a positive image in the public mind, which they value very much. The culture, life and manners of the 'old' and 'new' Armenians differ very much. If for the former the church is a place for permanent Sunday meetings and discussion of common issues and business matters, for the latter such kind of meetings and discussions is done at a dinner with drinks. The 'new' Armenians attend the church according to the old Soviet tradition - very seldom or never.

Against the background of such problems in mutual understanding, there exist also national values, goals and traditions, which unify them tightly and make them communicate and cooperate.

In general, we can say that Armenian migrants do not feel comfortable in Germany. However, they feel much better than they did in Armenia because of mass unemployment, war situation, blockade and poverty. The reasons for that migration flow are not yet eliminated, and it will take many years to eliminate them completely. As for the present, there are going to be migrants and refugees as well as repatriates, voluntarily returnees and deportees.

RETURN

The migrants used different ways to get to Germany. Just the same situation is with the return. Some go back voluntarily, others are deported in handcuffs. A case occurred with an old woman – Rima Mkrtchian – who had left for Germany after her sons. She had managed to settle in the town of Oerlinghausen. Rima had done any kind of work. Soon people started to talk of her as a diligent worker. Several times there had been articles about her in the local press ("Neue Westfalishe"), etc. In two years, when Rima had decided to return home, the local people felt sorry about the departure. The municipal authorities had provided her with a van and a driver so that she could transport her possessions and gifts for her grandchildren and children. The van took her to the Polish border, where she was met by her sons, who had already returned to Armenia from Germany. Rima remembers with warm feelings the time when she lived in the small German town.

However, there were other cases as well. A young man was deported right from the jail in handcuffs by a plane, which was flying directly to Yerevan.

The return procedure takes place in the following way. After the final verdict of the authorities on not allowing the asylum seeker to stay in Germany, the applicant gets a formal warning on the necessity to leave the country within a certain period of time (as a rule a long time). During that period of time the migrant can leave independently (using his own finances) by plane or by car. Some of them turn to the IOM for financial help, where they are provided with means to leave the country. If the migrant does not leave the country in that period of time, the authorities warn him once more. There are certain IOM programmes implemented together with the German government and UNHCR, which were established for the volunteer returnees to their home-countries. In particular, programmes like REAG and GARP. The

migrants who for several times escape from departure, are forcibly deported.

DEPORTATIONS OF REJECTED ARMENIAN ASSYLUM SEEKERS IN 1995 / 1996.

According to the statistics of the Federal German border police, in 1995, 1,584 Armenian nationals were deported from Germany. Of this number, the majority -1,301- were persons apprehended at or near the border, and deported to neighboring countries under bilateral readmission agreements, while 283 persons were deported (by air) to Armenia. From January-September 1996, 1,117 persons were deported (October - December figures are not yet available).

There is a mutual agreement between the Ministries of Interior of Armenia and Germany on escorting persons, who had escaped from volunteer departure. Every week the plane arriving from Frankfurt am Maine, brings several repatriating Armenians. Among them there are some who have been escorted to the ladder by the German officials and handed over to special Armenian officials. Sometimes those people are escorted in handcuffs, because they had seriously violated the migration legislation. We have become witnesses of such a case, when an adult man was being deported from Germany (for the second time, as he himself confessed). On board a plane before the landing in the Yerevan airport he got naked so that he could not be forced to get out. He chose such an extreme form of protest against his return. Of course, he was taken off the board and afterwards he started to seek help of human rights organizations. As far as we know, unsuccessfully. There are various cases, including tragic ones. Return and repatriation do not always take place smoothly.

REINTEGRATION & EMIGRATION PROGRAMME FOR ASYLUM–SEEKERS IN GERMANY

Programme of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the purpose of providing financial assistance to destitute refugees

GENERAL INFORMATION

REAG is a humanitarian aid programme for asylum-seekers, denied asylum-seekers and refugees who are prepared to renounce their right to asylum and have decided of their own free will to emigrate to a third country or to return to their native country. Asylum-seekers may take advantage of this programme at any stage in their asylum proceedings, up to deportation. Under certain circumstances the programme may also be utilized by foreigners in Germany who have never applied for asylum. Thus, civil-war refugees from ex-Yugoslavia and former contract workers from Vietnam can also receive REAG-assistance, if they meet the other qualifying criteria as indicated in the following sections.

REAG is administrated by IOM on behalf of the Ministry for Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, and in cooperation with local and regional authorities, voluntary welfare organizations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The programme provides the refugee with pre-departure assistance and transport. The prerequisite is that neither the refugee or asylum-seeker himself nor any other person or agency responsible for his support can provide the necessary financial support. If the applicant has means at his disposal, a contribution to the travel costs may be required. Any costs incurred in preparation for departure (e.g. fees for passports or visas, or trips to consular interviews) must be borne by the competent welfare office or other responsible agency.

ASSISTANCE

Within the framework of the programme the following types of assistance may be granted:

a) full payment of transportation costs (by plane, train or bus)
b) additional travel allowance, if approved by IOM prior to departure (for adults up to DM 150)
c) special baggage allowance in justified exceptional cases.

APPLICATIONS

REAG-applications may only be submitted through one of the voluntary welfare agencies or a local or regional authority.

ELIGIBILITY AND PREREQUISITS

Under specific conditions, asylum-seekers, denied asylum-seekers, recognized refugees, as well as war and civil-war refugees and former contract workers form Vietnam, may all be assisted through the REAG-programme.

All foreigners, whether returnees or emigrants to third countries, must at the time of departure be in possession of valid residence papers for Germany (or a border passage certificate) as well as valid travel documents. Asylum-seekers must waive their request of asylum, as well as their right of asylum appeal. There may be no existing grounds for the refugee's subsequent return to the Federal Republic of Germany. There is no basis for any legal claim to REAG-assistance.

IMMIGRATION VISAS

Refugees or asylum-seekers who desire to re-emigrate, i.e. who seek admission and permanent residence in a third country, should first consult an information or counseling center for emigrants and people working abroad, in order to obtain information on available possibilities. Directories of these counseling centers may be obtained from an office of one of the voluntary welfare organizations or from the Federal

Administration Office (Bundesverwaltungsamt), Department V, 50728 Cologne. Applications for subsidized travel to third countries can only be processed, when the refugee is in possession of an immigration visa for the country in question.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Further information concerning the REAG-programme may be requested from the Welfare or Aliens' Offices in any German city or district, from an office of one of the voluntary welfare organizations, as well as directly from IOM in Bonn (only in German, English or French).

ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR RETURNEES (GARP)

Depending on the Federal State in Germany in which the intended returnee resides, an additional financial assistance within GARP (Government Assisted Repatriation Programme) may be granted to people returning via REAG to Egypt, the Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Ukraine (DM 450, - per adult), to Ethiopia, Albania, Algeria, Armenia, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Ghana, India, the Lebanon, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan and Togo (DM 350, - per adult). Children may be granted half of the assistance. There are maximum limits for families.

SPECIAL MIGRANTS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME (SMAP)

IOM can arrange flights and offer IOM-special-fares within SMAP for other destitute people who are in need of international assistance and who are not eligible for REAG. Flight costs have to be covered by the migrant himself or any other entity before departure.

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE EXTENDED REAG- PROGRAMME (GARP)

CONCERNING ADDITIONAL REPATRIATION ASSISTANCE FOR RETURNEES TO:

Egypt - Albania - Algeria - Armenia - Ethiopia - Bangladesh - Bosnia and Herzegovina - Eritrea - Ghana - India - Lebanon - Nepal - Nigeria – Russian Federation - Sri Lanka - Pakistan - Ukraine - Togo

GOVERNMENT ASSISTED REPATRIATION PROGRAMME (GARP)

The GARP-Programme is carried out on behalf of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the governments of the Federal States, each of whom is responsible for 50% of the costs. The programme provides for additional repatriation assistance for persons living in selected states. The countries selected and the amount of financial assistance can be re-determined every six months. There is no legal entitlement to assistance through the GARP-Programme.

Basically, the GARP-Programme is applied only in the Federal States, which have agreed to participate in it. The regulations of the respective Federal States must be taken into consideration in the implementation of the programme. Additional repatriation assistance for persons from Federal States that are not yet participating in the GARP-Programme may only be granted if a local agency (e.g. the Social Welfare Office) agrees to be liable for 50% of the costs. Further information on Federal States participating in the GARP-Programme can be obtained from IOM.

PERSONS QUALIFYING FOR THE GARP-PROGRAMME

Additional return assistance through the GARP-Programme can be granted only for destitute persons living in the above-mentioned states, whose voluntary return is organized and financed through the REAG-Programme. Details regarding eligibility are explained further in the REAG Information Sheet.

ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE GARP-PROGRAMME

The following additional assistance may be granted within the GARP-Programme, depending on the availability of budgetary resources:

Nationals of Egypt, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Russian Federation, Sri Lanka and the Ukraine receive interim assistance totaling DM 450 - per adult and DM 225 - per child under 12 years of age, but not more than DM 1.350 - per family unit.

Nationals of Ethiopia, Albania, Algeria, Armenia, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Ghana, India, the Lebanon, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan and Togo receive interim assistance totaling DM 350 - per adult and DM 175- per child under 12 years of age, but not more than DM 1,050- per family unit.

Recipients of financial assistance under the GARP-Programme are not required to justify the use of the funds received. The approved amounts will be paid out, whenever possible, by IOM staff members at the Frankfurt Airport. Payments at other airports or upon arrival in the native country are possible in principle.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

Applications for the REAG Programme may be made only through a responsible local or regional authority, a Voluntary Welfare Organization, or through the UNHCR. It is not necessary to give any additional explanation or to make a special request for the a.m. additional assistance on the REAG application form. The financial aid described above will be approved as a package, insofar as there are sufficient remaining funds available and the Federal State in question has agreed to participate in the programme. REAG applications must be

submitted to IOM Bonn by one of the agencies mentioned above, and not by the returnee himself. It is important to establish that the repatriation is being planned as a permanent one, and that there is no existing basis for a subsequent return to the German Federal Republic.

Voluntary Return of Rejected Armenian Asylum Seekers under the REAG Programme

	Return to Armenia	Resettlement 1996 / 1996	Total 1995 / 1996 (monthly)
January 1995 / 1996	3 / 20	2 / 2	5 / 22
February	9 / 22	4 / 6	13 / 28
March	5 / 26	6 / 6	11 / 32
April	7 /30	1 / 8	8 / 38
May	16 / 20	5 / 5	21 / 25
June	36 / 25	10 / 19	46 / 44
July	9 / 41	1 / -	10 / 41
August	54 / 51	10 / 4	64 / 55
September	41 / 37	2 / 11	43 / 48
October	20 / 45	1 / 5	21 / 50
November	38 / 58	5 /	43 / 63
December	13 / 31	6 / 8	19 / 39
Total	**251 / 406**	**53 / 79**	**304 / 485**

METHODOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

A sociological survey among 300 Armenian returnees from Germany during the last 2 years was conducted. The purpose of the survey was to find out the motivations for leaving the country, living conditions in Germany and the reasons for repatriation. It should be mentioned that the survey aimed to assess those Armenians only, who left for Germany

for permanent residence but who returned or were deported for some reason. The assessment does not cover those who left for a short time as a tourist, for a trip, etc. and came back, according to the expiration of the visa. We were mostly involved in surveying those Armenians, who turned to German authorities and applied for asylum or citizenship.

It should be emphasized that among the 3 million population of the Republic it was hard enough to discover those who would qualify as respondents for the survey. It became apparent that neither the authorities in Armenia, nor the German Embassy in Yerevan have the lists of returnees or deportees at their disposal. The authorities let us know that this kind of information is for the most part confidential. One way or another, the sociologists did not manage to find any lists of names or addresses. As a result, the decision was made to change the methodology of the survey called "Snow Ball".

A program for sociological survey, a special questionnaire and a survey method "face to face" was worked out.

The "Snow Ball" method is convenient because you seem to roll the ball till you find the end of the thread. Twenty skilled interviewers were involved in the survey. Each member of the research group inquired among his/her neighbors, relatives, friends and fellow workers about those whom they knew to return from Germany recently. As soon as the interviewer discovered one or two names, he/she went to the place mentioned or tried to contact by telephone. In case of a successful contact, the interviewer, after the interview with the respondent, asked if he/she knows someone else, who returned from Germany together with him/her or after. Thus, step by step the data bank of addresses (or telephones) of Armenian returnees from Germany was created. Sometimes the search for returnees led us to other towns and regions of the Republic.

It should be mentioned that nearly half of those whom we managed to find either refused flatly to answer the questions or tried to avoid meeting with the interviewer. In some cases these were people who stayed in Germany for personal reasons and never were determined to apply for asylum. Thus, the majority of returned asylum seekers had to be persuaded to take part in the survey. The attitude towards the survey - the "risk" to be discovered - in the majority of cases was negative. Therefore, after a month of a difficult search we decided to make advertisements in newspapers and on TV, which said that the Armenian Sociological Association, on the initiative of UNHCR and IOM, conducts a sociological survey on Armenian returnees from Germany. Additionally we made special ID cards for interviewers with their photos on them and UNHCR and IOM logos. The latter considerably fostered the process of interviewing. The matter is many Armenian returnees avoided meeting and having conversations with our interviewers as they feared they were government representatives from the Ministry of Interior or Security Service. Their fears and reservations became clear to us later on, when we found out the nature of the reasons, which served as grounds for their argument why they were unwilling to return to their home country.

They had to speak about not only the difficult economic and social situation in Armenia but also to make exaggerations or just invent stories. Anyway, at that time they were unable to say anything better. And now, in the face of our interviewers, who in some way "discovered" them, they were afraid of being pursued by the government, for all the slander about their country and the regulations in it.

The latter made our work even harder and the interviewers had to use all their skills and abilities in order to break the ice of distrust and the unwillingness to answer the questions. The interviewers had to take into consideration all the conditions of confidentiality and anonymity of the

interview. It is worth to mention that these kinds of surveys are very rare among the sociological research. Great efforts and time were needed to find a suitable respondent and to persuade him/her to take part in the survey. On top of that, confidentiality of the survey restricted the possibility to have control over the interviewers. The latter, not putting down the names and addresses in the questionnaires, made special remarks on the margins, according to which the field supervisors could find the respondent in question and check the exactness of the survey. The supervisions, in their turn, called a new wave of anxiety, doubt and protest of the interviewed respondents. As a result of all that, the survey lasted for more than three months from December 1996 till early March 1997.

In the continuing search of respondents we tried another way as well. Every Wednesday during one month a special group went to the airport in the evening to meet the direct flight Frankfurt – Yerevan. In fact, almost always among the arriving people there were 2-3 persons of interest to us.

It should be also mentioned that there were respondents, who were eager to answer the questions. Some people even agreed to give an interview for the TV and press. Three people came to our office after reading the announcement in the newspapers. One young man who had tried to stay in Germany after serving in the Soviet armed forces but was deported to the homeland in several months , agreed to be a member of our research group. That young man, Arthur, was of great use to our group: he shared his experience and information about his stay in Germany. Besides, thanks to his ties we managed to attract a lot of returnees to the survey. During those several months the survey became his employment and afterwards he joined a huge army of the unemployed in Armenia.

During the survey we met people of an unusual fate, sometimes even tragic or comic. However, all 300 respondents had in common finding themselves in extraordinary conditions and being forced to seek for not traditional, personal (individual) ways out of that situation. We could also feel the strong pressure of the negative conditions and, on the other hand, the certain tendency of those people towards quick radical changes of situation.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY RESULTS

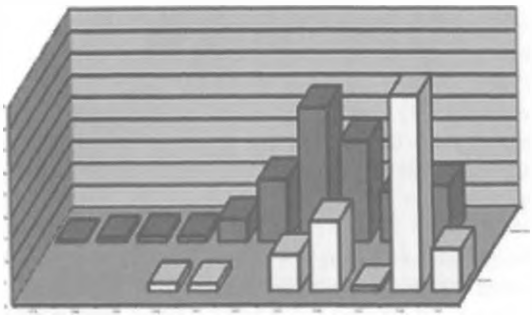
Herewith we bring the analysis of the responses provided by 300 Armenian returnees from Germany. The survey was based on the questionnaire, which is attached to the Annex together with the quantitative data of the responds (in percentages) (see Annex 1). It is interesting to observe the outlined dynamics of the departure from Armenia to Germany. The number of the departing people was continually rising over the period from 1978-1993, and then again started to decrease. It is well depicted in the following chart, where the years of departure and the number of departing (out of the 300 respondents) in the correlation in percents (see Chart 1).

As it is presented in the chart, among the 300 surveyed Armenian returnees there were some, who had left for Germany in 1978 (1 person), in 1986 (3 persons), in 1989 (4 persons) or 1990 (4 persons).

The main reason for leaving is unemployment: that reason was indicated by 32.3 % of the respondents. One quarter of the respondents pointed at the hard living conditions in the country. Another 19% of the respondents mentioned the absence of any prospects for the future here as a main reason for migration. At the same time, only a small percent of the respondents mentioned the war situation as the main reason. This is a little strange, regarding the fact that 64.3 % of the respondents were men, and half of them were of the military service age. We can assume

that the returned Armenians were not quite sincere, when answering this question.

Chart 1



Country Choice

Dozens of thousands of people left Armenia each year, basically for Russia. Only a little part of migrants (approximately 15 %) made their way to Western Europe and the USA. Several thousands of Armenians in this flow leave for Germany each year. In fact, those who had ever been Germany in the past, chose that country to settle down in it.

The surveyed people mentioned two significant reasons why they had chosen Germany: 45.3 % had had friends or relatives there and 22 % had heard it be a "good country to stay in". The researchers studying the migration of the population mentioned a long time ago that the basic mechanism of moving has a lot to do with people going to see their relatives and friends. At first, only one person arrives and then, some time later, his relatives and close friends gather around him/her. Here is the "attractive" mechanism of migration of the population. At first, the

intention to leave was formed under the "pushy" pressure of unsatisfactory conditions. Later on comes the decision is made about what country to go to, which depends upon the fact of having relatives or friends there.

13,3 % of our respondents chose Germany taking into consideration their having being there before. In other words, they had a personal experience of being in that country. It is interesting to mention that 15% of the respondents appeared in Germany quite accidentally. They did not have any particular decision concerning the country, and it happened all by itself.

Nevertheless, 65 % of the respondents said that they had had specific information about that country. The quarter of the respondents (24%) had had very little information. The remaining 8.7% had had no information.

Preparation for Leaving

Perhaps this is the reason why 53.3 % of respondents left for Germany immediately together with the family members. Others (44.7 %) at first left alone and later on urged family members to join them. As a rule, it was a spouse (39%), children (10%) and sometimes brothers and sisters (6%) or parents (4%).

Having concrete information about Germany, they prepared for leaving. A half of the respondents (50.4%) saved some money for the departure; others (15.9%) saved some jewelry and precious things. Some people even sold their houses (5.4%) and signed out from the registration (2.3 %), as far as they were determined to get settled far from the territory of Armenia for certain.

Way to Germany

More than 1/3 of the respondents left directly for Germany (34.3%) and reached there by plane (22%), train (42.7%), bus (20.3%) or car (3.0

%). The remaining 65% of the respondents transited through other countries, especially through Poland, while arriving to Germany.

Life in Germany

They are quite pleased with the way they were received in Germany. The authorities and local Armenians received them a little worse. Only 5.7% of the respondents said that governmental agencies received them very badly. Many of them waited for the final decision of the authorities concerning their status for more than one year (14%). Some others waited up to one year (12 %). However, the majority of the respondents waited only for one or several months.

Anyhow, while the authorities were deciding whether to grant them an asylum or to offer them to return home, the migrants engaged in all sorts of activities. Almost half of them (39.6 %) worked legally or illegally. Their family members worked as well (36.8 %). The migrants who did not manage to find any employment were looking for it (13.3 %). Another part of the migrants was studying language or some trade (10–12 %). Some of the migrants had to baby-sit (8.7 %) which was the reason that they could not work. About 15% of the respondents mentioned that their children were studying language and some trade. And 6 % of the respondents said that their grown-up children also had some occupation. The answers of the respondents showed that they had not been wasting time: either they worked or studied something. This tends to confirm the fact that the migrants were escaping enforced idleness and high rate of unemployment as they wanted to provide a better living to their families and relatives. Regularly they all got allowances, which were quite enough to live on. Despite that, the majority of the Armenian migrants looked for and found additional income so as to better provide got themselves as well as to be able to send some money back home to their relatives and also so as to save some money for the future. Such behavior of the migrants is to be

respected, and perhaps this is why local population treated Armenian migrants well.

However, we are far from presenting you an idyllic picture of life of the migrants. Certainly there were people who had no occupation (22.3%). They either did not want or could not find a job. Among them there were also arrant loafers and spongers who were pleased with the allowances and dwellings provided by social agencies. They did not have to worry about anything else. There were also people who were stealing, cheating and engaging in other illegal activities. For those people Germany was a new and a "virgin land" for their deviant behavior. And some of them had improved their deviant activities that became an object for the intent attention of the police and human rights protection agencies.

Return

The survey of 300 Armenian returnees revealed that more than a half of the respondents (55.7 %) were forced by German authorities to return (see Q. 13). Besides, many of them, as they stated, had received financial (28.5%) and other material help (14.9 %) from the authorities. Local authorities took all possible measures so that the migrants return to their home country in time. And the great majority of the returnees (97.7%) returned to the area, which they had left a few years ago. Moreover, 82.3 % of the respondents returned to their former houses, where they had lived before migrating to Germany. Some of the respondents returned to new houses (12.3 %) and only a small part of the respondents (3%) at present lives at the relatives' place, not having their own dwellings. Those who moved to new houses said that they had sold their old houses (or apartments) before the departure. And this was the reason why 5.7 % of the returnees had to purchase a new house. But there were those who had improved their living conditions by buying new apartments (7.7 %). In fact, 14 % of the returnees live in new

apartments either because of selling the former ones or because of the improvement of their living conditions.

For those people the trip to Germany and the migrant's life happened to be successful and efficient. Upon the return back home they started to live somewhat better than before the departure. To be fair, it should be mentioned that the number of the people who had improved their living conditions is not that big. That is why 62.7% of the respondents told us that, if possible, they would like to go back to Germany. Only 21 % said that they would not like to return. Moreover, 55% of the respondents claimed that they would advise the migrants who had stayed in Germany to stay there as long as possible. Another 3.3 % would advise the migrants staying in Germany to move to another country. And only 15.7 % of the respondents would advise the Armenian migrants in Germany to return back. This is very symptomatic and, in fact, proves that the conditions in Armenia, which had led to migration, are not yet eliminated, and those who were forced to return are not pleased with that. Consequently, a back migration might be expected.

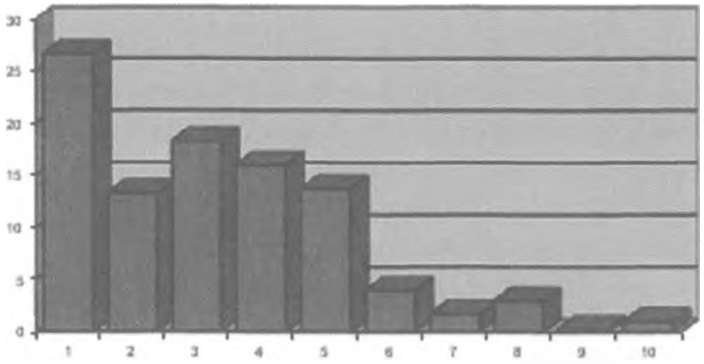
After all, according to the answers of the respondents, the main reasons that the people do not want to return to their homeland is as follows:

49.3 % - bad social-economical conditions
35.1 % - low level of living conditions
11 % - unemployment
4 % - mandatory military service, etc.

Life in Homeland

People are scared of the hard living conditions in Armenia. We asked the respondents to evaluate Armenia nowadays, upon their return, as compared with the Armenia they had left several years ago. The evaluation was to be done using a 10–grade-scale, where 10 points meant 'excellent' and 1 'very bad'.

Chart 2



According to the opinion of the respondents expressed regarding Question 21 of the Questionnaire, the situation in Armenia after their departure:

has improved (33.3 %)

is the same (33.7 %)

has become worse (19.7 %)

13.0 % could not answer.

It cannot be said that they find the country and the living conditions here completely good. After coming back to their homeland 28.7 % of them seek job, 22.7 % do not have any occupation and only 1/3 (33.3 %) have found a job. When compared with their situation in Germany, the following chart is quite telling:

Employment	In Germany %	In Armenia %
Work (legally or illegally)	44.0	33.3
Looking for a job	13.3	22.7
Study language, skills	10.7	4.3
Baby-sitting	8.7	9.7
Not occupied with anything	22.3	22.7

The figures speak for themselves. One thing is really interesting: the number of the unemployed in both countries is almost equal. Perhaps these are the people whom employment does not attract a lot: they did not have anything to do either in Germany or in Armenia. That unlike in Armenia, where the social allowance for unemployment is about $10 US, they received quite a considerable sum in Germany. That is not by chance that to the question "How do you evaluate Germany as a country and how did you evaluate Armenia before leaving?", the following results were received: (evaluations were based on a 10-grade scale, where 10 points are the maximum and 1 is the minimum).

Germany	Armenia
10 – 72 %	10 – 3.7 %
9 – 7.3 %	9 – 0.3 %
8 – 9 %	8 – 1.3 %
7 – 3.3 %	7 – 3 %
6 – 3.7 %	6 – 3.7 %
5 – 2.0 %	5 – 8.3 %
4 – 0.7 %	4 – 6.7 %
3 – 0.3 %	3 – 11 %
2 – 0.1 %	2 – 13.7 %
1 – 0.7 %	1 – 48.0 %
Medium grade 9.1	2.7

The medium grade for Germany as a country is more than three times higher than the grade given to Armenia.

LESSONS AND PROSPECTS

Nevertheless, the life in Germany left its impact on them. Having lived and worked in Germany for some time, they experienced and contemplated a lot in their life that changed their traditional views on

many things. 17.6 % of the respondents (as they expressed themselves) wished Armenia were like Germany. About 15 % mentioned high ethics and legislative system in Germany. 11.4 % of the respondents stressed the prioritization of laws accepted in the country and the common respect towards the law, which is characteristic of that country. A little more than 9 % mentioned that they felt themselves as dignified human beings there; and generally people there "feel worthy". 8 % of the respondents mentioned that people in Germany are very well socially protected. About 8 % were satisfied to see a new world and learn a foreign language. Others (6%) only mentioned that it is good to live in a developed country. Some respondents 10.6 % felt the complex of inferiority, while living in that country. Only 7.8% of respondents answered that they did not learn any lessons from being in that country, or they could hardly find any answer (9%).

All in all, each of them took something new and useful for himself/herself. And all that affected their views for the future and their vision of desired prospects.

To the question, "What occupation would they like to have in Armenia?", exactly 1/3 of all the respondents (33%) answered – to work in an Armenian-German joint venture, 28 % expressed a wish to establish their own business, and 15 % wished they had an opportunity to work in a private company. Thus, they are greatly influenced by the period of life, when they had been working (though illegally) in a private German company. In fact, they liked their job there because of its being organized and the clarity in relations.

They experienced some kind of alteration of their views, which was directly reflected in their life and behavior. Even their social status was changed in some cases. Thus, if 13.3 % of the respondents were workers in factories before the migration, then upon the return only 3.3 % of them are workers. The same applies employees: before leaving, they

accounted for 25.5 % of all the respondents, while after returning, for only 9%. The share of intelligentsia also decreased: from 6.7 % to 4.3%. All these changes were basically and definitely the result of increased unemployment. Consequently, the number of the unemployed in our group of respondents was only 15.3 % before leaving, while after the return it made 44%. So, the share of the unemployed increased approximately threefold. At the moment of departure to Germany they still had some employment, some status in the society. Having been forced to return to Armenia, they only joined the ranks of the huge army of the unemployed. Alongside with all the above-mentioned, there are also minor positive changes. Before leaving, the share of people engaged in private business was only 5.3 %, whereas upon the return from Germany their number increased threefold and was 10.7%. This is in fact a positive change, albeit insignificant.

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