

LABOR MIGRATION  
FROM ARMENIA  
IN 2005-2007

A SURVEY



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## PREFACE

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As globalization creates more opportunities for labor migrants, migration for employment is likely to dominate international migration flows for years to come. Given the sheer scale of these movements, it is of importance to national governments that these processes occur in a regulated and transparent way.

In the case of Armenia, given its population's traditional emigration practices, regulated labor migration can be a vent for potential economic migrants who otherwise may end up emigrating for good in search of better job opportunities. In recent years, migration from Armenia have transformed into mainly labor migration. Despite economic growth in Armenia, the service sector and industry have not yet recovered enough to absorb the thousands of unemployed and underemployed in the country. Rural areas are particularly affected by the collapse of the old infrastructure and traditional economic ties.

Two years ago, in 2005, the OSCE Office in Yerevan initiated a labor migration project, within which an Armenian NGO, Advanced Social Technologies (AST), conducted a survey and a Study on Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005, focusing on issues like unemployment, household income, trends of labor migration in recent years, causes and consequences of labor migration from Armenia, etc.

Given the interest of various stakeholders in up-to-date statistics and analysis of labor migration, the OSCE Office in Yerevan continued the project in 2007, contracting AST for conducting a similar study for 2005-2007 and comparing the findings of the two surveys. Already having a solid baseline, this comparative research is more specific as it gives a picture of the dynamics of labor migration and hence provides valuable information to policy-makers and the public at large.

The aim of the research is to assist the Government of Armenia to obtain reliable data and perspectives on the labor migration processes and trends in order to assist in the development of a national concept and policy on migration. Together with a thorough migration and labor migration legislative review, published by the OSCE Office in Yerevan in 2007 and presented to interested agencies, we hope that this study will be useful for policy makers, academicians, international organizations, NGOs and potential migrants, to accurately assess the realities and find possible solutions to the relevant problems.

The AST team would like to thank Davit Hakobyan, an anti-trafficking expert contracted by the OSCE Office in Yerevan, for his valuable support at the final stages in the preparation of this report.

Anna Minasyan, President,  
Advanced Social Technologies  
*Yerevan, October, 2007*

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## INTRODUCTION

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### BACKGROUND AND SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

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In 2005, the OSCE Office in Yerevan initiated a nationwide survey on Labor Migration from Armenia (2002-2005), which was carried out by the Advanced Social Technologies NGO (AST) in February – March 2005. The findings of this first comprehensive research on labor migration from Armenia were published, presented and discussed with various state and non-state stakeholders in the beginning of 2006.

The survey primarily focused on gathering reliable quantitative information on the rates, destinations and organization of labor migration and the socio-demographic profile of the labor migrants. The results of the survey have been compared with official statistical information and with available research on external migration processes, yet the comparative analysis had certain limitations. First, the data was compared with information from other surveys, which were conducted with the employment of different methods of sampling and data collection. Second, it appeared that several surveys covered the same periods of time, while data on certain years was completely missing, thus limiting the possibilities for longitudinal analysis.

Taking into account the interest of various stakeholders in up-to-date statistical and motivational analysis of labor migration, the OSCE Office in Yerevan decided to continue the research in 2007.

The second survey was implemented by AST during February-May 2007. It included both quantitative and qualitative components – a nationwide household survey and in-depth interviews with some of the labor migrants. The research added a qualitative component that allowed exploring the opinions and attitudes of the labor migrants in relation to various aspects of the migration process, revealing their concerns and any problems faced while working abroad.

### METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLING

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#### Household survey

**Sampling:** In order to ensure that the findings of the survey are consistent and comparable with those of 2005, the sampling methodology remained intact. The survey was conducted in two phases: a main survey with a nationwide representative sample of 1500 households and a drop-out survey with 233 additional families involved in labor migration during the period of 2005-2007 to cover a total of 450 migrants. The drop-out survey was implemented with the same random choice methodology as the main survey, except that the interviewers were required to skip those households, which did not satisfy the criterion of having labor migrants. The primary sampling units of both phases of the survey were the same as in 2005.

Sampling methodology of the main survey: geographically stratified random sampling of households; all proportions based on population figures of 2001 census

Sample size: 1500 households

Universal set: total number of households in Armenia; 778667 as per 2001 census

Margin of error: 2.6% at confidence level of 95%

**Survey instrument:** An improved version of 2005 survey questionnaire was used to conduct structured face-to-face interviews with the head of the family or his/her closest relative. Whenever possible, questions related to labor migration were administered directly with the migrant.

The 2005 questionnaire underwent some revision based on a) the outputs of the first survey, i.e. questions that were not used in the analysis were cut out; some questions were reformulated to meet better the survey objectives; some attitudinal questions were removed since it was assumed that public opinion regarding these questions would not have changed in two years; and b) a view toward the future, i.e. areas of potential interest were identified, more questions regarding certain aspects of labor migration process were included.

**Notes on data analysis:** As in 2005, all quantitative estimates regarding migration rates, socio-demographic profile of the households and the migrants, as well as projections of migration rates for 2007 were based on the main representative sample of 1500 households. These are covered in Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 6 of the report. The remaining part of the analysis that describes the trips of the migrants is based on the total sample of 450 households involved in labor migration. Since the sample of the drop-out survey was initially designed to cover areas with high migration rates, it was not distributed among the target settlements with probability proportional to size. We therefore used official statistics on the urban and rural population of each region to weight the data so that it reflects the real proportions.

### **In-depth interviews with labor migrants**

In May 2007, we conducted in-depth interviews with 100 labor migrants, who have temporarily worked abroad in the period of 2002-2006. Some of the respondents were identified during the fieldwork of the quantitative survey. The rest were located by the interviewers at the survey sites, since many of those who agreed to give interviews had already left Armenia by the time.

The frame of questions for the in-depth interviews was developed based on discussions with representatives of interested international organizations and state agencies. The interviews helped explore the perceptions, feelings and experiences of the migrants and generated rich material for qualitative analysis.

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## CHAPTER 1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF HOUSEHOLDS

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### NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

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The main sample of the survey included 1500 households consisting of 6927 members. Table 1-1 presents the breakdown of households by number of members, and the comparison of results with data from the 2005 survey and 2001 census.

**Table 1-1 Number of household members**

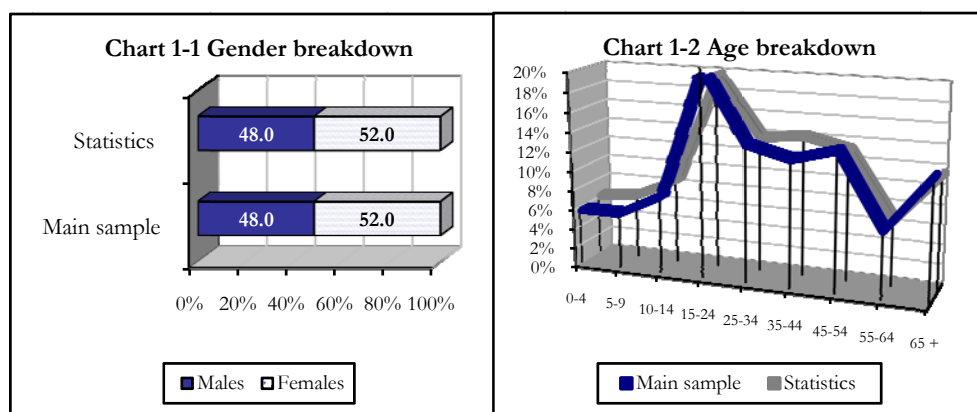
Members	2007 survey (%)	2005 survey (%)	2001 census (%)
1	4.7	5.7	11.0
2	10.5	11.0	12.8
3-4	32.7	32.6	35.2
5-6	38.3	36.6	30.5
7 and more	13.8	14.1	10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Mean</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>4.1</b>

As shown, the 2007 breakdown is almost identical to that of 2005. The 0.5 difference in means between our samples and the official statistics may have several possible reasons, the most likely of which is that the families consisting of only one member are underrepresented in the sample, due to the fact that there were fewer chances to reach the respondent at home.

### GENDER AND AGE BREAKDOWN

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Similar to 2005, the gender and age structure of the surveyed households reflects the results of the 2001 census (see Charts 1-1 and 1-2).





Distribution of the members of surveyed households by gender and age is presented in Table 1-2.

**Table 1-2 Gender-age cross-tabulation**

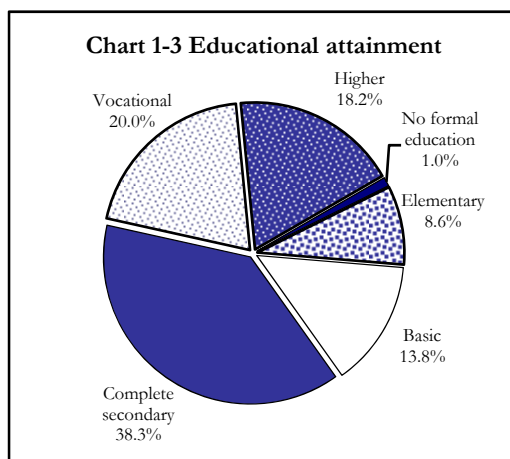
Age interval	Total (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
0-10	13.0	6.9	6.1
11-20	19.6	9.6	10.0
21-30	17.2	8.8	8.4
31-40	11.8	5.4	6.4
41-50	15.3	7.3	8.0
51-60	9.4	4.3	5.1
61-70	6.7	2.9	3.8
71 and above	6.9	2.8	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>48.0</b>	<b>52.0</b>

## EDUCATION

The majority of surveyed household members (aged 11 and above) have secondary (38.3%) or secondary professional (vocational) education (20.0%). 18.2 % have higher education, of which 1.9% have a Bachelor's degree, 16.2% have a Master's degree and 0.2% have a postgraduate degree. About one quarter of family members had not (did not yet) completed secondary school (see Chart 1-3).

According to the newly acquired data on current involvement of population in formal education process, 27.7% of 16-20 year olds are now attending a higher education institution, and another 5.8% are involved in vocational education. About 98% of 7-16 year-old children are studying at secondary schools. However, the kindergarten enrolment rates remain low: They are attended only by about 12% of 2-6 year-old kids.

The educational attainment of male and female members of the sampled households reflects the general proportions of the country data and repeats the findings of the 2005 survey: vocational education had been completed by 19.0% of males and 20.9% of females; almost equal percentages of males and females have



completed secondary schools (38.1% and 38.4% respectively) and acquired higher education (18.4% and 18.1%).

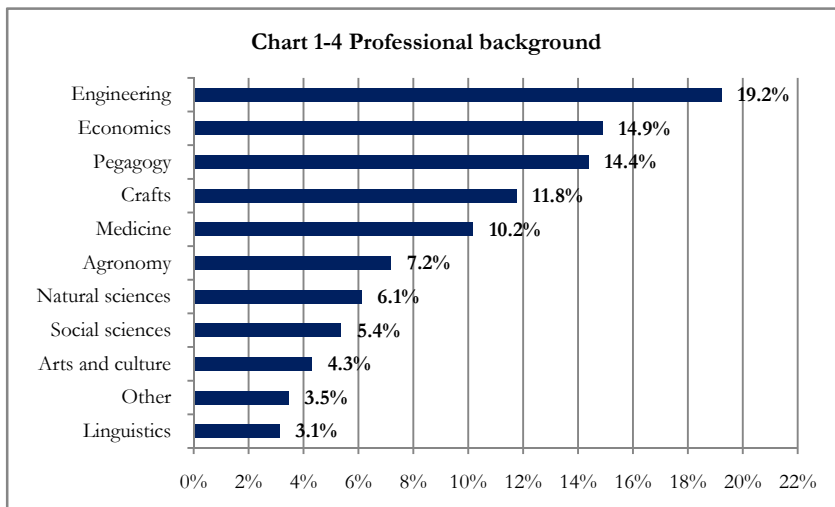
At the same time, the results of the survey showed that the difference in terms of level of education between the population of Yerevan and the rest of the country, particularly the rural population, became even more significant as compared to 2005.

**Table 1-3 Educational attainment by place of residence**

Highest education level attained	Yerevan (%)	Other urban settlements (%)	Rural settlements (%)
No formal education	0.4	0.7	1.5
Elementary (3 years)	7.3	7.4	10.0
Basic (8 years)	6.7	11.1	18.6
Complete secondary (10 years)	29.9	35.9	43.2
Vocational	14.2	26.3	17.8
Higher	41.5	18.7	8.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

The breakdown of the members of surveyed households by profession is presented in Chart 1-4 below (the percentages are based on the total number of people who have completed vocational schools or universities).



Quite reasonably, the professional background of those who attained secondary professional or higher education in Post-Soviet times differs from that of the older generation. Hence, in the age group of 20-35, the biggest shares belong to economists

of various profiles (19.4%) and doctors (13.8%), while engineers and pedagogues rate third (13.1% each). At the same time, almost every fourth specialist older than 35 is an engineer (22.7%) and 15.1% are pedagogues. Various crafts had been studied by 8.2% of the younger age group and 13.8% of the older age group.

## SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STATUS

### Economic activity and employment

The current survey allowed estimating total labor resources (workforce) of Armenia as 63.0-65.4% of the country's de jure population (or 2,024,000-2,101,000 people), which may speak for a slight increase since 2005 (the 2005 survey estimated the labor resources as 61.1-63.5% of the de jure population).

And although the proportion of the economically active population somewhat declined, the employment rate has significantly improved: the survey reported employment of 75.2% of the economically active population against 66.7% in 2005 (see Table 1-4).

*LABOR RESOURCES are defined as able-bodied population at working age, working pensioners and working teenagers. WORKING AGE POPULATION includes 16-62 year old males, and 16-58 year old females. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION includes the employed and unemployed population, while the ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE POPULATION includes all able-bodied people that do not work and are not looking for a job. UNEMPLOYED are able-bodied citizens at working age who, not having a job (profitable activity), are actively seeking for one and are ready to begin working immediately.*

**Table 1-4 Economic activity**

Economic activity	2007 (AST)	2005 (AST)	2003 (NSS) <sup>1</sup>
<b>Labor resources (LR)</b>	<b>64.2</b>	<b>62.3</b>	<b>62.5</b>
<b>Economically active (EA) population (% of LR)</b>	<b>61.6</b>	<b>65.0</b>	<b>61.4</b>
Employed (% of EA)	75.2	66.7	89.9
Unemployed (% of EA)	24.8	33.3	10.1
registered unemployed (% of EA)	2.7	5.0	10.1
not registered unemployed (% of EA)	22.1	28.3	-
<b>Economically inactive population (% of LR)</b>	<b>39.3</b>	<b>35.0</b>	<b>38.6</b>

<sup>1</sup> Statistical Yearbook of Armenia – 2004, National Statistical Service of Armenia

Examining the group of employed persons we have found that since 2005 the number of self-employed has significantly decreased (from 40.7% to 32.8%) and the proportion of wage earners among the employed members of households has reached 65.7% from 57.0% in 2005. At that, the percentage of people employed in the private sector has increased from 20.0 to 25.7. However, women still show less activity in the private sector and are mostly employed in state institutions (see Table 1-5 on the next page).

**Table 1-5 Socio-economic status**

Economic activity	All employed members (%)	Employed males (%)	Employed females (%)
Employer	1.5	2.0	0.7
State sector employee	39.4	35.5	46.4
Private sector employee	25.7	29.6	18.6
Public sector employee	0.6	0.6	0.5
Self-employed (agriculture)	25.8	23.6	29.7
Self-employed (other)	7.0	8.7	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Most people are employed in agriculture (25.8%), construction (12.0%) and education (11.2%). One out of ten employed Armenians work in companies providing public utilities (energy and water supply, etc.) and about 8.6% are engaged in trade.

### Determinants of economic activity

Although the period between the two surveys was quite short – two years, certain changes have been recorded in the economic activity of different groups of the population. This concerns the increased participation of women in the labor market. The share of women in the economically active population increased from 36% to 38% and their unemployment rate dropped from 40.9% to 31.6% (for men, the unemployment rate dropped by 7.7 percentage points).

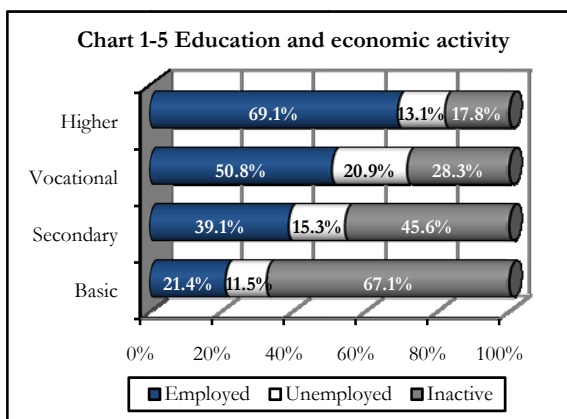
**Table 1-6 Gender, age and economic activity (working age population only)**

Age	All members (%)		Males (%)		Females (%)	
	Active	Employed	Active	Employed	Active	Employed
16-20	25.4	64.0	37.8	74.8	13.5	35.2
21-25	54.5	66.5	69.7	69.6	38.2	60.3
26-30	64.4	72.1	84.8	77.9	44.4	61.2
31-35	64.3	74.1	87.8	75.8	43.7	71.3

Age	All members (%)		Males (%)		Females (%)	
	Active	Employed	Active	Employed	Active	Employed
36-40	71.3	77.6	89.4	79.4	56.8	75.4
41-45	76.5	77.2	96.0	80.7	59.8	72.3
46-50	76.7	79.7	92.0	83.8	62.1	74.0
51-55	78.0	80.7	92.0	83.9	65.8	76.9
56-60	69.8	74.7	82.9	79.4	52.2	64.6
61-65	75.0	66.7	75.0	66.7	0.0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>60.9</b>	<b>74.4</b>	<b>77.1</b>	<b>78.1</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>68.4</b>

As shown, the lowest rates of economic activity and employment are recorded for the age group 16-25. To a certain extent this is due to the fact that roughly one third of secondary school graduates get enrolled in universities or vocational schools, and is hence considered as economically inactive. On the other hand, the high unemployment rate of those young people, who choose to work instead of continuing their education (and equally of young graduates) is most of all determined by the high competition in the labor market: with more applicants than jobs, employers prefer filling the job vacancies with candidates who have more work experience.

We have still recorded a positive correlation between education level and economic activity. Moreover, the ratio of unemployed among the economically active population with higher education has dropped from 26.7% in 2005 to 15.9% in 2007. Yet, about 30% of those with secondary or vocational education fail to find jobs. In total, they comprise 75% of the unemployed population.



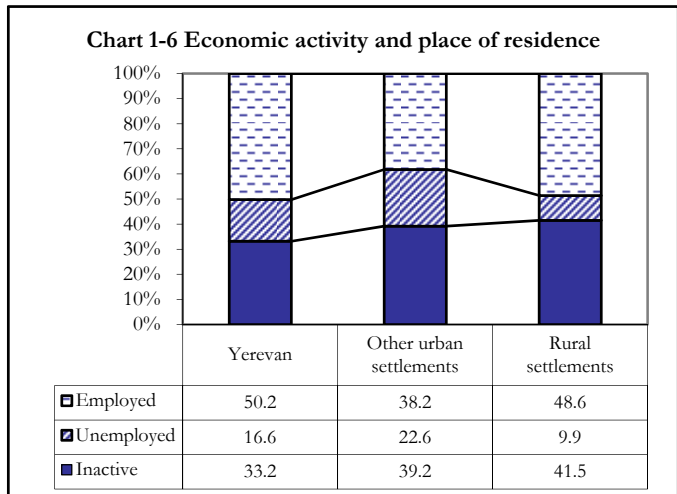
Comparing the economic activity of people with different professional backgrounds we found that craftsmen and engineers show the highest economic activity, which is quite logical considering that almost ¾ of them are older than 35. Nevertheless, every third economically active craftsman and every fifth engineer is facing unemployment problems.

Finding jobs seems to be most difficult for people with graduate degrees in arts and culture: the unemployment rate of these specialists is as high as 35%.

**Table 1-7 Professional background and economic activity**

Professional background	Active (%)	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)
Crafts	77.4	70.3	29.7
Engineering	73.5	79.2	20.8
Natural sciences	67.9	77.5	22.5
Pedagogy	65.9	87.2	12.8
Social sciences	65.2	88.0	12.0
Arts and culture	65.2	65.0	35.0
Agronomy	63.0	74.2	25.8
Linguistics	62.7	90.5	9.5
Economics	60.2	70.3	29.7
Medicine	54.1	73.7	26.3

The general proportions of employed, unemployed and economically inactive segments in urban and rural areas are similar to the results for 2005: the economic activity remains higher in urban settlements while the employment rate stays higher in rural settlements. At the same time, in the context of the countrywide increase of employment, the unemployment rate in Yerevan has dropped from 30.3% to 24.9% and in rural areas from 27.7% to 16.9%. It appeared though that the general positive development in terms of employment had almost no effect on urban settlements other than Yerevan where more than 37% of the economically active population still were lacking jobs.



Compared to the nationwide average of 60.9% for economic activity, high rates of economic activity (65-73%) were recorded in Shirak, Armavir, Yerevan, Lori and Tavush, average rates (59-62%) in Vayots Dzor, Aragatsotn and Ararat, and low rates (42-57%) in Syunik, Kotayk and Gegharkunik.

At the same time, Ararat, Kotayk, Armavir and Aragatsotn are ahead of all other regions in terms of employment (over 80% of economically active population employed), whereas in Lori, Syunik and Shirak the employment rate hardly reaches 60%.

**Table 1-8 Regional indicators of economic activity**

Marz	Economically active		Employed	
	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Yerevan	66.8	3	75.1	5
Aragatsotn	61.0	6	80.6	4
Ararat	58.9	7	84.8	1
Armavir	67.3	2	84.0	3
Gegharkunik	41.8	10	72.7	6
Lori	65.2	4	58.5	10
Kotayk	43.7	9	84.4	2
Shirak	73.4	1	60.6	9
Syunik	57.0	8	60.6	9
Vayots Dzor	62.9	5	69.7	7
Tavush	65.2	4	63.8	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>60.9</b>		<b>74.4</b>	

### Unemployment statistics

Our survey allowed estimating that a total of 291,000-336,000 economically active residents of Armenia are currently seeking jobs. More than half of them are males and about 28% is younger than 26 years of age. The gender and age breakdown of the unemployed population is approximated in Table 1-8 (all figures are based on the estimated minimum number of unemployed).

**Table 1-9 Estimated gender and age breakdown of the unemployed population**

Age	Total		Males		Females	
	Percent	Absolute number	Percent	Absolute number	Percent	Absolute number
16-20	10.4	30,400	5.3	15,400	5.1	15,000
21-25	17.6	51,300	10.6	30,800	7.1	20,500
26-30	13.7	39,800	7.1	20,500	6.6	19,300
31-35	9.9	28,700	5.9	17,100	4.0	11,600
36-40	9.4	27,300	4.9	14,000	4.6	13,300

Age	Total		Males		Females	
	Percent	Absolute number	Percent	Absolute number	Percent	Absolute number
41-45	12.6	36,800	6.2	18,000	6.5	18,800
46-50	12.2	35,500	5.7	16,700	6.5	18,800
51-55	7.6	22,300	3.5	10,300	4.1	12,000
56-60	5.6	16,300	3.1	9,000	2.5	7,300
61-65	0.9	2,600	0.9	2,600	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>291,000</b>	<b>53.1</b>	<b>154,400</b>	<b>46.9</b>	<b>136,600</b>

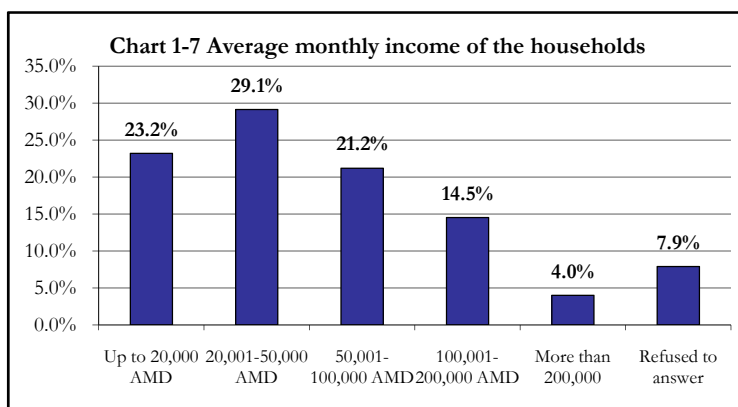
## HOUSEHOLD INCOME

### Average monthly income

According to the estimates of the respondents, more than half of Armenian families (52.3%) live on less than 50,000 AMD a month

(approximately 143 USD at the average exchange rate of 350 AMD for 1 USD in February-March 2007). About one fifth of the households generate incomes

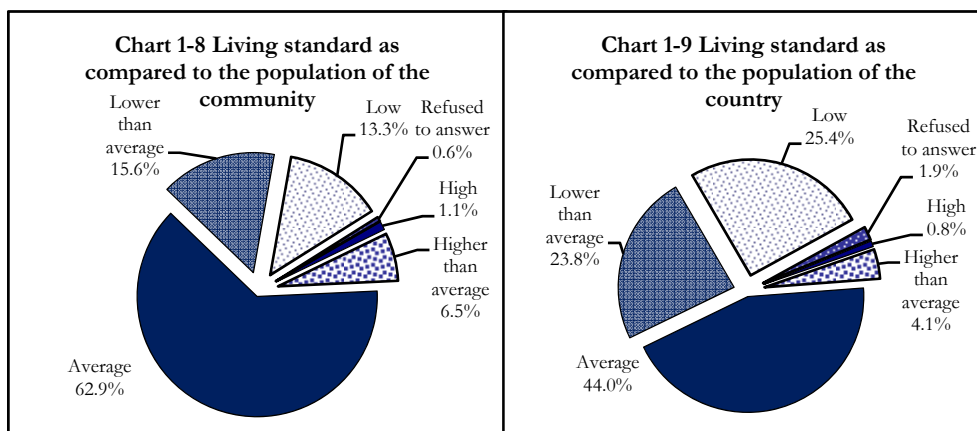
of 50,000-100,000 AMD and 18.5% earn more than 100,000 AMD. Based on the declared figures, the mean gross monthly income of the households could be estimated as 71,000 AMD, and the mean per capita monthly income as 18,000 AMD.



### Perceptions of the living standard

Given the general inclination of the respondents to underestimate their actual incomes, we have also addressed the subjective perceptions of the survey participants regarding the living standard of their households. The respondents were asked to assess their living standard as compared to the population of their community and the country at large. Charts 1-7 and 1-8 on the next page illustrate the breakdowns of responses to both questions.





As shown, the majority of the respondents feel that their living standard is comparable with other households of their community. Nonetheless, almost half of the respondents (49.2%) supposed their living standard is below country average.

However understated the actual household income might be, it was interesting to correlate it with the perceived standard of living. It appeared that what people call high living standard is a mean monthly income of 266,000 AMD, and what is thought to be country average living standard is a mean income of 87,000 AMD.

**Table 1-10 Perceptions of the living standard vs. declared household income**

Perceived living standard	Gross monthly income, AMD (mean)	Per capita monthly income, AMD (mean)
High	266,000	52,000
Higher than average	187,000	49,000
Average	87,000	21,000
Lower than average	60,000	15,000
Low	34,000	9,000

### Sources of household income

As in 2005, the majority of respondents claimed that the main source of their household income is either salary (48.1%) or pension (19.8%). 13.2% of the households get their main income from private business (agricultural or other).

Among additional income sources, pensions and social assistance still prevailed (35.7%). Another one third of the respondents stated that they earn additional income by cultivating the homestead land (33.2%).

For 6.2% of the households, the main source of income is financial assistance from relatives permanently or temporarily living abroad (note: in 2005 monetary

remittances were the main source of income of 4.5% of the households). Another 7.3% mentioned remittances as an additional source of income and hence the percentage of families receiving assistance from abroad equals 11.8%. Extrapolated to the total number of households with a calculated margin error of 1.7%, this would mean that in the beginning of 2007 there were between 79,000-105,000 households receiving remittances from abroad.

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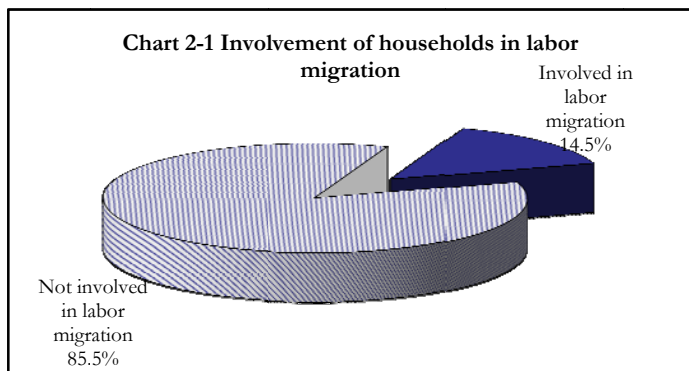
## CHAPTER 2. LABOR MIGRATION RATES

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### COUNTRY DATA

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The survey reported involvement of 14.5% of the surveyed households in labor migration in the period of January 2005 – April 2007. If we extrapolate this data to the universal set of 778,667 households (with 95% confidence level and calculated margin error of 1.8%), we can estimate the actual number of households that were involved in labor migration as 99,000-127,000 (or 12.7-16.3% of the total households). This could mean an increase as compared to the period covered by the 2002-2004 survey when it was estimated that about 14% of the surveyed households were involved in labor



migration. However, a closer look at the findings of both surveys showed that the increase, in fact, has been very small: the percentage of households involved in labor migration each year has varied between 8-9% and the average yearly increase did not exceed 0.5%. Translated into statistical language and adjusted to reflect the margin error, this might as well mean no increase at all.

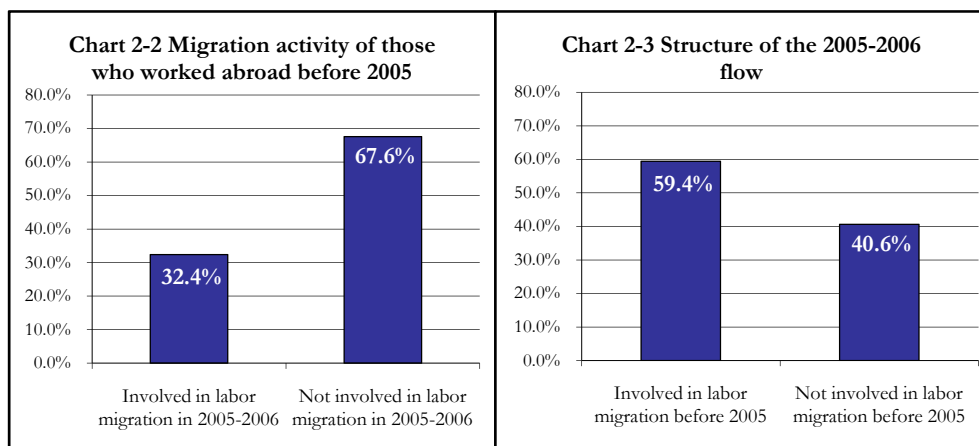
As in 2005, in the overwhelming majority of cases (80.6%), one member of the family had left to work abroad; 15.5% of the families had two labor migrants and only 1.8% had three migrants.

As to the actual labor migration rate (percentage of population involved in labor migration), the 2007 survey reported involvement of 3.4% of the members of surveyed households in labor migration process in 2005-2006. This allowed approximating the absolute number of labor migrants as 96,000 – 122,000 or 3.0-3.8% of Armenia’s de jure population (considering the estimated 0.4% margin error).

In the two-year period between January 2005 and December 2006, the majority of the migrants (51.6%) conducted two or three trips (40.1% and 11.5% accordingly).

The modified survey questionnaire allowed getting rather precise estimates of the yearly labor migration rates for 2005 and 2006. According to the acquired data, 54,000-74,000 migrants left Armenia to work abroad in 2005, and 60,000-81,000 Armenians were involved in labor migration in 2006. At that, roughly 70% of the migrants should have returned to Armenia by the end of 2006, leaving a negative net migration of 29,000-35,000.

Another finding was that the 2005-2006 labor migration flow was mostly comprised of those migrants who have worked abroad before the examined period. At the same time, the majority of those who were involved in labor migration before 2005, have actually stopped looking for employment abroad (see Charts 2-2 and 2-3).



## LABOR MIGRATION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION

Our survey recorded two remarkable differences between the 2002-2004 and 2005-2006 migration flows: a) an increased involvement of the rural population in labor migration and b) a significant reduction of labor migrants from Yerevan. Whereas in the period of 2002-2004, the migration rate in urban areas was almost two times higher than in rural areas (5.4% and 2.8% respectively), the 2007 data showed that the migration activity of the urban and rural population is almost the same. Moreover, the percentage of households involved in migration is higher in rural areas.

At the same time, the migration rate of urban settlements has decreased mostly due to reduced migration activity from Yerevan: the percentage of households involved in labor migration has dropped from 10.5% to 7.3% and the migration rate was almost cut in half (4.2% for the period of 2002-2004 against 2.4% for the period of 2005-2006). Table 2-1 on the next page compares the results of 2007 and 2005 surveys.

**Table 2-1 Migration activity of the urban and rural population**

Type of settlement	Household involvement (%)				Migration rate (%)			
	2005-2006		2002-2004		2005-2006		2002-2004	
Yerevan	7.3	12.3	10.5	15.2	2.4	3.6	4.2	5.4
Other urban settlements	18.1		17.9		4.9		6.1	
Rural settlements	15.0	15.0	12.1	12.1	3.5	3.5	2.8	2.8

In our view, the reasons for the above-mentioned changes can be found in the dynamics of the Armenian labor market that were described in Chapter 1. The countrywide unemployment rate has decreased, mostly benefiting rural areas and Yerevan. However, the overwhelming majority of the rural population is self-employed – engaged in small-scale farming, which is a seasonal activity and does not generate a sustainable and high enough income. In other words, not enough for normal living, but enough to cover travel costs to abroad, where they will look for employment. The situation in Yerevan is different. In most of the cases there, employment means a more or less permanent job, which only a few people would sacrifice for the sake of trying their luck in a foreign country. In the context of recent developments in the labor market, the population of other urban settlements of Armenia remains most vulnerable with limited opportunities to engage in agriculture on the one hand, and a very weak private sector as compared to Yerevan on the other. Scarce jobs in the towns, coupled with knowledge of successful migration experiences of friends and relatives, may indeed result in viewing migration as the only way out of a dire financial situation.

## REGIONAL SPECIFICS OF LABOR MIGRATION

As in 2002-2004, the highest migration rates were recorded in Shirak and Lori. Table 2-2 summarizes the data on migration activity of all regions of Armenia.

**Table 2-2 Estimation of labor migration rates and absolute number of migrants**

Region	Migration rate (%)		Absolute number of migrants	
	As recorded	Maximum	As recorded	Maximum
Yerevan	2.4	3.0	26,500	33,300
Aragatsotn	4.7	6.9	6,500	9,500
Ararat	3.3	4.6	9,000	12,600
Armavir	2.9	4.2	8,000	11,500
Gegharkunik	2.9	4.3	6,900	10,200
Lori	5.7	7.5	16,300	21,500
Kotayk	3.0	4.3	8,200	11,600

Region	Migration rate (%)		Absolute number of migrants	
	As recorded	Maximum	As recorded	Maximum
Shirak	8.8	10.9	25,000	31,000
Syunik	1.2	2.3	1,800	3,500
Vayots Dzor	5.7	9.4	3,200	5,300
Tavush	2.1	8.3	7,700	11,100
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>115,700</b>	<b>129,200</b>

According to our data, more than half of the Armenian migrants working abroad in 2005-2007 were from Shirak, Yerevan and Lori (56.4% in aggregate).

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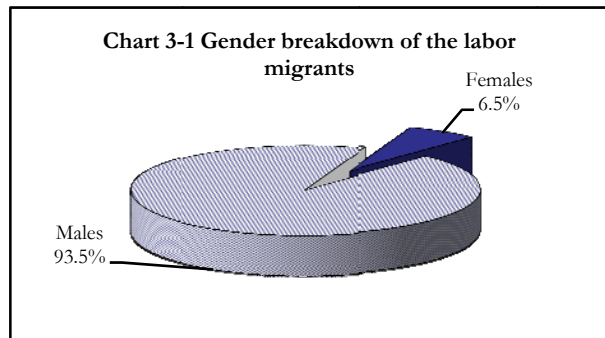
### CHAPTER 3. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF LABOR MIGRANTS

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#### GENDER AND AGE BREAKDOWN

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According to the results of the survey, the proportion of female migrants has significantly decreased. The percentage of women migrants dropped from 14.1% in 2002-2004 to 6.5% in 2005-2006. This change was most probably determined by the significant increase of the employment rate of women in Armenia.



Extrapolation of the data to the general population allowed estimating the absolute number of male and female migrants: 96,000-121,000 males and 6,000-8,000 females. This means labor migration of at least 13.1% of the economically active males and a maximum of 1.7% of the economically active females. Due to the very small absolute number of women migrants it seemed unreasonable to compare any other data by gender.

The age-specific migration rates have mostly remained the same. The only notable difference was the increased migration activity of the age group of 21-25. As a result, roughly half of the migrants who travelled abroad in 2005-2006 belonged to the age group of 21-40 and another half to the age group of 41-60.

**Table 3-1 Age-specific migration rates**

Age group	Migration rate (%)	Percent of migrants
16-20	0.3	0.8
21-25	7.6	19.2
26-30	6.1	12.3
31-35	6.4	10.0
36-40	4.9	7.7
41-45	8.5	16.5
46-50	8.1	17.2
51-55	6.9	9.6
56-60	5.2	5.7
61-65	2.0	1.1
<b>Total (ages 16-65)</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

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The majority of migrants were married (76.2%), 21.1% were single, 1.1% were divorced and 1.5% were widowed. And again, in the overwhelming majority of cases the migrant was either the head of the family (male) or his son.

**Table 3-2 Relation of the migrant to the head of the family**

Relation	Percent
Son	44.8
Head of the household (male)	42.1
Grandson	4.6
Daughter	3.1
Head of the household (female)	0.8
Wife of the head of household	0.8
Other male relative	1.9
Other female relative	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

The breakdown of labor migrants by level of education generally repeated the findings of the 2005 survey. More than 75% of the migrants who left to work abroad in 2005-2006 had either secondary or secondary professional (vocational) education (43.3 and 33.0% accordingly), and about 20% had a bachelor's or master's degree.

According to the results of the survey, in the period of 2005-2006 one out of ten economically active Armenians with secondary or vocational education was employed abroad. The migration activity of people with higher education was about 1.7 times lower.

**Table 3-3 Migration activity and education**

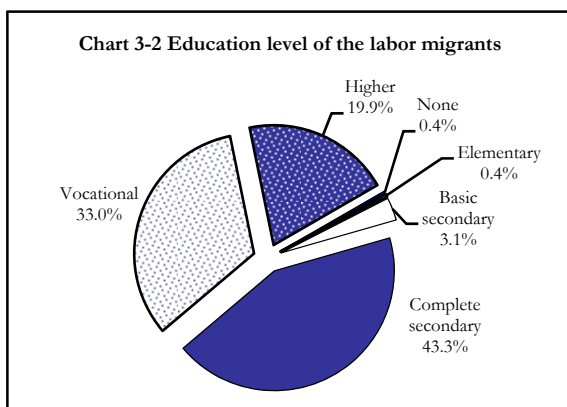
Education	Migration rate (%)
Secondary	11.0
Secondary professional	11.4
Higher	6.9

These results were quite predictable, given the shortage of jobs in Armenia for people with secondary and vocational education.

As mentioned above, professional education was obtained by 52.9% of the migrants. Hence, formally, the remaining 47.1% do not have any profession. Having no certificate or diploma of professional education, they could, however, learn various crafts in the course of their lives.

The majority of migrants, who have acquired higher or secondary professional education, are either craftsmen or engineers (30.3% and 29.4% respectively). In third place come economists (11.8%). This breakdown reflects the countrywide data on both the general professional breakdown of the population and the employment status of various professional groups. As discussed earlier in Chapter 1, there is a significant surplus of craftsmen, engineers and economists in the Armenian labor market.

Coupled with the high demand for skilled workers abroad, and especially in the construction industry in Russia, this helps explaining why these professional groups tend to show much higher migration activity than the others.

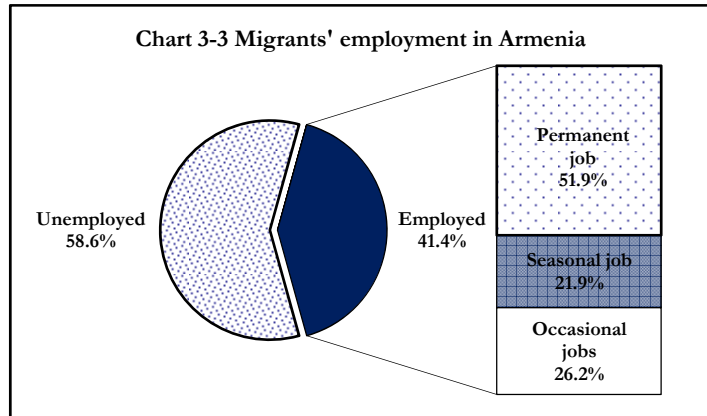


## EMPLOYMENT HISTORY IN THE HOME COUNTRY

41.4% of the labor migrants were involved in some paid activity in Armenia before 2005. The unemployed majority did not work in Armenia, either because there were no jobs available for people of their qualification (59.0%) or because the offered wages were too low (17.4%).

More than half of those who were employed had permanent jobs, while the others had seasonal or occasional jobs.

The biggest group of the employed migrants (or roughly one third) was



employed in the construction industry. In contrast, the 2005 survey reported that most of the migrants who worked abroad in the period of 2002-2004 and were employed in Armenia before 2002 were working in the services industry, while construction rated second. This shift can be reasonably attributed to the growth of the construction industry in Armenia and hence an increased demand in the workforce over the last years.

Table 3-4 compares the main spheres of employment of labor migrants in the home country before 2005 and before 2002.

**Table 3-4 Main sphere of employment in Armenia**

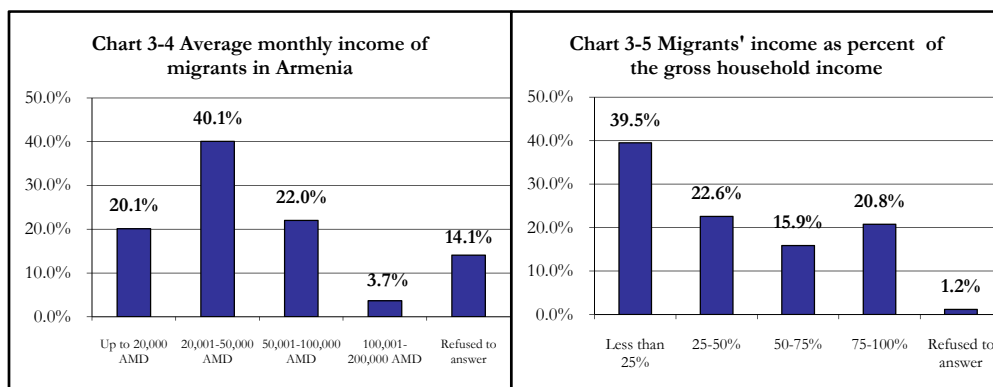
Sphere	Before 2005 (%)	Before 2002 (%)
Construction	32.1	16.3
Manufacturing	15.0	9.3
Agriculture	11.3	15.9
Transport	10.3	6.6
Services	9.1	22.9
Trade	7.7	15.4
Education	4.3	4.4
Other	10.2	9.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>



The majority of migrants were employed in the private sector (59.7%), less than 20% - in state institutions and 21% were self-employed, including farmers (7.7%).

According to the majority of respondents, the average monthly income of their migrant relatives did not exceed 50,000 AMD (or 106 USD at the average exchange rate of 470 AMD for 1 USD in February-March 2005) at the time they worked in Armenia (60.2%). Each fifth migrant was earning 50,000-100,000 AMD and only 3.7% received more than 100,000 AMD a month. The calculated mean of the migrants' monthly income in Armenia was 44,000 AMD (or about 94 USD). The 2005 survey reported almost the same average monthly income of those who were working in Armenia before 2002 (46,000 AMD).

In the majority of cases (62.1%), while working in Armenia the migrants were earning less than half of the household income, generating an average of 42.5% of the gross monthly income. Hence an average family should have had a monthly income of about 104,000 AMD (or 220 USD) before the time the migrant left abroad. A somewhat higher figure was found in 2005: the average monthly income of the families who got involved in labor migration in 2002-2005 was estimated at 117,000 AMD (or 250 USD). We do not have a better explanation to the decrease in average income of these families than suggesting that during 2007 survey the respondents could have underreported their incomes differently than in 2005.




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## CHAPTER 4. THE LABOR MIGRATION PROCESS

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### MAP OF LABOR MIGRATION FROM ARMENIA IN 2005-2007

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The Russian Federation continues to be the most popular country of destination for Armenian labor migrants. Moreover, the percentage of migrants who worked in Russia has increased from 88% in 2002-2004 to 93% in 2005-2006. Although the absolute number of migrants who travelled to other countries (32 out of both samples) left no opportunity for any meaningful quantitative analysis, the sample of

the qualitative survey included some migrants from the non-Russian flow and their experience is covered in Chapter 7.

**Table 4-1 Countries of destination**

Country	Number of cases	Percent
Russia	418	92.9
USA	8	1.8
Ukraine	7	1.6
Spain	5	1.1
Kazakhstan	4	0.9
France	3	0.7
Greece	2	0.4
Austria	1	0.2
Georgia	1	0.2
Sudan	1	0.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>100.0</b>

When asked about the reasons for choosing the country of destination, more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the migrants have mentioned friends and relatives living in the country. Another strong argument was that finding a job there seemed easier than in other countries. Other reasons included knowing the language, low barriers for entering the country, and a large Armenian Diaspora. Given this combination, Russia indeed seems a perfect choice.

**Table 4-2 Factors determining the choice of the country**

Factor	Percent
Relatives/friends live there	76.6
It is easier to find a job there	61.7
I know the language	29.9
It is easier to enter the country (no visa required)	14.9
Many Armenians live there	10.0

With the overwhelming majority of Armenian labor migrants looking for jobs in Russia, mapping the labor migration flow meant reformulating the key question of “to which country” to “where in Russia”. The survey again reported that most of the migrants looked for jobs in Moscow (39.8%). Table 4-2 presents the breakdown of Armenian migrants by seven federal okrugs (regions) of Russia and the most popular destinations within each region.

**Table 4-3 Final destination of the Armenian migrants in Russia**

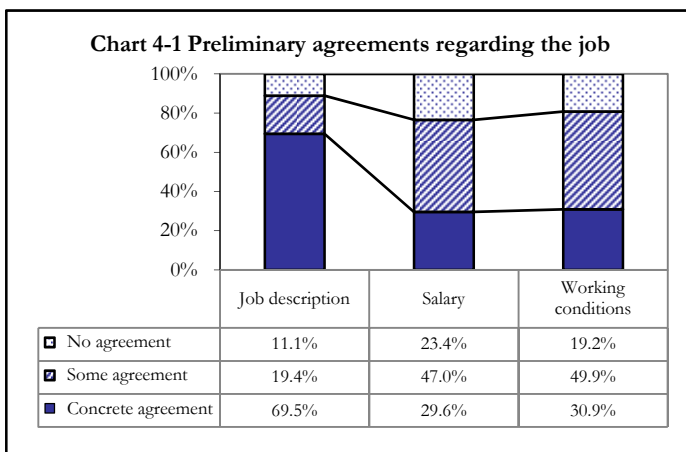
Federal okrug	Percent	Most popular destinations
Central	48.6	Moscow, Podmoskovye
Volga	13.3	Samara, Orenburg, Perm
Southern	10.0	Rostov, Sochi, Stavropol
Far Eastern	8.8	Khabarovsk, Yakutsk, Vladivostok
Northwestern	6.5	St. Petersburg, Syktyvkar
Siberian	6.5	Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk
Urals	6.2	Chelyabinsk, Tyumen, Yekaterinburg

**PREPARATION OF THE TRIP**

An encouraging finding of the 2007 survey was that the majority of the migrants have planned and made the necessary arrangements for their trips in advance. Most of the migrants (70.4%) have found the job prior to leaving Armenia and the majority of this group already had certain agreements regarding the job such as job description, salary and working conditions. In contrast, the 2005 survey reported that every second migrant who left to work abroad in 2002-2004 did not have any idea about the salary he would get and every third did not know what type of job he would be doing.

The motivation of the migrants to secure a job and clarify the terms before leaving is most probably determined by previous migration

experiences - both personal and that of others. Another possible explanation to the increased predictability of future labor relations is that the percentage of migrants whose trips were organized through intermediaries increased from 55% to 65%. In most of the cases, the trips were arranged by friends and relatives of the migrant in the host country (28%); 12% of the migrants were assisted by a private intermediary abroad and about 10% used the services of a private intermediary in Armenia. Although the services of local and foreign recruitment agencies were used by a minority of migrants, their percentage had increased from 4.6 % in 2002-2004 to 7 % in 2005-2006.



The intermediaries mostly promised to assist the migrant in finding a job (76.4%). Others promised covering the travel cost (33.6%), paying for accommodation and food (22.8%), helping find accommodation (20.4%) or lending money (12.8%). Just as in 2005, the overwhelming majority of the respondents claimed that the intermediaries had fulfilled their commitments completely or at least in part (83% and 12.6% respectively).

About 30% of the migrants did not plan the duration of their last trip (in 2005 this group constituted 40.3% of the migrants). The majority of the remaining 70% were planning to stay in the destination country for 6 months to 1 year, and less than 9% planned to stay longer. As in 2005, the average planned duration of the trips was estimated at 8 months.

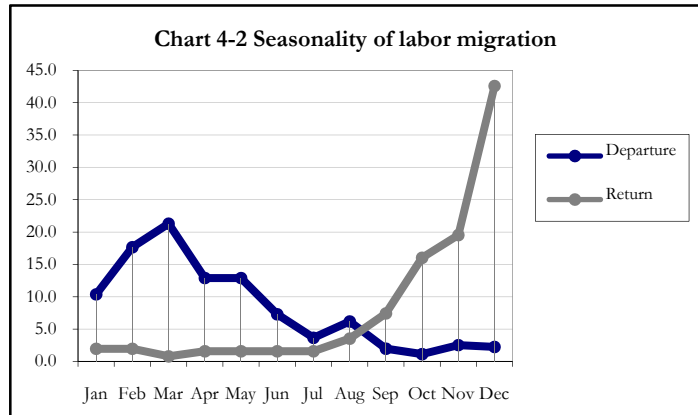
## THE STAY IN THE HOST COUNTRY: EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

### Seasonality and actual duration of the trip

The results of the survey are consistent with the findings of 2005 in terms of picturing the seasonal specifics of labor migration flows.

Over 75% of the migrants left Armenia by the end of spring, March being the most active month for departures.

The majority of migrants (78%) returned to Armenia between October and December, but mostly closer to the New Year.



As for the duration of the last trip, the majority of migrants stayed abroad for 5-10 months (68.9%) and the mean duration of the trips coincided with the planned duration of 8 months. (Note: the 2005 survey reported that the majority of migrants spent longer time in the destination country than planned.)

**Table 4-4 Actual vs. planned duration of the last trip**

Duration	Actual (%)	Planned (%)
Less than 6 months	25.7	33.7
6 months to 1 year	68.5	57.5
Longer than a year	5.8	8.8

## Employment

Over 80% of the migrants have started working in less than a month after arrival in the host country. Moreover, for 54.7% of the migrants it took less than a week to start working. These results were quite predictable, considering that the majority of the migrants have made the arrangements for the job before arriving in the country. Quite reasonably, about 70% of those who did find a job before leaving Armenia started working 1-3 days after arrival. In contrast, those who were planning to look for a job after arrival got employed on average in 32 days and about 8% of them never found a job.

More than two thirds of the migrants were hired for seasonal or one-time assignments and the overwhelming majority was employed in the construction industry. Although the general proportions of type and spheres of employment have remained the same as recorded in 2005, the spheres of employment in 2005-2006 were less diversified: the percentage of migrants employed in industries other than construction dropped from 38% to 22.2%.

**Table 4-5 Spheres of employment in the host country**

Sphere	2005-2006 (%)	2002-2004 (%)
Construction	77.3	62.0
Trade	5.3	11.5
Professional services	3.4	10.6
Other services	4.3	
Manufacturing	4.4	7.2
Transport	2.3	3.4
Other	3.0	5.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

As for the legal regulation of labor relations, the situation remained unchanged. Still only a few of the migrants had a written employment contract, whereas in the vast majority of cases the relations with the employer were based on a verbal agreement. Although the number of migrants who had written contracts with the employers had slightly increased and the percentage of those who did not even had a verbal agreement regarding the general terms of the employment before starting to work had somewhat dropped, these changes are relatively insignificant.

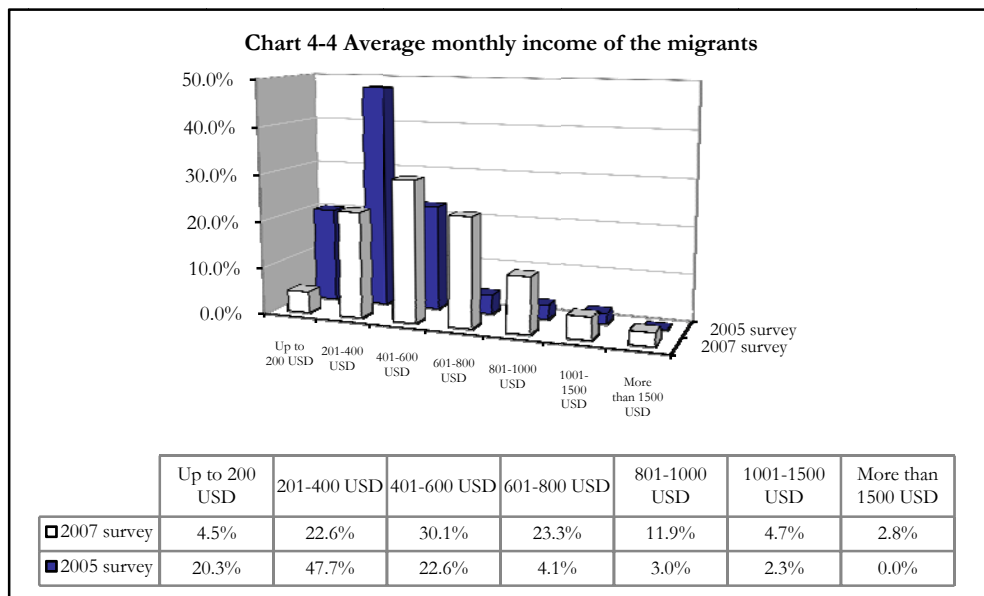
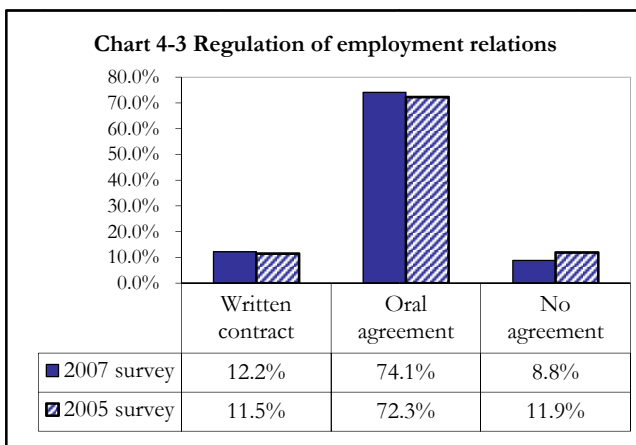
At the same time, despite the risk the migrants (and also the employers) were taking when entering into labor relations without a proper legal basis, we would rather assume that both sides were in most cases rather satisfied with the outcome. About 84% of the migrants said the employer has fully adhered to the terms of initial agreement (be it written or oral), and another 14.4% said the negotiated conditions were provided in part. Understandably, the employers prefer informal labor relations

because that helps them avoid paying taxes. (The causes and consequences of illegal employment are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 of this report.)

The mean duration of the migrants' working day was estimated at 10 hours, which is in line with previous findings (2005). The majority of the migrants (52.1%) were working full-time (8-10

hours), 37.3 % worked 11-12 hours a day, and only 6.4% worked part-time (1-7 hours). The remaining 4.1% of the migrants claimed to work more than 12 hours a day. Less than half of the migrants had taken regular days off (46.4%); 35.6% had days-off on an irregular basis, while 18% did not have any days off.

Regarding remuneration of the migrants, the survey reported a more than 50% increase of the average monthly income (from 410 USD in 2005 to 643 USD in 2007). More than half of those who worked abroad in 2005-2006 earned 400-800 USD a month. Given the mean monthly income of 643 USD and the mean duration of the trip (8 months), an average migrant should have received a total income of about 5140 USD.



At the same time, it is important to mention that considering the depreciation of the US dollar over the last two years, the significant increase of the absolute figures does not mean that the real incomes of migrants have grown as much. Their average monthly income has de facto risen by 16% only - from 193,000 AMD (equal to 410 USD in the beginning of 2005 given the exchange rate of 470 AMD for 1 USD) to 224,000 AMD (equal to 643 USD in the beginning of 2007 given the exchange rate of 350 AMD for 1 USD). Considering the increase of prices in Armenia, even this 16% rise in real income is hardly enough to make any difference on the lives of the migrants' families back in Armenia.

In this context, it was not at all surprising that the average income the migrants said they need to get in Armenia not to leave abroad again was 200,000 AMD (or about 570 USD). In 2005, the same figure was as low as 340 USD.

## **Remittances**

According to the respondents, one out of five migrants failed to send or bring money home during the last trip (19.5% or almost as much as reported by the 2005 survey - 18.8%). The majority of those migrants who succeeded to make savings sent money to their households for the first time within one to two months after their departure (69.3%).

The survey reported that a slightly increased number of migrants preferred bank transfers to cash transfers through private people. In total, 86.2% of the migrants have made bank transfers at least once during the last trip and 15.5% transferred money through individuals (the 2005 survey reported 84.8% of the migrants using bank transfers and 21.0% making cash transfers). In addition, more than half of the migrants have brought some of the earnings themselves.

The average total amount of money sent (brought) by each migrant to the family during the last trip was estimated at 2720 USD, which (again in absolute terms) means an increase of about 75% as compared to the average of 1540 USD estimated in 2005. Considering the approximated total income of 5140 USD, an average migrant should have been spending about 47% of the incomes in the destination country and sending the remaining 53% to the family in Armenia.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the extrapolation of the survey data allowed estimating the absolute number of migrants at 54,000-74,000 in 2005 and 60,000-81,000 in 2006, meaning a total of 114,000-155,000 trips abroad in the period of 2005-2006. According to the results of the survey, 80.5% of these trips (or between 91,000 and 124,000) should have been "effective". Therefore, the total amount of monetary remittances received from the labor migrants could be estimated at 250-339 million US dollars for the whole period, or 118-162 million in 2005 and 131-177 million in 2006. Overall, the 2007 survey recorded that in the period of 2005-2006 about 60% of the remittances (or 149-202 million US dollars) should have been wired through banks.

Other than money, about 30% of the migrants have sent or brought to Armenia food, clothes, durable products, and vehicles of an estimated mean value of 700 USD.

## HOUSING CONDITIONS IN THE HOST COUNTRY

While working abroad, more than half of the migrants (50.7%) were paying for the accommodation: either renting apartments - alone or with friends and relatives (42.5%), or paying for rooms in dormitories or hotels (8.2%). At that, the percentage of those who shared the rent with friends or relatives has significantly increased (from 9.6% to 22.9%), whereas fewer migrants were able to afford to rent separate housing (19.6% as compared to 29.0% in 2002-2004). There can be several reasons for this: the growing prices at the real estate market in Russia; the continuous appreciation of the Armenian currency, and hence the need to make bigger savings to be able to support the family; and also a weaker feeling of safety of Armenians living and working in Russia, and particularly in Moscow as reported in the qualitative part of the survey.

**Table 4-6 Types of housing**

Option	2005-2006 (%)	2002-2004 (%)
Rented a room, flat or house with relatives or friends	22.9	9.6
Rented a separate room, flat or house	19.6	29.0
Relatives or friends accommodated him in their house	17.3	20.5
Lived at the workplace	17.2	27.5
The employer accommodated him in his house	11.9	3.8
Lived in a dormitory	8.0	6.7
Employer rented a flat	1.1	0.0
Owens an apartment or house	0.8	0.9
Other	1.2	2.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Over 90% of the migrants were satisfied with their housing conditions rating them either as very good (25.5%) or sufficient (65.0%). At that, almost 75% of the migrants said the housing conditions in the host country were either the same or even better than those in Armenia (25.9% and 45.1% respectively). The increased satisfaction with the housing conditions as compared to 2005 was most probably determined by the fact that fewer migrants dwelled at workplaces and more migrants were offered to share apartments with the employers (2005 survey reported that every third migrant felt the housing conditions abroad were worse than in Armenia).



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## CHAPTER 5. LABOR MIGRATION: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

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### REASONS FOR LABOR MIGRATION

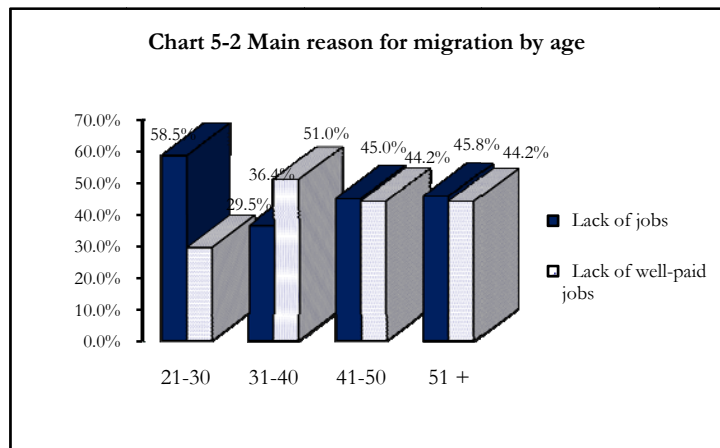
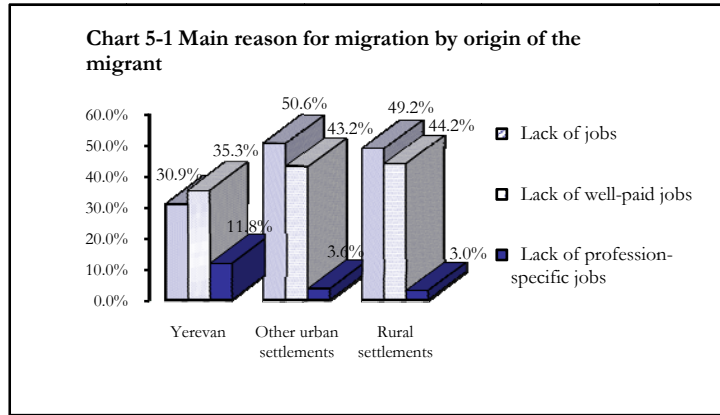
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It would be logical to expect that in the context of the general development of the Armenian labor market over the last few years the main reasons behind the decision to migrate should have changed to some extent. Indeed, although in an overwhelming majority of cases the migrants were still driven by employment problems in Armenia (93.5%) and the general argument that “there was no job in Armenia” was still mentioned most frequently (46.5%), this opinion was no longer supported by the majority of migrants (in 2005, more than half of the migrants stated lack of jobs in general was the

main reason for migration).

Almost as many migrants (43.0%) stressed that the jobs in Armenia do not pay enough. Additionally, the absence of profession-specific jobs in Armenia was mentioned almost twice as often as in 2005 (4.8% against 2.9%). However, as discussed above, the development of the labor market has been asymmetrical and mostly benefited the population of Yerevan. The comparison of the main reasons for migration by origin of migrants reflected these disproportions rather clearly (Chart 5-1).

The connection between the age of the migrants and the main reasons for migration has become even more significant as compared to 2005. Chart 5-2 shows that about 60% of the 21-30 age group is concerned with the lack of jobs, whereas in the age



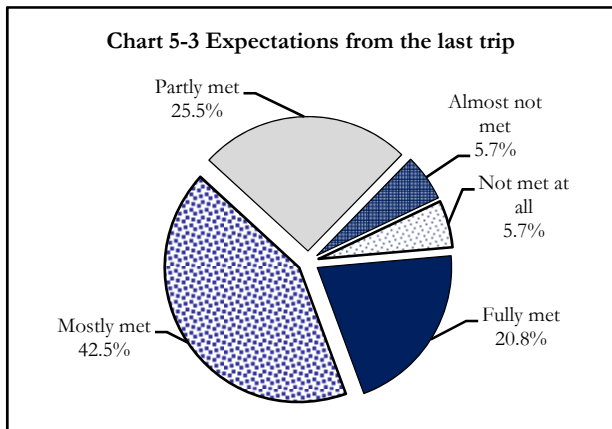
group of 31-40 this argument gave way to low wages. Above 40, the two reasons were given almost equal weight. These differences are still thought to be determined by the competitiveness of various age groups in the labor market.

Among other reasons influencing the decision to look for employment abroad, the respondents most frequently mentioned the lack of prospects for Armenia’s development and the difficulty to run a private business in Armenia. However, each of these reasons was listed by less than 5% of the respondents.

## FULFILLED AND UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS

As in 2005, the overwhelming majority of surveyed migrants stated that their last trip met their expectations in full or at least in part (88.7%) and only one out of ten migrants was dissatisfied with the trip. The migrants were mostly planning to use the savings to provide for the basic needs of their families in Armenia. Every fourth migrant was planning to earn money to repair their house, while about one fifth of them aimed at paying for education of their kids or purchasing durable products such as furniture,

household appliances, etc. Table 5-1 below summarizes the planned objectives of the labor migrants and the extent to which labor migration contributed to the achievement of those objectives.



household appliances, etc. Table 5-1 below summarizes the planned objectives of the labor migrants and the extent to which labor migration contributed to the achievement of those objectives.

**Table 5-1 Plans to use the savings and the extent to which the plans were fulfilled**

Planned expenditures	% of migrants planning the expenditure	% of migrants who mostly succeeded to fulfill the plans
Covering on-going expenses (food, clothes, public utilities, etc.)	86.7	52.6
Repairing the house	24.0	20.4
Paying for education (tuition fees, etc)	20.9	55.3
Purchasing durable products (furniture, appliances, car, other)	19.3	32.2
Buying or building a house	16.0	12.5
Covering the costs of important family events (such as weddings or anniversaries)	14.9	41.8

Planned expenditures	% of migrants planning the expenditure	% of migrants who mostly succeeded to fulfill the plans
Paying off debts	8.7	56.4
Paying for healthcare	8.2	47.2
Setting up or enlarging private business	5.3	4.2
Acquiring means of production (equipment, land, cattle, other)	3.3	40.0

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## CHAPTER 6. ASSESSMENT OF THE MIGRATION POTENTIAL

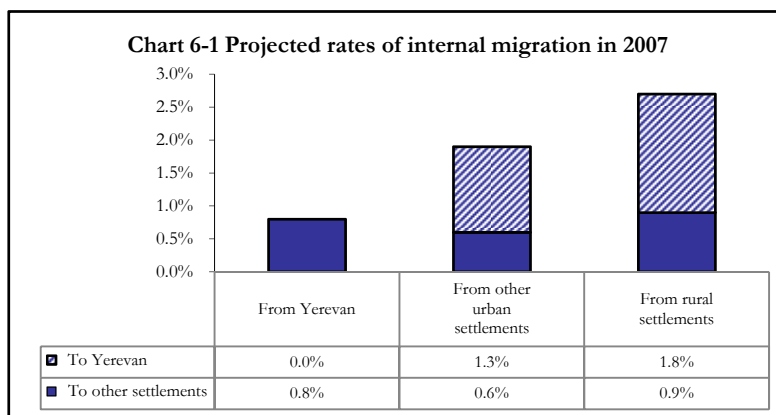
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### INTERNAL MIGRATION POTENTIAL

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The 2007 survey reported that the rates of internal migration in Armenia remain significant. By the time of the survey (February – March 2007), 2.9% of the members of the surveyed households were residing in other settlements of Armenia, apart from their families. Another 6.7%, or approximately 1.5 times more people than in 2005, would like to move from their current place of residence to live or work in another settlement of Armenia and mostly in Yerevan (4.4%). At that, 2.2% of the members of the surveyed families had concrete plans to migrate in 2007, with 1.5% planning to settle in Yerevan. Extrapolated to the general population, these figures mean that in 2007 the number of internal migrants can potentially total 139,000-188,000 (80,000-106,000 of which already residing away from their hometown or village and 59,000-82,000 most probably moving in 2007). At that, by the end of 2007, Yerevan can potentially host a total of 69,000-105,000 migrants from different regions of Armenia (30,000-47,000 already living in Yerevan and another 39,000-58,000 planning to settle in Yerevan in 2007).

The increasing internal migration activity is again thought to be conditioned by the current state of the Armenian labor market and the growing discrepancy between the capital and the rest of the country in terms of living standards and access to various goods and services. This is why the final destination of the majority of internal migrants is Yerevan, and the migration rate from Yerevan to other regions of Armenia is very low (0.8% as compared to 1.9% from other urban settlements and 2.7% from rural settlements).



According to the survey, the 2007 migration flow to Yerevan will mostly involve migrants from the Shirak, Kotayk, Armavir and Lori regions. Over 70% of those who plan moving to Yerevan are younger than 35, half of whom are men and half women. At that, the majority of potential migrants plan to permanently reside in Yerevan (58%), while the others plan to temporary live, study or work in the capital.

## EXTERNAL MIGRATION POTENTIAL

### Labor migration

The survey found that 3.2% of the members of the surveyed households wished to leave the country to work abroad, which means that the percentage of people willing to work abroad has decreased more than twice since 2005 (6.9%).

The survey allows suggesting that the rate of labor migration from Armenia in 2007 may vary within 2.5-3.3% of the de jure population of the country, involving a total of 80,000-106,000 migrants. According to our projections, the migration flow is mostly comprised of the migrants who have worked abroad in 2005-2006.

**Table 6-1 Projected structure of labor migration flow in 2007**

Group	Percent	Absolute number
Migrants who worked abroad in 2005-2006 and already left again in the beginning of 2007	21.5	17,000 - 23,000
Migrants who worked abroad in 2005-2006 and planned to leave again in 2007	42.5	36,500 - 48,000
New migrants	33.0	26,500 - 35,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>80,000-106,000</b>

According to the results of the survey, 87% of those who either already left or plans to work abroad in 2007 are males and 13% are females. More than four fifths of them are 20-50 years old (81.6%).

However, all these estimations are mostly based on the intentions of people, which may or may not be fulfilled in the end. Hence the actual migration rate may be lower than projected and the factual demographic structure of the migrants may vary from the expected. This primarily concerns the potential increase of the migration activity of women. The 2005 survey estimated the share of women among those who planned migrating in 2005 at about 12.0%, whereas after all they comprised only 6.5% of the migration flow. We therefore believe that there are not enough reasons to anticipate that the ratio of women migrants will be doubled in one year.

### **Permanent migration**

As far as permanent emigration is concerned, 3.3% of the respondents' family members would like to settle in foreign countries. This is much less than in 2005, when 5.1% of the surveyed household members wanted to emigrate from Armenia. The projected rate of this specific type of emigration (percentage of people that plan to move from Armenia in 2007) stands at 0.7-1.1% and is mostly within the interval estimated for 2005 (0.5-0.9%). Extrapolated to the general population this means 22,000-36,000 people plan to permanently emigrate in 2007. Similar to potential labor migrants, more than 80% of those who plan migrating permanently are younger than 50; however half of them are males and half females.

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## CHAPTER 7. LABOR MIGRATION BEYOND FIGURES

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This analysis is based on the migrants' detailed description of their migration experiences. The research helped to understand the cultural and psychological aspects of migration, to go deeper into the various aspects of the migration process and to develop a better understanding of the migrants' views.

The analysis presents who are the migrants, what kind of problems they face, what motivates them to leave Armenia, how they live abroad and how they assess their migration experience once they came back. It is a story of people whose families and homes are in Armenia, and who decide to live and work abroad for some time.

The analysis also contains quotations from the interviews with the migrants, which give additional information about the migration process. The names of the respondents are invented, but other information (gender, age and hometown or village of the respondent) is real.

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### WHO ARE THE MIGRANTS?

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Based on the analysis of the in-depth interviews, we have identified five main groups of migrants, whom we call: “provident fathers”, “patronized migrants”, “fish in the water”, “amateur migrants” and “happy migrants”.

Migration stories gathered from the interviewed allowed us to construct these conditional groups based on several characteristics and features. Some of the features are closely related to each other, such as the migrants' main reason of leaving, how they left and found a job abroad, their living conditions in the hosting countries, their adaptation and socialization in the host country, their occupation and lifestyle, their sense of security and main problems they faced while abroad. It is important to take into consideration the specifics of the groups:

- Clearly, the “borders” of the groups are flexible. It means that the migrant can change features and, after some time, join a different group;
- The groups are constructed as ideal, generalized categories, so there can be migrants who do not match all the characteristics of one or another group;
- The names of the groups are chosen as to highlight the most distinctive aspect, which influences other features.

### “Provident fathers”

The “provident fathers” are usually middle-aged and older males, who have a secondary or a secondary professional education. They generally live in small cities and villages of Armenia and leave for Russia to work in the construction industry. The main reason for leaving is to earn money to provide for their families. They usually join a construction team before they leave Armenia or they join such a team as soon

as they arrive in Russia. The “provident fathers” are the most informed ones among those who leave for Russia, they obtain more detailed information about the job they are going to do, the salary they will get, the place where they will stay and whether the employer will provide them with food. A vast majority of “provident fathers” are illegal migrants (having no work permit and not being registered) and have to avoid problems stemming from the lack of their regular migration and employment status.

The “provident fathers” mainly socialize within their group and rarely leave the construction site. On the one hand, they fear sanctions from the police. On the other, they fear assaults or abuse from radical nationalists, so called “skinheads”, especially in Moscow. They realize that they differ from the local population in their manner of acting, talking, and thus, cannot avoid being noticed by the law enforcement or the national extremists.

This group of migrants often have a feeling of not being safe, especially when in Moscow. However, they come back to Armenia satisfied with the money earned and are likely to leave again. The “provident fathers” describe their time during migration as “not life” meaning that employment in Russia is a mean to sustain their “real lives” in Armenia.

### **“Patronized migrants”**

The main feature of this group is that they leave the country and stay with their relatives. They feel more secure because they can rely on somebody who has, more or less, settled in the host country. The vast majority of this group is middle-aged males, who work mainly in Russia, but some of them leave for other countries of the CIS. In this group we find also women and young men. “Patronized migrants” have much in common with the “provident fathers”, but in this group we also met people with higher education. In comparison with the “provident fathers”, the “patronized migrants” do not come from small towns and villages of Armenia, but from bigger cities such as Yerevan or Gyumri. The reasons for leaving are the same as for the “provident fathers”, but the fields of their occupation differ. Besides the construction sector, they also work in the trade and services. The vast majority of those migrants, who do not work in the Russian construction sector, belong to this group.

The residence status of these migrants in the host country is mainly illegal. In comparison with the “provident fathers”, “patronized migrants” keep their legal status for a longer period and meet better the migration laws. (For example, “patronized migrants” might have residence and working permits for several months but then continue beyond their expiry, whereas “provident fathers” might have neither residence nor working permits).

This group of migrants welcomes the culture of the host country and socializes faster and easier. The migrants belonging to this group are likely to go out more often being less afraid of the police because they have largely a regularized migration status. When they deal with representatives of the host nation, their relatives play the role of a mediator between the two cultures. This helps the migrant to become more familiar

with the culture, language and customs, to integrate into the social life of the host country. At the same time, those migrants who live in Moscow do not feel very safe, though they feel safer than the “provident fathers” as they have somebody they can rely on.

Some of the patronized migrants will probably in the longer run leave their supporting relatives in order not to bother them anymore. The future of these migrants can have two different scenarios. First, many of those working in the field of construction in Russia, will most probably get the features of and will shift to “provident fathers” group. Second, the luckiest construction workers (those who become heads of teams) and those working in the field of trade or services will most probably shift to the “Fish in the water” group, described below.

### **“Fish in the water”**

“Fish in the water” migrants are those who have migration experience and feel very safe, like a “fish in the water”. They are familiar with the customs of the host country. They have made friends there and established relations with the local population. They speak the language and they have integrated into the lifestyle of the receiving country. Thus, they are not only able to protect their interests but they are also in a position to negotiate and impose their demands. These migrants feel generally safe, though those living in Moscow still remain cautious. Because this group is considered as transitional, it is rather small and it is hard to find its members in Armenia since they mainly reside in the host country for extended periods of time and later, when they move their whole family to the host country, it becomes practically impossible to get any information about them. Most migrants of this group obtain Russian citizenship.

### **“Amateur migrants”**

Three categories can be outlined in this group: 1) young men who want to leave their village or city, 2) women who go to see one of their family members or relatives living abroad and work during their stay, 3) students who leave Armenia for the USA to work during their holidays:

1. There is a group of young men who want to leave their village or city and move to another country just to experience life outside of Armenia. They cannot afford to visit other countries as tourists, but they know that their neighbors or relatives leave for work. In this case, labor migration is just an excuse to change their environment and at least to see whether all the things they have heard about Russia are true. They usually leave Armenia either with “provident fathers”, by becoming a member of the construction team, or they join their fathers or brothers already working in the host country. Their lifestyle is similar to that of “provident fathers.” But as they are young they adjust to the new environment easier and as they are more curious, they communicate with the local population more often. They usually are more courageous. They feel less responsible for



earning money, because contrary to “provident fathers”, they do not have the urgent responsibility to take care of their families. Most likely, some of these migrants will not leave Armenia for a second time.

2. Many women migrants belong to the group of “amateur migrants”. As a rule, they go to see one of their family members or relatives living abroad and work during their stay. They work because they do not want to lose the opportunity to earn some extra money or because they want to earn back the money they have spent on their ticket. These women’s way of life and living conditions are similar to those of the “patronized migrants”.
3. Students who leave Armenia for the USA to work during their holidays also belong to the group of “amateur migrants”. Their departure is motivated by their interest and willingness to learn new things rather than by the need to earn money. These young people freely communicate in English or easily improve their language abilities, which help them to adjust to a US lifestyle. Besides working hard, these young people actively communicate with different people, have an interesting time and enjoy themselves. They return to Armenia not only with significant savings but also with positive memories. They speak very highly of the US and as a rule they anxiously look forward to their next holiday (the next chance to leave). Of course, this does not mean they will certainly leave for US next year. This group includes a small number of migrants who reported to have problems with resettlement and with reintegration after their return. As a rule, shortly after their return they consider leaving again, seek various ways of leaving and they leave if possible. This is also typical for the next group - the “happy migrants”.

### **“Happy migrants”**

“Happy migrants” are those young people (both male and female) who receive professional work invitations to work legally abroad. They work in Armenia as well, but their aim is to improve their professional qualification. Though they mention that they have earned much more money abroad, the main reason of leaving is not money. The “happy migrants” mainly leave for various EU countries. They feel very happy during their work abroad and they have many positive memories. They have a regularized immigration status in the host country and a signed contract with their employer. They are pleased both with their working relations and with the opportunity for professional growth.

They appreciate their good working and living conditions. They say that all these conditions are much better than in Armenia. Besides the opportunity of self-fulfillment, the happy migrants value the fact that they felt themselves appreciated as professionals. Working abroad raises the competitiveness of these people in the labor market of Armenia and abroad. It also helps them to develop and establish themselves professionally. After return to Armenia this group has more problems with finding

their place in society than others. They have difficulties to adjust to the life rhythm and lifestyle of Armenia. They also have troubles with the limited and often not advanced working equipment and other work conditions. The vast majority of “happy migrants” will not miss another chance to go to work abroad and may settle there for good. These “happy migrants” contribute to the ‘brain drain’ from Armenia.

## WHY DO THEY LEAVE?

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We conditionally differentiate the main reasons of labor migration from the factors stimulating the migrants to make concrete decisions to leave Armenia.

### Reasons for labor migration

The interviews allowed distinguishing three main reasons for labor migration from Armenia:

- Absence of jobs in Armenia
- The tradition of “khopan” (Armenian folk term for leaving to work abroad)
- The wish to leave the village

#### *Absence of jobs in Armenia*

It is hard to assess what is understood under “absence of jobs”, since people perceive this term differently: many mean the absence of stable jobs, some mean the absence of well-paid jobs and some the absence of literally any type of job.

I was a barber in the village, but it was not profitable, as I had many relatives and friends there who I could not charge for my service. So I decided to leave, earn money and open my own barber’s shop.

Arsen, 28, Arpi village

Those migrants, who left for the first time in the 1990s, quoted most often the absence of any paid employment as the reason for leaving. Those, who left after 2000, complained about the lack of well-paid jobs.

I was working before leaving. Now I work too. I have a car repair shop near my house. When I talked to them, they said I could earn \$3000 monthly. I had a problem with my house, so I decided to go. I don’t complain about my job here, but I don’t earn as much money.

Ararat, 33, Yerevan

However, there are many who claim that absence of jobs was not the reason for them to leave since they worked before migrating and were registered as employed even during the migration period (e.g. they took a leave). After returning they continue working at the same places.

### ***The tradition of going “khopan”***

The results of the interviews showed that in some villages, from which many men have been leaving to work abroad over a long period of time, labor migration has become a traditional way of providing for families. Many young men from these villages leave to work abroad after they have completed their military service. At this point in time they have to think about how to earn money for their future family. These young men do not make serious efforts to find a job in Armenia; they just leave, as their fathers or uncles. In this case, the main reason for migration is the established tradition.

Many people from Gavar leave for Russia to work. My friend was going to leave, too. I also decided to leave.

Vache, 25, Gavar

### ***An aspiration to leave the village***

The aspiration to leave the village is not very widespread as a reason for migrating. When it is mentioned at all, it is mentioned mainly by young men, who want to live in a more cultural and socially vibrant environment than their village. They often try to settle in marz centers or Yerevan. There are many active people among them, who try their abilities in different fields both in Yerevan and marz centers. Possibly some time later, they understand that neither in Yerevan, nor in marz centers, can they find a job paying enough to rent a flat and cover their living costs. So in this case, leaving for Russia becomes an alternative and a realistic possibility for going away from the village, since working in Russia gives an opportunity to cover their living costs and save some money.

I don't like the village life; I won't stay even if I have a job.

Nerses, 28, Gavar

### **Factors stimulating the decision to work abroad**

Main stimulating factors for making decisions to leave and work abroad were:

- Heavy financial burdens at home
- The opportunity to earn additional money
- Offers to work abroad

### ***People are faced with heavy financial burdens***

Very often people leave abroad when they face heavy additional expenses at home. There are people who work in Armenia and who are able to cover their everyday expenses. However, when there is a need of additional money to cover unexpected expenses, people do not see any other way to solve the problem than working abroad. These expenses are usually connected with the education of their children - hiring a tutor, paying the university fees or the need to support those

children who left to study in another town. Additional expenses appear also when one of the family members decides to marry, to buy or to renovate a flat, to start his/her own business etc.

### ***An opportunity to earn additional money***

This is mainly applicable to one of the subcategories of the “amateur migrants” – women who go abroad to visit their husbands or other relatives and who do not want to lose the opportunity to earn some extra money during their stay. When planning their stay abroad, they also consider the period of their stay as an opportunity for earning some extra money, since the same job is better paid abroad. Thus, this factor does not directly stimulate the decision to leave, but rather the decision to work while abroad.

### ***An offer to work abroad***

The offer to work abroad itself can generate a desire to leave and work abroad. It usually happens when construction teams are created in the villages to work in Russia. Aware that much more money can be earned during a short period of time in Russia, even those people, who have jobs in Armenia, decide to migrate to Russia. So it turns out, that in some cases an offer to work abroad awakes an intention to leave.

Besides these mentioned reasons and factors, which are usually typical for those who leave for Russia, there are others as well, such as lay-off of staff, or the interest in foreign culture (in the case of young “amateur migrants” who leave for Russia or the USA), or the improvement of professional qualifications for those “happy migrants” who leave for EU countries.

Irrespective of the migration reasons and stimulating factors the decision to migrate is generally strengthened by the following “wisdoms”:

- Labor migration gives a chance to earn a lot of money in a short period of time.
- Though each potential migrant knows unhappy stories about people working abroad, he knows even more migrants with “happy” stories.

## **HOW DO THEY LEAVE?**

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Describing the process of leaving for abroad and discussing the questions and details connected with this we can separate three main cases:

- Leaving abroad to visit a friend or relative
- Leaving abroad in a construction team
- Leaving abroad to accept a work offer

## Leaving abroad to a friend or relative

Some Armenian labor migrants leave abroad to visit a friend or a relative. We distinguish two groups of friends: 1) those who live in the host country and 2) those labor migrants, who have migration experience and are working in the host country at the moment. When joining a friend or a relative, it is accepted in Armenia to say: “They have called me”. That means the friend is ready to help the migrant until the migrant can settle there. But more often, the migrant decides to leave and work abroad, and then turns to his friend or relative for help. Friends usually do not say no. It is interesting that the existence of a friend abroad can itself become a motivation for leaving.

I called my Russian friend and told him I wanted to leave. He said they would find something for me at my arrival. We went to their “zhek” [communal services agency] the next day I arrived. They said they needed a plumber. I started to work and after a while I became a construction team leader. Now I take some people with me to Russia, but I work myself as well, otherwise I will be short of money.

Armen, 59, Yeghegnadzor

The first group of friends (those who live in the host country) usually promises to help the migrant to find a job. In the beginning, the migrant lives at his friend’s place: that means his friend takes care of housing and food. As a rule, those who go abroad to join their friends do not know much beforehand about what to expect. They just know they have somebody in the host country. There are some people, among those who go abroad to their friends, who only have the guarantee of their friends that everything will be all right. These friends live in different countries of the world.

The second group of friends (experienced labor migrants, working in the host country at the moment), as a rule, consists of “provident fathers”, who work in the construction industry in Russia and live at their workplace. They help migrants only in finding a job: when looking for new jobs, these people usually make deals also for their migrant friends.

Like those who leave abroad in construction teams, workers, who join their teams only abroad, tend to clarify their expectations and to get more information about their working conditions. Those who have left to the first group of friends are closer to the “patronized migrants” by their way of life, and those who have left to the second group of friends are similar to “provident fathers”.

## Leaving in a construction team (brigade)

The second way of leaving is more regular. It mainly concerns the migrants who leave for Russia. Those Armenians, who have extensive working experience in the field of construction in Russia and work as construction team leaders, tend to include in their teams their compatriots and fellow-villagers. If the team needs more manpower, it can be supplied by villagers from the neighboring villages.

Usually, the team leader spreads the news that he needs workers in an informal way in his village (he says that he needs masters and/or workers). Those who are interested contact the team leader to get more detailed information. If they agree with the conditions, they form the brigade and leave for abroad. This way of leaving is not typical for the first trip as the information about work abroad is usually targeted at those who already have some migration experience.

It is very easy to find a job there [in Russia]. They easily find you in Armenia. They come to a shop or a bus stop and say whom they need: the word quickly spreads among other people.

Menua, 43, Yeghegnadzor

Probably because of the way information is spread and the brigade is formed, those who leave in a brigade are mainly from villages or from small towns of Armenia.

Finding jobs [in Russia] is very easy. While doing your job someone might come and ask you whether you could do other jobs afterwards.

Narek, 24, Arpi village

This can be explained by the fact that news, spread from mouth to mouth, get broader and faster circulation in small villages than in big towns.

It is interesting to take a closer look at the role of the team leader. As a rule, he plays the role of a mediator during

the process of recruitment. Very often, he is considered to be the employer, since he is the one to pay the team workers, who very often do not even know who is the 'real' employer (say, a construction company, or the private sub-contractor). There are also cases, when the team leader bears the expenses of the migrant's transportation (nevertheless, these cases are exceptions). The team leader can then deduct the transportation cost from the migrant's salary. In other cases, migrants get detailed information about the job, the salary, the place they are going to stay and the food. If the migrants, who leave for abroad in a brigade, do not reject the arranged job after their arrival, they join the ranks of "provident fathers".

It is important to mention, that, though none of the ways of leaving (leaving to a friend or leaving with a construction team) guarantee success, it is more risky to go abroad to join those friends who are at the moment working abroad and have migration experience (second group of friends) and with the construction team. Though migrants get detailed information about their future job, they do not sign any employment contracts and they have to trust unknown people.

## Leaving to accept a job offer

Leaving to accept a formal job offer is the most secure way of labor migration. In these cases, the migrants have written contracts, with specified rights and duties, and working and living conditions in the host country. The group of migrants who choose this option is mainly comprised of “happy migrants” who leave for EU countries to work in their profession and those “amateur migrants” who, with the help of a job placement agency, leave for the US (sometimes also to EU countries). Among the interviewees only a few migrants had such an experience.

... I got the next letter and there was a job offer in Vienna. It was one of the happiest days in my life. I had prepared a large number of papers before I went to the embassy: My parents’ consent, a reference letter from my current work place and the whole invitation package, which I had received from Austria.

Anahit, 28, Yerevan

## HOW DO THEY LIVE AND WORK ABROAD?

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### Job description

As mentioned in the first part of the analysis, most of the migrants work in the construction industry in Russia, engaged either in housing construction or in renovation and re-design of housing.

Those who go abroad to visit their relatives or friends (the “patronized migrants”) get jobs in various fields. Their friends look for job opportunities for them or involve them in their own business. The patronized migrants work in trade, as cooks in restaurants, especially those who can make Middle Eastern dishes (barbecue, kebab etc.). Women work in food production and as bread and pastry bakers. Some women (“amateur migrants”) make cookies at home and take them to shops and cafes. In other countries, women migrants work as baby-sitters, as care-takers for elderly people and as housemaids. A few migrants work as electricians, auto mechanical engineers, shoe-makers, and drivers, or are engaged in agriculture. Only “happy migrants” work in accordance with their original professional training.

The life, your family, your children make you do everything. There was a time I worked as a worker in Moscow. But nobody knew about it. You can’t do such work here, as you have parents and brothers who would prefer to see you jobless, rather than doing such work.

Vahan, 35, Gavar

## Labor contracts

With the exception of “happy migrants”, the vast majority of people going abroad do not have written labor contracts. As a rule, they do not sign such contracts because they do not have work permits and the contract could not have legal force.

We were also interested in the attitudes of the migrants towards labor contracts. Most of the migrants mention that they do not need to sign a contract as the parties trust each other. There are people who say that for them the verbal arrangement has stronger power than a written contract. It seems they do not trust the words if they are written on the paper and are not pronounced aloud. There are migrants who mentioned, with some hesitation, that it is not an established practice to sign a contract, so that is why they have not even thought about it. And of course there are people who think that it's profitable for the employer, for the migrant or both not to sign a contract.

I didn't sign a written contract as I knew that person. Nobody signs written contracts nowadays. I have signed a written contract only once as I didn't trust that man, but it was he who didn't pay me half of my money.

Narek, 24, Arpi village

My brother's friend found work for us. We talked to that person, made the arrangements. We had good relations with that person so I was ashamed of talking about the contract.

Gurgen, 48, Gavar city

## Working conditions

Certain aspects of working conditions are only clarified verbally. Since the vast majority of migrants are working in the field of construction in Russia, we will illustrate their experience. The most important conditions for migrants are salary, accommodation and food.

### *Salary*

It is of no surprise that migrants are mostly concerned how much they will earn. In the field of construction, they are paid based on work performed. This is the reason why those migrants who work in the construction industry are happy to work long hours, including weekends. They also make arrangements about the frequency of payments.

We made arrangements about the salary. If you are sick they take all your expenses. In case you are caught by the police, but you have not done anything criminal, they take all those expenses as well.

Serob, 52, Paraqar village

I knew beforehand about the bad conditions in the place I was going to live in. It was a cow-shed. But I agreed as the salary was high.

Vardan, 56, Aygestan village



## ***Accommodation and food***

The question of accommodation mainly concerns the “provident fathers” as they do not have a place to live in Russia. These migrants are mostly interested whether the employer will provide for their board and lodging. They usually do not seek much information about the actual living conditions or the food as they do not expect excellent living conditions. There are many possibilities here as well. Those migrants who repair flats or houses usually stay at their working place. If the migrant works on a construction site, the employer offers a place to stay. Depending on the total volume of the work and the number of migrants involved in the work, lodging can be a small room for several persons or a hostel. The cost of accommodation and food is usually deducted from the worker’s salary.

When you leave Armenia you are ready for the worst. There can be times you do not have a shower even for ten days.

Sahak, 35, Musaler village

## ***Other arrangements***

In a few cases, the employer guarantees that he will take care about the residence permit of the migrant or help solve problems with the police. This is often done illegally. Sometimes the migrant and the employer make arrangements about the quality of the work and the fact that the rate of salary can change depending on the quality of the work.

## **Observing agreements**

When discussing the adherence to the initial agreements by the employer, we must bear in mind that during a trip the migrant may have several agreements. Analysis shows that in most cases the arrangements were fulfilled, though there are cases when the employer did not observe all of them.

The most common violation of arranged conditions is the late payment of salaries. Sometimes the employer pays later and in most of these cases, the migrants show understanding. There are cases when the employer pays only partially. Sometimes the employer does not straightforwardly refuse to pay the salary, he keeps on promising to pay for months, and at the end he does not. Sometimes the employer is ready to pay a significant part (maybe half) of the workers’ salary later and the migrant works in other city by that time. In such cases, the travel costs may be higher than the salary itself and as a result, the migrant does not collect it. The migrants don’t do

Sometimes they do not pay in time, but during my last trip they paid me. 30 persons from Vayots Dzor were not paid at all. They didn’t pay because they had a conflict with the mediator. I went there without talking to that mediator and they paid me either for the last year or for this one.

Levon, 47, Arpi village

anything in cases of breaches, as their possibilities to address the issue are very limited. They can either refuse to work or remind about the arrangements from time to time.

There are also happy exceptions when the employer pays more than they have arranged with the migrant.

## WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF THE MIGRANTS?

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We would mostly concentrate on problems of the workers that go to earn a living in Russia. First of all, this is the most numerous group, and the problems encountered by them seem to be also typical for the rest of CIS. Secondly, those employed in Russia tend to have more problems than the others.

### Dealing with the police

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

I was sitting somewhere when several nationalists came in and wanted to beat me. Then they said I was an old man and let me go. But there were cases where people were taken to the police and beaten. There were also cases where we got our salaries and wanted to send the money to Yerevan, but the police took it from us. I had to find somebody to solve that problem.

Hrant, 59, Yeghegnadzor

### The national extremists

Migrants often feel unsafe, especially in Moscow. As we have already mentioned, the migrants avoid meeting the local population in general, but they are even more

When you go out you do not feel the protection of the country. When you leave you do not know whether you will come back or not. They can do with you what they want, even the simple citizen can ask you who you are and what you are doing there. You have dark skin and that's bad.

Vahe, 41, Yeghegnadzor

afraid of the nationalist extremists, the "skinheads". Though only few of the interviewed migrants have encountered them, many of those working in Moscow are sure that if they would come across

them, the encounter would have a deadly outcome. As a rule the migrants do not go out at night and avoid travelling by metro in the evenings. In other cities of Russia, especially where many Armenians live, people feel safer.

My daughter and grandsons live in Moscow too. I am concerned about them. My grandsons are not allowed to go to school alone. We take them to school by car to be sure nothing will happen.

Armenuhi, 56, Yerevan

A few migrants are taking precautions on certain days only, because they are convinced that there are special days in the year when the skinheads kill Caucasians. There are also some “brave” ones, who say they are not afraid to go out even late at night, but the formulation “even at night” shows that they understand that it is not “safe”.

### Home-sickness

Many labor migrants mention that their main problem was that they missed their families. Though most of them were in touch with their families, they mentioned that they missed their relatives, their way of life, their customs and traditions. This is mainly typical for “provident fathers” and “patronized migrants”.

I didn't have any problem with job. The only thing I needed was human contact. You miss your family. You feel yourself a foreigner there.

Hayk, 44, Yerevan

### Other problems

Besides the mentioned problems, some migrants have problems with the language. This is typical mainly for those who leave for the US and EU countries.

Some migrants had health problems. Those who worked in Russia in the field of trade had problems with racketeering. Some migrants were not satisfied with their work and living conditions. Of course, these problems do not deal with the labor migration procedure itself, as the migrants can have such problems in their native country as well. However, while working abroad these problems occur often and are more intense.

### LOOKING BACK

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As a rule, the vast majority of migrants are satisfied with their trip. Usually, the migrants do not come back until they have earned enough money. The majority of the migrants interviewed are satisfied with their work and with the money they have earned. In addition to this, there are migrants (especially “amateur migrants” and “happy migrants”) who are also satisfied with the opportunity to get acquainted with a new culture and with improving their professional qualifications.

Many migrants are sure that working abroad helped them to improve their professional qualifications; others learnt their trade just during their migration. Some migrants say that the innovations reach other countries earlier than Armenia, so working abroad gives them an opportunity to learn more and grow professionally. Also, the work quality expectations are higher in the hosting countries. The latter contributes to the improvement of their professional qualifications and standards. These are the circumstances that make the migrants think that working abroad makes them competitive in the labor market of Armenia.

Some of the migrants, especially “the fish in the water”, and most of “the patronized migrants” and “the happy migrants” mention that they would like to leave for the host country with their families, as there are more suitable conditions for a better life.

Whenever “provident fathers” want to take their families with them, it is mainly because they want to reduce the expenses they have to make every now and then when they want to see their families in Armenia.

I don't want to leave with my family, because, though my children can speak Russian and my wife is half Russian, even she thinks that it is safer in Armenia. I have sons; they are hot-tempered and can easily get involved in a fight in Russia.

Masis, 40, Gyumri

I don't want to leave with my family. It's not a place to live with family.

Hrayr, 35, Musaler village

The first group of “amateur migrants” (the young people, who leave for Russia) do not think of taking their families to the host country, mostly because they are not planning to leave again themselves.

Generally, the majority of the migrants working in Moscow do not want to take their families with them, since they consider Moscow to be an unsafe place to live.

### **To those who are going to leave for Russia**

- Be kind, humble and clever and respect the local population
- Stay away from nationalists, do not go out very often. Do your work and go home.
- Be hard-working and adroit. Everything must be done fast there. It will be difficult, but if you are smart you will manage.
- Be careful. Take care of yourself. Don't forget your relatives. Remember they think of you every hour.
- Think about your work. Do not drink much, eat well, and sleep well to work well.
- Do not leave if you have no friends there. They will exploit you.
- If you leave, be sure you have someone there to trust.
- Avoid conflicts with natives. Do your work quietly.

### **To those who are going to leave for other countries**

- Accept the working conditions; do not be late for work. If you leave for the USA, smile a lot. Travel more if you can.
- Learn the language first of all. Deal not only with Armenians, but also with natives.
- Learn more about the working conditions; get acquainted with the traditions and laws of the host country.
- If you have a chance to improve your professional qualifications never let it go.
- There will be times when nobody will leave Armenia; even those who live abroad will come back. Never lose your hope.

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## CHAPTER 8. FORCED LABOR AND MIGRATION

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The two supplementary protocols to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime focus on migration-related issues, one of them relating to smuggling of migrants and the second envisaging to sanction exploitation of migrants in relation to the conditions of recruitment and/or the conditions of work in countries of destination or transit. A key aspect of the definition of trafficking in human beings is the inclusion of a provision that trafficking did not require only conditions of “force” or “coercion” but was also defined by conditions in which the trafficker can abuse a potential victim’s “position of vulnerability”. Thus, lack of consent is not required. A person may consent, but it may be very clear that his/her vulnerability made that consent irrelevant. The concept of “abuse of vulnerability” came to ease the adoption of free/forced distinction of exploitation in the Trafficking Protocol and can be used as a way of condemning “consensual exploitation”.

Vulnerability can potentially encompass a very broad range of situations, since poverty, hunger, illness, lack of education, and displacement could all constitute a position of vulnerability. It should be mentioned that migration itself does not lead to trafficking in human beings. It is the specific causes for migration, as well as the conditions under which migration takes place, that determine the level of vulnerability. In many cases the relationship of the employer and victim is not outwardly coercive, the abuse is neither overwhelming nor constant, or even the victims may enjoy freedoms to a certain extent required by the completion of their tasks.

The interviews conducted with the migrants within this study showed that they were mostly aware of the migration regime in the host country, including Russia, and of the impact that illegal stay and employment would have on their ability to enjoy their rights. At the same time, only a few of the interviewed migrants who worked in Russia had all documents required for legal employment, including residence and work permits and labor contracts. The overwhelming majority of the labor migrants registered as tourists and did not have work permits. The majority of this large group of migrants never extended the duration of their residence permits once the latter expired. Some of the migrants even confessed that their registration was faked. The main reasoning behind the efforts to avoid the law, was that there is no need to spend time and money on legal procedure as it just is a bureaucratic fuss, which takes time and money and does not guarantee the real protection of rights. Migrants do not think that someone in a foreign country is ready to deal with their protection. They mention that rights, laws, and protection are just a question of money and think that a bribe can solve all problems.

The data received from the migrants clearly shows that labor exploitation and violation of labor regulations are widespread in the destination countries although migrants as a rule do not complain about it. We recorded numerous cases when the migrants were not paid or were underpaid for the job; were subjected to unacceptably harsh working and living conditions or were faced with dangers to their personal

security or life; candidates for migration were enticed into employment under false pretences; they suffered deductions from wages with or without their voluntary consent; they worked overtime and without rest<sup>2</sup>.

To some extent that exploitation amounts to different practices of forced labor. Within this context, the overall findings of the research can be summarized as follows. First, with some exception forced labor situations are not usually the result of outright physical constraint. The research has documented more subtle patterns of coercion used to push down wages and make people work in poor or unsafe working conditions. Second, although it may be useful to subsume forced labor under the umbrella of anti-trafficking legislation and policies, the reality is more complicated. Migrants frequently enter destination countries by their own will, perhaps with the assistance of friends and family members who are already there. They can still be highly vulnerable to labor exploitation, in particular when they have an irregular status and live under persistent threat of denunciation to the authorities and eventual deportation. Third, victims are very reluctant to denounce forced labor practices. As protection schemes, particularly for trafficked victims of labor exploitation, are still very weak in most countries, victims have little incentive to cooperate with law enforcement agencies and know very little about their rights. Additionally, forced labor to some extent can be characterized as “ethnic business”. These cases are even more difficult to detect owing to tightly knit community networks that protect the offenders. Finally, the research highlighted that the lack of information on job offers abroad and the dependence of migrants on private intermediaries are major factors behind labor exploitation.

Given the above, it should be clearly stated, therefore, that the discrepancy between given working conditions and minimum labor standards may serve as a key indicator of an exploitative situation/labor exploitation.

Restricted access to legal migration channels has itself contributed to the growth of the private recruitment business, which sometimes operates at the borderline of human trafficking. Alongside with different violations of labor legislation, a series of indicators can be tracked down from the survey pointing out directly to the practice of debt bondage and other violations. A noticeable number of our migrants declared that the cost of trip, accommodation and food was deducted from their salaries. These situations develop into forced labor where the services are not reasonably applied to

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<sup>2</sup> The respective labor standards have been mostly established by the following ILO conventions: C14 Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921; C47 Forty-Hour Week Convention, 1935; C52 Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936; C95 Protection of Wages Convention, 1949; C105 Abolition of Forced Labor Convention, 1957 and C106 Weekly Rest (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1957. All these conventions have been ratified and entered into force in the Russian Federation.

the elimination of the debt. The individual is therefore forced to continue working to repay a debt that does not diminish and in some cases even increases if it is necessary to take out further loans.

**Case One:** A villager from Elpin had taken 300 people from Yeghegnadzor to Nakhodka. We were working on a construction site. It was a big project. Many people from different parts of the world were working there. The project was called “Сахалин 2 БОИТ”. They took our passports to be sure that nobody would refuse to work. The arrangement was for nine months. We lived just where we were working. We never went out. We ate three times a day in their canteen at their expense. We worked for 12 hours a day. After breakfast we used to go to the place we were working and got registered. We didn’t leave the place until lunch. After lunch we worked again until the dinner. They were always checking the registration record. If you were late and you worked less than 12 hours they took part of the money from your salary. We knew about the conditions before leaving and we accepted them.

**Case Two:** Two men from Vanadzor, brothers-in-law, 40 and 44 years old went to Ufa, Bashkiria in 2003 to work on a construction site. The older migrant had already worked there before. He was satisfied with the trip so he decided to go again and suggested his sister’s husband to join him. The employer was an Armenian living in Ufa, whose brother lived in Armenia and acted as brigadier – recruiting people to work for his brother. The employer was supposed to cover the travel costs (which should be deducted from the migrants’ salaries), pay for the room and food. They were promised a payment of 150 USD monthly, of which 100 USD the employer should have to transfer to their families in Armenia (they said 150 USD was good money back in 2003).

They thought they would have normal housing conditions, but they were living in a domik with very bad conditions (no water, no toilet, no heating). The food was not good. They could not go anywhere without informing the employer – they were only going from home to the workplace and back; whenever they needed to go to a shop, they were supervised, accompanied by the father of the employer. They worked for 1.5 years but never received money; every month the employer had some reason for that – either “the client did not pay” or “you did not work well”. The employer kept their passports. One of the migrants had some pains and was physically unable to work in construction. So the employer told him he should work in his bakery (bake bread), he said he could not do that because he felt bad, the employer forced him to go; he could not do the job well and the people in the bakery complained, so they finally left him alone. Once they intentionally went to hang around the shop to get caught by the police. When they caught them, they complained and asked for help, but the policemen said “he is your compatriot go and talk to him, we do not care, he pays us our money”. Through someone who was going to Armenia, one of the migrants sent a letter to his family describing their situation; the family contacted the Hope and Help NGO. They spoke to the law enforcement agencies who came, spoke



to the people, took pictures, demanded the migrants' passports back and the money for the tickets. The salary was never paid.

**Case Three:** Two women from Gyumri, neighbors, 35 and 52 years old, left for Urfa, Turkey. The trip was mediated by two women, acquaintances of the migrants, who were often traveling to Turkey for trade purposes.

The intermediary came and said there was a job in Turkey with very good working conditions – they were supposed to do housework; the employer would be a very decent Turkish man; the employer would pay for transportation; the intermediaries would accompany them to Turkey. The accommodation and food would be provided for free and they should get a salary of 500 USD.

The migrants did not know the language and could not communicate with the employer, so the intermediary spoke with the employer and told them everything was fine. It appeared though that besides housework they were also supposed to take care of the animals. One of the migrants wanted to refuse, but the other convinced her to stay – “we needed the money after all”. The migrants said the employer treated them very well; when one of the migrants had health problems, he arranged for treatment in a local clinic, and afterwards would not allow her to do hard work, so that she did not turn worse. There were only these two women and a security guard working for the employer. The guard was supervising them and giving assignments. They said that in the end they were not forced to do any job against their will. Their passports were always with them. Both of them said the only way in which their rights were violated was that they were not paid for the job after all. In one month, the intermediaries came to take them back to Armenia to renew the visa; but the employer said that that was not what they had agreed. The migrants did not speak Turkish and could not understand the dialogue. So the intermediaries left for Armenia, promising to find money and come back after the migrants. However, the migrants asked the employer to pay them some money so that they could send it to their families through the intermediaries. He paid 100 USD each. One of the families eventually received this amount, while for the other 100 USD the intermediaries said they lost it on the way to Armenia.

They were in Turkey for somewhat more than a month when the police came and checked their passports and said they should be deported. They were taken to the police station; the employer was trying to convince the police, but they would not listen. He then came to see them at the police station, brought them their clothes and some food. When the migrants asked for their salary, the employer said he had already paid it to the intermediaries and they were supposed to get it from them. They came back and tried to get the salary from the intermediaries but they said they did not get any money.

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## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

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### LABOR MIGRATION RATES

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- Extrapolation of the survey results allows estimating the number of households involved in labor migration during the studied period as 90,000-117,000 (or 11.5-15.1% of the total households). In the overwhelming majority of cases (80.6%) one member of the family left to work abroad; 15.5% of the families had two labor migrants and only 1.8% had three migrants.
- As to the actual labor migration rate (percent of population involved in labor migration), the 2007 survey reported involvement of 3.4% of the members of surveyed households in labor migration in 2005-2006. This allowed approximating the absolute number of labor migrants as 96,000 – 122,000 people or 3.0-3.8% of Armenia’s de jure population.
- In the two-year period between January 2005 and December 2006, the majority of the migrants (51.6%) have conducted two or three trips (40.1% and 11.5% accordingly). According to the acquired data, 54,000-74,000 migrants have left Armenia to work abroad in 2005, and 60,000-81,000 Armenians were involved in labor migration in 2006. At that, roughly 70% of the migrants should have returned to Armenia by the end of 2006, leaving a negative net migration of 29,000-35,000.
- The Russian Federation continues to be the most popular country of destination for Armenian labor migrants. Moreover, the percentage of migrants who worked in Russia has increased from 88% in 2002-2004 to 93% of the total in 2005-2006.
- The survey recorded two remarkable differences between the 2002-2004 and 2005-2006 migration flows: a) an increased involvement of the rural population in labor migration and b) a significant reduction of labor migrants from Yerevan. The highest migration rates were recorded in Shirak and Lori.

### SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE MIGRANTS

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- According to the results of the survey, the proportion of female migrants has significantly decreased: the percentage of women migrants dropped from 14.1% in 2002-2004 to 6.5% in 2005-2006. Extrapolation of the data to the general population allowed estimating the absolute number of male and female migrants: 96,000-121,000 males and 6,000-8,000 females. This means labor migration of at least 13.1% of the economically active males and maximum 1.7% of economically active females.

- The age-specific migration rates have mostly remained the same. The overwhelming majority of labor migrants were from 21-50 with the age group of 41-50 having the largest share. The only notable difference was the increased migration activity of the age group of 21-25. As a result, roughly half of the migrants who travelled abroad in 2005-2006 belonged to the age group 21-40 and another half to the age group 41-60.
- The majority of migrants were married (76%) and in most cases, the migrant was either the head of the family (male) or his son (42% and 45% respectively).
- The breakdown of labor migrants by level of education generally repeated the findings of the 2005 survey: more than 75% of the migrants who left to work abroad in 2005-2006 had either secondary or secondary professional (vocational) education (43.3 and 33.0% accordingly), and about 20% had a bachelor's or master's degree.

#### **EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME IN ARMENIA**

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- 41.4% of the labor migrants were involved in some paid activity in Armenia before 2005. More than half of them had permanent jobs, while the others had seasonal or occasional jobs. The biggest group of the employed migrants (or roughly one third) was employed in construction.
- According to the majority of the respondents, the average monthly income of their migrant relatives did not exceed 50,000 AMD (or 106 USD at the average exchange rate of 470 AMD for 1 USD in February-March 2005) at the time they worked in Armenia (60.2%). The calculated mean of the migrants' monthly income in Armenia was 44,000 AMD (or about 94 USD). In majority of cases (62.1%), while working in Armenia the migrants were earning less than half of the household income, generating an average of 42.5% of the gross monthly income.

#### **PLANNING OF THE TRIP**

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- Most of the migrants found the job prior to leaving Armenia (70.4%) and the majority of this group already had certain agreements regarding the job such as the job description, salary and working conditions.
- The percentage of migrants whose trips were intermediated has increased from 55% to 65%. In most of the cases, the trips were arranged by friends and relatives of the migrant in the host country or in Armenia (28% and 8% respectively); 12% of the migrants were assisted by a private intermediary abroad and about 10% used services of a private intermediary in Armenia. Although the services of local and foreign recruitment agencies were still used by a minority of the migrants, their number had increased from 4.6% to 7%.

- The majority of migrants have stayed abroad for 5-10 months (68.9%) and the mean duration of the trips was 8 months. Over 75% of the migrants have left the country by the end of spring, March being the most active month for departures. The majority of the migrants (78%) returned to Armenia between October and December, but mostly closer to the New Year.

## **EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME IN THE HOST COUNTRY**

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- Over 80% of the migrants have started working in less than a month after arrival in the host country. Moreover, for 54.7% of the migrants it took less than a week to start working. More than two thirds of the migrants were hired for seasonal or one-time assignments and the overwhelming majority was employed in the construction industry.
- The mean duration of the migrants' working day was estimated at 10 hours. The majority of the migrants (52.1%) were working full-time (8-10 hours), one out of three worked 11-12 hours a day (37.3%), and only 6.4% worked part-time (1-7 hours). The remaining 4.1% of the migrants claimed to work more than 12 hours a day. Less than half of the migrants had taken regular days off (46.4%); 35.6% had days off on an irregular basis, while 18% did not have any days off.
- Only 12% of the labor migrants had a written agreement (employment contract) with their employers in the host country. In the overwhelming majority of cases (74%) relations with the employers were based on oral agreements, whereas 9% of migrants stated that the labor relations were not regulated at all.
- The survey reported a more than 50% increase of the average monthly income (from 410 USD in 2005 to 643 USD in 2007). While the average monthly income of the majority of migrants from 2002-2004 flow did not exceed 400 USD, more than half of those who worked abroad in 2005-2006 earned 400-800 USD a month. Given the mean monthly income of 643 USD and the mean duration of the trip (8 months), an average migrant should have received a total income of about 5140 USD. At the same time, considering the depreciation of the US dollar over the last two years the significant increase of the absolute figures does not mean that the real incomes of migrants have grown as much.

## **REMITTANCES**

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- According to the respondents, every fifth migrant failed to send or bring money home during the last trip (19.5% or almost as much as reported by 2005 survey - 18.8%). The majority of those migrants who succeeded to make savings have sent money to their households for the first time within one to two months after their departure (69.3%). 86.2% of the migrants have

made bank transfers at least once during the last trip and 15.5% transferred money through individuals.

- The average total amount of money sent (brought) by each migrant to their family during their last trip was estimated at 2720 USD, which (again in absolute terms) means an increase of about 75% as compared to the average of 1540 USD estimated in 2005.
- Considering the approximated total income of 5140 USD, an average migrant should have been spending about 47% of the incomes in the destination country and sending the remaining 53% to the family in Armenia.
- The survey data allowed estimating that the Armenian migrants have conducted a total of 114,000-155,000 trips abroad in the period of 2005-2006. According to the results of the survey, 80.5% of these trips (or between 91,000 and 124,000) should have been “effective”. Therefore, the total amount of monetary remittances received from the labor migrants could be estimated at 250-339 million US dollars for the whole period, or 118-162 million in 2005 and 131-177 million in 2006. Overall, the 2007 survey recorded that in the period of 2005-2006 about 60% of the remittances (or 149-202 million US dollars) was wired through banks.

## **CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF LABOR MIGRATION**

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- In the context of the general development of the Armenian labor market over the last few years the main reasons behind the decision to migrate have changed to some extent. Although in an overwhelming majority of cases the migrants were still driven by the employment problems in Armenia (93.5%) the general argument “there was no job in Armenia” was no longer supported by the majority of migrants (46.5%). Almost as many migrants (43.0%) have stressed that the jobs in Armenia do not pay enough.
- Among other reasons influencing the decision to look for employment abroad, the respondents most frequently mentioned the lack of prospects for Armenia’s development and the difficulty to run private businesses in Armenia. Each of these reasons, however, was listed by less than 5% of the respondents.
- As in 2005, the overwhelming majority of surveyed migrants stated that their last trip met their expectations in full or at least in part (88.7%) and only one out of ten migrants was dissatisfied with the trip.
- The migrants were mostly planning to use the savings to provide for the basic needs of their families in Armenia. Every fourth migrant was planning to earn money to repair the house, while about one fifth of them were going to pay for the education of their children or purchasing durable products such as furniture, household appliances, etc.

Although the recent developments in the Armenian labor market seem to hold back the labor migration rates, every year more than 60,000 Armenians are leaving the country to accept job offers or look for job opportunities abroad, and mostly in Russia.

The main reason behind labor migration being to provide for their families in Armenia, most of the migrants tend to take harsh working and living conditions abroad as granted and are knowingly risking their rights by avoiding the legal procedures for residing and working in the host countries. Their “rational choice” and consent, however, do not imply that the issue of protection of the migrants’ rights should be removed from the agenda of the public debate.

Regularization of labor migration through enforcement of migration and labor legislation in sending and receiving countries remains the priority for government efforts. Success here would mean effective levers to prevent illegal migration on the one hand and guarantees for protection of the migrants’ rights on the other.

However, given the number of objective and subjective obstacles on the way, this process may take a long time to bear tangible results; in the meantime, each year tens of thousands of Armenian migrant workers are facing risks of maltreatment and labor exploitation. What follows is an open-ended list of questions and ideas that can possibly foster a debate and follow-up actions aimed at making a difference in the lives of these people in the shorter run.

- **How can Armenian civil society become more involved?** Motivating and building capacity of civil society organizations in Armenia in terms of providing advice and practical assistance to labor migrants may prove effective.
- **What could help strengthen the protection of the migrants’ rights in the host countries?** NGOs based in the host countries, such as the Russian Union of Armenians in Russia, may provide valuable support to the Armenian migrant workers, most of whom are unlikely to seek help from the authorities because they do not have legal status in the country.
- **How much more needs to be studied?** It is considered important that attempts are made to a) closely examine the role of various intermediaries in the labor migration process and b) survey the Armenian migrants and their employers in the host countries.
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- ...
- ...

## NOTES

LABOR MIGRATION FROM ARMENIA IN 2005-2007:  
A SURVEY

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