

Project Name: **Family Survey**

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Site: All 11 marzes of RA including the City of Yerevan,

Implementing Organizations: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of RA
National Statistical Service of RA

Funded by: UNFPA

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The Family Survey was conducted by National Statistical Service of RA and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of RA in April-November 2006. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has provided funding and technical assistance. The purpose of the Survey is to collect detailed statistical and demographic data on the Armenian Family, its structure and composition, as well as to support the Government Decree (draft) on State Policy Concept towards Family and its Principles.

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PREFACE

The Final Report of the Family Survey is a result of the joint initiative of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of the Republic of Armenia and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

The survey aimed to reveal the significant changes in the Armenian Family that took place in the last fifteen years, as well as to conduct comprehensive study of the problems mentioned and propose adequate solutions.

Socio-demographic characteristics of the family, housing conditions, structure of income and expenditure, migration and its influence on family were observed in the report. Family planning in a broader sense is emphasized – the number of children in the family, problems available and possible ways to overcome them.

Family Survey is also important in regard of development of "State Demographic Policy Concept" and "State Policy on Family" documents by the Government of RA.

Survey results will serve as basis for the development of the mentioned policies and relevant Action Plans.

Survey results can also be useful for state governing and local self-governing bodies, International organizations, NGOs and other interested parties who may be interested in family issues.

We extend our acknowledgement to the organizations and individuals contributed to the implementation of the Survey, and the UNFPA staff whose support during both the implementation of the project and analytical report writing was found valuable.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN THE SURVEY

The following types of family were mentioned in the survey:

Mixed family – two- or three-generation family where, besides direct relatives (parents, children, grandchildren), live other relatives too.

Nuclear family – family consisting of married couple and children living with parents.

Family with single mother in head – a sub-type of nuclear family consisting of mother and children living with her.

Family with one parent and children – a sub-type of nuclear family consisting of father or mother and children.

Executive Summary

Family issues are of high importance for theoretical and practical projects of state governing and local self-governing bodies, International organizations and NGOs.

Various are the reasons for such approach. Family, as a vulnerable and protection needed entity from the political, social, economic, cultural and psychological points of view, becomes "risky", which is more vivid especially in emergency situations¹ and in the societies in transition. Persistence of such situation causes significant changes in, sometimes even deformation of social, psychological and other characteristics of family as the base unit of the society.

The survey on "Family" as an institution, its main characteristics, situation and development trends, implemented in all marzes of RA (including city of Yerevan) has both theoretical and practical importance in various fields.

Nevertheless, this Survey differs from other surveys on the family as an institution in terms of certain specifications in goals and objectives:

- A *complex approach*, versus observation of separate problems, was provided in the Survey. Evaluation of the effects of main socio-demographic indicators, housing conditions, structure of income and expenditures, and migration on different characteristics of family, especially reproductive behavior, was conducted during the project.
- Family planning in a broader sense is emphasized: the number of children in the family, problems available and possible ways to overcome them.
- Since family bears not only economic factors but also ones of cultural values, the continuous process of changes in culture and values in family were also given a high importance.
- Finally, different facts and tendencies are viewed in the context of state policy implemented by the authorities of RA. "State Demographic Policy Concept of the Republic of Armenia" has been developed, while the "State Policy Concept on Family" is in the process of development. The main problems and policy directions of the papers mentioned require complex activities and comprehensive justification.

Survey results in general reflect the current situation in the country, indicating that family, as an organic entity, nowadays faces not only economic, but also serious social, cultural, and psychological problems. Economic, political, social, and cultural changes of the last fifteen years have considerably affected the Armenian family, its composition, structure, and socio-demographic characteristics and continue to do so until now. According to survey results, families consisting of 1-4 persons make 84.4% of the sample, families with 5 and more members – as low as 15.6%. 44.9% of the families surveyed have children under 18 years old, of which the families with one child comprised 19.3%, with two children – in 19.1%. Only 6.5% of the families surveyed have 3 and more children. In other words, the number of children in the Armenian families have decreased from previous 2-3 to today's 1-2.

These problems in family reproductive behavior are, in fact, cumulative. Particularly:

- **Housing problems** have become of a higher concern. It is more crucial especially for youth and young families living in urban settlements. There average 1.38 persons per apartment room in urban settlements. This indicator is especially high among one-room apartments – 2.32. As a confirmation of the above mentioned, 51.2% of the surveyed has mentioned assistance in purchase of apartment or expansion of the living surface as primary concern.

¹ Particularly, the first half of the 1990's can be considered as "emergency situation" for the Armenian society: 1988 earthquake was not recovered, a compulsory war was going on in the border with Azerbaijan and in Nagorno Karabakh, the country was in a blockade. The majority of families were hardly managing to meet the very basic needs. Common to the period, the concept of "Survival Strategy" was in use.

- The low percentage of employed, as well as disproportion of male and female employed are serious issues in the sphere of **Employment**. 28.6% of family members surveyed was employed: males – 36.2%, females – 21.8%. In almost all the fields of employment the share of males is higher than the one of females. Certain differences were observed in the employment of families with under-16-year-old children.
- A problem of *social-professional stratification* related to limitations in roles and importance of different groups in urban and especially rural settlements does exist. Optimal proportions in the structure by education level are deformed in rural settlements. The share of population with higher education in rural settlements is as low as 6.5%.
- Serious problems were observed in the field of **Healthcare**, too. 21.6% of the families has had a need to apply to a healthcare institution, but did not, the mainly because of financial reasons – 86.3%.

This kind of situation, in fact, can be described as demographic crisis. The number one problem in the family is the number of children that does not ensure even a simple reproduction, and will not do so in the near future, should the current trends persist.

Overcoming the demographic crisis and ensuring extended reproduction will require comprehensive and balanced multi-sphere activities which should in the nearest future have direct and indirect influence on all the aspects of "family" as an institution.

The "State Policy Concept on Family" and "State Demographic Policy Concept of the Republic of Armenia", as well as programmes and action plans should be developed considering the current demographic situation and possible development trends.

1. INTRODUCTION

Numerous studies, analysis, statistical reports and yearbooks on Armenian Family have been published since the independent in 1991. Despite the diversity of sources, the number of complex and complete surveys related to “Family” institute is rather small².

1.1. SURVEY GOALS AND OBJECTIVE

The *goal* the survey is to discover and analyze the main factors determining the status of family, and make proposals towards overcoming the problems related to “Family” institute.

Survey *objectives* relate to the following:

- Collect broad statistical data related to “Family” institute (See **Appendix 1. Survey Questionnaire**)
- Reveal the situation and study the reasons for changes

1.2. SAMPLE METHODOLOGY

The updated database of addresses of all the households in the country, developed based on Census 2001, served as basis for sample formation, done by the NSS, with the technical assistance of the World Bank.

Stratified sample was decided to apply for the survey based on the goals and objectives of the survey. The database of household addresses was split into 48 strata (groups) to form the sample. 12 of the 48 strata are the communities of the city of Yerevan.

All households were classified into three categories: *big towns* with population of 15 thousand and more, *villages* and *other towns* (with population less than 15,000). Big towns made 16 strata. Only Vayots Dzor marz does not include big towns. Villages and other towns made 10 strata each.

According to the above mentioned, a bi-degree stratified sample by marzes was developed. All the marzes and rural and urban settlements were included in the sample totality according to the proportion of households in the settlement in the total number of households in the country. 35 towns and 44 villages were included in the sample.

In the *first phase*, settlements as preliminary units of the sample were selected. In the *second phase*, **2,500 households to be surveyed were selected, of which urban – 1,802, rural – 698.**

² The number of publications related to different aspects of “Family” institute is rather big, that’s why the main list is referred where especially the socio-cultural issues are discussed. **For details please see:** Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, Yerevan, 2003 (in Armenian and English); Emigration from Armenia, (Editor: **H. Kharatyan**), Yerevan, 2003 (in armenian); **M. Gabrielyan**, Armenian Family in Transition. Ethnological Survey, Yerevan, 2003 (in Armenian), **M. Gabrielyan**, Contemporary Rural Population of Armenia, Yerevan, 2001 (in Armenian); **M. Gabrielyan**, Ways to Eradicate Poverty in Urban and Rural Settlements, Yerevan, 2001 (in Armenian); **M. Galstyan**, Interstate Employment Migration of the Population of the Republic of Armenia, Armenian Center of Strategic and National Researches (ACSNR), Yerevan, 1998 (in Armenian); **R. Yeganyan, K. Kuyumjyan**, Socio-demographic Challenges of Post-Soviet Armenia, Yerevan, 2004 (in Armenian); Economic Growth, Inequality and Poverty in Armenia, Yerevan, 2002 (in Armenian); **V. Khojabekyan**, Employment Issues in Armenia in Transition Period, Yerevan, 1998 (in Armenian); Armenia: Human Development Report, Yerevan, 1995-2004 (in Armenian); Social Snapshot and Poverty in Armenia, Statistical-Analytical Report, Yerevan, 2002 (in Armenian); Problems of Family Survey, Yerevan, 2001 (in Armenian); **A. Tadevosyan**, Strategy of Survival in the Context of Social Cooperation, ACSNR, Yerevan, 1998 (in Armenian); **A. Tadevosyan**, Social Layering and Poverty Formation Snapshot in Armenia in 1991-1997, ACSNR, Yerevan, 2000 (in Armenian); **A. Tadevosyan, M. Gabrielyan**, Poverty and Survival Snapshot: Process of Social Layering in the Republic of Armenia, IDHR, Yerevan, 2003 (in Armenian); **H. Kharatyan**, Poverty and Democracy in Armenia, Yerevan, 2000 (in Armenian); Women and Men of Armenia: Statistical Report, Yerevan, 2005 (in Armenian); Armenia Census 2001; **E. Minasyan**, Socio-Economic Reforms in the Republic of Armenia (1990-2003), Yerevan, 2003 (in Armenian); **A. Ter-Sarkisyants**, Armenia: History and Ethno-cultural Traditions, Moscow, 1998 (in Russian); **G. Poghosyan**, Armenian Society in Transformation, Yerevan, 2003 (in Russian).

1.3. DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE TOTALITY

A survey personnel of 52 interviewers, 15 supervisors and 2 coders was formed to conduct the survey. Training on survey sample and questionnaire fill-out was conducted for the field workers. Each interviewer has turned in a report on the sample together with the filled questionnaire.

Survey database was brought into the final version, i.e. the data were passed to SPSS for Windows format, and separately operating files were aggregated into one database.

It was projected that in some cases a questionnaire will not be filled out due to refusal of households, absence from the country or other reasons. Therefore, a *reserve sample* was also developed to ensure the representativeness required.

Table 1.1 displays the number and structure of the households surveyed by marzes (the biggest share has the city of Yerevan - 29.64%).

Table 1.1 The number of households surveyed and structure by marzes

Marz	Number of households	Household %
City of Yerevan	741	29.7
Aragatsotn	128	5.1
Ararat	209	8.4
Armavir	199	8.0
Gegharkunik	188	7.5
Lori	218	8.7
Kotayk	251	10.0
Shirak	194	7.8
Syunik	165	6.6
Vayots Dzor	73	2.9
Tavush	134	5.3
Total	2500	100

2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES SURVEYED

Due to the specifics of the survey, both households (with total number of 2,500) and families (with total number of 3,102) in each household were surveyed³ (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

The Structure of Surveyed by Households and Families					
Number of Households surveyed	Number of families	Average number of families in 1 household	Number of persons living in the households	Average number of persons living in 1 household	Average number of persons living in 1 family
2500	3102	1.24	9093	3.6	2.9
Number of families in the households, %					
Number of Households surveyed	Consisting of 1 family	2 families	3 families	4 families	Total
2500	80.3	18.0	1.6	0.1	100

According to Table 2.1, the majority of households (80.3%) consist of one family. The share of households consisting of 3-4 families is 1.7%, the ones of 2 families – 18.0%. On average, 1.24 families live in 1 household. The average number of household and family members is 3.6 and 2.9 respectively.

Table 2.2 The Structure of Surveyed by Sex, %

Sex	According to survey results*	According to Census 2001	According to the data of NSS as of 1 January 2006
Male	47.9	48.0	48.3
Female	52.1	52.0	51.7
Total	100	100	100

The structure of surveyed by sex does not vary from the average indicator of the country: The share of women is a little higher than the one of men.

Table 2.3 The Number of Persons in the Families Surveyed, %

Number of Families	Of which: 1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 and more persons	Total
3102	10.0	23.4	21.3	29.7	13.1	2.1	0.2	0.2	100

³ When planning the survey, certain difficulties regarding acquiring information on income and expenditures of families living in one household were considered: it is hard to record expenditures of a separate family and classify them proportionally when families live in one household, since a common budget is often generated and expenditures are made (utility bills, food, expenditures on agricultural activities in rural settlements, etc). That is why a part of the report is presented by households. In the section "Family Reproductive Behavior" both data and conclusions are by families. For this reason, the relevant section of the questionnaire is filled out for each family within the household.

According to survey results, families consisting of 1-4 persons (84.4%) are majority, families with 5 and more members comprise 15.6%. The situation described is a result of latest developments. The result of urbanization and socio-economic migrations of the Soviet times was the decrease of the share of three-generation families. Starting from 1960's, two-generation families were dominating all over the country. Perhaps, rural settlements of mountainous regions were the exception, where the process of family split started a little later, although, the process here went very fast, too⁴. It should be also mentioned that the process ceased in the recent years due to the worsening of housing problems especially in the urban settlements.

2.1. STRUCTURE BY AGE GROUPS

Table 2.4

Age structure according to the Survey	Less than 16	16-30	31-49	50-62	63 and above	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	19.1	27.8	27.4	12.1	13.6	100
Age structure according to statistics, 2005 ⁵	Under able-bodied age		Of able-bodied age		Over able-bodied age	Total
	1	2	3	4		
	23.6	63.3	13.1			100

Table 2.4 also reflects the developments of the last fifteen years, particularly, the increase of pension age population share in the total number of population.

2.2. STRUCTURE BY THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

In the majority of households the eldest members were mentioned as head, in some cases – the pension age male or female.

The following structure by the education level and employment of the head of the household was observed:

Table 2.5 Education level and employment of the head of the household

Education level of the head of the household, %	
Illiterate	0.7
Non-complete elementary	0.7
Elementary	4.6
Non-complete basic general	3.3
Basic general	5.7
Non complete secondary	5.4
general secondary	33.5
Special secondary	23.5
Non-complete higher	1.7
Higher	20.8

⁴ In 1970-80's in the majority of villages the so called "no mother-in-law blocks" were formed where two-generation families consisting of married couple and minor children were living. See M. Gabrielyan, Contemporary Rural Population of Armenia.

⁵ Source: Demographic Indicators of Armenia -2005, Yerevan., 2005, p. 16:

Sphere of employment of the head of the household, %	
Employee in the state sector	17.2
Employee in the private sector	15.7
Self-employed, including agriculture	0.8
Entrepreneur	38.1
Pensioner	38.1
Student	0.6
Unemployed	3.9
Housewife	1.4
Does not work	5.4
Other	0.8

As seen in Table 2.5, the majority of the heads of the households have general secondary and higher education (79.5%). Every fifth has higher education. It can be assumed that the heads of the households with less than general secondary education are mainly elders.

The structure by employment of the head of the household is as follows: pensioners have the highest share – 38.1%, the share of employees in the state and private sectors and self employed is also rather high. The share of entrepreneurs is as low as 0.8%. The sum of unemployed and non-workings is 9.3%. About 35% of the heads of the households have jobs; this indicator is 52% including the self employed.

According to survey results, in 68% of cases, the head of the households was male, females comprised 32%⁶. The dynamics of the process indicates certain increase in the number of families with a female in head. The latest can be explained by a number of facts:

a) *Socio-economic*: As a result of mass emigration and continual absence of men, the number of non-complete families has increased in the country. Such situation lessens the role of men in the family.

b) *Situational*: number of artificial divorces has increased during the recent years. In rural settlements this phenomenon appeared in 1991, and was explained by the wish to get extra land area as the result of privatization⁷. For this reason cases of family separation were observed in rural settlements, where not-married girls were also registered as separate household units. Artificial divorces in urban settlements, especially in 1990's, aimed to provide people with opportunity to get humanitarian aid, and be involved in the system of social benefits and allowances. Finally, it should be considered that, especially in three-generation families, the eldest woman is mentioned as the head of the household, if the husband has passed away. The latest is more of a traditional specific, since the household is actually governed by the son or daughter living with the mother.

Certain differences are observed among urban and rural settlements. In rural settlements males were mentioned as the head of the family in 71.5% of cases, in urban settlements this figure is 62.2%.

The situation described, regardless of diversity of objective and subjective reasons, is direct reflection of changes in traditional understanding of roles in family. Consequences of such situation for the coming years should be viewed from the viewpoint of possible positive and negative tendencies. On one hand, this is a regular procedure common to lots of countries: increase of women's social activity, independence and financial sustainability should cause changes in the in-family

⁶ As of 2003, the households with males in the head were 71.3% (urban - 70.2%, rural - 73%), females – 28.7% (urban - 29.8%, rural - 27.0%). Women and Men of Armenia, Statistical Report, Yerevan, 2005, p. 43.

⁷ This phenomenon is hard to explain statistically or by different studies. Thus, certain conclusions are made on the assumption level. For this phenomenon in rural areas, see M. Gabrielyan, Contemporary Rural Population of Armenia; M. Gabrielyan, Armenian Family in Transition.

relations in terms of roles in the family. On the other hand, despite the absence of complete statistical and survey data, it can be assumed that families with a woman in head, especially the ones with single mothers, are more vulnerable. This tendency may cause "overload" in state social policy. In rural areas, for instance, such families have limited resources to undertake agricultural activities, especially in the fields requiring bigger human resources⁸.

2.3. STRUCTURE BY ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

Vast majority of surveyed were Armenian – 98.6%, which the direct reflection of population ethnical structure. 0.5% of surveyed were Russian, representatives of other ethnicities made up 0.9%. Structure by religion is as follows: 99.0% of surveyed were Christian; atheists – 0.7%; 0.3% were of other religions.

2.4. STRUCTURE BY EDUCATION

Table 2.6 Household members' education (above 6 years old), %

Level of Education	Total	Urban	Rural	Female	Male
1. Illiterate	0.8	0.7	0.9	1.0	0.5
2. Non-complete elementary	2.1	1.8	2.6	1.9	2.3
3. Elementary (until fourth grade)	4.5	3.2	6.8	4.7	4.3
4. Non-complete basic general (non-complete eight years)	5.3	4.9	6.1	4.8	5.8
5. Basic general (eight years)	6.8	5.3	9.4	6.2	7.5
6. Non complete secondary (non-complete ten years)	7.0	6.2	8.3	6.5	7.5
7. General secondary (ten years)	33.0	29.1	40.3	31.7	34.5
8. Specialized secondary	19.0	20.4	16.5	21.0	16.8
9. Non-complete higher	3.8	4.4	2.6	4.0	3.5
10. Higher	17.6	23.9	6.5	18.1	17.2
11. Post graduate	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The highest share by education level belongs to persons with higher, secondary and specialized secondary education. Urban settlements compared to rural ones have higher share of persons with higher (about 4 times) and secondary education. There are no significant differences between the education level of female and male. Although, certain differences are observed in special secondary and higher education – the share of women is higher by 4.2 and 0.9 percent points respectively. A slightly higher share of women with non-complete higher education is probably due to ceasing studies because of marriage and child birth.

There are significant differences in the education levels of household members in urban and rural settlement (as seen in Table 2.6), especially in higher and special secondary education. The fact that only 6.5% of rural population surveyed has higher education is, in fact, alarming. The number of persons with higher education in rural settlements started to decrease from back in Soviet times⁹. The

⁸ See M. Gabrielyan, Contemporary Rural Population of the Republic of Armenia.

⁹ This phenomenon can be discussed in the context of natural urbanization process. Although, the process in Armenia had some "artificial" elements, too, since the human resources in the country were not sufficient enough to provide the required labor force for the rapidly increasing industrial production. Starting from 1970-80's human resources were being invited from the other Soviet countries. One of the direct consequences of the process described was the fact that 271 urban settlements were abandoned during 1926-1986. G. Avagyan, Armenia in 1920-1990, Yerevan, 1997, p. 99-100. See also R. Yeganyan, K. Kuyumjyan, Socio-demographic Challenges of Post-Soviet Armenia, Yerevan, 2004.

major migration to mainly Yerevan and newly established or rapidly developing industrial centers in 1950's, caused the phenomenon of aging and abandoning the rural settlements. The majority of rural young population getting higher education in the towns was trying to establish in urban settlements because of higher opportunities for social mobility. Nonetheless, the lack of specialists with higher education in rural settlements was tried to be "eased" with compulsory assignments in rural settlements. After the independence, too, urban areas, especially City of Yerevan continued to remain as the "main center" for rural youth with higher education. In the beginning of 1990's the share of persons with higher education was also rather high among emigrants¹⁰. Meanwhile, the affect of compulsory assignments is decreasing: only very few young men do pedagogical work in the frontier villages of the country for the reason to be exempt from compulsory military service. As a result, tendencies to decrease the role and importance of professional groups and social-professional event-out go even further. Pedagogues are the "preserved" and more or less influential group in rural settlements. While Armenian villages, besides the pedagogues, have had other socially influential individuals and groups, too, who were capable of imposing relevant attitude and approach if necessary. Taking into account that State Policy on Family implies changes in demographic behavior, one can conclude that in both urban and rural environments the availability of human resources and actively operating constructive groups is becoming a primary requirement.

From the viewpoint of strategic planning, along with ensuring extended reproduction in the rural settlements, the problem of infrastructures is also crucial¹¹. The absence of the infrastructures may keep up the existing attitude towards migration.

2.5. STRUCTURE BY MARITAL STATUS

Table 2.7 Marital status of the surveyed (above 16 years old), %

Marital status	Total, %	Urban	Rural
1. Married	60.8	59.4	63.6
2. Never married	26.0	26.7	24.7
3. Widowed	10.0	10.0	9.8
4. Divorced	2.8	3.5	1.4
5. Living together /marriage not registered/	0.4	0.4	0.5

According to the Table 2.7, 60.8% of the survey sample was married. The share of widowed and divorced is rather high. No significant differences registered among rural and urban populations, although the share of married is a little higher among rural population. The share of divorced is also lower among rural population – 1.4% compared to 3.5% among urban population and 2.8% nationwide.

Table 2.8 below shows the number of children in the families with under-18-year-old children. Families with under-18-year-old children comprise 44.9% of the sample.

¹⁰ The share of persons with higher and non-complete higher education in the country is about 25%. Among the emigrants of 1991-1996 the share of the persons mentioned was 48%. Thus, because of emigration in 1991-1996 Armenia has lost the 1/3 of its specialists in natural, humanitarian and technical sciences. National Report on Human Development, 1996, p. 14-15.

¹¹ In case of 1 child in rural families, the absence of kindergarten may not be viewed as a crucial issue, while in case of 2-3 children, the problem might be of high importance.

Table 2.8 Structure of families by the number of under-18-year-old children, %

1 child	2 children	3 children	4 children	5 children	6 and more children	Total share of families that have under-18-year-old children in the sample	The share of families that does not have under-18-year old children in the sample	Total
19.3	19.1	5.5	0.8	0.1	0.1	44.9	54.1	100

According to Table 2.8, families having under-18-year-old children comprise less than the half of the sample – 44.9%. The share of families with 1 and 2 children together does not exceed 40% of the sample. The situation described indicates that socio-economic and cultural developments of the recent years directly influence the current demographic situation that does not ensure even simple reproduction¹². It should be also mentioned that influence of Soviet period developments is noticeable. The generation raised in 2-3 children families of 1970-80's is now "reproducing itself", has adopted 1-2 children family model.

Table 2.9 The share of orphan children in the family, %

Share of orphan children in the family, of which	1 orphan child	2 children	3 children
4.1	2.8	0.8	0.5

Table 2.9 presents the structure of households having orphan children. 4.1% of households surveyed have orphan children. 2.6% of the households surveyed has 1 one-sided orphan child, 0.7% has 2 one-sided orphan children, 0.5% has 3 one-sided orphan children. 0.3% of the households surveys has 1 both sided orphans, 0.1% has 2 both-sided orphan children. Little is the share of households with guardians or custodians – 0.6% and 0.1% respectively.

¹² According to the Survey, the average number of under-16-year-old children in one family is 1.61 nationwide, and 1.57 and 1.70 in urban and rural settlements respectively.

3. MIGRATION

One of the direct consequences of political, social and economic changes of the recent years is the mass migration process in the country. The latest has a direct impact on Armenian family too. This topic has been written about a lot. The only positive effect is the fact that migrants' family members living in Armenia receive regular or casual financial support from the family member abroad to help meet basic needs. Negative effects of migration, especially interstate migration, are destruction of harmony in the family, problems in raising children, and other problems related to the continual absence of the male member of the family. Some of the migrants are vulnerable in the workplace in the country they appear: absence of basic living conditions, negative attitude, etc¹³.

According to the survey data, 7.3% of the households surveyed has an absent family member.

Table 3.1 The place of absent member of the household

County / settlement	Share in the total number of absents	Share in the households - 2500	Number of households having absent members from the total number of households in RA ¹⁴
1. Yerevan	11.9	0.9	7320
2. Other town in RA	16.6	1.2	9760
3. Village in RA	2.5	0.2	1630
4. Russian Federation	56.9	4.1	33350
5. Other CIS country	3.6	0.3	2440
6. European country	4.2	0.3	2440
7. US or Canada	3.0	0.2	1630
Other	1.3	0.1	815
Total	100	7.3	59385

According to the Table 3.1, the main direction of migration process both in the last 15 years and nowadays is the one from RA to the Russian Federation – more than half of the absent members of the households are located in the Russian Federation. Taking into consideration the share of migrants in other CIS countries, this indicator reaches up to 2/3. The share of internal migrants is also significant; Yerevan has a share of almost 12%. The share of internal migrants is also significant.

The structure by the reasons for absence is as follows:

Table 3.2 Main reason for absence

Main reason for absence	Share in the total	Share in the households	Number of households having absent members from the total number of households in RA
1. Education	4.8	0.3	2440
2. Medical treatment	1.5	0.1	815
3. Employment	54.1	4.0	32544
4. Marriage	8.6	0.6	4880
5. Other family reasons	10.5	0.8	6506

¹³ For more details, see M. Galstyan, Interstate Employment Migration of the Population of the Republic of Armenia, ACSNR, Yerevan, 1998

¹⁴ Figures calculated by the proportion of each direction in the number of households of RA. According to the table, the number of households with an absent member is about 60,000. Though, this is an approximate figure, which can vary from the real numbers due to several absent members from one household, seasonal factors and the period survey was implemented. Survey was conducted in the summer time when the working migrants were already out of country. The figures may change in the winter time when some of the migrants return home.

6. Army	16.2	1.2	9760
7. Other	4.3	0.3	2440
Total	100	7.3	59385

The main reason is employment. The share of other family reasons and military service is also high. According to survey results, employment still remains the main factor determining migration flows - both internal and external. The latest thought is reflected in the Table 3.3 below, too¹⁵.

Table 3.3 Reasons for being in a specific place

Place of being	Share in the total %, of which	Reasons for absence						
		Education	Medical treatment	Employment	Marriage	Other family reasons	Army	Other
Yerevan	11.9	11.4	0.0	17.1	37.0	12.4	17.1	5.1
Other town in RA	16.6	0.5	2.4	1.7	2.1	5.9	85.3	2.1
Village in RA	2.5	0.0	0.0	15.6	28.0	30.1	0.0	26.3
Russian Federation	56.9	4.9	1.8	78.0	2.9	9.3	0.0	3.2
Other CIS country	3.6	6.4	2.5	50.2	7.6	22.6	0.0	10.8
European country	4.2	0.0	0.0	69.3	20.1	7.1	0.0	3.6
US or Canada	3.0	12.7	0.0	60.4	2.7	17.1	0.0	7.1
Other	1.2	0.0	0.0	35.2	23.9	34.0	0.0	6.9

As seen on the Table 3.3, employment is the main reason of absence for migrants in all the settlements. The highest share is observed in the Russian Federation – 78% of working migrants. The same can be concluded for CIS and European countries and US and Canada. Employment is a main reason for absence, and a big part of job seekers had to leave the country.

Considerable fluctuations are observed by duration of absence, as seen from Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4 Duration of absence

Duration of absence	Share in the total	Share in the households
Less than one month	4.4	0.4
1-3 months	14.2	1.0
3-6 months	12.8	0.9
6 months - 1 year	16.0	1.2
1-3 year	17.1	1.2
3 years and more	35.5	2.6
Total	100	7.3

Absents for more than 3 years have the highest share in the structure. Added the number of absents for 1-3 years, the figure will exceed 50%.

¹⁵ As opposed to Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.4, data of Tables 3.3 and 3.5 are presented for households having migrants (i.e. for the 3.7% of the households surveyed). The shares calculated in the total number of households are close to zero. Such approach aims to register the main migration directions and duration of absence. Based on the survey objectives, this approach can be considered as satisfactory.

The structure by the duration of stay in the specific place is as follows:

Table 3.5 Durations of stay in a specific place

Place of being	Share in the total %, of which	Duration of absence						Total, %
		Less than one month	1.1-3 months	3.1-6 months	6.1 months - 1 year	1.1-3 year	3.1 years and more	
Yerevan	11.9	8.0	7.1	6.1	21.6	18.8	38.4	100
Other town in RA	16.6	3.9	13.6	8.5	31.7	31.5	10.8	100
Village in RA	2.5	38.1	15.3	15.6	9.9	7.5	13.6	100
Russian Federation	56.9	2.8	17.0	15.7	10.7	12.4	41.4	100
Other CIS country	3.6	6.8	5.1	9.6	17.1	11.1	50.3	100
European country	4.2	0.0	0.0	20.6	13.2	31.4	34.8	100
US or Canada	3.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	23.7	15.8	56.7	100
Other	1.2	0.0	55.9	8.3	0.0	13.3	22.5	100

Absence durations, as shown in the Table 3.5, state the dangerous tendency of formation of permanent migration, especially for the migrants out of Armenia. Duration of absence of the 50% of migrants in Russian Federation, CIS and European countries, and US and Canada is more than 1 year. The figure for absents for more than 3 years is getting close to 50%. For the migrants in US or Canada and CIS countries the number even exceeds the mentioned figure.

4. HOUSING CONDITIONS

The question on the type of dwelling was answered by all the households surveyed (100%). The following structure was produced according to the answers:

44.1% of the households surveyed lives in private houses, 52.0% - in the apartment buildings, 1.7% - dormitories, 2.0% - in wagon houses or temporary dwellings.

68.4% of household dwellings are solely owned; 21.8% is joint property; 9.8% refused to answer to this question.

To the question about owning property other than the dwelling, of total 2500 households 1298 answered negatively, 1203 households' answer was positive (48.1%). Based on the answers, the following structure is revealed:

Table 4.1 Property of households surveyed

Type of Property	Households (%)
Land area	35.3
Vehicle for personal use	8.7
Agricultural equipment/machinery	0.2
Area for agricultural purposes	2.2
Property of trade or service purposes	0.4
Property of production purposes	0.1
Other	1.2
Total	48.1

A question on the number of rooms in the dwelling was asked to evaluate the housing conditions of households in different regions. The share of respondent to the question mentioned in the total number of households surveyed was 99.8%.

Table 4.2 Structure of households by the number of rooms in the dwelling, %

Number of rooms in the dwelling	Total sample	Urban households	Rural households
One room	12.0	14.4	7.3
Two rooms	28.8	33.7	19.4
Three rooms	34.6	37.4	29.2
Four rooms	16.2	10.8	26.5
Five rooms	5.7	2.2	12.4
Six and more rooms	2.6	1.4	4.9
Households responded, %	99.8	99.9	99.7

As seen from the Table 4.2 above, 12% of the total 2,500 households surveyed lives in one-room apartment. The number of one room apartment in urban settlement is twice the number of ones in rural settlements. The number of one-, two-, and three-room apartments in urban settlements is respectively 2, 1.7 and 1.3 times more than the ones in rural settlements.

The number of four-, five-, and six and more room dwellings in rural settlements is respectively 2, 5.6, and 3.5 times more than the ones in urban settlements. The difference between urban and rural settlement is easily explained by the Soviet state policy on family planning and support and the tendencies in the recent years.

The Soviet government was building multi-storey buildings with one-, two- and three-room apartments in the towns (for 1-2, 3-4 and 5-6 member families respectively), which were designed for

the employees of different organizations. Families with 7 and more members were given either a 4-room apartment or two 2-room apartments in the same building. In cases when family had children of both sex, regardless housing standards, an additional room was provided. In case of family members with certain diseases (tuberculosis, etc), additional space was provided. Private houses in urban settlement were also constructed with 2-4 rooms which was due to land scarcity and context of income evaluation. As a rule, houses in rural settlements were constructed with multi rooms to promote living in rural settlements because of collective economies. Rural families usually had bigger number of members with three generations living together. When a newly created family was moving out of the family, the new house was being constructed with 4-6 rooms, as multi-member new families were traditionally planned to create. According to the statistics, families in the rural settlements of Armenia used to have more than 4 children on average in 1960's. The total fertility rate in the same period was 4.3 nationwide, and more than 6 in rural settlements.

After the Soviet times, due to numerous socio-economic factors, housing construction by the state had considerably decreased. Mainly private buildings are being constructed, where 1 square meter of an apartment space costs more than USD 500 which is not affordable even for thousands of families with high incomes. According to survey data on household incomes, no family in the sample can buy an apartments with the price mentioned above. Housing problems are, actually, solved for the parents of today's children. In families with scarce housing space, birth of each child worsens the situations, and often the housing problem keeps the families away from having the desired number of children. Comparisons of housing conditions in the survey reveal the following:

Table 4.3 Number of persons per one room

Number of rooms in the dwelling	Total in the sample (person)	In urban households (person)	In rural household (person)
One room	2.32	2.36	2.19
Two rooms	1.6	1.65	1.44
Three rooms	1.31	1.31	1.29
Four rooms	1.04	1.05	1.04
Five rooms	0.87	0.93	0.85
Six and more rooms	0.73	0.74	0.72
Average number in one room	1.27	1.38	1.11

Average figures on housing space of urban and rural households surveyed are shown on Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Housing space in urban and rural households

Settlement	Housing space	Square meter
Urban	Per household	50.43
	Per household member	14.20
Rural	Per household	81.01
	Per household member	21.73
Total	Per household	60.93
	Per household member	16.87

As seen from Table 4.4, the housing space norm of 9 square meters per person defined in the Soviet times is exceeded both in rural (by 2.4 times) and urban (by 1.58 times) settlements. One-room apartments of the apartment buildings constructed in Soviet times have an average of 18 square meter living space (twice the norm) designed for two persons. According to survey results, on average 2.4 persons live in one-room urban apartment. This complies neither with former Soviet standards nor

with civilized international ones, where ensuring the personal hygiene of the family members is a priority.

According to survey results, in five age groups of household members, the structure by the number of rooms is as follows:

Table 4.5 Structure of age groups by the number of rooms, %

Number of rooms in the dwelling	Below 16 years old	16-30 years old	31-49 years old	50-62 years old	63 and above
One room	7.3	6.2	7.3	8.9	11
Two rooms	24.5	24.7	26.4	24.8	28.0
Three rooms	37.7	37.8	37.1	40.4	34.2
Four rooms	19.2	20.3	18.7	18.2	17.2
Five rooms	7.4	6.8	7.0	5.4	6.3
Six rooms	1.9	2.4	2.0	1.1	1.9

It is obviously seen from the Table 4.5, that starting from two rooms in the dwelling, the number of persons decreases. The more the number of rooms, the lower the number of persons.

Considering the above mentioned, it can be concluded that reproductive age population lives mainly in 2-4 room dwellings.

The availability and type of winter heating in the dwelling is an important indicator evaluating the household living and housing conditions. According to survey result, 33% of households heats their dwelling with gas, 28% - with wood, 21% - with electricity, 0.1% - with kerosene, 0.1% - with coal, 4.6% - using other types of fuel.

Table 4.6 below shows the household communal conditions, according to the survey results.

Table 4.6 Availability of communal utilities in households, %

Communal utilities	Available	Not available	Available, but not functioning
Kitchen	92.1	7.0	0.9
Toilet with water	68.9	29.6	1.5
Outdoor toilet	37.8	61.1	1.0
Bathroom, shower	65.7	23.9	10.4
Telephone	73.9	24.5	1.6
Central water supply	88.7	10.6	0.8
Central sewer	76.3	22.4	1.3
Garbage service	63.8	35.3	1.0
Hot water	21.6	76.1	2.4
Central gas supply	55.9	43.6	0.5

The summary of three main groups of indicators chosen to evaluate the household conditions gives us the following picture:

- Minimal household conditions (availability of kitchen, toilet with water, sewer, and garbage service) are available at 52.4% of households.*
- Average household conditions (availability of kitchen, water supply, sewer, garbage service, telephone, hot water supply) are available at 17.3% of households.*
- Full household conditions (availability of kitchen, water supply, sewer, garbage service, telephone, hot water supply, bathroom, shower, central gas supply) available at 11.5% of households.*

According to survey results, housing and household conditions of the significant part of the households surveyed are far from being satisfactory. 19.8% of households does not have minimal household conditions either.

The mentioned is more vivid taking into consideration the availability of heating and fresh water supply. According to survey results, 2.4% of the households surveyed has central heating, 38.1% has private heating system, 58.1% of dwellings are heated by electric heater, wood and fire, 1.5% is not

heated. 87.3% of the households has central water supply, 4.8% uses wells and springs, 5.4% of the households use water brought from outside.

Studies on the distance between the household dwellings and social institutions were carried on. Table 4.7 shows the percentage of households in the radius and circular zones of the mentioned distance from each institution.

Table 4.7 Distance of the utilities from the dwelling

Institutions	Distance of dwelling from the institution						
	0- 0.5 km	0.5-1 km	1-2 km	2-5 km	5-10 km	10-20 km	20 and more km
Healthcare institutions	37.4	27.4	20.1	10.5	2.2	2.0	0.1
Pharmacy	62.4	19.2	6.7	5.9	3.6	1.0	1.2
Community library	53.6	29.2	10.9	4.9	0.1	0.6	0.3
kindergarten	67.7	2.17	3.9	4.4	0.1	0.2	0.7
Elementary school	36.1	22.2	27.8	8.3	2.8	2.8	-
Secondary school	44.0	31.0	22.5	4.6	0.1	0.8	-

All the households surveyed mentioned difficulties in using the services of healthcare and educational institutions, pharmacies, and libraries. The answers give the following picture:

Table 4.8 Availability of services for the households

Institution	Have serious difficulties	Have somewhat difficulties	Have no difficulties
Healthcare	8.8	25.9	65.3
Pharmacy	8.2	25.1	66.7
Library	2.8	14.4	82.8
Kindergarten	12.2	20.9	66.9
Elementary school	0.6	7.8	91.6
Secondary school	15.5	9.9	74.6

According to the Table 4.8, 34.7% of families surveyed have difficulties with using healthcare services, 33.3% - pharmacies, 8.4% - with elementary schools, 25.4% - with secondary schools, 33.1% - with kindergartens. It should be noted that the availability of the utilities mentioned (in percentage) with minor differences coincide with the average level of poverty in the country.

5. EMPLOYMENT. STRUCTURE OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

According to survey results, 28.6% of family members surveyed was employed: males – 36.2%, females – 21.8%, urban – 28.8%, rural – 28.2% (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Employment of family members surveyed, %

Type of employment	Average Nationwide	Female	Male	Urban	Rural
Managers and representatives of all levels of government bodies	2.0	1.3	2.7	2.3	1.4
High qualified specialists	4.5	3.9	5.2	5.9	1.9
Medium qualified specialists	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.2
Specialists dealing information processing, document preparation, accounting, conducting maintenance	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.3	0.8
Workers of service sector	5.4	4.3	6.7	7.2	2.2
Qualified workers in the field of agriculture, forest industry, hunting, fish industry, and fishing	1.9	1.2	2.7	0.5	4.5
Qualified workers in big and small industrial organizations, and in the fields of production of fine art items, construction, transportation, communication, geology and mining	2.5	0.7	4.6	3.1	1.5
Fitters and machinery and equipment operators	0.8	0.1	1.5	0.9	0.6
Workers with no qualification	5.8	4.5	7.3	2.9	11.1
Total	28.6	21.8	36.2	28.8	28.2

According to Table 5.1, the share of males is higher in almost all the fields of employment. There are 2 times more males in the field of managers and representatives of all levels of government bodies; the number of males is about 7 times more among qualified workers. Certain differences are observed between urban and rural populations: employment level in almost all the fields is higher in urban settlements, except for qualified workers in agriculture and forest industry, and workers with no qualification. The share of high qualified workers in urban settlements is 3 times more than the same indicator in rural settlements. In case of workers of service sector, the indicator in urban settlements is more than 3 times higher than the one for rural areas.

The employment structure mentioned above goes in line with certain changes in "work proportionality" and women's status and employment. As opposed to Soviet times, when the employment problem was basically solved, today's economic reforms caused changes in the structure of labor market, and workers' mentality. Nowadays, due to unfavorable socio-economic conditions and limited employment opportunities, the fact of having job itself, and not the correspondence of the latest to the professional skills, preferences and education level, is considered to be an essential priority. In case of highly paid jobs these factors may be completely dismissed. At the same time, it can be assumed that possibility to lose the job is higher for women, thus, women are more vulnerable in this sphere¹⁶.

¹⁶ A vivid proof of the thought mentioned is the restrictions (below 35, good-looking, higher education, knowledge of foreign languages) to be employed by different organizations, especially in the service industry. In many cases the requirements are higher than the specific job implies.

Table 5.2 **Social-professional status by the number of under-16-year-old children in the family¹⁷, %**

Type of employment	By the number of under-16-year-old children in the family, %			
	1	2	3	4 and more
Managers and representatives of all levels of government bodies	5.8	7.9	6.1	0
High qualified specialists	15.3	19.2	12.0	0
Medium qualified specialists	16.6	19.9	9.5	15.3
Specialists dealing information processing, document preparation, accounting, conducting maintenance	4.7	3.4	0.8	0
Workers of service sector	19.9	16.0	12.3	14.4
Qualified workers in the field of agriculture, forest industry, hunting, fish industry, and fishing	6.7	7.4	7.4	0
Qualified workers in big and small industrial organizations, and in the fields of production of fine art items, construction, transportation, communication, geology and mining	9.6	7.8	11.2	13.4
Fitters and machinery and equipment operators	2.8	1.5	3.7	0
Workers with no qualification	18.6	16.9	37.0	56.9
Total	100	100	100	100

As seen on Table 5.2, there is a certain connection between the number of children in the family and type of employment, though in-depth analysis of the situation requires additional studies and materials. According to survey results, the following tendency is revealed: among the employed with 1 child in the family, the share of workers in the service sector, high and medium qualified workers, and workers with no qualification is relatively high. Qualified workers are assumed to be young married couples with higher education who managed to find jobs by specialty. Among representatives of government bodies, too, the share of persons with 1 child in the family is higher than the one of persons who have 2 and 4 children, though, once again, it is hard to make precise conclusions in this case. During the recent years, government bodies, especially the staffs of the ministries are being replenished with young persons in the reproductive age, thus, given the information we currently have, it cannot be said that this has become a demographic behavior or having one child ensures higher employment status. Employment of families with two children does not differ significantly from the ones with one child: the structure by the sphere of employment is almost the same. A little higher is the share of representatives of government bodies. In this case, too, it can be assumed that these are mainly young men and women with higher education. Rather interesting situation is observed in the families with 3 children. A relatively higher share is observed in the upper (managers and representatives of all levels of government bodies) and lower (workers with no qualification) "borders" of the employment field. The share in the upper limit is higher than the same indicator for families with 1 child is 6.1% compared to 5.8% for families with 3 children.

In the families with 4 children, the differences are significant compared to other groups. The highest share in this group belongs to workers with no qualifications, workers of service sector, and medium qualification workers. It can be assumed that inconsistency between the education level and employment field in this group might occur. Finally, it should be mentioned that the structure of employment by the number of children in the family can change rather rapidly. The structure reflects changes during the last fifteen years, and can undergo significant changes because of socio-economic developments.

¹⁷ As mentioned in the beginning of Section 5, 28.6% of the survey sample was employed, i.e. 2,600 persons (there were 9,093 persons living in the households surveyed). If the number is recalculated by the number of children in the family, the shares of Table 5.2 data in the total number of surveyed are getting close to zero or are slightly above it. Thus, the Table 5.2 is developed by the share of children, considering the employment structure. This indicates the general tendencies only, and is not sufficient enough to analyze the complete employment structure and in-depth relations between the number of children and employment.

Table 5.3 Number of nuclear family members employed, %

Number of family members employed	percentage
One person	54.9
Two persons	37.5
Three persons	5.5
Four persons	1.8
Five persons	0.2
Total	100

According to Table 5.3, majority of families have 1 and 2 working members – 54.9% and 37.5%. The lower share of 3 and more employed members, besides the difficulty of getting employed, can also be explained by the fact that children of not working age make a big number in nuclear families.

The amount of salary was also asked in the survey.

Table 5.4 Structure of surveyed by the salary

Salary (in AMD)	%
Less than 10000	0.6
10000-15000	6.7
20000-30000	24.4
35000-45000	21.2
50000-70000	25.9
80000-100000	13.8
120000-150000	7.4
Total	100

According to the Table 5.4, as low as 7.4% of the surveyed have salary of AMD 120,000 – 150,000, 13.8% - AMD 80,000 – 100,000, 25.9% - AMD 50,000 – 70,000.

Besides salary and income from other activities, important source of income are the financial transfers from household members living abroad. Only 2.8% of the surveyed mentioned any financial aid received. The size of transfers varies between AMD 10,000 and 200,000 for the households having members outside Armenia, and AMD 5,000 – 50,000 for the households with relatives living in the Republic of Armenia¹⁸.

Household income is an important indicator to evaluate the living standard of the population. In regard of this survey, financial income and types of social benefits are considered as household income. Household financial income consists of monetary income and in-kind income (converted into money) received by the members of the household as remuneration for work, in a result of self-employment or entrepreneurial activities, from rental of property, from sale of agricultural products, dividends, as well as social benefits, pensions, financial aid received from relatives or charity organizations, etc.

Table 5.5 reflects average monthly income per person in the household by income source.

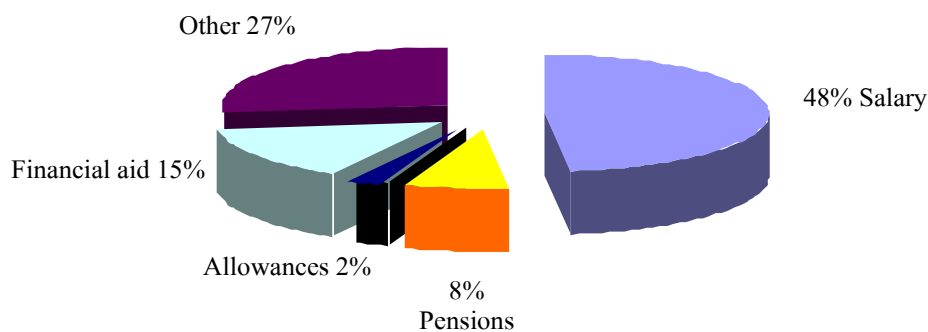
¹⁸ Financial transfers are recorded for one year, and then recalculated for a month. Such difference of lower and upper margins (20 times for the household members living abroad and 10 times for household members living in the Republic of Armenia) can be explained by the fact that not all the household members living abroad can regularly help their relatives and family members. The lower margin of aid from the family members living abroad makes up USD 300, which sounds like a realistic figure.

Table 5.5
Average monthly income per person in the household by income source, urban-rural, %

Source	Urban	Rural	Average nationwide
1. Salary	64.7	23.8	48.1
2. Pensions	8.7	5.9	7.5
3. Allowances including			
family	1.4	1.7	1.6
child	0.3	1	0.6
other	0.2	0.1	0.2
4. Financial aid including			
From a household member abroad	9.3	8	8.8
From relatives in RA	3.1	1.1	2.3
From relatives out of RA	4.5	3.8	4.2
Humanitarian	0.04	0.01	0.03
5. Other (Sale of agricultural products, entrepreneurial activities, etc)	7.8	54.6	26.7
Total	100	100	100
Total (AMD)	25500	32000	28000

According to the Table 5.6, salary is the main income source for urban population (64.7%), meanwhile the income from salary in rural settlements comprises 23.8%. Reverse situation is for other (sale of agricultural products, entrepreneurial activities, etc) sources of income: 7.9% in urban settlements, 54.6% - in rural.

Figure 5.1 Income structure



According to survey results, place of living has a significant impact on the financial condition of the family. Average income per member of family is AMD 26,000 in urban and AMD 32,000 in rural settlements¹⁹.

According to survey results, in the families with one under-16-year-old child average income per present member is 1.7 times more than in families with 2 or 3 children under 16 years old.

¹⁹ The survey was conducted in the summer, thus, can be assumed that the period coincided with the period of agricultural product sale (considered as income), that is why figures in rural settlement are more accurate. Income is more likely under-presented in urban settlements.

Table 5.6 Average income per present member by the number of under-16-year-old children (AMD)

Number of under-16-year-old children in the family	Average income (AMD)
1 child	24000
2 children	20000
3 children	14000

According to survey data, 61.4% of families with under-16-year-old children have had a job, 26.1% have had other income generating business (sale of agricultural products, entrepreneurial activities, etc.), and 12.5% have had both job and other income generating business. Among the families with under-16-year-old children living in urban settlements, the number of members having a job is significantly higher compared to families living in rural settlements (84.2% and 15.8% respectively). Reverse situation is observed in the number of families having other income generating business, comprising 23.2% in urban and 76.8% in rural settlements. This can be explained by the fact that majority of rural population deals with agricultural activities.

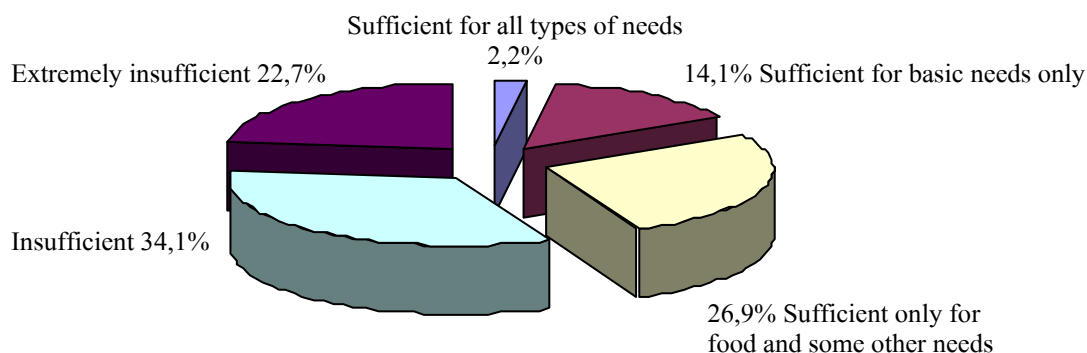
Table 5.7 Average income per person by the type of family and the number of under-16-year-old children (AMD)

Children under 16	Type of family		
	Nuclear family	Family with single mother in head	Mixed families
1 child	26000	19000	18000
2 children	20000	10000	13000
3 children	14000	5000	9000

According to Table 5.7, there are certain differences observed by the type of the family and the number of children in the family. Differences are not significant in case of 1 child, but for 2 and 3 children, differences are well reflected. The income of complete nuclear families with 2 and 3 children is about twice the income of families with single mother in head, as well as one of mixed families.

It is worthy to mention that income is decreasing along with the increase in the number of children in all types of families. Income of complete nuclear families with one child is AMD 26,000; and AMD 14,000 in case of three children, which is about two times less. Bigger differences are observed in the families with single mother in head – more than 3 times. Supposedly, in this case, along with the increase in the number of children in the family, decreases the possibility to work especially in families with single mother in head. Differences are observed in mixed families, too, where in case of 1 and 3 children, income differs twice.

Figure 5.2 Structure of income sufficiency

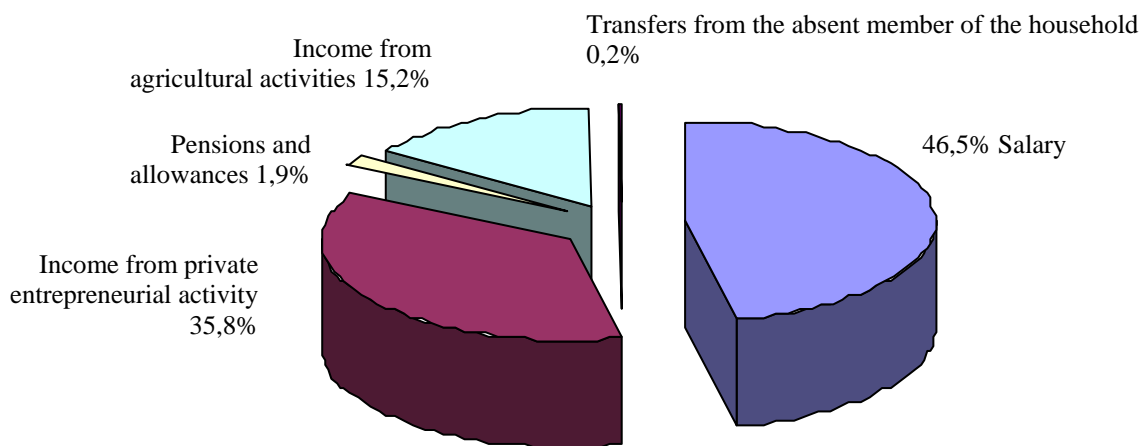


According to survey results, only 2.2% of respondents mentioned its income sufficient for all types of needs. In 14.1% cases "Sufficient for basic needs only" option was chosen. The total of insufficient and extremely insufficient answers is close to 60%. Added the share of families whose income is sufficient enough for food and some other needs only, we have a figure of exceeding 80%. This indicates that economic factor still remains as the most important in family related issues.

AMD 250,000 was mentioned as average monthly income sufficient enough to cover all basic expenditures and enable to make savings. To the question "which should be the main sources of the income mentioned", 46.5% answered – salary, 35.8% mentioned income from private entrepreneurial activity, 15.2% - income from agricultural activities, 1.9% - pensions and allowances, and 0.2% - transfers from the absent member of the household (Picture 5.3).

Such distribution is rather interesting. About the half of the respondents mentioned the importance of salary in formation of family budget, which indicates that, despite changes in recent years, availability of jobs still remains important, which is especially crucial in terms of development of State Policy on Family.

Figure 5.3 Sources of desired average monthly income



Household expenditures is the next indicator defining household financial conditions which is presented as consumer expenditures in this report. All types of expenditures have been surveyed during the project. Expenditures are defined as total payments made for goods and services purchased by the household in the given month, as well as money paid for long term goods and rituals services.

Table 5.8 Expenditures per person by present population (for one month), %

Expenditures	Average nationwide	urban	rural
1. Food	38.1	38.0	38.3
a. Tobacco and alcoholic beverages	4.8	4.2	6.2
2. Non-grocery items (clothing, shoes, item of hygiene)	9.9	8.4	13.2
3. Services, including	17.3	16.5	19.1
a. Household services	8.0	8.5	6.7
b. Healthcare	3.0	2.6	4.0
c. Education	3.2	3.1	3.2
d. Culture	0.5	0.5	0.3
e. Other	2.7	1.8	4.8
4. Long term goods and ritual services	29.9	32.8	23.3
Total	100	100	100
Total (AMD)	34000	36000	30000

According to survey data, expenditures on food have the biggest share in the structure (38.1%): 38.3% - in rural settlements, 38.0% - in urban.

According to Table 5.8, the main part of household expenditures is made on food – 38.1%. No significant changes observed among urban and rural populations.

The next group of expenditures is "long term goods and ritual services" which are one time expenses but rather expensive. These expenses have a little higher share in urban settlements compared to rural ones, which can be explained by the differences in the structure of needs.

Higher is the share of expenses made for services. Certain differences were observed within this group. About 10% of expenditures is made on household services, though they can be assumed to increase in the winter time. It is worthy to mention that expenditures on household utilities in both urban and rural settlements exceed healthcare, educational and cultural expenditures. Household expenditures in urban settlements exceed healthcare and educational expenditures by 2.5 times, and are about 16 times more than cultural ones. In rural settlements these figures are 1.5 times, 2.5 times and 20 times respectively. It can be observed that almost no cultural expenditures are made in the majority of households. Limited are the healthcare and educational expenditures, too.

Table 5.9 Expenditures per person by the number of families in the household, (for one month), %

Expenditure	Number of families in the household				Average nationwide
	1	2	3	4	
1. Food	37.2	40.8	38.3	75.0	38.1
a. Tobacco and alcoholic beverages	4.5	5.7	6.8	7.5	4.8
2. Non-grocery items (clothing, shoes, item of hygiene)	9.3	11.4	12.8	7.5	9.9
3. Services, including	17.2	17.8	15.9	10	17.3
a. Household services	8.0	7.9	7.8	7.5	8.0
b. Healthcare	2.9	3.1	3.5	-	3.0
c. Education	3.2	3.1	2.3	-	3.2
d. Culture	0.5	0.5	0.6	-	0.5
e. Other	2.6	3.2	1.7	2.5	2.7
4. Long term goods and ritual services	31.8	24.2	26.1	-	29.9
Total, %	100	100	100	100	100
Total (AMD)	38000	26000	27000	20000	34000

According to the Table 5.9, structure of expenditures per person varies, depending on the number of families living in the household. The bigger share (75%) of expenses in the households with 4 families is made on food, which is twice the same figure for the households with 1-3 families. Expenditures on services in these households are lower than the average nationwide figure, which is explained by lower electricity, heating and other expenditures per person when families live together. It should be mentioned that, according to survey results, these families do not make educational, healthcare and other expenditures. Objective assessment requires indicating the fact that the survey was conducted in the summer time when educational expenditures were not due, since the academic year had not started. According to survey results, households with 4 families did not have expenditures on long term goods and ritual services. This means that, according to survey results, households with 4 families can afford to mainly pay for food and household utility services. No

significant differences were observed among households with 1-3 families. Almost all the expenditures are made with the same proportion, with the exception that the share of expenditures on long term goods and ritual services is a little lower in the households with 2 and 3 families.

Table 5.10 Expenditures per person by the number of persons in the household, (for one month), (%)

Expenditures	Number of persons in the household				Average nationwide
	1	2	3	4 and more	
1. Food	42.2	42.2	42.0	36.1	38.1
a. Tobacco and alcoholic beverages	2.4	4.7	4.5	5.1	4.8
2. Non-grocery items (clothing, shoes, item of hygiene)	8.6	7.8	10.9	10.1	9.9
3. Services, including	20.2	16.0	18.0	17.1	17.3
a. Household services	10.4	9.4	8.7	7.3	8.0
b. Healthcare	4.6	3.2	2.5	3.0	3.0
c. Education	0.3	0.9	3.4	3.8	3.2
d. Culture	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
e. Other	4.4	2.1	3.1	2.6	2.7
4. Long term goods and ritual services	26.7	29.3	24.7	31.4	29.9
Total, %	100	100	100	100	100
Total (AMD)	50000	42000	37000	31000	34000

As seen on table 5.10, there are no significant differences observed in the expenditures per person by the number of members in the family. Compared to the previously mentioned tables, it can be mentioned that mainly basic needs are met in the majority of families, since a big share of expenditures is made on food, services, especially household utility expenditures, and long term good and ritual services. Expenditures on healthcare, education and cultural activities are rather limited, which again indicates the limited financial recourses available in the families. This fact influences the reproductive behavior of the family, too. As shown in the further sections, majority of respondents find the changes in reproductive behavior due to socio-economic problems.

Generally, expenditures is a more reliable indicator than income, since income is often hidden or understated by the respondents.

6. HEALTHCARE

Healthcare issues are important in terms of their direct influence on family reproductive behavior and family planning.

The following answers were given to the question "Has any of your household members had a need to apply to a healthcare institution this year?"

Table 6.1 Has any of your household members had a need to apply to a healthcare institution this year, %

Option	Total	Urban	Rural
1. Yes, applied	36.8	41.4	27.9
2. Yes, but never applied	21.6	18.0	28.4
3. No, never had a need	41.6	40.6	43.7

Certain differences revealed among urban and rural settlements. 41.4% of urban and 27.9% of rural populations have applied to a healthcare institution, while in the section "yes, but never applied" higher is the share of rural families – 28.4% compared to 18.0% in urban settlements. The share of persons never applied to a healthcare institution is higher in rural settlements.

Table 6.2 Reasons for not applying to a healthcare institution, %

Option	Total	Urban	Rural
1. Financial scarcity	86.3	84.6	88.3
2. Absence of vehicle	0.6	0.7	0.5
3. Distance	0.6	1.1	0.0
4. Time scarcity	0.5	0.2	0.9
5. Religious factors	2.1	1.7	2.7
6. Family reasons	5.4	6.1	4.5
7. Distrust towards doctors	4.5	5.6	3.1

According to the Table 6.2, majority of households cannot afford applying to a healthcare institution in both urban and rural settlements. Though the indicator in rural settlements is higher, since transportation costs are added to the medical expenses thus more restricting the availability of healthcare services. No significant differences observed among urban and rural settlements in other reasons. Religious factors have a little higher share in rural settlements, the share of family reasons and distrust toward doctors is higher in the urban settlements.

Table 6.3 presents the list of diseases applied to the healthcare institutions for.

Table 6.3 List of diseases applied to the healthcare institutions for

Disease	Total	Urban	Rural
1. Diseases of the circulatory system	22.2	23.3	20.1
2. Neoplasm	2.5	3.1	1.4
3. Diseases of the neural system	9.4	7.9	12.4
4. Mental disorder and behavior disorder	1.9	1.4	2.8
5. Diseases of the respiratory systems	10.8	10.7	11.2
6. Tuberculosis	0.0	0.0	0.0
7. Diseases of digestive system	7.9	8.8	6.2
8. Diseases of bone and muscular system	8.4	9.1	7.0
9. Diseases of the endocrine system	6.0	6.7	4.8
10. Eye diseases	7.4	7.1	8.0
11. Periodic diseases	3.1	3.2	2.8
12. Diseases or urinal/sexual system	5.6	5.1	6.3
13. Inherent disorders (development problems), deformational disorders	0.9	1.0	0.8
14. Other diseases	13.9	12.6	16.2

As seen on Table 6.3, diseases of the circulatory system have the highest share among reasons for applying to a healthcare institution for both urban and rural populations. A relatively higher share is observed in the diseases of the respiratory systems, diseases of the neural system, diseases of bone and muscular system and diseases of digestive system. Again, no significant differences observed among urban and rural populations.

Evaluation of availability (physical and financial availability, quality of services, technical capacities of healthcare institutions, etc) of healthcare institutions and services is as follows:

Table 6.4 Evaluation of healthcare institutions

Grade	Total	Urban	Rural
1. Excellent	3.2	4.8	0.0
2. Good	20.3	28.8	4.1
3. Satisfactory	52.4	45.1	66.4
4. Bad	11.8	9.8	15.8
5. Poor	4.4	4.7	3.7
6. Absent	1.2	1.6	0.6
7. Did not answer	5.5	5.2	6.2

The highest share observed for the answer *satisfactory*, which is 1.5 times higher in rural settlements compared to the urban ones. Significant are the differences between answers *excellent* and *good*. Zero percent or rural population evaluated the quality of healthcare institutions as *excellent*, since the healthcare institutions in the rural settlements are in the forms of ambulatories, medical centers supported by the international organizations and the state with a limited options and quantity of medicine and medical equipment. This is a reason why the answer *good* was 7 times higher in urban settlements compared to rural ones.

Evaluation of availability (physical and financial availability, quality of services, technical capacities of healthcare institutions, etc) of healthcare institutions and services for minors is as follows:

Table 6.5

Evaluation of healthcare services to minors

Evaluation	Total	Urban	Rural
1. Excellent	3.9	5.9	0.0
2. Good	20.3	30.9	0.0
3. Satisfactory	48.0	39.0	65.2
4. Bad	8.0	7.1	9.7
5. Poor	3.6	5.5	0.0
6. Absent	1.9	2.9	0.0
7. Did not answer	12.2	8.4	19.4

Like in the previous case, no *excellent* answer was registered in rural settlements. Neither a *good* answer was mentioned here. The majority of rural population (about 2/3) evaluated the healthcare services provided to minors as *satisfactory*²⁰. This kind of situation in rural settlements can be also explained by the non regular nature of the healthcare services, which are limited to services provided by small medical units.

²⁰ This question was not split into lower age groups, that is why the answers refer to all minors. Certain specifics might have been occurred should the age groups be split into more detailed groups. In rural settlements, for instance, medical services provided to the minors basically include the newly born and children 0-5 years old, vaccination of which is done in a timely manner with the financial allocations of the state and support of international organizations.

7. FAMILY REPRODUCTIVE PREFERENCES²¹

There are a number of reasons why family reproductive behavior and family planning issues have greater importance in the survey.

As mentioned above, the socio-economic and cultural changes of the last fifteen years directly influence the institution that "Family" is. A part of the complex and system changes are new for the Armenian family, since, family, in fact, was isolated from the external non-social world by the "iron curtain" in the Soviet times, having limited information about Western/Euro-Atlantic civilization. Right after the independence, when reforms were taking place in the country, certain components of Western values (democracy, state of law, civil society, market economy, etc) were offered to and, sometimes, imposed on the Armenian family. At first glance, the mentioned may not seem to be related to the family reproductive behavior and family planning, but the in-depth analysis shows that the mentioned are factors determining in-family relations and value system with direct and indirect influence on the development and reproductive behavior of the family²².

Introduction of new concepts is a timely matter requiring corresponding socio-cultural environment²³. Situational decisions are being made in the family effecting the demographic situation in a very short time. Mass emigration of the first half of 1990's was a situational solution on the individual, family and group level. The emigration process had direct influence on the demographic situation in the country – decrease of fertility level, etc. That means the families experience new changes, regardless of their attitude towards the innovations.

The other important reason is related to state regulation policies in the field²⁴. The corresponding bodies of the Government of RA have basically completed the development of "State Demographic policy Concept Paper" and work on the "State Policy Concept on Family". Family reproductive behavior and its components are also analyzed in terms of consideration of basic principles, approaches and orientations existing in the family in the documents mentioned above.

Analysis of the number and the dynamics of children in the family is crucial in terms of demographic situation analysis.

According to the data of the Table 2.8, 44.9% of the families surveyed have children, most of which have 1 or 2 children²⁵. Such situation is a result of significant changes in the demographic behavior in both urban and rural settlements, with both objective and subjective reasons.

Land privatization in 1991 is also an important factor that significantly changed the employment structure in rural settlements. Starting from 1960's, a policy of alternative employment was being practiced by the Soviet government to prevent the youth outflow from the rural settlements. Factories, some of which were operating with loss, were established in many villages employing mainly the youth. The structure of employment, as shown in the corresponding section²⁶, is crucial to reveal the demographic behavior of the population. The dual effect of the employment structure should also be

²¹ The concept *reproductive behavior* is used here not with the classical demographic meaning but in a broader sense, combining elements of culture, values and behavior.

²² The vast majority of researchers find that the most basic feature of the Western civilization is its individual-centered nature. While Soviet and traditional Armenian environments were more of a group-centered. Transition from the latest to the former is a complex and timely process where interim levels with combination of the two systems are possible. Today's Armenian family is in one of such levels where the individual-centered society has not been formed yet, and the components of group-centered one maintain their presence, especially in "emergency situations".

²³ Both Western and former Soviet researches paid close attention to the mechanisms of introduction of innovations into the social (as well as family) environment, since, in some cases, the latest had destructive influence on the society. As a rule, innovations are more welcomed by the societies who have sufficient potential and institutional infrastructures, including elite groups to ensure the introduction and further establishment of the innovations mentioned. For more details see - S. Arutyunov, *Nations and Cultures: Development and Cooperation*, Moscow, 1989 (in Russian).

²⁴ The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper adopted by the Government of RA in 2003 is directly related to the family, since the main direction is poverty reduction in RA. See - *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, Yerevan, 2003.

²⁵ According to survey results, the average number of children per family is as follows. For children under 16 years old: average nationwide – 1.61, urban – 1.57, rural – 1.70. For children under 18 years old: average nationwide – 1.74, urban – 1.65, rural – 1.89. According to 2004 data, the Total Fertility Rate (the average number of children woman will give birth to in her reproductive period (15-49 years old)) was 1.3, urban – 1.4, rural – 1.5. *Armenian Women and Men: Statistical Report*, Yerevan, 2005, p. 14.

²⁶ Section "Employment. Structure of Income and Expenditure"

mentioned. On one hand, the highly paid and prospective job may "delay the childbirth"²⁷, as seen in some of the European countries experiences demographic crisis. On the other hand, the absence of job causes the same result. The second option is more common for rural settlements. Some of the young families do not see a future there for themselves and their children.

The demographic situation in urban and rural settlements is also influenced by the emigration process, since the share of reproductive age population in the number of emigrants is rather high.

Such situation indicates certain directions in the State Demographic Policy and the State Policy towards Family. Ensuring favorable psychological atmosphere and trust towards future, improving household conditions – this is the non complete list of factors determining the demographic behavior of the rural families. Finally, it won't be easy to ensure stable "3 children family" model neither in urban nor rural settlements due to planning of the future and other problems discussed below.

According to survey data, the majority of families are in the field of simple reproduction which is the main *demographic challenge* for the country.

The number of children in the families of the parents of the married couple is examined to see the dynamics of the process.

Table 7.1 The number of children in the families of the parents of the married couple²⁸

Number of children	Share in the total, %	In the family of the respondent's parents	In the family of spouse's parents
1 child	2.8	2.9	2.7
2 children	19.1	20.3	17.0
3-6 children	64.6	63.7	66.4
7 and more children	13.5	13.1	13.9

Comparing the numbers above with the number of children in the families surveyed, it is obvious that significant changes have occurred in the reproductive behavior of the families in a short period (1-2 generations). Figures for urban and rural settlements do not differ much, as per Table 7.1 data. In both urban and rural settlements prevailing was the family type with 3-6 children. The same trends are observed in the western countries in demographic crisis,²⁹ where the post war generation adopted other reproductive behavior due to social, economic, political and other factors, preferring families with 1-2 children. The Republic of Armenia is currently in such a phase, too³⁰.

Responses to the question "What is the ideal number of children in the family in the current situation?" reflect the main principles of the reproductive behavior.

Table 7.2 Ideal number of children in the family

Ideal number of children	Share in the total, %	Urban	Rural
1	10.1	10.3	9.8
2	56.5	59.0	51.9
3-6	31.8	29.3	36.4
7 and more	1.6	1.4	1.9

²⁷ According to survey results, among the families of representatives of government bodies and high qualified workers the prevailing number of children is 1-2.

²⁸ According to survey results, the average number of children per family is as follows. For children under 16 years old: average nationwide – 1.61, urban – 1.57, rural – 1.70. For children under 18 years old: average nationwide – 1.74, urban – 1.65, rural – 1.89. According to 2004 data, the Total Fertility Rate (the average number of children woman will give birth to in her reproductive period (15-49 years old)) was 1.3, urban – 1.4, rural – 1.5. Armenian Women and Men: Statistical Report, Yerevan, 2005, p. 14.

²⁹ After the World War II, high fertility rates were observed especially in the US and some European countries, which are known as "Baby boomers".

³⁰ For the trends of the last decades, see R. Yeganyan, K. Kuyumjyan, Socio-demographic Challenges of Post-Soviet Armenia, Yerevan, 2004

No significant changes observed among urban and rural populations. The answer "1 child" was mentioned by the 10.3% of urban population and 9.8% of rural population. This might seem a not very big share, but the tendency itself is rather dangerous, since about 10% does not even want to provide simple reproduction. The ideal number of children among 59.0% of urban settlements and 51.9% of rural population is 2. Added the figures for one child, it can be concluded that 2/3 of the population surveyed find ideal the number of children that does not ensure simple reproduction. That means that State Policy on Family should try to ensure at least simple reproduction. 29.3% of urban population and 36.4% of rural population were for "3 and more children family" model. As seen from the data, the share of this answer is a little higher among rural population but not high enough to lessen the possible negative effects.

The following answers were given to the question "Why do you find the number ideal?"

Table 7.3 Why do you find the number ideal

Option	Share in the total, %
It is common in the Armenian environment	17.9
It is modern	60.6
Provides for more career opportunities	1.6
Provides more freedom	5.2
Helps maintain the good relations between the spouses	6.3

As seen from Table 7.3, "Modern trends" are becoming the main factor determining the reproductive behavior of the families, since not much difference were revealed in the answers to the question "How many children would you personally want to have?" either.

Table 7.4 How many children would you personally want to have

Number of children	Share in the total, %	Urban	Rural
1	4.9	4.9	4.6
2-3	64.4	67.1	59.9
4-6	26.9	25.0	30.4
7 and more	3.8	3.0	5.1

As in the previous answers, no significant differences revealed in urban and rural populations. The share of 4 and more children is a little higher among rural population.

Considering the answer, it can be concluded that family with 1 or 2 children becomes common among population of RA.

Comprehensive analysis of the situation is needed to reveal the "logic" of the changes. According to statistics, families with 4 and more children were prevailing in Armenia in 1950-60's. Fertility rate was 4.7 in 1958, and was more than 3 until 1970. 1950-70's were the period of development of the economy of the Armenian SSR. But the same is not true for the welfare of the population. It was average by the Soviet scale; poor families could be met too, though the Soviet statistics did not admit the existence of poverty in the country. The period discussed was also a period of urbanization: the share of urban population was increasing and the aging tendency of the rural population was becoming more and more vivid. Urban environment and lifestyle had a significant impact on the reproductive behavior. In 1950-70's, the urban population was being replenished by the rural youth, who were trying to solve social mobility, educational and other problems. As a result of the mentioned, the fertility rate was decreasing, comprising 2.8 in 1975 and 2.6 - in 1991³¹. The

³¹ Demographic Indicator of Armenia - 2005, Yerevan, 2005, p. 40

decreasing tendency observed for about 20 years was a result of changes in the demographic behavior. Despite the mentioned, the relative stability of the Soviet system, ensured minimum conditions, and the availability of employment made the "3 children family" model more preferable, because average Soviet citizen could solve their education, employment and other problems.

The fertility rate continued to decrease after the independence, too, reaching the lowest point of 1.2 in 2001-2002. The tendency in the soviet times allowed ensuring extended reproduction, while the situation changed rapidly in 1990's.

The influence of external and internal unfavorable factors was considerable in the process of worsening the situation. A vivid proof of the mentioned is the highest share of the answer "It is modern". Components of the "Modern trends" are the unfavorable socio-economic conditions, psychological atmosphere, emigration, etc.

The next group of questions was designed to reveal the main reasons of changes in the reproductive behavior. The question "Do you plan to have children in the coming 3 years?" was positively answered by 13.8% respondents, 78.7% responded negatively, 7.5% hesitated to give a definite answer. The higher share of negative answers indicates the already made decisions and enables to state that without state support and promotional policy positive changes will be hard to achieve.

The next "Would you consider having more children?" question was positively answered by 34.5% of the respondents.

Table 7.5 Would you like to have more children

Answer	Share in the total, %	Urban	Rural
Yes	34.5	36.2	31.7
No	55.2	56.2	53.4
Hesitated	10.3	7.6	14.9

The answers to the question "If yes, then how many?" were as follows:

Table 7.6 If you would like to have more children, then how many

Number of children	Share in the answers, %	Urban	Rural
1	13.1	12.9	13.5
2	22.2	22.6	21.4
3	26.4	26.2	26.7
4	29.7	30.4	28.2
5 and more	8.6	7.9	10.2
Total	100	100	100

Both in urban and rural settlements more than half of the respondents mentioned they would like to have 3-4 children. That means, despite the changes occurred, it can be assumed that there still is a potential in the Armenian society to improve the current demographic situation, and the corresponding state policy can promote the birth of second, third and forth child in the family.

Table 7.7 below displays the reason why the families do not have the desired number of children.

Table 7.7 Reasons of not having the desired number of children

Answer	Share in the total, %
Family social conditions	83.4
Housing conditions	9.9
Unhealthy family member	5.6
Other	1.1
Total	100

As seen from Table 7.7, vast majority of reasons are closely tied to the social concerns. Although, improving social conditions does not guarantee an increase in the number of children in the family. Nonetheless, improving social conditions is a basic condition for a better demographic situation.

As per Table 7.8, expectations from the state for ensuring simple reproduction are also from the social sphere.

Table 7.8 Expectations from state to ensure simple reproduction (more than one answer could be given)

Answer	%
1. Assistance in purchasing an apartment or expanding the old one (grants, subsidies, etc.)	51.2
2. Significant cash allowance at every child's birth	38.8
3. Progressive increase of the cash allowance for every other child	23.5
4. Monthly cash allowance	49.5
5. Tax benefits	16.6
6. Ensuring part time working hours with full pay for the working mothers to provide them more time to take care after the children	20.2
7. Extension of the post-birth maternity leave with 40% remuneration	19.8
8. Provision of professional trainings after post-birth maternity leave to recover professional skills free of charge	14.2

Despite the diversity of answers, only three answers have share of more than 30% - state assistance in purchasing an apartment or expanding the old one, cash allowance at every child's birth, and provision of monthly allowances. Housing problem was predictable, since no measures are taken towards assisting young families in purchasing apartments³². Persons born in 1980's are at the marital age now. Soviet Union had solved the housing problems of their parents only. Their housing problems should be solved by their parents and themselves, who have limited resources. In the next two answers direct state assistance is proposed. In the first case it is a one-time cash allowance, in the second one – continuous support, again, in term of money. The share of the other answers is rather small but still higher than 10%. Such composition of answers is also emphasized from the social-psychological point of view. As generalized from the answers above, families (including young families) basically expect "direct" investments and activities from the state – cash allowances, expansion of the apartment space, with minimum participation from their side. Such composition of answers is also a result of recent changes.

"Cash equivalents of needs and expectations" were mentioned in some responses.

The structure of answers regarding "significant cash allowance at every child's birth" is as follows:

³² For the housing conditions analysis and influence on the family reproductive behavior, see section "Housing Conditions".

Table 7.9 Expected one-time cash allowance from the state at every child's birth

Answer	%
1. Less than AMD 50,000	24.8
2. AMD 50,000- 100,000	48.1
3. AMD 100,000-200,000	12.6
4. AMD 200,000-500,000	14.5

In 24.8% of responses less than AMD 50,000 was mentioned as such amount, 48.1% mentioned AMD 50,000-100,000, 12.6% - AMD 100,000 – 200,000, and 14.5% - AMD 200,000-500,000. Answers for "Progressive increase of the cash allowance for every other child" have a similar scale, which means the expectations are not very high considering today's formal and non-formal expenses related to child birth, which can hardly be covered by the amounts mentioned.

The structure of answers to the "monthly cash allowances" is rather interesting and important in terms of development of state policy.

Table 7.10 Expected monthly cash allowance

Answer	%
1. less than AMD 20,000	20.9
2. AMD 20,000-50,000	62.7
3. AMD 50,000-100,000	15.0
4. AMD 100,000 and more	1.4

20.9% of respondents mentioned less than AMD 20,000 as an amount for monthly allowance, 62.7% - AMD 20,000-50,000, 15.0% - AMD 50,000-100,000, 1.4% of respondents mentioned more than AMD 100,000 as monthly cash allowance. Again, considering the realistic expenses related to childcare in Armenia, it should be mentioned that the answers are rather "conservative". According to the answers, the annual cash allowances per child vary from AMD 200,000 to AMD 1,000,000. The average figure is about AMD 500,000 – 600,000 (about USD 1,500 – 1,600 according to today's exchange rate of 1 USD = 370 AMD). The average one-time allowances make about USD 300-400, which means that state annual allowance per child will comprise to about UDS 2,000. This is the respondents' expected price from the state.

From the viewpoint of strategic planning, the quality of conditions in the settlement for the children, as well as the way the parents or the respondents plan the future of the children is important.

The question "How would you evaluate the conditions for children in your settlement in a 5 point scale?" had the following answers:

Table 7.11 How would you evaluate the conditions for children in your settlement in a 5 point scale

Sphere	1	2	3	4	5	Hesitated
1. Conditions of pre-schools	7.8	7.2	29.2	17.0	5.1	33.7
2. Conditions of secondary schools	3.0	6.4	36.8	20.5	6.4	26.9
3. Quality of education in schools	4.1	10.1	37.6	17.6	3.6	27.0
4. Conditions of special secondary schools	10.8	7.8	23.9	9.5	1.3	46.7
5. Chances to enroll to higher educational institutions	26.8	17.8	18.0	6.3	1.0	30.1

without additional tutoring						
6. Opportunities for additional knowledge	16.3	17.7	19.7	10.5	4.1	31.7
7. Opportunities for additional information (Internet clubs, computer rooms)	17.6	13.1	17.8	13.4	4.4	33.7
8. Spare time	28.3	15.0	18.0	7.0	1.9	29.8
9. Job opportunities	47.8	14.1	11.5	3.7	0.7	22.2
10. Ensuring high living standards staying in the settlement	26.9	16.5	20.6	5.8	1.2	29.0
11. Availability/affordability of healthcare institutions	13.4	18.2	29.1	12.8	2.5	24.0

The structure of answers shows that despite the implementation of different programmes and activities, serious problems exist in the fields of education, especially the quality of education, and healthcare. These problems are very important first of all from the planning point of view. In none of the fields the share of excellent answers is higher than 10%. 4 and 5 point answers together have share higher than 20% only in three cases – conditions of pre-school, conditions of secondary schools, and quality of education in schools. The share of 3 point answers is also rather low, the share of 30% is exceeded only in the answers related to schools; in the fields of healthcare and preschools the share is getting close to 30%.

There is a huge diversity among the answers 1 and 2 points. In all the fields the share of these answers is higher. The share of 1 and 2 point answers is higher than 60% in case of "Job opportunities", higher than 40% in "Ensuring high living standards staying in the settlement", "Spare time", and "Chances to enroll to higher educational institutions without additional tutoring", and higher than 30% in cases of "Availability/affordability of healthcare institutions", "Opportunities for additional information", and "Opportunities for additional knowledge".

The dynamics of 1 and 2 point answers indicates the prevailing uncertainty towards children's future. Relatively higher indicators registered among the answers concerning the quality of preschools, schools and the knowledge provided. What are the reasons? The main reason is that the absence of preschools in villages and small towns is not viewed as serious social problem, since a big share of young mothers is actually unemployed, and assistance in childcare is provided by the parents or other relatives of either spouse. Reasons for such evaluation of educational system are also numerous. Certain output is seen as a result of the recent reforms. Besides, a serious "struggle" for pupils is going on in schools, especially in towns, since the schools are funded based on the number of pupils, which is a serious argument "to ease" the attitude towards pupils.

Another social-psychological factor is the fact that preschools and schools closely relate to the early stages of children's socialization process. Traditionally, the influence of parents and other relatives of the children is significant at that phase of children's life, which means the gaps in the institutions mentioned are easily filled by the family members.

The other group with high share of negative answers consists of "Ensuring high living standards staying in the settlement", "Spare time", "Chances to enroll to higher educational institutions without additional tutoring", "Availability/affordability of healthcare institutions", "Opportunities for additional information", and "Opportunities for additional knowledge". There, too, are factor directly related to the child's future, but, based on the results of this and other surveys, socio-economic crisis, high poverty level, and prevailing problems to provide basic needs very often simply dismiss many problems directly related to the children. Some of the parents find them important, but delay them "until better times". This is also an important cultural-psychological factor reflecting the diminishing tendency of the needs of both the society and the individuals, on one hand, and the tendency to dismiss some very important elements while planning the future of the children, on the other. Although, the higher share of negative answers itself indicates the high importance of the problem mentioned.

Relatively higher share of negative answers are observed regarding "Job opportunities" and "Ensuring high living standards staying in the settlement". These are the spheres and problems solutions of which are not directly related to the parents and other relatives. The higher share of

negative answers in these fields proposes that the *demographic problems* cannot be solved separately. According to survey results, we are dealing with a very complex group of reasons and impacts. The higher share of the last two questions directly indicates the prevailing uncertainty towards future which can be overcome employing not only economic, but also social, political and cultural complex approaches. It is very hard to develop and try to implement a state policy concept on family with a lack of confidence from the society. Moreover, direct cash allowances, need for which, as discussed above, is rather high, may cause outflows from certain settlements, since improvement of lifestyle and living standards usually raise the needs of population and make them look for better chances to satisfy them. Once again, we deal with complex and serious problems requiring detailed planning and justification of the solutions proposed.

Planning for the future of the children directly relates to the intentions of the children or the family members to continue living in the settlement. The following answers were given to the question "Would you like your children to live in this settlement?"

Table 7.12 Would you like your children to live in this settlement (where you live now)

Answer	Share in the total, %	Urban	Rural
Yes	47.2	51.8	38.7
No	26.4	22.7	33.5
Hesitated	26.4	25.5	27.8

Certain differences observed among urban and rural populations. 51.8% (slightly higher than the average) of urban population answered positively. This indicator is less than average among rural families – 33.5%. Every 4th person surveyed, and every 3rd person in rural settlements, does not envision the future of his future in the settlement he currently lives. Factors determining positive and negative answers are interesting from the psychological point of view.

Table 7.13 Reasons for positive or negative answers, %

Answer	%
Positive	
They are more secure here than in other settlements	22.0
There is more serious future vision here than in other settlements	12.8
I would like my children live next to me	65.0
We can help them become self-sustainable	0.2
Total positive	100
Negative	
There are no visions for future of the children	13.0
Cannot get the desired education	13.7
Cannot have a proper job	70.8
It is not safe to live here	2.5
Total negative	100

According to the Table 7.13, the main justification of the positive answer is the wish to see the children by their side, which means the children are imposed the situation and reality their parents live in. Such approach means that, despite the changes in the last fifteen years, certain traditions common to 1970-80's still exist in the Armenian family, at least among parents. The tendency described has dual interpretation. The positive one, however, is that along with the improvement of socio-economic

conditions and psychological atmosphere, such attitude from the parents' side can become an important factor to "tie" the children to their settlements. Majority of negative answers are because of employment problems, which sounds logical since the problem of youth employment in urban and especially rural settlements is rather actual. The absence of jobs is one of the main causes for emigrations, and solution of employment problem will definitely decrease the migration flows.

The following answers were given to the question "Where would you like your children to live, if you do not want them to live in this settlement?"

Table 7.14 Where would you like your children to live (if you do not want them to live in this settlement)

Answer	Share in the total, %	Urban	Rural
Yerevan	48.6	44.0	56.5
Marz center	3.1	0.2	8.1
Russian Federation	15.9	16.7	14.6
European country	20.8	26.5	11.0
USA	6.4	8.8	2.4
Other	5.2	3.8	7.4

As opposed to previous answers, in this case the differences between urban and rural settlements are significant. More than half of the rural population surveyed (56.5%) wishes to see the future of his/her children in Yerevan, which means that major internal migration directions in the near future will be towards Yerevan. Compared to rural population, urban families have higher share in the answers "European country" and "USA" (by 2.5 and 3 times respectively). This means that possible migration directions may differ a lot. The answers discussed are important from the psychological-cultural point of view. Yerevan, as it was in the Soviet times, will continue to remain the main destination point of the migration flows. This tendency is notable nowadays, too. Because of big volume of construction works in the capital, a big number of specialists and workers from various marzes (both far and close) of the country works in Yerevan. At the same time, Yerevan may serve as the main leaving point for the possible emigrants, taking into account the significantly high share of population living in the capital. The latest may have a dual impact on the demographic changes. Studies of the emigration trends and the analysis of the social-professional structure of the emigrants show that high quality specialists are the main group of population leaving the country. This is the sector that has adopted or will adopt in the near future the "1-2 children family" model. It is crucially important what kind of group is going to fill the "vacuum formed". The main contingent of the migrants from villages to Yerevan is mainly youth, i.e. the sector that has adopted or will adopt the same model. From this prospective, expecting serious changes is not realistic. Nonetheless, based on the assumptions, such "shift" will have more negative than positive effects on the capital. First of all, the youth trying to establish in Yerevan will most likely go with the same reproductive behavior, but with longer period of adaptation and socialization, causing marriage delays and raise of the marital age³³.

On the other hand, tendency to move to Yerevan will cause certain demographic problems in terms of deepening the aging process in villages and small towns. It should be also considered that in case of stabilization of socio-economic situation, Gyumri and Vanadzor may also become recipients of certain number of migrants, which means, should relevant measures not be taken in rural settlements, the demographic crisis in the villages will move even further.

As seen from the answers, the share Russian Federation as a desired place of living is not high. Supposedly, this is a result of anti-Caucasus (as well as anti-Armenian) atmosphere prevailing in the

³³ For social-cultural changes in Yerevan for the recent years, see A. Tadevosyan, Reflection of Emigration Effects on the Social-cultural Life of the City of Yerevan, 1991-1996, Yerevan, 2006, pp 62-68; M. Gabrielyan, On the Certain Ethnological Specifications of "Understanding" Yerevan from the Outside, Yerevan, pp 56-61.

Russian Federation in the recent years. The higher share of respondents seeing Europe and the US as a future living place for their children is an alarming tendency from the demographic point of view. Though, this tendency, too, may have dual interpretations, since opportunities for education, social mobility, and providing higher living standards are much higher in Europe and the US. It should be mentioned that the possible migration flows to Yerevan can be lessened through reforms in governing systems, raising the efficiency of self-governing bodies, reducing the functions of Yerevan, and territorial redistribution. Efficient socio-economic, educational and cultural policies locally in both urban and rural settlements may reduce the migration tendency. The above mentioned thought is reflected in the answers of the following question: "What needs to be done, to keep the children in your settlement?"

Table 7.15 **What needs to be done, to keep the children in your settlement**

Answer	%
1. Solve the economic problems of the settlement	59.1
2. Provide for better education	46.6
3. Generate well-paid jobs	77.2
4. Reduce the poverty level	49.2
5. Eliminate corruption in the country	24.2
6. Create positive psychological atmosphere	20.9
7. The government should pay special attention to the problems of young families	36.1
8. Privileged long-term loans provided to young families	31.8
9. Solve the housing problems through mortgages	18.0
10. Raise the amount of allowances for the minors	30.2
11. Set special privileges for families with 4 and more children	26.8
12. Set special privileges for the youth	28.6

As seen from table 7.15, the main factors that will keep the families in their settlements are *well-paid jobs* and *solution of economic problems*, which are, in fact, tied to each other. Among the important issues are *poverty reduction* and *providing for better education*. State policy towards young families is also a priority, according to the answers. The families surveyed have shown an approach of two levels: a) solution of general problems, and b) emphasizing problems of young families within the general ones. The structure of answers determines the main directions of the state policy. They may seem not directly related to the demographic policy and family planning issues, but based on the data of Table 15, together with other data presented previously, one can conclude that complex approaches are primary in this issue. These approaches should be targeted towards infrastructural development in urban and rural communities, as well as towards solution of economic and cultural, educational and healthcare issues. The mentioned is more prior especially for young and newly created families whose needs are not limited to the economic ones, and making them stay in their settlements will require satisfaction of those needs too.

7.1 DECISION MAKING IN THE FAMILY

The following structure of answers shows the decision making mechanism in the family.

Table 7.16 Who makes the decisions in the family

Answer	Husband alone ³	Wife alone	Spouses together	Parents of one of the spouses alone	Parents of one of the spouses and the spouses together	Considering the opinion of the family members
1. Decisions on raising the children	4.1	17.9	59.9	0.4	2.8	14.9
2. Decisions related to education	3.5	9.7	64.6	0.2	1.9	20.1
3. Decisions related to the marriage of the children	2.6	4.1	58.7	0.6	2.1	31.9
4. Other important issues related to the family	4.7	7.1	53.2	0.7	3.5	30.8
5. Important household issues	5.2	10.1	52.5	0.8	3.4	28.0
6. Other household issues	5.1	21.4	48.4	0.9	1.9	22.3
7. Issues related to the spouses	5.4	4.5	80.7	0.5	0.4	8.5
8. Purchasing expensive items	3.9	5.5	51.6	0.5	3.6	34.9
9. The number and sex of children	2.4	4.4	89.3	0.1	0.2	3.6
10. Pregnancy termination (induced abortion)	2.3	9.0	85.6	0.1	0.2	2.8

In almost all the answers, the share of "spouses together" has the highest share. It is especially high in the matters related to the married couple only – stop of pregnancy, number and sex of children, issues related to the spouses, and decisions related to education of the children. The share of "considering the opinion of the family members" is also rather high, especially in the household matters. The share of "wife alone" is also high in some cases (on raising children, stop of pregnancy). The share of "parents of one of the spouses alone" is very limited. Such structure of answers reflects two main tendencies. Starting from 1959-60's, young couples of three-generation families were getting more and more involved in the decision making process of the family. That means we are experiencing the continuation of the tendency developed back in Soviet times. On the other hand, the impact of the changes in the last fifteen years is also considerable. The latest causes change of roles in the family.

From the viewpoint of the State Policy towards Family, it is more reasonable to have the bi-generation family consisting of married couple and children as the "object" of the policy. Participation of elder members in family management and planning gradually decreases, though in some cases the decisions are made considering the opinion of the family members. This might be a reason of the low case of arguments in the course of decision making.

Table 7.17 Are there arguments regarding decision making in the family

Answer	%
1. Yes, always	2.6
2. Yes, occasionally	33.5
3. Almost never	27.2
4. Never	36.3
5. Other	0.4

According to Table 7.17, the arguments regarding decision making in the family are rather rare, although, the "ideal atmosphere" in the family is due to the limited "field" of decisions because of unfavorable socio-economic conditions, continual absence of a family member, and other psychological factors. Many families are trying to meet only some very basic needs where complex mechanisms of decision making are not required.

90.0% of respondents evaluated his family as strong; only 4.1% had negative answer to this question.

Table 7.18 The main element of strong family

Answer	%
1. Love and compromising atmosphere	80.2
2. Existence of children	15.8
3. Socio-economic circumstances	0.5
4. Other	3.5

The structure of answers given to the question "Would you like to live in a family with three generations?" reflects the trends described above. 35.1% of respondents had given negative response, 38.1% - positive response, and 26.8% hesitated to answer. The positive and negative answers are almost equal, but in the context of possible demographic developments, with "one or two children family" model prevailing, this tendency may become a "reason for additional social burden" for the state in the not very far future. The traditional for Armenian society fact that "parents stay with one of the sons, usually with the youngest one" is gradually giving up its positions. The tendency described will, of course, worsen the housing problems especially for the young families.

According to survey results, the tendency of newly married couple to live separately right after the marriage or after a short time is becoming prevailing.

Table 7.19 How do you look at living separately from parents

Do you find it right to separate after marriage or live with parent under one shelter	% in total	Urban	Rural
1. Separate right after the marriage, regardless of anything	24.4	25.8	21.6
2. Separate after some time after marriage or after the first child's birth	15.2	13.8	17.7
3. Separate only if housing problem is solved	16.3	16.4	16.2
4. Separate only if all the financial issues are solved	17.9	18.8	16.2
5. Live with parents	22.6	21.6	24.5
6. Hesitated to answer	0.2	0.3	0.1

According to the answers above, despite the fact that every fourth respondent wants to separate right after marriage, a big share of respondents emphasize the importance of solving housing and financial problems, and every fourth respondent finds appropriate living with parents. No significant differences observed in urban and rural settlements, though the share of respondent desiring to live with parents is slightly higher among rural population. "Conservatism" regarding separation after marriage is also noticeable among rural population. This difference has its interpretation, too. In the section "Housing Conditions" it was revealed that in terms of availability of living space rural settlements are in more favorable situation, which means that married couple can live for some time with parent without causing additional inconvenience. The other important problem is related to the opportunities in urban and rural settlements. Renting an apartment is an alternative for having an apartment of one's own in urban settlements, while such opportunities are limited in rural settlements. Traditionalism in rural settlements should be also considered, meaning that it is not common among rural population to separate right after marriage and live in a rented apartment.

Direct reflection of changes in attitude and behavior is the following structure of answers: 26.0% of the respondents finds it appropriate to advise with parents in all matters with no exceptions, while 61.9% finds it appropriate only in case of important matters.

7.2 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence related questions were included in the survey to reveal the public perception and the impact of the latest on the in-family relations.

Table 7.20 Is domestic violence common for RA

Answer	%
1. Yes, it is wide spread	22.2
2. Partially	28.3
3. Not common	15.5
4. Hesitated	33.8
5. Other	0.2

According to the structure developed, more than half of the respondents admit the existence of domestic violence in Armenia.

Typology and perception of violence is shown in the Table 7.21 below.

Table 7.21 Specifics of violence typology against different family members

Type of violence	Against husband	Against wife	Against children	Against parents of one of the spouses	Against other members of family
1. Menace	23.4	32.8	26.8	24.6	22.0
2. Continuous remarks	11.8	16.5	12.2	10.9	8.9
3. Rude speech	16.2	22.9	18.1	16.8	13.0
4. Curse	23.1	38.7	33.5	28.0	22.7
5. Slap	26.4	45.4	39.2	29.4	25.9
6. Beating	43.3	71.0	64.7	49.0	44.7

7. Causing injuries	39.9	58.8	55.7	44.1	39.9
8. Dismissal regardless of reason	11.9	16.7	13.6	16.1	12.2
9. Overload with hard physical work	11.9	20.4	21.0	15.8	13.3
10. Impose something against one's will	19.7	28.2	23.4	21.4	15.4
11. Keep away from working/being employed	11.1	21.6	12.3	12.4	11.6
12. Forbid getting in touch with relatives	19.0	30.3	21.3	20.9	18.6
13. Ignore opinions on important family matters	14.9	20.4	12.8	17.8	13.8

According to the Table 7.21, there are certain specifications in the perception of violence in the Armenian environment. According to the answers, causing injuries, beating, cursing, menace, slap, i.e. mainly physical types, were considered as violence. Psychological types of violence has had rather high share, too - dismissal regardless of reason, impose something against one's will, ignore opinions on important family matters. The answers are almost equal by the family members. That means, certain intolerance exists towards physical and psychological violence against all the members of the family. As a result, dismissal of children, imposing something against child's will, overloading with hard physical work, and ignoring child's opinion on important family matters is characterized as violence by as low as 20% of respondents. The same is for the other members of the family.

About the same model of violence perception is observed in various surveys and studies in Armenia of the recent years.

The group of reasons for such a situation is hard to be revealed. On one hand, hard physical work done by children, women and other members of family is viewed as a consequence of the prevailing unfavorable socio-economic situation, where the minimal means for living can be earned by the efforts of all the family members. On the other hand, not less important are the norms traditionally formed and practiced in the Armenian society, according to which, especially in the early stages of child raising, parents have lots of rights and privileges. Interesting is the fact that, according to various studies, children, women and other family members themselves are less likely to characterize as violence a number facts commonly described as psychological or physical violence.

This type of perception model is another reason why the share of domestic violence is low in certain families.

Table 7.22 Is there violence in your family

Type of violence	Against husband	Against wife	Against children	Against parents of one of the spouses	Against other members of family
1. Menace	0.2	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.1
2. Continuous remarks	2.4	3.8	6.8	1.8	1.7
3. Rude speech	2.5	4.6	3.2	1.3	1.3
4. Curse	0	1.7	0.6	0.2	0
5. Slap	0	0.9	2.2	0	0.1
6. Beating	0	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.1
7. Causing injuries	0	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
8. Dismissal regardless of reason	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.1
9. Overload with hard physical work	0.1	0.1	0.6	0	0
10. Impose something against one's wish	0.2	1.3	0.9	0.2	0.2
11. Keep away from working/being employed	0	1.3	0.4	0.1	0.1
12. Forbid getting in touch with relatives	0.1	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.1
13. Ignore opinions on important family matters	0.1	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.3

Despite the relatively low share of different types of violence, certain specifics are mentioned.

The highest share belongs to continuous remarks and rude speech. Differences are observed by the "objects" of violence: these are mainly women and children. The highest figures were observed in the violence against women in almost all the answers. The share of violence against children is also higher compared to the violence against other family members, which might be a result of the aforementioned specifics of violence perception.

It should be also considered that domestic violence is rather hard to be revealed. In some cases, respondents prefer not to talk about violence or simply indicate the absence of domestic violence, even though violence does exist in the family.

SUMMARY AND PROPOSALS

Development of Armenian society, as well as Armenian family, in the last fifteen years is characterized with controversial phenomena also revealed as a result of the survey implemented.

Survey results revealed the complex nature of the problems existing in the Armenian family. This means that the demographic crisis and changes in the demographic behavior discussed in the corresponding sections of the report are directly related to not only economic, but also social, political, cultural and psychological factors.

Overcoming demographic crisis is declared priority in the state policy and a crucial element for national security. With this regards family becomes the main subject of state demographic policy. Perception of family as a subject and incorporation into state policy projects has crucial importance.

Keeping in mind the complex nature of the problems, we further discuss the main problems revealed as a result of the survey and propose ways to solve the problems observed.

1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SPHERE

According to survey results, changes in different spheres have effected the demographic description, composition and structure of the family. According to survey results, the average number of persons living in a household is 3.6; there are 2.9 persons on average living in a family. The share of families with 1-4 members is 84.4%, while the share of families with 5 and more members is as low as 15.6%. 19.3% of the families surveyed has one under-18-year-old child, 19.1% has two children under 18. Only 6.5% of the households surveyed has 3 and more minor children.

Based on the situation described above, the number one problem is revealed: the number of children in the family which does not provide, and will not do so in the near future, should the current tendencies persist, the simple reproduction of the family.

Another problem of socio-demographic nature is related to ***social-professional even-out and limitations in roles and importance of different groups*** in urban and especially rural settlements. According to survey results, optimal proportions of the structure by education level are maintained in urban environment, though, these proportions have been broken in urban settlements. The share of population with higher education in rural settlements is as low as 6.5%. This is an impoverishment of social-cultural sphere, constraint of management in the community level, as well as self-management, since persons with higher education have traditionally played an important role in the Armenian society. Such situation may also promote migration flows and worsen the lack of belief toward children's future especially in rural settlements.

Activities proposed in such situation are:

- Provision of special spots for rural youth in higher and special-secondary institutions, with clarified mutual obligations. The following as an option to be considered: The young person studied in higher or special-secondary institution for X years is obliged to work in a rural settlement for X times a coefficient years, otherwise has to compensate the state for the investment in his/her education³⁴.
- A promotional policy like this can be practiced for urban youth, too, defining other privileges: additions to the salary to be accumulated in the bank account and be used after a certain period of time, and be returned to the state in case of breach of the contract.

The combination of activities described above should be discussed in the context of other projects of state policy, particularly the PRSP.

³⁴ Practiced in different countries, particularly in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2. HOUSING CONDITIONS

According to survey results, 14.4% of surveyed urban population lives in one-room dwellings: 7.3% of under-16 population, 6.2% of 16-30-year-old population, and 7.3% of 35-49-year-old population live in one-room apartments. Also considered the higher share of population living in two- and three-room apartments, it can be concluded that housing problem especially for younger families will worsen in the near future, since very few young families have high enough salary to afford an apartment. It is not surprising that among the answers on expectations from the state, assistance in purchasing an apartment or expanding the old one (grants, subsidies, etc.) had the highest share – 51.2%.

Taking into account the limited resources of the state, this problem can be given complex solutions requiring revisions and additional economic justifications and calculations. Possible solutions may include:

- The vast majority of Armenian population is concentrated in the city of Yerevan, and the majority of towns and villages is losing its "attractiveness". Some urban and rural settlements have housing surplus which can be purchased by the local self-governing bodies and provided to the young families either for the fund provided by the state or on long-term, privileged, and low-interest-rate loans. On the event of every child's birth, a part of the amount payable can be deducted from the loan.
- The activities mentioned can be practiced especially in the regions with tourism development potential, where additional jobs can be generated for the youth. Finally, in case of efficient implementation of the activities mentioned, problems of "overload" of the city of Yerevan and disproportion of population distribution in the country can be solved.

3. EMPLOYMENT SPHERE, INCOME STRUCTURE

According to survey results, 28.6% of family members surveyed was employed: males – 36.2%, females – 21.8%. The shares of employed in urban and rural settlements is almost the same – 28.8% and 28.2%. In almost all the fields of employment the share of males is higher than the one of females. There are 2 times more males in the field of Managers and representatives of all levels of government bodies; the number of males is about 7 times more among qualified workers.

Certain differences are observed between urban and rural populations. Considerable are the differences between employment of families with under-16-year-old children. Employment issues of women, especially the ones having under-16-year-old children, are of high priority in this sphere. Female employment is important also because employment, as seen in the relevant sections, affects family planning, the number of children in the family, and various spheres of in-family relations. The state has rather limited influence in regard of direct assistance in terms of employment, too, especially on the private sector employers.

Institutions of state government system, self-governing bodies, Marz Offices, and other institutions under supervision of state and self-governing bodies have bigger opportunities to practice this policy and promote female employment in the country. The institutions mentioned can also promote alternative employment for women, taking into consideration the fact that nowadays a lot of projects on this issue are being implemented in the country. These projects aim to develop the traditional handicrafts (carpet-making, embroidery, etc.) in household conditions, especially in the tourism related regions.

At the same time, increasing female employment will help regulate family planning, and eliminate problems in in-family relations.

The same is true for men, especially youth employment. Both state and self-governing institutions should promote youth employment, and, in some cases, establish certain quotas.

4. HEALTHCARE

Rather serious problems were revealed in the sphere of healthcare, too. Particularly, 21.6% of families surveyed (18.0% and 28.4% in urban and rural settlements respectively) has had a need to apply to a healthcare institution but did not. The main reason for not applying is financial scarcity for the 86.3% of respondents. The majority respondents evaluated the quality of healthcare services as very low.

Like in some of the spheres above, in this case, too, the activities should be discussed in the context of general socio-economic activities, particularly the PRSP. Among the activities implemented, especially in rural settlement and small towns, quality services provided to the pregnant, women in post-birth period and the newly born are prioritized. Because of financial problems, many families can not afford applying to even regional or marz hospitals, though certain positive trends were observed in the recent years related to state assistance policies and programmes by the international organizations.

5. FAMILY REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOR

Problems observed in the family reproductive behavior are complex and in some cases may repeat the ones revealed in previous sections. The survey examines changes in reproductive behavior as an important reason for changes in the overall demographic situation. In the majority of families surveyed, both urban and rural, "multi-children family" model was prevailing only a few decades ago. The situation has changed nowadays, and the majority of families expect assistance from the state for child birth and care. The assistance is expected not only in terms of money, but also in terms of provision of favorable conditions in the settlement for the future of the children.

According to survey results, majority of respondents are not satisfied by the conditions for the children's future. Despite the programmes and activities implemented, there are serious educational, healthcare and other problems crucial from the viewpoint of planning. A rather big share of negative answers was registered for the question on "Job opportunities and ensuring high living standards staying in the settlement", which proves the previously mentioned thought that the demographic problems cannot be solved separately isolated from other concerns. Based on the survey results, it can be concluded that we deal with very complex group of reasons and effects. According to the results, there is an expressed uncertainty towards future, which can be overcome through economic, social, political, and cultural complex approach. It is very hard to develop and implement a state policy towards family in such an uncertain vision toward future. Moreover, direct financial incentives, mentioned by a rather big share of respondents, may cause migration from certain settlements, since improvement of lifestyle and living standards usually raise the needs of population and make them look for better chances to satisfy them. Every forth respondent (every third in the rural settlements) does not see the future of his/he child in the settlement he currently lives. Among the activities to keep the residents in the settlements they currently live *well-paid jobs and solution of economic problems of the settlements, as well as poverty reduction and ensuring quality education* were mentioned by the respondents.

Possible changes in this field should be discussed in the context of complex economic and socio-cultural reforms.

In order to solve the main part of the problems revealed, a professional examination of the projects related to different aspects of "Family" institute should be conducted from the view point of "State policy towards Family" and "State Demographic Policy", where the youth and young families should be viewed as the main target groups.

ABBREVIATIONS

PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

NSS – National Statistical Service

RA – Republic of Armenia

UN – United Nations

ACSNR – Armenian Center of Strategic and National Researches

IDHR – Institute of Democracy and Human Rights

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