

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA

**A STUDY OF EMIGRATION FROM ARMENIA
WITHIN THE LAST YEARS (1988-2001)**

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BY

HASMIK CHOBANYAN

YEREVAN, ARMENIA

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SIGNATURE PAGE

Dr. Fuller

Faculty Advisor Date

Dean Date

American University of Armenia

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANSEF- Armenian National Science and Education Fund

CIS- Commonwealth of Independent States

DMR- Department for Migration and Refugees

FAR- Fund for Armenian Relief

HSH- Hayots Hamazgayin Sharzhum

NAS -National Academy for Sciences

RA- Republic of Armenia

USA- United States of America

USSR- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ABSTRACT

Today the problem of emigration is of greater importance than it has ever been. An enormous number of Armenians left Armenia and are currently leaving. There is not an exact number of emigrants, however, they share certain characteristics. They are predominantly from urban areas, males, about 18-39 years old and the greater part of them is leaving for Russia. Emigrants have high level of education. The huge wave of emigration has risen because of certain factors: Earthquake in Spitak, Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, difficult socio-economic hard conditions...these all are factors that created separate flows of emigration. Other factors (such as distrust toward the future of Armenia, barriers for entrepreneurship, etc.) also had an important role for stimulating people to emigrate. It goes without saying that emigration is accompanied by a number of negative consequences. Emigration distorts the usual and normal demographic development of the society, it has negative social consequences, hinders economic development of the Republic, is a threat to national security, increases the outflow of scientific minds (brain-drain), favors the loss of national identity and national reputation abroad. Along with negative consequences emigration had positive impacts on relieving stress in the labor market. Besides, it was a source of material security for many families. However, positive sides do not soften the seriousness of the problem. Emigration from Armenia is a great problem, and taking measures against it has been imperative. For this purpose, several recommendations will be presented at the end of the essay.

INTRODUCTION

Emigration, and generally migration, is an international phenomenon and each nation has somehow experienced it. Today there is emigration in different parts of the world.

The history of Armenia also has a lot of examples of mass migration. Armenians faced a lot of wars, hardships, and even a genocide during their long history. They had been under the yoke of foreigners for centuries. Hard conditions forced them to emigrate to other countries. "It is not a secret that for centuries our nation has been staggered between two sayings. The first one runs: "Live there, where you can find bread". The second is: 'Man does not live on bread alone, but by the word'. It is impossible to drain the first conception from everyone's mentality, for it is not only a human physiological motivation but just a national destiny, according to our history." (Paruir Sevak 1991, 209). So emigration is not a new experience for the Armenian nation. However, the wave of emigration from Armenia has been very huge since late 80s and it had a certain impact on the social and economic reality of the country. Emigration of Armenians from an independent Armenia became a real disaster for our nation.

The purpose of my Master's Essay is to demonstrate the significance of the problem of emigration and its influence on the present and the future of Armenia.

The following research questions are to be answered:

1. What is the volume of emigration?
2. What are the characteristics of emigrants?
3. In what phases did emigration flows develop and by what factors they were conditioned?
4. What are the effects of emigration?

LITERATURE REVIEW

"Emigration is not only an emotional disaster for Armenians, but a question of existence" (Hayots Ashkharh, December 11, 1999). Emigration from Armenia being a painful issue today is in the center of attention. There are hundreds of articles and publications about it, several surveys were conducted and are being carried out currently for enlightening different aspects of population emigration from Armenia.

There are different opinions concerning the volume of emigration. Official data currently do not exceed the number from 1.000.000. In 2000, Gagik Yeganyan, the head of Department for Migration and Refugees (DMR) stated that "the number of emigrants is 800.000 people, or about 18.5% of the total population." According to Vladimir Khojabekyan (1999), the director of Economy Institute of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS), the number of emigrants was already 1.000.000 in 1995. Other sources state that today "the quantity gone away from the country constitutes from 1.200.000 up to 2.000.000 people" (Webpage: www.vaspnors.narod.ru). All the experts agree that emigrants have certain characteristics. Emigration activity is higher among urban population, among males and 18-39 years old people. Emigrants are mainly leaving for Russia and many of them are highly qualified specialists.

While migration flows in Armenia were ordinary and stable phenomenon in the period before 1980, "starting from 1988, i.e., after the collapse of the USSR, a troublesome period started in the life of the Armenia. This period was characterized by an unprecedented increase in migrations flows: the period of extraordinary flows began (Webpage: <http://www.aua.am/extens/lectures/34-e.htm>). Karabakh war and earthquake in Spitak put the beginning of extraordinary flows. Afterwards people emigrated because of hard living conditions: "from 1992 to 1995 there was a massive emigration of the population. This was

caused by various socio-economic factors" (Hayastani Hanrapetutiun, May 13, 20000. From 1995 the wave of emigration was decreased compared with the former years. "The...phase (from 1995 to the present) may perhaps be called a phase of relatively stable migration"(Webpage: <http://www.aua.am/extens/lectures/34-e.htm>).

The country suffers from emigration. According to G. Yeganyan (2000), the consequences of emigration can be divided into four categories: demographic, social, economic, and national security. V. Khojabekyan (2000) and Z. Balayan (1999) speak a lot of about brain-drain. "The outflow of scientific mind will be a strategic loss for Armenia, yet alone the loss of the whole future" (Azg, October 1, 1999). Z. Balayan is also concerned with Armenian criminals abroad. According to his article (1999) Armenians are known as criminal mass there.

All the experts agree that emigration had positive effects on relieving the stress in the labor marker and it was a source of income for many families.

On the whole emigration is a negative phenomenon for the Republic, because "the country more suffers than benefits from emigration" (Hayots Ashkharh, November 9, 1999), so measures for regulating and preventing emigration need to be undertaken. All the experts agree that organized overseas employment is a tool of combating illegal emigration and supporting re-emigration to Armenia. According to Poghossian (2001), such programs must be adopted as soon as possible, when the existing potential of human resources still be profitable and renewable.

METHODOLOGY

The research methods used for the completion of this study are content analysis combined with the review of secondary sources and a personal interview. Articles from various Armenian newspapers of the recent years were examined. Then articles that include important information were chosen as sources for this essay. Statistical data concerning different aspects of emigration are another sources for this essay. Materials from Internet relevant to the topic are also valuable sources for studying emigration activities in Armenia. The personal interview with Mr. Bakhshetsyan was important in the sense of understanding the overall migration activities in Armenia, as well as for clarifying some problems concerning the External Migration Surveys.

STRUCTURE

The first chapter of the essay depicts the gloomy face of emigration. It tells about Armenians desire to leave the Republic and arrive in foreign lands at any cost. The chapter also deals with the social attitude towards emigration and the emigrants.

The second chapter deals with the volume of emigration and the characteristics of emigrants. devoted to this issue.

The third chapter investigates the variety of reasons that caused different flows of mass emigration.

The fourth chapter examines the consequences of emigration.

The last section suggests strategies for preventing mass emigration.

Chapter One: The Gloomy Face of Emigration

"Everything is vain, if day by day
emigration is becoming more threatening.
I have ceased all my works, left unfinished
my books and forsaken my creativity. If no
one stays in the Republic, for whom shall I write."
Zory Balayan

Yerkir Nairi, that is Armenia, Armenia as an independent country and state... this had been a dream of many for centuries. For a long time, Armenians haven't had statehood. They dreamed of independent Armenia. It was a desire, a last of soul to have an independent state. People lived and died with the dream and the hope of Armenian statehood. It was an essence and purpose of life for many Armenians. At the expense of life, they struggled against assimilation hoping that someday there will be no danger of assimilation.

The end of 20th century, 1991... the dream of many Armenians became true. There was an independent Republic of Armenia. Millions of Armenians shouted for joy in all corners of the world, because their holy dream became a reality; the dream our grandfathers longed for came true.

In the struggle for independence the whole nation was involved. The victory was the victory of all Armenians, especially those who lived in Armenia and struggled for it. However, emigration of Armenians not only ceased but continued in huge numbers after the independence. Those who once were the fighters of independence, who actively participated in the process of becoming a separate state were among the emigrants. Once it was a last of soul, an illness of mind to have an independent state, while today it is a last of soul to escape from that independent Armenia.

People continuously leave Armenia. Being unsatisfied with the life in the Republic, they try to seek their fortunes in foreign countries. Such an emigrant is Gevorg Muradian. He is 35 years

old. In Soviet times he was an engineer. He had a good job. He was in charge of one of the largest departments in a diamond-cutting factory. In 1993 the factory closed and he could not find a new job. In order to feed his family, he moved to Moscow. He rented a small stall on a wholesale market. At first his business prospered, and soon his family was also moved to Russia. But success lasted for a short period of time. "Very soon I understand that I was not born for the trade. I had big problems. I was steeped in debts. To pay them back I had to sell everything I had. I could not re-start in Moscow, so we came back to Yerevan. I am searching for a new job now, any job. At the moment my brother feeds my family. But for how long can I depend on my brother? Probably, I will seek my fortune in Russia again", said Gevorg (Webpage: www.soros.org).

Gevorg's fate is shared by many. Some of our countrymen are even said to sell their houses and possessions very cheaply in order to have money for tickets and preliminary expenses and to leave Motherland immediately. Many try to escape Armenia at any cost. The following section presents how people try to flee from Armenia endangering their security, resorting to great adventures and dangers. This is not a unique story. Unfortunately, it has many similar cases. It depicts how sad the picture of emigration is.

The journalist of Armenian newspaper Aravout, Max Sivaslyan, traveled one week with three Armenian emigrants. He got acquainted with them on the way to Turkey in the bus. One of them whose name was Samvel even suggested the journalist to marry his wife. In this case Samvel can get a French passport. He had two friends; Gagik and Karen. During the conversation Samvel told the journalist: "When I returned from Russia I could not look at the eyes of my children. I felt ashamed. They want to study (a very natural desire), but I cannot earn money. When I counted the remnant of my earnings, it amounted to \$ 500. I decided to leave Armenia, so that to

avoid being in a debt." The heroes of the story reached to Turkey. They were astounded at the beauty of the city and cried. "See how the Turks prosper. Obviously they have good rulers. But unfortunately no changes take place in our country. Perhaps our generation will not face any progress".

Gagik telephoned his friend, who lived in Greece. He wanted to ask for money for the fare. His friend was not at home. The emigrants tried to find out how they can get entrance visa to Greece or Bulgaria. It was impossible to enter Greece. So they decided to intrude their illegally. They paid \$ 35 for the taxi, reaching to Ipsala, then to the borders. They telephoned to Gagik's friend. He was not at home again. The guys spent the night under cold and hard conditions.

In the morning they concentrated their efforts to enter Greece in different ways but failure was again persecuted them. "No word about returning to Armenia", said Samvel. the guys tried to get to Bulgaria. Without any difficulty they reached their destination. here they were planning to cross the border illegally. A taxi drove them to Sviligrad which is 15 kilometer's way from the border. The cold was getting terrible and penetrating. After a few adventures and spending a great number of money they came into agreement with one of the taxi drivers. He promised them to help to cross the borders without driving them to any residence. They had to walk 35 kilometers. The most difficult part was that they had to climb on a mountain in order to reach any residence. However, the unsuccessful attempts to cross the borders resulted in arrest by the frontier-guards. The guards said that it was not the first time they arrested Armenians in the attempts of crossing the border illegally. The heroes were condemned to three months' conventional imprisonment.

Unfortunately, a similar story can be told about thousands of Armenian emigrants.

It is also a painful fact that many of those who left do not want to return Armenia in the nearest future because they see their life here without any prospective. About migrants' intention to return it is enough to mention that practically all Armenians try to settle in the new places of living.

One such emigrant is Armen Simonian, 29. He has lived in Stockholm for four years and is currently seeking residency there. Armenia has graduated from Yerevan State University, the department of biochemistry. He could not find any relevant job in Armenia. He traveled to Sweden as a tourist, but decided to remain there illegally with relatives already there and currently works as a volunteer at a school. Armen speaks and writes Swedish. Armen believes any refusal of residency would be a tragedy for him. One thing is certain, he has no plans to return to Armenia. "I can be ordered out of the country at any moment. Then, probably, I will go to Norway or Belgium. I will not return to Armenia. I have nothing to do here", said Armen (Webpage: www.soros.org).

According to Gevorg Poghossian, approximately one fourth of all migrants have already completely settled there, even buy personal houses and apartments. In the new places of residence children of migrant Armenians are visiting schools, wives are working and acquiring home. Many of them even received citizenship, while others are waiting for receiving it.

Social attitude towards emigration as a phenomenon is unanimously negative, while the attitude towards emigrants varies. Some believe that it is the only sensible way of surviving and they themselves are about to leave the country. These people pursue the mentality that once you go you will gain.

There is also a group of people, who neither accuse the emigrants nor approve or encourage them. "The artificial barrier to forbid them going is unacceptable. Nor we have the right to call

them betrayers because it is disputable" (Azg 1999, 3). They consider that it is unreasonable to accuse emigrants because the country is in a terrible situation in almost every aspect of life. Life in Armenia is accompanied with nervousness, depression and disappointment. How dare accuse those emigrants who are not able to earn their living here and cannot satisfy their existence needs. Many leave because they are fed up with corruption, injustice, and lack of law and order in the Republic. During one of the TV programs devoted to emigration Armenian artists and writers were gathered. One of them stated: "I wonder if people when emigrating from Armenia feel any pain in their hearts?" Others answered that they surely feel but they leave because they are unable to stay. So, many do not accuse the emigrants rather those who cause emigration.

The third group of people believe that Armenia is our Motherland and it is nonsense to leave it in any case.

One of my friends who is American Armenian told me about her feelings when she came to Armenia for the first time. The most exciting thing was that she was thrilled by the fact that everyone is Armenian here, everyone is like her. So, there is one country in the whole world where everyone is like us, almost everyone is Armenian. I believe that this feeling causes the following: frequency of these migrants' personal and business visits to Armenia is very high. Many specialists, left for temporarily, even intentionally are working in such firms, which has close business contacts with partners in Armenia. "Their unwillingness to loss touch with homeland, family, relatives and friends is so high, that they are trying to find any chance to visit homeland."(Poghossian 2001) Huge accounts of telephone talks are paid monthly by Armenians here and abroad. This fact testify the frequency of contacts.

From the above-mentioned cases it becomes clear that nowadays the problem of emigration is of greater importance than it has ever been.

Chapter Two: The Volume of Emigration;

Characteristics of Emigrants

The volume of emigration: Today, there is not an accurate number concerning the volume of emigration. It is conditioned by some objective and subjective factors (such as the paralyzed situation and then the elimination of the operating obligatory registration system for the citizens of the former Soviet Union). However, in order to estimate the real size of the migratory flows, a series of surveys were carried out and indirect statistical methods were developed. By the initiative of statistical bodies of Republic of Armenia (RA) and by the help of the Ministry of Transport a survey was conducted on passengers at airports in order to calculate the volume of emigration¹. It was based on the monthly data about the quantity of arrived and departed people during the period of 1992-1999 (See Table 1).

The Table shows that the number of people leaving the Republic in 1992-1999 exceeded the number of arrivers by 622.000. However, that figure cannot be interpreted as the size of the loss of the population number, because it doesn't include years of 1988-1991 and the emigration which has taken place via other means. A certain number of migrants left by Yerevan-Tbillisi railway. It is also known that in 1992-1994 a large number of people left by cargo planes (without air-tickets). Besides, during the last years a huge number of people left Armenia by buses. According to Gageek Yeganyan (2000), we must add 150000-170000 people to the number of those who had emigrated by airplanes. Accordingly, we will get an appropriate assessment of the number of emigrants who left the country up to 2000. That is 800.000 people,

¹ In the situation of blockade aerial transportation was the only means of communication with the outside world, that is why the survey was done on passengers at airports.

or about 18.5 % of Armenia's population. From the year of 2000 we have the data of migration flows by all means of transportation (See Tables 2 and 3).

Currently an external migration survey is carried out by the Ministry of Statistics within the framework of TACIS program. It is conducted in all cross-boards of Armenia.

Summarizing all the official data it can be stated that Armenia has lost about 950.000 people or 25% of its population since late 80s up to now.

Some estimates are even more alarming. David Shahnazarian, head of the opposition 21st Century Party, claimed that some data suggest rates of emigration had escalated over the past two years and only 2 million people remained in Armenia by the summer of 1999.

V. Kholjabegyan, the director of Institute of Economy of the NAS of RA, had developed a method for calculating the size of absent population by the decline of births. He looked on the difference of natural increase from 1990 to 1994. He took into account the factor of socio-economic unfavorable situation on the decline of births. According to that method in 1995 the negative saldo of migratory processes in Armenia constituted 900-945.000 people.

The independent center of sociological researches "Sociometr" counted that recession of the population of Armenia in 1999 in percentage consists approximately 40% in comparison with 1995. The basis for such conclusion was the lowering consumption of bread in the Republic of Armenia by 40 % for the same period.

If look only on official data, still it is troublesome. Even in Nazy Germany, which lost the war in two fronts in 1939-1945 World War II, the total loss of the population amounted to about 12%.

We hope that that the census in Armenia that was carried out in the latest times will more or less clarify how many people remained in the Republic.

Characteristics of emigrants: While the volume of emigration is a disputable issue, characteristics of emigrants are certain. Since May 1998 until June 1999 an External Migration survey was conducted in the Republic of Armenia within the framework of TASIC Program *Migration Survey* project component, jointly implemented by the Ministry of Statistics, State Register and Analysis of RA and the European Community Statistical Office (Eurostat).² According to that survey emigration from urban areas is higher than from the rural areas (See Diagram 1).

The survey found out the emigration activity is different in different Marzes (See Table 4). Accordingly, there are three groups. First, Marzes, where the emigration activity of population is relatively lower are Ararat and Armavir marzes i.e. the marzes settled in the most favorable land of Ararat Plain, two marzes with mostly rural population.

The second group comprises marzes, which population emigration activity is slightly differs from the average Republican indicator.

The essential variety composition of this group is very interesting. Together with Siunik, Vayots Dzor and Tavoush boarding marzes not only the centrally located Aragatsotn marz, but also the capital of the Republic appear there. The factors that preconditioned the not high emigration level of population in given marzes are not the same. For Yerevan City such a factor was the relatively satisfactory social-economic situation, while for Aragatsotn marz - the fact that it is located in Ararat Plain and is close to Yerevan City - a consumption market for agricultural products. While the attachment to land of a great part of population on one side, and not-developed emigration traditions on the other side, were decisive factors for the first 3 marzes.

² The survey had the objective to clarify different aspects of emigration (such as characteristics of emigrants, the purposes of emigration, etc.) and was conducted by two stages. The first stage of the survey covers the cross-boards of the Republic, through which the main passengers transportation was implemented. The second stage covers 3.600 households of the Republic and had two questionnaires: Form #1 - Present Family Questionnaire (was completed by

Regarding the rest 4 marzes, it should be stated that the population emigration activity of these marzes essentially exceeds the average Republican level.

In Gegharkounik and Kotaik marzes it exceeds by 25% , in Shirak -over 15% and in Lori - about 7%. By the way, it should be noted that in Gegharkounik case this was preconditioned by not-favorable weather conditions for high efficient agricultural production development on one side, and by well-developed traditions of emigration activity of the population (mainly for seasonal works) on the other side. In Kotaik case, it was preconditioned by paralysis of industrial potential of medium-size industrial towns, while for Lori marz and especially for Shirak marz, the unfavorable social-economic conditions caused by consequences of disaster earthquake were undoubtedly the decisive factors.

It should be noted that the majority of migrants were men and about the age of 17-60 years old. It means that economically active and enterprising people used to live the country to seek job. Table 5 shows the ratio of sex-age composition of emigrants. The data presented in this table first of all testify that the level of emigration activity depends on age factor.

Thus, among up to 25-aged persons the emigration activity comprised 11-12% with slight fluctuations (which is essentially lower than the total average), afterwards it jumped to 20,1% among 30-34 age-group, and then slightly decreasing, it stabilized within 16-17% level for the next 3 age-groups, while beginning from 50-54 age-group it sharply decreased.

The next circumstance clearly presented by these data is the direct dependence of emigration activity upon sex factor. This is proved not only by the fact that the average indicator of men's emigration activity is higher by 45% than the relevant indicator for women, but also by the fact that in 12 age-group out of 15 groups, the emigration activity of women is more or less lower in

families which at least one person was present in the Republic) and Form 2: Absent family questionnaire (completed by the neighboring family of the observation units).

comparison with men, as well as by the fact that the middle-aged male population i.e. 25-40 years old men, have the highest emigration activity.

The migrants' level of education is enough high- about one third (30%) are people with higher and incomplete higher education. Also about 50% of migrants have secondary or secondary special education. Table 6 gives an idea about the educational level of emigrants. According to that data, the relatively higher educated level of emigrants, or which is the same, the relatively higher emigration activity of high-educated persons is the factor that preconditions this event.

It is worthy to mention the following data of the survey: out of 21 candidates of sciences covered by the inquiry, 1 was absent, also 1 out of 9 doctors of sciences or 12,5%, which exceeds the average level of emigration activity of the present family more than by 2,5 times.

The share of persons who have a specialty is higher among emigrants, in comparison with the presents (See Diagram 2).

45% of emigrants are families, and 55% are individual migrants who have the intention to find job and work abroad, but then return to home. However, many of them reside in foreign countries and soon call their family members.

About 75% of emigrants went to CIS countries, of which 80 % to Russia. It is conditioned by the ease of moving there, the relative ease in transferring funds, favorable conditions for entrepreneurship, the tradition of Armenian seasonal migration to Russian towns and villages from the Soviet periods, the small cultural distance knowledge of the Russian language, and cultural affinity and similar life experiences.

12,5 % of emigrants leave for Europe and the United States.

Phases and the Reasons of Emigration

Flows of emigration are accounted for by certain factors. The first flow of emigration is connected with natural disaster; catastrophic earthquake of Spitak. It caused death of 25000 people resided in the northern side of Armenia. Tens thousands houses and buildings were destroyed and many remained without shelter. An evacuation was organized from the disaster zone. A part of the population was settled in the rest houses within the republic, however about 200 000 people were evacuated from the disaster zone and left for various republics of the former USSR. Around 160 000 of these were transported in an organized manner, while the remaining 40 000 changed their residences simply by crossing borders. Of these 200 000 people, 150 000 later returned to Armenia. The remaining 50 000 chose to remain permanently wherever they had moved. These migrants are also called 'ecological' migrants.

The second reason for migration flow was the international war and conflict that touched the frontier states and the whole region. Approximately half a million Armenians had to leave their homes in Azerbaijan as a result of the Mountainous-Gharabagh (Artsakh) conflict. About 360 000 were forced to move to Armenia. Additionally, approximately 30 000 people came from Artsakh, another 18 000 from the Shahoomyan region of Azerbaijan (this region was populated by Armenians), and another 11 000 from various conflict regions of the former USSR (Armenian nationals from Chechnya, Abkhazia, and Northern Ossetia). It is also important to mention the movement of 160 000 Azeri Turks to Azerbaijan from Armenia. In addition to this, approximately 72 000 people who lived in the war zone were forced to move to safer areas of the country: the central region. Thus, in these years immigration in Armenia was higher than emigration. However, afterwards many refugees who came from Azerbaijan were not satisfied

with conditions in the weakened Armenia and they chose to move to Russia, West and other parts of the world where there are more or less better conditions for living. There is a data that one in three refugees chose to emigrate from Armenia. These people are called 'double-emigrants'.

In those years many young people emigrated from Armenia because of war situation. They were escaping from military service. Many of them emigrated with families.

There was another important migration flow in the period before 1992 that was determined by social and political factors. After the collapse of the USSR and the fall of the Iron Curtain, many people who had been dreaming about foreign countries for many years took the chance and moved out of Armenia -- mainly to find jobs, but also to be reunited with their families. Many representatives of the former communist party hierarchy and elite party appointees, who felt that they were in a socially uncomfortable position during the change-over, also emigrated from Armenia.

The other flow was caused by social and living conditions. It started in hard winter of 1990-1991. It was the time of hard energetic crisis, and people had electricity only 1-2 hours a day. It was the hardest time for Armenia. Armenia was in blockade. It had no gas, no central heating. No petrol, gas and fuel entered the Republic. Many people became unemployed in those years. So, thousands Armenians moved from the Republic. These massive emigration continued in the years of 1992-1995. The shocks of national economy, the sharp decrease in the living standards of people, the worsening of socio-economic conditions forced people to leave the country continuously.

According to Gageek Yeganyan (2000), emigration was in its highest level in 1992. In that year alone 200.000 Armenians left the Republic. According to Gevorg Pogosyan, the peak

of migration was in 1993, and 250.000 people emigrated in that year. On the whole, emigration was the highest during period of 1992 to 1995. It was almost 80 % of overall emigration during the last decade. According to Vladimir Khojabekyan (1999), about 1.000.000 Armenians emigrated during that period. He mentions that socio-economic unfavorable situation in Armenia was not only connected with the collapse of the USSR and transition period, but also with the malicious policy of HSSH and the governing elite.

From 1995 to present relatively stable migration began. Yeganyan stated that it decreased to 30000-40000 people annually. However, emigration from the Republic remains a painful issue, and many are still leaving the country. The number of tourist visa applications submitted by Armenian citizens climbed from 14,000 in 1998 to roughly 27,000 in 1999, according to statistics provided by US Consul in Armenia, Douglas Berry. About one-third of the approximately 13,500 Armenians who received tourist visas did not return to Armenia, Berry added.

The Consular Office of the German Embassy in Armenia has provided similar data, with the number of visa applicants rising 40 percent during a three-month period late in 1999. Unfortunately this flow does not cease.

Here I would like to mention some factors that did not cause a separate flow of emigration, however overall they were motivating factors to emigrate and were certain reasons of emigration for some people. They are lack of efficient democratic governance in the Republic and widespread corruption. Because of these people have distrust towards authorities, and do not believe in the future of Armenian state. They see their life without perspectives in Armenia, and prefer to settle in foreign countries.

I would like also to mention the group of emigrants, who left the country. They are several minorities. In recent years many Russians, Greeks and Ukrainians left the Republic.

Table 7 gives an interesting information concerning to the reasons of emigration. The data is based on the above-mentioned External Migration Survey and shows that the work, employment (lack of work places in general, and lack of work by specialty and impossibility to earn enough money to provide satisfactory living standards, in particular) are the main complex reasons for the population emigration of the Republic during the last years.

Table 8 includes an interesting information also. First of all, it allows to notice the essentially different proportions of presents and absents populations by economic status.

For the presents the main types of beneficial activity are the self-employment (12,1%) and work at the state sector (10,6%), while for the absents - these are, first, the hired work at the non-state sector - 11,9%, then self-employment – 10,2%. The work at the state sector is not an essential type of activity for absents (3,8%, which is by 2,8 times lower than the same indicator of presents). In the contrary, the hired work in non-state sector is not preferable for the presents (2,5% or only 21% of the same indicator of the absents).

The share of employers (1,1%) among absents is by 5 times higher than among the presents (0,2%). It can be explained as a fact that confirms the availability of two equally undesirable and full of perfect consequence phenomena:

The first one is - the unfavorable conditions in the Republic to deal with individual entrepreneurship.

The second is – the sequence of the first phenomenon, i.e., the individual entrepreneurs are squeezed out.

It should be noted, that the data presented in this table prove another assumption also, i.e. the level of employment of emigrants, in its entirety, is higher - 27% than the presents one - 25,4%. By the way, taking into account the event that, many persons among 15% of emigrants (the respondents have no information about their economic status), in all probability, have any beneficial work, it can be stated, that the discrepancy between these values is much more significant in fact.

The main purpose of individual emigration is to emigrate and find a job at less expenses, earning enough money to maintain the family members both inside and outside of the motherland, which preconditions also the low share of pensioners and beneficiaries, pupils and students, housekeepers, registered employees, and wards among the absents over the presents.

Summarizing the results of analysis of given table's data, it can be said that the individual emigration phenomenon is a "tool" to solve partly the problem of employment for present family members.

Effects of Emigration

Emigration in Armenia was accompanied with serious negative consequences and losses.

Demographic consequences: One of the most immediate consequences of emigration is that Armenia is losing its population. There is more Armenian population in the Russian Federation and the USA than in the Republic of Armenia.

The proportional division of the population has been distorted. The greater part of the population consists of children and the elderly. The number of active working and procreative population has been decreased. According to Gageek Yeganyan (2000), 69 % of emigrants are between 18-39 ages. Until late 80s, 13 % of the population was over sixty years old, while that figure stood at 20 % in 2000.

The usual gender ratio also has been distorted. According to 1989 census, 49% of Armenian population were males and 59 % were females. Among the emigrants of 1988-2001 males form about 65 %. Today there are more women in Armenia, than men. Accordingly, the number of marriages has been decreased by one third. According to Vladimir Khojabekyan (1999), in the "marriage market" the ratio between the demand and supply has been distorted. There are 700 males per 1000 females. The average age of marriage has been delayed. In 1995 the number of marriages per 1000 people was decreased, if compared to that of 1990. In 1990 the number of marriages was 28.200, while in 1997 it was 12.700.

The consequence is the fall of the normal and usual demographic development of the society. The level of births falls down (See Table 9).

After sixties the number of births in Armenia was on the highest level in 1986. 81.200 children were born in that year. Within the following four years a decrease in the level of births

was observed. According to Vladimir Khojabekyan (1999), it was natural because in that period those who marry were the generation of the middle of 60s: the number of births was not high in those years. Vladimir Khojabekyan counted that the number of births would be increased if Armenia did not face such terrible demographic changes.

After 1990 the number of births was halved. In 1990 nearly 79.800 children were born, while in 1998 nearly 39.000 children were born. Today every fourth child is born outside Armenia. According to Zori Balayan (1999), the distortion of normal productivity of population is not only dangerous itself, but can seriously endanger the security of Armenia and Karabakh.

Decrease in the number of births is not only connected with emigration. Many died during the earthquake of 1988. An interesting fact is that until 1993 there was no decrease in the number of births in the earthquake zone, while that was not true for the rest of the Republic. Besides, we should not forget the victims of Nagorno-Karabakh war. The greatest part of them were young and able to reproduce. Finally, socio-economic conditions of Armenia reduced the number of births because families are not eager to have many children.

Social consequences: Emigration has weakened the foundation of families. Many emigrate temporarily, during certain seasons of year, in order to work. Seasonal emigration was very common phenomenon in Armenia. Roots of it are in the Middle Ages. At the end of 19th century it was the basic form of satisfying financial needs of Armenian families. Many of seasonal emigrants did not return home and stayed in Russia and Transcaucasus. Even there are poems, called 'pandkhtutian erger, and stories about seasonal emigrants in Armenian literature. They express the psychological pain of emigrants' wives and their families who were eagerly waiting for their relatives. Unfortunately, today we are witnessing the same thing. Married couples and families are often forced to stay apart for a long period of time. The whole burden

of bearing falls on the mother. “The upbringing of children now follows a distorted pattern” (Gageek Yeganyan, 2000).

Besides, there are cases when Armenian males do not return to their families and form new ones. Consequently, an Armenian family ruins.

Economic consequences: There has been a certain outflow of financial and intellectual capital (which will be discussed later). The removal of the entrepreneurial capital and economically active, competitive, highly qualified labor power weakens the production potential of Armenia and is an impediment to economic stability and growth.

National Security: The emigration of the population is negative in a sense that the integral system of the state is breached. If human resources diminish, the army cannot be stable; the intellectual potential is also impossible. "As a result there can hardly be any accurate policy and stable economics, consequently generations and state and statehood" (Aravout, June 2000, 4). For a small country, like Armenia, the absence of even several thousands people can be threatening for the statehood and security of Armenia. Our enemies can use this as a weapon. "By doing this we pave a way for our 'polite' neighbors and we create favorable atmosphere for a bomb, which will influence slowly. By doing that we put our generations at stake. That's why today more than ever the emigration and the national security go together" (Aravout, June 2000, 4). According to Gageek Yeganyan (2000), further uncontrolled expansion of emigration can endanger the future of both the Armenian state and the safety of the population. Moreover it is threatening to turn Armenia into a chronically sick organism which cannot reproduced or protect itself. This can endanger the geopolitical stability that has been established in the region in general. "The safety of our country is under question. If in a couple of years a country has not

respective population, it will be doomed to destruction, to become the servant of a foreign nation" (Hayots Ashkharh, December 1999, 6).

Brain Drain: As Napoleon says, "The destruction of the army is a disaster. The destruction of an emperor is a double disaster, but the destruction of the intellectual is catastrophic for the state".

In all times when Armenia was in a fix our forefathers have resorted to the intellectual. Unfortunately, today the brain drain out of Armenia is in its peak. Armenia lost highly qualified scientists, engineers and other professionals, with profound experience, by emigration or "simple lack of productive employment opportunities." Being unable to find jobs in their country the specialists with higher and specialized secondary education are the first to leave Armenia. They either leave the country or seek employment to live from hand to mouth. Their present circumstances are very somber. Many scientists today lack basic needs they can afford carrying on research in their specialization. Their poor salaries are not paid for months. They do not have necessary laboratory facilities. These conditions forced them to leave the country.

One of the sources states the share of specialists with higher and secondary specialized education is 60% in migration flow. According to Mr. Khojabekyan (2000), in the number of those working in scientific aspect were 46 000 in 1990 and 17 000 in 1998. "Unfortunately the poor countries like Armenia train people for rich countries" (Azg, June 3, 2000). Our professionals put their efforts and knowledge in the development of foreign countries.

Here it is worth quoting the letter of a young man addressed to Zori Balayan. " Not long ago I was ranked as one of the young talented scientists. At the end of the eighties I did not doubt at all that the world will presently hear about me. My scientific works were published not only in Yerevan, Moscow and Novosibirsk, but also abroad. However I don't want to tell about my

personal destiny and how all my dreams were ruined along with the destruction of the former Soviet Union. I just want to tell that in 1990 I moved to Novosibirsk, more correctly to the Siberian department of the former Soviet Union Academy of Sciences so that not to miss my last chance." Then the author of the letter compares the Armenian and Russian outflow of scientific mind: "Today much is written about the destruction of science in Russian mass media. Without that it is impossible to imagine the future of the country. The same refers to Armenia...In the Nezavisimaya Gazeta it is spoken of the Russian dawn of Science, especially about the Siberian department of the Russian Academy. Similar things happen to the Armenian Science". Sadly to say that recently there were more than hundred scientific-research institutes, large scientific centers adjacent to the National Scientific Academy. Today the majority of it either was completely gone or is going to die. The author of the letter states that the Russian scientists working in foreign countries earn \$50-75.000 annually. Then he adds that the same can be referred to the Armenian scientists.

The worst is that the Armenian scientists and intellectuals often do not find their place in foreign countries and turn into another image. "Two years ago I met an Armenian candidate of sciences in our office. He knew several languages, but he and his family turned into Moscow bomzh", said the head of Russian migration department Evgeni Chernetsov.

As it is known Armenia formed 9 % of the total number of those scientists who worked and created in the aspect of major and applied sciences. This refers to the great potential. Even if today that number has decreased many times, and only we can speak of only one percent, our loses more correctly our gifts form 4 billion dollar, according to Z. Balayan.

"However, today we are still losing our scientists. A great number of scientists, especially young ones, are on the way of foreign coasts, whose names have not been announced yet. The tragic

part is that the major, perhaps the only treasure of Armenia was science or so called "the scientific mind". So, the outflow of the scientific mind will turn into the loss of strategic resources of 21st century, "if not the loss of the whole future" (Azg, 1999, 4, my emphasis).

Loss of national identity: One of the painful consequences of emigration is the loss of national characteristics of those who emigrate. Armenians leaving their country for another one, gradually assimilate to other cultures. They speak the language of the country where they become inhabited and follow the local traditions. Thus, in a course of time the national language and mentality are replaced with new ones.

Loss of Armenians' Reputation: One of the indirect effects of emigration is the loss of Armenians' reputation abroad. Unfortunately, many of emigrated Armenians are in prisons today in foreign countries. Some of them resort to criminal ways because of not finding appropriate jobs. Others make it as an easy way of earning. Today the majority of Armenians that are registered as Kurds, Ezides, Persians, Muslims and gays in the camps of Red Cross in Germany, Holland and Belgium are engaged in robbery. According to Zori Balayan, there are about 7000 Armenian prisoners only in Los-Angeles. He had a meeting with one of the most experienced lawyers of Armenian Diaspora Armand Arabyan, who posts high positions in the jurisdiction aspect of America for 25 years. During the meeting Arabyan breathed deeply and noted that about ten years ago only very few Armenians proved to be criminals. He said that in Los Angeles there are more than 40 courts. There are lists near the entrances of each court which contain necessary information about the time of the trials or to which prison the convicted will be send to. While watching you are terrified to find out that Armenian surnames follow each other in great numbers. Most frequently they are imprisoned prostitution and for theft. Armand Arabyan said that they are all worried about that phenomena. The real Diaspora, that is

those who are the third generation in the foreign land, those whose grandfathers were the victims of genocide feel hatred towards the newcomer Armenians.

One of such criminal Armenians had a meeting with Z. Balayan. He had graduated from Yerevan State University, the department of phi math. He left for America in 1991. His friend emigrated from Armenia was in USA and was a theft. His sister was a prostitute. The hero of the story was also imprisoned. He said that the real Diaspora hated them and consider the betrayers of the Motherland. This young man was very grateful to Armenian priest who influenced on him and kept away from the criminal life. According to that priest, Petros Hajyan, today there are 7000 Armenian prisoners in Los Angeles. Nearly 4000 of them are between 14 to 20 years old. Armenians are known as a criminal mass.

Positive effects: Alongside these negative consequences we must mention emigration has positive effects on relieving the stress in the labor market. Besides, the population obtained considerable material resources, in the form of remittances, that was sent by forced migrants from abroad to their families. Thus, in some sense emigration has become the source of material security for many families. “It is thanks to emigration that a great number of families have been able to survive during such a difficult period” (Ludmila Harutyunyan 2001, 62). According to Mihran Galstyan (1997), “The emigration of the population has become a source of income for some part of the Armenian population (20 %) and a very important condition of overcoming the poverty.” As a result of emigration considerable amount of money flows into Armenia. In its turn it influences greatly the stability of the national currency and the market. It also contributed to the development of the rural communities. For instance, the emigrants of Lernavan village (Vanadzor) have invested approximately sixty million rubles in rebuilding a Church. And the

emigrants of Azatan village (Shirak region) have donated about 36 million rubles for the development of the village.

Alongside social and economic positive impacts Ludmila Harutyunyan also mentions a political positive effect. The greatest part of the old elite left Armenia. That created opportunities to change the elite generation peacefully. A possible civil war was avoided. “Thus the migration processes from Armenia prevented potential rivalry and conflict between the new and old elite” (Ludmila Harutyunyan 2001, 62).

Thus, emigration was disastrous for Armenia. It had a negative impact on demographic, social and economic spheres of the Republic. It is also a threat to national security. Emigration of educated and skilled people, defined as brain drain, affects almost every aspect of the country. The loss of the intellectual is the loss of future. After a couple of years many Armenians assimilate to others. Finally, the national reputation has fallen because of many newly emigrated Armenians. The several positive effects do not soften the situation.

What Should be Done?

Organization of Overseas Employment: Armenia has always been known for its highly qualified human resources in the areas of machinery engineering, electronics, stone-processing, light industry, architecture, construction, agriculture, etc. Many of these professionals have found and continue to seek jobs abroad evading governmental structures using illegal ways. The issue of illegal migration creates difficulties for both the migrant and the entry country. In order to prevent such situations and promote and protect a fundamental human right –the right to labor– the organization of labor migration is important. It will be means of struggle against illegal emigration and will supporting re-emigration to Armenia. As emigration flows from the Republic of Armenia are mainly of economic character and are caused by inadequate living conditions, low incomes of population and high unemployment rates, currently, organization of overseas employment is a tool to solve some part of the problem. It will be profitable for Armenia as far as it will

- reduce the rate of unemployment in the Republic;
- ensure inflow of capital by transfers;
- create specialists according to international standards (working abroad our specialist will obtain the experience of other countries and afterwards use it for the further development of Armenia).

To organize export of labor force the government should sign agreements with relevant government agencies of the interested countries. Currently, DMR is working on the draft law of “Overseas Employment.” It corresponds the accepted standards of international practice, determines basic conceptual principals of the state policy in this area and ensures that they are

met, regulates relationships between subjects involved in this field, as well as sets forth provisions protecting the rights and legal interests of Armenian nationals working abroad.

Organization of overseas employment will be also beneficial in the sense of intergovernmental relations and cooperation.

Another alternative is *assisting Armenian Intellectuals*: Armenia faced brain drain by emigration. The similar situation was in England and Europe in the aftermath of World War II. In post-war Europe the Marshal Plan relieved budgetary restrictions and provided work for scientists. We need to do the same thing. It is essential that Armenia make effective use of its highly trained professional scientists and engineers. There should be financial support to allow them to work.

ANSEF (Armenian National and Educational Fund) was organized to provide assistance to the Armenian scientific community. FAR (Fund for Armenian Relief) is financial supporter of UNSEF. ANSEF aims is to help in securing funding for scientific researches in Armenia, which will allow Armenian scientists to work productively. For the long term ANSEF plan is to provide steady support for sciences and the humanities in Armenia.

Improving the entrepreneurial climate will ensure an acceleration in economic growth and create new working places.

Improving democratic governance through increasing transparency and accountability and reducing corruption will make possible to gain respect and trust of the population towards the authorities. Thus, people will believe in the future of Armenia and will not have the desire to leave the country.

Conclusion

Indeed, the problem of emigration is of greater importance today than it has ever been. Armenia lost a great part of its population. The troublesome fact is that the flows of emigration do not cease today. Emigration from the Republic of Armenia had negative effects on political, economic and social life of the Republic. If it continues in the same manner, it will cause further negative consequences. However, the pain of emigration is curable. Currently, strategies for preventing it has been set up. We need to mobilize all our efforts for curing the pain of emigration as soon as possible, so that never to doubt as Eghishe Charents says, "Maybe it is true that Yerkir Nairi, that is Armenia, is a mirage, a fiction, a myth, maybe it doesn't exist," but always be convinced that

Our planet is a huge merry-go-round and all of us being nations and states have our chairs and sacks on that huge merry-go-round. The problem is that we should firmly stay on our sacks, we should not allow to have giddiness and fall down. During the fast circles of planet many nations have lost their heads, their orientation, fallen down and were lost in the history... How sad our reality is, however there is some sweet, very sweet thing in our stony Armenia. It is itself Armenia " (Hayastan, 1991, April 16, 4).

**Table 1: Volume of Air-passenger-transportation of RA
during 1992-1999 (thousand people)**

Years	Departures	Arrivals	Balance(+,-)
1992	866	637	-229
1993	831	690	-141
1994	598	470	-128
1995	507	470	-37
1996	517	497	-20
1997	505	474	-31
1998	440	415	-25
1999	322	311	-11
1992-1999	4586	3964	622

Source: Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia

Table 2: Volume of Passenger Transportation of RA during 2000

Months	Airplanes			Railroads			Auto-transport.			Total		
	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo
January	15500	21400	-5900	462	1088	-626	3556	3966	-410	19518	26454	-6936
February	15800	19300	-3500	372	1143	-771	4246	5400	-1154	20418	25843	-5425
March	16700	18000	-1300	297	1230	-933	5541	7766	-2225	22538	26996	-4458
April	19100	21200	-2100	332	1623	-1291	5967	8245	-2278	25399	31068	-5669
May	19400	22900	-3500	366	1196	-830	8153	12547	-4394	27919	36643	-8724
June	28300	27200	1100	346	1234	-888	11251	11046	205	39897	39480	417
July	30400	32200	-1800	523	1792	-1269	9994	12388	-2394	40917	46380	-5463
August	32300	43500	-11200	782	2163	-1381	9748	11651	-1903	42830	57314	-14484
September	27000	31700	-4700	467	1665	-1198	10827	12518	-1691	38294	45883	-7589
October	25100	27800	-2700	408	1764	-1356	10464	11215	-751	35972	40779	-4807
November	24900	24100	800	489	1903	-1414	10619	11719	-1100	36008	37722	-1714
December	38300	29100	9200	1214	2630	-1416	10439	10870	-431	50150	42597	7553
Total	292800	318400	-25600	6058	19431	-13373	100805	119331	-18526	399663	457162	-57499

Source: Department for Migration and Refugees, Government of Armenia

Table 3: Volume of Passenger Transportation of RA during 2001

Months	Aviation			Railroads			Auto transportation			Total		
	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo	Arrivals	Departures	Saldo
January	17200	25000	-7800	600	1600	-1000	6584	7728	-1144	24384	34328	-9944
February	18800	21600	-2800	400	1600	-1200	5803	6587	-784	25003	29787	-4784
March	20800	25700	-4900	500	1500	-1000	7100	9932	-2832	28400	37132	-8732
April	22200	27900	-5700	1025	2799	-1774	7718	11343	-3625	30943	42042	-11099
May	23400	35500	-12100	939	2395	-1456	8865	11343	-2478	33204	49238	-16034
June	37300	34400	2900	865	2555	-1690	9997	12171	-2174	48162	49126	-964
July	39200	41800	-2600	1256	3266	-2010	10185	12139	-1954	50641	57205	-6564
August	43500	57500	-14000	800	2500	-1700	11683	12715	-1032	55983	72715	-16732
September	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
October	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
November	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
December	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	222400	269400	-47000	6385	18215	-11830	67935	83958	-16023	296720	371573	-74853

Source: Department for Migration and Refugees, Government of Armenia

Table 4: Regional Differences of Population Emigration Activity

Marzes	Total number of persons covered by the survey		Total absents		Emigration activity rate (in % , 3:1)	Total presents		Structural changes (percent point 7-2)
	person	%	person	%		person	%	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Yerevan	4601	33,3	590	34,3	12,8	4011	33,2	-0,1
Aragatsotn marz	601	4,4	73	4,3	12,1	528	4,4	0
Ararat marz	1123	8,1	100	5,8	8,9	1023	8,5	+0,4
Armavir marz	1154	8,4	79	4,6	6,8	1075	8,9	+0,5
Gegharkounik marz	997	7,2	157	9,1	15,7	840	6,9	-0,3
Lori marz	1431	10,4	190	11,1	13,3	1241	10,3	-0,1
Kotaik marz	1196	8,7	186	10,8	15,6	1010	8,4	-0,3
Shirak marz	1302	9,4	187	10,9	14,4	1115	9,2	-0,2
Siunik marz	587	4,2	64	3,7	10,9	523	4,3	+0,1
Vajots Dzor marz	245	1,8	29	1,7	11,8	216	1,8	0
Tavoush marz	560	4,1	64	3,7	11,4	496	4,1	0
Republic of Armenia	13797	100	1719	100	12,5	12078	100	

Source: *External Migration Survey*, Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia, 1998-1999

**Table 5: Emigration Activity of Population and Distribution of Emigrants
by Sex and Age and Character of Emigration (%)**

Age groups	Share of emigrants among the persons covered by the survey			Distribution of emigrants by sex and character of emigration (total number of emigrants)					
				male			female		
	total	male	female	total	of which		total	of which	
					individual departures	departures with the whole family		individual departures	departures with the whole family
0-4	11,6	11,8	11,4	51,1	13,3	37,8	48,9	14,5	34,4
5-9	12,0	13,6	10,2	60,0	22,1	37,9	40,0	18,6	21,4
10-14	11,3	10,4	12,2	45,9	15,1	30,8	54,1	12,3	41,8
15-19	10,9	12,6	9,3	56,2	11,7	44,5	43,8	8,0	35,8
20-24	11,7	15,2	8,4	62,7	23,8	38,9	37,3	15,9	21,4
25-29	17,7	21,8	13,5	62,6	40,1	22,5	37,4	16,0	21,4
30-34	20,1	23,7	16,7	57,4	34,0	23,4	42,6	15,7	26,9
35-39	16,6	19,2	14,0	58,6	27,2	31,4	41,4	13,1	28,3
40-44	15,8	19,8	12,1	60,2	34,2	26,0	39,8	9,9	29,9
45-49	16,9	23,0	11,0	66,7	25,2	41,5	33,3	8,1	25,2
50-54	11,2	14,3	8,4	60,9	24,6	36,3	39,1	2,9	36,2
55-59	6,7	7,6	8,1	48,3	20,7	27,6	51,7	6,9	44,8
60-64	6,3	6,9	5,9	48,9	14,9	34,0	51,1	4,3	46,8
65-69	5,1	6,8	3,8	62,1	10,4	51,7	37,9	-	37,9
70+	2,7	2,7	2,7	42,9	9,5	33,4	57,1	19,0	38,1
Total	12,5	14,8	10,2	58,0	25,2	32,8	42,0	12,3	29,7

Source: *External Migration Survey*, Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia, 1998-1999

Table 6: Educational Structure of 10 and More Years Old Members of Families

Education groups	Total	of which.		Structural changes (percent points)
		absents	presents	
	1	2	3	3-1
Not full secondary	30,0	14,4	30,9	+0,9
Secondary	35,9	43,8	35,5	-0,4
Upper-secondary	14,4	16,9	14,3	-0,1
Not full tertiary	3,0	2,3	3,0	0
Tertiary	16,4	22,2	16,0	-0,4
Candidate of sciences	0,2	0,2	0,2	0
Doctor of sciences	0,1	0,2	0,1	0
Total	100	100	100	0

Source: *External Migration Survey*, Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia, 1998-1999

Table 7: Distribution of Absents and Potential Emigrants by Reasons of Departure (%)

Reasons for departure	Potential emigrants	Absents	Structural differences (percent point)
Lack of working places	26,1	33,8	-7,7
Lack of work by specialty	6,3	6,3	0
Impossibility to earn enough money to provide satisfactory living standards	25,9	18,7	+7,2
Social, moral and psychological unstable atmosphere	9,6	4,9	+4,7
Geographical and political unstable state	2,2	2,1	+0,1
Lack of perspectives for development in Armenia	11,8	6,0	+5,8
Difficulties to deal with entrepreneurship	2,6	3,4	-0,8
Move (reunion) of family	13,2	12,2	+1,0
Other	2,3	5,4	-3,1
Don't know	-	7,2	-7,2
Total	100	100	0

Source: *External Migration Survey*, Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia, 1998-1999

Table 8: The economic status of present and absent family members

Social and economic groups	Total	of which	
		absents	presents
	1	2	3
Work at the state sector	10,3	3,8	10,6
Hired work at the non-state sector	3,0	11,9	2,5
Self-employee	12,0	10,2	12,1
Employer	0,3	1,1	0,2
Pensioner-beneficiary	15,1	2,3	15,8
Pupil-student	18,2	12,2	18,5
Housekeeper	8,6	7,4	8,7
Registered unemployed	2,9	2,1	3,0
Not-registered unemployed	14,7	18,2	14,5
Ward	12,3	11,7	12,3
Other (don't know)	2,6	19,1	1,8

Source: *External Migration Survey*, Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia, 1998-1999

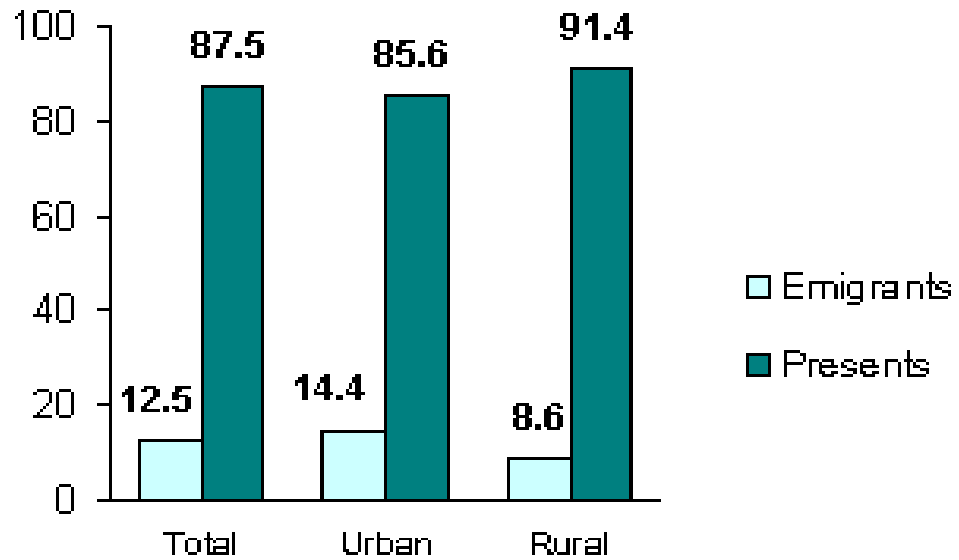
Table 9: Natural Increase of Population in RA

(people)

Years	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase
1991	77825	23425	54400
1992	70581	25824	44757
1993	59041	27500	31541
1994	51143	24652	26491
1995	48960	24842	24118
1996	48134	24936	23198
1997	43929	23985	19944
1998	39366	23210	16156
1999	36502	24087	12415
2000	34276	24025	10251
2001 January-September	23676	17800	5876
1991-2000	509757	246486	263271
1991-2001 January-September	533433	264286	269147

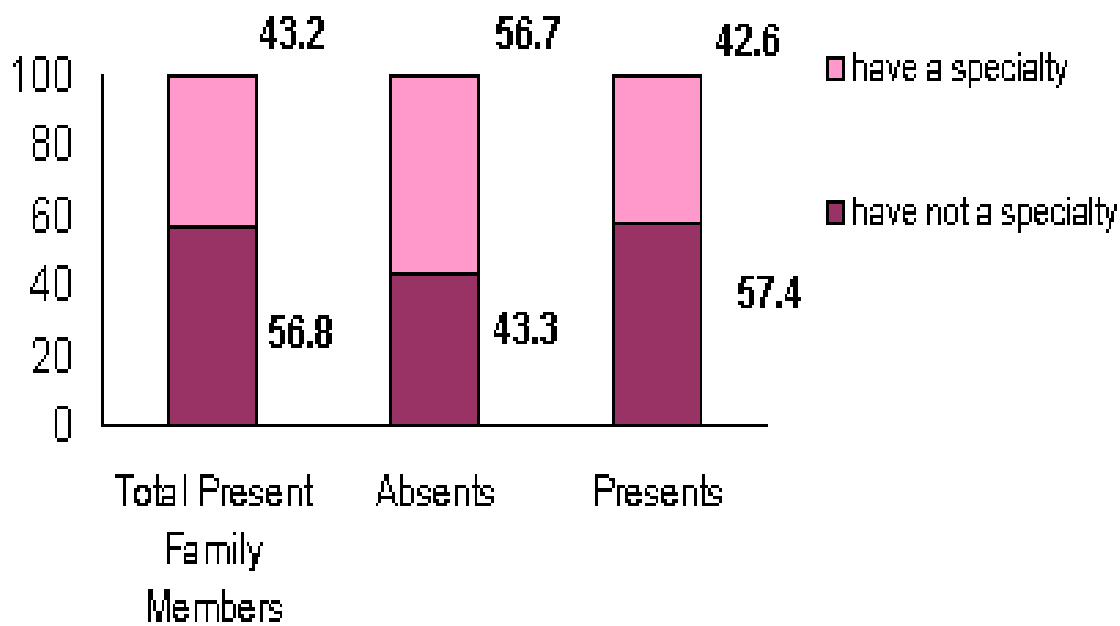
Source: Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia

**Diagram 1: Share of Emigrants in the Total Number of
Population**



Source: *External Migration Survey*, Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia, 1998-1999

Diagram 2: Distribution of Present Family Members by "Have a Specialty" and "Have not a Specialty"



Source: *External Migration Survey*, Ministry of Statistics, Government of Armenia, 1998-1999

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