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POPULATION MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT STRUCTURAL  
MOVEMENTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (2002–2015)

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The migration and resettlement questions in RA are discussed in the article. The population migration ratio of different settlements and their changes during 2002 till 2015 are calculated also, as well as the structural and territorial movements due to migration in RA are discussed. One can find different suggestions, which concern the productive interaction between migration and resettlement.

**Keywords:** migration, settlement, demographic situation, settlement pattern, urbanization.

Analysis and synthesis, comparative-geographical and statistical methods and spatial and problematic approaches were chosen as methodological basis for the article. With the help of these methods and approaches we found out the regional features and problems of interaction of migration and settlement.

Economic and demographic aspects of the population migration of RA have been studied by the economists and demographers: M. Fahradyan, V. Khojabekyan, H. Marzpanyan [1–3]; sociological aspects have been studied by G. Poghosyan and others [4] and the interrelations between migration and settlement have been studied by M. Manasyan [5]. The studies on migration are not complete, systematized and they typically affect only the certain parts of migration, namely social, economic, demographic and national parts. The migration complex nature and function as well as casual relationships are ignored in them. Moreover, the main works concern the migration intensity, trends, demographic composition and situation analysis.

In this regard the external and internal migration report of sample survey of RA represents a particular interest [6]. Only a few authors have partially touched the problems of economic development and distribution, on the one hand the settlement pattern and demographic processes and, on the other hand the problems between the existing mutual relations and interactions of the population migration (internal and external). However, in those works they mainly focused on the elucidation of migration impact and other demographic processes on settlement

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pattern. But the settlement pattern impact on migration and various demographic processes is not yet sufficiently elucidated in literature. The lack of necessary factual and statistical materials on settlements is also explained. Whereas the causes, directions and scales of migration in various types of settlement pattern systems and their structural components are significantly different and their detection and analysis have as theoretical, so practical significance.

Natural and mechanical movements of the population, their spatial and temporal expressions are very important factors for settlement pattern that determine the trends of settlement pattern changes. Moreover, if the movement more significantly affects the quantitative shifts of the settlement pattern, when the indices of crowded areas of settlements and their ratio change, then, the migrations in settlement pattern are more likely to cause qualitative structural changes and significant shifts, when in result of population distribution the correlations and proportions of settlement pattern centers and different types of settlements are changed among the settlements with various sizes.

Migrations typically occur spontaneously and are not always derived from a particular area, region or country's social-economic development interests. Hence there is a need for state regulation, the purpose of which is to create such legal, economic, social and demographic conditions and mechanisms that will ensure scales and directions of migration desired and acceptable for the state and minimize the negative social-economic effects on the development of the country or region left by migration.

One of the most important factors of migration regulation is becoming the formation of balanced settlement pattern systems, the elimination of essential social-economic differences among various type and size settlements.

All the settlements of RA take part in migration processes, the intensity and scales of which are changed depending on the size of the settlement, its functions, geographical location and the position of the settlement pattern system. However, with minor exceptions almost for all the settlements it is common that the migration balance of the population is negative, i.e. the population outflow exceeds the inflow. Factual data indicate that in the last two decades mostly the young men of working age take part in the migration of the population, whose educational level and professional qualities are pretty high [6]. It is clear that the population migration, particularly the emigration, leaves social-economic and demographic heavy consequences on further development of settlements. Migration of young population capable to work violates the sex and age proportions of the population in the settlements. The number and proportion of young and elderly women is significantly increasing in gender structure of population, whereas the proportion of elderly people is growing and that of people who are able to work is decreasing in the age structure of population. The population imbalance of numerous settlements which is created in sex and age structure also affects the reproduction indices. The lack of young men influences upon the number of marriages which is directly reflected in the low birth rate. At the same time because of the labor migration the long-term lack of young single men contributes to the increase in the number of divorces, which in its turn leads to a reduction in birth rate. For many years the rate of population natural growth is negative in several small settlements like Tumanyan, Ayrumm Dastakert, Shamlugh etc., plus unstable and single

functional economic base. In the Republic of Armenia, and also in many settlements of the country extremely unfavorable demographic situations are first and foremost due to the economic, social-cultural and psychological factors like unemployment, poverty, low wages and etc. Demographic factors as well, including the migrations, have significant impact on it too. If we accept that the demographic behavior of the population will remain unchanged, i.e. the current demographic trends will be continued then within the next years, when those born after 1992 will come to an active reproductive age, narrow reproduction and decline of population in absolute number are expected as in the whole Republic, so in most of settlements. And if we also accept that population migration will continue with the same scale, which is very likely, then the demographic problems and their solutions at present and especially in the nearest future, acquire not only social-economic, but also a national-political significance and direct relevance to national security.

People with high-skilled labor force actively participate in human migration. Most of them have high education, so the effects of migration are not only of social-demographic but also of economic nature. As a result, many settlements are deprived of real resources and opportunities to recover and develop economy. A number of most important economy spheres and branches like construction, finance, information technologies and so on, are already in need of qualified professionals. In fact the government goes to significant expenses of training specialists who use the knowledge gained in their homeland to develop the economy of other countries.

One of the new and undesirable effects of the human migration is that the temporary labor migration of individuals is more frequently turning to a family migration, when previously the participant of labor, temporary migration, in several years appearing in the social-economic favorable conditions initiates his family migration. Currently the migration has gradually entered into a very dangerous phase in RA. In addition, there is also a dangerous new trend, that if previously the unemployed, young people, professionals left the most cases, currently the migration of businessmen is activated, who do not find a fair and business environment as well as legal and economic basis, so they invest their assets in other countries and cities. At the same time, there is an inflow of population to RA from some politically unstable countries with a large diaspora like Iraq, Iran, Syria and Lebanon. This fact makes more important the state intervention in the migration processes that is to populate the immigrated people in remote areas of regions of RA, creating all the necessary conditions for life: housing, land, jobs and so on.

The migration of population from RA, external and inter-republican, significantly influences on the processes of urbanization and settlement pattern structure. These social-economic problems of utmost importance for RA have not been paid a worthy attention by professionals yet and have not become a subject of special study. However, analysis of relations between migration, urbanization and settlement pattern is extremely urgent, as it relates to the proportional rational distribution of the population and economy, proportional and harmonious development of different types of settlements. It is known that the urbanization level in the last two decades was reduced from 67 to 64%, the regional and structural imbalances of settlement pattern was increased and the portion of Yerevan population was increased in the total and urban population [7].

Internal and external migration effects on the processes of urbanization and settlement pattern is not identical and is changeable in time. In the initial stage mainly the urban population of RA took part in migration, which undoubtedly led to a decrease in the level of urbanization. This was primarily due to structural changes in the economy of the country, particularly due to the significant reduction in industry, construction and generally in non-agricultural sector of economy. In the 1990s relatively small scale of rural migration was due to the land privatization and compared with other branches of economy, more favorable condition of agriculture. Internal migration in that period did not have a substantial impact on the processes of urbanization, though, connected with the dramatic increase in unemployment as a result of land privatization and industry crisis in cities, a certain mass of urban population left for their native villages with the desire to become land owners.

However, it should be noted that in Soviet years the scale of inter-republican migration as well as the impact of migration on urbanization and settlement pattern were greater than in the last two decades. As the foreign migration dominates at present, the current migration of the population not only reduces the demographic potential of the settlements in RA, but also increases its territorial imbalances [2].

In practical and economic aspects, the analysis of relations between migration and settlement pattern is important according to the types of settlement pattern centers and settlements. Unlike the previous periods, in the last two decades the population migrations actually stopped to be an important factor of population growth almost in all the cities of RA. Moreover, in the settlement pattern system with a large number of urban and rural areas the population outflow is so large that the population natural growth is not able to fill that gap. In the last two decades almost all the cities have a negative migration balance. This means that the close relationship between the nature of shifts of the population migration and the functional type of the crowded city noticed in the Soviet period actually is missing because of the negative migration balance in the administrative, industrial, resort and other performing functions for large, medium and small cities. Even Yerevan and the reprocessing industry centers in the framework of its agglomeration like Abovyan, Charentsavan, Hrazdan, Byureghavan and so on have lost their former powerful gravitational force and have become centers of population outflow. The main cause of their economic base is the severe fall of industry and huge sizes of unemployment. The same applies to regional centers.

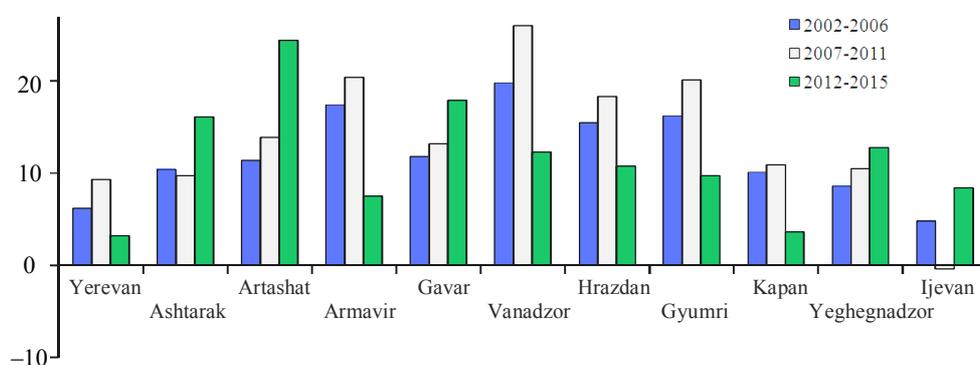


Fig. 1. Population migration ratio in Yerevan and in all centers of regions of RA (%).

Of course, the true scale of migration is significantly greater than the official data. Due to population migration data absence from 2002 till 2015 we made our own calculations, where population migration balance ratio among 1000 is changed and people rely on the natural flow of data, using model

$$M_x = \frac{(P_{x+1} - P_x)}{P_x},$$

here  $M_x$  is the saldo of migration,  $P_x, P_{x+1}$  are the population quantities in  $x$ -th and  $x+1$ -th years respectively. The studied period was divided into three similar parts 2002–2006, 2007–2011 and 2012–2015 and got relative level of the indicator.

So, the comparative analysis of the ratio in the city and regions shows that the highest migration ratio's negative factor was in Vanadzor. During the same years the ratio was high in Armavir (–17.4‰), Gyumri (–16.2‰) and in Hrazdan (–15.5‰). In recent years it became high in Artashat (–24.4‰) also in Gavar (–17.9‰) and in Ashtarak (–16.1‰). Low ratio had the capital Yerevan and Ijevan (Fig. 1).

As we see, during the whole period migration ratio in Yerevan and in all regions has negative values. It is worthy to mention that when population migration ratio's negative factor decreases in Yerevan, Armavir, Vanadzor, Gyumri, Hrazdan and Kapan, it increase in Ashtarak, Artashat, Gavar, Ijevan and Yexegnadzor. But we can not call it positive, because we should take into consideration that social-economic power was not enough to realize functions of the regions.

Between 2002–2015 we can notice big differences in industrial centers. The highest negative factor was found in Metsamor and the lowest was in Ararat, which in recent years was 2.8‰. The main thing between the cities is the decrease of migration negative ratio (Fig. 2).

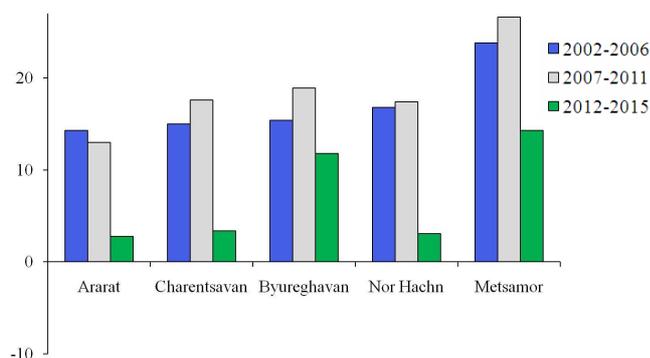


Fig. 2. Population migration balance ratio in the processing industrial centers of RA(‰).

Changes in the mining centers of population migration balance, coefficients indicate the general trends (Fig. 3). During the same period almost in all cities we can see decrease of the negative factor. It is low in Qajaran, Akhtalla and is high in Tumanyan and Shamlux. Migration moves extremely depending on economic activity of mining factories. Even pauses can cause new waves of migration. From the picture we can see that the migration in these areas are quite balanced, we can not notice rapid increase or decrease, which is the result of stable conditions of such factories. Tumanyan region can be exception.

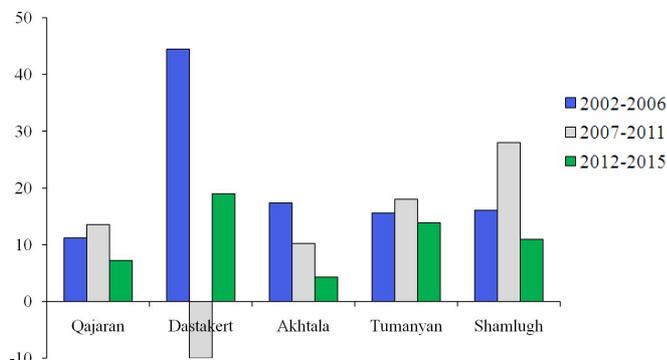


Fig. 3. Population migration balance ratio in the mining centers of RA (%).

Though these cities have general characteristics in migration movement stability, they are different in migration intensity and directions. From this point of view Dilijan is in better condition, where ratio is low. Recently there is even positive ratio (3%, 2007–2011). It is a fact that lately Dilijan is simultaneously developing banking and educational functions (Fig. 4).

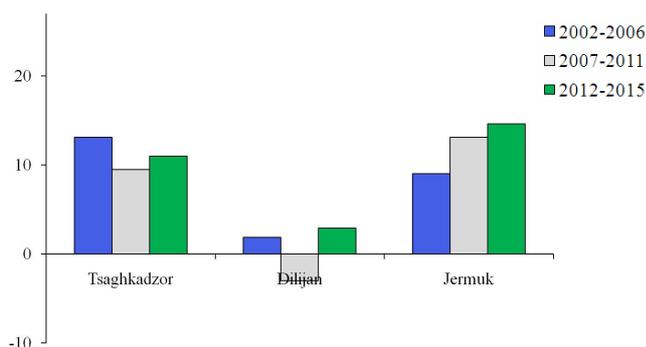


Fig. 4. Population migration balance ratio in resort cities of RA (%).

In recent years, associated with some difficulties and problems connected with the development of agricultural production, as well as of the existing trends of consolidation in rural households, the migration of the rural population has become more active, which unfortunately, will lead to extremely negative consequences: elimination of small villages, rural population aging, incomplete use of agricultural lands and so on. People emigrate from all regions, from petty and small, as well as medium and large rural areas. As the data indicate, the most large scale migration of rural population is from Gegharkunik Region, where there are a significant number of large villages. The main reasons for migrating from the rural areas are the low living standards and unemployment, because of low provision of agricultural landscapes per capita and lack of jobs besides agriculture. The lack of schools, first-aid posts and many other service centers are added to the causes of population migration from small rural areas. However, if the population migration from large villages generally does not influence or the elimination of the

settlements, then the small settlements especially in mountainous areas, are the most risky and volatile components of settlement pattern. The continuous outflow of young population in these settlements leads to the population aging and the formation of unfavorable demographic situation which can be over time, lead to the population abandoning and elimination, as well as remaining outside of agricultural use of circulation of land areas. The problem gets even more acute in nature because usually petty settlements with up to 100 people have a large number in Syunik and other peripheral frontier and high mountainous regions. Simultaneous as well as spatial and temporal analysis of rural, regional and other urban population migration shows that only the small part of rural population migration is fulfilled in the regional frameworks.

It is natural that the above mentioned unregulated migration increases the weight and role of Yerevan in the Republic on the one hand, and, on the other hand, it reduces the social-economic and demographic potential in remote and mountainous regions of RA, i.e. the differences of levels of social-economic development between Yerevan and other regions of the Republic are growing still more. The main direction of domestic migration as in the Soviet period, as well as nowadays is directed from different localities of RA to Yerevan though with incomparably smaller scales. Moreover, if previously the migration was of a hierarchical nature, i.e. village–regional center–Yerevan, at present its intermediate links have stopped to play a certain role in migration movements. Most of new workplaces created in manufacturing and service industries still a lot fall upon Yerevan. However, the feature of the new period is that Yerevan continues to remain attractive compared with other settlements of RA and at the same time it has become a major center of population outflow.

So, different settlements of various types and sizes take part in migration activities. Migration directions, intensity and scales differ due to the settlement sizes, geographical locations and activities. But the general feature is that migration ratio in all the settlements is negative, so population outflow exceeds the inflow. The rate of outflow is very high in mountainous, border and small areas. It includes Lori, Shirak and Tavush. Though population migration rate in Syunik and Vayots Dzor is comparatively low due to less rate of population, we should try to stop organize its migration and outflow. Economical, industrial development, new workplaces, new traffic lines and creation of new structures will give opportunity to decrease unemployment and poverty, so due to all these migration and outflow rate from the same areas will also decrease. We should take into consideration that due to job opportunities people are gathering in Yerevan, so it gives mono-center system, which also promotes outflow. As we see, the population migration and resettlement systems are connected with each other. So in order to solve the problem we should choose migration and resettlement system optimization, in order to strength on regional social-economic power. Government should help with economical development of such areas, like industry and service, which from their side, will give opportunity to realize social and administrative activities in medium level. So resettlement system will be more dynamic, which will also help to balance and stop the outflow of population.

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ԲՆԱԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԻԳՐԱՑԻԱՆ ԵՎ ՏԱՐԱԲՆԱԿԵՑՄԱՆ  
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ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՒՄ (2002–2015 թթ.)

## Ամփոփում

Հոդվածում քննարկվել է ՀՀ բնակչության միգրացիայի և տարաբնակեցման փոխազդեցության հիմնահարցերը: Մեր կողմից կատարված հաշվարկների հիման վրա ներկայացվել են տարբեր տիպի բնակավայրերի միգրացիայի սալոյի գործակիցների փոփոխությունները 2002–2015 թթ. ընթացքում: Աշխատանքում լուսաբանվել են ՀՀ տարաբնակեցման համակարգում միգրացիայի ազդեցությամբ տեղի ունեցած կառուցվածքային և տարածքային տեղաշարժերը: Հոդվածում արվել են մի շարք առաջարկություններ միգրացիայի և տարաբնակեցման միջև փոխազդեցության արդյունավետության բարձրացման ուղղությամբ:

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МИГРАЦИЯ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ И СТРУКТУРНЫЕ СДВИГИ РАССЕЛЕНИЯ  
В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ АРМЕНИЯ (2002–2015 гг.)

## Резюме

В статье обсуждаются вопросы взаимодействия миграции и расселения населения РА. На основании наших расчетов представлены изменения коэффициентов миграционного сальдо различных типов поселений в течение 2002–2015 гг., а также разъяснены структурные и территориальные сдвиги, произошедшие под влиянием миграции в системе расселения РА. Сделан ряд рекомендаций по повышению эффективности взаимодействия между миграцией и расселением.