MIGRATION AND SKILLS IN ARMENIA

RESULTS OF THE 2011/12 MIGRATION SURVEY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SKILLS, MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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European Training Foundation and Caucasus Research Resource Centers (Armenia)

PREFACE

In 2011, building on its prior experience in skills and migration studies, the European Training Foundation (ETF) launched a project to investigate the relationship between migration, development and skills in three countries, namely Armenia, Georgia and Morocco. This report – one of the outputs of the project – presents and discusses the results of the ETF large-scale migration and skills survey carried out in Armenia in 2011 and 2012.

The Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRC) network in Armenia, run by the Eurasia Partnership Foundation, was contracted as the local partner for the project (tender No CFT/11/ETF/0012). The CRRC was responsible for conducting the survey and drafting the country report according to the ETF methodology and in close cooperation with ETF staff.

The CRRC invested a great deal of effort in the project. We thank the CRRC experts – Ruben Yeganyan, Samvel Manukyan, Arpine Porsughyan and Gayane Ghukasyan – for their intellectual input and all the fieldwork supervisors, interviewers, and data entry operators for their tremendous effort.

Successful implementation of the project was made possible through the hard work of all of the CRRC staff members and affiliates, in particular Heghine Manasyan, Arman Melkonyan, Iskuhi Mkrtchyan, Monika Shahmenendyan, Hermine Mheryan, Leslie L. Diaz, Andrew Loizeaux, Gevorg Aristakesyan and Knarik Harutyunyan.

Our thanks and appreciations also go to all our colleagues from local and international organisations and institutions in Armenia who assisted in the project. It would not have been possible without their kind support and help.

On the ETF side, special thanks are due to all those who helped to get the project off the ground and who gave freely of their resources during its conception, implementation and finalisation despite their busy workloads. To name but a few, Arne Baumann, Milena Corradini, Ilze Gabrane, Outi Karkkainen and Ummuhan Bardak. Eva Jansova and Paola Pozzolo deserve special mention for their accurate, reliable and diligent checking and management of the data, without which none of the following would have been possible. Dr Michael Collyer from the University of Sussex also contributed valuable input in his role as international ETF team expert.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents a comprehensive review of the migration situation in Armenia and its links with the labour market and education. The principle source of data is a nationwide survey of the general population aged between 18 and 50 years, including subsamples of individuals who either intend to migrate or who have left the country and later returned. Owing to the temporary and unorganised nature of the migration phenomenon in Armenia most of the data available comes from research rather than official records. The overall objective of this study was to contribute to the body of research on migration in Armenia, and specifically on the links between migration and skills, with a view to improving evidence-based policies on migration.

Chapter 1 is based on comprehensive desk research and focuses on the history of migration in Armenia, the current legal and political framework, and the links with trends in training, education and the labour market. The survey methodology is explained in Chapter 2, which includes a description of target groups, the questionnaires used, sampling techniques, the process and problems in the field, and the analysis of the data. This section also explains the construction of key composite indicators on the propensity to migrate, social conditions, economic conditions, migration outcomes, and return outcomes.

Throughout their history, Armenians have often been involved in migration and there are significant diaspora communities all over the world (an estimated 8 million people). Migration types and patterns change over time and the past two decades have been an intense period of temporary labour emigration. The pattern until 1991 was generally a continuation of the pre-transition period, when temporary labour migration was seen as a strategy for betterment. A key difference between the post-transition period and the Soviet era is that during the last two decades labour migration has been driven by more unfavourable labour market conditions and is purely a survival strategy for many of those involved. More recent migratory flows (the emigration of people born in Armenia) are still substantial: in 2010 the number of migrant stocks living abroad was 870 200, that is, 28.3% of the total population.

Despite many improvements over the last two decades, labour market conditions are still not easy for many people in Armenia. In 2010, the total activity rate was 52.7% and the unemployment rate was 19%. Youth unemployment was particularly high (39% in 2010) and it tends to be higher among young women and the urban and better educated youth in general. Agriculture is the largest employer, accounting for almost 40% of total employment in 2010. However, the sector only accounted for 17% of GDP in the same year, an indication of the large share of subsistence farming. The 2010 labour force survey showed that 19% of all employment in Armenia takes the form of temporary, seasonal, occasional or one-off activities. Thus, a sizeable part of the population has no social protection beyond that which they can provide for themselves.

On the other hand, the negative balance of external migration over the last two decades is hindering the country's economic and social development, and adequate policy responses are needed to control illegal migration, ensure the protection of migrants' rights and facilitate their return. Armenia signed a Mobility Partnership Agreement with the European Union (EU) and 10 Member States in October 2011 to provide a framework for more comprehensive cooperation on migration management. Overall migration, and particularly the relationship between migration and human capital, is of strategic importance for both Armenia and the EU.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the findings of the ETF field survey on migration and skills, and Chapter 5 discusses key conclusions and policy recommendations based on the survey results. The survey targeted two groups: potential migrants and returned migrants. Potential migrants were defined as the citizens between 18 and 50 years of age. Returned migrants were defined as individuals who left the country aged 18 or over, had worked abroad continuously for at least three months and had returned no longer than ten years earlier. All participants had to be in the country during the survey period and available for interview. The survey covered all 11 regions (*marzes)* and included both rural and urban areas. The target sample size was 2 600 potential migrants and 1 400 returned migrants. The interviews were conducted between 13 and 29 December 2011 and 7 and 30 January 2012.

SURVEY FINDINGS: POTENTIAL MIGRANTS

According to the survey of potential migrants, 36% of people between 18 and 50 years of age in Armenia are seriously considering leaving the country to live or work abroad; throughout this report this group will be referred to as prospective migrants. The group of potential migrants who are not considering migration will be referred to as non-migrants. Men are much more likely to consider moving abroad (42%) than women (30%), and younger men and women are more likely to consider migrating than older cohorts. Men in the capital are less likely to migrate than those living in the provinces and the inverse is true for women.

Although men with a low education level are the group most likely to consider migrating, the actual propensity to migrate – measured in terms of the availability of the resources needed to do so – is highest in men with a high education level. This discrepancy illustrates that it is one thing to want to migrate and quite another to be in a position to do so. Among women, those with a higher education level are the most likely to consider migration and are those with the highest propensity to migrate. These findings are a reminder that brain drain remains a crucial issue for Armenia.

The top reasons for migration are inability to get a job, to improve the standard of living and unsatisfactory wages or career prospects in Armenia. In the light of the low labour market participation of prospective and non-migrants alike (only 33% had worked during the seven days prior to the interview), these motives are not surprising. Russia is the most likely destination for prospective migrants. Those engaged in domestic services, construction and transport are much more likely to want to migrate than other professions. Social networks are the predominant source of information and support in preparing to migrate, with only a small share of the respondents stating that they would currently rely on state support. Knowledge of possible state programs is also low, at only 11%. Nine out of ten prospective migrants indicate that they would rely on familial and social networks as their main sources to find employment abroad. About a third (30%) of prospective migrants responded that they would attend programs for preparing to migrate if they existed.

SURVEY FINDINGS: RETURNED MIGRANT

In the returned migrant survey the overwhelming majority of respondents were male (87%). The returned migrants had predominantly migrated to Russia, with a large share working in construction, manufacturing and trade. The average duration of stay was one year. More than half of the returned migrant respondents (59%) had had one migration experience and had stayed in the one destination country only, while almost a quarter of returning migrants (23%) had had three or more migration episodes, illustrating a prevalent pattern of repeated, mostly seasonal migration. Men tended to migrate for a shorter period of time than women. The great majority had sent remittances home; these remittances, however, were generally spent to cover everyday living expenses of households and only to a negligible part to invest in education or business activities.

The unorganised and sometime unofficial nature of migration generally results in the underutilisation of the migrants' skills in the destination country. About half of the returned migrants reported that the first job they obtained abroad involved unskilled labour. Overall, around 50% of the returned migrants said they worked in unskilled jobs abroad, and 28% said that they had worked below their education level. The risk of deskilling increases with education level; more than half of the returnees with higher education said they worked on jobs below their education level.

Correspondingly, despite the fact that 90% of returned migrants felt that investing in education helps improve living standards, only 63% felt that higher education leads to better jobs abroad. While social sciences are the most popular specialisations in the sample of potential migrants, the most frequent areas of study among returned migrants were engineering, manufacturing, construction and architecture.

More than half of the returned migrants reported acquiring new skills during their experience abroad; however, almost none of these new skills were certified or documented. Inadequate information and lack of protection regularly led to violations of workers' rights in destination countries. Only a very small percentage of the migrants reported having received written contracts and social security coverage while working abroad. Nearly all migrants (98%) left for the destination country without any specific training to prepare them for living abroad. Moreover, 94% of the returned migrants were not aware of any government or private programme aimed at helping migrants before or after their experience.

Only 42% of the returned migrants surveyed found a job in Armenia upon their return, and 68% are seriously considering migrating again. Unfavourable economic conditions continue to govern the decision to migrate, even among those who know the realities of migration.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In general, policies should address the need to create a better framework for migration, making it beneficial for the migrant, the receiving country, and the home country. The aim should be to ensure that the rights of migrants are protected and that their skills are used effectively in the receiving country and when they return to Armenia.

Recent research on migration and development has paid particular attention to circular migration, a model seen to offer more advantages than permanent or temporary migration. Circular migration is broadly defined by the European Commission as 'a form of migration that is managed in a way allowing some degree of legal mobility back and forth between two countries' (2007). The aim of circular migration is to achieve a win-win-win situation where the individual migrant, the country of origin and the destination country all benefit. This requires destination countries to ensure ease of mobility, providing a legal framework for repeated temporary migration to their country. It requires

countries of origin to provide effective support for departing migrants and to put in place conditions enabling returned migrants to put the skills and experience they have acquired abroad to productive use in their home country.

Specific recommendations include improvements in a number of areas.

■ A better system for recognising the skills and qualifications of migrants in the destination countries is needed to improve the matching of jobs with the skills of migrants. This is especially important for female migrants. Systems for recognising qualifications are increasingly in place in EU Member States, but are widely lacking in CIS countries.

■ The skills mismatch needs to be addressed through better information about job vacancies abroad and the establishment of cross-national placement services for migrants.

■ Pre-departure training should be more readily available. It should focus on suitable language training and on available institutional pathways for finding employment abroad (employment offices etc.).

■ Information on the documentation needed for legal migration, legal employment, and migrants' rights in the destination countries should be provided in cooperation with receiving countries and made easily accessible to migrants. Efforts should be made to make the services that are already available to migrants more widely known to those who could benefit from them.

■ Improvements are needed in the compatibility of benefit schemes and the portability of social benefits. This can be achieved through bilateral agreements between Armenia and destination countries.

■ It is important to enable returned migrants to use their skills more effectively in the Armenian economy upon their return and to increase the proportion of remittances and migrants' savings used for education and entrepreneurial activity in Armenia. Relevant instruments include the validation of prior learning, improved and tailor-made placement services for migrants, and support for would-be entrepreneurs and business start-ups, including incentives for investing remittances and savings in business activities.

■ A long-term focus on economic development, especially in rural areas, will provide prospective migrants with employment alternatives at home, and will keep returned migrants from leaving again.

■ The higher and vocational educational curricula should be revised to improve the match between education and the changing demands of the labour market in Armenia. The aim should be to improve graduates' employment prospects at home, in particular in the case of those with a lower education level.

■ The implementation of the State Action Plan for 2012-16 regulating migration should be transparent and participatory, including non-government organisations and donor organisations active in the field, civil society organisations, and the representatives of migrants.

1. COUNTRY BACKGROUND

1.1 MIGRANT STOCKS AND FLOWS

In order to fully understand the qualitative and quantitative aspects of external migration in Armenia during the post-Soviet period, a brief introduction to the pre-transition period events is necessary.

External migration in the pre-transition period

External migration in Armenia during this period was characterised by two types of flows: permanent migration flows and temporary labour migration.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, external migration in Armenia was fairly stable. With a net inflow of 13 000 to 14 000 people annually, migration accounted for about one-fifth of the population growth. Nearly all of these immigrants were ethnic Armenians, many of whom came from Azerbaijan and Georgia (9 000-10 000 people). Other diaspora Armenians from Middle Eastern countries (Iran, Syria, Jordan and others) were also migrating permanently to Armenia (2 000-4 000 people every year through state-organised repatriation alone) (Gomtzyan, 1978).

However, in the early 1980s, the slow socio-economic development of Armenia contributed to a shift in the country's migration patterns. On the one hand, Armenians from Azerbaijan and Georgia, who in the past had come to Armenia, began going to Russia instead. On the other hand, the outflow of Armenians (again mainly to Russia) increased. At the same time, the inflow of diaspora Armenians almost stopped and some of these immigrants even returned to more developed countries where they had lived before coming to Armenia. This process was accelerated by the Helsinki Accords in 1975, which reduced the barriers to migration within the USSR. As a result, the official data from the time show that emigrants exceeded immigrants by about 8 000 to 10 000 every year throughout the 1980s (Karapetyan, 1986). Since this net emigration accounted for only 0.3% in a population with a natural growth of 15% to 17%, it may be concluded that the process had no significant negative consequences in social, economic or demographic terms. Moreover, there are reasons to believe that real net migration was actually half the official number (see below).

Temporary (seasonal) labour migration began in the 1960s and quickly became a stable, large-scale phenomenon. By the 1980s, the annual outflow of temporary emigrants had reached 30 000 to 40 000 people, or approximately 1% of Armenia's population and 2% of the country's labour force (Research Institute of the ASSR State Plan, 1985, p. 67).

The temporary migrants came mainly from villages and rural areas, where there was an excess supply of labour. Most of them were working-age men engaged primarily in construction work. The influx of Armenian labour greatly contributed to the development of the destination areas – mainly the two former Soviet Union republics of Russia and Kazakhstan (the capital investment involved was as much as 1 to 1.5 billion [1 000-1 500 million] roubles per annum). However, there were also some problems: relations with local people were not always smooth and peaceful, and the migration process was affected by corruption. The consequences for Armenia of external labour migration were mixed. Migration helped to provide more productive employment for the population and brought a considerable amount of money into the country (about 150 million roubles per annum). This money was used to meet the current and long-term needs of Armenian families including improvement of housing, purchase of cars, property and hardware, financing of education; and solving health problems. In other words, human development standards were improved in all respects, including household income, health and education. Thus, although this temporary migration was driven by the lack of employment opportunities it Armenia, it became an instrument that enhanced development and prosperity.

The negative consequences included overwork under challenging conditions, which had repercussions on the health and wellbeing of emigrants, and the import and spread of infectious diseases, including sexually transmitted diseases. Another problem affecting most of the families involved was the prolonged absence of fathers from their homes, which meant that spouses spent only three to four months together each year. This affected the upbringing of children, exacerbating problems that could undermine marital relationships and family stability. Temporary labour migration very often led to permanent migration because of connections made in the host country. It is also important to highlight that, due to the flaws in the recording system set up under the migration act; there was continuous over-reporting of the number of emigrants[1].

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[1] In an effort to avoid red tape, some outbound labour migrants would officially record only the fact of their arrival at the destination (without which they could not get employment). To take into account this failure to record some of the departures and returns, the Central Statistical Department in the USSR would manually increase the number of persons leaving Armenia when adjusting the figures relating to migration between Soviet republics (the methodology used was to base the calculation on the number of arrivals).

External migration in the transitionperiod

The pattern of migration in Armenia changed abruptly in 1988 due to a combination of exceptional circumstances: the 1988 Spitak earthquake; the armed conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh; radical political, social and economic changes due to the collapse of the USSR; transportation and economic blockades; the transition to a market economy; the decline in industrial production; and fundamental structural shifts in the economy. Moreover, for several reasons, including the fact that many migrants were leaving voluntarily because of the deteriorating social and economic situation in the country[2], the Migration Statistics Service stopped providing accurate migration statistics[3].

Around the time of the fall of the Soviet Union, most migrants began to avoid officially registering their movements in order not to 'burn their bridges'. They feared that if they officially registered their migration their property could be taken by the authorities or that they might face other problems if they chose to return. Many migrants simply tried to circumvent bureaucratic formalities and avoid the risks associated with a corrupt registration system. This situation persists today, and sampling surveys have therefore become the only source of credible data on migration.

The earliest research on post-Soviet migration was done in 1995. Thanks to this research, we have realistic estimates of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of external migration from independent Armenia, including an estimate that the country lost more than 17% of its population as a result of emigration between 1991 and 1995 (Yeganyan and Shahnazaryan, 2004). It is worth noting that the results of the 2001 population census confirm the accuracy of this finding (UNDP Armenia, 2009). The available research relating to migration in Armenia can be classified according to its scope and nature:

■ comprehensive research (integrated household living surveys, World Bank-National Statistical Service (NSS); labour force surveys, International Labour Organisation (ILO)-NSS; etc.);
■ research on specific aspects of migration: labour migration, returning emigrants, passenger flows, etc. (integrated household living surveys, World Bank-NSS; labour force surveys, ILO-NSS; etc.);
■ socio-economic research on particular aspects of external migration (integrated household living surveys, World Bank -NSS; labour force surveys, ILO-NSS; etc.);
■ pilot surveys (integrated household living surveys, World Bank-NSS; labour force surveys, ILO-NSS; etc.).

A systematic analysis of these data sources (World Bank and NSS surveys; Yeganyan and Davtyan, 2001, pp. 30-37; UNDP Armenia, 2009) allow to identify four phases starting from the 1980s. The first two phases, called destabilisation and mass outflow of the population, were periods when the population and the country were under an extraordinary amount of stress. The last two phases, transition to stability and repetitive temporary migration, reflect the slow recovery of stability and growth in Armenia (**TABLE 1.1**).

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2 This only applies to voluntary migration and not to involuntary migration forced by the extraordinary circumstances of the transition period (for example, refugees or people evacuated from the earthquake zone).

3 According to the NSS's revised estimates based on the population census, net emigration from Armenia between 1990 and 2001 was 631 400, which is about 14 times more than the difference between the number of departures and arrivals recorded by the migration office during the same period.

TABLE 1.1 MIGRATION FLOWS, 1988-2007 (THOUSANDS)

Phase	Indicator	1988-91	1992-94	1995-01	2002-07
Destabilisation	Inflow	600			
	Outflow	620			
	Balance	-20			
Mass outflow of the population	Inflow		370		
	Outflow		980		
	Balance		-610		
Transition to stability	Inflow			350	
	Outflow			600	
	Balance			-250	
Repetitive temporary migration	Inflow				600
	Outflow				750
	Balance				-150
Total balance			**-1 030**		

Destabilisation (1988-91)

Extraordinary political, social and natural events (the collapse of the totalitarian regime, the demise of the USSR, ethnic conflicts and distrust, social tensions, a disastrous earthquake etc.) all played a critical role in this phase. The following were the main flows during this phase.

Evacuation and re-evacuation of the population from the earthquake zone. On 7 December 1988, Armenia was struck by a devastating earthquake, which became known as the Spitak earthquake. Some 25 000 people died and one-third of Armenian territory was affected. Between 1989 and 1990, about 200 000 people affected by the earthquake were evacuated from the republic. It is important to highlight that 25% of that group (around 50 000 people, mostly women and children) not only did not return but also became a magnet that drew out family members and other relatives, creating a huge wave that turned into a mass outflow of the population between 1992 and 1994 (Yeganyan and Davtyan, 2001). However about 150 000 of those affected did return after evacuation.

Refugees. The inflow of refugees was about 420 000 (some 360 000 from Azerbaijan and the rest from other parts of the former USSR). The outflow was about 170 000 Azerbaijanis who had been living in Armenia. To date this has been the only post-Soviet migration flow that has resulted in an increase in the population, in this case of some 250 000 people or 7% of the population at the time. Unfortunately, the hardships of the 1990s forced many of these refugees to emigrate, mostly to Russia (UNDP Armenia, 2009, p. 37).

Public-political emigration: These were movements of mainly permanent migrants – an outflow of about 250 000 and an inflow of about 30 000. They involved people for whom, for various reasons, the fall of the Soviet Union created conditions that made emigration from Armenia their best option. These flows included several groups: people who had wanted to emigrate in the past but had been rejected; highly-qualified experts and emerging business people who emigrated for work or entrepreneurial reasons; representatives of the former administration who found themselves in a socially disadvantageous situation; and the Russian-speaking population, which included both national minorities and Armenians (including some refugees) (UNDP Armenia, 2009, p. 38).

Labour/temporary migration: Temporary labour migration essentially came to a halt during the first part of this phase because almost all the potential labour migrants were involved in rehabilitation activities in the earthquake zone. Unfortunately, as a result of the collapse of the USSR, rehabilitation works came to a halt, which led to a renewed increase in seasonal labour migration starting in 1992.

Mass outflow (1992-94)

A series of extraordinary events – the collapse of the economy, mass unemployment, economic shock therapy, paralysis of the transportation and housing services systems and mass impoverishment of the population – had a direct impact on practically every Armenian citizen and played a major role in migration during this phase. The confluence of these problems led to a dramatic increase in emigration. In just three years, more than 980 000 people emigrated and only about 370 000 of those who left returned. So more than 610 000 people, or one out of every five citizens, left the country and did not return (UNDP Armenia, 2009, p. 39).

The flows of both emigrants and returnees during this period can be divided into two main groups: social and economic refugees and labour migrants. The social and economic refugees were people who left the country with the intention of returning when the social and economic situation (for example, power cuts and the collapse of transportation) had improved. Labour migrants accounted for about 50% of emigrants and only 35% of the returnees. Social and economic migrants on the other hand, made up only 40% of all emigrants and accounted for about 60% of the returnees. Of those who remained abroad, therefore, the share of labour migrants was almost three times higher than that of the group who emigrated for social and economic reasons (UNDP Armenia, 2009, pp. 39-40).

Between 75% and 80% of the outflow went to CIS countries – mainly Russia – and the rest were evenly distributed between Europe and the USA. Unlike the first phase, in which the demographic structure of the flows was proportional to population, at this point men started to predominate, accounting for more than 60% of migrants. At the same time, most emigrants, both men and women, were of active employment and reproductive age. As a result, the demographic structure of Armenia's population was seriously distorted and destabilised, eventually turning what had once been a favourable phenomenon into a problem. The distortion affected the proportional distribution of the population by age and gender. It also increased the overall rate of ageing in the population. The absolute number and rate of marriages and births more than doubled and the mortality rate decreased.

The emigrants during this phase included a high proportion of people with an above-average education level. Furthermore, the shares of people with non-public employment, the unemployed, and people with an average degree of prosperity were also high. Among people with means, the level of prosperity was both a factor and a consequence of migration activity. People with below-average and above-average prosperity were not active in migration: the former because they lacked the means and the opportunity to leave and the latter because they did not have the motivation to migrate[4].

Transition to stability (1995-2001)

This phase was characterised by a decline in external migration activity; with some 600 000 emigrants and 350 000 immigrants (mainly returnees), the net result was a reduction of about 250 000 people, or 8% of the population. This change in migrant flows was due to the gradual stabilisation of the country's socio-economic situation, the declining influence of extraordinary factors and the overly active migration that had characterised the preceding period.

The high emigration of the early 1990s had reduced the pool of potential emigrants and, through remittances, had helped to improve the living standards of those who remained in the country. External factors – the actions of destination countries – also contributed to the decline, especially the tighter regulation of migration into Russia, the main destination for Armenians. The most important structural feature of this phase was that the share of labour migrants increased in both emigrant and returnee flows to up to two-thirds of the total. Finally, the outflow triggered by the economic shock therapy ceased almost totally and was replaced with emigration driven by family reunification. As a result, the flows that typically ended were being replaced with flows resulting in permanent relocation. Decreasing outflow related to economic shock was the result of an improving socio-economic situation, while increasing outflow driven by family reunification was caused by the sluggishness of the recovery, the unfavourable moral and psychological atmosphere, and diminishing belief in the possibility of swift improvement.

The increase in labour migration during this phase gave rise to changes in socio-demographic and geographical distributions of migrants. One major change was increasing share of working-age males going to Russia among all migrants leaving the country, and another was a decrease in the average education level of migrants (NSS, 2002, p. 106).

Since the 1980s, labour migration in Armenia has not been static and there have been several key changes in the characteristics of labour migrants. Firstly, temporary, seasonal labour migration – the main component of the transition period migration flows – had already declined by the late 1980s. Some of the migrants used their experience of contract work, their savings and their contacts in destination countries to become involved in the cooperative movements emerging throughout the Soviet Union. Participation in these movements helped transform migration flows into either permanent emigration or into a new phenomenon for Armenia, namely, long-term labour

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4 According to Karapetyan et al. (1996, p. 21), 46.4% of the migrants had secondary specialised or higher education, compared to a national average of only 37.9%.

emigration (migration for a year or more for employment reasons). This phenomenon practically disappeared in the aftermath of the Spitak earthquake because almost all of the potential long-term labour migrants became involved in the rehabilitation of the earthquake zone. After recovery efforts stopped with the collapse of the USSR, most of the migrants resumed their travels as early as 1992. The same event was presumably a significant factor in the formation of a huge flow of new labour migrants (people who had not previously migrated) in that year.

As a result, temporary labour migration recommenced after a short break, but this time as one component of a larger labour emigration phenomenon. Of the 84 100 labour migrants who left the country in 2001 and 45 200 who returned, 23 200 and 20 400 respectively were temporary labour emigrants (NSS, 2002, p. 59).

During the pre-transition period, temporary labour migration had been a strategy related to development and greater prosperity, but since the 1990s it has mainly been used as strategy for survival in the absence of alternatives. This has led to a number of features, such as uncertain duration, with the possibility of migration changing from temporary to permanent, or from short-term (less than a year) to long-term; low earnings and deteriorating working, living and housing conditions; and diversification, with migrants becoming engaged in sectors other than construction (trade, public catering, production and services).

Another new aspect of migration for Armenians was an increase in many types of risks. The journey itself was highly risky. Many departing migrants borrowed money or sold their property in order to pay their way. In other words, the future of the whole family was jeopardised if the undertaking failed (NSS, 2002, p. 166). Employment was even riskier. The relationship with employers was regulated mostly by oral agreements. As a result, the practice of delaying payment or non-payment of part or all of migrant worker's wages became widespread. The risks were also increased by the failure or inability of many emigrants to comply with the regulations regarding residence in the destination country, making them illegal migrants. They were also subject to the unfriendly or often hostile attitude of certain groups in the local populations. This type of migration inherited almost all of the negative features that characterised labour migration in the pre-transition period[5]. Moreover, unlike migration during the Soviet period (which did not always result in outflow), post-Soviet labour migration was a crucial factor in stimulating permanent emigration (many of those who left never returned and family reunifications were common).

In summary, during these three phases about 900 000 people left Armenia and have not returned. If we do not count the inflow of refugees during the first phase, between 1 and 1.1 million people, or about 30% of the original population, moved abroad (Yeganyan, 2010). This large outflow, which was the result of extraordinary events, to some extent contributed to the improvement of Armenia's situation. The considerable sums of money sent home by migrants alleviated the insolvency of the population, easing the economic and subsistence crisis. Migration also played a positive role by preventing the escalation of social tension to an unmanageable level and reducing the threat of social unrest. On the negative side, the process marginalised a significant part of the active population from the domestic issues of the country that probably contributed to some of the negative aspects of Armenia's current political, social and economic system.

Repetitive temporary migration (2002-07)

The estimates of migration flows during this period are also based entirely on research rather than official records (Yeganyan, 2010, p. 16)[6]. The most reliable and consistent information can be found in reports by the UNPF (2007) and the ILO (2009a)[7]. As both of these sources relate to the period between 2002 and 2007, there is reasonable evidence from which to draw conclusions about this period (**TABLE 1.2**).

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5   Overwork and bad working conditions; prolonged absences of men from their homes (the majority of the labour emigrants were fathers); exacerbation of problems undermining family stability and the children's upbringing due to the fact that spouses could only spend three to four months together each year; import and spread of infectious diseases (including sexually transmitted diseases) (UNDP, 2009).

6   According to expert assessments, only 7% of the departures officially registered their departure during 2002-07 and in the case of arrivals the percentage was under 2%.

7   The ILO report includes results from three national surveys funded by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Office in Yerevan, thus we have not given separate references on those three surveys.

TABLE 1.2 ESTIMATED EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION BASED ON RESEARCH, 2002-07

	UNFPA findings			ILO findings
	Total	**Annual average**	**Participation in external migration**	**Total participation in external migration**
Inflow	600 000	100 000	150 000	
Outflow	750 000	125 000	320 000	230 000 ± 15 000
Balance	-150 000	-25 000	-170 000	

Sources: UNFPA, 2007; and ILO, 2009a

A comparison of the annual average departures and arrivals for this period (**TABLE 1.2**) with the same indicators for the preceding period (86 000 and 50 000) shows that the volume of Armenia's external migration had increased considerably[8]. During this period, migrant mobility intensified owing to the growing number of labour migrants and the higher frequency of trips between Armenia and the host countries. According to the UNFPA (2007) report, around 185 000 (75%) of these very mobile migrants were labour migrants; the rest were their family members.

The data from the ILO report (2009a, p. 11) also confirms that Armenia's emigration flows during 2002-08 have predominantly involved labour migrants. The share of labour migrants to Russia rose consistently, reaching up to 96% of the total and accounting for the vast majority of the economically active male migrants of reproductive age (the 21-50 age group). The percentage of female migrants declined from 14.1% in the period between 2002 and 2004 to 6.5% between 2005 and 2006. More than half of the emigrants (53%) who were looking for jobs abroad between 2005 and 2007 had specialised secondary or higher education (ibid., pp. 13-14). Labour emigrants reported visiting their families at least once a year, and most of them did not want to emigrate permanently with their families. However, in many cases they were unable to return to Armenia permanently because they were unable to find a job that would guarantee sufficient income. Many of those surveyed indicated that they would be ready to return or to stay if they found such a job (ibid., p. 2).

The main structural features of current and return migration are presented below (UNFPA, 2007, pp. 40-72).

■ Approximately two-thirds of the returned migrants and three-quarters of the emigrants were men compared to the national average of 48%).
■ Some 73.2% of the returned migrants and 82.8% of the current emigrants were aged between 20 and 54 years (relative to a national average of 53.3%).
■ Some 70.6% of the returned migrants and 67.5% of the current emigrants were married (relative to the national average of 60.3%).
■ Some 41.9% of the returned migrants had general secondary school education, 24.8% had specialised secondary education, and 21.1% university and post-university education. The percentages for current emigrants were 55.7%, 16.1%, and 18.7% respectively, while those percentages for the population as a whole were 40.9%, 17.5%, and 21.6%.
■ Some 56.7% of returned migrants who had worked had found jobs in construction, 15.3% in trade, and 10% in industry. The same figures for current emigrants were 62.8%, 10.5%, and 4.2%, respectively (about 7% of current emigrants worked in the service sector).
■ Slightly over 2% of both groups – returning and current emigrants – were unemployed, while registered and unregistered unemployment levels in the non-migrant population were 8.5% and 9%, respectively.
■ Russia was the destination for 80.8% of the returned migrants and 76.6% of the current emigrants; respectively, 5% and 3.4% went to other CIS states, 5% and 9.8% to European countries, and 5% and 3.4% to the USA.

This structural data confirms the fact that current emigration from Armenia is predominantly motivated by the need to find work. The two sources provide almost identical information on the causes of migration, ways of planning and organising travel, working conditions and earnings, as well as on housing and living conditions. According to the ILO (2009a, p. 20), Armenians who earn AMD 200 000 (about USD 570) or more a month would not generally emigrate to work abroad. The report also makes the point that, while returned migrants are more competitive in the local labour market and have a positive impact on the local businesses that hire them because of their skills and knowledge, but their contribution to the creation of new jobs, investment and business development in Armenia is in fact limited.

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8   Of note is the fact that at least the increase in the number of departures was related to demographic motives: the number of working age people arriving outnumbered those departing.

The latest phase of migration is characterised by two key features. Firstly, a relatively stable group of temporary labour migrants has emerged. As a result, there is an average annual migration of 15 000 persons[9], that is, 0.5% to 0.6% of the country's total population is abroad at any one time. Secondly, there are smaller-scale permanent emigration flows, which regularly result in net emigration[10] (UNDP Armenia, 2009, pp. 47-48). According to the World Bank's Migration and Remittances Factbook (2011), the migration situation for Armenia in 2010 was as shown in **TABLE 1.3**.

TABLE 1.3 STOCKS OF ARMENIAN MIGRANTS ABROAD, 2010

Armenian emigration	
Stock of emigrants (number of persons)	870 200
Stock of emigrants (as % of population)	28.2
Top destination countries	Russia, USA, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Israel, Germany, France, Spain and Greece

Sources: World Bank, 2011

There are no reasons to think that the situation has changed qualitatively in the last three years. However, the fact that the negative balance of border crossings has been increasing (from 231 000 in 2008 to 25 000 in 2009 and 30 000 in 2010) (NSS, 2010) leads us to conclude that quantitative changes are taken place. However, due to the lack of detailed information on arrivals and departures, we cannot estimate the actual change or whether it relates to temporary or permanent emigration.

Remittances

The great importance of remittances to the political, social and economic situation in post-Soviet Armenia is illustrated by the following facts reported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Armenia (2009).

■ Migrant remittances accounted for between 17% and 24% of GDP in the period between 2003 and 2007.
■ In 2007 Armenia ranked among the top 20 countries in the world in terms of the share of remittances in GDP.
■ In the last five years, the volume of remittances exceeded the volume of state transfers on average by about 15 times. Moreover, it was over 40 times greater than the amount of other state-level financial assistance in 2004-06, and over 85 times greater in 2007.
■ Per capita remittances to Armenia were two and a half to three times higher than the value of per capita remittances for the top five remittance-receiving countries of the world.
■ About 36% of all the households in Armenia and over 70% of the households that have migrants abroad received regular remittances from migrants abroad.

It should be noted that it is rather difficult to assess the real volume of remittances because some of the money is transferred through unofficial channels (including individuals and the migrants themselves) and, when the assessment is made on the basis of household surveys, information is not always accurate due the reluctance of respondents to reveal this information. However, the World Bank (2011) provides general information on the inflows and outflows for the years from 2003 to 2011 (**TABLE 1.4**). According to the same source, remittances as a share of GDP in 2010 were 9%.

Non-commercial money transfers between individuals using Armenian commercial banks are shown in **TABLE 1.5**.

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9 Between 2002 and 2007, 150 000 people left the country. If we deduct the number of permanent migrants (60 000) we have a total of 90 000 working migrants over the six-year period, giving an annual average of 15 000 working migrants.

10 According to the NSS, an average of 10 000 people annually; according to expert estimates the number is at least 33% higher.

TABLE 1.4 REMITTANCES (USD MILLION)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Inward remittance flows	168	435	498	658	846	1 062	769	996	1 254
Workers' remittances	9	43	58	74	94	124	86	–	–
Employee compensation	153	382	429	576	743	929	677	–	–
Migrants' transfers	6	10	11	8	9	9	7	–	–
Outward remittance flows	27	138	152	154	176	185	145	–	–
Workers' remittances	6	10	16	19	5	11	11	–	–
Employee compensation	19	122	133	130	166	169	130	–	–
Migrants' transfers	2	6	3	6	5	5	4	–	–

Source: World Bank, 2011

TABLE 1.5 NON-COMMERCIAL MONEY TRANSFERS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS USING ARMENIAN COMMERCIAL BANKS (USD THOUSAND)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Inflow	752 819	960 926	1 319 479	1 635 307	1 124 119	1 293 736	1 546 959
of which							
Russia	541 308	739 419	1 078 218	1 371 066	904 011	1 062 266	1 295 163
USA	82 628	94 491	76 571	60 958	59 288	67 789	74 380
Outflow	189 793	208 436	261 170	242 240	194 884	221 763	264 602
of which							
Russia	83 537	107 835	129 126	122 759	99 524	116 950	141 352
USA	30 671	13 295	23 764	32 110	23 332	24 554	27 331
Net inflow	563 025	752 490	1 058 310	1 393 067	929 235	1 071 973	1 282 357
of which							
Russia	457 771	631 584	949 092	1 248 307	804 487	945 316	1 153 811
USA	51 958	81 196	52 808	28 848	35 956	43 235	47 049

Source: Armenian Central Bank, External Sector Statistics (www.cba.am/Storage/EN/stat_data_eng/eng_trans_year.xls)

We can obtain more details about remittances – including the transfer method, frequency of transfer, and spending patterns – from a few surveys specifically conducted to study these aspects. These surveys have not been carried out at regular intervals and do not always share a common methodology. Consequently it is impossible to reliably forecast and estimate the changes taking place. Nevertheless, the available findings provide the following information.

■ Remittances alleviate the inequality (measured by the Gini coefficient) and poverty in the country and have a positive impact on the standard of living of the recipient households (Asian Development Bank, 2007-08).
■ Remittances play a key role in satisfying the education and healthcare needs of Armenians, making them a key factor in human development (Yeganyan and Davtyan, 2001, pp. 30-37).
■ Some 80% of migrants send money to their families at least once a quarter and about one-fifth of the households receive remittances from family members every month (ILO, 2009b).

- About 80% of the households spend more than 90% of the money received on current consumption. The rest is saved for future consumption, future investments, future education and specific events or projects, such as weddings or home renovation and refurbishment (UNDP Armenia, 2009).
- In 2005, about 77% of the remittances were sent from Russia, 11% from the USA, 3.2% from Ukraine, and 1.4% from France (UNDP Armenia, 2009, p. 122).
- Most remittances from Russia (84% in 2006) are sent through the banking system. For remittances from the USA, banks were used less (36% in 2006). The emigrants in the USA prefer to send money through special organisations (UNDP Armenia, 2009, p. 123).
- Some 9% of the households managed to save up to 20% of the money received. However, these savings are almost never kept in banks (97% do not keep their savings in the bank) (ILO, 2009b).

The main destination countries of the Armenian diaspora providing foreign direct investments are shown below (Hergnyan and Makaryan, 2006).

- **Russia.** The largest number of diaspora investors came from Russia (29% of all investors) and 76% of this group invested in Yerevan. Investment in services predominated between 1994 and 2004 (70% of investors). Russian Armenians were inclined to invest mainly in trade (which accounted for 55% of those who invested in services). Respective relations among family, friends and relatives were determining factors for the Russian diaspora and local investors.
- **United States.** The second largest group of investors came from the USA (17%). The majority of American Armenians invested in services (62%). Of these, only 36% invested in trade. Some 25% invested in manufacturing, of which 30% invested in apparel, gems and jewellery, and 7% in construction.
- **Iran.** The third largest group of investors came from Iran (14%). The majority of Iranian Armenians invested in services (62%) and of these 53% invested in trade). Most of the rest (30%) invested in manufacturing (32% of which was in chemicals production). Only 4% of investors put their money into construction.

The share of investors in particular sectors of the economy varied by country (investors from Belgium and Canada invested primarily in gems and jewellery and investors from the UK in pharmaceuticals and chemicals production).

It should be mentioned that the value of migrant remittances has been declining since 2004 because of inflation and, more importantly, changes in the exchange rate. According to the UNDP, the value of remittances adjusted by exchange rate change and inflation declined 12.7% in 2004 (year on year), but this decline increased to over 25% in 2005, 33% in 2006, and 46% in 2007. In real terms, therefore, the growth in remittance flows during this period was only 20% (from USD 710.2 million in 2004 to USD 863.4 million in 2007) while in nominal terms the amount doubled (from USD 813 million in 2004 to USD 1 600 million in 2007) (UNDP Armenia, 2009).

1.2 LABOUR MARKET AND EDUCATION TRENDS

Economic hardship and labour market imbalances have caused and continue to cause temporary emigration outflows and reduce the number of returnees[11]. **TABLE 1.6** shows the official data on the main labour market indicators. The data suggest that the level of labour participation (share of the labour force in labour resources) in recent years has remained low and even declined further. In 2010, the registered rate of unemployment was 7% of the economically active population, but real unemployment rate as shown by the data from labour force surveys (LFS) is 19% (**TABLE 1.7**)[12]. Unemployment is much higher among women, the urban population and those with higher education.

Unemployment rate (19%) rose from 2009 to 2010, with a higher than average increase for women. There are no significant differences between the unemployment rates for secondary, vocational and tertiary education. However, the unemployment rate is lower in the group of people with a general basic education or less as compared to those with more education. A likely explanation for the lower unemployment rate in the group with the lowest education level is that many of these individuals become economically inactive, or they live in rural areas and are counted as subsistence farmers that artificially increase employment rates. The rural population does not seek local employment, which is largely non-existent, but is rather predominantly engaged in low productivity, labour-intensive subsistence agriculture (for a detailed discussion, see Bardak, 2011 and ETF, 2013).

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11 When asked whether they expected a migrant family member to return and settle permanently in Armenia, 34% of the households surveyed in Armenia by the ILO in 2008 responded that their migrants would never return permanently, 13% thought they would return eventually, 33% believed they would return if certain conditions were fulfilled, and the remaining 20% did not know whether their migrants would return 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 to 3 years as the likely time frame. Of the households that expected their migrant(s) to return subject to certain conditions, the specific conditions most frequently cited were economic: 64% linked the return to the ability to find well-paid employment, and 8% mentioned that their migrant(s) would return 'if the situation in Armenia improved' by which they meant mainly in economic terms, including a more favourable business climate (UNDP, 2009, p. 124)

12 See more detailed information on economic activity rate by age, gender and settlement type in Table A1.1 in annex.

TABLE 1.6 LABOUR RESOURCES, LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT RATES BY GENDER

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Permanent population (000's)	3 221.1	3 226.5	3 234.0	3 243.7	3 256.1
Labour resourcesa (000's)	2 114.9	2 171.4	2 202.6	2 237.5	2 252.5
Labour forceb (economically active population) (000's)	1 181.3	1 184.3	1 192.5	1 170.8	1 188.1
Economic activity rate (% of labour resources)	55.9	54.5	54.1	52.3	52.7
Registered unemployment ratec (% of economically active population)	7.5	7.0	6.3	7.0	7.0
Registered unemployment rate – males (%)	4.1	3.9	3.2	4.0	4.2
Registered unemployment rate – females (%)	11.3	10.1	9.3	9.8	9.8
Registered unemployment rate – young people aged 16-30 (%)	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.3

Source: NSS, 2011a and 2011b

(a) Labour resources = the sum of the economically active and non-active populations. (b) Labour force or economically active population = the employed and unemployed population. (c) Unemployment rate = the ratio of officially registered unemployed persons to the economically active population.

TABLE 1.7 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES* (15-75) BY EDUCATION LEVEL

	Total		Male		Female		Urban		Rural	
	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010
Total	18.7	19.0	17.8	17.0	19.9	21.2	27.3	27.8	6.3	6.1
Tertiary, post-graduate	18.2	19.5	16.8	16.5	19.5	22.3	20.2	21.8	8.1	9.9
Post-secondary vocational	21.6	20.3	17.9	14.6	24.7	25.3	28.7	28.1	6.8	5.5
Upper secondary vocational	19.2	20.3	17.7	16.5	21.5	26.8	29.7	29.9	2.8	5.5
General secondary	18.5	19.0	18.6	18.5	18.4	19.6	32.1	32.3	6.8	6.3
General basic	15.7	15.1	17.9	18.0	11.6	9.7	32.6	32.1	4.7	3.8
Primary and less	3.7	4.5	4.2	8.0	3.0	1.7	23.5	23.5	0.2	0.1

(*) Percentage of economically active population. Source: NSS, 2011b

The distribution of the population by education level in 2010 (**TABLE 1.8**) shows that the share of population with tertiary education (18.6%) is increasing. Some 23% of the population had post-secondary vocational education, with women being more likely than men to graduate at that level. A large share of the Armenian population (43.9%), however, had completed general secondary education. Only a small minority left the education system with upper secondary vocational education (2.2%). Men are over-represented in both upper secondary vocational and general secondary education.

The vocational education and training (VET) system in Armenia offers two different pathways. Upper secondary vocational schools – up to ISCED 3 level – train specialists and confer craft qualifications. Students may enter these courses after nine years of compulsory education or upon completing their secondary education (12 years) and the programmes last from between six months to three years. Post-secondary vocational education (colleges) prepares mid-level vocational specialists. These courses can start after compulsory general or complete secondary education and last for two to five years; they lead to a specialist qualification. Both routes offer vocational qualification and the opportunity to obtain a general secondary diploma (the Matura), thereby providing a route into higher education (see also Annex 2).

TABLE 1.8 COMPOSITION OF POPULATION BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND GENDER (%)

	2008		2009		2010	
	Total	**Female**	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**	**Female**
Primary, incomplete primary	3.2	3.4	2.8	2.7	2.0	2.1
General basic	11.0	9.8	10.1	8.8	10.3	8.8
Complete general secondary	42.4	40.3	43.1	41.4	43.9	41.8
Upper secondary vocational	3.2	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.2	1.9
Post-secondary vocational	22.9	25.9	23.1	26.2	22.9	25.9
Tertiary, post-graduate	17.3	18.0	18.3	18.8	18.6	19.4

Source: NSS, 2009 and 2010

In 2011, an ETF study gathered qualitative information on the labour market from employers, employees and VET graduates in two regions of Armenia and three sectors (tourism, construction and agriculture). The responses of VET graduates indicated that getting a job depends not only on their skills but also on the economic structure and availability of jobs in the region. The conclusion was that there is a structural mismatch between the output of the educational system and employment opportunities. Job seekers found it hard to find employment in their field because of the lack of job offers. The high unemployment rate is linked to the limited number of vacancies in general (the economic development of the region) and particularly the lack of vacancies relevant to the graduate's qualifications. However, the graduates' responses also indicated that almost half of the unemployed have never actively looked for a job because of lack of interest or discouragement due to the high likelihood of failure. The employed graduates reported that they occupy jobs that should normally be filled by people with a lower level of qualification (e.g. graduates in tourism management are employed as waiters and people with language qualifications are working as receptionists).

The economic ups and downs of the last two decades have been accompanied by essential structural changes in the labour market and employment. Between 1991 and 2010, the share of employment in industry decreased from 27.4% to 10.2% and that of construction from 10.6% to 7.2%. The share of the service sector has been relatively stable (38.7% in 1991 and 38% in 2010) and that of agriculture has remained steadily high (about 38.6% in 2010). It is worth recalling that the share of agriculture in the GDP was around 16.8% in 2010, which means that the productivity level in that sector is about three times lower than the average for the economy as a whole. Moreover, informal employment (self-employment and unregistered employment) is very high in the agricultural sector, accounting for 59.2% of the total working-age population. Earnings are much lower in rural areas, leading one to expect higher rates of migration (European Commission, 2011).

According to the labour force survey data for 2010, 19.4% of the employed were engaged in temporary, seasonal, occasional, or one-off activities (as compared to 24.4% in 2008, of which 41% were self-employed). This situation means that a large proportion of the population is essentially unprotected against economic risks. The pool of unemployed is relatively young: the labour force survey data for 2010 reveals that 27.5% of the unemployed are aged between 16 and 24, while this age group accounts for only 17% of the population as a whole (see Table A1.1 in annex). Thus, it is to be expected that the percentage of prospective migrants will be large, particularly among young people.

During the transition to a market economy, the living standards of the population deteriorated significantly, especially in rural areas. The land privatisation reform implemented in 1990 radically changed the rural economy. Negative aspects included the lack of facilities for processing agricultural products, the lack of agricultural machinery and the limited scope for using advanced technologies in agriculture due to the small size of farms. As a result, migration was further stimulated by the scarcity of employment opportunities in the countryside compared to the capital city and other urban areas.

The ILO study (2009a) sought explanations for regional differences in migration by analysing the regional indicators for economic activity and unemployment. The authors found higher migration activity in regions where the economically active population was higher than the national average (that is, a higher than average share of the able-bodied population employed or actively looking for employment as compared to those not looking for work) and in regions with unemployment rates higher than the national average (that is, with a higher than average share of

unemployed in the economically active population). Consequently, migration outflows are larger in Shirak, Lori and Kotayq, regions with higher than average unemployment rates (see Table A1.3 in annex for regional unemployment rates).

1.3 LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK AND MIGRATION POLICIES

As a country which, until recently, had been governed by a single-party totalitarian regime, Armenia lacked experience in migration policy in a democracy and the necessary legislation and administrative systems. From the beginning, the new government was obliged to react promptly to solve the problems caused by the massive emigration flows. Legislation to regulate migration and institutions to implement the new legislation were gradually set up.

The first law to be passed was the Citizenship Act in 1995 (15 June 1995). Armenia signed the UN 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees in 1993, but national legislation on refugees was not adopted until much later. The Refugees Act came into force in 1999 (3 March 1999) and the law entitled 'On the legal and socio-economic guarantees for persons who have been forcibly displaced from the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1988-92 and have acquired Armenian citizenship' was passed in 2000 (6 December 2000). The special public agency in charge of refugee affairs, which had been set up in 1990 under the previous regime, was integrated into the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in 1995 as a result of a structural reorganisation. However, this change made little difference because, as before, the agency had no policy making function or competence to implement new policies. Thus, up until the early 2000s, national migration policy was limited to issues relating to refugees.

The situation changed with the Political Asylum Act (2001), the State Borders Act (2001) and the State Registry of the Population Act (2002). The Foreigners Act passed in 2006 regulates arrivals and departures, residency, jobs, deportations and all other issues relating to foreigners. An amendment of the Citizenship Act in 2007 established the right to dual citizenship, and the Refugees and Asylum Act passed in 2008 brought the legislation on asylum issues into line with international law. These acts, together with other laws and by-laws relating to the regulation of migration, constitute the necessary legislative framework for the implementation of migration policy.

Between 1993 and 2000, Armenia signed bilateral agreements on labour migration with four countries: Georgia (1993), Russia (1994), Ukraine (1995), and Belarus (2000). However, owing to the lack of adequate mechanisms for their implementation, none of these agreements worked properly and needed revision. A joint Armenian-Russian working group has made progress in the case of Russia and an amended agreement has been proposed by the Russian representatives. The working group has met twice (Moscow in June 2010 and Yerevan in June 2011). Negotiations have recently been initiated with Qatar to develop an agreement on Armenian labour force integration in that country. During the same period, intergovernmental bilateral agreements on migration management have been signed with over 10 countries, including the following:

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Russian Federation on readmission (signed on 20 August 2010, entered into force on 14 April 2011);

■ the Republic of Armenia and the Czech Republic on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation (signed on 17 May 2010, entered into force on 1 April 2011);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Kingdom of Norway on the readmission of persons with unauthorised stay (signed on 29 January 2010, entered into force on 26 June 2010);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Benelux countries (the Kingdom of Belgium, the Great Dukedom of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands) on the readmission of persons illegally residing without authorisation (signed on 3 June 2009);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation (signed on 7 November 2008, entered into force on 19 April 2009);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria on the readmission of persons with unauthorised stay (signed on 13 November 2007, entered into force on 19 April 2009);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the readmission of persons with unauthorised stay and transit transport (signed on 16 November 2006, entered into force on 20 April 2008);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Swiss Federal Council on the readmission of persons with unauthorised stay (signed on 30 October 2003, entered into force on 1 March 2005);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Republic of Lithuania on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation (signed on 15 September 2003, entered into force on 22 May 2004);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark on the readmission of persons with unauthorised stay (signed on 30 April 2003, entered into force on 1 January 2004);

■ the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on temporary working activities and social protection of the citizens working outside the borders of their states (signed on 19 July 2000, entered into force on 24 May 2001);

- the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Ukraine on temporary working activities and social protection of the Armenian and the Ukrainian citizens working outside the borders of their states (signed on 17 June 1995, entered into force on 12 March 1997);
- the Government of the Republic of Armenia and the Government of the Russian Federation on working activities and social protection of the citizens of the Republic of Armenia working in the territory of the Russian Federation and the citizens of the Russian Federation working in the territory of the Republic of Armenia (signed on 19 July 1994, entered into force on 19 July 1994).

The goal of all these readmission agreements is basically the same – to implement and regulate procedures that will identify and prevent illegal migration. Readmission agreements with host countries and the ratification of such agreements provide a legal framework for Armenia to facilitate the readmission of persons who are living in the destination countries without permission. In particular such agreements establish lines of communication between the Armenian legal authorities and those of the host country; define the readmission application procedures, the list of documents required, and the deadlines for the implementation of the agreement. Readmission agreements also provide for the implementation of reintegration programmes for returnees.

Armenia also signed the 1954 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, the 1957 UN Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, the 1950 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the 1995 European Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the ILO Convention concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation (1958), the ILO Convention concerning Migration for Employment (revised 1949, C 97), and the ILO Recommendation concerning Migration for Employment (R 86).

The State Department of Refugees and Migration was established in 2000 and has been responsible for formulating and implementing the country's migration policy. In 2005, when this department became an agency within the Ministry of Territorial Administration, policy formulating and implementing functions were transferred to that ministry. To improve the coordination and effectiveness of its migration policy, the government adopted a concept paper on State Regulation of Migration, which was revised in 2004.

An assessment of Armenia's management of migration carried out in 2008 by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Swedish Migration Board, identified the following gaps in the system at that time (IOM et al., 2008, p. 9): '[...] lack of common course, limited capabilities of policy development and implementation; incomplete legislation and lack of clear criteria for visas and residence; lack of a single state body coordinating migration management; lack of clear division of responsibilities between different agencies; and lack of an integrated system of migration data collection and analysis, and an underdeveloped system of data exchange between the institutions related to migration issues.'

In response to this analysis, the State Migration Service became a separate body within the Ministry of Territorial Administration in 2009, responsible for coordinating and implementing the migration policy. A new concept paper was drafted and adopted in 2010 (Government of the Republic of Armenia, 2010). According to this paper, 'the current government regulation system of migration, with its political, institutional and administrative features adopted previously, is not capable of effectively solving the existing migration problems in the country'. This paper marks the beginning of a new phase in migration policy: 'It is time to change the passive and discretionary migration policy into a proactive and predictable one. It means adopting new approaches in the government regulation of migration processes, developing the existing legislation, institutional and administrative mechanisms' (ibid., p. 5).

The institutions currently involved in the decision-making process on international migration policy and administration or responsible for solving the problems in this sphere within the scope of their authority, are as follows:

- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Department of Employment) – responsible for labour migration issues;
- Ministry of Territorial Administration – responsible for formulating, implementing and coordinating migration regulation policy, organising labour migration and formulating labour migration policy;
- State Migration Service under the Ministry of Territorial Administration – responsible for coordinating migration policy as well as for organising and implementing programmes relating to the regulation of migration and refugee affairs;
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Legal Department, Consular Department, Migration Unit) – responsible for issuing visas and passports and for relations with Armenians abroad;
- Border Control Service (under the National Security Service) – reporting to the Prime Minister and responsible for border management and control;
- Passport and Visas Department (under the Police) – reporting to the Prime Minister and responsible for controlling irregular migration, issuing visas on arrival, registering foreigners visiting the country and granting exit permits to Armenian citizens;
- The Office of the President – responsible for granting citizenship.

Recent developments to facilitate legal migration labour mobility, return opportunities and effective prevention and control of illegal migration include the adoption of the Policy Concept for the State Regulation of Migration in the Republic of Armenia and the 2012-16 Action Plan for its implementation.

1.4 INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DONOR ACTIVITIES

The signature of an EU-Armenia Joint Mobility Partnership on 27 October 2011 made Armenia one of four countries with which the EU and interested individual Member States have entered into a concrete framework for dialogue and cooperation in the areas of legal migration, development and the fight against irregular migration (the other countries being Cape Verde, Moldova, and Georgia). The aim of the Mobility Partnership is to make the most of the opportunities and benefits that migrants, country of origin and receiving country can derive from well-managed migration. It focuses on facilitating the movement of persons between Armenia and the EU, including temporary and circular migration, on ensuring better management of migration flows, including the reduction of irregular migration, and on mitigating the negative effects of migration on the development of the country of origin.

Specific actions have been set in motion to address the priorities established by the Mobility Partnership. These include strengthening capacities in migration management, supporting the social and economic reintegration of Armenian nationals who return voluntarily or involuntarily from EU Member States or elsewhere, better use of the potential of migration to promote development, and campaigns to raise awareness in general about the possibilities of legal migration (including labour and circular migration) and of the risks of irregular migration. A joint project in cooperation with the State Migration Service and other relevant national stakeholders, a consortium of donors and organisations under the leadership of the French Office for Immigration and Integration will start activities in 2013.

Donor activities have also continuously focused on the issue of migration, often involving and working closely together with the relevant institutions (especially the State Migration Service) and cooperating with national non-government organisations, such as the International Centre for Human Development (ICHD). The EU has funded various initiatives, for example a project supporting the development of Armenian migration policy (implemented by the British Council) and another aimed at promoting legal migration through Migration Resource Centres in selected offices of the State Employment Service (implemented by the IOM). Various EU Member States have collaborated in projects promoting the reintegration of returned migrants and on the reform and reinforcement of national migration management.

Other projects have been put in place to address the employment aspect of migration. A project funded by the EU and implemented by the IOM and the ICHD seeks to facilitate the exchange of information on labour demand within the EU by developing relations between private recruitment agencies (which are not usually active in placements abroad) and agencies in EU Member States (Poland, Lithuania and Bulgaria). The aim is to build a web-based system for the exchange of information on labour demand (EU) and supply (Armenia); the system is called Ulysses. Another project focuses on developing quality standards to address the vulnerabilities of circular migrants to Russia and the EU, and in particular on facilitating the transfer of social security benefits and remittances as well as on improving legal guarantees.

The EU launched negotiations with Armenia on visa facilitation and readmission of irregular migrants in February 2012. These were the result of political commitment made at the Prague Eastern Partnership Summit in May 2009 to improving people-to-people contacts. The second stage of negotiations took place in July 2012, and both sides have confirmed progress (EU Delegation to Armenia, 2012).

Specific assistance in the field of migration policy is being provided by the EU Advisory Group, a UNDP facility funded by the EU to assist the Armenian authorities in negotiating, concluding and implementing an Association Agreement with the EU. One aspect of the group's work is to monitor and provide advice on the execution of the Action Plan (2012-16) for the implementation of the Policy Concept for the State Regulation of Migration in the Republic of Armenia. Other aspects include raising awareness of the Mobility Partnership and visa facilitation and advising the State Migration Service on the coordinating of migration management.

2. STUDY METHODOLOGY

2.1 OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of the ETF project was to investigate the relationship between migration, development and skills in Armenia and support national stakeholders in the country as well as the EU policy-makers in improving evidence-based policies on migration, skills and employment. The project's components included:

■ research on the migration phenomenon and its connection with the labour market, education and training;
■ the design and execution of a field survey targeting potential and returned migrants and analyse the data based on guidelines;
■ compilation of a report on national legislation and institutional framework relating to migration;
■ organisation of meetings with relevant stakeholders.

2.2 STUDY AREAS AND MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY

The migration research covered all 11 regions (*marze*s) in Armenia, including both urban and rural areas. The survey and sample design proposed by the ETF were reviewed and finalised by the CRRC to ensure that the nuances of the country's context were captured. The following are the main characteristics of the final survey.

■ **Research method:** A nationally representative survey.
■ **Research technique:** The research technique was a face-to-face interview based on structured questionnaires and carried out in respondents' homes. In total 74 interviewers and 10 supervisors were involved in the fieldwork.
■ **Target groups:** Two separate groups were surveyed: potential migrants and returned migrants. A **potential migrant** was defined as citizens between the ages of 18 and 50 living in Armenia; this group included people who intended to emigrate and people who did not. Therefore, the potential migrant sample is representative of the adult population (aged 18-50) as a whole. On the basis of their response to the questionnaire the group of potential migrants were categorised as either prospective migrants or non-migrants. This design also provided data on a control group of people in the age group studied who are not actively seeking to migrate. A **returned migrant** was defined as anyone aged 18 or older who had worked abroad continuously for at least three months and had returned no more than 10 years previously. Returned migrants had to be present in the country at the time of the study and available for interview.
■ **Research tools:** The basic research tools were two written questionnaires, one targeting the potential migrants and the other the returned migrants. The questionnaires were developed by the ETF and finalised with the help of the CRRC-Armenia. The average interview length was 30 minutes for the potential migrant questionnaire and 36 minutes for the returned migrant questionnaire.
■ **Sample size:** In total, 2 630 potential migrants and 1395 returned migrants were interviewed.
■ **Fieldwork period:** Fieldwork was carried out between 13 and 29 December, 2011 and 7 and 30 January 2012.

2.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

The research strategy was based on the following qualitative and quantitative methods:

■ preliminary desk research;
■ fact-finding mission and meetings with national stakeholders;
■ nationally representative survey of potential migrants and survey of returned migrants;
■ elaboration of a migration profile based on survey findings.

2.4 DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

Stage 1. Preliminary desk research

The aim of the desk research was to provide background information on the country's migration history as well as its current migration governance and economic and labour market situation. The information collected included statistical data, legislation and bilateral agreements. Previous research and other documentation on migration and related issues were reviewed and analysed during this stage of the project.

Stage 2. Fact-finding mission (12-17 July 2011)

Meetings with the CRRC were held to agree on the methodology, timing and deliverables and also to inform national stakeholders about the scope and timetable of the survey and to ask for their support and feedback. Most stakeholders had been identified during the first stage of research (preliminary desk research). Together with CRRC representatives, the ETF visited the major local stakeholders and donors in or around Yerevan, including the ICHD, the ILO, the IOM, the OSCE, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, the Representative Union of Entrepreneurs of Armenia, as well as the Armenia State Employment Service and State Migration Service.

Stage 3. Sampling of the potential and returned migrant groups

To obtain a representative stratified sample, the national Armenian electricity company's database of addresses was used. This database had been used by the CRRC for previous country surveys and had worked well. The company's classification of paid versus unpaid electricity bills made it possible to identify families who were currently living in their homes. Employment surveys were suggested to provide the baseline numbers needed for sampling. The advantages of the chosen sampling methodology against the use of the census data conducted during previous years are that the electricity company's database is more up-to-date than the national census data provided by the NSS; and only households that had paid for electricity during the period from December 2010 through February 2011 were listed, meaning that empty households were not sampled.

For the group of potential migrants, members of the general population aged between 18 and 50 were selected randomly and geographical representation was ensured through stratified sampling. For the returned migrant group, an additional snowball sampling method was used. Each household visited in the potential migrant group was asked if they knew any returned migrants. The sampling was characterised by the following parameters:

- a sampling error of no more than +/-2.5% (5%);
- no more than 13 interviews of potential migrants and 7 returnee migrants in each secondary sampling unit/point (200 clusters = 2 600/13);
- sampling method and techniques: multistage cluster sampling with preliminary stratification; proportionate-to-target population size random sampling approach for the potential migrants and the same combined with the snowball method for returnee migrants' households; respondents were sampled randomly using the upcoming birthday approach;
- stratification approaches: capital/urban/rural stratification;
- sample frame: a comprehensive list of the addresses of households using electricity provided by Electricity Networks of Armenia.

Detailed information on the potential migrant survey sample is shown in **TABLE 2.1**.

TABLE 2.1 POTENTIAL MIGRANT SURVEY: SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY REGION AND SETTLEMENT TYPE

Regions in Armenia	Number of interviews required			Sample size (including non-responders)			Number of clusters			Final sample size (as per potential migrants dataset)		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Total	**1 655**	**945**	**2 600**	**2 152**	**1 181**	**3 333**	**127**	**73**	**200**	**1 807**	**823**	**2 630**
Yerevan	877	0	877	1 228	0	1228	67	0	67	993	0	993
Aragatsotn	26.8	88.2	115	35	110	145	2	7	9	27	78	105
Ararat	67.2	161.2	228	87	201	289	5	12	18	67	132	199
Armavir	81.5	152.1	234	106	190	296	6	12	18	79	116	195
Gegharquniq	64.4	130.6	195	84	163	247	5	10	15	66	104	170
Kotayq	131.5	103.0	235	171	129	300	10	8	18	143	93	236
Lori	130.8	91.8	223	170	115	285	10	7	17	157	91	248
Shirak	134.5	91.6	226	175	114	289	10	7	17	146	78	224
Syuniq	84.6	36.6	121	110	46	156	7	3	9	77	36	113
Tavush	41.3	60.7	102	54	76	130	3	5	8	39	69	108
Vayots Dzor	15.5	28.8	44	20	36	56	1	2	3	13	26	39
Other urban	778	0	778	1 012	0	1 012	60	0	60	814	0	802

In order to make the data comparable with the general population, household and respondent weights were calculated for the potential migrant dataset after data cleaning. Contrary to the weighted dataset of potential migrants, the returned migrant dataset was not weighted due to the fact that 54% of the returnees were selected using the snowball sampling method. **TABLES 2.2, 2.3, 2.4** and **2.5** show the comparison between NSS data (2010) and the potential and returned migrant datasets by education level, gender, age and urban/rural distribution.

TABLE 2.2 COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES BY GENDER (%)

	NSS	Potential migrants weighted data1	Potential migrants non-weighted data2	Return migrants data
Male	49	49	36	87
Female	51	51	64	13

Note: (1) Weighted data adjusts the sample to represent the population from which it was drawn (18-50 year-olds in Armenia) in terms of gender, age and regional distribution (marz). (2) Non-weighted data shows the real distribution of the respondents in the sample.

The non-weighted data shows that more women than men were interviewed for the potential migrant survey. In order to represent the target population from which it was drawn (all 18 to 50 year-olds; see NSS data), the sample was weighted to approximate the gender, age and regional distribution of the target population. In contrast, in the sample of returned migrants, there are more men than women. Due to the unknown target population (all returned migrants) the sample was not weighted in order not to introduce further bias.

TABLE 2.3 COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES BY AGE (%)

	NSS	Potential migrants weighted data	Potential migrants non-weighted data	Returned migrants data
18-24	26	29	19	6
25-30	19	19	23	24
31-35	13	11	16	19
36-40	12	11	14	16
41-45	15	14	12	15
46-50	16	16	16	21

The (non-weighted) potential migrant sample was slightly older than the population aged 18 to 50 years (NSS data). The age structure of the returned migrants group was older than that of the potential migrants sample and the general population aged 18 to 50 years. While the group of the 18 to 24 year-olds is the biggest group in both the (weighted) potential migrants sample and in the general population aged 18 to 50 years, the 25 to 30 year-olds form the biggest group in the returned migrant sample.

TABLE 2.4 COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES BY EDUCATION LEVEL (%)

	NSS (2010 household survey)*	Potential migrants weighted data	Potential migrants non-weighted data	Returned migrants data
Primary and less	1	0	0	1
Lower secondary	6	7	6	11
Upper secondary general	46	40	37	40
Upper secondary vocational	3	6	6	9
Post-secondary vocational	22	17	19	15
Higher education (bachelor and master degrees)	24	30	31	23
Post-graduate (PhD)	0	1	1	1

(*) Numbers here are recalculated from NSS data using an equivalence scale that translates national education levels into ISCED levels (received from Zara Grigoryan, Ministry of Education and Science, see Annex 2).

The potential migrants sample displays a larger share of higher education graduates than the general population of 18 to 50 year-olds in Armenia. The returned migrant sample, on the other hand, has a significantly higher share of respondents with only lower secondary education compared to the general population. Overall, those with upper secondary general education are the dominant group in both samples and in the population of the 18 to 50 year-olds in Armenia.

TABLE 2.5 COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES BY URBAN/RURAL DISTRIBUTION (%)

	NSS	Potential migrants weighted data	Potential migrants non-weighted data	Return migrants data
Capital	34	36	38	38
Other urban	30	29	31	30
Rural	35	35	31	33

Armenians in the 18 to 50 age group are almost equally distributed across the capital, other urban settlements and rural areas (NSS data). The share of respondents from Yerevan is slightly higher in the potential migrants sample and the returned migrants sample as compared to NSS data.

Members of the households randomly selected for the potential migrant survey were asked screening questions to identify the presence of returned migrants in the household. To achieve the required number of interviews, the stratified random sampling method was regularly combined with the snowball sampling method. In each household surveyed during the potential migrant survey, the CRRC tried to obtain information on households with returned migrants in the same locality. Following referral to a returned migrants address in the locality, interviewers went directly to those addresses.

The snowball sampling technique was used until the number of interviews with returnees planned for this locality (seven per sampled cluster) had been obtained. Only one returnee was interviewed per household. If there was more than one returnee in the household, only one person was selected using the upcoming birthday criteria.

If there was only one eligible interviewee in a household, who was both a returnee and a potential migrant (i.e. aged 18-50), the person was asked to answer return migrant questionnaire but this interview was taken to count for both the potential and return migration surveys. There were 30 such cases who were counted both as returnees and potential migrants, and their questionnaires were included both in the datasets of potential and returned migrants. As a result, the total number of cases in the potential migrant dataset was 2630.

2.5 DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD

The following difficulties in the field were reported by field supervisors and interviewers.

1. It was difficult to find returned migrants. To address this issue, the fieldwork period was prolonged and additional techniques for collecting information were used, including obtaining information from village mayors or other sources within selected clusters.
2. For the potential migrants survey the main difficulty was to find people aged 18-50. In some clusters, many of the households on the list of sampled addresses were not available (closed doors, no answer etc.). This problem was solved by adding to the list of addresses in the affected cluster or by adding an additional cluster. This was done by a sampling expert.
3. The questionnaire gave rise to several difficulties. The main issue was to understand and interpret some questions. For example, some respondents found it difficult to identify their work level. The following explanations and definitions were given to supervisors and interviewers regarding the questions about work level during their instruction:
   ■ *Professionals*. They increase the existing stock of knowledge, apply scientific or artistic concepts and theories, teach about the foregoing in a systematic manner, or engage in any combination of these activities. Such occupations include science and engineering professionals, health professionals, teaching professionals, business and administration professionals, information and communication technology (ICT) professionals, and legal, social and cultural professionals.
   ■ *High management*. The highest ranking executives responsible for the entire enterprise: such as chairman/chairwoman, chief executive officer, managing director, president, executive directors, executive vice-presidents, etc.
   ■ *Middle management*. This level includes the managers responsible for specific departments (such as accounting, marketing, production) or business units, and project managers in organisations with a horizontal structure.

■ *Skilled worker.* These individuals are knowledgeable about a specific skill or trade. An auto mechanic is one example of a skilled worker who possesses extensive knowledge in a specialised field.

■ *Unskilled worker.* A person who undertakes work that requires no specialised qualification or experience. Unskilled labour is common in the agricultural sector because agricultural products can be harvested with a minimum of skills and experience.

In about 5% of cases (about 200 respondents), the interviewers were unable to identify the work level of the respondent's job and wrote down the actual occupation. For those cases the ISCO 88 classification of occupations was used to code the data (**TABLE 2.6**).

TABLE 2.6 WORK LEVEL ACCORDING TO ISCO 88 CLASSIFICATION

Work level	ISCO 88 classification
1. Professional	Major Group 2 – Professionals
	Major Group 3 – Technicians and associate professionals
2. Upper-level management	Major Group 1 – Legislators, senior officials and managers
	11 Legislators and senior officials
	13 General managers
	12 Corporate managers
	121 Directors and chief executives
3. Middle management	Major Group 1 – Legislators, senior officials and managers
	12 Corporate managers – the rest
4. Skilled worker	Major Group 4 – Clerks
	Major Group 5 – Service workers and shop and market sales workers
	Major Group 6 – Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
	Major Group 7 – Craft and related trade workers
	Major Group 8 – Plant and machine operators and assemblers
5. Unskilled worker	Major Group 9 – Elementary occupations

CRRC-Armenia staff or field supervisors provided additional clarification of questions identified as problematic. The information about how to resolve the problems posed by these questions was always shared with all supervisors and interviewers during fieldwork.

2.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND INDEXES

The survey data was entered into SPSS for analysis. The ETF developed a common data analysis guideline for the datasets. The detailed picture of the country presented in this report is based on the analysis performed by local teams with support from the ETF. The main SPSS datasets include over 250 variables. As a result of this high number of variables, the presentation of data is necessarily selective. This report presents a descriptive analysis of key variables in Chapters 3 and 4 and then moves to an assessment of policy conclusions and recommendations in Chapter 5.

The data analysis required many cross-tabulations as well as the construction of several key composite indicators by the ETF. These involved the selection and weighting of first-level variables collected in the survey. In total, five composite indicators were developed for this analysis.

1. *Propensity to migrate indicator:* was constructed from seven discrete variables on the potential migrant questionnaire: the likelihood of the interviewee migrating within six months; the likelihood of migration within

two years; the ability to finance the move; the ability to speak the language of the most likely destination; a subjective assessment of whether the individual possesses information about the most likely destination; the presence of at least four of the six documents needed for migration (passport, visa, work contract, work or residence permit, acceptance letter for study or training etc.); and a subjective assessment of whether the individual would have any difficulty obtaining the remaining documents. The following thresholds were used for four classifications: (i) very unlikely (total score 0-2.5); (ii) quite unlikely (total score 3-5.5); (iii) quite likely (total score 6-8.5); and (iv) very likely (total score 9-11.5). Thus prospective migrants had to score at least 6 out of a maximum of 11.5 in the propensity indicator in order to be considered 'ready to go abroad'.

2. *Social condition indicator:* concerns information about living conditions and basic household possessions and relates to variables that were included in both the potential migrant and return migrant questionnaires. It considers the number of people living in the household, the number of rooms in the house and the presence of a series of indicative facilities or items, such as piped drinking water, hot water, indoor flushing toilet, modern heating system, colour TV, washing machine, computer, internet connection and car. The resulting indicator has a minimum value of 0 (the worst living conditions) and a maximum value of 2 (the best living conditions). The following thresholds were used for three classifications: (i) worst living conditions (0.2-0.74); (ii) average living conditions (0.75-1.34); and (iii) best living conditions (1.35-2.0).

3. *Economic condition indicator:* was also calculated for both questionnaires. It takes into account house and land ownership, overall household income from all sources (equalised monetary income) and the receipt of any remittances that were included in both the potential migrant and return migrant questionnaires. The resulting indicator has a minimum value of 0 (the worst economic situation) and a maximum value of 4 (the best economic situation). The following thresholds were used for four classifications: (i) worst condition (0-1.0); (ii) quite bad (1.1-2.0); (iii) quite good (2.1-3.0); and (iv) best condition (3.1-4.0).

4. *Migration outcome indicator:* brings together nine variables relating to the period of time spent abroad and aggregates different dimensions of a returnee's legal and work status abroad. The variables include career progression abroad, the fit between skill levels and the type of work abroad, work/ residence permit, fair treatment at work and any negative experiences (such as discrimination), the recognition of educational qualifications, skill development opportunities, periods of unemployment, remittances sent and legal status while abroad. Based on the scores, migration outcomes were classified as: (i) highly successful (total score 9-15); (ii) successful (total score 4-below 9); (iii) neither successful nor unsuccessful (score 1-below 4); (iv) unsuccessful (score -2-below 1); and (v) extremely unsuccessful (less than -2).

5. *Return outcome indicator:* focuses only on the migrants' experience since their return, assessing the impact of labour migration on different dimensions of post-return work and current economic status. It combines six variables from the return migrant questionnaire: savings on return, work upon return, post-return career progression, social benefits linked to migration, usefulness of migration to find a job at home, and returnee's subjective assessment of the benefits of migration. Based on the total score obtained, return outcomes were classified as: (i) highly successful (total score 9-12); (ii) successful (total score 4-below 9); (iii) neither successful nor unsuccessful (score 1-below 4); (iv) unsuccessful (score -1-below 1); and (v) extremely unsuccessful (less than -1).

3. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF POTENTIAL MIGRANTS

This chapter presents the findings of the survey of the country's population aged between 18 and 50 years, with particular focus on the subgroup of interviewees who are considering moving abroad to live or work, which, according to the survey results, corresponds to 36% of the population. Throughout this report the term 'prospective migrant' is used to refer to those respondents who are considering migrating. The term 'non-migrant' is used to refer to those respondents in the sample not considering leaving Armenia.

3.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, EDUCATION AND SKILLS OF POTENTIAL MIGRANTS[13]

Socio-demographic characteristics of potential migrants

The potential migrant survey used a representative sample of the population aged between 18 and 50 years. The gender distribution of the respondents is shown in **TABLE 3.1**.

TABLE 3.1 GENDER DISTRIBUTION IN THE POTENTIAL MIGRANT SAMPLE (%)

	Non-weighted data[1]	Weighted data[2]
Male	36	49
Female	64	51
Total	**100**	**100**

Note: (1) Non-weighted data shows the real distribution of the respondents in the sample. (2) Weighted data adjusts the sample to represent the population from which it was drawn (18-50 year-olds in Armenia).

Thus, male respondents represent 36% of the sample aged 18 to 50 years and female respondents represent 64%. The age distribution is shown in **TABLE 3.2**.

TABLE 3.2 AGE GROUPS IN THE POTENTIAL MIGRANTS SAMPLE (%)

	Non-weighted data	Weighted data
18-24	19	29
25-30	23	19
31-35	16	11
36-40	14	11
41-45	12	14
46-50	16	16
Total	**100**	**100**

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13 All the numbers in tables, figures and text are calculated based on the weighted dataset of the potential migrants sample with a total of 2 630 cases (including 30 additional cases who were counted both as a potential migrant and a returnee), unless labelled as non-weighted data. The household weight is used for Section 3.5. The results refer to valid percentages only, excluding missing responses ('no answer'/'refuse to answer'). The percentage of missing responses is reported under each table or figure and is calculated as based on the un-weighted sample.

Some 38% of the respondents were resident in the capital, 31% in other urban settlements and 31% in rural areas (**TABLE 3.3**).

TABLE 3.3 **SETTLEMENT TYPE IN THE POTENTIAL MIGRANTS SAMPLE (%)**

	Non-weighted data	Weighted data
Capital	38	36
Urban	31	29
Rural	31	35
Total	**100**	**100**

Over half of the respondents were married, with more male respondents saying that they had never been married (**TABLE 3.4**).

TABLE 3.4 **MARITAL STATUS IN THE POTENTIAL MIGRANTS SAMPLE BY GENDER (%)**

	Male	Female	Total
Never married	42	31	36
Married/living together	57	64	60
Divorced/separated	1	4	3
Widowed	0	2	1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

In total, 59% of the surveyed population had children, with the average being two children. Armenian was the childhood language spoken at home for 98% of all respondents; the other 2% spoke Russian, and only 0.3% spoke Yezidi[14] at home.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents had upper secondary or higher education, with only 7% of the respondents reporting lower secondary education, and less than 30% higher education. The education level is disproportionately distributed between men and women, with women reporting higher levels of education; almost three times more men have only lower secondary education (**FIGURE 3.1**).

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14   The Yezidis are the largest ethnic minority in Armenia, with most having arrived in the country in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries from Northern Iraq. Their religion, Yezidism, combines elements from Zoroastrianism, Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Although they are generally considered to be Kurds who resisted pressure to convert to Islam, there have been attempts to identify them as a separate ethnic group in Armenia since the final years of the Soviet rule.

FIGURE 3.1 EDUCATION LEVELS BY GENDER (%)
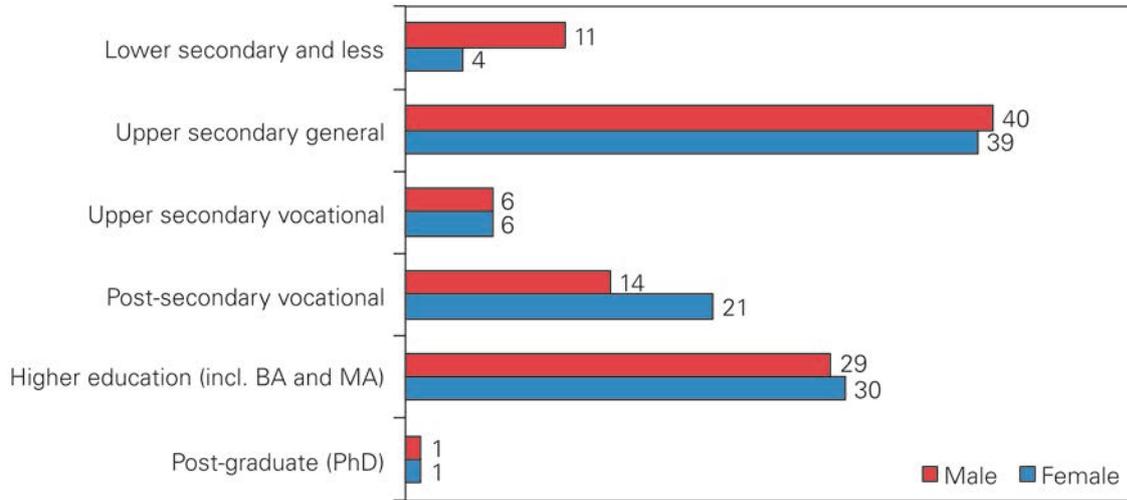
Additionally, 20% of all respondents intended to study further. Individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to want to continue their education (**FIGURE 3.2**).

FIGURE 3.2 INTENTION TO CONTINUE EDUCATION OR TRAINING BY EDUCATION LEVEL (%)
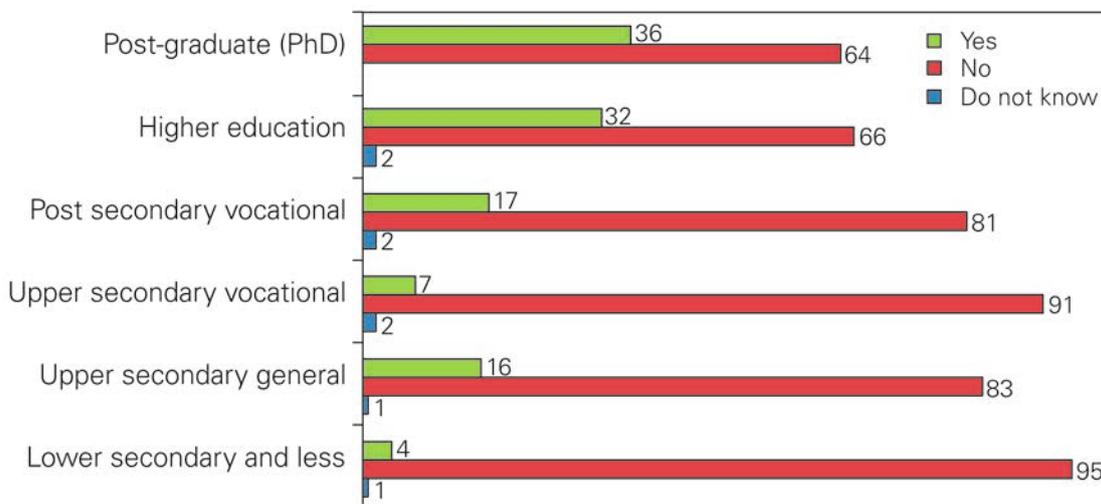
Almost half of all respondents with higher education have degrees in humanities and social sciences, 20% have degrees in education science and teacher training, 16% in sciences, 12% in engineering, manufacturing, construction and architecture, 6% in agriculture, forestry, fishing and veterinary, 5% in health, welfare and social work, and 2% in services. The overwhelming majority said that they chose their field of study on the basis of personal interest.

Appreciation of education was high. The overwhelming majority, over 90% of those surveyed, agreed that education improves one's standard of living and that it is important to invest in education. However, the respondents were less sure about the usefulness of education in securing a job abroad, with a quarter of those surveyed disagreeing with the statement (**FIGURE 3.3**).

FIGURE 3.3 REACHING A HIGHER LEVEL OF EDUCATION AT HOME FACILITATES FINDING A BETTER JOB ABROAD? (%)
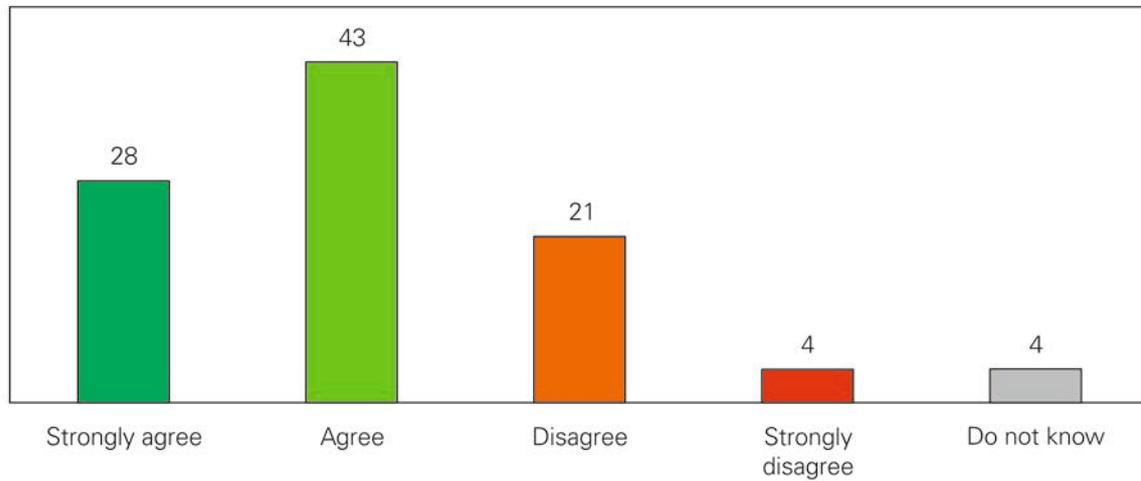
Note: Missing answers below 1%.

Socio-demographic characteristics of prospective migrants and non-migrants

Altogether, 36% of the population surveyed said that they were seriously considering moving abroad to live and work, making up the subgroup defined as prospective migrants. In this group, there were more men with lower levels of education than men with higher education levels. The opposite tendency was observed in the group of women, in which interest in migration increases as the level of education rises (**TABLE 3.5**).

TABLE 3.5 INTENTION TO MIGRATE BY EDUCATION LEVEL* AND GENDER (%)

	Education level	Considering migration	Not considering migration
Male	Low	53	47
	Medium	42	58
	High	37	63
	Total	**42**	**58**
Female	Low	26	74
	Medium	29	71
	High	33	67
	Total	**30**	**70**

(*) Classification of education levels: lower secondary and less was classified as low; upper secondary general, upper secondary vocational and post-secondary vocational as medium; and higher education (incl. BA and MA) and post-graduate (PhD) as high.

Overall, a higher percentage of men than women were contemplating migration and men aged 18 to 30 were more interested in migrating than men in other age groups (**TABLE 3.6**).

TABLE 3.6 INTENTION TO MIGRATE BY AGE AND GENDER (%)

	Age group (years)	Considering migration	Not considering migration
Male	18-24	47	53
	25-30	49	51
	31-35	36	64
	36-40	30	70
	41-45	44	56
	46-50	36	64
	Total	**42**	**58**
Female	18-24	32	68
	25-30	35	65
	31-35	33	67
	36-40	29	71
	41-45	23	77
	46-50	25	75
	Total	**30**	**70**

Moreover, men living outside the capital (in both urban and rural areas) are more interested in migration than men resident in the capital. The opposite tendency is once again observed among women, with those living in rural areas being less likely to migrate (**TABLE 3.7**).

TABLE 3.7 INTENTION TO MIGRATE BY SETTLEMENT TYPE AND GENDER (%)

	Settlement type	Considering migration	Not considering migration
Male	Capital	39	61
	Urban	45	55
	Rural	43	57
	Total	**42**	**58**
Female	Capital	32	68
	Urban	29	71
	Rural	28	72
	Total	**30**	**70**

There percentage of single people was higher in the group of prospective migrants than in the non-migrant group. However, the majority of respondents in both groups are married (**TABLE 3.8**). Parents of children are slightly less likely to consider migration than people without children: 34% compared to 39%, respectively.

TABLE 3.8 INTENTION TO MIGRATE BY MARITAL STATUS (%)

Marital status	Considering migration	Not considering migration
Never married	41	34
Married/living together	56	63
Divorced/separated	2	3
Widowed	1	1
Total	**100**	**100**

There was little difference in views on education between prospective migrants and non-migrants, with over half of the respondents in both groups strongly agreeing with the statement that education helps to improve living standards (**FIGURE 3.4**). A slightly higher percentage of non-migrants (72%) than prospective migrants (67%) said that reaching a higher level of education at home facilitates finding a better job abroad.

FIGURE 3.4 EDUCATION HELPS PEOPLE IMPROVE THEIR LIVING STANDARDS? RESPONSES BY INTENTION TO MIGRATE (%)
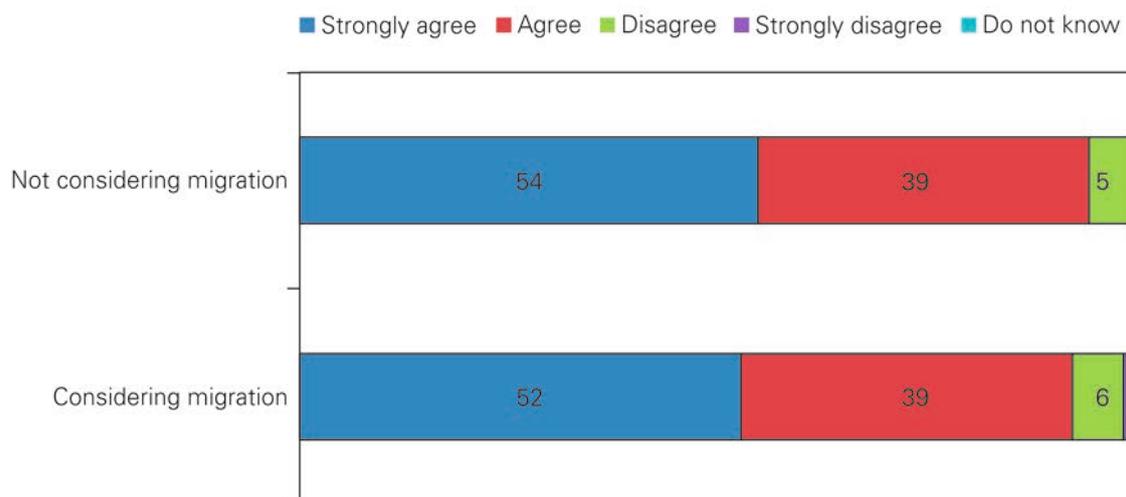
Note: Missing answers below 1%.

Both prospective migrants and non-migrants have similar knowledge of foreign languages, with the only difference being observed in the knowledge of Russian; 53% of prospective migrants reported having a good or excellent level of Russian as compared to 48% of the non-migrants.

3.2 WORK STATUS

Work status of the potential migrant group as a whole

Only one third of the survey sample had worked at least one hour in the seven days preceding the survey. Moreover, only 65% of those working had a job with social security coverage. Men were much more likely to have worked in the past week than women, with 40% of men responding that they had worked as compared to 26% of women. The percentage of those looking for a paid job is also higher among men (73%) than women (54%). Respondents between the ages of 18 to 24 were very unlikely to have worked in the previous week (81% had not); while individuals in the 36 to 40 age group were the most likely to have worked (**TABLE 3.9**).

TABLE 3.9 WORKING IN THE LAST SEVEN DAYS BY AGE (%)

	18-24	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	Total
Yes, I have worked	19	36	40	44	36	39	33
No, I have not worked	81	64	60	56	64	61	67
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

The highest level of unemployment and inactivity was observed in rural areas, where only 20% of respondents said they had worked in the past seven days. While higher than that of rural areas or other urban settlements, employment in the capital city was still low (45%) (**TABLE 3.10**).

TABLE 3.10 WORKING IN THE LAST SEVEN DAYS BY TYPE OF SETTLEMENT (%)

	Yes, I have worked	No, I have not worked
Capital	45	55
Urban	34	66
Rural	20	80
Total	**33**	**67**

There was also a significant difference in employment across different education levels, with higher education leading to better employment opportunities. More men than women had worked in the seven days preceding the interviews (**TABLE 3.11**).

TABLE 3.11 WORKING IN THE LAST SEVEN DAYS: RESPONSES BY GENDER AND EDUCATION LEVEL (%)

	Level of education	Yes, I have worked	No, I have not worked
Men	Low	22	78
	Medium	36	64
	High	56	44
	Total	**40**	**60**
Women	Low	5	95
	Medium	19	81
	High	43	57
	Total	**26**	**74**
Total (entire sample)		**33**	**67**

The main reason cited by both men and women for not working was the inability to find a job. However, more women said that they did not need or want to work (**TABLE 3.12**).

TABLE 3.12 REASONS FOR NOT WORKING BY GENDER (%)

	Male	Female	Overall
Cannot find work	64	53	58
Studying/in training	12	12	12
Do not need/want to work	7	17	13
Holiday	6	6	6
Sickness	5	2	3
Household work/housewife	4	1	2
Other	2	9	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals not working in the seven days prior to the interview (N=1769). Missing answers are below 1%.

Among those currently or recently employed, the main type of work reported was wage employment (70%), followed by self-employment (12%) and intermittent work (14%). Almost twice as many women with medium and higher education have or have had professional jobs compared to men, and men with higher levels of education were more than twice as likely than highly educated women to be employed as unskilled labour (**TABLE 3.13**).

TABLE 3.13 WORK LEVEL BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND GENDER (%)

	Level of education	Professional	Higher management	Middle management	Skilled worker	Unskilled worker
Male	Low	2	0	2	16	79
	Medium	9	2	7	37	45
	High	28	5	11	35	21
	Total	**15**	**3**	**8**	**34**	**40**
Female	Low	0	0	0	18	82
	Medium	17	2	9	32	40
	High	42	6	16	27	9
	Total	**26**	**3**	**12**	**30**	**29**
Total (entire sample)		**20**	**3**	**10**	**32**	**35**

Note: Data refers only to individuals who were working or had worked (N=1737). Missing answers below 5%.

Over half (58%) of those who were working or had worked reported that their work corresponded to their education level, but some 21% said that their jobs were below their education level. Significantly, more men than women with higher levels of education report working on jobs below their education level (**TABLE 3.14**).

TABLE 3.14 DID YOUR WORK MATCH YOUR EDUCATION LEVEL? RESPONSES BY EDUCATION AND GENDER (%)

	Education level	Yes, it fully matched my education	I am working below my education level	My work requires a higher education level than mine	My work requires my education level, but in a different field	Do not know
Male	Low	65	5	10	3	17
	Medium	52	17	9	17	5
	High	52	36	1	10	0
	Total	**53**	**22**	**6**	**14**	**5**
Female	Low	80	5	12	4	0
	Medium	62	20	6	11	2
	High	69	18	1	11	1
	Total	**65**	**19**	**4**	**11**	**1**
Total (whole sample)		**58**	**21**	**5**	**12**	**3**

Note: Data refers only to individuals who were working or had worked (N=1737). Missing answers below 5% except for females with low level of education (9%).

The average monthly nominal wage in Armenia is around EUR 223 (NSS, 2011)[15]. Most of those surveyed who were working or had recently worked reported making between EUR 39 and EUR 290 a month, with over 66% making between EUR 39 and EUR 177 and 26% between EUR 178 and EUR 290 a month. While women generally earn less than men, 80% of those who reported making over EUR 858 a month were women; this group represents the top 1% in terms of salary (**FIGURE 3.5**).

FIGURE 3.5 MONTHLY SALARY (EUR) OF PEOPLE CURRENTLY OR PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED BY GENDER (%)
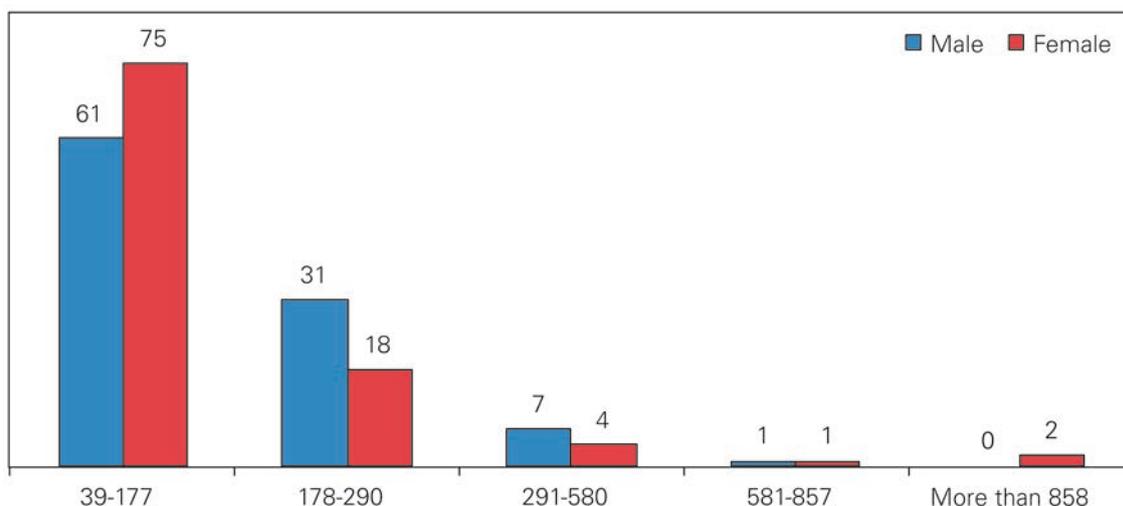
Note: Data refers only to individuals who were working or had worked (N=1737). Missing answers account for 8% (males) and 17% (females).

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15 The annual exchange rate of the Central Bank of Armenia for 2011 was used to estimate euro incomes (AMD 518.72 = EUR 1).

Work status of prospective migrants and non-migrants

On the surface, the desire to migrate does not appear to be influenced by employment status; 34% of those with jobs reported a desire to migrate as compared to 37% of those without employment. However, when we take a closer look at the data, differences emerge and clear trends become apparent. Only 34% of salaried employees are considering moving abroad, a significantly lower proportion than the 43% of self-employed people and 53% of casual workers (**TABLE 3.15**).

TABLE 3.15 INTENTION TO MIGRATE BY TYPE OF WORK (%)

Type of work	Considering migration	Not considering migration
Employer	36	64
Self-employed	43	57
Salaried worker/wage employee	34	66
Casual worker (intermittent work)	53	47
Family helper (unpaid)	87	13
Family helper (paid)	33	67
Unpaid worker	25	75

Note: Data refers only to individuals who were working or had worked (N=1737).

The desire to migrate does not vary greatly between different levels of work. However, skilled workers are more likely to consider migration (40%) than middle management (31%) or professionals (35%) (**TABLE 3.16**).

TABLE 3.16 INTENTION TO MIGRATE BY LEVEL OF WORK (%)

Level of work	Considering migration	Not considering migration
Professional	35	65
High management	37	63
Middle management	31	69
Skilled worker	40	60
Unskilled worker	39	61

Note: Data refers only to individuals who were working or had worked (N=1737).

The type of work sector does appear to affect the inclination to migrate, with those working in domestic service, construction, transport, ICT, repairs and petty trade being the groups most interested in moving abroad (**TABLE 3.17**).

TABLE 3.17 **SERIOUSLY THINKING OF MOVING ABROAD? RESPONSES BY TYPE OF WORK (%)**

	Considering migration	**Not considering migration**
Domestic service	91	9
Construction	63	37
Transport	50	50
Repairs	41	59
ICT	41	59
Agriculture	34	66
Manufacturing	35	65
Hotel or restaurant	33	67
Commerce	37	63
Public administration	27	73
Petty trade	41	59
Public utilities	28	72
Mining	11	89
Other	32	68
Total	**38**	**62**

Note: Data refers only to individuals who were working or had worked (N=1737).

While the current employment status of prospective migrants is about the same as that of non-migrants, a significantly higher percentage of the prospective migrants are looking for a job (**FIGURE 3.6**).

FIGURE 3.6 **LOOKING FOR A PAID JOB? (%)**
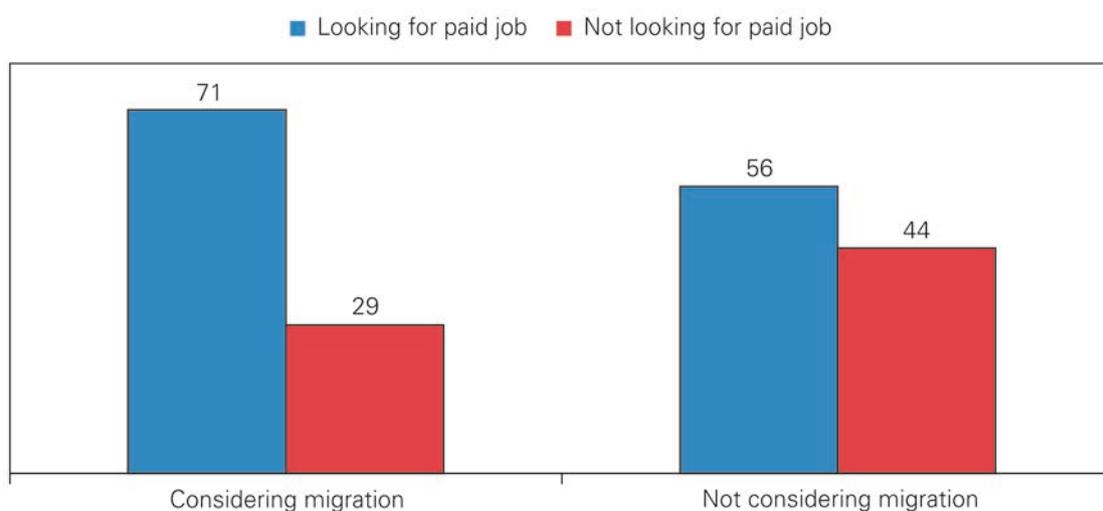
Note: Data refers only to unemployed individuals (N=1615). Missing answers below 2%.

There were no clear pay differences between prospective migrants and non-migrants. However, those considering migration were less positive about their career prospects, with 35% of the prospective migrants being very negative versus 24% of the non-migrants.

## 3.3 INTENTION TO MOVE ABROAD: PROPENSITY TO MIGRATE AND MOTIVES

A third of the sample is currently seriously considering moving abroad to live and work. The previous sections have discussed in depth the demographic characteristics of the two groups: prospective migrants and non-migrants. How do the prospective migrants explain their interest in migrating? The top three reasons cited for migrating are linked to the individual's financial situation (**TABLE 3.18**). Conversely, family (56%) and national sentiments (22%) were among the main reasons for non-migration.

TABLE 3.18 PRIMARY REASONS FOR LEAVING ARMENIA (%)

Reasons cited	%
Have no job/cannot find job	52
To improve standard of living	15
Unsatisfactory wage/career prospects in Armenia	14
To join relatives/friends/fellows abroad	4
To get education or training	4
No future here	2
To get a higher paid job	2
Harsh/difficult working conditions in Armenia	1
Want to go abroad/like living abroad	1
Fear of civil war/conflict/persecution	1
Do not like living in this country	1
Other	3
Do not know	1
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892).

As explained in Chapter 2, the composite indicator on the propensity to migrate measures the likelihood of migration for the respondents. According to this indicator, only 3% of the prospective migrants are 'very likely to migrate' and a further 33% fall in the category of 'quite likely to migrate'. The likelihood of migration is especially high among male prospective migrants between the ages of 31 and 35 (see **FIGURE 3.7**).

FIGURE 3.7 PROPENSITY TO MIGRATE BY AGE AND GENDER (%)
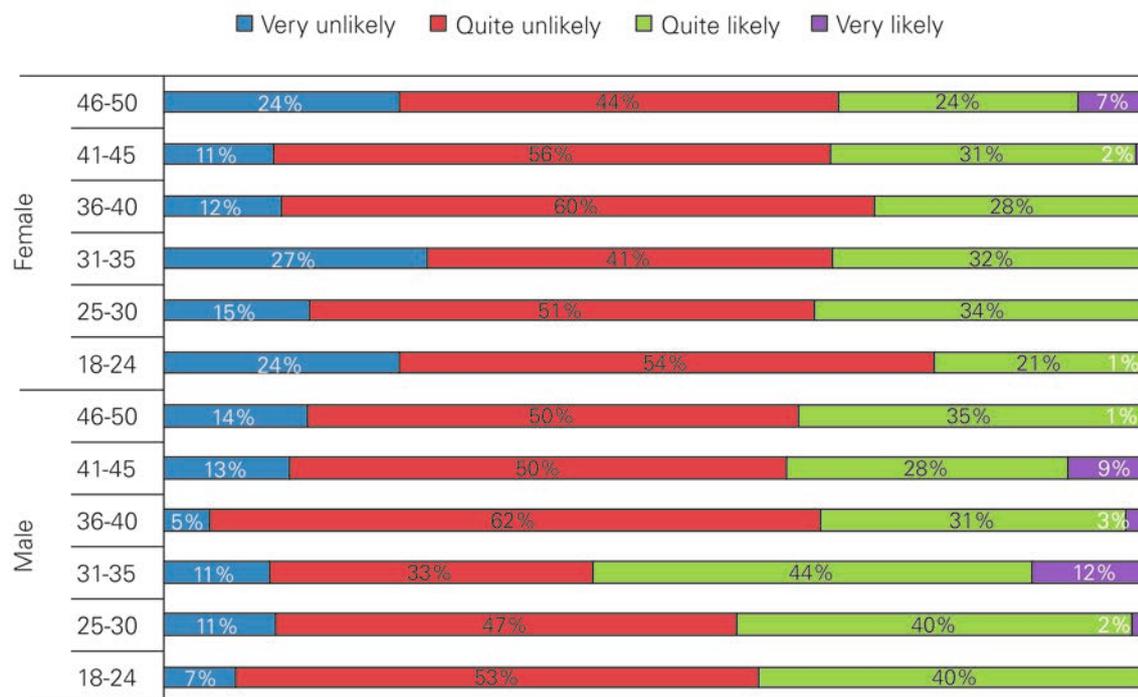
Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers account for 32% and 21% (male and female aged 18-24); 38% and 31% (male and female aged 25-30); 34% and 33% (male and female aged 31-35); 33% and 39% (male and female aged 36-40); 20% and 29% (male and female aged 41-45); and 35% and 29% (male and female aged 46-50).

Contrary to the findings on those seriously considering migration, where we saw that men with low education were the group most interested in migrating (Table 3.5), the actual propensity to migrate is higher for men with a high education level than for those with a low or medium education level. This discrepancy illustrates that it is one thing to want to migrate and quite another to be in a position to do so. Individuals with a higher education level are more likely to have the necessary resources to migrate. This also means, however, that brain drain remains a crucial issue for the development of Armenia. This is underscored by the fact that among women it is also those with a high education level who are the most likely to migrate (see **FIGURE 3.8**).

3.4 EXPECTATIONS OF PROSPECTIVE MIGRANTS AND PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF MIGRATION

Some 78% of prospective migrants said it was likely or very likely that they would migrate within next two years, and 44% indicated that they were likely to migrate within six months of the interview. Nearly all the prospective migrants (93%) believed that their financial situation would improve if they moved abroad. Not so many were certain about the likelihood of enhancing their skills and qualifications while abroad, although 64% believed that this was likely or very likely. The top destinations cited were Russia (56%), the USA (10%) and France (7%) (**TABLE 3.19**).

FIGURE 3.8 PROPENSITY TO MIGRATE BY GENDER AND EDUCATION LEVEL (%)
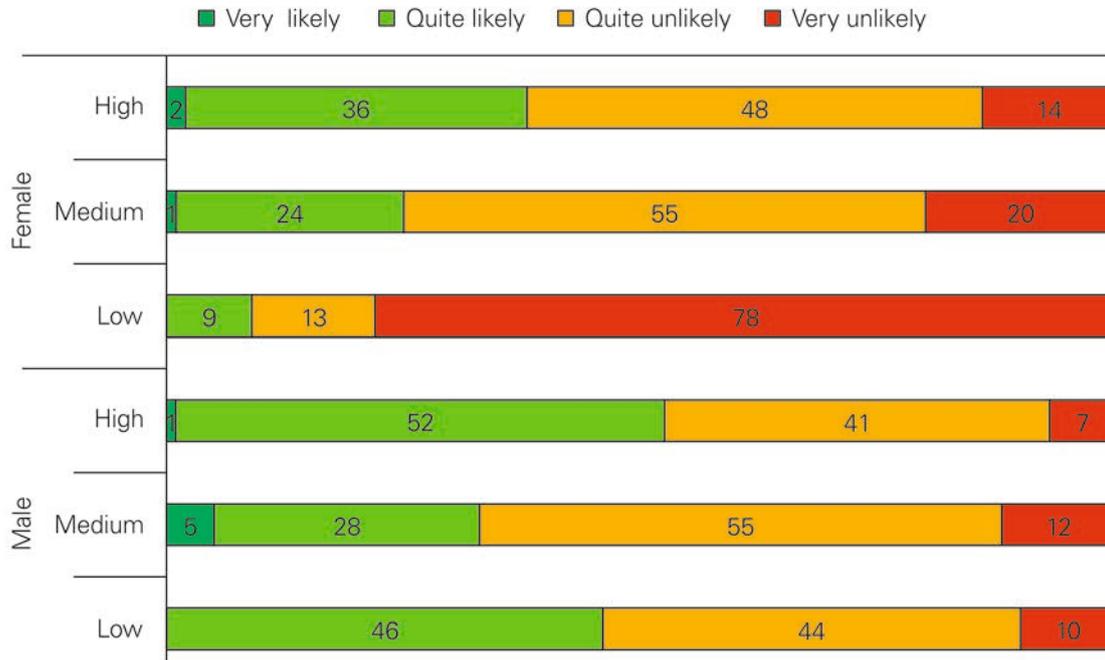
Legend: ■ Very likely   ■ Quite likely   ■ Quite unlikely   ■ Very unlikely

Female
- High: 2 | 36 | 48 | 14
- Medium: 1 | 24 | 55 | 20
- Low: 9 | 13 | 78

Male
- High: 1 | 52 | 41 | 7
- Medium: 5 | 28 | 55 | 12
- Low: 46 | 44 | 10

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers account for 32% and 33% (male and female with low level of education); 32% and 28% (male and female with medium level of education); and 34% (male and female with high level of education).

TABLE 3.19 MOST LIKELY DESTINATION (%)

Destination	%
Russia	56
USA	10
France	7
Germany	5
Canada	2
UK	2
Spain	2
Italy	1
Ukraine	1
Sweden	1
Australia	1
Bulgaria	1
Belgium	1
Switzerland	1
Other	3
Do not know	7
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers below 1%.

As with the motives for migrating, the top three reasons for choosing a particular destination were financial, with job opportunities and the possibility of saving money being the reasons most often cited for the choice (**TABLE 3.20**).

TABLE 3.20 REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE MOST LIKELY DESTINATION (%)

Reason for one's choice	%
More jobs and/or income opportunities	60
To save money	18
Social security system	10
To accompany/follow spouse or parent	4
To get married/just married	3
Have been there on a short visit	1
People are friendly to foreigners there	1
Educational opportunities	1
Have friends or relatives there	1
Knowledge of language of that country	1
Other	1
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate and knowing their most likely destination (N=830). Missing answers below 1%.

Of those considering migration, 62% expect to find a job with a salary while 15% expect to find only casual work. Those considering migration are not certain about their employment prospects, with only around half of the respondents thinking that it is likely that the work they will find abroad will correspond to their level of qualifications (**FIGURE 3.9**).

FIGURE 3.9 EXPECTATION OF FINDING WORK CORRESPONDING TO EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (%)
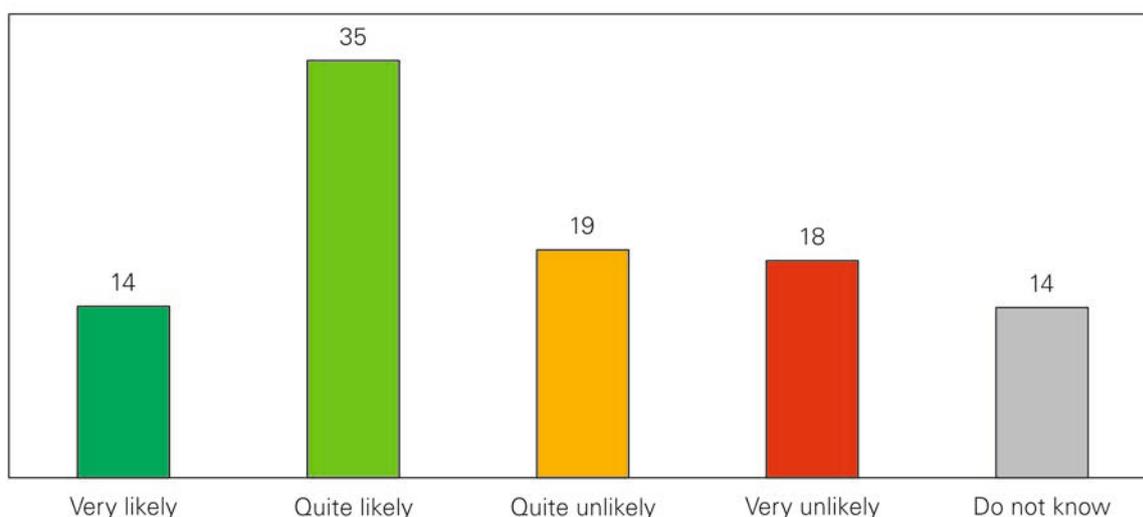
Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers below 3%.

Surprisingly, only 55% of those considering migration think that it is important to get recognition of their qualifications from the authorities of the receiving country. The majority of prospective migrants plan to stay in the destination country only temporarily, although 26% thought it likely that they would stay permanently (**TABLE 3.21**).

TABLE 3.21 HOW LONG DO YOU THINK YOU ARE LIKELY TO STAY IN THE DESTINATION COUNTRY? (%)

Duration of stay	%
Less than 1 year	14
1-2 years	23
3-5 years	15
5-10 years	7
Over 10 years but not permanently	10
Permanently	26
Do not know	5
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers below 3%.

As shown in **TABLE 3.22**, women appear to be more interested in staying abroad for longer periods than men. For both men and women, higher levels of education seem to offer better opportunities and are therefore a decisive factor in the length of the intended stay, with those who have higher levels of education more likely to stay longer or permanently.

TABLE 3.22 HOW LONG DO YOU THINK YOU ARE LIKELY TO STAY IN THE DESTINATION COUNTRY? RESPONSES BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND GENDER (%)

	Education level	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	3-5 years	5-10 years	Over 10 years, not permanently	Permanently	Do not know
Male	Low	18	20	16	8	2	28	9
	Medium	23	26	12	5	9	21	4
	High	12	23	16	4	12	31	3
	Total	**19**	**24**	**13**	**5**	**9**	**25**	**5**
Female	Low	11	25	0	17	0	28	19
	Medium	9	21	18	9	13	26	4
	High	5	19	19	10	12	31	4
	Total	**8**	**21**	**18**	**10**	**12**	**28**	**5**

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers below 5%.

The majority (82%) said they would send money home. Around 66% of the prospective migrants believed that it was very likely or likely that their experience abroad would help them to find better work opportunities upon their return. Moreover, most of the prospective migrants (80%) believed that they would be much better off or better off than non-migrants. The non-migrants also thought that returned migrants are either much better off or better off than those who have not gone abroad. Moreover, most of those not considering migration believed that the experience gained abroad helps returned migrants to find jobs at home (**FIGURE 3.10**).

FIGURE 3.10 THE EXPERIENCE GAINED ABROAD HELPS RETURNEES TO FIND BETTER WORK WHEN BACK HOME (% OF NON-MIGRANTS)
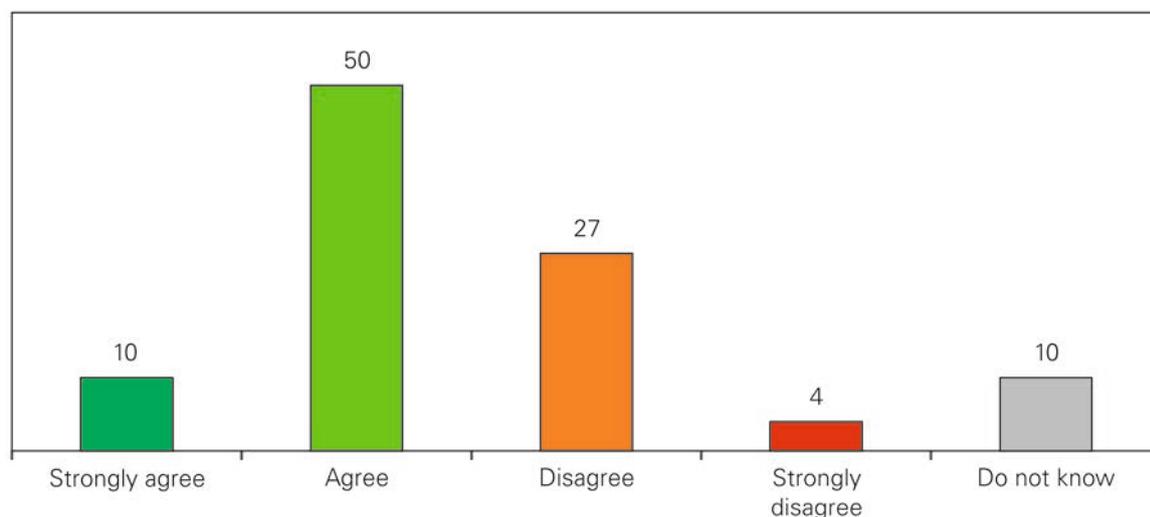
Note: Data refers only to individuals not considering to migrate (N=1738). Missing answers below 2%.

However, when it comes to the real rather than the hypothetical situation, migration is not such an obvious choice. Most of the prospective migrants lack the resources necessary for migration, are not aware of official schemes that could assist them, and consider social networks to be the main source of support.

Thus, only 24% of those considering migration said that they have the resources to do so. This means that most people have to rely on the support of family or relatives to supplement their own savings. Some 45% said that they would go abroad without having a job first. Friends, acquaintances and family living abroad were named as the main source for potential support in finding a job (**TABLE 3.23**).

In general, help in finding a job was considered to be the support most needed for moving and working abroad (70%), followed by support in finding accommodation (10%). Among the main sources of support for moving abroad and finding work cited by respondents were friends and acquaintances at home (89%) and abroad (45%). Only 6% mentioned government authorities as a possible source of support, and 8% said that they would use the services of private companies or individuals.

As the findings show, personal networks are the predominant source of support; only 11% of those considering migration are aware of any government programmes or private companies that provide support and services to people interested in working abroad legally. Some 34% of the prospective migrants said that they did not have sufficient information about the destination country. Family, relatives and friends in the potential destination country is again on the top of the list of useful sources of information, followed by previous personal experience and the mass media (**TABLE 3.24**).

TABLE 3.23 MAIN STRATEGIES FOR LOOKING FOR WORK ABROAD (%)

Strategy	%
Help from friends/acquaintances already abroad	42
Use of family links here at home	15
Help from family already abroad	14
Help from friends/acquaintances here at home	14
Use of official government programs/schemes	4
Use of my professional networks	2
Employment/Placement agencies abroad	2
Employment/Placement agencies at home	1
Internet and other media tools	1
Other	1
Do not know	5
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers account for 4%.

TABLE 3.24 MOST USEFUL SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON THE DESTINATION COUNTRY (%)

Family/relatives/friends in the most likely destination	35
I have been there before	18
TV or radio	16
Internet	16
Family, relatives or friends in Armenia	10
School or university	2
Newspapers, books or magazines	1
Other/do not know	3
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate and having enough information about the most likely destination (N=549).

Of those who said that they did not have sufficient information about their destination, only 31% intended to acquire more information before leaving. The likelihood that migrants would attend training before leaving Armenia was also low, with only 30% of the respondents saying that was likely that they would attend training (**FIGURE 3.11**).

FIGURE 3.11 WILL YOU ATTEND ANY TRAINING IN ARMENIA TO PREPARE FOR EMIGRATION? (%)
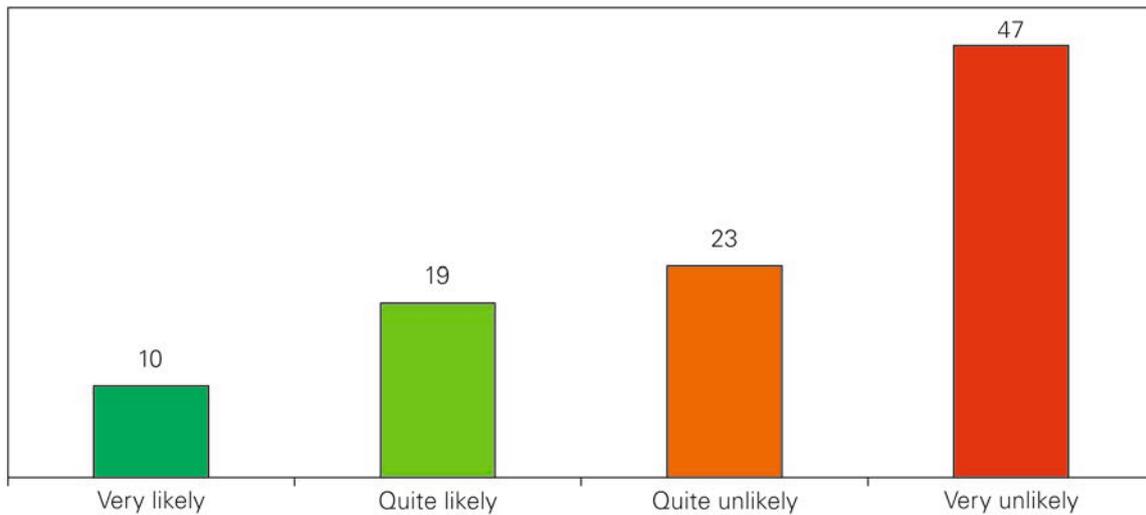

Note: Data refers only to individuals considering to migrate (N=892). Missing answers account for 2%.

The prospective migrants who were thinking of migrating within two years appeared to be slightly more likely to attend training in Armenia before leaving than those whose intention was to migrate within the following six months.

Of those prospective migrants who said that it was likely that they would attend training, 55% said they would attend language classes. It is important to note here that the prospective migrants indicated varying levels of knowledge of the official language of the possible destination, with 20% admitting that they did not speak the language at all (**FIGURE 3.12**).

FIGURE 3.12 DO YOU SPEAK THE LANGUAGE OF THE MOST LIKELY DESTINATION? (%)
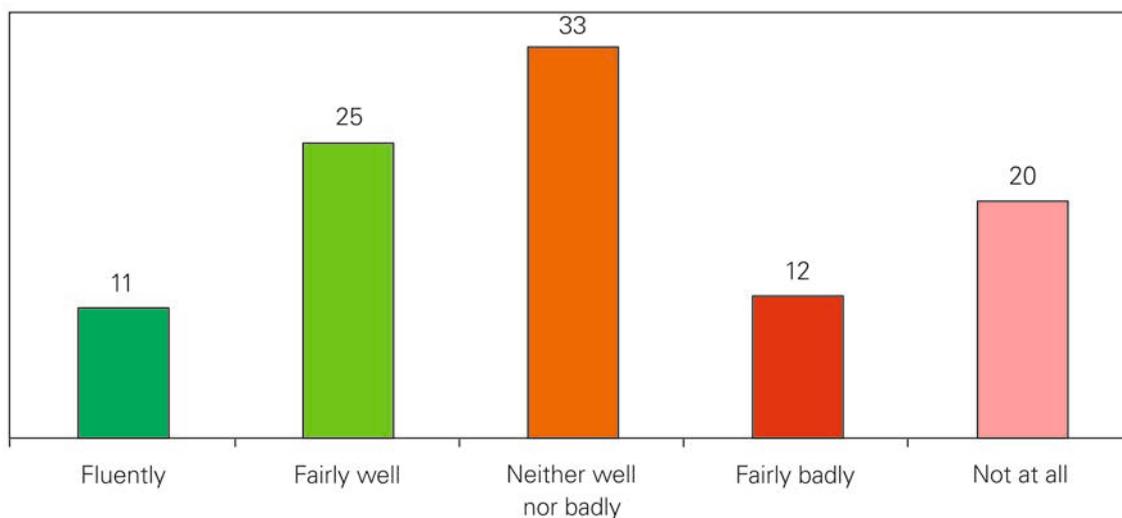
Note: Data refers only to individuals considering migrating and knowing their most likely destination (N=830). Missing answers below 3%.

Vocational training and graduate/postgraduate courses were also popular, being cited by 15% and 11% of respondents, respectively. Moreover, 41% said that they would like to do training to acquire entirely new skills or knowledge to increase their job prospects, 19% wanted to refresh their skills and knowledge, and 15% wanted to learn specific skills for a specific job abroad.

The practical aspects of migration also raise questions concerning family preservation. In most cases, prospective migrants were not certain whether they would leave with their spouses. The decision seemed to be driven by uncertainty about their future in the destination country. Only 1% of the respondents said that their spouse would stay in Armenia.

3.5 ECONOMIC AND LIVING CONDITIONS

According to the Statistical Yearbook of Armenia (2011), in 2009 34% of the population of Armenia was ranked as poor and an additional 4% as extremely poor[16].

The social condition indicator used to analyse the survey data differs from income-based poverty measurements in that it takes into consideration such variables as number of people in the household and ownership of various durables and commodities (see also Chapter 2). According to this indicator, 20% of the potential migrant households surveyed were categorised as 'bad living conditions' (**FIGURE 3.13**).

FIGURE 3.13 **SOCIAL CONDITION INDICATOR (%)**

*Note: Missing answers account for 2%.*
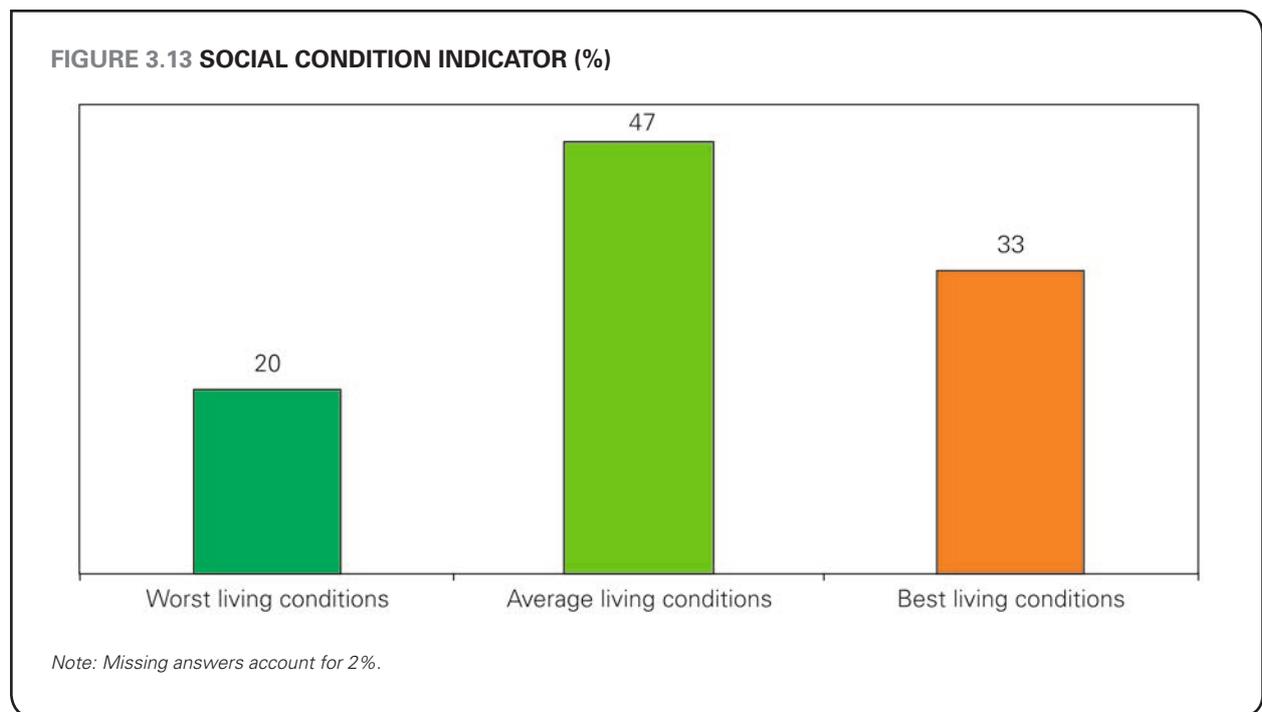
Interest in migration varies only slightly across the social condition categories, with those households living in better social conditions having slightly more prospective migrants (**FIGURE 3.14**).

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16 According to the NSS, 'poverty is defined as consumption per adult equivalent to or below the upper poverty line, while extreme poverty is defined as consumption per adult equivalent to or below the food (extreme) poverty line'.

FIGURE 3.14 INTEREST IN MIGRATION BY SOCIAL CONDITION INDICATOR (%)
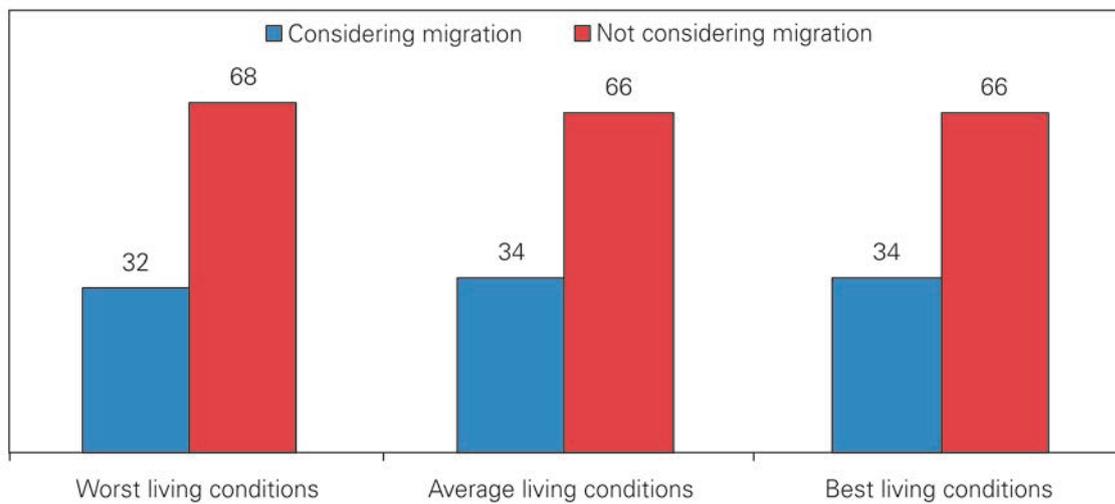
The economic condition indicator reflects the physical and financial assets of the household and is constructed of variables such as house ownership, household income, land ownership and receipt of remittances from abroad (see also Chapter 2). According to this indicator, 62% of the households in the overall sample live in the worst or quite bad conditions (**FIGURE 3.15**).

FIGURE 3.15 ECONOMIC CONDITION INDICATOR (%)
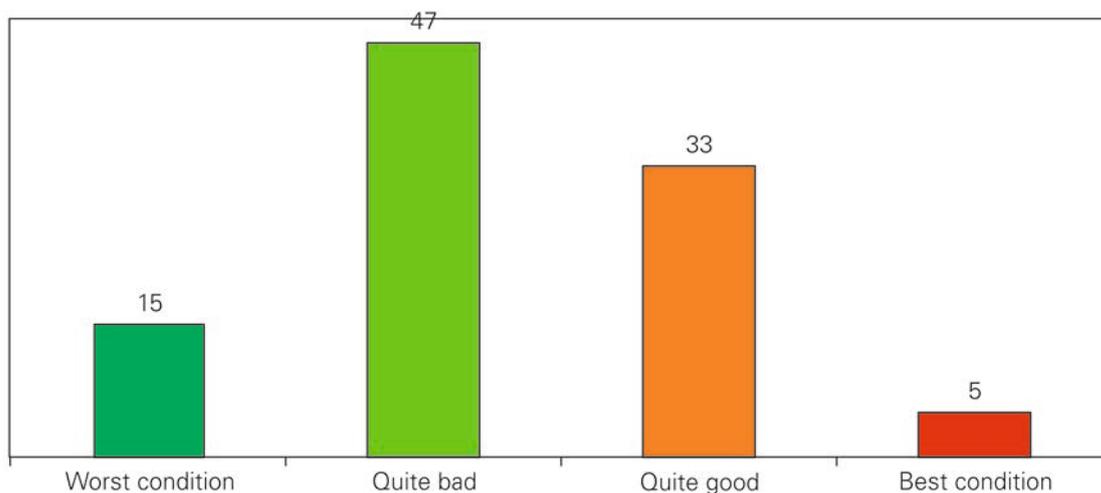
Note: Missing answers account for 18%.

While this indicator does not differ significantly between the households of male and female respondents, differences do emerge between households of prospective migrants and those of non-migrants; the households living under the worst and best conditions are somewhat more likely to have prospective migrants (**FIGURE 3.16**).

FIGURE 3.16 INTEREST IN MIGRATION BY ECONOMIC CONDITION INDICATOR (%)
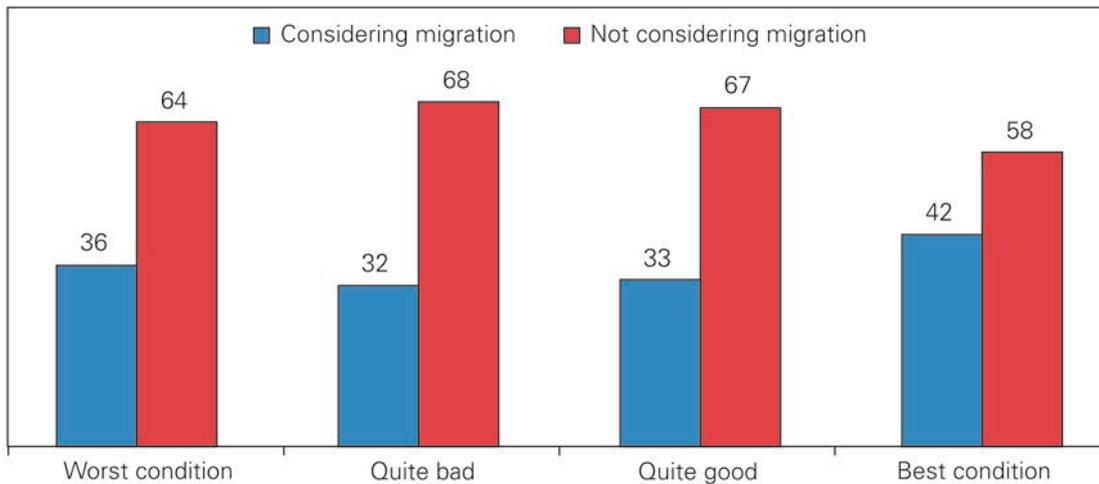
When asked to rate the overall financial situation of their household, only 17% of all the respondents in the sample said that their households had sufficient resources to cover basic needs (**FIGURE 3.17**). More prospective migrants (56%) rate the financial situation of their household as insufficient or not sufficient at all than non-migrants (48%).

FIGURE 3.17 YOUR HOUSEHOLD FINANCIAL SITUATION IS SUFFICIENT TO COVER YOUR BASIC NEEDS? (%)
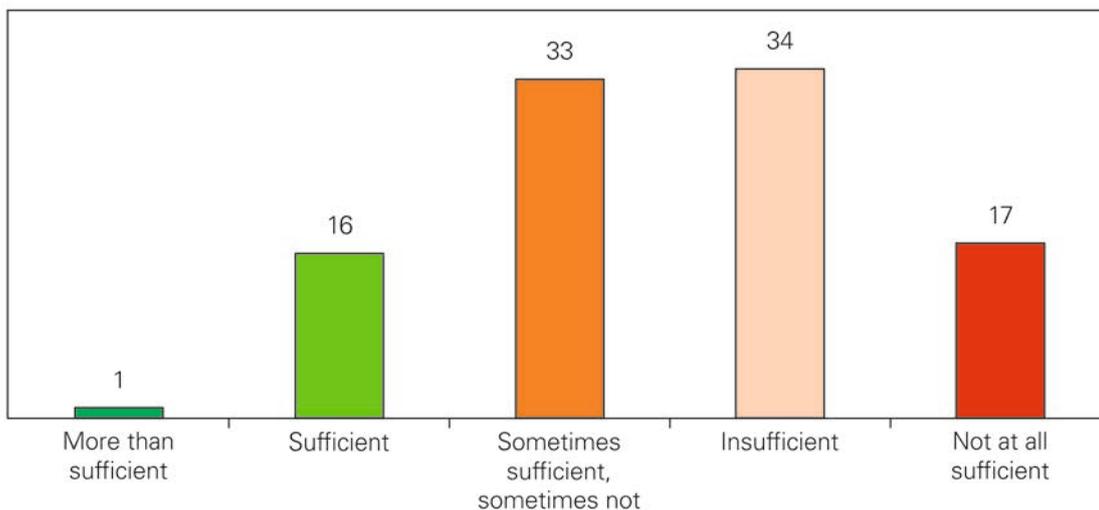
Note: Missing answers below 1%.

When asked to rate the economic condition of their household compared to that of their neighbours, 61% the sample responded that their households were in a similar position to those of their neighbours, 16% said their households were better off, and 20% believed they were worse off. Some 22% of households with prospective migrants said they were worse off or much worse off than their neighbours as compared to 19% of the non-migrant households.

4. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF RETURNED MIGRANTS

The survey of returned migrants targeted respondents aged 18 or over who had left Armenia, worked at least three months continuously abroad and had returned no longer than 10 years before the survey. The initial sample was complemented using a snowball sampling method and the resulting sample is not representative of the entire returnee population in Armenia. In total, 1 395 valid interviews with returned migrants were collected.

4.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, EDUCATION AND SKILLS OF RETURNED MIGRANTS

The gender distribution among returned migrants was rather unequal, with 87% of the sample being male and only 13% female. **TABLE 4.1** shows the distribution by age and gender.

TABLE 4.1 RETURNED MIGRANTS BY AGE AND GENDER (%)

Age range	Male	Female	Overall
18-24	6	7	6
25-30	24	18	23
31-35	19	14	18
36-40	16	15	15
41-45	14	20	14
46-51	22	26	23
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Note: Missing answers below 1%.

The majority (73%) of returned migrants were married, 23% were single, 3% divorced and 1% separated (**FIGURE 4.1**); 72% had children. Of the women, 45% were not married (never married, divorced or widowed).

Of those who were married, 81% had migrated without their spouses. A significantly higher share of female returned migrants (63%) had travelled with their spouses as compared to male returned migrants (14%). Of those who had migrated alone, 64% said that their spouse had stayed in Armenia to take care of the children and/or other dependents and 10% said it would have been financially difficult to go together.

The returned migrants predominantly spoke Armenian at home. The most common languages that respondents reported speaking besides Armenian were Russian, French and English. Around 70% of the respondents reported speaking good or fluent Russian, 7% good or fluent English, and 13% said that they had a basic knowledge of English.

Before their first migration, most (88%) of the returned migrants had at least upper secondary general education or higher education degrees. Compared to the national data on education, there were more people with lower secondary and less education (12%) in the group of returned migrants than in the general population (around 7%). Returning women had higher levels of education than returning men; 38% of women had a higher education degree compared to 20% of men (**FIGURE 4.2**).

**FIGURE 4.1 CURRENT MARITAL STATUS OF RETURNEES (%)**
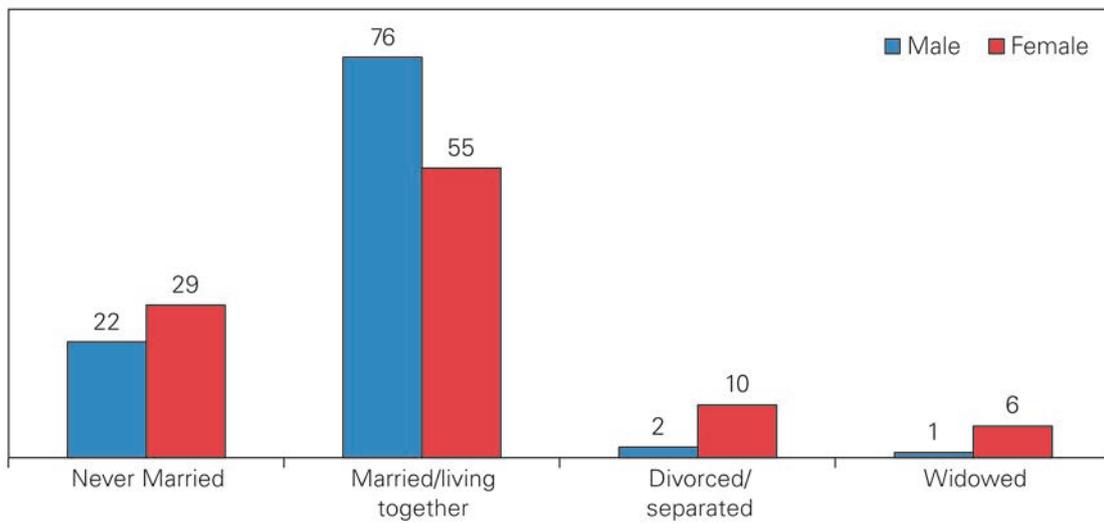
FIGURE 4.2 HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL BEFORE MOVING ABROAD FOR THE FIRST TIME (%)
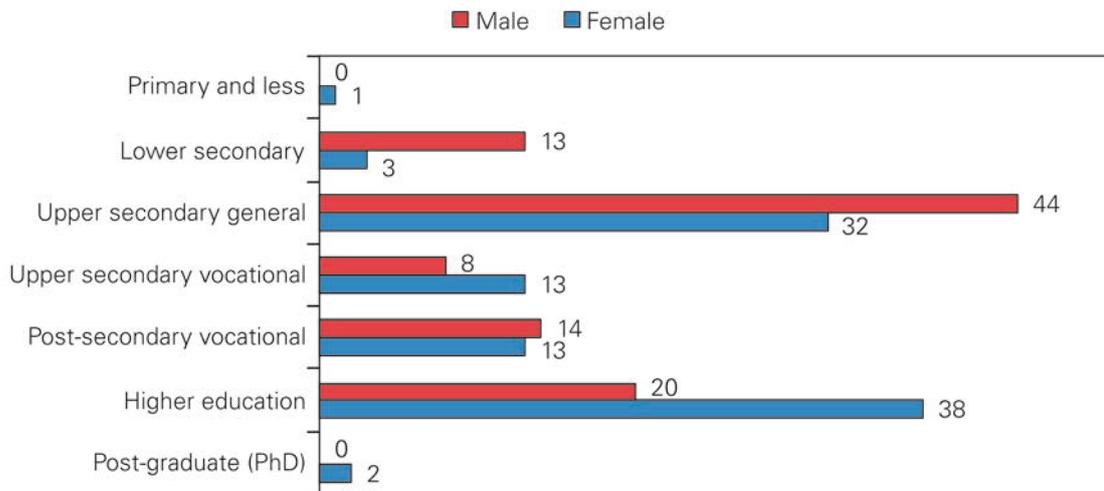
While social sciences and humanities were the most popular fields of study for the population between 18 and 50 years of age (accounting for around 50%), degrees in engineering, manufacturing and construction (23%), sciences (18%), and services (14%) were more common among the returned migrants (**TABLE 4.2**).

TABLE 4.2 MAIN FIELD OF STUDY PRIOR TO FIRST MIGRATION (%)

Education fields (as defined by ISCED)	%
Engineering, manufacturing, construction and architecture	23
Science (life sciences, physics, mathematics and statistics, computing)	18
Services (personal services, transport, tourism, environment)	14
Social and behavioural sciences, journalism and information	13
Humanities and arts	10
Education science and teacher training	8
Health, welfare and social work	7
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and veterinary	6
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals with upper secondary vocation education and more (N=638). Missing answers below 3%.

The education level of 36% of the returned migrants had changed since the first time they migrated; 8% had since obtained diplomas in upper secondary and post-secondary vocational education and a further 8% had completed higher education degrees. Of those who went on to higher education, the most popular degrees were in services (personal services, transport, tourism, environment and safety) as well as the social sciences and sciences (including life sciences, physics, mathematics, statistics and computing). Only 9% of the returned migrants had plans to continue their education, with arts and humanities and the social sciences at the top of the list of the intended fields of study, followed by sciences, engineering and services.

The returned migrants almost unanimously agreed (around 90%) with the statements that education helps people to improve their living standards and that it is important to invest in education. They were not as sure about the usefulness of education in finding better jobs abroad; 63% either agreed or strongly agreed that a higher education level helps people to secure a better job abroad, but 35% either disagreed or completely disagreed with that statement (**FIGURE 4.3**).

FIGURE 4.3 REACHING A HIGHER LEVEL OF EDUCATION AT HOME FACILITATES FINDING A BETTER JOB ABROAD? (%)

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
27	36	31	5	2
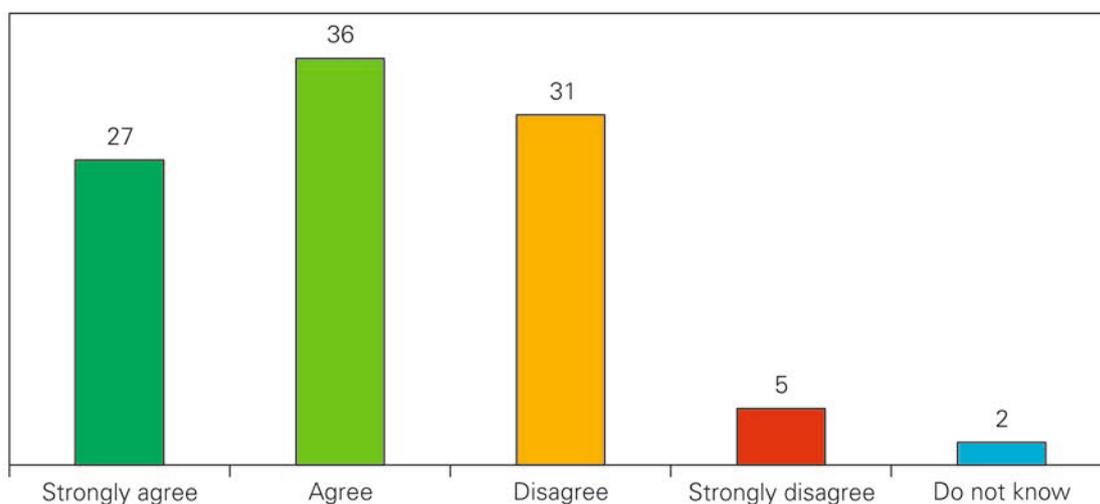
Note: Missing answers below 1%.

When these data are compared with the findings of the survey of potential migrants, one can see that returnees are somewhat less optimistic on the impact of education in finding a better job abroad. While 71% of the potential migrant sample (representative of the population aged between 18 and 50) believed that education helps migrants to find a better job abroad (Figure 3.3), only 63% of those who had actually experienced the reality of migration shared this belief.

4.2 MIGRATION HISTORY AND EXPERIENCE

Various studies have shown that migration in Armenia is seasonal in character. An ILO study (2009) found that the majority of migrants leave in spring and return in late autumn or winter. According to the same study, the average length of the stay abroad is nine months. According to our survey results, returned migrants spent nine months (median duration) abroad per migration period. Women were more likely to stay longer than men, and the median duration per migration period for women was four and a half months longer. This finding is in line with the intentions expressed by the prospective migrants surveyed; in that group, women reported their intention to stay for longer periods in the destination country. **TABLE 4.3** shows the average length of stay per migration period by gender.

TABLE 4.3 RETURNEES BY AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY PER MIGRATION PERIOD AND BY GENDER (%)

Duration of migration	Male	Female	Overall
3-6 months	27	27	27
7-9 months	27	9	24
10-12 months	10	11	11
1-2 years	15	15	15
More than 2 years	21	38	23
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Of the returned migrants surveyed, 59% had been abroad only once (minimum stay of three months) and 15% had had four or more migration experiences (**TABLE 4.4**). The most popular destination for migration was Russia, the first destination country for 85% of the returned migrants. Russia is also the predominant destination country for all consequent migration experiences. Other (first) destination countries are the USA (2%), Ukraine (2%) and Germany (2%). Turkey, Poland, France and Georgia each accounted for about 1% of the migrants surveyed.

TABLE 4.4 NUMBER OF MIGRATION EXPERIENCES

Number of migration experiences	%
One	59
Two	17
Three	8
Four	4
Five	3
Six	2
Seven	1
Eight	5
Total	**100**

The motives for migration did not vary according to the country of migration; the top reasons for leaving Armenia were economic in nature, with only 1% of the migrants citing training as the main reason for migrating (**TABLE 4.5**).

TABLE 4.5 MOST IMPORTANT REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Reason for migration	%
Had no job/could not find a job in Armenia	57
Unsatisfactory wage/career prospects in Armenia	10
To improve standard of living	9
To get a higher paid job abroad	7
To repay debts	4
To join relatives/friends/fellows abroad	3
Harsh and difficult working conditions in Armenia	2
To accompany/follow spouse and/or parents abroad	2
No future here in Armenia	1
Insufficient social security system (particularly health care)	1
To get married/just married	1
To get education or training	1
Wanted to go abroad/likes living abroad	1
Other	2
Total	**100**

Almost all (98%) of the returnees had migrated without any prior training to prepare them for living or working abroad. Only 1% had studied the relevant language. Moreover, 94% were not aware of any government programmes or schemes or any private companies or individuals that helped people to work abroad. About 2% knew of private companies or individuals in Armenia and another 2% knew of companies or individuals in the destination country offering services to people interested in working abroad. Only 3% of the returnees interviewed had availed of government programmes and schemes or the services of private companies or individuals. The most common support received was information on legal requirements for working abroad followed by information on the legal requirements for moving abroad.

In contrast to the information received, looking back on their experiences, the majority of the returned migrants considered that support in finding a job abroad would be the most desirable type of assistance for people going abroad to work (**TABLE 4.6**).

This most-needed help in finding a job abroad usually came from family and friends, either those already abroad or those at home. By contrast, the role of government programmes was negligible (**TABLE 4.7**).

TABLE 4.6 WHAT SUPPORT DO YOU CONSIDER THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR MOVING AND WORKING ABROAD?

| Support	%
Support for finding a job abroad	75
Help with formalities/regulations in destination country	10
Support for finding accommodation abroad	7
Help with formalities/regulations in home country	3
Language courses	2
Skills recognition/skills assessment and validation service	1
Other	2
Do not know	2
Total	**100**

Note: Missing answers account for 1%.

TABLE 4.7 MOST IMPORTANT WAY OF FINDING WORK ABROAD

Way of finding work	%
Help from family/relatives already abroad	31
Help from friends/acquaintances already abroad	31
Help from friends/acquaintances at home	20
Use of family networks at home	10
Use of my professional networks	3
Use of official government programmes/schemes	2
Internet and other media tools	1
Employment/placement agencies abroad	1
Employment/placement agencies at home	0
Other/Do not know	2
Total	**100**

Note: Missing answers below 1%.

The most common type of work undertaken abroad by the returned migrants was construction, followed by jobs in commerce and manufacturing (**FIGURE 4.4**).

FIGURE 4.4 TYPE OF WORK IN THE FIRST JOB ABROAD (%)

Category	Value
Other	11
Petty trade	3
Hotel or restaurant	3
Repairs	4
Transport	7
Manufacturing	9
Commerce	12
Construction	53
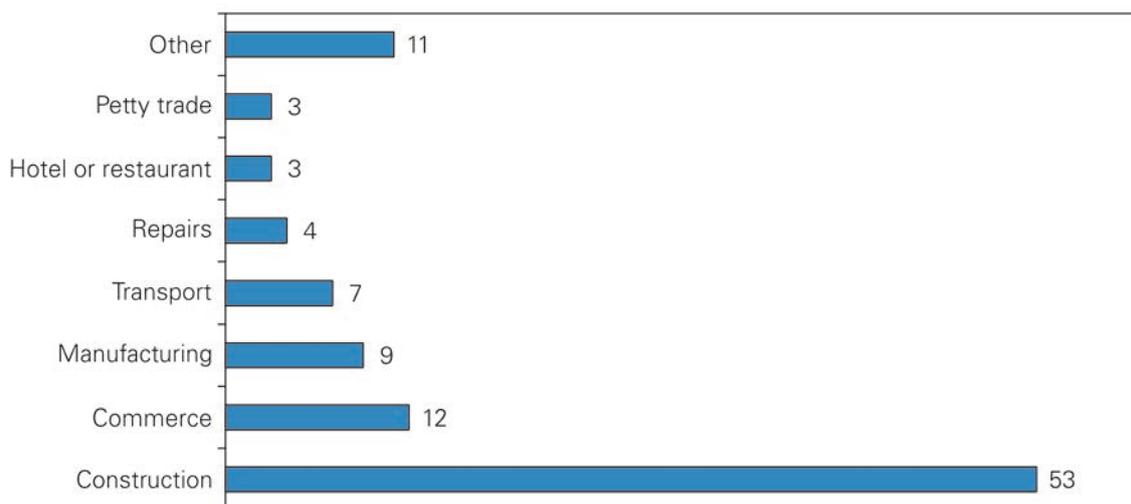
Note: Missing answers account for 1%.

For about half of the returned migrants, the first work they found abroad was unskilled labour; only 34% found job as skilled workers. A positive relationship can be observed between the level of education of the returned migrants and the level of work abroad; the returned migrants with higher levels of education were slightly less likely to be employed as unskilled workers than those who had low level of education (see also Table A1.2 in annex).

More women than men worked in unskilled jobs (59% versus 47%). Many returned migrants (54%) said that their educational qualification was not officially recognised in the destination country as it was not relevant to the type of work they were doing. A further 10% were not aware of the possibility that their qualification could be recognised (independent of whether that possibility actually existed or not).

When asked whether their education level corresponded to the job they had, over 50% of the returned migrants said that they had jobs that corresponded to their education level and 28% that they worked below their education level (**FIGURE 4.5**). In the group of respondents with a high level of education, 55% said they held jobs below their education level. More women than men reported working below their education level.

FIGURE 4.5 DID YOUR WORK MATCH YOUR EDUCATION LEVEL? (%)

Category	Male	Female
Yes, fully	53	43
I worked below my educational level	26	39
My work normally required more than the educational level I had	6	6
My work required the educational level that I had, but in a different field	12	9
Do not know	3	3
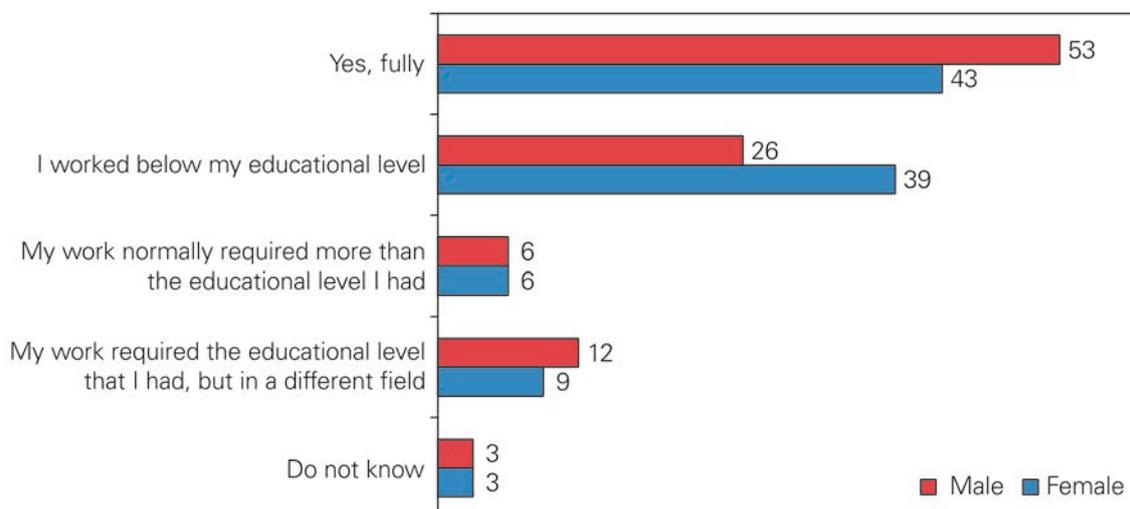
Note: Missing answers below 1%.

Similarly, more female returned migrants, and especially those with higher levels of education, reported that their skills were higher than the skills required by the job they held abroad (see also Table A1.4 in annex).

The majority of the returned migrants had one job during their time abroad, with only 14% changing jobs. Most (70%) said they had limited or short-term residence permits in the main destination country; 9% said they had no legal status (**TABLE 4.8**).

TABLE 4.8 STATUS IN THE MAIN DESTINATION COUNTRY

Status	%
Limited/short-term residence permit (e.g. seasonal work)	70
Permanent/long-term residence permit	13
No legal status	9
Citizen of the destination country	4
Asylum seeker	1
Entry with tourist visa	1
Student/university researcher	1
Recognised asylum seeker/recognised refugee	0
Total	**100**

Note: Missing answers account for 1%.

Moreover, most of the migrants had worked abroad without the necessary official documentation, such as official residence or work permits and the overwhelming majority had no official work contract with their employer. Social security coverage was the rare exception (**TABLE 4.9**).


TABLE 4.9 POSSESSION OF THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ABROAD (% OF RETURNED MIGRANTS)

In possession of	%
Official work contract with the employer	14
Social security coverage abroad	2
Official work permit from the relevant state institution	20
Official residence permit	12

In general, returned migrants appeared to be satisfied with their experience abroad. Only 18% reported negative experiences: 12% reported unfair treatment in the workplace; 4% unfair treatment from authorities; 4% complained of general unfriendliness and rejection by the local population; and 1% experienced physical attacks and violence. Women reported fewer negative experiences than men (10% and 19%, respectively).

Some 30% of the migrants were without work at some time during their stay abroad, in most cases for between one and six months. During this period, only 9% had received any type of institutional support: 4% received benefits (e.g. unemployment, family benefits, social assistance or housing benefits); 3% received help in finding a job; and 1% received training.

On average, the migrants reported working 57 hours a week. The median monthly wage for the group during the period spent working abroad was EUR 612. Men tended to earn more money abroad than women; 38% of the men in this group made over EUR 290 a month compared to only 25% of the women (see also Table A1.5 in annex). The average income earned abroad correlated closely with the level of education and migrants with a higher level of education made more money abroad (**FIGURE 4.6**).

FIGURE 4.6 MEDIAN MONTHLY WAGE EARNED ABROAD BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (EUR)
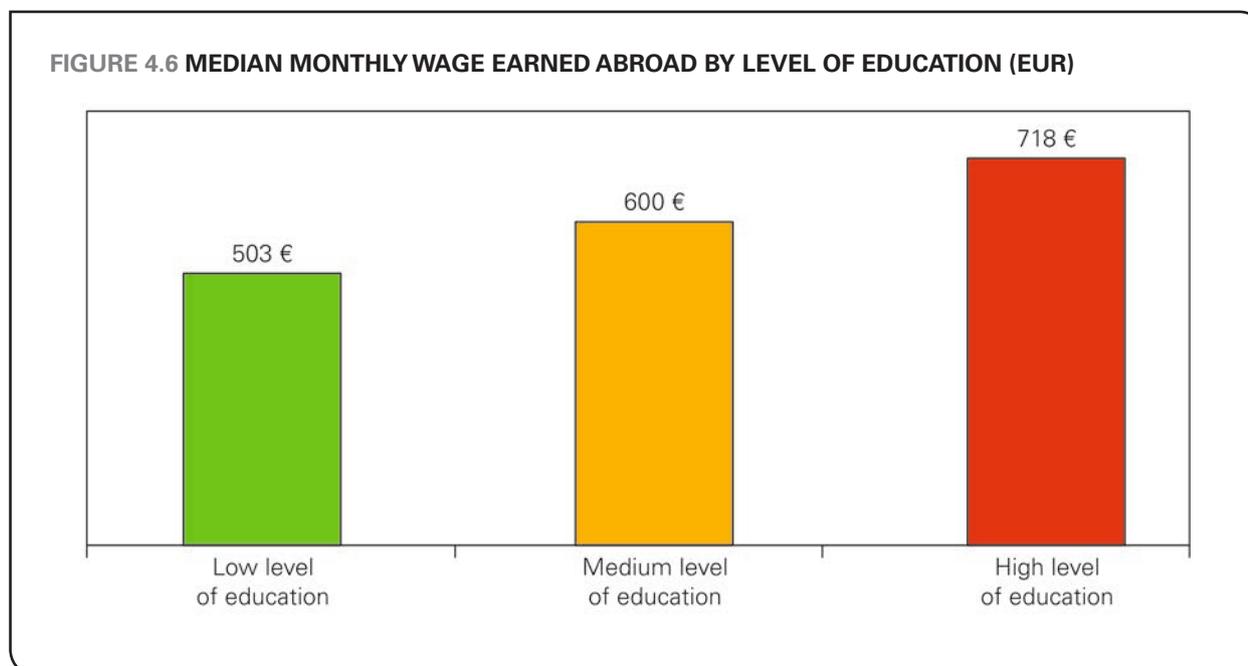
Note: Missing answers account for 15% (respondents with low level of education); 22% (respondents with medium level of education); and 28% (respondents with high level of education).

Only 6% of the returned migrants had studied or trained abroad. Of those who did, the most common training was language classes, followed by on-the-job training and graduate or postgraduate courses. Some 35% reported that they did not acquire new skills during their stay abroad. Of those who did acquire skills, language proficiency and vocational or technical skills were those most often cited (44%). Only 7% of those who acquired new skills had received a certificate to validate this acquisition.

While abroad, 76% of the migrants sent money home, generally to their parents and/or spouse. Men were almost twice as likely as to send remittances home than women. In the group as a whole, taking into account both sexes, those with a higher education level were less likely to send money home than those with less education (see Table A1.6 in annex).

The median remittance for this group of returned migrants was EUR 287 a month. This money was mainly used to cover the living expenses of the migrant's family and relatives. Only two respondents said that remittances were used for business activity (**TABLE 4.10**).

The composite indicator on migration outcomes combines career progression abroad, fit between work and skill levels, work/residence permit, recognition of qualifications, fair treatment at work, unemployment abroad, skill development, as well as remittances and legal status abroad (see also Chapter 2). According to this indicator, the majority of migrants (67%) fall into the category of successful migration (**FIGURE 4.7**).

TABLE 4.10 WHAT WAS THE MONEY USED FOR?

Use of money	%
Living expenses of family and relatives	96
To buy property	15
Health care expenses	12
Education (other than children)	8
To buy durables	7
Savings	4
Education of children	1
Business activity	0

Note: Data refers only to individuals who sent remittances (N=1048). Missing answers below 1%.

FIGURE 4.7 MIGRATION OUTCOME INDICATOR (%)
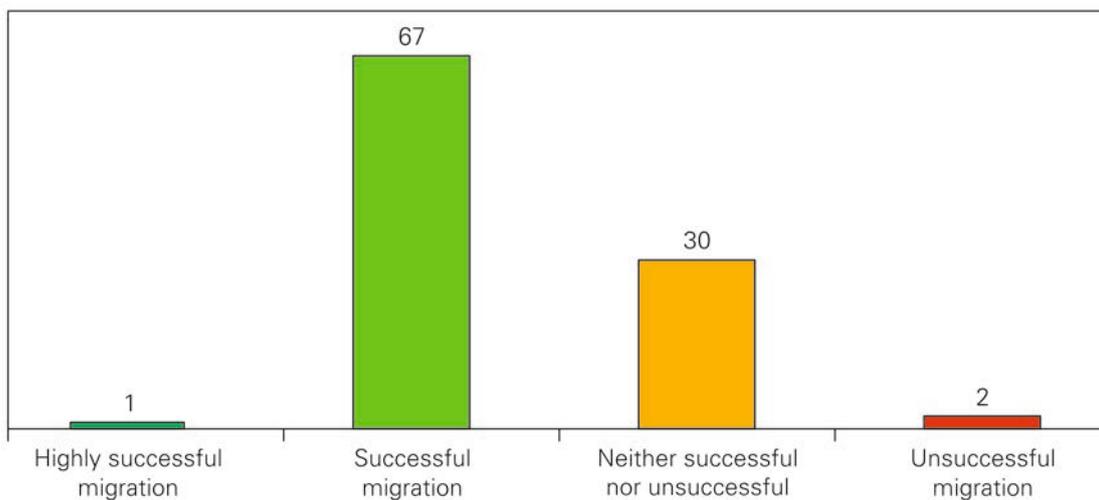
Note: Missing answers account for 1%.

Analysis of outcomes by gender and education reveals that returned migrants with higher levels of education report less successful experiences than those with lower levels, particularly among women (**FIGURE 4.8**). We must bear in mind, however, that the sample of returned migrants was not representative of the entire universe of migrants who have left Armenia; it is possible that those with the most successful migration experience have never returned.

FIGURE 4.8 MIGRATION OUTCOME BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND GENDER (%)
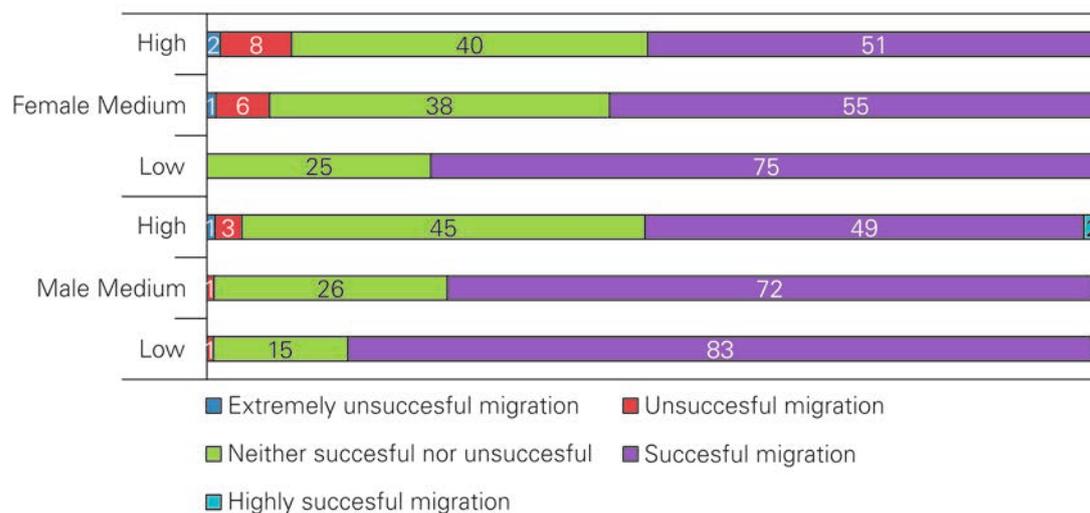
Note: Missing answers account for 8% (male and female with high level of education); 17% and 6% (male and female with medium level of education); and 10% and 33% (male and female with low level of education).

4.3 RETURN EXPERIENCE

The three reasons most often cited for returning to Armenia were to reunite with the family (41%), followed by the completion of a work contract (13%) and low income abroad (9%) (**TABLE 4.11**).

Altogether, 42% of the respondents said that they had worked upon return. Only 1% of the returnees had heard of official programmes or schemes that provide assistance to people returning to the country after a period of migration. Moreover, none of them had benefited from such a scheme.

TABLE 4.11 MOST IMPORTANT REASONS FOR RETURNING? (%)

Reason for returning	%
To join the family	40
My work contract ended	12
Low income	9
Problems with raising children there	6
To get married here	4
Did not like the way of life there	3
My residency permit expired	3
I belong here	3
Bad health	2
My work permit expired	2
Other family reasons	2
Other/do not know	14
Total	**100**

In total, 67% of the respondents brought savings home; the median amount in this group was EUR 972. Most returnees reported using this money to cover family living expenses (**TABLE 4.12**). Only in few cases was it used to finance education (2% of respondents spent their savings for the education of children and 5% for the education of others) or business activities (1%).

TABLE 4.12 HOW WERE THE SAVINGS USED? (%)

Use of savings	%
Living expenses of family and relatives	86
To buy property	19
To buy durables	10
Health care expenses	9
Education of others	5
Savings	3
Education of children	2
For a business activity	1

Note: Data refers only to individuals with savings (N=912). Missing values below 3%.

Only 3% of the returnees had benefits or pension rights from the work they did abroad. When the returnees who had no benefits were asked the reason for this situation, 65% of them said that they had not contributed to any scheme, 27% said there were no such benefits, and 7% said that the benefits they had earned could not be transferred.

Upon return to Armenia, 42% of the migrants had found work; 60% of this group were salaried employees. Most returnees found work within a year of their return. More women secured jobs upon their return (52%) than men (40%). The higher education level of the women in this sample may explain this higher employment rate as it does not reflect the general employment trends in Armenia, where the rate of employment is higher for men than for women. The women returnees also secured more professional level jobs than men (27% and 12%, respectively). The percentage of salaried workers was highest in the group with higher education, whereas returned migrants with lower education levels are more often self-employed (see Table A1.7 in annex).

For returned migrants social networks once again play a significant role in the process of securing a job; 62% of the respondents said that a friend or a relative offered them a job when they returned (**TABLE 4.13**).

TABLE 4.13 HOW DID YOU FIND WORK UPON YOUR RETURN?

| Way of finding a job upon return	%
Offered a job by a friend or a relative	62
Returned to the job I held before leaving	14
Set up my own business	10
Job advertisements	7
Asked or sent a CV to a number of employers	4
Internet and other media tools	1
Employment/job placement services	1
Other	1
Total	**100**

Note: Data refers only to individuals having worked upon return (N=580). Missing answers account for 4%.

Of those who are have worked upon return, 32% said that their experience abroad opened the door to better work opportunities in Armenia after their return. Moreover, 46% of the returned migrants who were working or had worked in Armenia after their return said that they use or used the experience they gained abroad in their daily work. Returned migrants cited vocational and technical skills (69%) and language skills (18%) as the new knowledge gained abroad that they use most (**FIGURE 4.9**).

FIGURE 4.9 EXPERIENCE GAINED ABROAD MOST USED (%)

Legend:
- Language skills
- Vocational/technical skills
- Social skills
- Academic skills
- ICT skills
- Skills related to workplace organization
- Entrepreneurial skills

Note: Data refers only to individuals who worked upon return and used skills acquired abroad (N=264). Missing answers account for 10%.
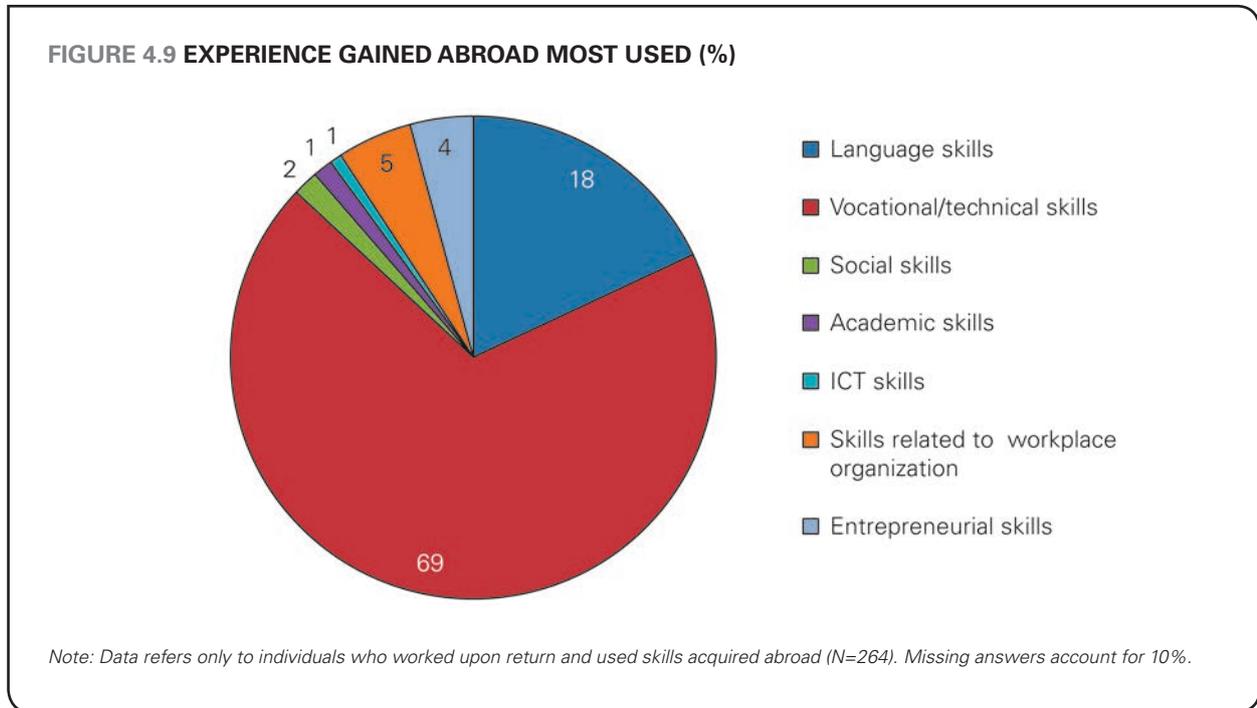
Considering everything, very few migrants said that they were worse off after migration (6%), while 49% reported that their situation was unchanged, and 42% said it was either better or much better (**FIGURE 4.10**).

Only 33% of the returnees reported working during the seven days prior to the interview. Of those who did work, 57% had jobs with social security benefits and 50% had a written contract. In the currently working group as a whole, 57% of the men and 62% of the women said that their current work is appropriate to their level of education.

FIGURE 4.10 COMPARED TO THE PERIOD BEFORE YOU LEFT, DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF BETTER OR WORSE OFF SINCE YOU RETURNED? (%)

Note: Missing answers below 1%.
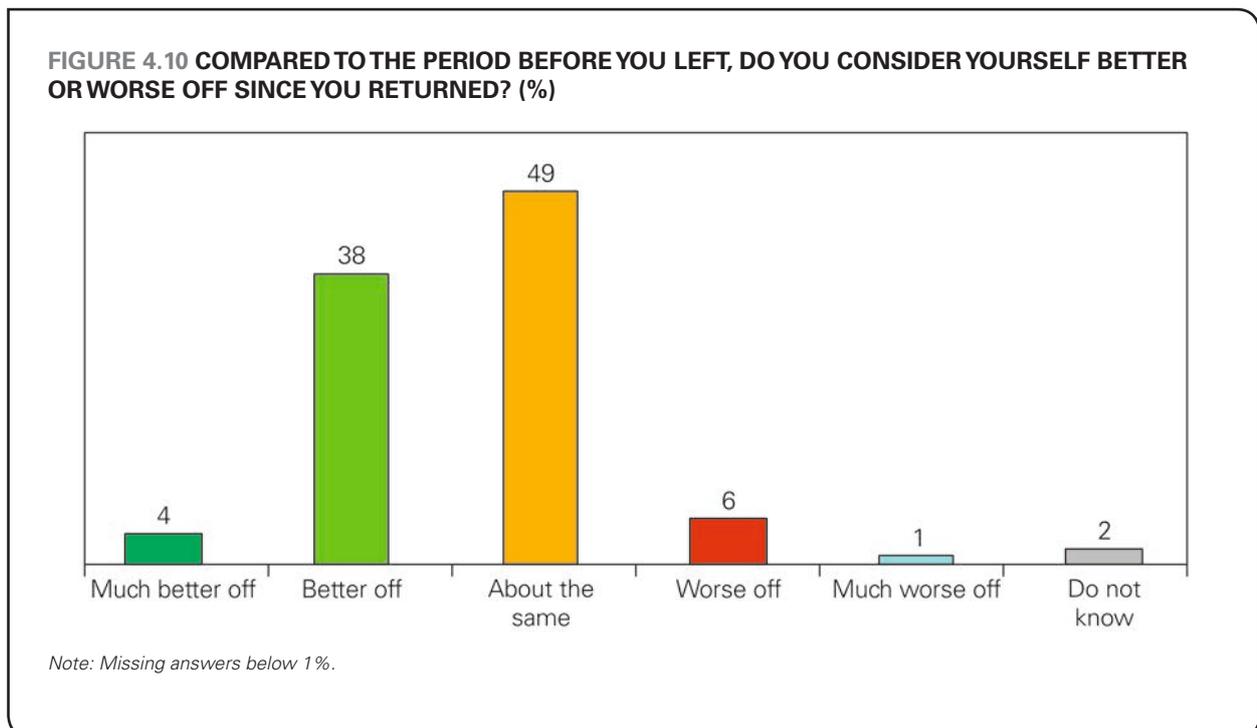
However, only 49% of men with higher education feel that their work corresponds to their education level; for women this figure is 69% (see also Table A1.8 in annex).

Conversely, 23% of the women and 17% of the men said that their skills and abilities are much higher than the requirements of their current job. Returnees with a higher education level are more likely to report a discrepancy between their skills and their job requirements, with 54% of men and 45% of women in this group reporting a mismatch in this respect.

Of those who were not working, 64% said that the inability to find work is the main reason for their unemployment. Those who had been or were employed worked an average of 54 hours a week and the median monthly wage of this group was EUR 291.

Over 60% of the returnees considered that they had very good or good career prospects in the longer term in Armenia. Education level correlated with this variable and those with a higher level of education were more optimistic about their career prospects than those with lower levels (**TABLE 4.14**).

TABLE 4.14 **FUTURE CAREER PROSPECTS IN ARMENIA BY EDUCATION LEVEL (%)**

	Career prospects			
Education level	**Very good**	**Good**	**Poor**	**Do not know**
Low	9	52	37	2
Medium	10	49	36	5
High	21	51	26	2
Total	**13**	**50**	**34**	**4**

Note: Missing answers below 1%.

The composite indicator on return outcome measures the success of the return based on savings brought home, employment and career progression after return, social benefits and welfare linked to migration, and the returnee's subjective assessment of the usefulness of the experience (see Chapter 2). According to the indicator, more than half of the migrants (57%) fall into the category of a successful return and 41% qualified their return as neither successful nor unsuccessful (**FIGURE 4.11**).

FIGURE 4.11 **RETURN OUTCOME INDICATOR (%)**
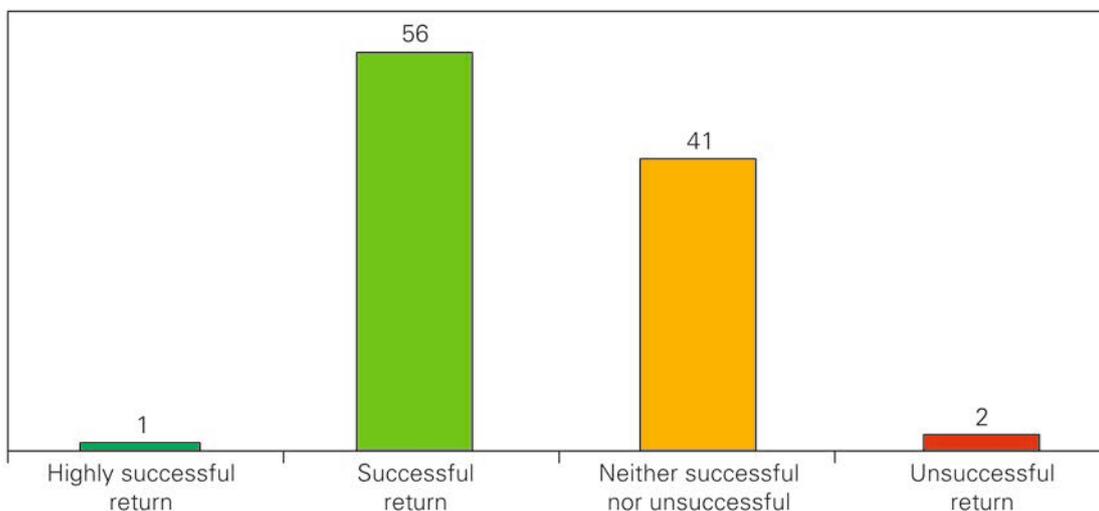
Note: Missing answers account for 28%.

When this indicator is analysed by gender and education level, both men and women with higher education are more likely to fall into the category of a highly successful or successful return (**FIGURE 4.12**).

FIGURE 4.12 RETURN OUTCOME INDICATOR BY GENDER AND EDUCATION LEVEL (%)
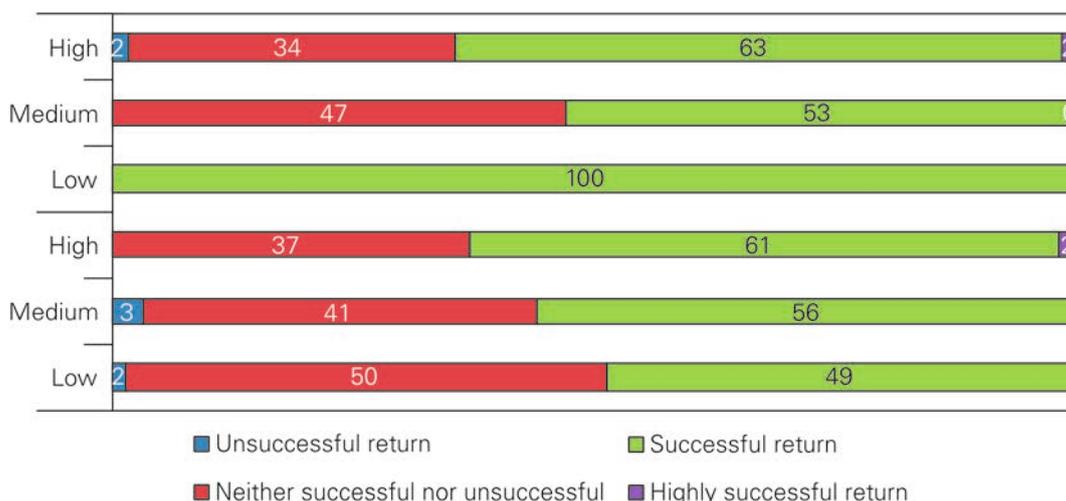
Note: Missing answers account for 30% and 23% (male and female with high level of education); 29% and 30% (male and female with medium level of education); and 18% and 50% (male and female with low level of education).

4.4 FUTURE INTENTIONS

Of the returnees interviewed, 68% intended to migrate again. Over 70% of those considering moving abroad again intended to go within the following six months and only 4% intended to wait more than two years.

Younger returnees seemed to be more interested in migrating again than their older compatriots, with 74% of the returnees in the 18 to 24 age range considering repeat migration as compared to 66% of those aged 36 or over. Men were more interested in migrating again than women (70% versus 59%). A high proportion (79%) of those who have not been employed since their return to Armenia intend to migrate again. However, the percentage of those who have been employed but intend to migrate again is also high at 54%. Those with lower levels of education are more interested in migration than those with higher levels (**FIGURE 4.13**).

The reasons most often given for leaving the country are once again economic, with 68% citing their inability to find a job, followed by the inefficiency of social security in Armenia, including the health care system (9%) and unsatisfactory career prospects (8%). With respect to destination, 78% said that they would most likely migrate to Russia, 4% to the USA, 4% to France, 2% to Germany and 1% to Ukraine. Of the returnees who intend to migrate again, 46% said that they had the necessary financial resources to do so. About half of the returnees considering migrating again expect to work in construction. The other main areas of work mentioned were commerce (10%), manufacturing (9%) and transport (8%).

4.5 ECONOMIC AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF RETURNED MIGRANTS

The average size of the returned migrant households was five people. About 11% of the returnees have family members living outside Armenia, but very few of these live in the EU or other European countries. Most of the family members mentioned live in Euro-Asian countries.

FIGURE 4.13 ARE YOU SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING MOVING ABROAD TO LIVE AND WORK? RESPONSES BY EDUCATION LEVEL (%)
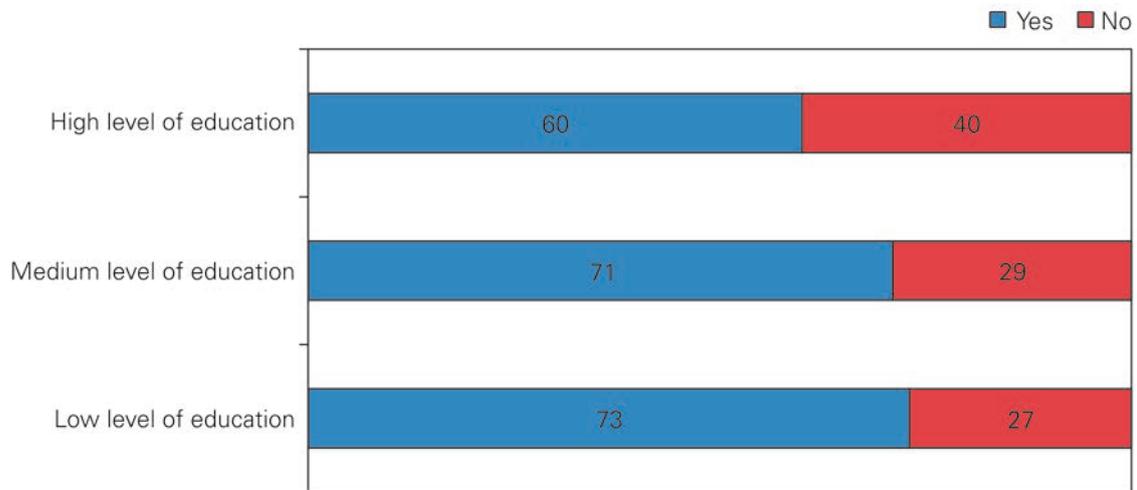
Note: Missing answers below 1%.

Around 48% of the households live in a house and 50% live in an apartment. Most members of this group own their own house, with only 7% renting. Some 14% of the returned migrants' households depend on monthly remittances (**TABLE 4.15**). The median amount received over 12 months was EUR 718.

TABLE 4.15 IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS, HOW OFTEN DID YOU RECEIVE MONEY FROM SOMEONE ABROAD?

Frequency of remittances	%
Once a month or more	14
Less than once a month, but more than once over the whole year	14
Only once	4
Not at all in the last 12 months	68
Total	**100**

Note: Missing answers account for 1%.

Only 18% of the returnee households reported having sufficient financial resource to cover basic needs, while 45% reported that their resources were insufficient (**FIGURE 4.14**).

FIGURE 4.14 IS THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD SUFFICIENT TO COVER ALL YOUR BASIC NEEDS? (%)
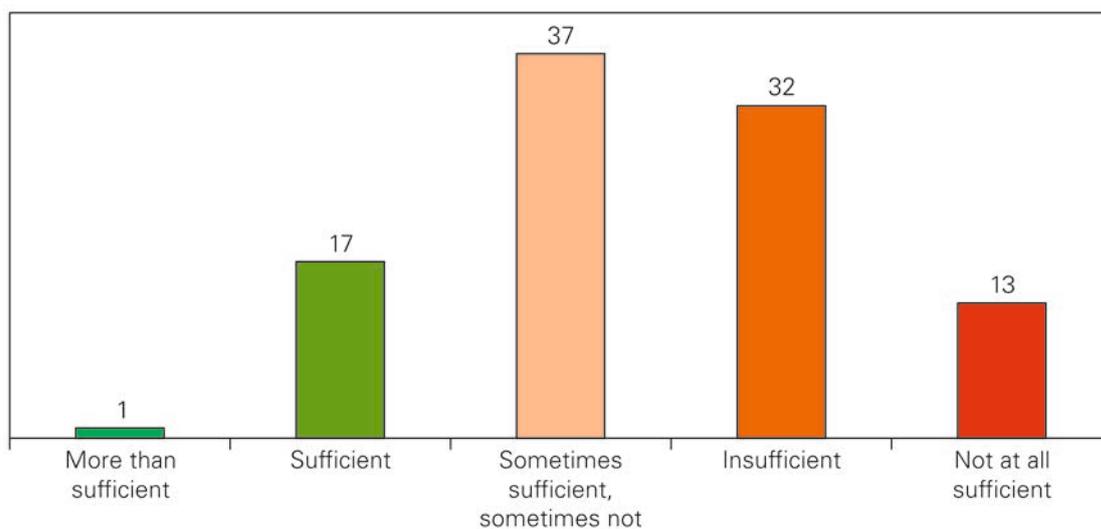

Note: Missing answers below 1%.

However, the majority (82%) of the returnees thought that their household was financially doing as well or better than their neighbours and only 15% felt that they were worse off (**FIGURE 4.15**).

According to the social condition indicator which takes into account the size of the household as well as ownership of various durables and commodities (see Chapter 2), 45% of the returned migrants interviewed live in average social conditions, 33% live in better-than-average conditions and 22% live in worse-than-average conditions. In the group of returned migrants, more men than women live in poor social conditions (**FIGURE 4.16**).

FIGURE 4.15 HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR HOUSEHOLD ECONOMICALLY COMPARED TO OTHER HOUSEHOLDS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD? (%)
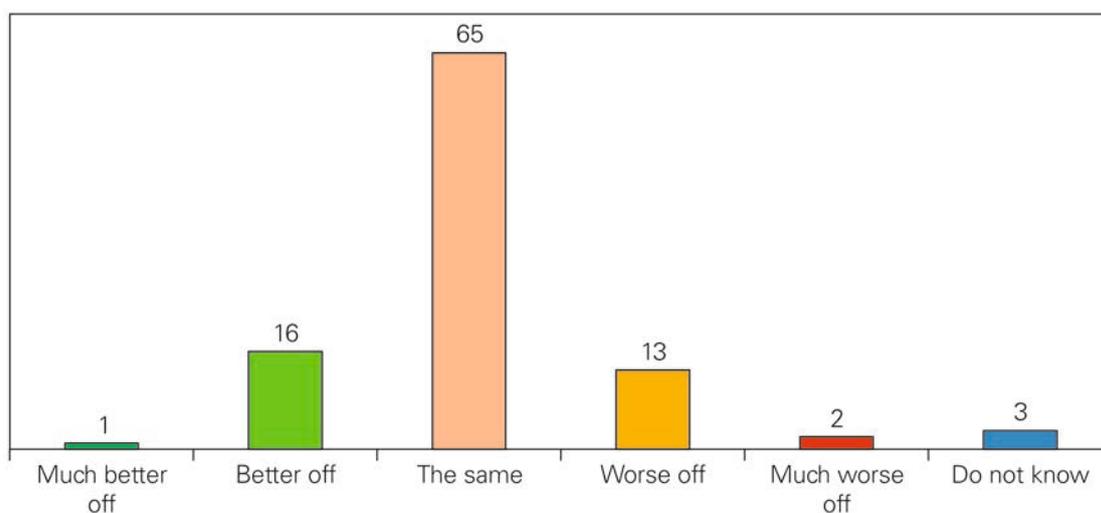

Note: Missing answers below 1%.

FIGURE 4.16 SOCIAL CONDITION INDICATOR BY GENDER (%)
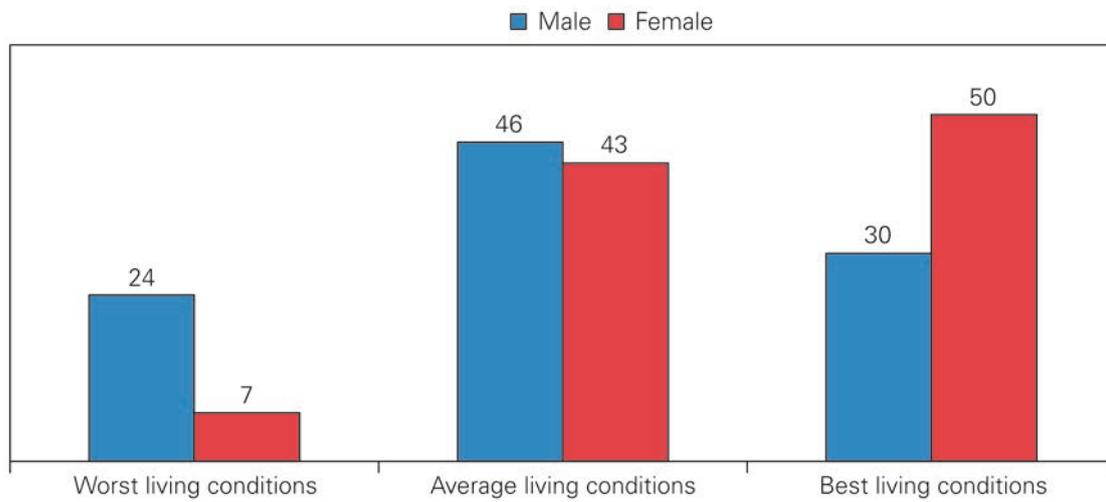
Note: Missing answers account for 5%.

According to the economic condition indicator which combines house and land ownership, household income and receipt of remittances from abroad (see Chapter 2), 63% of the returned migrants live in worst or quite bad conditions (**FIGURE 4.17**). The findings in this respect are very similar to those corresponding to the potential migrants sample (representative population aged 18-50 years), in which 62% of the population lived in worst or quite bad economic conditions.

FIGURE 4.17 ECONOMIC CONDITION INDICATOR (%)
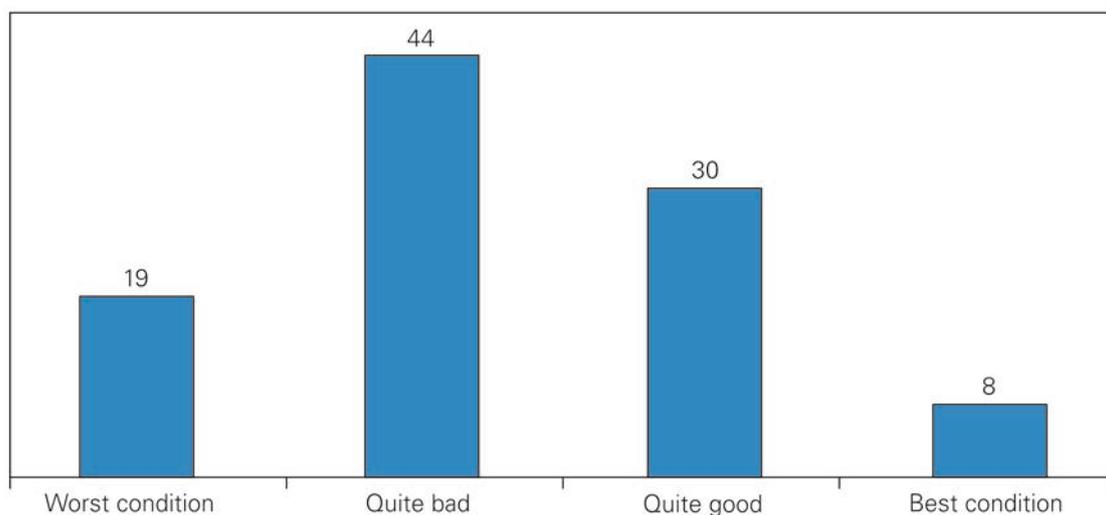
Note: Missing answers account for 20%.

5. SURVEY FINDINGS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Potential migrants

The findings of this ETF survey confirm the main outcomes of various other studies on migration in Armenia, showing, for example, that temporary labour migration has been the predominant trend in the past decade. While 36% of the population is considering migration, only around a quarter of these prospective migrants plan to leave the country permanently. In view of the temporary character of migration, it is not surprising that the decision to migrate is largely driven by the potential migrants' inability to find jobs at home.

The majority of respondents were out of work, both those who were seriously considering migration (69%) and those who were not (66%), a reflection of the overall weak labour demand in the Armenian economy. The variables associated with the highest levels of unemployment were age between 18 and 24 years (81%), living in a rural area (80%) and low education level (men, 78%; women 95%). Thus, younger men with lower education levels living outside the capital were the group most likely to be seriously considering migration. However, women with a low education level from rural areas are less interested in migrating than women from the capital or other urban areas.

The current or most recent employment type of prospective migrants seemed to influence their interest in migration, with those employed in domestic service and construction being more likely to consider migration; 91% and 63% of these groups, respectively, were prospective migrants. Interestingly, the findings of the returned migrants survey showed that construction work was the most common type of employment for migrants (53% – referring to the first job abroad), followed by commerce and manufacturing. One could speculate that these sectors attract more prospective migrants not only because of the better employment opportunities, but also because of the existence of networks of Armenians already employed in these sectors abroad. In fact, the results of the surveys of prospective and returned migrants indicate that personal connections are the most popular sources of information and support in finding employment abroad.

Russia was at the top of the list of likely destinations for prospective migrants. This finding coincides with the conclusions of other studies and is also in line with data from the returned migrants' survey. Russia's popularity as a migration destination can be explained by easy entry (no visa required), knowledge of the local language and the existence of social networks. Married male prospective migrants are more likely to leave their spouses in Armenia than to go abroad together. This finding is borne out by the results of the returned migrant survey, in which the majority of married men said that they had gone abroad without their wives.

According to the propensity to migrate indicator, which combines seven different variables and measures the likelihood of the respondent actually migrating (see Chapter 2), only 3% of the prospective migrants interviewed were very likely to migrate and 33% were quite likely to migrate. This means that, although 36% of the Armenian population aged 18 to 50 years are seriously considering migrating, overall only 12.6% are likely to actually do so. This gap between an interest in migration and the likelihood of migrating reflects the high demands made by migration on an individuals' commitment and resources (for example, the difficulty of financing the move and acquiring the necessary documentation and the need for knowledge of the destination country and its language). This discrepancy between interest and likelihood affect all education levels, in particular for men. Men with higher education levels are more likely to migrate while men with lower education are more interested in migrating. These differences are most likely related to the respondents' ability to finance the move. Only 24% of the prospective migrants had the necessary financial resources to move abroad.

Almost half (45%) of the prospective migrants said they would migrate even without a job abroad and a fifth said they did not speak the language of the destination country. Respondents were very aware of the problems that these shortcomings could entail. Prospective migrants considered that help in finding a job is by far the most important support for people moving and working abroad. Overall, 30% of prospective migrants would like to do some kind of pre-departure training, with language classes being the type of training most requested. The high interest expressed in pre-departure preparation contrasts sharply with the availability of such training: only a small percentage of returned migrants (2%) reported that they had been able to participate in pre-departure training.

The majority of the prospective migrants expect to send money home and think they will be better off when they return. While most prospective migrants are confident that migration will improve their financial situation, they are

less certain that the experience will enhance their skills. Overall, developing or learning new skills before migration or during the stay abroad was not a priority for most of the prospective migrants.

The analysis of the general social and economic condition of potential migrants showed that households at either end of the scale (those with the worst and best economic conditions) are slightly more likely to have prospective migrants than households whose economic condition is closer to average. A higher percentage of prospective migrants than non-migrants believe that they are economically worse off than their neighbours, and more prospective migrants than non-migrants rate the financial situation of their household as insufficient or not at all sufficient. These findings are consistent with the most important reasons cited for considering migration, which are overwhelmingly economic in nature (no job in Armenia, to improve standard of living, and unsatisfactory wages and/or career prospects in Armenia).

Returned migrants

The returned migrants were mainly male and had predominantly migrated to Russia, with a large percentage working in construction, manufacturing and trade. The average length of stay was one year, and more than half of the returnees had gone to only one destination country. Some 41% had migrated more than once and almost a quarter (23%) had gone abroad to work on three or more occasions, illustrating the prevalent pattern of repeated migration between Armenia and the destination country, involving periodic separation from family and home while working abroad.

This survey and other studies show that the lack of appropriate policies influences the migrants' experience before departure, during their stay abroad and after they return. This research shows that migration is generally organised by the migrants themselves, who draw on their own personal networks. In many cases, the work migrants obtain in the destination country does not correspond to their educational or work level. About half of the returned migrants said they worked in unskilled jobs abroad, and 28% said they worked below their education level. The risk of deskilling is higher among those with more education; more than half (55%) of those with higher education said they had worked on jobs below their education level. More women than men reported working below their education level.

While almost half of the returned migrants (65%) said that they had acquired skills abroad, for the most part vocational and language skills, only 7% of that group received a certificate to validate the skills acquired. Thus, the skills and education of migrants are highly underutilised, a situation that represents a waste not just from the point of view of the individual migrant but also from that of the receiving country as well.

The returned migrant survey found that a very small percentage of the migrants had had official contracts or social security, a violation of worker's rights that is not currently being addressed. Moreover, only 3% of the returned migrants said they had earned pension rights or social benefits from their work abroad. Over half (65%) of those who did not receive any benefits did not contribute to any scheme, while 7% contributed but were unable to transfer their benefits.

Insufficient support and unfavourable labour market conditions also hinder the migrants' return to Armenia and successful reintegration. Migrants bring back work experience and a wide range of skills, mostly learned informally. In line with previous research, in particular the study done by the ILO in 2009, this study found that migrants cannot turn the experience acquired abroad into a significant premium on the Armenian labour market: only 42% of the returned migrants had found work at some point after their return and only 33% of the returnees interviewed had worked in the seven days prior to the interview. The fact that the labour market participation rates of returnees are similar to the low level found in the population in general (33% of the nationally representative sample of potential migrants had worked in the seven days prior to the interview) demonstrates that migrants, despite their accumulation of considerable work experience and skills abroad, fall victim to the same overall weak labour market conditions in Armenia as the rest of the workforce. As a result, 68% of returned migrants are seriously considering migrating again. Younger, unemployed male returnees are the most likely to migrate again.

Three-quarters (76%) of the returned migrants had sent home, on average, a third of their monthly income. However, in 96% of the cases, remittances were spent on the living expenses of the family and relatives. Only 0.2% of the returned migrants said they had used the remittances to develop some kind of business activity. Similarly, even though 67% of the respondents returned with savings, 86% used this money to cover living expenses while only a small share of respondents used it to finance the education of their children or others and only 1% to finance a business activity. Thus, from an economic perspective, this study once again highlights what previous research has shown, that while remittances alleviate poverty and support consumption in the short-term, they are not used adequately for education and investment, and do not, therefore, fulfil their full potential as a tool for long-term economic development.

Policy recommendations

Recent research on migration and development has paid particular attention to circular migration, a model seen to offer more advantages than permanent or temporary migration. Circular migration is broadly defined by the European Commission as 'a form of migration that is managed in a way allowing some degree of legal mobility back and forth between two countries' (European Commission, 2007). The aim of circular migration is to achieve a win-win-win situation where the individual migrant, the country of origin and the destination country all benefit. This requires destination countries to ensure ease of mobility, providing a legal framework for repeated temporary migration to their country. It requires countries of origin to provide effective support for departing migrants and to put in place conditions enabling returned migrants to put the skills and experience they have acquired abroad to productive use in their home country.

In view of the established pattern of temporary migration in Armenia, future policies should be aimed at achieving better management and coordination of temporary migration, supporting Armenian citizens going abroad to work and improving the conditions for migrants returning to their home country and helping them to apply their skills and experience in Armenia. Specific attention should be paid to ensuring more effective use of migrants' skills, both in destination countries and upon their return to Armenia, as one of the main findings of this research is the underutilisation of the migrants' skills and education. The benefits of migration for both migrants and the country of origin remain below their potential due to the underuse of migrants' abilities and the lack of diversity in destination countries and work type.

There are a number of instruments that could improve the situation of Armenians going abroad to work. The recognition of their skills and qualifications in destination countries would be a crucial step towards reducing the current waste of skills and talent and put migrants in a significantly better position to reap the benefits of their education when working abroad. This would be complemented by the efforts of Armenia to further develop and advance its higher and vocational education systems in the country, mainly through revising curricula and improving education quality, for a better match between education outputs and changing demands of its labour market. Better information about available job vacancies abroad would also help to reduce the skills mismatch in destination countries. Efforts to improve information on job vacancies abroad and to build up cross-national placement services should be continued and considerably expanded (e.g. by connecting the Ulyssis project in Armenia with EURES in the EU).

The high interest expressed by prospective migrants in pre-departure training should be capitalised on, and programmes offering such training should be expanded in Armenia. For destinations other than CIS countries, suitable language training should be made more readily available. In addition, the competent Armenian government authorities should work on providing more meaningful information, in close cooperation with destination countries, on the documentation necessary for legal migration and legal employment. Information on migrants' rights and entitlements in the receiving country should also be easily accessible. Efforts should be made to ensure that the services already available to migrants become more widely known, accessible and user friendly.

This study shows that the portability of social benefits has a positive impact on migrants' successful return to their home country. Bilateral agreements between Armenia and destination countries are the appropriate tools to address and improve the portability of benefits and compatibility of benefits schemes. The EU-Armenia Joint Mobility Partnership should be used to exchange experiences with other Mobility Partnership countries on this and other issues related to migration. Moldova has recently negotiated and concluded a number of bilateral agreements on benefits and social rights with destination countries.

The skills and resources of returned migrants are underutilised not only in the destination countries but also in Armenia when they return. The fact that only a tiny percentage of returned migrants' remittances and savings is invested in education and business activities and the limited prospects of returnees finding appropriate employment in Armenia give cause for alarm. Suitable measures should be taken to address these problems in the medium and long term in order to take full advantage of the potential benefits of migration.

To improve the employment prospects of returned migrants, it will be important to address the overall weak labour market in Armenia in the long-term. With a more dynamic economy, especially in rural areas, employment prospects and wages will improve in general. A long-term focus on economic development, especially in rural areas, will provide prospective migrants with employment alternatives at home, and will keep returned migrants from leaving again. This would also keep returned migrants from re-migrating. While this report cannot address the overarching issue of economic development in Armenia, it is clear that targeted return support schemes can make a significant contribution to improving the return experience of migrants and reduce the tendency to re-migrate.

Only a small minority of migrants benefit from return support schemes at the moment. These schemes should be expanded with a focus on helping migrants to make use of the considerable experiences and skills they have earned abroad in the Armenian context. An important element of this work could be the validation of the skills and

qualifications acquired, mostly informally, abroad to enhance their currency on the Armenian labour market. Returned migrants would also benefit from improved placement services offering services tailor-made to their specific needs (matching vacancies to their work experience abroad, supporting mobility within Armenia and so on). Finally, comprehensive support for returned migrants who intend to become entrepreneurs and start-up businesses would considerably increase the benefits of migration for migrants and the Armenian economy alike. Overall, this would require improving the investment climate in Armenia. More specifically, it would require easy access to start-up grants and loans for small entrepreneurs, possibly with specific incentives for turning remittances and migrants' savings into business investments (see, for example, the Moldovan One plus One incentive scheme). It would also require widely available and targeted coaching programs for small business start-ups.

The Armenian government has developed an action plan (2012-16) for the implementation of the Policy Concept for the State Regulation of Migration, which addresses some of the issues raised in this report. The action plan addresses 14 main issues identified as priorities in the policy concept. These policy issues include reforms in the legal and administrative system to comply with EU legislation and EU best institutional structures, improvement of border management, collection of data on migration flows, prevention of illegal migration, protection of the rights of both Armenian citizens abroad and foreign migrants in Armenia, and support for the return of migrants. The implementation of the action plan will involve the participation of the police authorities and various state ministries, including the ministries for labour and social issues, foreign affairs, the diaspora, territorial administration (state migration services), education and science, healthcare, and justice.

Transparency, continued policy learning and broad cooperation during the implementation of the action plan should be the key to its success. The government should also encourage the involvement of representatives of migrants, local non-profit organisations as well as international organisations throughout the process.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE A1.1 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE, GENDER AND SETTLEMENT TYPE

	Total		Male		Female		Urban		Rural	
	2009	**2010**	**2009**	**2010**	**2009**	**2010**	**2009**	**2010**	**2009**	**2010**
Economic activity (% of labour resources)										
Total	**59.2**	**61.2**	**69.0**	**72.3**	**51.0**	**52.2**	**53.2**	**55.9**	**70.8**	**71.1**
15-19	12.2	13.7	11.3	13.7	12.9	13.7	9.4	11.0	16.5	17.9
20-24	52.2	53.4	62.8	67.4	41.9	41.5	51.4	53.3	53.7	53.6
25-29	67.3	66.7	85.8	90.7	50.4	46.3	64.1	65.9	74.4	68.6
30-34	70.7	72.9	90.2	90.2	54.0	58.5	66.4	68.8	81.1	81.7
35-39	78.3	79.3	89.3	90.6	70.1	70.0	72.6	74.4	89.6	87.9
40-44	80.4	82.9	88.1	95.5	74.4	73.5	72.4	76.4	92.4	92.3
45-49	77.7	81.1	87.3	92.1	70.2	73.0	69.2	73.9	91.4	93.4
50-54	75.1	78.4	87.8	90.8	65.1	68.2	67.4	72.0	90.6	91.2
55-59	69.6	73.5	78.9	83.3	62.2	66.2	61.9	67.0	87.8	88.9
60-64	53.5	63.0	65.6	76.9	44.4	52.8	44.3	52.6	84.0	86.3
65-69	41.3	41.8	50.0	51.0	35.2	34.7	26.7	23.7	73.5	75.5
70-75	33.3	30.0	42.1	37.0	27.2	25.2	15.6	11.4	60.2	60.8
Unemployment (% of economically active population)										
Total	**18.7**	**19.0**	**17.8**	**17.0**	**19.8**	**21.2**	**27.3**	**27.8**	**6.3**	**6.1**
15-19	59.7	44.4	54.5	37.0	64.4	52.3	84.7	71.7	37.9	18.4
20-24	36.2	37.5	32.6	30.8	41.7	46.7	44.1	44.3	21.6	25.6
25-29	25.2	24.3	21.8	21.2	30.7	29.6	30.7	28.4	14.8	15.1
30-34	18.4	17.9	16.6	15.9	21.1	20.6	23.9	24.7	7.2	5.7
35-39	18.4	16.6	16.2	14.7	20.5	18.5	27.2	26.5	4.2	2.1
40-44	13.5	14.2	13.2	12.7	13.7	15.7	22.9	24.0	2.3	2.5
45-49	14.0	15.0	14.1	13.2	14.1	16.7	24.3	24.3	1.5	2.5
50-54	14.1	15.6	13.1	13.8	15.3	17.6	22.9	24.6	1.0	1.3
55-59	11.0	15.6	12.2	14.0	9.8	17.1	17.2	23.5	0.7	1.5
60-64	11.5	10.1	11.6	10.2	11.3	10.0	17.8	16.7	0.0	1.1
65-69	7.7	11.0	10.3	14.1	5.0	7.4	16.1	29.8	1.3	0.0
70-75	3.5	1.8	5.4	2.5	1.8	1.1	12.3	6.4	0.0	0.4

Source: NSS, 2011a and 2011b

TABLE A1.2 LEVEL OF FIRST JOB ABROAD BY EDUCATION LEVEL PRIOR TO MIGRATION (RETURNED MIGRANTS)

Education level	Job level (%)					
	Professional	Higher management	Middle management	Skilled worker	Unskilled worker	Total
Low	3	1	4	34	59	**100**
Medium	7	2	6	37	48	**100**
High	19	3	10	24	43	**100**
Total	**9**	**2**	**7**	**34**	**48**	**100**

Note: Missing answers below 3%.

TABLE A1.3 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY REGION, 2010 (% OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION)

	Total	Yerevan	Aragatsotn	Ararat	Armavir	Gegharquniq	Lori	Kotayq	Shirak	Syunik	Vayots Dzor	Tavush
Registered unemployment	7.0	8.1	2.1	2.9	3.1	5.7	10.8	9.2	10.2	10.3	4.1	8.5
Unemployment rate (LFS data)	19.0	29.9	8.1	6.6	10.4	8.9	19.7	19.2	22.0	12.2	13.7	10.9

Source: NSS, 2011a and 2011b

TABLE A1.4 MATCHING OF RETURNED MIGRANTS' SKILLS AND ABILITIES1 TO THE SKILLS NEEDED FOR A JOB2 BY EDUCATION LEVEL PRIOR TO MIGRATION, AND GENDER (%)

	Education level	Much higher	A bit higher	About the same	A bit lower	Much lower	Do not know
Male	Low	10	12	70	5	1	2
	Medium	14	16	61	7	1	2
	High	36	16	40	6	2	2
	Total	**18**	**15**	**58**	**6**	**1**	**2**
Female	Low	0	17	83	0	0	0
	Medium	24	14	55	6	1	0
	High	51	10	36	0	3	1
	Total	**34**	**13**	**48**	**3**	**2**	**2**

Note: (1) Including experience, talent, motivation etc. (2) The longest job done abroad. Missing answers below 1%.

TABLE A1.5 MONTHLY INCOME OF RETURNED MIGRANTS BY EDUCATION LEVEL PRIOR TO MIGRATION AND GENDER

	Education level	€0-71	€72-177	€178-290	€291-580	€581-857	More than €857	Total
Male (% within level)	Low	2	5	11	36	33	14	100
	Medium	2	3	9	34	35	17	100
	High	3	4	7	21	31	35	100
	Total	**2**	**3**	**9**	**32**	**34**	**20**	**100**
Female (% within level)	Low	0	25	0	50	25	0	100
	Medium	6	10	21	28	18	18	100
	High	2	12	15	28	17	27	100
	Total	**4**	**11**	**18**	**29**	**17**	**21**	**100**

Note: Missing answers account for 15% and 33% – male and female with low level of education; 22% and 24% – male and female with medium level of education; 23% and 22% – male and female with high level of education; and 15% and 33% – total male and female.

TABLE A1.6 MONEY SENT HOME BY RETURNED MIGRANTS WHILST ABROAD BY EDUCATION LEVEL PRIOR TO MIGRATION AND GENDER (%)

	Education level	Sent money home	
		Yes	No
Male	Low	84	16
	Medium	83	17
	High	70	30
	Total	**80**	**20**
Female	Low	33	67
	Medium	49	51
	High	41	59
	Total	**45**	**55**

Note: Missing answers below 1%.

TABLE A1.7 WORK TYPE OF RETURNED MIGRANTS1 BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND GENDER (%)

	Education level	Employer	Self-employed (no employee)	Salaried worker	Casual worker (on and off work)	Family helper (paid)	Family helper (unpaid)	Total
Male	Low	0	26	49	22	4	0	**100**
	Medium	1	22	51	24	1	1	**100**
	High	5	11	76	8	1	0	**100**
	Total	**2**	**19**	**58**	**19**	**2**	**0**	**100**
Female	Low	0	0	100	0	0	0	**100**
	Medium	6	18	65	10	0	0	**100**
	High	0	11	82	7	0	0	**100**
	Total	**3**	**15**	**73**	**9**	**0**	**0**	**100**

Note: (1) Referring to work done since return. Missing answers below 2%. Table refers only to those having worked upon return (N=580).

TABLE A1.8 CORRESPONDENCE OF CURRENT WORK OF RETURNED MIGRANTS TO EDUCATION LEVEL BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND GENDER (%)

	Education level	Yes, it fully matched my education	I am working (worked) below my education level	My work requires (required) more than my education level	My work requires my education level, but in a different field	Do not know	Total
Male	Low	69	13	3	13	3	**100**
	Medium	60	18	5	16	2	**100**
	High	49	39	4	8	0	**100**
	Total	**57**	**25**	**4**	**13**	**2**	**100**
Female	Low	100	0	0	0	0	**100**
	Medium	56	18	8	18	0	**100**
	High	69	25	0	6	0	**100**
	Total	**63**	**21**	**4**	**12**	**0**	**100**

Note: Missing answers below 2%. Table refers only to those currently working (N=462).

ANNEX 2. ARMENIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM MATCHED WITH ISCED LEVELS
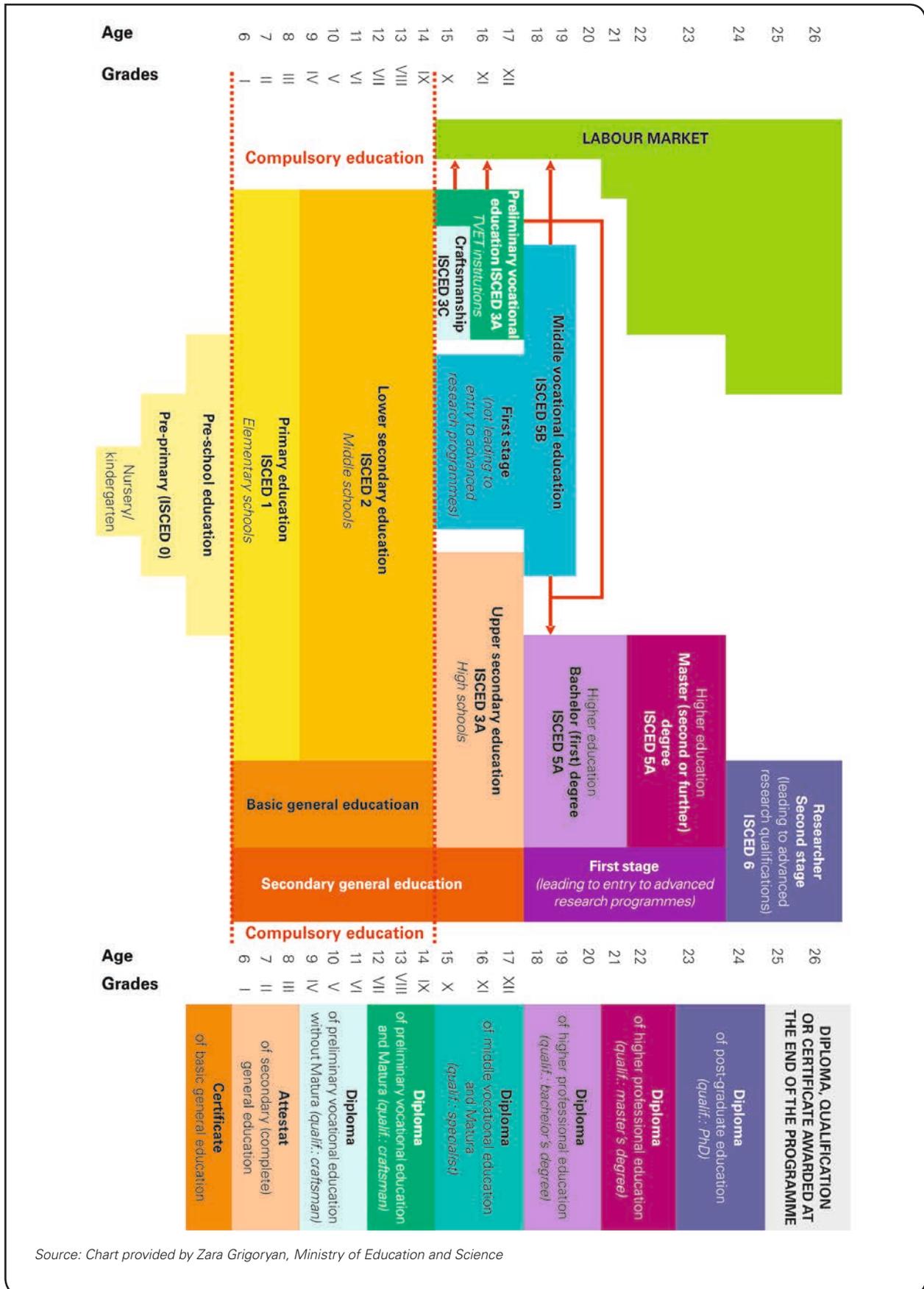
Source: Chart provided by Zara Grigoryan, Ministry of Education and Science

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMD	Armenian dram (national currency)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CRRC	Caucasus Research Resource Centers
ETF	European Training Foundation
GDP	Gross domestic product
ICHD	International Centre for Human Development
ICT	Information and communication technology
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
ISCO	International Standard Classification of Occupations
NSS	National Statistical Service
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USA	United States of America
VET	Vocational education and training

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