

Labor Migration in Armenian Communities

A Community Survey

Eurasia Partnership Foundation
Caucasus Research Resource Centers

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Executive Summary

Migration has had a profound impact on Armenia's economy, politics and society. Up to one million people have permanently migrated since independence, remittances account for more than ten percent of GDP and around 14% of Armenian households have at least one seasonal migrant. While the impact of migration is hotly contested, there has been a growing agreement in academic literature that migration is neither good nor bad, but rather that migration has certain costs and benefits that need to be understood and properly managed to make the greatest positive impact on society.

To best capitalize on the positive social and economic impacts of migration, the Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF), within its USAID-funded Migration Program, has been developing Migration and Return Resource Centers (MRRCs) across the country. These centers have increasingly becoming trusted sources of information and advice to migrants and returnees as they seek work abroad or look to reintegrate back home.

In order to deepen the centers' understanding of Armenia's migrant population, USAID commissioned Eurasia and the Caucasus Research Resource Center (CRRC) in Armenia to survey the migrant community. During the winter of 2007 and 2008, CRRC researchers led the MRRCs through a questionnaire and data-collection process in their local communities. The survey was quantitative, focusing on overall community migration trends. Questions were also designed to pinpoint information on migrant rights violations overseas and their access to resources and public services upon their return to Armenia.

This research had a range of goals. First, it was intended to develop a better understanding of local community migration patterns, specifically on subjects which would help the MRRCs to target their services more effectively. The second project goal was to develop the staff running the MRRCs. The most obvious benefit to these staff members was the experience of conducting a methodologically rigorous process of data collection.

Perhaps most importantly, though, was that conducting the research required MRRC employees to interact directly with the communities they serve.

The general methodological approach adopted by the survey was intended to effectively combine the strengths of intensive analysis in a small community with the rigor of randomized and numerical data-gathering procedures. To this end, one community (or in the case of an MRRC in Tavush mars, two very small communities) was selected from the catchment area of each MRRC and was measured using ethnosurvey research methodology. This methodology gives interviewers some flexibility in how to ask questions but formalizes the results they produce. Together this approach was intended to allow the interviewers and the overall survey to develop a rich understanding of what was happening in one particular community and, in the process, to build relationships and enrich their personal understanding of the challenges that migrants face.

To make the best use of the data, the research results of this survey will be continually presented in the context of existing research. The main report has four main sections that reflect the themes of that literature on migration as they pertain to the work of the MRRCs.

The **first section** presents the general findings from migration literature, as well as our survey on migration concentration, destination country, migrant profile, patterns of seasonal migration and remittances. On these issues we generally found that our communities, taken on aggregate, were highly consistent with otherwise established trends. Our survey shows 23% of households containing some people who have migrated since Armenian independence, but we show 16% of households had migrants who had migrated since 2005, compared to 14% in OSCE's national survey. The communities also show the same significant variations seen in other surveys. In Yeranos, a large rural community near Lake Sevan, 53% of households include at least one migrant, but in Shinuhayr, a small rural community in Southeast Armenia, only 6% of households report migrant family members. Migrants in all communities are generally men between 30 and 50, traveling to Russia to work in construction. They usually leave in spring and return in autumn or winter and will either send money home or bring back savings at the end of their stay.

The **second section** will present the literature on causes and consequences of migration in Armenia and compare it to our results. This survey collected information on employment, wealth and education in these communities and this has given us a range of opportunities to test different hypotheses regarding the causes and consequences of migration. Our main analysis does suggest that seasonal migration is principally driven by push rather than pull factors, though there is clearly a mix of the two across and within communities.

Migrant-intensive communities we surveyed generally have fewer opportunities to engage in productive agricultural enterprises and experience higher unemployment levels. The migrants themselves have, on average, lower education levels than non-migrants. This contradicts some of the conclusions of the existing analysis, which focuses on the middle-income level of migrants.

The **third section** presents the results of the migration experience: the preparation conducted by migrants prior to migration; their exact work arrangement; their living conditions and their expenses in the host country. It also examines the level of rights violations in the host countries and the difficulties migrants experienced upon returning home. Job pre-arrangement levels are high and improve over time, although generally speaking, communities with high levels of migration are not particularly strongly correlated with levels of pre-arrangement. Around half of the migrants used a friend to help find work and less than 10% used an agent in the host country.

In their last trip, around 50% of people lodged with their employers, while the rest divided between friends and relatives or rented apartments. But perhaps surprisingly, people seemed increasingly inclined to shift away from living with friends and relatives, preferring to stay either with the employer or in a hotel or apartment. This may be

partially explained by the fact that when staying with the employers they generally pay less of the costs (like food and accommodation).

In assessing rights violations and abuses, we asked migrants about patterns of work and treatment and then independently assessed the level of either workplace abuse or trouble in their host community. This produced a number of trends, primarily that the level of violations is high: 57% of migrants have experienced one or more rights violation, according to our survey.

Yet these migrants are not likely to categorize the experience as abusive. A very small percentage of migrants (when they have been asked to self-assess by other surveys) reported they were either very unsatisfied or consider themselves to be taken advantage of by their employers. This seems to suggest that fairly low standards of treatment are simply expected and accepted. Also, perhaps surprisingly, the level of rights violations does not seem to improve as migrants become more experienced and violations are not lower for those migrants who work for Armenian-run companies.

Upon return, most migrants do not seem to experience problems any different from those they experienced before departure. Namely, their biggest problem is lack of employment in their home country.

The **fourth and final section** will present a summary of the results for each community and will try to offer an account of how the differences in the results require different explanations at a community level.

Recommendations

Recommendations for researchers for future work:

- Identify whether the change in the number of migrants in recent years is related to permanent migration;
- Identify whether the increase in the number of migrants that stay with one employer is related to an increase or decrease of migrants' rights' violations;
- Research other factors that might be associated with migrants' rights' violations;
- Verify the skill levels of migrants employed in construction, their level of interest in working in construction in their home country, and incentives that could motivate them to stay and use their skills in Armenia;
- Identify major reasons for not cultivating the land in different communities;
- Study the crucial role of 'middlemen.' In order for a government agency or an NGO to take over the responsibility of providing services to migrants to support organized migration, a comprehensive picture about how 'middlemen' are currently involved is needed. Potential areas to study are – how many migrants rely on them? How much do migrants pay them? How much do migrants earn with their help?
- Examine Russia's skilled worker program and the impact of dual citizenship on migration and migrants' lives.

Recommendations for national and local governments

- Reach out to local and regional-level governments in Russia in areas populated with a large number of Armenian migrants, in order to facilitate some services (i.e. schools, human rights protection) that these government structures may be able to provide;
- Support Armenian citizens abroad (through consulates or a different body), rather than continuing the government view of migration as wholly negative and trying to prevent migration;
- Pursue bilateral agreements and dialogue (i.e. ease documentation requirements, engage in new skilled worker programs in different countries, or facilitate migrants' families joining them in the host country);
- Work with governments of the host country to decrease negative anti-migrant attitude towards Armenian migrants and help recognize the positive aspects and importance of the migrant workforce for the host country;
- Provide the public with more information on employment trends and statistics, labor needs, government-provided training, and wages;
- Offer 'returnee investment programs' to returned migrants, which orients migrants on how they can effectively invest their savings;
- Offer Armenian language courses (in summer or after school) for the children of returned migrants.

Recommendations for NGOs

- Assist returned or potential migrants in finding employment in their respective communities or regions.
- Assist migrants in finding safe employment and lodging in the host country, and introduce the practices of working on contract.
- Carry out informative campaigns about legal requirements of the host country for migration and migrant rights.
- Establish networks with migration NGOs in Russia and other CIS countries to assist in arranging safe seasonal employment for migrants, as well as support migrants who experience rights' violations.
- Develop career centers/professional development services centers/private employment centers to fill the gaps that the state employment centers are not filling;
- Offer at home or organize in the host country Russian language courses for those who are planning to migrate, since in order to receive a work permit and be legally involved in the labor market of Russia, migrants are required to take a Russian language test.

Introduction

Understanding migration is vital for Armenian development. As many as one million people may have permanently left Armenia since independence.¹ According to a national migration poll carried out by OSCE, 14% of families across the country had at least one seasonal migrant in their household between 2005 and 2007. At the same time the overall level of remittances in Armenia was estimated to be more than 10% of GDP in 2004.²

Assessing the costs and benefits of this level of migration are difficult. While migrants usually send remittances, the exit of so many of Armenia's most motivated work-force has created concern that their loss may diminish the country, place strains on and may represent a developmental impediment to building a local economy and civil society.

Seasonal labor migration in particular looks like it can create either the worst or the best of all possible worlds, depending on the form it takes. In the most optimistic scenario, seasonal migration can provide employment for people during slow times of the year when they would otherwise be unemployed at home, allowing them to secure their own economic situation and send home money to their families. This in turn bolsters their family's consumption and investment opportunities. The seasonal nature of their work means that these migrants are not permanently separated from their families. Fathers will spend half of the year away from their families and can return home to offer much needed labor at harvest time.

In its worst manifestation, seasonal migration can be the most difficult and the least beneficial form of migration to its participants and the country. Since the migrant may not be located abroad long enough to settle down, they may find that their accommodation is expensive and uncomfortable, cutting into their take home pay. In fact, since seasonal work is not particularly well paid and, by definition, only offers a salary for part of the year and seasonal migrants have recurring travel costs, the level of remittances they send home may be far lower than permanent migrants. Furthermore, since the seasonal nature of their work might coincide with other seasonal opportunities in their home country, they are even less likely to be employed in the time they spend at home. Perhaps worst of all, seasonal migrants, who are also often staying illegally in the host country, are exposed to many potentially abusive situations.

Therefore, it is not migration *per-se* that is the problem; it is the way it works for particular individuals and families. For that reason, in recent years a consensus has emerged in the migration literature that the role of governments and international organizations should not be to prevent or encourage migration, but rather, to make sure the benefits are maximized and the social difficulties reduced. The development of the MRRCs represents an effort on the part of Eurasia Partnership Foundation, and its

¹ Aleksandr Gevorkyan, et al. (2006), *Labor Migration in Post Soviet Reality 101: Armenia and Russia*, Washington DC, Migration Policy Institute p1

² Ali Mansoor and Bryce Qullin (2006), *Migration and Remittances: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Washington DC, World Bank p6

fundlers, to help enhance the benefits and reduce the costs of seasonal migration in Armenia.

The MRRCs

In October 2007, Eurasia established eight Migration and Return Resource Centers (MRRCs) in Armenia to help Armenian labor migrants understand their rights, the realities of working abroad and to facilitate their flow in and out of the country.

The MRRCs provide information and assistance both before migrants leave for work and after they return. It is hoped that by informing workers about their rights, the opportunities and risks of migration, and by helping them to migrate safely and return easily, it will be possible to increase the benefits of migration to families and the country as a whole while minimizing the many negative social impacts on people's lives.

Methodology

The general methodological approach was to combine the strengths of ethnography, which provides intimate and flexible intensive analysis in a small community, with the rigor of randomized and numerical data-gathering procedures. To this end, one community (or in the case of one MRRC, two very small communities) was selected from the catchment area of each MRRC and surveyed using a methodology called *ethnosurvey*.

Selecting a single community to research was cheaper than a more representative regional sample, but the reason for the choice was not merely financial. As has already been explained, many surveys already provide a nationally, and even regionally representative sample. We didn't want to create considerable overlap and duplication. What was necessary was a more community-level understanding of migration patterns. By targeting communities across the country we were able to gather a detailed understanding of how these differences might impact on migration patterns and choices.

The ethnosurvey approach was originally used by Douglas Massey and his colleagues from the Mexican Migration Project in 1987 and has been conducted there every year since.³ It has also been used in a range of migration surveys for the last two decades across Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.⁴ The ethnosurvey is intended to combine the qualitative, personal and evaluative interaction used in ethnographic research, with rigorous quantitative sampling methodologies and the analytical precision of quantitative results.

The principle difference between the ethnosurvey and a normal survey is that the ethnosurvey uses a flexible approach to the interview process. Instead of giving the

³ Mexican Migration Project (reviewed October 2008), *Study Design*, (<http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/databases/studydesign-en.aspx>). The design was also subsequently used to study migration patterns in Eastern and Central Europe.

⁴ Douglas S Massey and Rene Zenteno (2000), 'A Validation of the Ethnosurvey', *International Migration Review* 34(3): 766-793

interviewer specifically worded questions, the questioner is given information sheets to complete. These sheets are discussed at length in intensive pre-interview training (in our case for three days). The sheets are also supplemented with handbooks that provide direction to the interviewer on how to conduct the interview. However, the exact wording of the question as well as any supplemental questions required to elicit information are left to the interviewer.

This method was adopted for two main reasons. First, the Caucasus Research Resource Center's (CRRC) previous experience in conducting similar interviews suggested people were hesitant to discuss migration issues, particularly when questions involved monetary or legal issues. The flexibility of the ethnosurvey, and its reduced formality, is intended to allow the interviewer more opportunity to put the interviewee at ease. This, it was hoped, would produce more effective and reliable results.

The second reason for adopting this method is that it allows the interviewees, who were simultaneously employees of the MRRCs, to more easily develop a rapport with the interviewee. Beyond its benefit to the interview, this was useful because one of the goals of the project was to build both understanding and trust between the people who work in the MRRC and those who may make use of their services.

Sample Size

A target sample size of 250 interviews per community was selected, making the total target number of interviews 1,750 (250 x 7 MRRCs). This was based on the availability of three staff members from each MRRC for a period of two weeks to conduct the interviews. Given the average community size is between 600 and 2000 households, the margin of error is 3.7% – 5.8% at a 95% confidence level (See Figure M1 below).

Figure M1. Selected Communities for Surveying in the Armenian Labor Migration Program

MRRC Location	Region	Surveyed Community	Community Type	Approximate Number of Households ⁵	Approximate Margin of Error
Noyemberyan	Tavush	Haghtanak	Small Rural	281	3.7%
	Tavush	Barekamavan		110	
Goris	Syunik	Shinuhayr	Small Rural	555	4.6%
Armavir	Nalbandyan	Nalbandyan	Large Rural	1011	5.4%
Martuni	Gegharkunik	Yeranos	Large Rural	1065	5.4%
Charentsavan	Kotayk	8 th District	Urban	748	5.1%
Vanadzor	Lori	Bazum District	Urban	1984	5.8%

⁵ The approximate number of households in rural areas was determined by dividing the number of the *de facto* population by the average household size for the specific marz based on the 2001 Census. The number of households in the urban communities was determined based on the information of addresses in the voter registration lists.

Sisian	Syunik	South West District	Urban	631	4.8%
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Based on the past experience by CRRC, the survey estimated a 10% non-response rate among households. In order to maintain the targeted sample size and account for the difference, we added 10% to the required number of households to be selected. The method of household selection differs in urban and rural communities and is detailed below in the *Selecting the Households* Section.

Selecting the Communities

The research team selected eight communities to survey within the service area of seven out of eight MRRCs in six *marzes*, or regions, in Armenia.⁶

Communities within each catchment area of the MRRC were categorized into three groups: an urban area, a large rural area or a small rural area. With urban communities, only one district of the city consisting of between 600 and 2,000 households was sampled in order to preserve the sample's representation. Rural communities were divided into large rural (600 or over households) and small rural (600 and under). The MRRC in Noyemberyan covered the two communities of Haghtanak and Barekamavan, and since both were less than 350 households, both communities were surveyed, and the sample split between the two communities to create results with a similar margin of error.

The research team selected the community to be surveyed on the basis of indicators believed to suggest high migration levels. For small and large rural communities, the team looked at two factors from the 2001 census. First, we looked at the difference between the *de jure* population (those who have permanent residence registered) and the *de facto* population (those present during the census) since a high absentee rate seemed likely to suggest that people were abroad. Second, the team identified communities which had high concentrations of women since it's mostly men who migrate in Armenia.

For urban communities, districts were selected that were located on the outskirts of the city since field observations by the MRRCs suggested that groups living outside the city center had more migrants.

Selecting the Households⁷

Selection of households was conducted differently in urban communities than in rural communities. In the urban communities sampling was conducted based on the household addresses included on the voter registration lists. Interviewers were only given lists of

⁶ The eighth MRRC was excluded from the study for two major reasons: it covers Yerevan, and it specifically focuses on migration of young soldiers and the problems they face relating to military service in Armenia.

⁷ For our purpose the term 'household' was defined practically rather than legally. The household is defined as people living together most of the time at one address, regardless of their permanent legal residence.

addresses and the people living in these addresses were interviewed, regardless of whether their name corresponded with the one on the list. This method is aimed at protecting the confidentiality of those selected to participate in the survey.

Households were selected using a simple yet systematic random sampling method. With a random start house every k -th household was selected, where k is the number of households in the district divided by the required sample size plus the expected non-response rate.

Voter registration lists were not used in the selection of households in rural areas because of the inaccuracy and lack of village addresses and the related inability to ensure confidentiality. Selection of households in the rural communities was conducted on the spot with the help of a community map indicating major streets and plots of land. Prior to carrying out the survey a walking plan was drawn on the map of the community provided by the MRRCs as a part of their assignment before training.

Based on the number of households in the selected community, the k -th element was calculated. In cases when the k -th element was a decimal point number, it was rounded up. A specific chart was used to exclude the excess number of households generated as a result of this round-up and researchers were instructed to interview only as many households as required by the sample size (factoring in the non-response rate).⁸ Starting a walk from the city center and taking different streets as specified by the map, the interviewer interviewed every k -th house and skipped the ones specified in the chart.

This sampling method did not pre-identify houses that were closed or empty. There was, however, an option on the non-response cover sheet for the household visits providing a representative estimate for the number of vacant houses in the community. In case the house was inhabited but at the time of the researcher's visit there was no one home, then the interviewer was instructed to determine from neighbors when household members would be home and return when there was a high likelihood of finding them. If the household refused, or if on the second visit there was no one present, the researcher marked non-response on the survey coversheet and moved to the next household according to the sampling plan.

If the head of household or other knowledgeable person was not home, the interviewer agreed upon a time to return and interview the head of household.

Selecting the Respondents

First, the head of the household was interviewed. The head of the household was self-identified: someone who knew information about the family's make-up, finances, and consumption patterns. If the person identified as the head of household was residing in another city or outside of the country for a long period of time, the person who was most knowledgeable about household issues was interviewed. For the purposes of the study,

⁸ A sample of the chart with explanation is provided in Appendix B.

this person was marked as the head of the household. If the identified head of the household was living with the household during the period of the interviews, however for some reason (e.g. absent at the moment of the visit or preferring to have his/her spouse interviewed, etc.) again the most knowledgeable person was interviewed. However, in such cases, the person was not recorded as the head of the household but rather as a relative of the head (i.e. wife, son or father). The interview was held one-on-one.

After the household section of the interview was completed, all members of the household that had returned after having migrated abroad at least once were interviewed privately. If these household members were not present at the time of the interview, the interviewer arranged to return up to two times. Only respondents over 18 years old were interviewed.

Figure M2. Numerical data on interviewed households and migrants

Community	Number of Households in community	Number of households visited	Number of households interviewed	Non-response (%)	Number of migrants identified	Number of migrants interviewed
Haghtanak	282	201	182	9	105	82
Barekamavan	110	90	70	22	25	23
Shinuhayr	555	330	251	24	32	1
Yeranos	1065	292	250	14	154	129
Nalbandyan	1011	282	250	11	40	26
Sisian, South West District	748	395	250	37	31	31
Vanadzor, Bazum	1984	524	253	52	101	75
Charentsavan, 8 th District	631	435	176	60	44	21

Figure M3. Reasons for non-response

Community	Type of data	Empty house, no inhabitants	Inhabited but no one home	Refusals	No knowledgeable person identified	Address not found
Yeranos	Number	17	3	21	1	0
	%	41%	7%	50%	2%	0%
Nalbandyan	Number	6	2	23	1	0
	%	19%	6%	72%	3%	0%
Haghtanak	Number	10	2	6	1	0
	%	53%	11%	32%	5%	0%
Barekamavan	Number	17	1	2	0	0
	%	85%	5%	10%	0%	0%
Shinuhayr	Number	26	21	23	9	0
	%	33%	27%	29%	11%	0%
Sisian, South West District	Number	43	45	32	3	22
	%	30%	31%	22%	2%	15%
Vanadzor, Bazum	Number	179	42	25	6	18
	%	66%	16%	9%	2%	7%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	Number	152	43	54	8	2

Community	Type of data	Empty house, no inhabitants	Inhabited but no one home	Refusals	No knowledgeable person identified	Address not found
	%	59%	17%	21%	3%	1%

Limitations of this Methodology

The most obvious limitation of focusing on one community for each MRRC is that the individual community is not representative of the marz and the eight samples together are not representative of the country. This is not a flaw of the program since the research was never intended to produce results that could be generalized beyond the community; however, it does need to be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

In addition, while this research is not representative, there is nothing to say that it could not form the basis of research that does have statistical significance. There is good evidence suggesting that if the number of communities covered is expanded over time, creating patchwork coverage over a number of years, this may offer results that are both representative and vastly richer than a simple one-time sample survey.⁹ However, for the time being, the survey results should be understood as community snapshots.

That said, in addition to offering insights into a particular community, our results may help to sensitize those working on migration to the variation that exists in different communities on particular issues. While national surveys may be useful for providing general trends, local analysis may help to highlight areas where the general trends obscure important local variations.

The second limitation of this methodology is that interviewing resident households about migration will mean that we miss situations where the entire family has migrated. While we record empty houses, it is very difficult to deduce much from this information since we cannot be sure why the houses are empty or where inhabitants have gone. Particularly in the cases of Vanadzor and Charentsavan, it is impossible to determine if these houses are empty because families have left the country, migrated within the city or within the country. Still, this was not really a serious limitation for our purposes since the MRRCs are principally designed to service seasonal migrants and in most situations when a whole family migrates that means that migration is probably permanent.

Perhaps more importantly, we were unable to interview those migrants who were not present (though they should have been mentioned by the other family members). In order to try and interview as many migrants as possible, we simply adopted the approach of the Mexican Migrant Ethnosurvey, which was to conduct the interview at a time of the year with the highest migrant return rate. We knew from previous research that in Armenia most seasonal migrants return by December, mainly because the Russian construction sector (in which most seasonal migrants work) is closed in winter.

⁹ Douglas S Massey and Rene Zenteno (2000), 'A Validation of the Ethnosurvey', *International Migration Review* 34(3): 766-793

One limitation of the overall methodology is that the flexibility of the ethnosurvey comes at a price. The interviewers are allowed considerable latitude in how they ask questions and how they deal with interviewees. This is generally considered to be good for experienced and highly trained interviewers. However, with less experienced interviewers it can create problems because interviewees may not phrase questions clearly or consistently.

Since our interviewers were generally not very experienced we can assume that this might have tainted some of the results (though it is extremely exactly hard to assess how and where). This was a calculated risk which brought with it certain benefits. On balance, in the future the research team will probably adopt a more standardized survey method. This will be discussed in the next section.

Finally, because of the massive variation in migrants from different places, the most migrant-intensive regions clearly account for the vast majority of our migration sample. In particular, between them, Haghtanak, Yeranos and Vanadzor account for 72% of the households with migrants in our survey. This highlights both the strength and the weakness of our approach. As intended, it means that we were able to find more migrants to talk to than a national representative sample would have made possible. But at the same time this may over-represent certain parts of the country.

Actual Problems/Lessons Learned

Besides the inherent weaknesses in the methodology, the research team also experienced some specific problems that should be recorded to facilitate future improvements. The first problem was that the inexperience of the interviewers combined with the inherently flexible nature of the ethnosurvey created some confusion between interviewer and interviewee, usually as a result of unclear questions and/or answers. Two notable areas of under-specification were the issues of legality of entry and employment in the host country.

While the research questionnaire had a whole section on legality of travel and work, the results from this area of the questionnaire did not yield interpretable results. In retrospect, and in spite of discussion with the interviewers, it seems clear that neither the interviewer nor the interviewee had a clear enough understanding about the paperwork technically required for work and travel abroad (particularly Russia). Russia has an incredibly complex and continually changing set of legal requirements related both to residency and work visas. To complicate the situation even further, the laws are often not enforced but rather governed by an informal set of practices that vary by location. As a result, different forms of work and travel visas were routinely confused in the answers. Therefore, the data collected in this section is not presented or analyzed here.

If we were confident that interviewees were the source of all of the misunderstandings, this would provide interesting information itself (and would certainly highlight areas where the MRRCs might be able to help). Unfortunately, we cannot be sure whether it was the interviewer or the interviewee or both who were confused.

Questions on employment were also underspecified. When we asked the migrants whether they had been employed prior to migration we did not specify what we meant by employment. As a result, it was hard to know what our results exactly represented. This analysis speculates, because it would make our results consistent with other surveys, that migrants only classified themselves employed if they had full-time paid employment before departure. But there is no way to be sure.

However, worse than under-specification, probably the greatest problem we encountered was the lack of commitment and ownership that some of the MRRCs felt towards the survey and the process of collecting information. While some of the MRRCs saw this as a great opportunity to collect data and develop relations, some saw it as an additional burden and so were not committed to generating good results.

In the Charentsavan community, due to the high number of empty houses the interviewers were not willing to continue interviews and the study ended up having only 176 completed questionnaires instead of 250. In Vanadzor, researchers had to conduct interviews twice (the second time selecting a new neighborhood and new households) because incorrect data was collected about migrants, making follow-up interviews impossible. This community is the largest urban community included in our survey and it was important to have a high level of accuracy in the collected data. Finally, the MRRC covering the Shinuhayr community used volunteers rather than permanent staff to conduct the interviews; the volunteers did their job poorly and the MRRC showed apathy to this project. It is not recommended to work with this MRRC again.

That certain MRRCs showed particular problems was certainly unfortunate, since it affects the final quality of the research results. However, more importantly, it highlights the importance of ensuring that future partners are committed to evidence-driven and community sensitive social service provision.

1. Basic Patterns of Migration

This section lays out the main migration results and compares them to already existing research on the subject, both within the region and beyond. In general, we found, as expected, our communities have higher average levels of migrant households than the Armenian national average. However, the set of communities shows the same large variation seen in other surveys.

The overall results on patterns of migration are fairly consistent with existing research. Migrants are generally men between 30 and 50, traveling to Russia to work in construction. They usually leave in spring and return in autumn or winter and will either send money home or bring back savings at the end of their stay.

General Themes in the Literature

The literature on migration is expansive and it goes beyond the scope of this project to summarize it here. However, since the extant literature has framed the approach of this

survey, and recent surveys have brought particular insight into the migration situation in Armenia, it seems appropriate to touch on some of the key themes.

Perhaps the simplest division of the literature is between research focusing on *causes* and *consequences* of migration. To understand causes of migration, one needs to distinguish between 'reasons' (the reasons for migration stated by migrants themselves) and 'causes' (the deeper socio-economic, historical and political explanations for those decisions, of which migrants may or may not be aware). Most analysis in the literature accepts that the prime 'reason' for migration is employment.¹⁰ In the 2007 OSCE report on Armenia, for example, 94% of those interviewed cited employment as their reason for migrating.¹¹ In our survey, 95% of repeat migrants cited the same thing.

However, understanding that most migrants were motivated by a need for work does not help us to understand which groups are most likely to leave and what enables or requires them to do so. In the existing literature, the causes of migration are roughly divided into *pull* and *push* factors. *Push* factors are issues that force people to migrate, and include situations that create extremely difficult living conditions. Two *push* factor examples include economic collapse, creating unemployment and poverty, or ethnic conflict and war, threatening people's safety and security.

For example, the three root causes behind Armenia's migration patterns in the ten years from 1988-1998 are probably most accurately described as *push* factors since a combination of the 1988 earthquake, ethnic violence and war with Azerbaijan, and the collapse of the Soviet Union created a situation that *pushed* many people to seek a way out of extremely difficult living situations.

Pull factors, conversely, make working abroad more attractive (usually at least economically) for the migrant. Classic *pull* factors are a growing labor market or better pay differentials in the host country, particularly for certain skill sets. This may create pressures to migrate even if people do not feel anything pushing them to leave.

Of course, whether a factor is *pull* or *push* is very much a matter of perspective. People leaving a place will say they were *pushed* by lack of good job opportunities, but if there are work opportunities at home (albeit less well paid) some observers would say that this is a *pull* since the migrants chose to go.

The reason this division is important is that if migration is driven by *push* factors in a given society, one would expect migration to decrease as income increases. In this basic theoretical framework, since economic growth rates in Armenia have been high, one might expect migration to decrease. If migrants are motivated by pull factors, then one would expect that increasing income might actually increase migration since wealthier

¹⁰ For example, employment is one of the main cited explanations given in the World Bank report on the region. Aleksandr Gevorkyan et al (2006), *Economics of Labor Migration from Armenia: a Conceptual Study*, Washington, World Bank, p9.

¹¹ Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey' Yerevan, Armenia p33.

people are more likely to be better educated so can better take advantage of opportunities abroad and they can more easily afford to travel.

However, owing to the difficulty of maintaining a consistent divide between *push* and *pull* factors and burgeoning empirical literature which has criticized the reliance of an oversimplified *push-pull* conception of migration, scholars have tended to highlight the fact that migration is less a matter of necessity than a complex choice. For example, in most of the modern international comparative literature, while poverty plays a role in explaining migration, it is increasingly accepted that the biggest migrant countries are not the poorest countries and within a target society the biggest migrant groups are usually not the poorest groups since they will lack the finances to travel or the skills sets that make them employable.

The second main theme of the literature, as it pertains to this report, has been to consider the general consequences of migration on the migrants' home country (otherwise known as the sending country) and migrants themselves. Obviously, a variety of economic, political and social factors are at play here. Since the focus of this research has been to try and help the MRRCs in their efforts to assist migrants, this research project chose to focus on the impact of remittances on communities and to look at the quality of the migrant experience in their host country.

Finally, across all the literature there has been a growing realization that in order for migration to have a positive impact, it is essential to understand the exact patterns of migration and migrant behavior. As we will see below this process has already started regarding Armenia, and this project has sought to supplement the already existing body of literature.

The History of Armenian Migration and Armenian Migration Literature

While the Soviet Union in general and Armenia in particular saw considerable population movement, with net emigration and immigration at various points in its history, the three main waves of migration that form the focus of the recent literature start with the earthquake of 1988, quickly followed by the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Armen Yeghiazaryan, a professor at Yerevan State University, estimates that the first two waves may have resulted in 200,000 and 170,000 departures respectively and that when combined with Soviet collapse there may have been a total 6-800,000 departures between 1988 and 2001.¹² On top of that, according to official statistics Armenia's population has decreased by about 2000 a year from 2001 onward.¹³

However, these figures have always been enormously speculative and perhaps the biggest hurdle to analyzing true migration patterns in Armenia has been the lack of well researched data. For example, basic data on where Armenians went in Russia was not

¹² Armen Yeghiazaryan, et al. (2003), 'How to Reverse Emigration' Armenia, Armenia 2020 p4-5

¹³ World Bank (2006), *Global Economic Prospects: Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration*, Washington p10

available until as late as 2004.¹⁴ The first major national migration survey, which in adopting a methodology similar to ours also focused on temporary labor migration, was funded by the OSCE, carried out in 2006 but asked questions relating to the 2002-5 time period. This survey was repeated in 2007 with a survey that also covered 2005-7. A nationwide representative sample of 1500 households was surveyed and asked questions that covered the socio-economic profile of all households, particularly migrant households, the labor migration rates, the profile of migrants and the process of migration. This allowed the researchers involved to reflect upon the causes and effects of migration and possible scenarios for improving its effects. The Asian Development Bank has also just conducted a large survey of migration in Central Asia and the South Caucasus, though the results of this research as they relate to Armenia are not yet available.¹⁵

Another survey highlighting human rights abuses was conducted in 2004 by OSCE and the United States Embassy in Yerevan. Researchers interviewed 2500 people, mostly in urban areas, to try to reveal cases of human rights violations caused by illegal migration, most victims being labor migrants to Russia. The results of these surveys will be compared to our survey results as they develop.¹⁶

The Existing Literature on Current Migration in Armenia

According to the 2008 OSCE-funded survey, 14% of households have at least one member who migrated between 2005 and 2007. This is almost exactly the same as the number of people who migrated in the 2002-2005 period.¹⁷ Estimating the equivalent levels of migration as a percentage of the population, the survey found a dramatic disparity between the regions, with as few as 1.2% of the population migrating seasonally from Syunik Marz and 8.8% from Shirak Marz.

Figure 1.1 Regional Breakdown of Migration Rates

Region	% of population who are temporary migrants	Estimated number of people who are temporary migrants
Yerevan	2.4	26,500
Aragatton	4.7	6,500
Ararat	3.3	9,000
Armavir	2.9	8,000
Gegharkunik	2.9	6,900
Lori	5.7	16,300
Kotayk	3.0	8,200
Shirak	8.8	25,000

¹⁴ Ruben Yeganyan and Nelson Shakhnazarov (2004), *Labor Migration in Armenia: a Review of the Literature*, Yerevan, OSCE Office in Armenia p56

¹⁵ <http://pid.adb.org:8040/pid/TaView.htm?projNo=40038&seqNo=01&typeCd=2#timetable>

¹⁶ G Poghosyan, et al. (2005), *Trafficking and Labor Exploitation of Labor Migrants: a Sociological Survey*, Yerevan, Armenia, Armenian Sociological Association

¹⁷ Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey ' Yerevan, Armenia p18 and Anna Minasyan and Blanka Hancilova (2005), *Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005*, Yerevan, Armenia, Supported by OSCE, Armenia and Advanced Social Technologies p23

Syunik	1.2	1,800
Vayots Dzor	5.7	3,200
Tavush	2.1	7,700
Total	3.6	115,700

Source: Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey ' Yerevan, Armenia, p 20-21

The national age break-down of migration is also consistent across the two surveys. Average age of migrants in the 2007 OSCE survey was 39.2 years with over one third in the 30-40 age range.¹⁸ Over 93% of migrants were men and 76% of them were married.¹⁹

The first OSCE survey also offered strong indications that the level of migration was in decline, though the second survey did not show further reduction in seasonal migration figures, suggesting that any such decline had probably stopped.²⁰ This finding is consistent with other research. For example, Aleksandr Gevorkyan, et al. use Russian statistics on the number of people arriving into Russia from Armenia as an indicator of declining Armenian migration levels.

Figure 1.2: Total Migration into Russia (1,000 persons)

	arriving into RF	including from:	
		CIS	Armenia
Jan-Jun 2005		80.7	2.9
Jan-Jun 2004		42.9	1.4
2004	119.2	110.3	3.1
2003	129.2	119.6	5.1
2002	184.6	177.3	6.8
2001	193.5	186.2	5.8
2000	359.3	350.3	15.9
1997	597.7	582.8	19.1

Source: Federal State Statistical Service (Russian Federation, or RF); Federal Migration Service (RF)²¹

The indication is that the overall level of migration may have declined until fairly recently but has now stabilized. The OSCE report, however, does suggest that the distribution of Armenian migration has changed. The migration rate of the population (not per household) has gone down in urban communities from 5.4% to 3.6% of the population but it has gone up in rural communities from 2.8-3.5%.

¹⁸ Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey ' Yerevan, Armenia p22 (and our calculations)

¹⁹ Ibid. p21-22

²⁰ Anna Minasyan and Blanka Hancilova (2005), *Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005*, Yerevan, Armenia, Supported by OSCE, Armenia and Advanced Social Technologies p24

²¹ Aleksandr Gevorkyan, et al. (2006), *Labor Migration in Post Soviet Reality 101: Armenia and Russia*, Washington DC, Migration Policy Institute

The material on remittances is extremely broad ranging. At a national level, the World Bank, in its comparison of countries from Eastern Europe, South Caucasus and Central Asia, suggested that even in 2004 remittances in Armenia may have been 10% of GDP or an average of almost 15% of household income.²² Discussion of these remittances focuses on two issues. How effectively the remittances are employed for savings versus immediate consumption and what negative side-effects remittances may cause in terms of their inflationary consequences and effect on maintaining the artificially high value of the Armenian dram.²³ Since our survey did not collect data on household income (owing to the problems of doing that accurately in a survey) we will look at the impact of remittances on consumption patterns through proxies later.

Migration Patterns in Surveyed Communities

The overall pattern of migration suggested by our survey was similar to the information provided by the OSCE national survey. To identify labor migration levels and trends in the communities, we looked at three indicators: the number of migrant households; the number of empty houses; and the average number of trips made by migrants in each community.

A ‘migrant household’ is defined in our survey as a household with a previously migrated member present during the interview. If the household has a migrant still abroad then it is not recorded as a migrant household. This was important for our research, since the focus of our analysis was temporary migration. As already mentioned, since the interviews were conducted in late December, we had good reason to believe that most seasonal migrants would now be home.²⁴

Figure 1.3: Basic Survey Information on Migration Levels

Community	Households with migrants		Number of empty houses recorded	Migrants per household	Average Number of trips per migrant
	Number	%			
Haghtanak	72	40	10	1.5	2.6
Barekamavan	17	24	17	1.5	2.4
Shinuhayr	16	6	26	2	
Yeranos	133	53	17	1.2	7.8
Nalbandyan	29	12	6	2	2.0
Sisian, South West District	26	10	43	1.2	2.1
Vanadzor, Bazum	63	25	179	1.6	2.9
Charentsavan, 8 th District	25	14	152	1.8	2.5

²² Ali Mansoor and Bryce Qullin (2006), *Migration and Remittances: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Washington, World Bank p59 and 65

²³ Aleksandr Gevorkyan (2006), ‘Economics of Labor Migration from Armenia: a Conceptual Study’, prepared for *Fourth International AIPRG Conference: Public Sectors Role of Influencing Economic Outcomes*, Washington, World Bank p20

²⁴ Seasonal labor migrants usually return home the end of fall or in winter before the New Year.

On average, 23% of our surveyed households contained migrants. That this number is significantly higher than the Armenian national average of 20% is to be expected since our migrants cover the period since Armenian independence. If we look just at the households in our survey that contain migrants during the 2005-2007 period, we find only 16% of migrants households.

We recorded empty houses because it was believed that this may indicate the entire family has moved from the community. We were particularly interested to see if the number of seasonal migrants somehow correlated with the number of empty houses, since this might suggest that seasonal migration and permanent migration are both prevalent in the same communities. No such correlation was identified. More importantly, and also worthy of further analysis, we found that the number of empty houses was far higher in the urban communities than the rural communities, though it is unclear exactly why.

A clear indication for repeated seasonal labor migration is the number of trips made by each migrant. This did seem to be higher in the communities with high percentages of migrant households. Yeranos is probably the most extreme case, with migrants making around three times as many trips as in other communities.

Figure 1.4: Number of trips taken by migrants by community

No of trips	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	more than 10	Total	Average
Yeranos	6	11	10	19	9	8	12	7	5	19	23	129	7.8
Nalbandyan	11	9	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	2.0
Haghtanak	47	7	4	5	10	1	2	1	0	3	1	81	2.6
Barekamavan	12	3	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	22	2.4
Sisian, South West District	18	7	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	31	2.1
Vanadzor, Bazum	38	8	9	5	5	0	2	2	0	3	3	75	2.9
Charentsavan, 8 th District	8	5	4	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	21	2.5

We also examined the level of migration and assessed trends by looking at patterns of previous and planned future migration.

Table 1.5. Number of 2007 migrants who plan to migrate next year

Community	2007 Migrants total	Plan to migrate	Plan not to migrate	Don't know
Yeranos	117	90	17	10
Nalbandyan	12	9	1	2
Haghtanak	41	23	5	13
Barekamavan	4	1	2	1
Sisian, South West District	15	3	12	0
Vanadzor, Bazum	28	19	8	1

Charentsavan, 8 th District	2	2	0	0
Total	219	147	45	27

It is significant to note that almost exactly one quarter of the 2007 migrants reported no plans to migrate again in 2008.

Profile of migrants

The vast majority (90% or more) of the migrants to Russia and CIS countries are male, and on average 82% are married. Armenia has not experienced an increase in the level of female migration that has occurred in Georgia.²⁵ There is little variation in these figures across communities and it is consistent with the other literature. According to the aggregated data on the reasons for migration, 64% of all one-time migrants and 95% of all repeat migrants from Armenia left the country in search of a job. The rest were mainly traveling to meet with a family member and over 90% were female.

Since Armenia's migration is overwhelmingly male, one interesting question it generates is why Armenia has not experienced an increasing level of women migrating as experienced by neighboring Georgia. The survey did not tackle this question directly but there are two possible answers. First, Georgian migrants have been forced to diversify their country of destination because of the difficulty of accessing the Russian market. Second, ethnic diversity in Georgia may more naturally encourage a wider range of destination countries. The connection between destination country and gender is then made by virtue of the labor demands of a particular market. In Russia, the demands for labor are focused on men (in growing industries like construction, for example), while in higher-GDP markets the employee demands may include domestic help and service industries, which tend to employ more women.

Destinations

Most labor migrants in Armenia travel exclusively to Russia: 92% of labor migrants reported Russia as the destination of their first trip and 95% reported it as the destination of their most recent trip. Ukraine and Kazakhstan were a very distant second and third (3.4% and 2.1% of migrants named these two countries as a destination). Only 1.8% migrated to other countries outside of the CIS.

This is hardly surprising. Since our focus was seasonal, or temporary, migration, it is unlikely that many seasonal migrants would travel further than Russia. In addition, while our percentages offer a slightly higher Russia concentration than the OSCE result, this can be explained by the fact that our target communities were all outside the capital. The OSCE report points out that the concentration of migration to Russia is even higher in

²⁵ Tamara Zurabishilvi. *Migration from Daba Tianeti: An Alternative Census*. Report for Caucasus Research Resource Centre, 2006.

rural areas since over 90% of people going to the USA and around 60% of those going to the EU come from urban areas.²⁶

Since there was such a high concentration of migration to Russia, the study tried to identify the particular regions in Russia that are most popular destinations among Armenian migrants. With this purpose, the geographic territory of Russia was divided into six conditional areas: (1) Moscow with its outskirt towns; (2) other European Russia (cities and towns located in the western part of Russia); (3) North Caucasus; (4) Southern Urals; (5) Siberia; and (6) Eastern Coast.

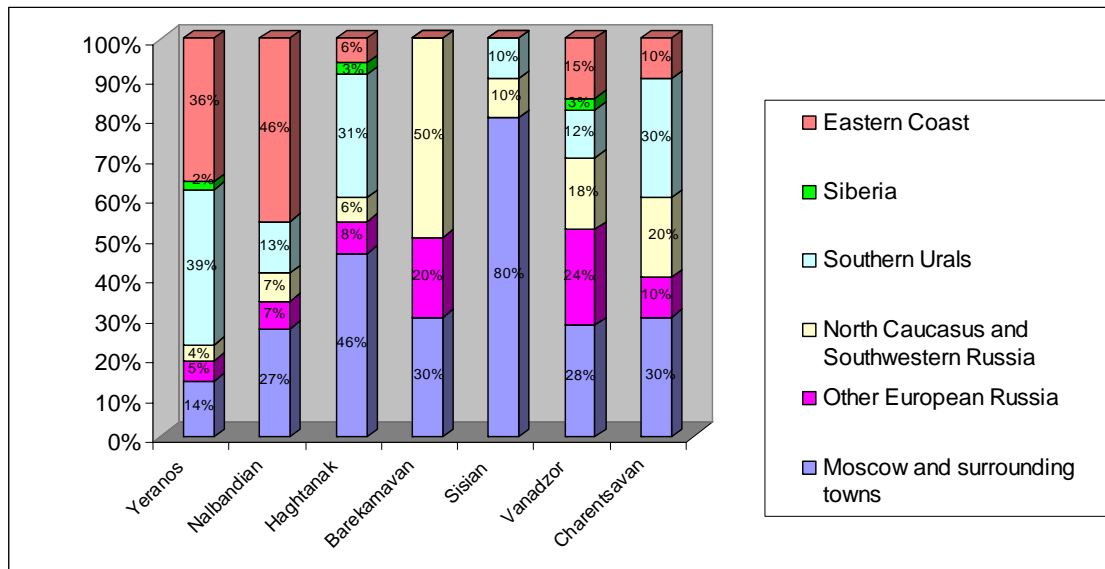
Figure 1.6 Map of migration regions in Russia



In the table below, one can see that the destination of different communities are significantly different to one another though no community reported more than 50% of its migrants going to one place (the exception was Sisian, which only had 26 migrant households, with 80% going to Moscow). That said, Yeranos and Haghtanak (our two biggest migrant communities) do show high regional concentrations, with Yeranos sending its migrants to the Eastern Coast and Southern Urals and Haghtanak sending nearly half of its migrants to Moscow.

Figure 1.7. Migrants' destination region in Russia (Last trip)

²⁶ Anna Minasyan and Blanka Hancilova (2005), *Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005*, Yerevan, Armenia, Supported by OSCE, Armenia and Advanced Social Technologies p30



Examining the data has allowed us to exclude a range of correlates with these particular destinations. There is no clear rural/urban divide in destinations (rural communities go to Moscow and St Petersburg as much as urban communities). It is useful to remember that the urban communities we cover in this survey are outlying regions of small cities and as such are likely to be little better-prepared for Moscow or St Petersburg than the inhabitants of rural communities.

By attempting to correlate patterns of migration with other variables, we were able to rule out some factors in the choice of destination. Armenia is relatively ethnically homogenous so that factor does not seem to play a role in selecting the area of migration. In our case, age and sex also does not influence migrants' choice of area for migration since the migrant population, also, is relatively homogenous. Thus, data on the destination country or region, does not reveal distinction in migration behavior of certain groups, it simply points to specific social networks that these migrants have access to in the host country

Employment

Most employed migrants (78% in their first trip and 87% in their last trip) from all communities did construction work in the host country. The level of involvement in different activities differs somewhat by region. Charentsavan (100%, 89%²⁷), Yeranos (98%, 98%), Haghtanak (79%, 91%), Vanadzor (65%, 80%), Barekamavan (61%, 90%), Sisian (54%, 50%), and Nalbandyan (32%, 33%).

Other than construction, roughly 12% of migrants are involved in the trade and services sector, concentrated mostly in Moscow and the North Caucasus. Sixteen percent of all

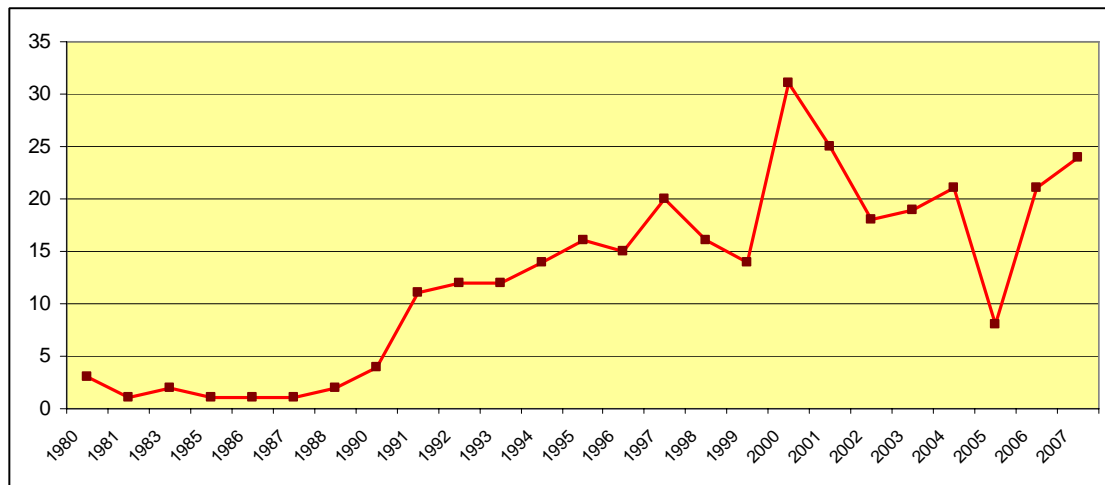
²⁷ The first percentage refers to the first migration trip, and the second – to the last trip.

migrants in Moscow are involved in commercial activities, compared to 26% of those who go to the North Caucasus.

Migration year and season

The year 2000 recorded the highest rate of new migrants joining the labor pool. Between 2001 and 2006, growth was not as high as in 2000, but there was a 30 percent increase in the number of new migrants.

Figure 1.8 Number of new migrants leaving for their first trip each year.



The migration season for labor migrants is spring, and 69% of those who migrated for work did so in the months of March, April and May. The return season for labor migration is late fall (64%) and early winter (19%). Many of those who never worked in the host country accompanied their family members on their trip in spring and returned with them in fall or winter. Others who simply traveled to visit their migrant family members during the year did so during the period of summer or early fall

Figure 1.9 First departure trip abroad by season

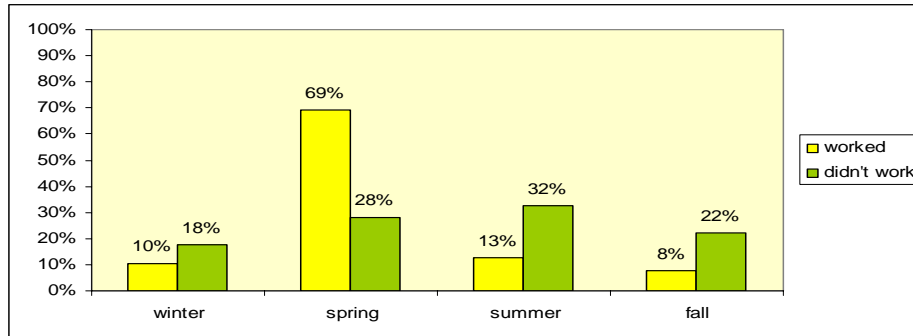
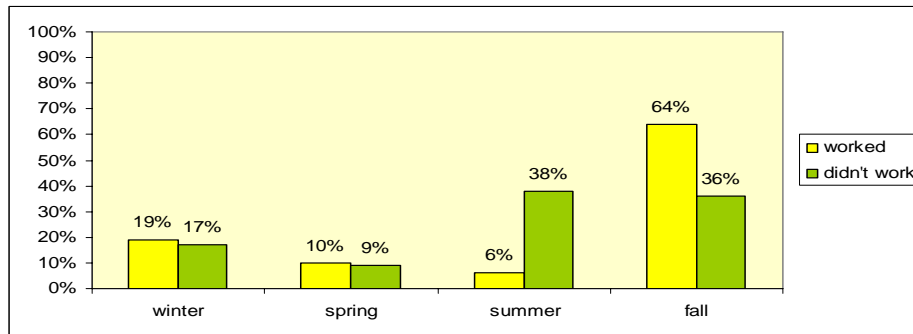


Figure 1.10 First return trip to home country by season



Remittances and savings

Overall, the majority of migrants (81%) bring savings back with them from their work abroad, and many said they sent remittances (the frequency varied widely from community to community). Out of all households surveyed, including non-migrant households, only 17% of the 1,682 households reported currently receiving remittances and contributions, this figure combining remittances from 2007 migrants interviewed and remittances from those who were not present.

A total of 82% of 2007 migrants reported sending home remittances during the last year, and 95% of those send remittances to only one household. On average, they send \$270 (first trip) and \$345 (last trip), and the average frequency of sending remittances is every 4-6 months. On top of these remittances, the savings brought home each year averaged between USD \$1,920 (first trip) and \$2,800 (last trip).

This is fairly consistent with the OSCE report, which reports around 80% of migrants either send money home or bring money home from their trips. Around 85% of those who make transfers during their trip send or bring an average \$2,720 total.²⁸ This suggests a total remittance receipt for Armenia from seasonal migration in the range of \$118-162 million in 2005 and \$131-177 million in 2006.

²⁸ Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey' Yerevan, Armenia p31

Also, since we know how many people are receiving remittances and we know how many people traveled abroad last year, we can deduce how many people are currently receiving remittances from longer-term migrants

Table 1.11 Remittances patterns in communities

Community	Number of households currently receiving remittances and contributions	Number of households with migrants who made their trip in 2007 currently sending remittances	Number of longer-term migrants sending remittances
Yeranos	45	78 ²⁹	-
Nalbandyan	21	10	11
Haghtanak	39	38	1
Barekamavan	15	2	13
Sisian, South West District	25	8	17
Vanadzor, Bazum	77	20	57
Charentsavan, 8 th District	41	3	38

It is, however, worth noting again that the level of remittances differs significantly across the different communities.

Figure 1.12. Average amount of remittances and savings from migrants of 2007

Communities	Remittances, USD	Savings, USD
Yeranos	578	3738
Nalbandyan	281	2344
Haghtanak	187	1277
Barekamavan	150	750
Sisian, South West District	181	980
Vanadzor, Bazum	216	1008
Charentsavan, 8 th District	300	1000

2. The Causes and Consequences of Migration: a Community Perspective

In assessing the different factors that influence migration, three main issues have been central in the literature - employment, wealth and education. In this chapter, the survey results will be assessed to measure the impact of these factors either as causes or consequences of migration. Either one of these factors, as possible determinants of migration, could be seen as either *push* or *pull* factors. The more options that migrants seem to have, the more job options, wealth or education, the more one tends to see migration as a choice rather than a necessity (a *pull* rather than a *push*). Conversely if migrants are generally unemployed before their departure, poor and uneducated, one is more likely to see migration as a necessity.

²⁹ In the case of Yeranos, migrants didn't report their households as receiving remittances, which explains the discrepancy in the data.

Overall our analysis does suggest that seasonal migration is principally driven by *push* rather than *pull* factors. Migrants in the communities we surveyed generally came from communities with less opportunity for productive agricultural enterprises, higher levels of unemployment and with lower average levels of educations amongst those who choose to migrate.

This contradicts some conclusions in the existing literature. The OSCE report argues that both the richest and the poorest in society are under-represented amongst seasonal migrants. Our analysis suggests that while the most educated are unlikely to engage in seasonal migration, once one takes factors age into the equation, the poorest and least well educated are just as likely to migrate as those who are slightly wealthier. In general, we found that the bottom 60% of a community is noticeably more likely to migrate.

Causes and Consequences in the OSCE reports

Perhaps because earlier patterns of migration from Armenia were so clearly driven by *push* factors (earthquake, ethnic violence, war and economic collapse), the recent research, particularly by OSCE, has tended to stress that more recent migration in Armenia is not undertaken by the socially most desperate. In terms of employment, in the 2005 OSCE report about half of those emigrating were employed either part- or full-time before leaving. About 33% of migrants had a permanent job.³⁰ In the 2007 report, 41% were employed and about 20% had a permanent job.³¹ This seem to suggest that many of the migrants were not forced to migrate, but did so because of better wages abroad.

This is further confirmed by the analysis that OSCE made of incomes of migrants before they migrated. After estimating the average income of a migrant, in the 2006 report they conclude that,

*We can once again confirm the findings of other similar research in terms of stating that labor migrants mostly come from families with average income, rather than from low- or high-income groups. This is quite natural, since the lower economic class of the population does not possess enough financial resources to afford the travel costs, while those who have high income in the home country apparently do not have the motivation to engage in labor migration.*³²

That said, the report acknowledges that families still consider this income to be crucial as 76% of families considered their family would be financially less sustainable in the absence of a close family member's migration.

³⁰ Anna Minasyan and Blanka Hancilova (2005), *Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005*, Yerevan, Armenia, Supported by OSCE, Armenia and Advanced Social Technologies p36

³¹ Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey ' Yerevan, Armenia p24

³² Anna Minasyan and Blanka Hancilova (2005), *Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005*, Yerevan, Armenia, Supported by OSCE, Armenia and Advanced Social Technologies p37

Another finding the OSCE report uses to support its argument that it is middle class, rather than poor families who migrate, is that around 70% of the migrants have secondary education or higher.³³ Similarly, the very worst-educated have extremely low levels of migration.³⁴ The reason for this, they argue, is that

*There is a significant surplus of craftsmen, engineers and economists in the Armenian labor market. Coupled with high demand for skilled workers abroad, especially in the construction industry in Russia, this helps explain why these professional groups tend to show much higher migration activity than the others.*³⁵

In order to test these various explanations in our communities, our survey also examined the correlations between various indicators of employment, education and wealth at an individual and community level. Our results suggested a different set of conclusions to the OSCE report and once again seemed to stress an increasing role of *push* factors determining migration.

Living conditions and consumption by community

In order to provide enough detailed information to understand the rich pattern of causes and consequences of migration, our survey not only asked questions about migration but also about patterns of employment, land usage and measured variables as indications estimating a standard of living. To test for differences among communities we have used the *Kruskal-Wallis H test*, considering that variables of wealth and ownership in society usually don't have a normal distribution.

Living standards are measured by the following indicators, while details of how composite variables were calculated are in Appendix F:

- Overall housing condition of households;
- Real estate ownership, other than the house they live in;
- Business ownership;
- Vehicle ownership;
- Ownership of household appliances and consumer goods;
- Land ownership and cultivation;
- Animal husbandry.

The condition of the houses was first assessed using a three point scale that combined assessments of the walls, floors and windows as seen by the interviewers. As well, a 22-point scale was developed combining the state and availability of sewer and gas services, as well as water and electricity in terms of its hourly/daily availability. Communities

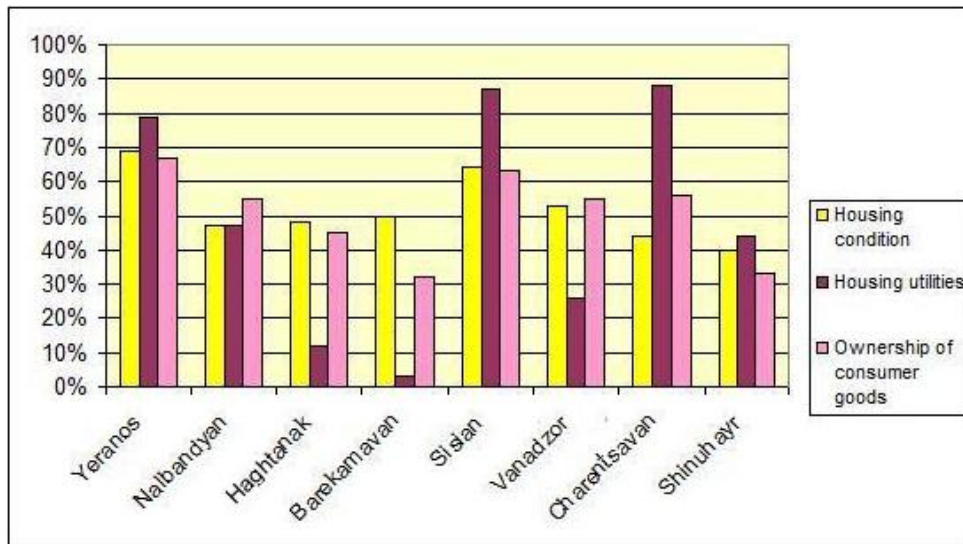
³³ Ibid p11

³⁴ Ibid p12

³⁵ Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey ' Yerevan, Armenia p23

were also measured on a seven-point scale based on the number of household and electronic appliances they owned, such as washing machines, refrigerators, televisions, stereos, cell phones and computers with Internet access. In table 2.1, we have recalculated these scores for each community into percentages of the total possible score, in order to allow for comparison.

Figure 2-1. Quality of housing, utility standards and ownership of consumer goods.



The urban areas of Sisian, Charentsavan and the large rural area of Yeranos have the highest utility standards. In these communities, almost all respondents reported having flush toilets and water available all day. It is not surprising that the two lowest levels of housing condition were found in the two Tavush regions of Barekamavan and Haghtanak which, as with many rural communities in the region, did not have sewer and gas services and had problems with water provision.

Without examining the migration patterns there is no clear logic to the distribution. Yeranos, again, has the highest level of ownership of consumer goods, but after that the urban districts (Sisian, Vanadzor and Charentsavan) and the other large rural area of Nalbandyan all have similar scores. The rural communities of Haghtanak, Barekamavan and Shinuhayr are the lowest.

Vehicle ownership also shows statistically significant difference across communities.

Figure 2-2: Vehicle ownership across communities

Community	Own cars		Own trucks		Own buses/vans		Own motorcycles	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Yeranos	75	30%	13	5%	4	2%	0	0%
Nalbandyan	121	48%	21	8%	3	1%	3	1%
Haghtanak	32	18%	4	2%	0	0%	1	1%

Barekamavan	22	31%	4	6%	0	0%	0	0%
Sisian, South West District	58	23%	6	2%	2	1%	1	0%
Vanadzor, Bazum	31	12%	3	1%	3	1%	0	0%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	26	15%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%
Shinuhayr	47	19%	21	8%	1	0%	0	0%

The survey also assessed agricultural assets, including land ownership and land cultivation, animal ownership based on a scale assigning certain values to particular animals and adding those values and agricultural machinery ownership.

Figure 2.3: Ownership and usage of agricultural assets

Community	Land Ownership (hectares) ³⁶	Land Cultivation (hectares)	Percentage of land cultivated	Animal ownership (0-26 scale)	Tractors and agricultural machinery
Haghtanak	1.4	0.5	36%	1.5	7%
Barekamavan	0.4	0.04	10%	2.4	7%
Shinuhayr	1.43	1.09	76%	2.2	7%
Nalbandyan	0.9	0.7	78%	1.5	6%
Yeranos	0.2	0.15	75%	2.0	3%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	0.06	0.02	33%	0.0	0%
Vanadzor, Bazum District	0.02	0	0%	0.0	0%
Sisian, SW District	0.12	0	0%	0.1	0%

Different Correlates to Migration

Employment

Overall, 87% of all interviewed migrants did not have any employment prior to their first trip, and those who were employed received on average \$103 per month.

Figure 2.4: Employment of migrants prior to their first trip of migration

	yes	No	Total
Yeranos	12	117	129
	9%	91%	100,0%
Nalbandyan	5	21	26

³⁶ This excludes one 25-hectare plot in Nalbandyan and two 50-hectare plots in Yeranos since these owned plots of land were outliers

	19%	81%	100,0%
Haghtanak	4	78	82
	5%	95%	100,0%
Barekamavan	3	20	23
	13%	87%	100,0%
Sisian, South West District	4	27	31
	13%	87%	100,0%
	16	59	75
Vanadzor, Bazum	21%	79%	100,0%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	5	16	21
	24%	76%	100,0%
Total	49	338	387
	13%	87%	100,0%

On the surface these figures are very different to the ones suggested by the OSCE report since the OSCE reports shows 51% of migrants employed before departure in 2002-2005³⁷ and 41% employed before departure in 2005-2007. However, a more detailed look shows that our two surveys are much closer. In OSCE's 2005 research, only two-thirds of the 'employed' group or one third of the overall group had full-time employment. In the 2007 report, the total number with full-time employment before departure had dropped from one third down to 20%.³⁸

It seems reasonable to assume that those in our survey generally only answered 'yes' to questions of employment if they were employed full-time. The difference between the 20% reported by OSCE and our 13% may result from the fact that we were generally surveying poorer areas with higher levels of general unemployment.

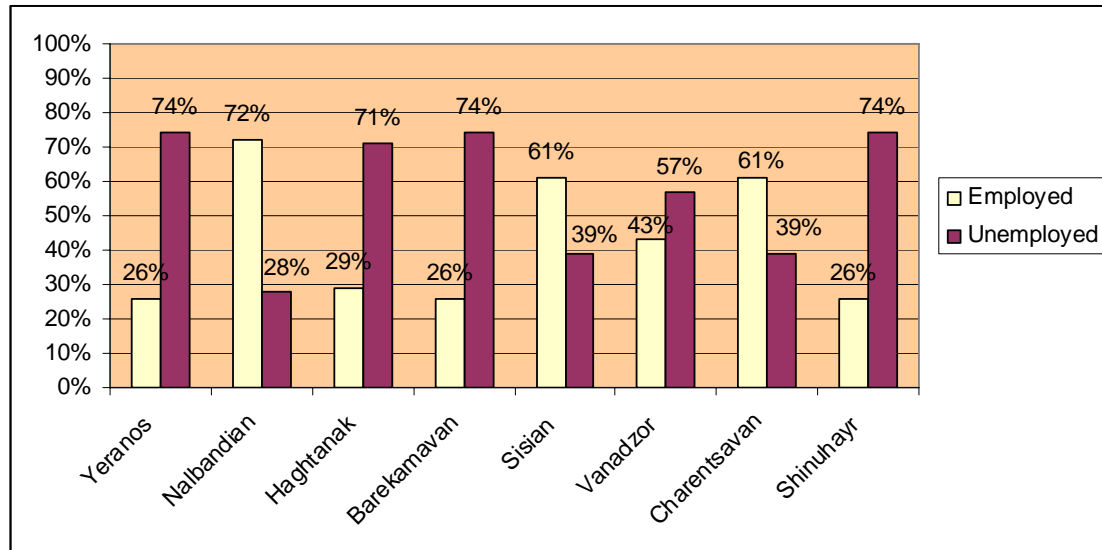
That said, if only 13% of the population considered themselves employed when they left Armenia for the first time, this seems to be a clear indication that they felt like they needed to go (and hence suggests a *push* explanation). This is certainly not a group of people, for the most part, choosing to work abroad because the job they are going to is better paid or more comfortable than the job they currently hold (which would suggest a *pull* explanation).

In terms of correlating community levels of unemployment with community levels of migration, our analysis offered a somewhat less clear picture. Communities with high levels of unemployment certainly seemed to have high levels of migration.

³⁷ Anna Minasyan and Blanka Hancilova (2005), *Labor Migration from Armenia in 2002-2005*, Yerevan, Armenia, Supported by OSCE, Armenia and Advanced Social Technologies p24 and Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey' Yerevan, Armenia p36

³⁸ Ibid

Figure 2.5. Employment in communities



However, the direction of causation is difficult to ascertain, since migrating made it difficult for migrants to secure jobs in Armenia and so communities with high levels of migration would inevitably have somewhat higher levels of unemployment.

Relationship between Wealth and Migration at the Community Level

Attempting to identify causal relationships between wealth and migration is difficult for two reasons. First, increased wealth can have contradictory effects on migration, depending on whether *push* or *pull* factors are at play. If desperation, or *push* factors are the main cause of migration, then increasing incomes will reduce migration levels as the level of desperation diminishes. If *pull* factors are the main determinants, then increasing income might actually increase the level of migration as the population gains more resources to travel abroad and better education with which to take advantage of available opportunities.

Second, from a research point of view, attempting to correlate wealth with migration patterns is problematic because, even if low income drives people to migrate, that very migration will probably make their family richer by way of remittances. As a result, a simple correlation is unlikely to exist, and even if it did then it is hard to draw conclusions from it.

Finally, it is simply hard to assess income in Armenia because people are unlikely to answer questions that relate to household income honestly.

Having established there were statistically significant differences across communities in terms of a range of wealth factors, we looked to see if this correlated with the level of wealth in communities. We did not see a simple correlation between the level of wealth and level of migration across communities. For example, the high migration regions of Yeranos, Haghtanak, Barekamavan and Vanadzor have large differences in wealth

indicators. This finding is not surprising. As we've already suggested, the relation of migration and wealth is complex -- even if groups are forced to migrate out of relative poverty, those who do migrate out of need will have their income and living standards stimulated by the subsequent remittances. .

The one factor that has both significantly different variation across communities *and* shows correlation with migration is land cultivation. In Shinuhayr and Nalbandyan, where land cultivation is the highest, migration is low. In Yeranos, Haghtanak and Barekamavan, a low level of land cultivation is accompanied by a high level of migration. Again, there is the problem of identifying the direction of causation. How do we know that the low level of land cultivation is not the result rather than the cause of migration (*pull* versus *push* factors)? One possible indication for this is to compare differences in land cultivation of migrants compared to non-migrants within a community. *The Mann-Whitney U* statistical test is used to capture the differences between these groups.

Figure 2.8: Land Cultivation averages by community

Average cultivated land in hectares ²			
Communities	migrant	non-migrant	Significance
Yeranos	0.114	0.194	0.008
Nalbandyan	0.701	0.753	not significant
Haghtanak	0.732	0.364	0.025
Barekamavan	0.051	0.029	0.044
Sisian, South West District	0.004	0.004	not significant
Vanadzor, Bazum	0	0	not significant
Charentsavan, 8 th District	0	0.026	not significant
Shinuhayr	1.656	1.050	not significant

There is a statistical difference in land-cultivation within some communities between migrants and non-migrants. What is interesting is that in Barekamavan and Haghtanak, migrant households cultivate more land while in Yeranos, they cultivate less. This makes intuitive sense since Haghtanak and Barekamavan, despite remittances require subsistence agriculture to meet food necessities, and increased migration will lead to increased land cultivation. Yeranos, on the other hand, seems to be significantly enriched by migration (since it has significantly higher indicators of wealth, such as the highest ownership of electronic and household appliances). This may remove the need for migrant households to farm land. Such a conclusion may suggest that there is a remittance tipping point, where remittances will stimulate land cultivation for households below a certain threshold. However, at a certain point, if remittances can provide for households comprehensively, households may move away from agricultural production.

More importantly, since there is not a consistent reduction in land cultivation caused by migration across most communities, it seems reasonable to suggest that in rural communities the inability to cultivate land for economic purposes -- growing food for sale, beyond subsistence farming -- may be an important factor in influencing the

migrant's decision to leave. On the surface, this hypothesis makes sense. Rural communities with relatively fertile land and access to markets are likely to have less incentive to migrate. This also adds further credence to our overall suggestion that the migration from Armenia is significantly more driven by *push* factors than some of the previous analysis has suggested – since those in agricultural communities with hard-to-cultivate land are being forced to find alternative means of economic survival. It would also suggest why household members who remain behind may stop cultivating land if inputs reach a certain point, since even with extra money, migrants in land-poor communities attain any economy of scale.

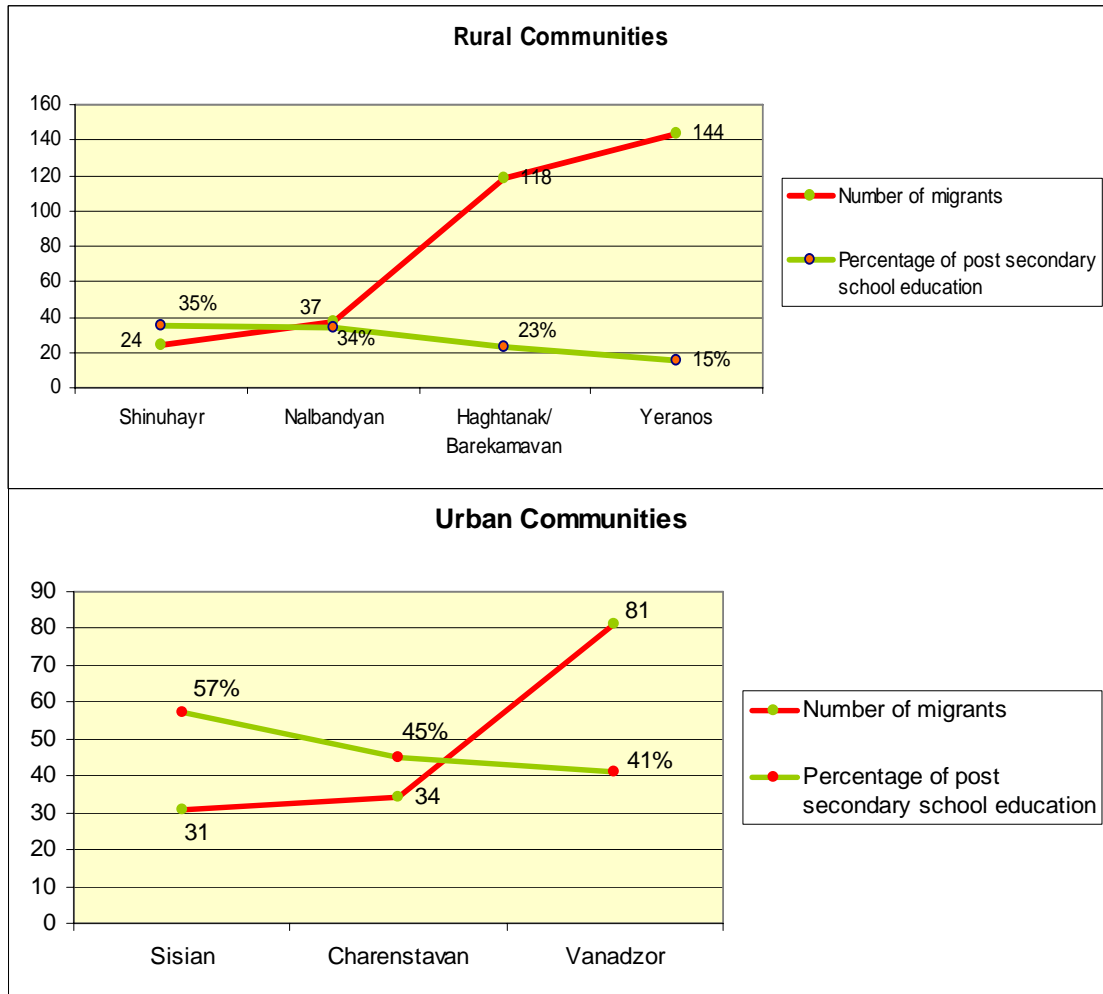
Education

The relationship between education and migration is a complicated one. The OSCE analysis concludes that both the most highly educated and the most under-educated are under-represented in the group of migrants. In their analysis, 11% of people with completed secondary school migrate, while only 7% of those with undergraduate degrees migrate. They also argue that the very under-educated are massively under-represented in the pool of migrants, concluding that those in the middle are most likely to migrate.

Our findings are subtly different. While we agree that the most highly educated are less likely to involve themselves in seasonal migration, we do not agree that the less well-educated are less likely to migrate.

One point of agreement between our surveys shows that both on the individual and the community level there is a negative correlation between seasonal migration and university education. We correlated the community level of education with the community level of migration. To account for the differences between urban and rural communities, these two types of communities are presented separately. We found a negative correlation between these two variables: that is, the higher the level of education in a given community, the lower the number of migrants.

Figure 2.9. Correlation between education and migration: urban and rural communities.



Similarly, if we look at the level of education from an individual level, we can clearly see that less than 11% of migrants had a higher degree, compared to 15% of non-migrants.

Figure 2.10: Migrants since independence and non-migrants divided by level of education

Level of Education	Migrated abroad after independence		Total
	Yes	No	
Less than complete elementary	9	240	249
	1.9%	5.0%	4.8%
8 years completed	51	525	576
	10.6%	11.0%	11.0%
10 years completed	281	2184	2465
	58.7%	45.9%	47.0%
Technical/vocational school	87	1070	1157
	18.2%	22.5%	22.1%
Bachelors (4-5 years)	51	715	766
	10.6%	15.0%	14.6%

Masters , PhD or other professional degree	0	28	28
	.0%	.6%	.5%
Total	479	4762	5241

The above table also seems to suggest that the very under-educated are also under-represented in migration. But on closer examination, we realized that these results are deceptive because the vast majority of people who are significantly under-educated are too old to migrate. If we remove everyone over 60 from the sample then the picture is crucially different.

Table 2.11: Migrants since independence and non-migrants divided by level of education (under 60 years old only)

Level Of Education	Migrated abroad after independence		Total
	Yes	No	
Less than complete elementary	4	46	50
	.9%	1.2%	1.1%
8 years completed	46	331	377
	10.0%	8.4%	8.6%
10 years completed	272	1904	2176
	59.1%	48.3%	49.5%
Technical/vocational school	87	964	1051
	18.9%	24.5%	23.9%
Bachelors (4-5 years)	51	668	719
	11.1%	17.0%	16.3%
Masters, PhD or other professional degree	0	26	26
	.0%	.7%	.6%
Total	460	3939	4399

Once people over 60 have been removed, the less well-educated generally are significantly over-represented in seasonal migration. Those with technical education or a university degree are just over 40% of the population, but only constitute 30% of seasonal migrants. Those with no technical/vocational schooling or a university degree are about 60% of the population but represent 70% of the migrants. Since we generally assume that the less well-educated have fewer opportunities for work at home, this would also seem to support the idea that *push* factors are prominent.

Looking inside communities to analyze the different causes of migration showed us statistically significant differences between variables and community migration levels. As we have already suggested, this is fairly inexact since cause and consequence are often hard to distinguish. To understand the consequences of migration and remittances, we considered a number of different forms of evidence. In order to normalize for large geographic or structural differences, the analysis first looked at statistically significant differences between groups within a community.

As we already suggested, there is no reliable correlation between migration figures and most of the wealth indicators. Within communities, there is also no significant difference

recorded in vehicle, real estate, business and animal ownership between migrant and non-migrant households.

However, there does seem to be a difference between the involvement of a migrant and three indicators of wealth; the condition of housing, utility standards and ownership of consumer goods. We looked for differences (using the Mann-Whitney U test) between migrant/non-migrant with each of these variables. When correlating migration with utility standards, since the comparison is between migrant and non-migrant households within each community, we exclude access to electricity and water provision, and measured the condition of the house based on the state of windows, walls and floors, the availability of a flush toilet and access to natural gas.³⁹ Several communities suggested a statistically significant difference between the migrants and non-migrants

Well expressed statistically significant differences between migrant and non-migrant households are recorded in most of the communities on the ownership of consumer goods.

Figure 2-12. Household wealth, Comparison between migrant and non-migrant groups.

Communities	Housing condition	Utility standards	Consumer goods
Yeranos	0.042	No significance	0.000
Nalbandyan	No significance	No significance	0.022
Haghtanak	No significance	No significance	0.001
Barekamavan	0.047	No significance	No significance
Sisian, South West District	No significance	No significance	0.004
Vanadzor, Bazum	0.000	0.050	0.038
Charentsavan, 8 th District	No significance	No significance	0.001
Shinuhayr	0.005	No significance	No significance

A look at the use of remittances by Armenian households might partially explain why the data shows statistical significance for housing conditions and for the ownership of consumer goods, but no difference for other variables. The three most common uses of remittances are for food (82%), paying monthly bills and household maintenance (82%), as well as healthcare expenses (29%). The three most frequently sent gifts include clothes (84%), food (66%) and electronics (40%).

It's interesting but unsurprising that remittances from seasonal workers produce improvements in housing and consumption in some communities. What is perhaps more unexpected is that the picture is not universal and in some communities, migrant households are *not* bigger consumers and do not have better houses. This is perhaps the clearest indication that these communities in particular were driven by *push* rather than *pull* factors. Even with the financial improvement offered by migration, it suggests that

³⁹ Households can use natural gas if they pay for the installation of the necessary equipment. Therefore, ownership of natural gas can be an indication of a household's economic well-being.

some families are not able to bring their families up to the average level of consumption of other members in their community.

3. Experience abroad and upon return

This section will present the results on questions related to pre-departure preparation of migrants, and their work arrangements, living conditions and expenses in the host country. It will also look at the level of rights violations in the communities surveyed and the difficulties migrants experienced upon return to Armenia.

Job pre-arrangement levels are high and improve over time, although generally speaking communities with high levels of migration are not particularly strongly correlated with levels of pre-arrangement. Around half used a friend to help find work and less than 10% used an agent in the host country.⁴⁰

Around 50% of people lodged with their employers the rest divided between friends and relatives or rented apartments. But surprisingly, people seemed increasingly inclined to shift away from living with friends and relatives to living with their employer or in a hotel or apartment. This may be partially explained by the fact that when staying with the employers they generally paid less of the costs (like food).

In assessing rights violations in the communities we asked migrants about patterns of work and treatment and then independently assessed the level of rights violations they experienced. This produced a number of surprising trends. First, the level of violations is high: over 60% of migrants have experienced one or more rights violations. This is very high, considering that only a very small percentage of migrants (when they have been asked to self-assess by other surveys) are either very unsatisfied or consider themselves to be ill-treated by their employers. This seems to suggest that fairly low standards of treatment are simply expected and accepted. The other thing we noticed is that the level of violations has gone up between the first and the last trip (For further discussion see Section 3: Migrants' Rights Violations).

Finally, we discovered that violations do not correlate with the ethnicity of the employer or the housing situation. It was hypothesized that co-ethnics may have treated employees of the same ethnicity better. However, we found it is just as likely for an Armenian employer to violate the rights of an Armenian employee as it is for a Russian employer to do so.

In terms of return, migrants do not seem to experience problems any different from those they experienced before departure. Namely, their biggest problem is lack of employment in their home country.

⁴⁰ Again, there may have been a specification problem here. It is quite common for people in the Caucasus to describe those with whom they conduct what a westerner would call a 'commercial transaction' as a 'friend.' Since we did not think of this problem before the survey was conducted it is hard to know what proportion of this 50% were actually Armenian agents.

Job and Housing Arrangements in the Host Country

The second part of the survey was to develop a detailed understanding of how the host country communities where Armenians go to work arranged their migration, where migrants lived and how they were treated when they were in the host country. A little more than half (56%) of labor migrants who eventually worked abroad found work before they left for their first trip, while 64% arranged it before their last trip. This is somewhat lower than the 70% of the population who had found a job before leaving in the OSCE report. This discrepancy might be explained by the fact that the OSCE report focused on people who had migrated in 2005-2007 while our report covered anyone who had migrated since independence, and one of our discoveries was that levels of pre-arrangement seems to be increasing.⁴¹

Comparison of level of pre-arrangement between trips and across communities can show us how much individuals learn from their migration and how well-organized seasonal labor migration is in each community.

Figure 3.1: Level of job pre-arrangement in each community

Communities	First trip	Last trip	percentage of interviewed migrant households in each community
Yeranos	69%	72%	53%
Nalbandyan	48%	53%	12%
Haghtanak	48%	68%	40%
Barekamavan	33%	20%	24%
Sisian, South West District	64%	70%	10%
Vanadzor, Bazum	45%	50%	25%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	36%	56%	14%

Note that the Haghtanak community showed a drastic increase in the number of migrants who made job arrangements prior to their last migration trip, moving ahead in its level of organization from the other three communities and coming closer to Yeranos and Sisian. Based on this data we can conclude that migrants in Yeranos, Sisian and Haghtanak are the most organized in job arrangements.

Jobs are mostly organized through informal social networks. In all the communities, the majority of migrants found jobs through their friend or relative at home or in the host country.

Table 3.2. Networks of finding employment in the host country

Community	Trip	Friend	Agency	Searched himself	Started business	own
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⁴¹ Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey ' Yerevan, Armenia p27

Yeranos	First trip	84%	5%	10%	1%
	Last trip	81%	5%	13%	1%
Nalbandyan	First trip	92%	0%	8%	0%
	Last trip	87%	0%	13%	0%
Haghtanak	First trip	64%	5%	31%	0%
	Last trip	59%	12%	29%	0%
Barekamavan	First trip	67%	0%	33%	0%
	Last trip	40%	10%	50%	0%
Sisian, South West District	First trip	82%	11%	4%	4%
	Last trip	90%	0%	10%	0%
Vanadzor, Bazum	First trip	53%	18%	29%	0%
	Last trip	37%	17%	47%	0%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	First trip	55%	9%	36%	0%
	Last trip	50%	0%	50%	0%

Overall, 58% of all interviewed migrants who made employment pre-arrangements did so with the help of a friend in the host country, and 28% were aided by a friend in Armenia. Only 9% had pre-arranged their jobs through an agency in the host country, while 42% of those who traveled without any prearrangement had to rely on help from friends and relatives abroad. On the other hand, 40% conducted their own job search alone. Only 3% of these migrants ever applied to an agency in the host country for help in finding employment.

Lodging arrangements can be another indication of how well the tradition of seasonal labor migration is established in a particular community. The aggregated data shows that 35% of all seasonal migrants included in the study when traveling abroad for the first time stayed in accommodation provided by the employer, while 28% shared with relatives. Another 20% rented their lodging from a stranger by themselves and 13% shared rented accommodation with their friends.

The ability to arrange lodging with the employer generally suggests a better and longer established relationship. For that reason, Yeranos and Haghtanak, the two regions with the highest concentration of migrant households, were able to arrange a high percentage of their lodgings with employers. The comparison between the first and the last trips shows that in almost all communities the number of migrants staying with the employer has increased.

Table 3.3. Lodging and rent arrangements in each community

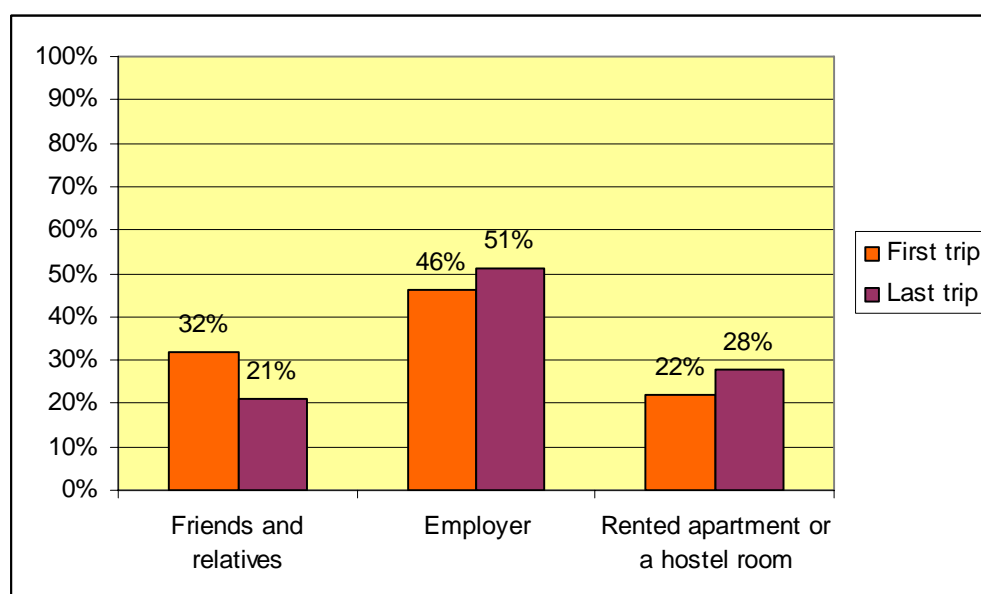
Community		Family and Friends	Didn't pay	Employer	Didn't pay	Rented or Hostel	Didn't pay
Yeranos	1 st trip	23%	79%	65%	98%	13%	25%
	Last trip	15%	72%	65%	97%	19%	0%
Nalbandyan	1 st trip	67%	93%	10%	100%	24%	20%
	Last trip	77%	60%	15%	100%	8%	0%
Haghtanak	1 st trip	34%	62%	38%	92%	23%	13%
	Last trip	13%	50%	69%	100%	19%	0%
Barekamavan	1 st trip	53%	44%	24%	75%	23%	23%
	Last trip	29%	100%	57%	75%	14%	14%
Sisian, South	1 st trip	53%	0%	21%	50%	26%	0%

West District	Last trip	75%	100%	25%	100%	0%	0%
Vanadzor, Bazum	1 st trip	48%	50%	22%	82%	30%	0%
	Last trip	15%	75%	22%	67%	63%	0%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	1 st trip	13%	50%	13%	50%	75%	8%
	Last trip	40%	50%	10%	0%	50%	0%

While staying with friends and relatives is also popular, we can see that in communities with strong seasonal labor migration trends, like Yeranos, Haghtanak, Barekamavan and Vanadzor, housing arrangements with relatives and friends decreased in their last trip. Conversely, in Nalbandyan and Sisian, which have low concentrations of migrant households, many migrants continued to stay with relatives and friends in their last trip.

To understand whether there has been any change in lodging arrangements between the first and the last trips, those migrants who went for more than one trip were selected for analysis. In their last trip, we notice an increase in percentage among those migrants who stayed with their employer and those who rented accommodation. In contrast, less people chose to share accommodation with relatives and friends.

Figure 3-4. Change of housing arrangements between first and last trips



Food expenses in relation to arranged accommodation shows similar patterns to accommodation. The majority of migrants from Yeranos and Haghtanak, who stayed with an employer, did not pay for food. Conversely, in Nalbandyan and Sisian where most migrants chose to stay with relatives and friends, many had to pay for their food, especially in their last trip.

Table 3.5: Lodging arrangements and food expenses in each community

Community	Family and Friends	Didn't pay	Employer	Didn't pay	Rented	Didn't pay
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Yeranos	1 st trip	23%	41%	65%	81%	13%	31%
	Last trip	15%	39%	65%	78%	19%	27%
Nalbandyan	1 st trip	67%	62%	10%	100%	24%	20%
	Last trip	77%	11%	15%	100%	8%	0%
Haghtanak	1 st trip	34%	35%	38%	56%	23%	11%
	Last trip	13%	0%	69%	59%	19%	0%
Barekamavan	1 st trip	53%	11%	24%	0%	23%	0%
	Last trip	29%	0%	57%	0%	14%	0%
Sisian, South West District	1 st trip	53%	0%	21%	50%	26%	0%
	Last trip	75%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%
Vanadzor, Bazum	1 st trip	48%	39%	22%	15%	30%	0%
	Last trip	15%	75%	22%	11%	63%	0%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	1 st trip	13%	50%	13%	0%	75%	0%
	Last trip	40%	50%	10%	0%	50%	0%

Job, lodging and food arrangements among migrants show that Yeranos and Haghtanak have the strongest and most well-established patterns of seasonal labor migration. Vanadzor shows the second highest level of organization in seasonal labor migration. Though Barekamavan shows strong experiences of seasonal labor migration, it is less organized. Job arrangement is high in Sisian, but this community does not demonstrate characteristics of repetitive seasonal labor migration, since traveling with family members and staying with friends and relatives undermines their intention of traveling purely for work purposes.

Figure 3-6. Lodging arrangements

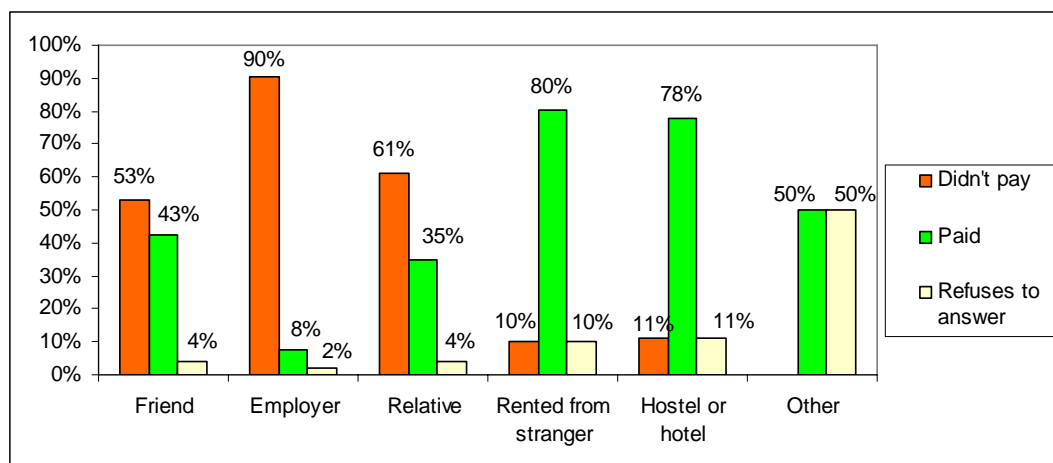
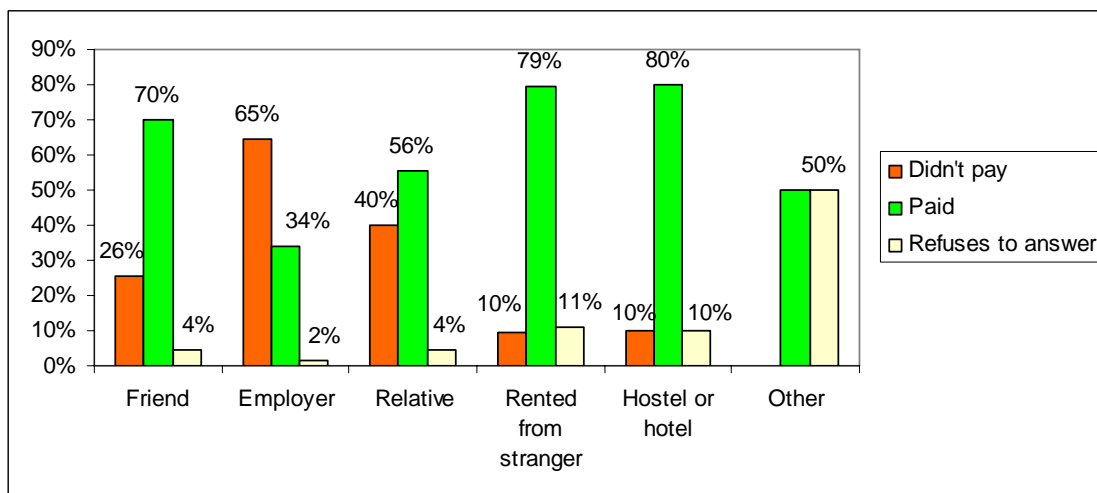


Figure 3-7. Food arrangements



Lodging arrangements may also change if the migrant is accompanied on the trip (See Figure 3.8: Lodging arrangements for accompanying family members). Most of those staying with the employer (95%) did not have a family member accompanying them. When migrants both traveled with family and stayed at the place of work, the additional family member was also employed. Meanwhile, 39% of migrants traveling with family members stayed either with relatives, and 45% rented accommodation from a stranger. Many migrants managed to save on housing expenses by staying with relatives (60%) or friends (50%). However, many of them still had to pay for the food.

Figure 3.8: Lodging arrangements for accompanying family members

Family member accompanied during the first trip.		Lodging arrangements						Total
		Friend	Employer	Relative	Rented from stranger	Hostel or hotel	Other	
yes	number	3	7	31	36	3	0	80
	% within the group	4%	9%	39%	45%	4%	0%	100%
	% between groups	6%	5%	36%	37%	27%	0%	21%
no	number	47	130	56	62	8	3	306
	% within the group	15%	42%	18%	20%	3%	1%	100%
	% between groups	94%	95%	64%	63%	73%	100%	79%
total	number	50	137	87	98	11	3	386
	% within the group	13%	35%	23%	25%	3%	1%	100%
	% between groups	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The cost of lodging differs vastly from migrant to migrant. For those who paid rent, prices varied from \$10 to \$400 per month during their first trip to Russia with an average of \$131 per month; food expenses were between \$15 and \$600 per month with an average cost is \$160 per month. These differences reflect the different circumstances of the migrants. Some migrants rent individual apartments in order to live with their families. In other cases, several migrants shared lodging expenses to decrease costs. Costs are slightly higher for the last trip, presumably because rental prices had increased.

Migrants' Rights Violations

One of the most important issues to consider when studying seasonal labor migration is the treatment of migrants' in the host countries, and specifically rights violations. This is particularly important for this study because one of the key goals of the MRRCs is to make sure that migrants have the requisite information to avoid potential abuse in the workplace.

According to some, this has not been a pressing concern for migrants. One recent report on labor migration suggested that, though almost no one used a written contract, 84% of migrants said that the terms of their agreement had been fulfilled in full.⁴² Only 2% of the 2,500 migrants interviewed by one survey said that they had been exploited.⁴³

Against that backdrop, it seems unreasonable to suggest that two thirds of the migrants report experiencing at least one rights violation. However, the problem with examining rights violations is that they are often understood differently by different people. Some migrants would not consider working 15 hours per day with no free days as a violation of their rights. Others may not consider accidents or lack of overtime pay to be a major problem.

To avoid the problems created by these low expectations and misunderstanding about the concept of rights violations, the study simply asked questions about the migrants' experiences at work and used these experiences to compute a rights violation scale for each migrant.

The questions we asked related to a number of problems including:

- occurrence of accidents at workplace
- being paid less than agreed
- working overtime without pay
- movement restrictions by employer
- passports withheld by employer
- physical harm applied by employer
- discrimination by employer
- discrimination by coworkers
- working more than 10 hrs per day
- working seven days per week

First, the study looks at the rights violations, as they were experienced by people from the different communities and draws comparisons between

⁴² Anna Minasyan, et al. (2007), 'Labor Migration from Armenia in 2005-2007: A Survey' Yerevan, Armenia p29

⁴³ G Poghosyan, et al. (2005), *Trafficking and Labor Exploitation of Labor Migrants: a Sociological Survey*, Yerevan, Armenia, Armenian Sociological Association p24

them. Then, based on the aggregated data, an overall picture of rights violations among Armenian migrants is presented.

Figure 3.9: Rights violations in each community

Community	No violations		At least one violation		Two/three violations		Four and more violations	
	First trip	Last trip	First trip	Last trip	First trip	Last trip	First trip	Last trip
Yeranos	43%	46%	36%	37%	19%	16%	2%	1%
Nalbandyan	36%	26%	29%	33%	13%	33%	8%	7%
Haghtanak	55%	50%	23%	29%	18%	21%	4%	0%
Barekamavan	70%	50%	20%	50%	0%	0%	10%	0%
Sisian, South West District	16%	25%	32%	25%	40%	38%	12%	13%
Vanadzor, Bazum	26%	25%	28%	29%	33%	25%	13%	21%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	70%	67%	10%	22%	20%	11%	0%	0%
Total	43%	43%	30%	34%	22%	19%	5%	4%

The lowest level of rights violations was recorded in the two communities of Barekamavan and Charentsavan, where more than half of the interviewed migrants did not describe any violations defined by the study. Interestingly, as the number of trips increased, the more migrants experienced some workplace violation. Yet these communities still have many migrants that report a favorable work environment.

Rights violations were the highest in Sisian, where 84% of labor migrants experienced two or more types of violations. In the last trip, we notice a decrease in the number of rights violations, however the percentage is still very high compared to other communities. Vanadzor is the next-highest community with migrants reporting rights violations.

Aggregated data shows that more than one third of migrants who worked in the host country never experienced rights' violations, while another third experienced only one type of rights' violation, and the rest were employed in a work environment where more than two types of violations occurred. In the last trip we have fairly similar picture.

The most frequently mentioned violation is working seven days a week (30%) and more than 10 hours per day (19%). Some of the migrants (14%) complained about having been cheated by the employer as they were paid less money than agreed. Another 10% reported that they had to work longer hours without additional pay. Some had issues with their freedom of movement (11%) and employers took away passports from 3% of the migrants. Work-related accidents levels are 8%, but physical harm by the employer is not high (1%). In Russia, migrants face less discrimination in the workplace than outside. Only 3% experienced discrimination from their employer and 1% by their co-workers vs. discrimination from the

community outside of work - 7% during the first trip and 10% during the last trip.

Community	First trip	Last trip
Occurrence of accidents at workplace	8%	6%
Being paid less than agreed	14%	12%
Working overtime without pay	10%	9%
Movement restrictions by employer	11%	13%
Passports withheld by employer	3%	2%
Physical harm applied by employer	1%	1%%
Discrimination by employer	3%	3%
Discrimination by coworkers	1%	1%
Working more than 10 hrs per day	19%	17%
Working 7 days per week	30%	30%

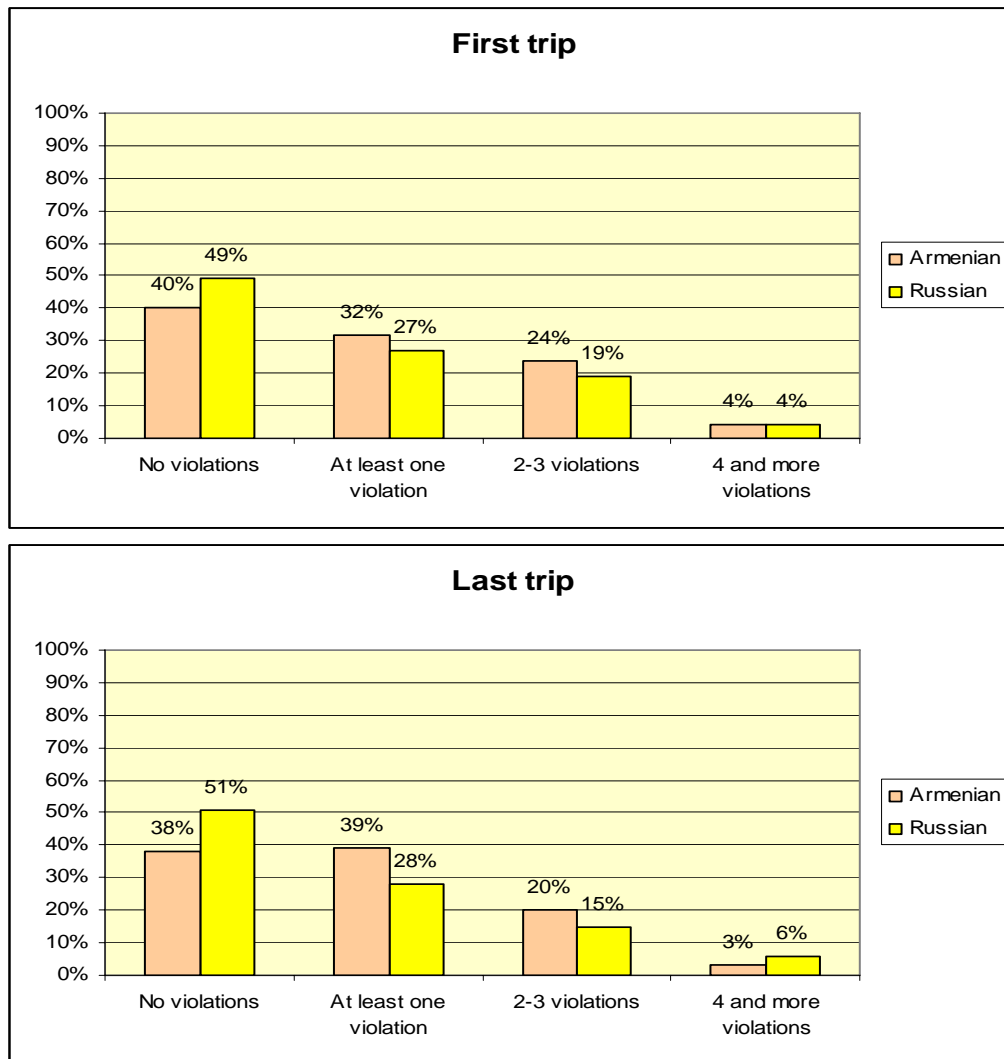
To understand rights violation patterns, we examined the ethnicity of the employer, since it was hypothesized that Armenian employers might be less likely to violate the rights of fellow Armenians than Russian employers. The majority of migrants were employed by ethnically Armenian employers (63% – first trip and 60% – last trip). The next largest group of employers was of Russian ethnicity (33% – first trip and 37% – last trip).

Table 3.10: Employers ethnicity by community

Community	First trip		Last trip	
	Armenian	Russian	Armenian	Russian
Yeranos	71%	29%	66%	34%
Nalbandyan	79%	21%	85%	15%
Haghtanak	55%	45%	61%	39%
Barekamavan	54%	46%	40%	60%
Sisian, South West District	59%	41%	89%	11%
Vanadzor, Bazum	63%	37%	38%	62%
Charentsavan, 8 th District	64%	36%	50%	50%

To test our hypothesis we looked to see if there was a statistically significant difference in the level of rights abuses reported between those employed by Russian or Armenians. However, we did not find a statistically significant difference between these two groups. This is fairly clearly demonstrated in the chart below.

Figure 3-11: Migrants' rights violations in relation to employer's ethnicity



Another hypothesis that we tested was that accommodation arrangements could be associated with migrant rights' violations. Again, this data was tested in aggregate and within each community. In both cases no statistically significant difference is observed.

The fact that rights violations actually have not changed between the first and the last trip is clearly troubling. Since people generally get better organized in arranging work and accommodation between their first and their last trip one would generally expect the level of violations to go down. On the contrary, according to our study, the fact that rights violations don't go down may suggest that overall difficulties for migrants in Russia has increased. Given the current political situation in Russia, this would be an unsurprising explanation but requires more investigation to be sure.

Some of the difficulties migrants experience in Russia are associated with registration issues and problem encounters with the police. Although in recent years Russia has

required employers to legalize the stay and employment of their foreign employees, still 8% percent of migrants reported problems with registration and the legality of their stay. Four percent of migrants were arrested and 5% experienced harassment by police in the host country. These problems with police might be associated with the illegal status of the migrant's stay.

Difficulties upon return

The examination of seasonal migrants seemed to reveal two main facts. First, the problems that drove people to migrate were exactly the same as the difficulties they faced when they returned. Second, the migrants we interviewed did not seem to express significant concerns over reintegration issues.

Given that 86% of people didn't consider themselves employed full-time when they left Armenia it is hardly surprising that 50% of migrants in Nalbandyan, Sisian, Vanadzor and Charentsavan complained about not having work opportunities at home.

Table 3.12. Difficulties upon return

Community	Relation with society	Find a job	Starting a business	Education for yourself and children	Willingness to work	Military service	Other	No difficulties	Total number of responses
Yeranos	9%	24%	6%	0%	2%	1%	9%	53%	129
Nalbandyan	16%	64%	8%	0%	0%	0%	4%	16%	25
Haghtanak	0%	46%	33%	0%	0%	0%	1%	50%	82
Barekamavan	0%	48%	13%	4%	0%	0%	0%	52%	23
Sisian, South West District	3%	71%	3%	3%	0%	0%	0%	29%	31
Vanadzor, Bazum	4%	67%	0%	3%	4%	0%	4%	23%	75
Charentsavan, 8 th District	5%	62%	5%	5%	0%	0%	5%	33%	21

The conclusion regarding non-employment may be obvious. However, it also suggests a useful insight. In the literature there is a discussion about how effective labor migrants may be when they return home. On the one hand, it is suggested that migration could be useful to the returnee since they have the opportunity to develop skills abroad that can be used upon their return. But it is also suggested that:

*Often after their return, workers do not actually engage in economic activity at home and do not put the skills which they obtained abroad to work. Instead, they wait for their next overseas deployment.*⁴⁴

⁴⁴ World Bank (2006), *Global Economic Prospects: Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration*, Washington p6

That most returnees complain about not being able to find work suggests that skill transfer is difficult. This is hardly surprising since the construction season in Armenia is the same as Russia (construction does not take place in the winter). However, it is positive in that returnees see the lack of work as a problem. Seasonal work does not make them less inclined to find work in their off-season. It simply suggests that migration does not make them anymore able to find work at home.

4. Description of Communities

In the report so far we have discussed the communities collectively, looking for commonalities and identifying differences only where it can help us to illuminate a general picture. Clearly, anybody interested in any of these communities needs to look through the whole report to review the variation that we discuss. However, in the section below, we thought it might be useful to examine some of the key findings as they relate to each of our communities, integrating it with what we know about the locales more generally. This is done to specifically record information useful for the MRRCs and can be seen as a community-based executive summary. In addition, however, it is worth reviewing simply because it highlights the enormous difference in both patterns of migration, causes and consequences depending on the particular story of a particular place.

Yeranos: Gegharkunik Marz

Yeranos community is a middle size rural community with approximately 1,065 households based on the 2001 census. The village is situated near Lake Sevan, 15 km away from the nearest city of Martuni, 18 km away from the regional center of Gavar and 57 km from Yerevan.

Migration is the highest in Yeranos with roughly half (53%) of households reporting at least one migrant. A fairly large number of these migrants have been migrating regularly, as 79% of the migrants made four or more trips. In addition, the number of migrants making four or more trips has increased by 13% from 2000 to 2006. Yeranos migrants, like migrants from Haghtanak, are geographically concentrated on the Eastern Coast of Russia (36%) and in the Southern Urals (39%).

Possessing the longest tradition of migration, Yeranos migrants are the most effective in finding jobs and arranging accommodation. Nearly 70% arranged their jobs prior to migration. They mostly relied on their informal networks of experienced friends for finding employment in the host country (first trip - 84%, last trip – 81%). These networks helped 65% of the migrants to find free food and lodging with employers not only in their last trip but in their very first trip to the host country.

The self-defined unemployment level in Yeranos excluding migrant households is 60%, while including migrant households it reaches 74%, suggesting that members of migrant households mostly (87%) are not engaged in the labor market. Moreover, Yeranos has the lowest level of university graduation out of all communities surveyed. While Yeranos is a rural community, land cultivation and animal husbandry is the lowest among all the rural communities surveyed. On average 0.6 hectares of land is owned by all households in Yeranos, of which only an average 0.15 hectares (25%) is cultivated. Animal ownership in Yeranos is recorded on average at two points on a 26-point scale. This may be partially explained by the extreme weather conditions and natural calamities such as hail, drought (aridity) and floods that occasionally cause damage to the community's agriculture.

Despite similarities of employment status and agricultural activities with other rural communities however, housing condition, utility standards and ownership of consumer goods are the highest in Yeranos. Of Yeranos migrants, 95% sent remittances and 96% brought savings back to Armenia in 2007. On average they sent \$578 and brought \$3,738 back with them. This amount is the highest across all communities. In fact, there is a statistically significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households in terms of housing wealth and ownership of consumer goods. Migrant households are economically better off compared with non-migrants households.

Nalbandyan: Armavir Marz

Nalbandyan is the only rural community among the ones we surveyed that is situated close (51 km) to Yerevan. The regional center of Armavir is also 13 km away. According to the 2001 census, it had about 1,000 households with 4,048 people.

Nalbandyan migrants tended to travel to the East Coast of Russia (46%) and Moscow (27%). However, seasonal migration is not pronounced in this community and migrants are identified in only 12% of the households. Fewer than half (46%) of the interviewed migrants made a trip in 2007.

Indeed, seasonal migration is not a medium-term strategy for migrants in Nalbandyan, as the majority (77%) of seasonal migrants made only one or two migration trips. About half of migrants leave for the host country having made job pre-arrangements. However, in doing so, 87% of these migrants relied on their personal networks for finding employment in their last trip. Nalbandyan is the community with the highest number of migrants who lodged with their friends and family (77%) and one of the two lowest (15%) who were accommodated by an employer. Perhaps the lack of migration tradition is the reason why many migrants (73%) experienced some type of rights violations in their last trip.

Unemployment level of households (excluding migrant households) is relatively low in this community (27%). Many households report agriculture (47%) as the main sector that brings them income. Given the close distance from Yerevan and the ability to cultivate grapes, agriculture in Nalbandyan is profitable and 78% of owned lands are cultivated (average cultivated land size is 0.7 hectares). Grapes grown in the village are predominantly sold to the two main wineries operating in the region – Ararat and Hoktemberyan. Since most of the community's available land is used for agriculture, animal ownership in this community is the lowest among all the surveyed rural communities.

In terms of wealth, Nalbandyan occupies a middle position as compared to other communities. Although the housing condition of the interviewed households is not very high, they have access to a both a moderate standard of housing utilities and ownership of consumer goods. Nalbandyan has the highest level of vehicle ownership (48%).

Which factors, then, drive Nalbandyan migrants towards migration? To understand this we looked at differences between migrants and non-migrants. There is no statistically significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households in their housing condition and utility standards. This could mean that people are simply choosing to migrate because they want to, or the migrants from Nalbandyan are part of that section of society that can't find employment.

Barekamavan: Tavush Marz

Barekamavan is the smallest community we surveyed, so we combined it with Haghtanak (see below), also in Tavush Marz, to fill our 250 household sample. However, because of the differences between the two communities, we analyzed them separately. According to the 2001 census, Barekamavan had 110 families and given the demographics of the village probably has even fewer now. The village is situated on the border of Azerbaijan (0.3km) which currently creates a very difficult security situation. Its distance from the marz center of Ijevan is 58 km, and from the capital of Yerevan 198 km.

Of all households, 24% include at least one seasonal migrant. This figure has been decreasing in recent years. Migration would probably be even higher if it were not for the age profile of population. According to our survey, pensioners constitute one third of the population. About 50% of migrants went to the North Caucasus, 30% to Moscow and the rest to other parts of European Russia.

Barekamavan had relatively few of its migrants pre-arranging work: only 36% pre-arranged work on their first trip and 20% pre-arranged it on their last trip (compared to the 70% average in the OSCE report and 50-65% average in ours). They also tended to lodge with their friends on the first trip but lived with an employer on their last trip. Perhaps strangely, given the low level of pre-arrangement, Barekamavan had low levels of reported rights violation, with 70% recording no rights violation on their first trip and 50% on their last.

The level of unemployment is the highest of all the communities we surveyed, at 81% for non-migrant households. Not only is Barekamavan a comparatively remote border community, it also has the lowest level of housing utility standards. Additionally, the poor security situation, with the presence of landmines in some areas and occasional gun-fire, would explain *push* migration (both temporary and permanent) by itself. It also makes the land hard to cultivate which would also encourage migration. According to our survey, Barekamavan averages 0.04 hectares of cultivated land (though they do own more than average livestock, 90% of households owning at least one type of animal). This is hardly enough to sustain even subsistence-level agriculture.

Housing condition and ownership of consumer goods is comparatively low in Barekamavan. No significant differences exist between migrant and non-migrant households in terms of housing wealth or ownership of consumer goods. The reason perhaps is the fact that only 16% of Barekamavan migrants migrated in 2007 and are still active in migration. Those who did migrate in 2007 sent the least remittances and brought back the smallest sums (\$150 in remittances, \$750 in savings upon return).

Haghtanak: Tavush Marz

Haghtanak is the second community in Tavush Marz we surveyed, and the second smallest after Barekamavan. The census of 2001 recorded 1,125 people totaling approximately 281 households. Haghtanak was the only community we surveyed with considerable diversity in terms of birthplace. Based on our research data, 25% of the inhabitants were born in Georgia and 15% in Azerbaijan and Karabakh. The village is situated on the Noyemberyan-Bagratashen highway, which is highly active in goods transportation from Georgia. It is 198 km away from Yerevan and while it is much closer to the Georgian cities Sadakhlo (13.7 km) and Tbilisi (59.2 km), it is unclear how easily small producers can cross borders to supply these markets.

In Haghtanak, 40% of households include at least one seasonal migrant. Migration in Haghtanak has been active and growing. Over a seven-year period from 2000 to 2006, 53% more migrants joined rather than left migration. Haghtanak migrants who made their trip in 2007 tended to go to Moscow (54%) and the Southern Urals (23%).

Over the years, migrants from Haghtanak have become more experienced in their job search and housing pre-arrangement. Job pre-arrangement grew from 48% in their first trip to 68% in their last trip. More migrants started using the services of an employment agency (12% instead of 5% as before) and relied less on their friends and relatives (59% instead of 64%). During the last trip, 69% of all migrants from Haghtanak arranged their lodging with an employer as opposed to 38% in their first trip. All those who found employment with an employer didn't pay for their accommodation and 59% of them didn't pay for food.

Migration has become better organized in Haghtanak, but it seems not to have influenced migrants' rights violations – in fact, the more a migrant travels abroad, the more frequently is workplace abuse reported. Over 20% of migrants from Haghtanak experienced more than two types of rights' violations during both trips and, during their last trip, the number of rights violations increased by 5%.

The unemployment rate among non-migrant households of Haghtanak community is 71%. A poor irrigation system means that only 36% of the owned lands are cultivated (an average 0.5 hectares). Animal husbandry is among the lowest in comparison with the other rural communities we surveyed. Housing utility standards, like in Barekamavan community, are also very low. Surprisingly, the housing condition and ownership of consumer goods of Haghtanak households are on an average level. Given that there is a statistically significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households in the ownership of consumer goods with non-migrants owning less material wealth, we assume that migration has had a noticeable positive economic

impact on this community.

Sisian: Syunik Marz

Sisian is a small urban community on the [Vorotan River](#), 6 km north of the [Yerevan-Meghri highway](#) in southern [Armenia](#), with about 3,752 households based on the census of 2001. The district we surveyed has approximately 631 households and is located on the southwest outskirts of the settlement. It is 217 km away from [Yerevan](#) and 109 km from the marz center of Kapan. Most of the inhabitants of this district live in multiple-storied apartment buildings.

Only 10% of the interviewed households included migrants, and of those, 58% made only one trip and about half (54%) had migrated in 2007. Since the year of 2000, on average, twice as many joined migration as left it. The vast majority (80%) of 2007 migrants traveled to Moscow.

Migrants from Sisian demonstrate the highest level of job pre-arrangement after Yeranos (first trip - 64%, last trip - 70%). Like the other communities, Sisian migrants also tend to find employment through their informal networks of friends and relatives. However, in contrast with Yeranos, the majority of these migrants (first trip – 53%, last trip – 75%) choose to stay with friends and relatives rather than employer-provided lodging. One reason could be that a higher percentage of Sisian migrants travel with their family (first trip - 14%, last trip - 20%). None of the migrants paid for accommodation.

Despite the fact that most migrants are not lodged at the employer's premises, rights' of migrants at work are violated the most. Although, there is a decrease from 84% in the first trip to 76% in the last trip, Sisian residents report the highest level of rights violation of all surveyed communities.

The simplest explanation of the low migration levels is the high level of employment. During Soviet times Sisian was an industrial town with a large rubber boot and overshoe factory that employed many people. After the breakdown of the former Soviet Union and subsequent economic collapse in the early 1990s, this factory was shut down and many people were left unemployed. In the last few years, several factories have re-established themselves. Currently there are several food-producing companies, such as confectionery and cheese production. There are also several small stone-processing enterprises and vodka distilleries.

The employment level in Sisian is among the highest we surveyed, with 62% of the households (migrant households excluded) employed. A bigger portion of the surveyed family members (42%) are involved in professional services, such as teachers, nurses, and lawyers. This is not surprising since the education level is high compared to other communities, with 57% household members having a vocational or higher education degree. Although Sisian is an urban community, 6% of households also cultivate land.

Sisian is comparatively in a better economic situation than most other communities. Housing condition, utility standards and ownership of consumer goods are as high as in Yeranos. Although the percentage of people owning passenger cars (23%) in Sisian is

lower than in Nalbandyan, Yeranos and Barekamavan communities, it is the highest among the other two urban communities.

Despite relatively high living standards in the community, there is still statistically a significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households. Migrants here have significantly higher living standards than non-migrants. Migrants from Sisian plan their migration and use their networks with the purpose of finding better opportunities available abroad.

Vanadzor: Lori Marz

Vanadzor, the third largest city in Armenia, serves as the regional center of Lori Marz with a population of 93,823. Vanadzor is an urban community with little or no agriculture, located 120 km from Yerevan. The Bazum district selected for the study is in the outskirts of Vanadzor with a total of 1,664 households. The district is far from shopping centers and other services in town.

A quarter of interviewed households in Vanadzor had migrants in them, making on average three trips. The number of first-time migrants has been decreasing over the last seven years, and only 39% of interviewed labor migrants made their trip in 2007. Vanadzor migrants do not show the same network migration as the rural communities and hence, do not show large concentrations in any of the destination areas in Russia. The largest group (less than a third) migrated to Moscow.

Job pre-arrangement in Vanadzor remains low, even amongst migrants that have returned more than once to work in the host country. Less than half of migrants made employment agreements prior to migration (45% - first trip). In fact, job pre-arrangement increased by only 5% between the first and last trips.

There isn't a concentration of a single type of lodging arrangement in Vanadzor. However, in their last trip, in contrast with other communities who generally shifted to employer accommodation, most in Vanadzor chose to rent accommodation or stay in a hostel. In Vanadzor, like in Sisian, rights violations are high (in their last trip, 75% reported at least one rights violation).

During the Soviet Period, Vanadzor was heavily industrialized. But the devastating affects of the 1988 earthquake, and the collapse of the Soviet Union forced most industry to shut down. Today, Vanadzor still has some factories which continue to operate, producing chemicals, textiles and food products

Despite the fact that some industry remains in Vanadzor, our data shows that unemployment in this district of Vanadzor is the highest among the surveyed urban communities (57%), while only 17% of those employed work in industry. Unlike Sisian, Vanadzor has low levels of educational achievement. Only 41% of Vanadzor inhabitants over 18 years old have vocational and higher education. Thus the number of these urban people employed in professional services and the public sector is low (only 35%). More than a third (34%) of employed household members worked in the commercial sector. In the district we conducted the survey, not one household cultivated land.

Household wealth (conditions inside the house and ownership of consumer goods) is at a moderate level in this district of Vanadzor. However, utilities access is much lower than in the other two urban communities. Vehicle ownership is also low, with only 12% of the households owning passenger cars. This is perhaps related to the fact that Vanadzor is an urban community where there is public transportation available.

Charentsavan: Kotayk Marz

Charentsavan is an urban community located 38 km from Yerevan. Based on the census of 2001, Charentsavan has 4,923 registered households. We surveyed the eighth district, which is on the outskirts of the city and includes 748 households. There is some ethnic diversity in this area: 18% of the district population was born in Azerbaijan or Karabakh and 3% in Georgia.

Seasonal labor migration isn't a defining feature of life in Charentsavan; only 14% of households had a total of 32 migrants in them. The more interesting story in Charentsavan is that we could only interview 176 households, out of 435 visited, with 59% of non-responses due to vacant houses. For this reason, we suspect that in this community permanent migration rather than seasonal labor migration is high, though it is unclear whether the permanent migration is within Armenia or abroad.

Of the few who migrate seasonally, organization is low. Only half of the interviewed labor migrants used their personal networks to pre-arrange a job and accommodation prior to migration. About half of the workers had to look for employment upon arrival and rented their own accommodation. Perhaps this is the reason why over 50% of Charentsavan migrants paid for their lodging and accommodation.

Like the other communities, almost all migrants from Charentsavan were involved in construction work. Yet these migrants reported the lowest level of rights violations (first trip – 30%, last trip – 33%). This may be associated with the destination area of migrants: 38% of made one of their trips to a country other than Russia, though the sample is quite small and it is hard to make wide sweeping statements.

Like in Sisian, the employment level of those remaining in Charentsavan is high (62%). Charentsavan was one of the major industrial towns of Armenia during Soviet times. Though after the collapse of the Soviet Union many factories stopped production, it seems the industrial sector has rebounded somewhat in recent years. Today, nearly one quarter (24%) of surveyed family members were employed in the manufacturing sector.

The condition of housing is the lowest in Charentsavan after Shinuhayr. However, residents enjoy one of the highest levels of access to utilities, probably due to their proximity to Yerevan. Charentsavan households also own more electronic goods and household appliances than those from many other communities. Although seasonal migration is low in Charentsavan, the ownership level of consumer goods is high. They are the third after Yeranos and Sisian in the ownership of these goods. Ownership of passenger cars, on the other hand, is low (15%).

Shinuhayr: Syunik Marz

Shinuhayr community is the second community in Syunik Marz surveyed, a middle-sized rural community located on the bank of Vorotan River, bordering Azerbaijan. Based on 2001 census, it has 550 households. Shinuhayr is 17 km away from the nearest town which is a former regional center, 79 km away from the current marz center and 250 km from Yerevan. This rural community is not a typical farming village since it has also includes a district with multi-storied apartment buildings.

Unfortunately, the study lacks important information on the experiences of migrants from Shinuhayr community since the MRRC covering this area used volunteers for collecting data and they did not collect information from migrant interviews. However, the data obtained from respondents on general household questions allows us to give an overall description of this community.

Only 6% of households reported including at least one migrant in the Shinuhayr community. Most seasonal migrants from Shinuhayr travel alone, but in 19% of households the whole family traveled together.

At 74%, the unemployment level in Shinuhayr is as high as in Yeranos and Barekamavan. This, however, probably doesn't include those who cultivate their own land, since land ownership and cultivation is high in this community: 72% of inhabitants cultivate on average 1.1 hectares of land. Animal husbandry is also quite developed with 82% of households owning animals. One of the challenges for the community is that it is far from many city centers and bad roads make it hard to travel in winter.

Utility standards in Shinuhayr community are higher than in Haghtanak, Barekamavan and Vanadzor. However, in terms of housing condition and ownership of consumer goods, Shinuhayr is one of the lowest. The low migration level in Shinuhayr may be the result of access to land cultivation.

Appendix A. Migration Legislation

International migration creates complex economic and demographic interactions which impact not only the home country but also the destination country. Migration-related legislation should always have the important objective of regulating these interactions and creating favorable conditions that benefit the development of both affected countries. Legislation regulating overall migration processes in Armenia consists of two parts: international level and national level.

International-related Legislation

Armenia has ratified many international treaties and agreements, thus recognizing its obligations related to migrant issues internationally. As stated in the Constitution of Armenia, if in contradiction with national laws or other regulatory documents, the international treaties and agreements always prevail. The most significant among these international obligations are the United Nations (UN), Council of Europe (CoE); Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and International Labor Organization (Kabelova et al, 2007).

Among the international legal obligations with the United Nations relevant to migrant issues are the Basic Human Rights Conventions. These treaties are:

- *the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;*
- *the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;*
- *the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;*
- *the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;* and
- *The Convention on the Rights of the Child.*

The treaties address issues connected with the right to freedom of movement for anyone lawfully in the territory of a state, the right to nationality, the right to live in any country, and the right not to be extradited if it would place one in danger of torture.

As a member of the Council of Europe, Armenia has ratified the following treaties relevant to international migration:

- *The European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* - all individuals including migrants have the right to bring claims to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), right to fair trial, guarantees rights and freedoms potentially targeting migrants or stateless persons;
- *The Convention Protocols* - ensures freedom of movement, freedom to choose a residence, and prohibits collective expulsion of aliens;
- *The European Convention on Extradition* – governs the conditions and criminal offences that may justify extradition among member states;

- *The Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* – is concerned with the protection of national minorities in general;
- *The CoE Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings* – protects the human rights of the victims of trafficking and promotes international cooperation on action against trafficking; also addresses some migrant-related issues, such as prevention of irregular movement and border control, security and control of travel or identity documents, the right of the victims of trafficking to have access to the labor market of the destination country, and to renewable residence permit, and reintegration of victims of trafficking in their home country.

Armenia is a part of the following migration related agreements within the CIS framework:

- *The Agreement on Cooperation on Labor Migration and Social Protection of Migrant Workers (1994)*; this agreement was to come into force as a result of bilateral agreements between countries. Armenia signed bilateral agreements with the Russian Federation, Georgia, Ukraine, and Belarus on social protection of the citizens working in the territories of these respective countries. However, the implementation of these agreements failed and currently none of them are operational.
- *Agreement on Cooperation between CIS Countries against Irregular Migration (1998)* – focuses on border control, return of irregular migrants; exchange of information and national legislation among partner states

Armenia has ratified also two important documents International Labor Organization (ILO) documents related to labor migration matters:

- *ILO convention No. 97 on Migration for Employment* – provides basis for a normative framework;
- *ILO Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention (C 143) of 1975* – provides basic framework for national legislation and practices on labor migration.

These two ILO Conventions require the states to actively facilitate fair recruitment practices and transparent consultation with their social partners, establish a principle of equality, non-discrimination between nationals and regular migrant workers in their access to social security and conditions of work.

National-related Legislation

The priorities of actions at the national level are proscribed in the Concept Paper on State Regulation of Population Migration (2004). The following priorities are recognized as essential:

- Ensuring the manageability of emigration and immigration,
- Civilized integration of Armenia into the international labor market,
- Preventing irregular migration from Armenia and supporting voluntary return and reintegration of irregular migrants,

- Maintaining and developing relations with Diaspora communities to encourage repatriation,
- Creating a database that will provide information necessary for monitoring and analyzing the migration situation in Armenia.

There is not one comprehensive law that covers all migration issues in Armenia. Various aspects of migration are regulated by separate laws and different government decrees. The following laws cover migration (Kabelova et al, 2007):

- *The Law on Foreigners* – issuance of entry and residency visas, and issues related to labor migration of foreigners,
- *The RA Charter of the Passport System* – issuance of passports and residence documents,
- *The RA Constitution* and *The Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Armenia* – the issuance of citizenship,
- *The Government Decree on Measures for the Implementation of the Provisions of the Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Armenia* – provides special procedures for the law.
- *The RA Law on Refugees*, and *The Law on Political Asylum* – regulates the issues of refugees and political asylum,
- *The Government Decree on Stipulating the Procedure for Free Movement and Settlement of Refugees* – specifies procedures for various refugee-related matters,
- *The Government Decree on Stipulating the Procedure for Granting Certificates to Persons Seeking Refugee Status in The Republic of Armenia* – specifies procedures for various refugee-related matters,
- *The Labor Code* and *The Law on Employment* – contain some references to migration,
- *The Criminal Code*, *the Code of Administrative Offence*, and *the Criminal Procedure Code* – these all specify rules for enforcement of migration legislation,
- *The Law on Language*, *the Law on State Duty*, *the Law on State Border*, *the Law on Border Troops*, *the Law on Licensing*, *the Law on Prevention of Diseases Caused by the HIV Virus*, *the Law on Personal Data* and *the Law on Foreign Investments* – all these regulate other aspects of migration

Armenia is part of many major international human rights conventions, and is bound to ensure the human rights' protection of those on its territory, including labor migrants. However, the issue of outflow of labor migrants to other countries and the conditions for their employment, though recognized as priority, is realistically almost completely unregulated in Armenia. As a country with a skilled and educated workforce, and a high unemployment rate, Armenian lawmakers need to consider creating relevant legal regulation of overseas employment. Regulations out-migration could include obtaining overseas contracts for local labor and ensure a better legal environment for Armenian nationals in contracting countries.

Several years ago, a draft Law on Overseas Employment Management was prepared (in 2001, revised in 2004), which envisages the creation of a state program on management

of overseas employment (Kabelova et al, 2007). It provides distinct instruments in reaching its goals, and stipulates the basic principles of state policy in this field. One of the major attributes of the latest draft is its strong emphasis on protecting labor migrants' rights and interests. Another essential attribute is its focus on licensing employment agencies. The draft of the Law on Regulation of Overseas Employment so far has not been included in agenda of the National Assembly. However, labor emigration has become a priority for the National Assembly as indicated by the Concept paper on State Regulation of Population Migration.

Appendix B. Household selection chart for rural communities.

Nalbandyan village

Nalbandyan has about 1,011 households: $1,011 / 275 = 3.67 \approx 3$ (rounded down, for the purposes of the research). This means that every third household should be visited. However, in this case the number of households to be visited will grow from the required sample size of 275 which includes also the number of non-responsive households ($1,011 / 3 = 337$, 62 households more). The additional number of households should be taken out with the help of the chart presented below.

A total number of 62 cells marked with stripes should be skipped during the selection process, leaving only 275 households to be visited. The interviewer counts every third household and visits it with the purpose of conducting an interview. Coming across a marked cell in the chart means that the household should be left out. For example: based on the chart, the first interviewer attends fourteen houses. After the 14th household, the interviewer again counts three, but this time the selected 15th household is not visited, instead again three houses are counted from the 15th one and next selected household – the 16th – is visited with the purpose of conducting an interview.

The 275 visits to households are divided among three interviewers. The thick dividing lines in the chart indicate the section to be visited by each interviewer. The first interviewer should visit households 1-114, the second one – 115 – 222, and the third one from 223 on. The section to be accomplished by each interviewer could be changed if agreed upon, depending on the distance and the expected workload in a specific interview area. However, the sequence and number of visited and skipped houses should be strictly followed based on the chart.

The interviewers should start their count of households not from the very first house in the street, but from a random number. The interviewer visiting the households in the first section should start from the random number 12 (that is, the 12th will be the house from which every third will be counted). The random number for the second interviewer is seven and for the third is eight. The uncounted first houses should be revisited and counted after finishing the whole route. For example, if the first interviewer is left with only one house after the last visited household, but still has several interviews to conduct, then upon return to the beginning of the route continues the count among the 12 households left out at the start.

Table 0-1. Household selection chart

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180
181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210
211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240
241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270
271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300
301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330
331	332	333	334	335	336	337																							

Appendix C. Questionnaire

Armenia Labor Migration Survey HOUSEHOLD Coversheet

Interviewer Number: _____

Community: _____ Household Number: _____

Visit Number	Interview?	Date	Start Time	End Time
1	Yes No NR	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH
2	Yes No NR	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH
Non-Response	Code			

If on the second visit the interviewer cannot interview, circle “Non-Response,” and enter the appropriate code.

Reason for Non-Response Codes
1. House is empty – no one living there
2. No one was home, but someone lives there
3. No one home but vacancy could not be determined
4. Someone knowledgeable about the household could not be found
5. Refused – busy
6. Refused – not interested
7. Refused – scared
8. Refused – no reason given
9. Address not found

The following information is to be collected to check the work of the interviewers. This information is not recorded with the data from the questionnaire.

Phone number: _____

Signature: _____

To the interviewer:

Question	Worst				Best
Overall, how would you rate the quality of this interview?	1	2	3	4	5
How would you rate the honesty of the respondent?	1	2	3	4	5
How would you rate the cooperativeness of the respondent?	1	2	3	4	5

Questions for the Head of Household

Table 0-2. Information about household members – (People living with you most of the time, regardless of their place of legal residence)

	Name	Sex	Relationship to the household head, Coding (a)	Year of birth	Place of birth (country)	Marital Status, Coding (b)	Level of education, Coding I	Short-term travel abroad since independence?	Migrated since independence?	Employment Status at present, Coding (d)		Sector Coding (e)		Completed military service? Coding (f)
										Code	Code	Code	Code	
1		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
2		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
3		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
4		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
6		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
7		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
8		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
9		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
10		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
11		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
12		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
13		M F	Code			Code	Code	Yes No	Yes No	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code

Coding (a)

1. Household Head
2. Wife
3. Husband
4. Father
5. Mother
6. Son
7. Daughter
8. Sister
9. Brother
10. Grandparent/Grandparent-in-law
11. Grandchild
12. Father-in-law
13. Mother-in-law
14. Son-in-law
15. Daughter – in-law
16. Sister-in-law
17. Brother-in-law
18. Other relative
19. Other non-relative

Coding (b)

1. Single
2. Married
3. Civil Union
4. Widowed
5. Divorced
6. Separated

Coding I

1. Less than complete elementary (less than 8 years)
2. 8 years completed
3. 10 years completed
4. Technical/vocational school
5. Bachelors (4-5 years)
6. Masters or Ph.D. or other professional degree
7. Under 18

Coding (d)

1. Full-time Employment
2. Part-time Employment
3. Self-employed
4. Housewife
5. Student (university)
6. Student (school)
7. Under school age
8. Unemployed
9. Pensioner
10. Other

Coding (e)

1. Construction
2. Mining
3. Other heavy industry
4. Domestic Services
5. Commercial Services
6. Professional Services
7. Manufacturing Services
8. Public Services
9. NGO
10. Agriculture
11. Petty Trade
12. Other
13. N/A

Coding (f)

1. Completed military service
2. Completed alternative service
3. Currently Serving
4. Did not complete, not eligible
5. Did not complete, eligible, legal deferment
6. Did not complete, eligible, no legal deferment
7. Too Young
8. Female

Table 0-3 Migration experience non-household family members and close friends of head of household.

	Name of person	Relationship to the household head Coding (a)	Year first left	Year last returned (TP if never returned)	Currently resides in Armenia?	Number of total trips	Place of Last Migration	
							Country	City
20		Code			Yes No DK			
21		Code			Yes No DK			
22		Code			Yes No DK			
23		Code			Yes No DK			
24		Code			Yes No DK			
25		Code			Yes No DK			
26		Code			Yes No DK			
27		Code			Yes No DK			
28		Code			Yes No DK			

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Coding (a)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. (no coding used, see manual) 2. Wife 3. Husband 4. Father 5. Mother | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Son 7. Daughter 8. Sister 9. Brother 10. Grandparent/Grandparent-in-law 11. Grandchild 12. Father-in-law | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Mother-in-law 14. Son-in-law 15. Daughter-in-law 16. Sister-in-law 17. Brother-in-law 18. Other relative 19. Close friend |
|--|---|---|

Table 0-4 Information about the dwelling in which the household is currently living

Current Residence						
	Dwelling type Coding (a)	Status, Coding (b)	Number of rooms in dwelling	“Evro” windows	Renovated walls	Renovated floor
1	Code	Code		Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
2	Code	Code		Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Coding (a)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individually-Owned Separate House 2. Shared Separate House 3. Apartment 4. <i>Domik</i> 5. Multi-family house (<i>komunalka</i>) | <p>Coding (b)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Owned 2. Rented 3. Borrowed/guest |
|---|--|

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: FILL OUT INDEPENDENTLY – ASK RESPONDENT FOR CLARIFICATION IF NECESSARY

Table 0-5 Information about assets owned by the household and services provided to them

Other developed properties owned		Household services			Vehicle holdings		Land holdings		Household livestock	
<i>Type</i>	<i>How many</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Availability</i>		<i>Type</i>	<i>How many</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Size (ha)</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>How many</i>
			<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per day</i>						
House		Water (avg. past 12 months)	Days	Hours	Passenger Car		<i>Owned Hectares</i>		Cows	
Apartment		Electricity (avg. past 12 months)	Days	Hours	Truck		<i>Rented Hectares</i>		Pigs	
Business		Flush toilet	Yes No DK		Bus/Marshrutka		<i>Cultivated Hectares</i>		Horses	
Barn		Gas	Yes No DK		Tractor				Sheep	
Garage		Refrigerator	Yes No DK		Other Ag. Machine				Donkeys	
Unfinished Basement		Washing machine	Yes No DK		Motorcycle				Chickens	
		TV	Yes No DK						Turkeys	
		Stereo	Yes No DK						Goats	
		Cellular phone	Yes No DK						Rabbits	
		Computer	Yes No DK						Bees (hives)	
		Internet	Yes No DK							

Table 0-6 Remittances received by the household

Ever received remittances or contributions from abroad?								Yes No DK			If no go to Table 6 –Information About Migratory Experiences If yes: fill in the table below		
Currently receiving remittances or contributions from abroad?								Yes No DK					
	From which members? (numbers from table 1 and table 2)	Remittance or contribution?		Remittances how often in the past 12 months? Coding (a)	Remittances used for? Coding (b)			% of household yearly income? (out of 100%)	Average remittances received each time (in USD)	Contributions how often in the past 12 months? Coding (a)	Type of Contributions? Coding I		
1		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code
2		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code
3		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code
4		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code
5		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code
6		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code
7		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code
8		R	C	Both	Code	Code	Code	Code	%		Code	Code	Code

Coding (a)

1. At least once a month or more frequently
2. Approximately every 2-3 months
3. Approximately every 4-6 months
4. Less frequently than every 4-6 months
5. Irregularly, difficult to say

Coding (b)

1. Food
2. Household maintenance and utilities
3. Construction or repair of house
4. Purchase of house or lot
5. Purchase of vehicle
6. Purchase of livestock
7. Purchase of agricultural inputs or tools
8. Purchase of other household tools
9. Purchase of consumer goods

10. Start/expand business

11. Education expenses
12. Health expenses
13. Debt payment
14. To pay for a wedding
15. To pay for a funeral
16. To pay for other special event
17. Recreation/entertainment
18. Savings
19. Other

Coding I

1. Clothes
2. Food
3. Electronic goods
4. Medicine
5. Vehicles
6. Educational material
7. Construction material
8. Agricultural inputs or tools
9. Other

Table 0-7 Migration Organizations in the Community

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: ASK ONLY IF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD OR RESPONDENT IS NOT A MIGRANT

Informed?	Migration organizations known?
Yes No DK	Yes No DK

Armenia Labor Migration Survey MIGRANT Coversheet

Interviewer Number: _____

Community: _____ Household Number: _____

If on the second visit the interviewer cannot conduct the interview, circle "Non-Response."

# (from Table 1)	Attempt Number	Interview?	Date	Start Time	End Time	Phone Number	Signature	Quality of Interview		Honesty of Respondent		Cooperative Respondent	
								Worst	Best	Worst	Best	Worst	Best
	1	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH								
	2	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH			1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5	
	NR												
	1	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH								
	2	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH			1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5	
	NR												
	1	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH								
	2	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH			1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5	
	NR												
	1	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH								
	2	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH			1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5	
	NR												
	1	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH								
	2	Yes No RTA	DD/MM/YYYY	HH:HH	HH:HH			1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3 4 5	
	NR												

<p>Reason for Non-Response Codes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House is empty – no one living there 2. No one was home, but someone lives there 3. No one home but vacancy could not be determined 4. Someone knowledgeable about the household could not be found 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Refused – busy 6. Refused – not interested 7. Refused – scared 8. Refused – no reason given 9. Address not found
--	---

Questions for each adult migrant

Table 8 Information about each person in Table 1 with migratory experience.

Number (see table 1)	N. of trips	Unsuccessful attempts?	Migration during USSR era	Trip	Month and year of departure			Month and year of return		Destination		Migration to other countries during one full trip	
										Country	City	Country	City
			Yes No DK	1 st	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
				Last	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
			Yes No DK	1 st	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
				Last	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
			Yes No DK	1 st	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
				Last	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
			Yes No DK	1 st	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
				Last	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
			Yes No DK	1 st	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
				Last	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
			Yes No DK	1 st	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					
				Last	MM	YYYY	MM	YYYY					

Table 7 (continuation)

Number (see table 1)	Trip	Employed prior to trip?	Avg. Monthly Salary? (in USD)	Why abroad?			Accompanying family members?
				Coding (a)			
	1 st	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	Last	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	1 st	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	Last	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	1 st	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	Last	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	1 st	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	Last	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	1 st	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No
	Last	Yes No		Code	Code	Code	Yes No

Coding - Seasons
 44. – Summer
 55. – Fall
 66. – Winter
 77. – Spring

Coding (a)
 1. Work (legal and illegal)
 2. Study
 3. Marriage
 4. Tourism
 5. Medical treatment
 6. Family reunification
 7. Military service avoidance
 8. Political repression
 9. Social and cultural pressures
 10. Other

Table 9 Information about entry and work documentation availability during the FIRST TRIP.

Number from Table 1	Citizenship in the host country	If no: Entry document? Coding (a)	If no and worked: Work document? Coding (b)	Undocumented at any point?	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Coding (a) 1. Legal alien status 2. Student Visa 3. Tourist visa 4. Work visa 5. Other government sponsored visa 6. No visa regime 7. Granted Asylum/Refugee status (not in Armenia) 8. No coding used (see the manual) 9. No coding used (see the manual) 10. No legal document 11. Illegal documents
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
Table 10 Information about documentation availability during the <u>LAST TRIP</u>.					
Number from Table 1	Citizenship in the host country	If no: Entry Document? Coding (a)	If no and worked: Work Document? Coding (b)	Undocumented at any point?	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Coding (b) 1. Legal alien status 2. Student Visa 3. Tourist visa 4. Work visa 5. Other government sponsored visa 6. Pending Asylum Status 7. Granted Asylum/Refugee Status (not in Armenia) 8. Registration without work permit 9. Registration with work permit 10. No legal document 11. Illegal documents If answer is 10 or 11 – no legal documents or illegal documents, then fill out Table 10.
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	
	Yes No	Code	Code	Yes No DK	

Table 11 Information about undocumented and entries with falsified entries. (Leave blank if no undocumented attempts)

Number from table 1	Trip	Means?	Primary Help?	Pay?	Deceived?
		Coding (a)	Coding (b)		
	1 st	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Yes No DK

Coding (a)

1. Airplane
2. Boat
3. Car
4. Train
5. Bus/Marshrutka/Truck
6. Foot
7. Other

Coding (b)

1. No one
2. Friend, Acquaintance
3. Tourism Agency
4. Recruitment Agency
5. Individual Middle man
6. Embassy Officials/Border Officials
7. Relatives
8. Employer/co-worker
9. Other

Table 11A Migration experiences

Number (see table 1)	Trip	Lodging from whom upon arrival? Coding (a)	Lodging change?	Primary lodging from whom? Coding (a)	Primary housing description Coding (b)	Job arranged before arrival? (don't fill out if didn't work)	How did you find your first job? Coding (c) (don't fill out if didn't work)
	1 st	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Code	Yes No DK	Code	Code	Yes No DK	Code

Coding (a)

1. Friend
2. Employer
3. Relative
4. Rented from stranger
5. Hostel or Hotel
6. Other

Coding (b)

1. Individual house or apartment (one HH or individual)
2. Shared house or apartment (multiple HHs or individuals)
3. Individual accommodations at work
4. Shared accommodations at work
5. Hostel or Hotel

Coding (c)

1. A friend helped (host country)
2. A friend helped (home country)
3. An agency/middle man helped (host country)
4. An agency/middle man helped (home country)
5. Searched for a job myself
6. Started own business
7. Other

Table 11 B – Migration Experiences (continued) (don't fill out if never worked)

Number (see Table 1)	Trip	Employment Status Coding (a)		Sector Coding (b)		Work hours per day?	Work days per week?	Days off /Holidays available?	Employer ethnicity? Coding (c)	3 most prevalent ethnicities of co- workers Coding (c)			Training?	Monthly Salary (in USD)
		Code	Code	Code	Code					C	od	e		
	1 st	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	Last	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	1 st	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	Last	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	1 st	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	Last	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	1 st	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	Last	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	1 st	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	Last	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	1 st	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	
	Last	Code	Code	Code	Code			Yes No DK	Code	C	od	e	Yes No DK	

Coding (a)

1. Full-time Employment
2. Part-time Employment
3. Self-employed
4. Housewife
5. Student (university)
6. No coding used (see the manual)
7. No coding used (see the manual)
8. Unemployed
9. Pensioner
10. Other

Coding (b)

1. Construction
2. Mining
3. Other heavy industry
4. Domestic Services
5. Commercial Services
6. Professional Services
7. Manufacturing Services
8. Public Services
9. NGO
10. Agriculture
11. Petty Trade
12. Other
13. N/A

Coding (c)

1. Armenian
2. Russian
3. Georgian
4. Azerbaijani
5. North Caucasian
6. Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Moldovan
7. Central Asian
8. Turkish
9. Other Eastern European (_____)
10. Western European (_____)
11. Other (_____)
12. Don't know
13. N/A – only if self-employed

Table 12 Workplace Environment – INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION – DO NOT FILL OUT IF RESPONDENT WAS SELF-EMPLOYED OR NEVER WORKED IN HOST COUNTRY

Number (see table 1)	Trips	Work accidents or work related illnesses?	Paid less than agreed?	Worked overtime uncompensated ?	Passport taken away?	Movement restricted?	Physical harm by employer?	Discrimination by employer?	Discrimination by co-workers in workplace?
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK

Table 13 Problems Outside of Workplace

	Number from Table 1	Trip	Discrimination outside of workplace?	Arrested by police?	Harassment by police?	Problems with Registration?
1		1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
		Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
2		1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
		Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
3		1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
		Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
4		1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
		Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
5		1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
		Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
6		1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
		Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK

Table 14 Request For Assistance (Answer only if yes to questions in Table 11 or 12.)

Number (see table 1)	Trip	Report to local authorities?	Report to Armenian embassy/consulate?	Report to NGO?	Person approached for help? Coding (a)
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Code

Coding (a)
 1. A friend
 2. Relatives
 3. Co-workers
 4. Lawyer
 5. Other

Table 15 Public Services

Number (see table 1)	Trip	Hospitalized in host country?	Doctor in host country?	Children gone to school in host country?
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK N/A

Table 16 Language Skills

Number (see table 1)	Trip s	Speak fluently in host country language?	Some language capabilities in language of host country?	Write fluently in host country language?
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	1 st	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
	Last	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK

Table 17, Coding (a)

1. Clothes
2. Food
3. Electronic goods
4. Medicine
5. Vehicles
6. Educational material
7. Construction material
8. Agricultural inputs or tools
9. Other

Table 17 Spending, Savings and Remittances in Host Country

INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS: Ask questions to find out if SEVERAL MIGRANTS from the same household lived and functioned as one unit in the host country.

Number (from table 1)	Trip	Did you share expenses with your family members	Housing expenses per month (in USD)	Food per month (in USD)	How many households remittances sent?	How many households contributions sent/brought?	Remittances sent per month (in USD)	Type of contributions Coding (c)	Savings brought to Armenia (in USD)	Remittances or contributions sent as one family unit? (if the migrant lived with family members)
	1 st	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	Last	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	1 st	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	Last	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	1 st	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	Last	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	1 st	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	Last	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	1 st	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A
	Last	Yes No N/A						C od e		Yes No N/A

Table 18 Return Services

	Number (see table 1)	Difficulties upon return Coding (a)			Plan to travel again?	Informed?	Migration organizations known?	IF YES: seek information before migration?	Sought legal assistance?	Sought employment assistance?	Sought business training?
1		C	o	de	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
2		C	o	de	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
3		C	o	de	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
4		C	o	de	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
5		C	o	de	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK
6		C	o	de	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK	Yes No DK

Coding (a)

1. Difficulties in relations with society
2. Difficulties in finding a job
3. Difficulties in starting a business
4. Difficulties in education for yourself or
for your children
5. Difficulties with language
6. Difficulties in military service
7. No difficulties
8. Other

Appendix D. Interviewer Manual

Introduction

The Eurasia Partnership Foundation Armenia is implementing a 12-month program to build the capacity of eight Migration and Return Resource Centers (MRRCs) to protect the rights of Armenian labor migrants. Eurasia will improve the capacity of these MRRCs to gather and analyze data about violations of Armenian migrants' rights, as well as about the challenges they face upon their return home. As part of this effort, the Eurasia Foundation will lead seven of the MRRCs through a round of data collection within their outreach communities. The survey will be a quantitative study of the seven communities and focus on the overall community trends for migration as well as obtaining information about rights violations against migrants overseas and their ability to access resources once they have returned to Armenia.

The data collected serves a two-fold purpose: first, to fill a need for more community-specific qualitative research in the field of migration and provide data for analysis for Eurasia's reports in the sector, and second, to provide data to the MRRCs themselves so that they can offer better assistance to migrants in their communities.

By building the capacity of the MRRCs to do this sort of methodological data collection, it is hoped that they will gain skills that will allow them to carry out similar activities in the future and attract clients such as international organizations, local and national government and businesses to use their services.

Type of Survey

The survey is a quantitative survey that aims to get data from a number of people that can be statistically analyzed to provide a fact-based perspective on migration. While being a quantitative survey, it is understood that the type of information that will be being collected is often very sensitive and difficult to have respondents answer correctly. For this reason the survey will not follow a strict questionnaire, but rather interviewers are expected to phrase and time the questions so that the respondent feels comfortable answering them.

The interviews are expected to take 15 minutes for households without migrants in them and approximately 20 minutes for every migrant in the household. These are fairly long, in-depth interviews and all questions must be asked in order to get complete analyzable data for each community.

When designing the survey this approach was selected for two reasons. The first is that with the type of personal information that the survey attempts to collect, a flexible design will allow the interviewers additional freedom to phrase questions in ways that are sensitive to the respondent as well as changing the order of the questions so that the interview is more like a conversation and less like an inquiry.

Additionally, in this interview format, the interviewer can clarify the respondent's answers. By asking a question again, or with a different phrasing, it is hoped that very accurate information about the respondent's migration experience will be collected. This will also hopefully reduce some of the necessary data-cleaning.

There are some negatives attached to this type of survey, particularly that interviewers will need more time to ask the in-depth sections on respondent's migration experiences and that the survey enumerators will need additional training so that they understand the goals and methods of the survey.

Expectations of Interviewers

This is a professional exercise and people selected for interviewing are expected to conduct themselves in a professional manner. It is important to be able to gain the trust of the individuals being interviewed so that the professionalism of the interviewer and the interviewers' organization is conveyed.

To this end, it is expected that interviewers will dress professionally when they visit people's homes. While this doesn't mean a suit is necessary, interviewers should dress in nice pants, not jeans and a collared shirt. Wearing a tie is preferred, but not necessary. Women are advised to wear neat and modest clothes, avoiding short dresses and excessive jewelry.

The interviewer should also show considerable respect to the respondents. The interviews will be conducted in the respondent's homes and the interviewer is a guest. The interviewer's behavior should not make the respondent uncomfortable, especially since often very personal information will be discussed.

Whom to Interview

The households will be selected based on the sampling plan. Selection of a household will be conducted differently in urban communities than in rural communities. In urban communities enumerators will be given lists of addresses and the household living in these addresses will be interviewed. Every k -th household will be selected where, k is the number of households in the district divided by approximately 275 (the required sample size plus an approximately 10% expected non-response rate). Random start will be determined using a random sample table.

Selection of households in the rural communities will be conducted on the spot with the help of a community map indicating major streets and plots of land. Based on the number of households in the selected community the k -th household is calculated ($k =$ the number of households divided by 275). Prior to conducting the survey, a plan of the walk will be drawn on the map of the community provided by the MRRC. Starting a walk from the city center and taking different streets as specified by the map, the interviewers will select every k -th house to conduct the interview.

In case the house is inhabited but at the time of the day there is no one home at the time of the visit, then the interviewer should attempt to determine from neighbors when this household might be at home and return when there is a high likelihood of finding the head of the household at home. If the head of household or other knowledgeable person is not home, the enumerator should agree upon a time to come back to interview the head of household. If the household refuses, or on the second visit there is no one present the enumerator will mark non-response on the survey coversheet and move to the next household according to the sampling plan.

The head of the household will be interviewed. The head of the household is self-identified and should know information about the family's make-up, finances, and consumption patterns. This is generally defined for the purposes of this study as the male, if present. If the person that is identified by the household as the head is not present (i.e., in Russia, another city, etc., rather than being temporarily out of the house) the person who is most knowledgeable about household issues will be interviewed. For the purposes of this study this person is marked as the head of the household. The interview will be held one-on-one, privately.

If the person that is identified by the household as the head is in Armenia living with the household, but temporarily is not present and cannot be interviewed also on the second visit, then the most knowledgeable person in the household is interviewed. However, for the purposes for this research this respondent is not regarded as household head and in the question of Table 1 "Relationship to the Head of Household," his or her relationship to the absent household head is recorded.

After the household part of the interview is completed, any members of the household that have returned after temporarily migrating abroad (identified on Table 1) at least once will be interviewed privately. If these household members are currently not present a time will be arranged for the interviewer to return, following the non-response rules for the household, up to two times. Only respondents over 18 years old will be interviewed.

The Interview

The interviewer will start the interview with a statement about the purposes of the survey, including who funds the survey, confidentiality of the information and the uses of the final data. A sample opening statement follows:

Hello, my name is _____ and I work for _____ organization. We are currently conducting an interview for the Eurasia Foundation on Armenia's experiences with migration. The data that we are collecting is confidential and your name will not be attached to the data during analysis or during its final form. The information that we collect from you will not be used on its own, but rather will be combined with information from other people to provide information about the community rather than information about individuals. Your honesty is the most important, and we appreciate your sincerity. May we begin?

Codes used throughout the questionnaire

In general, we want to minimize the number of missing values. However, sometimes, respondents simply cannot remember. In such cases it is required to use the adequate coding instead of leaving the space blank.

When the respondent does not know mark:

DK

When the respondent refused to answer mark:

RF

If a response is not applicable, mark:

NA

All dates are coded as year as in **yyyy** and if the date is required **mm,yyyy**

Question boxes and tables shaded in gray are conditional or if questions that are only asked depending on the answers to previous questions. These are marked in this manual and on the questionnaire.

Guidance on Specific Questions

Armenian Labor Migration Survey HOUSEHOLD Coversheet

On the household coversheet the interviewer should mark the number attached to his name. The community and household numbers are already recorded. The interviewer should write the community, household and interviewers number on each subsequent page. In cases where migrants are present in the household, these numbers should also be recorded on the migrant coversheet page and at the top of each page in the migrants' section of the questionnaire.

The interviewer is required to visit any residence twice in order to find the head of household. If the interviewer manages to have the interview on the first visit, in the first line of the "Interview" column, the answer "Yes" should be circled, then the day, month and year of the completed interview should be recorded in the next column. The start time and end time of the interview should be recorded, too. When the interviewer does not manage to have the interview on the first visit, the answer "No" should be circled and the date and the time of the first visit recorded. If the interview takes place on the second visit the answer "Yes" is circled, and the day, month, year, start time and end time recorded in the line for the second visit. In case the interview does not take place, the second time visited, NR (non-response) is circled, and again the day, month, year and the visit time recorded. In the non-response line mark the reasons for not conducting the interview using the appropriate coding.

To monitor the interviewers' work, certain information is collected about the household during the interview, which is not compiled with the rest of the data, which ensures

confidentiality of the respondent. It is required to ask the respondent to provide a phone number by which he can be reached and to sign on the allocated line.

The table at the bottom of the page evaluates the quality of the completed interview, which should be filled out by the interviewer. Using a scale from 1 to 5 the interviewer, based on his or her own opinion, evaluates the quality of the interview, the level of honesty and cooperativeness of the respondent.

Table 1 – General Information about the Household

By household we mean people presently living with you most of the time, regardless of their legal place of residence.

Interviewers are instructed to probe to make sure that household members currently live in the household. This means that people who are only temporarily home for the holidays should be conceived of as family members who have migrated.

The RESPONDENT is always listed as Number 1 on Table 1.

Name – Only the first name will be collected to ensure anonymity. This data will not be coded, but is just for reference throughout the interview.

Sex – Male (M) or Female (F)

Relationship to the HH – Mark the appropriate code to indicate the household member's relationship to the household head. The household head is self-defined. The interviewer should ask the household who they believe to be the household head. This should be a person who knows about all of the members of the household as well as the household's budget. If the interview takes place with someone other than the household head (in case household head is not present also on the second visit) the relationship of the respondent and other household members should be recorded from the household head's perspective.

Year of birth – Mark the year in which the household member was born. If the respondent does not remember the year, mark the decade with a 30 instead of 19, for example, if someone was born in the 1920's, it should be marked as "3020". If the respondent does not remember the year or decade of birth, mark "9999".

Place of birth – Mark the country in which the respondent was born. If the respondent was born during Soviet times, mark the Soviet Socialist Republic in which they were born. The only exception for this is Nagorno-Karabakh. People who were born in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast as well as people born within the zone of control of the current Nagorno-Karabakh Republic should be marked as Karabakh.

Marital status – Mark the appropriate code to indicate the marital status of the household member. By civil union we mean people who are living together as if they

were married, but do not have an official state marriage license. Respondents who are married and both live in the household should be listed next to each other in Table 1.

Level of education – Mark the appropriate code to indicate the level of education of the household member. We are interested in the highest of completed education. If the respondent has a five year Soviet degree, this is considered as Bachelor’s degree code “5”. If the respondent has a seven year Soviet degree, such as medical degree, this is considered code “6”.

Short-term travel abroad since independence? – Mark yes or no depending on whether the household member has traveled short-term overseas. Short-term travel abroad is defined as travel outside of Armenia for less than a month with no intention of staying longer and no intention of working. We are only interested in the period after Armenian independence. This includes people who went to purchase goods and returned quickly, with no intention of staying in the host country.

Migrated since independence? – Mark yes or no depending on whether the household member has migrated. Migration is defined as travel of any duration outside of Armenia with the intention of a stay longer than a month or with the intention of working. This is only for the post-Armenian independence period.

Employment status? – Employment status for each job should be noted from left to right. Full-time constitutes at least forty hours of work per week.

Sector? – Using the codes, mark the sector(s) that apply to the respondent. Up to two codes are allowed. The respondent’s primary sector should be noted first and the secondary sector can be noted second, if it exists (from left to right). The code N/A should be used when the primary Employment Status is Housewife, Student (University), Student (School), Pensioner but these people have secondary employment.

List of profession is provided to help categorize the professions.

Construction – all the professions used in construction

Mining

- copper
- molybdenum
- coal
- minerals

Other heavy industry

- stone refinery
- oil refinery

Domestic Services

- housecleaning

- gardening
- nanny
- family cook

Commercial Services

- waiter, waitress,
- salesperson
- hairdresser
- real estate agent
- porter
- driver

Professional Services

- lawyer
- accountant
- doctor
- computer specialist
- economist
- judge
- surveyor
- sociologist
- veterinarian

Manufacturing Services – if it is produced, packaged and exported to other retailers instead of being sold immediately, upon production

- shoes, footwear
- confectionary
- ice-cream
- clothing
- light bulbs
- canned food
- furniture

Public Services

- teacher
- state, local government employee,
- politician

NGO – anyone employed in the NGO sector, eg. Environmental, advocacy, disability issues,

Agriculture

- agriculturist
- farmer

Petty Trade – small trade in markets or streets.

Other

- Artist
- Painter
- Singer
- Musician
- Photographer
- Dancer
- Coach
- Writer

Completed military service? – This question should be asked to everyone and females who have not served should be marked with code “8.” Those who have illegally paid not to serve in the military should be marked with code “4” because to become ineligible, they generally get some form of exception. Those who are eligible to serve but have legally deferred their service through attendance at university or other means should be marked code “5.” Those who have not received a legal deferment but are otherwise eligible should be marked “6.” Use the same categories for Soviet military service.

Table 2 – Non-household Family Members with Migration Experience

The household head should be asked about family members outside of the household (not in Table 1) and close friends that have migrated. It should be left up to the respondent how they define close friend. However, close friends and relatives must be those who are former residents of Armenia, those who lived in Armenia for at least five years and those who have migrated. Those who are friends, but have never resided in Armenia should not be included in the table. There is no time restraint on when a close friend of relative migrated. So, if an Armenian resident moved to Moscow in 1980 and sends remittances, this person should be included in Table 2.

Relationship to the HH – These codes are the same as the household member codes. Code “1” is not used in here, since it coincides with the response “Household Head.” This response is not applicable for Table 2, since, according to the definition, head of the household can be the member that at the time of the interview is present in the household. This is done for the purpose of keeping the same coding for both tables. In this coding, “other non-relative” is replaced by “close friends” coding.

If the interview takes place with someone other than the household head (when household head is not present also on the second visit) the relationship of the non-household family members and close friends should be recorded from the household head’s perspective.

Year first left – This is the first year that this migrant left to work abroad. People who left before independence should be included. If the respondent does not remember the

year mark the decade with a 30 instead of 19, for example if someone left in the 1980s it should be marked as “3080.” If the respondent does not remember the year or decade, mark “9999.”

Year last returned – This is the last year the migrant returned to live and work in Armenia. Given the complexity of family relationships, no specific time frame can be given for what constitutes “return.” However, by return we mean that people were engaged in activities within their communities, such as agriculture, studying or taking care of their immediate family (such as wives or children). If the person is still abroad and has not returned at anytime to work or live, mark “TP” – to present. If the respondent does not remember the year mark the decade with a 30 instead of 19, for example if someone returned in the 1990s it should be marked as “3090.” If the respondent does not remember the year or decade, mark “9999.”

Currently resides in Armenia – Mark yes, no or DK for whether the non-household relative or friend currently resides in Armenia. By resides, we mean the person works and lives in Armenia. Those who are just here for a short visit do NOT currently reside in Armenia.

Number of trips – This is the number of times that the migrant has left to work abroad and returned, not including short-term visits, where the definition of “return” is not met. Number of trips includes all trips to *any* destination.

If the respondent does not know an exact number, make them give their best estimate. A specific number is needed.

Place of Last Migration – Mark the country and city that the person referred to has migrated to. If the person has spent time in more than one location, the place where they have spent the most time *during their last trip* should be written.

Table 3 – Information about the Dwelling Where the Household Resides

The respondent is asked to provide information about the house that the household occupies. If there is more than one residence that the household occupies in the same community please list information for houses (apartments) where he or she resides.

Dwelling type – Dwelling type is important to understand what economic activities are possible with the property. Therefore we divide separate houses into two categories –one which is individually owned with only one dwelling unit code “1”, the other which has more than one owner and more than one dwelling unit Code “2”. Characteristics of this type include two or more separate entrances to a private home under one roof.

Other codes are apartment, *domik* (shipping container used for post-earthquake housing) and multi-family house (*komunalka*).

Status – Please mark what the tenancy status is of the household based on the coding provided. If the household is living free of charge, but does not own the dwelling, they are considered code “3”.

Number of rooms in the home – Mark the number of rooms that are in the house. Living rooms, bedrooms and furnished basements that are enclosed with doors and windows and finished floors are to be counted as one room each. Loggia with windows and doors, where it used as living space, should be counted. Kitchens, bathrooms and water closets and storerooms or basements with unfinished floors are not to be counted.

“Evro” Windows – Mark whether the respondent’s house has new, plastic or metal-framed windows. These are known in Armenian as “Evro” windows and are a common renovation term.

Renovated Walls – Mark whether the respondent’s house has had renovated interior walls in the last ten years. If unsure, probe respondent for answer.

Renovated Floors – Mark whether the respondent’s house has had the floors renovated in the last ten years. If unsure, probe respondent for answer.

Table 4 – Information about Assets Owned by the Household and Services

Other developed properties owned – The respondent should ask how many of each of the categories. A garage is considered any unheated storage space with a roof that is used to store cars, machinery or other heavy equipment. A barn is considered an unheated storage unit for livestock, agricultural products and home economy activities.

Household services – The respondent should list the average number of days per week they have received these services in the last twelve months. If the answer is “every day” then seven should be written (as seven days). Likewise it should be the average number of hours per day on days that the service is provided. If they have uninterrupted power supply, then write number 24 (as 24 hours).

For other services, respondents are only asked if they have these services.

Vehicle holdings – Tractor is only defined as a vehicle you can sit on and drive. Other agricultural machinery includes handheld motorized devices.

Land holdings – 1 hectare = 10,000 square meters. Hectares are written to the nearest two decimal points. So someone with 5,550 square meters would have 0.56 hectares. If the household has more than one plot, then the total size of several plots should be marked in square meters. For example, if the household has one 0.56ha and one 1.20ha plot, then 1.76ha should be marked as the answer.

The household might be using a plot that does not belong to it (i.e. a rented or borrowed plot). The size of these plots should also be written down in the appropriate section. The measure of hectare is also used for this.

Cultivated hectares should include BOTH owned and rented lands that have been cultivated within the last two years.

Household livestock – Write the number of livestock. If the household does not know a specific number, ask them to give their best estimate.

Table 5 – Remittances Received by the Household

This table collects information about the amount and source of remittances and other household contributions that are received by the household.

Ever received remittances or contributions from abroad?– This question asks whether the family has ever received any remittances or contributions at all. The possible answers are “yes”, “no” and “don’t know”.

Currently receiving remittances or contributions from abroad? – This question asks whether the family currently receives remittances or contributions from abroad. Possible answers include “yes”, “no” and “don’t know”. “Currently” refers to the last 12 months. Thus, if the migrant, who at the moment of interview has returned to Armenia with the intention to live and work, was sending remittances or other contributions within the past 12 months, the answers should include these remittances/contributions as well.

The rest of the information is broken down by different remitters.

From which members? – Please list the number of the household member or relative/friend from Table 2 that sends the remittance or household contributions. Table 1 will only include migrants that have been sending remittances or contributions within the past 12 months, but at present have returned to Armenia with the intention to live and work. The two tables have different non-overlapping numbers.

If a person did not migrate from Armenia or is not a close friend or relative of the household, this person is marked as code 99 in this category. If the person is not listed on either table but is a relative or close friend and sends remittances or household contributions the appropriate table (Table 1 or 2) should be amended to include that person. Additionally the interviewer should check with the respondent, going through both Table 1 and Table 2.

Remittance or contribution? – We want to know whether the household received either remittances (financial help) or other contribution in kind or both. These are designated by codes “R” (remittances only), “C” (contributions only) and “B” (both).

How often? – Using the codes, mark how often remittances are received by the household.

Remittances used for? – Using the codes, mark up to three primary uses of the remittances from the codes on the questionnaire. These should be listed in order of importance from left to right. At least one code should be present.

% of household yearly income? – Record the percentage of monetary income that the specific remittance forms. The total should not equal 100% unless the household receives no other form of income other than remittances. Force the respondent to say an exact percent, which is an integer between 0 and 100.

Average amount of remittances sent each time (in USD) – Mark in US Dollars, the average amount of remittances sent each time by the respondent.

Contributions used for? – Using the codes, mark up to three types of contributions from the codes on the questionnaire. These should be listed in order of importance from left to right.

Table 6 – Migration organizations in community

Ask only if the head of household (or main respondent) has never migrated after independence.

Informed? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant feels well informed about their rights as a possible migrant. Otherwise, mark “No”.

Organizations known? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant knows about organizations that help migrants by providing information and services before or after they migrate. Otherwise, mark “No”.

If there are no members of the household who have migrated and are in Armenia at the time of the interview, the interview is finished. All family members from Table 1 over 18 years old, where the answer was “Yes” for “Migrated since independence”, should be interviewed separately in the second portion of the questionnaire.

Armenia Labor Migration Survey Migrant Coversheet

On the migrants’ coversheet, the interviewer should record the interviewer, community and household numbers (these should be the same numbers that are recorded on “Armenian Labor Migration Survey HOUSEHOLD Coversheet” filled out for that specific household).

In the first column of the table, the migrant’s number should be marked from Table 1. If the interviewer manages to conduct the interview with the migrant present in the household, then in the first line of the “Interview” column, the answer “Yes” should be circled, and the day, month and year of the completed interview should be recorded in the next column. The start time and end time of the interview should be recorded, too. If no

interview is conducted on the first visit, circle the answer “No”, and record the day, month and the time of the visit. The interviewer should try to arrange a day and time to visit the household the second time.

If the interview takes place on the second visit, the answer “Yes” is circled, then the day, month, year, start time and end time recorded in the line for the second visit. In case the interview does not take place on the second visit, the answer “No” is circled and the date and time of the second visit recorded. In the Non-response line the reasons for not conducting the interview is marked using the appropriate coding.

The maximum number of visits to conduct the interview with migrants of the household is two. If section one of the questionnaire asking general questions about the household is completed on the second visit, during which the interview with individual migrant is not conducted, then the interviewer should visit the household for the third time, which in the case of migrant interview is considered as the second visit.

To monitor the interviewers’ work, certain information is collected about the household during the interview, which is not compiled with the rest of the data, which ensures confidentiality of the respondent. It is required to ask the respondent to provide a phone number by which he can be reached and sign in the Received section.

The interviewer should fill out some questions to evaluate the quality of the completed interview. Using a scale from 1 to 5 the interviewer based on his own opinion evaluates the quality of the interview, the level of honesty and cooperativeness of the respondent.

Table 7 – Information for each person with migratory experience

The people in this table are everyone from Table 1 that responded “Yes” to the question of whether they migrated. These people should be interviewed individually. The “Coversheet” must be filled out for each migrant.

Number (see table 1) – Enter the number of the respondent from Table 1.

Number of trips – (This is the same as Table 2). This is the number of times that the migrant has left to work abroad and returned, not including short-term visits, where the definition of “return” is not met. Number of trips includes all trips to *any* destination.

For the following questions information is requested for the first and most recent/last trip that the migrant has made. If the migrant has made only one trip, mark information only in the 1st trip space.

Unsuccessful attempts? – Mark the number of times the migrant attempted to cross into a country and did not make it to their destination. By “cross into a country” we mean either attempt to illegally cross a border or present falsified documentation at a border checkpoint. If no unsuccessful trips, mark 0.

Because this is a flexible instrument, it is suggested that this question may be better asked in conjunction with Table 9.

Migration during USSR era – Mark, whether the respondent has migrated during the Soviet era. Respondents who migrated after independence should answer all the other questions about their migration on the lines marked as first and last trip.

Trip – The respondent should answer questions about their first and last trips that they have made. There is no need to mark anything in this column. They are used only to indicate the appropriate line in which the information should be filled in.

Month and year of departure – Mark the date and year of the migrant’s departure abroad in mm.yyyy format. If the month is not recalled by the interviewee, code seasons Summer “44” Fall “55” Winter “66” Spring “77.” For the first trip, this cannot be before 1991 – the year of independence. One full trip is considered the departure from Armenia and return to Armenia with the intention to live and work. However, this can also refer to people who are currently Armenian citizens but departed for their migration not from Armenia, but from a third country such as Azerbaijan and returned to Armenia at the end of their trip.

Month and year of return – Mark the date and year of return in mm.yyyy format. If the month is not remembered, code seasons Summer “44” Fall “55” Winter “66” Spring “77”. Return will always be to Armenia.

Destination – Mark the name of the country and city the respondent left for with the intention to live and work.

Migration to other countries during one full trip – If the migrant, during one full trip (from and to Armenia), has moved to a country other than the one first migrated he/she to, then mark the name of these countries. At most, the names of two countries can be marked. These should be the countries where the migrant spent the most time.

Employed prior to trip? – This asks whether the respondent was employed prior to migration.

Salary? – This is the average monthly salary of the migrant in USD before departure. Leave this blank if the person was unemployed prior to their trip.

Why abroad? – Mark, using the codes, the three primary reasons that the migrant migrated abroad. Place them in rank order from left to right. If there is one reason, mark it in the leftmost box. Code “4” Tourism use only if the person’s intent was to be a tourist, but they later on decided to stay. Use Code “8” Political Repression for any political reasons where the migrant felt obliged to leave the country except for military service. Escaping Military Service is Code “7”. Political repression also covers refugees who by definition are fleeing a well-founded fear of persecution.

Accompanying family members? – If the respondent migrated with or met at the destination family members listed in table 1 or table 2, this should be coded as “Yes”. Otherwise, mark “No”.

Table 8 and 9 – Travel Documents For the 1st and Last Trip

Number (see Table 1) – Enter the number of the respondent from Table 1.

Citizenship in the host country – Mark whether the respondent has citizenship in the host country, i.e. not Armenia. To some respondents this might be their native country. As a probe question to clarify for the respondent, ask whether they have or had a passport of the host country at the time of their trip.

If no: Entry document – This is the type of document that the migrant had upon arrival to the host country.

Code “1” is a visa status that grants permanent residency in the host country. An example of such a document would be a United States’ Green Card.

Code “2” is a visa obtained to study in the host country. Depending on the country, this may grant work privileges, but it generally requires the student to be enrolled at a university and provide a letter of support.

Code “3” is a tourist visa, which generally does not grant working privileges and is of a short-term duration (generally 1-3 months but sometimes up to 6 months).

Code “4” is a work visa, which grants the holder the ability to work in the host country. This visa often, though not always, requires the holder to have support from an employer. It is also generally of a definite term – between 1 and 5 years.

Code “5” is a visa that is generally sponsored with the help of both the host and sending country to promote mutual interest. This can be a visa for activities such as cultural exchanges, sports teams, music groups, conference attendance etc.

Code “6” is where no visa is required to enter the country. The respondent merely presents the passport at the border. A fee may be required.

Code “7” is a status where the migrant has been granted a protected status outside of Armenia (not by the Armenian government). This is generally a mode of staying and working in the host country but in some cases can also be a method of entry (i.e. The status may also be received while still in Armenia, and serve as a legal document to enter the host country).

Codes “8” and “9” – codes are not used. This is important only for retaining the same code numbers “9” and “10” for answers that are repeated in code groups (a) and (b).

Code “10” refers to all those people, who managed to enter a country without the required documentation.

Code “11” refers to those people who went through an official border crossing but presented falsified documents. Falsified document can include any combination of falsified visa and/or passport.

If no and worked: Work document? – Codes 1 to 5 coincide with the same number codes of the previous question and have the same explanation.

Code “6” is a status where the respondent has requested some form of protection in the host country (be it asylum, refugee or Temporary Protect Status (TPS) outside of Armenia not by the Armenian government). *This status generally cannot be a method of entry.*

Code “7” is a status where the migrant has been granted a protected status outside of Armenia (not by the Armenian government). This status received either in Armenia or in the host country allows the migrant to not only stay but also be legally employed in the host country.

Code “8” is not generally a method of entry, and applied to many of the countries of the Former Soviet Union (FSU). It requires registration within the country with the (OVIR) type agency and is granted for a particular duration and location. This type of temporary registration does not grant a work permit. A work permit should be acquired in addition to this documentation.

Code “9” is the same as Code “8”, however it in addition to the temporary registration, the migrant has also acquired a special documentation that grants work privilege.

Code “10” refers to all those people, who managed to work in a country without the required documentation.

Code “11” refers to those people who worked with falsified documents.

Undocumented at any point? – This questions asks whether at any point the respondent stayed in the country past the duration of the visa/registration or worked longer or more than their work permit allowed or started working without a work permit and later obtained one or worked without a work permit at any point.

Table 10 – Undocumented Entry Attempts

This table should only be filled out if the respondent either crossed a border illegally or presented false documents at a border Codes “10” or “11”. This table ONLY refers to the first and last trip abroad.

Number from Table 1 – Mark the number of the respondent from Table 1.

Means? – Using the coding, mark by which means the respondent attempted to enter the country.

Primary help? – For those who crossed the border with no documents, this refers to the person who helped them to physically cross the border. For those who crossed with falsified documents, it refers those who helped obtain those documents.

Pay? – Mark whether the respondent paid the person listed in the previous question that helped them.

Deceived? – Mark whether the respondent feels that the people who assisted them to cross the border physically or to obtain documents did not fulfill the terms of their agreement, whether written or verbal or in any other way deceived the respondent.

Table 11A – Migration Experiences

Number (see table 1) – Enter the number of the respondent from Table 1.

Trip – The respondent should answer questions about their first and last trips that they have made.

Lodging from whom upon arrival? – Using the codes, mark who the respondent received lodging from immediately upon arrival. Code “4” Rented from a stranger refers to anyone that is not a friend, employer or relative.

Lodging change? – Mark whether the respondent moved from the housing that they lived in immediately upon arrival.

Primary lodging from whom? – Using the codes, mark from whom the respondent received lodging from for the majority of their trip. Code “4” renting a stranger refers to anyone that is not a friend, employer or relative.

Housing description – Using the codes, mark what sort of housing the respondent primarily lived in during their trip.

Job arranged before arrival – Mark if the migrant had his job arranged prior to migration abroad. If the respondent has not worked in the host country, for example was a housewife, who only accompanied her husband, then these questions should be skipped.

How did you find your first job? – Using the codes, mark how the respondent found the first job that they took upon arrival. If the respondent has not worked in the host country, for example was a housewife, who only accompanied her husband, then these questions should be skipped.

Table 11B – Migration Experiences

Employment status? – (same as Table 1) Codes 6 and 7 are not used, since migrants younger than 18 years old are not interviewed. These codes are retained for the purpose of having the same code numbers in both tables.

Sector? (same as Table 1)

Work hours per day? – Mark how many hours, during an average day, the respondent worked over the entire period of their trip.

Days per week? – Mark how many days, during an average week, the respondent worked over the entire period of the trip.

Days off/Holidays Available? – Mark whether the respondent was able to take holidays or other days off.

Employer ethnicity – Mark the ethnicity of the respondent’s employer. If the respondent does not know, mark DK. The employer is considered the person that oversaw their work and was responsible for hiring/firing them. Mark “N/A” if the respondent was self-employed.

3 most prevalent ethnicities of co-workers – Mark the ethnicity of the respondent’s co-workers. If the respondent does not know, mark DK. The three most prevalent groups of co-workers can be selected left to right from most prevalent. If the respondent was self-employed and worked by themselves mark “N/A”. For Eastern European, Western European, and Other, specify the ethnicity in the space provided next to the coding below Table 11.

Training? – Mark whether the respondent received any job-related training from their employer or the company that they worked for. Training includes formal training as well as one-on-one sessions with more experienced employees.

Monthly Salary – Write down the monthly salary in the USD.

Table 12 – Relationship with Employer

This table asks questions about the respondent’s relationship with their employer. This table should not be filled out if the respondent was self-employed in the host country.

Work accidents or related illnesses – Mark whether the respondent had accidents or illnesses related to his/her jobs in any of the jobs they had during the trip.

Paid less than agreed – Mark the appropriate answer, as to whether the respondent was paid less than agreed at any point during his/her stay abroad.

Worked overtime uncompensated? – Mark this if the worker was guaranteed overtime compensation and was not paid. If the worker was salaried, this should not apply.

Passport taken away? – Mark yes if the respondent ever had their passport taken away for any amount of time for the purpose of restricting any of the migrants’ freedoms.

Movement restricted? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant’s movement was every restricted. Restriction can take the form of threats, orders or confiscation of documents. Movement is considered the ability of the migrant to travel freely outside of the workplace when they are not working.

Physical harm? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant ever experienced any type of physical violence from their employer.

Discrimination by employer at workplace? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant believes that the employer consciously discriminated against him/her. By discrimination we mean that the migrant felt that the employer consciously treated them worse than other employees on the basis of their ethnicity, citizenship, gender or sexual preference.

Discrimination by co-worker at workplace – Same criteria as “discrimination by employer at workplace.”

Table 13 – Problems outside of the Workplace

This table asks questions about the respondent’s experiences outside of the workplace.

Discrimination outside of workplace? – (see Table 11).

Arrested by police? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant was ever arrested by the police. By arrested we only mean taken into the police station. Charges do not have to be filed.

Harassment by police? – Mark “Yes”, if the migrant was harassed by the police. By harassment, we mean asking for bribes or physically attacking the migrant. Merely stopping a migrant for a document check does not constitute harassment for the purpose of this study.

Problems with registration? – Mark “Yes”, if the migrant had trouble registering with the local authorities. This is particularly applicable in Russia.

Table 14 – Request for Assistance

This table is only filled out if the respondent gave the answers “Yes” to any of the questions in Tables 11 or 12.

Report to local authorities – Mark “Yes”, if the migrant reported any of their problems to local authorities.

Report to Armenian embassy/consulate? – Mark “Yes”, if the migrant reported any of their problems to an Armenian embassy or consulate.

Report to NGO – Mark “Yes”, if the migrant reported any of their problems to any NGO.

Person approached for help? – Using the codes, mark the category the migrant turned to for help first.

Table 15 – Public Services

This table should be filled out for all interviewed migrants and reflect the appropriate information about the migrant’s children who participated in the trip. Mark yes, no or don’t know for the appropriate services that the respondent has tried to access in the host country.

Hospitalized in host country? Mark “Yes” only if the migrant has spent the night in the hospital.

Doctor in host country? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant has visited a licensed medical professional.

Children gone to school in host country? – Mark “Yes” if the children attended at least one complete school year in the host country. If no children accompanied the migrant, the interviewer should mark NA.

Table 16 – Language Skills

Mark, “Yes”, “No” or “Don’t Know” for the questions related to the respondent’s use and abilities in the language in the host country. This language refers to an official language of the host country. In multi-lingual countries, only one language is necessary.

Speak fluently in host country language? – Mark, “Yes” if the migrant has the ability to fluently speak the language of the host country in professional settings on professional topics. This indicates that the migrant feels comfortable in using the language.

If no fluency: Some language capabilities in language of host country? – Mark, “Yes” if the migrant has some language skills and can communicate with neighbors, coworkers, and other people.

Write fluently without mistakes in host country language? – Mark, “Yes” if the migrant can write articles, reports and other texts in the language of the host country with no major mistakes. Since most people in Armenia know the Russian alphabet and have the ability to write some Russian, for example fill in application forms, this ability for the purposes of this research is not considered as the ability to fluently write in the language, thus should be marked as “No”.

Table 17 – Spending, Saving and Remittances in the Host Country

Number (see Table 1) – Enter the number of the respondent from Table 1.

Did you share expenses with your family members – If there are several migrants in the household, the interviewers are required to ask questions to find out whether the migrant family lived together and shared housing and food expenses together as one unit. Mark «yes» only if they shared expenses. If there is only one migrant in the household, do not ask this question, but simply mark N/A – not applicable.

Housing expenses per month (IN USD) – Mark, in US dollars, the average amount of expenses that the respondent spent on housing in the host country. This should be averaged for differences throughout the year (i.e. – more spending on heating should be averaged across the year) and include both reoccurring (rent, utilities, etc.) and one time expenses (renovation, etc). If the migrant did not pay for his/her housing expenses, mark 0.

Food per month (in USD) – Mark, in US dollars, the average amount spent on food by the respondent in the host country. If the migrant did not pay for his/her food expenses, mark 0.

In how many households were remittances sent? – Put in the number of households to which remittances were sent.

In bow many households were contributions sent? – Put in the number of households to which contributions were sent.

Remittances sent per month (in USD) – Mark in US Dollars, the average amount of remittances sent per month by the respondent to any household he or she supported in Armenia. If the respondent did not send remittances on a monthly basis, the total amount of remittances sent should be averaged per month over the time frame of them being sent.

Type of contributions sent – Use the same codes as in Table 5. Contributions are goods sent back to Armenia.

Savings brought to Armenia (in USD) – Mark, in US Dollars, the total amount of savings that the respondent brought back to Armenia at the end of the specified trip.

Remittances or contributions sent as one family unit? (if the migrant lived with family members) - If there are several migrants in the household, and they specify to have lived and shared expenses together, ask whether the remittances and contributions sent to Armenia was also sent from all the migrant members as one unit. Mark «yes» only if they sent remittances contributions as one family unit. If there is only one migrant in the household, do not ask this question, but simply mark N/A – not applicable.

Table 18 – Return Services

Mark “Yes, “No” or “Don’t know” for the questions related to the respondent’s knowledge and access of organizations and programs that provide returnee assistance.

Number from Table 1 – Mark the number of the respondent from Table 1.

Difficulties upon return – Mark, using the coding, up to three choices for difficulties the respondent had upon returning to Armenia.

Plan to travel again? – Mark “Yes” if the respondent would travel to the last country he/she was in again for work. Otherwise, mark “No”.

Informed? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant feels well informed about their rights before migration. Otherwise, mark “No”.

Organizations known? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant knows about organizations that helps migrants with information before they migrate and provide information and services for returnees. Otherwise, mark “No”

If Yes, Sought information from these organizations before migration? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant sought help from any organization before their last trip abroad. Otherwise, mark “No”

Sought legal assistance? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant has sought legal assistance with regard to their return. Otherwise, mark “No”.

Sought employment assistance? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant has sought assistance from any organization with regards to either obtaining a job or improving their skill set to obtain a job. Otherwise, mark “No”.

Sought business training? – Mark “Yes” if the migrant has participated in specific training related to starting and improving their own business. Otherwise, mark “No”.

After completing the interview, please thank all of the respondents for their time!

Appendix F: Calculation of Composite Standard of Living Proxies

Condition of the house - Condition of walls, floors and windows is evaluated on 0 - 3 scale. If the walls and floors were renovated within the last ten years and if the windows were made of metal or plastic framing known as 'evro' windows, one point was added for each of these indicators.

Household utilities – sewer, gas, water days and hours, electricity days and hours, were evaluated based on a 22 point scale. Availability of flush toilets and gas would add up one point for each. Days and hours of water and electricity provision was evaluated each on a 0-5 point scale adding up to total 20 points. For example if the household received water only 2 days a week it would receive coding 2. The coding for four of these variables is provided in the table below:

Scale	0	1	2	3	4	5
Water days per week	0	1	2-3	4-5	6	7
Water hours per day	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-24
Electricity days per week	0	1	2-3	4-5	6	7
Electricity hours per day	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-24

Ownership of consumer goods – Refrigerator, washing machine, TV set, stereo, cell phone, computer and availability of internet at home, were evaluated based on a 0-7 point scale. If the person possessed any of these items, each would add one point.

Vehicle ownership

Vehicle ownership is evaluated on a 0-4 point scale. Ownership of a car, truck, bus or a motorcycle is registered. If the household owned each of these vehicles it would be assigned one point for each.

Agricultural equipment

Agricultural equipment is evaluated on a 0-2 point scale. Availability of a tractor and other agricultural machinery is recorded. Ownership of a tractor would give one point and availability of any other agricultural machinery would add another point.

Animal ownership

Animal ownership is recorded on 0-3 point scale. Coding is assigned based on the amount of food and space necessary for keeping that particular type of animal and the possible number of animals usually kept. The coding for each type of animal is presented below.

Values Assigned to Animals, 0-3 scale

Cows 0 = 0 cows	Pigs 0 = 0 pigs	Horses 0 = 0 horses	Sheep 0 = 0 sheep
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1 = 1-2 cows 2 = 3-5 cows 3 = 6 and above	1 = 1-4 pigs 2 = 5-10 pigs 3 = 11 and above	1 = 1-2 horses 2 = 3-5 horses 3 = 6 and above	1 = 1-10 sheep 2 = 11 -25 sheep 3 = 26 and above
Donkeys 0 = 0 donkeys 1 = 1-2 donkeys 2 = 3-5 donkeys 3 = 6 and above	Chickens 0 = 0 chickens 1 = 1-15 chickens 2 = 16-30 chickens 3 = 31 and above	Goats 0 = 0 goats 1 = 1-10 goats 2 = 11 – 25 3 = 26 and above	Rabbits 0 = 0 rabbits 1 = 1- 15 rabbits 2 = 16 – 30 3 = 31 and above
Bee hives 0 = 0 bee hives 1 = 1-4 bee hives 2 = 5-10 bee hives 3 = 11 and above	Turkeys 0 = 0 turkeys 1 = 1-15 turkeys 2 = 16-30 turkeys 3 = 31 and above		