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4.1 INTRODUCTION

The factors that determine fertility can be placed into two major categories—biological and social. The biological component refers to the capacity to reproduce, usually called “fecundity.” A woman’s fecundity varies with age; her fecundity begins to increase from menarche (the onset of menstruation), peaks in the twenties, and then declines to menopause (the time when a woman ceases to ovulate and menstruate).

The biological component is necessary but is not on its own a sufficient condition for fertility. Given the capacity to reproduce, the social environment in which people live largely determines whether couples will actually have children, and if so, how many and with what kind of spacing. Demographers use the term “fertility” to refer to the actual production of live offspring or live births.

Live birth is defined by the United Nations (1999) as “the complete compulsion or extraction from its mother of a product of conception, irrespective of the duration of pregnancy, which, after such separation, breathes or shows any other evidence of life. . . .”

The ADHS data are used to calculate several measures of fertility. Age-specific fertility rates (ASFRs) are expressed by the number of births to women of a given age interval per 1,000 women in that age interval. In this survey, the ASFR for any specific age interval is calculated by dividing the number of births of women in the age interval during the period 1 to 36 months preceding the survey by the number of years lived by women in that age interval during the same period of 1 to 36 months.

The total fertility rate (TFR) is based on the ASFRs and is one of the most commonly used summary indicators of fertility. The TFR is interpreted as the average number of children that would be born to a woman during her lifetime if she were to experience the currently observed age-specific fertility rates throughout her reproductive years. The TFR is calculated by adding the current age-specific fertility rates, multiplying by 5 if five-year age groups of women are used, then dividing by 1,000. An important property of the total fertility rate is that it is not affected by the age distribution of the population.

All women who were interviewed in the ADHS were asked to give a complete reproductive history. In collecting these histories, each woman first was asked about the total numbers of pregnancies that had ended in live births, induced abortions, miscarriages, and stillbirths. After obtaining these aggregate data, an event-by-event pregnancy history was collected. For each pregnancy, the duration, the month and year of termination, and the result of the pregnancy were recorded. The result of each pregnancy was classified as a live birth, stillbirth, miscarriage, induced abortion, or self-induced abortion. Information was collected about the most recent completed pregnancy, then the next-to-last, etc. For each live birth, information was collected on the sex of the child, survival status, and age (for surviving children) or age at death (for deceased children).

From the information collected in the reproductive histories, it is possible to estimate current fertility levels and trends, fertility differentials, number of children ever born and living, birth intervals, age at first birth, teenage pregnancy, and motherhood.

4.2 CURRENT FERTILITY LEVELS

Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 present the ASFRs and the TFRs for the three years preceding the survey, which corresponds to the period between November 1997 and November 2000. The three-year period was chosen for calculating these rates (rather than a longer or a shorter period) to provide the most current information, to reduce sampling error, and to avoid problems of the displacement of births.

Armenian women experience their prime reproductive years during their twenties. In fact, childbearing during these ages accounts for approximately 70 percent of both urban and rural total fertility rates. Age-specific fertility is highest among young women age 20-24 regardless of residence. Urban women of this age group, however, have a significantly lower fertility rate than their rural counterparts (116 births versus 206 births per 1,000 women).

Childbearing among women age 15-19 accounts for about 15 percent of total fertility. The fertility of rural teenagers is more than twice as high as the fertility of urban teenagers (75 live births versus 33 live births per 1,000 women). Childbearing after age 30 accounts for only 16 percent of fertility overall, while childbearing over age 40 accounts for a mere 1 percent of total fertility.

The TFR for the three-year period preceding the survey is 1.7 children per woman. This is below replacement-level fertility (which is slightly more than 2.0). Because rural women have higher levels of fertility than urban women throughout most of their reproductive years, they achieve a significantly higher TFR than urban women (2.1 versus 1.5).

Table 4.1 Current fertility

Age-specific and cumulative fertility rates and the crude birth rate for the three years preceding the survey, by urban-rural residence, Armenia 2000

Age group and rate	Residence		
	Urban	Rural	Total
Age			
15-19	33	75	50
20-24	116	206	149
25-29	86	91	88
30-34	32	40	35
35-39	19	11	16
40-44	4	1	3
45-49	0	1	0
Rates			
Total fertility rate 15-49 ¹	1.5	2.1	1.7
Total fertility rate 15-44 ¹	1.5	2.1	1.7
General fertility rate ²	47	69	56
Crude birth rate ³	12.1	16.3	13.9

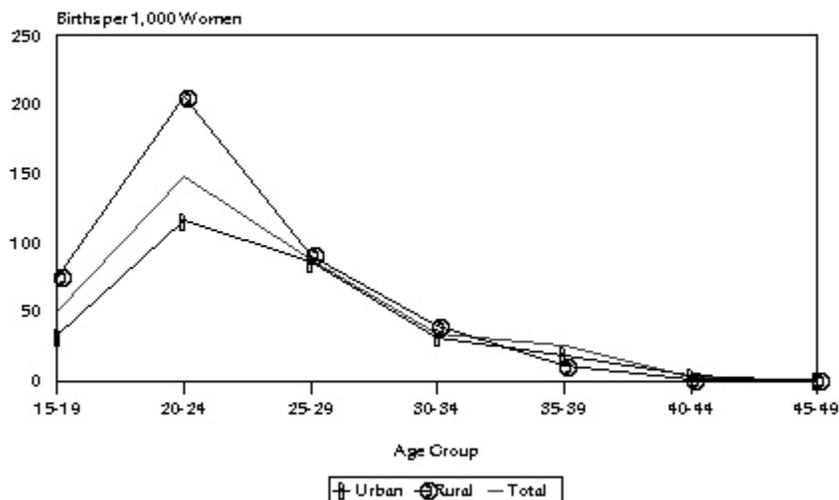
Note: Rates are for the period 1 to 36 months preceding the survey. Rates for age group 45-49 may be slightly biased due to truncation.

¹ Total fertility rates expressed per woman

² General fertility rate (births divided by number of women 15-44) expressed per 1,000 women

³ Crude birth rate expressed per 1,000 population

Figure 4.1 Age-specific Fertility Rates for Women Age 15-49 by Residence



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4.3 FERTILITY DIFFERENTIALS BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Table 4.2 shows the total fertility rate by background characteristics. The TFR in Yerevan is 1.4. There appears to be marked variation between regions, ranging from a low of 1.3 in Kotayk to 2.5 in Gegharkunik. Sampling variability, however, may account for some part of these differences (see Appendix B).

As expected, there is a negative association between education and fertility. Women with a primary/middle school education (2.2) and secondary education (1.9) have more children than women who attended secondary-special (1.6) or higher educational institutions (1.4).

As previously noted, the rural TFR is 40 percent higher than the urban TFR. The urban-rural differential for percentage of women currently pregnant is even more striking—more than twice as many rural women as urban women are currently pregnant (more than 4 percent versus 2 percent).

Table 4.2 Fertility by background characteristics

Total fertility rate for the three years preceding the survey, percentage currently pregnant and mean number of children ever born to women age 40-49, by background characteristics, Armenia 2000

Background characteristic	Total fertility rate	Percentage currently pregnant	Mean number of children ever born to women age 40-49
Residence			
Urban	1.5	1.9	2.4
Rural	2.1	4.4	3.1
Region			
Yerevan	1.4	1.8	2.2
Aragatsotn	2.0	4.5	3.0
Ararat	1.9	4.8	2.9
Armavir	1.7	4.2	2.8
Gegharkunik	2.5	3.7	3.5
Lori	2.1	1.7	2.6
Kotayk	1.3	2.2	2.7
Shirak	1.4	2.8	2.5
Syunik	1.6	3.0	3.0
Vayots Dzor	2.4	3.1	3.0
Tavush	2.2	4.4	2.7
Education			
Primary/middle	2.2	2.5	3.0
Secondary	1.9	3.3	2.9
Secondary-special	1.6	2.8	2.6
Higher	1.4	2.5	2.1
Total	1.7	2.9	2.6

¹ Rate for women age 15-49 years

4.4 FERTILITY TRENDS

One of the most essential and complex issues for Armenia during the last decade is the decrease of fertility. According to official estimates, current fertility is less than half of the levels before independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. The results of the ADHS also show declining fertility trends.

One method of understanding fertility trends is to examine the ASFRs over time. Because women age 50 and older were not interviewed in the survey, the rates are successively truncated as the number of years before the survey increases (see Table 4.3). The data indicate a decline in fertility over the past 20

years. This decline is particularly evident among women age 15-19 and 20-24 over the ten years preceding the survey. For example, age-specific fertility among women age 20-24 decreased from 234 births per 1,000 women 5 to 9 years before the survey to 169 births 0 to 4 years before the survey. This is a decrease of 28 percent.

Table 4.3 Trends in age-specific fertility rates

Age-specific fertility rates for five-year periods preceding the survey, by mother's age at birth, Armenia 2000

Mother's age at birth	Number of years preceding the survey			
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19
15-19	57	88	74	64
20-24	169	234	255	249
25-29	97	113	143	148
30-34	39	51	69	[65]
35-39	15	23	[27]	
40-44	2	[6]		
45-49	[0]			

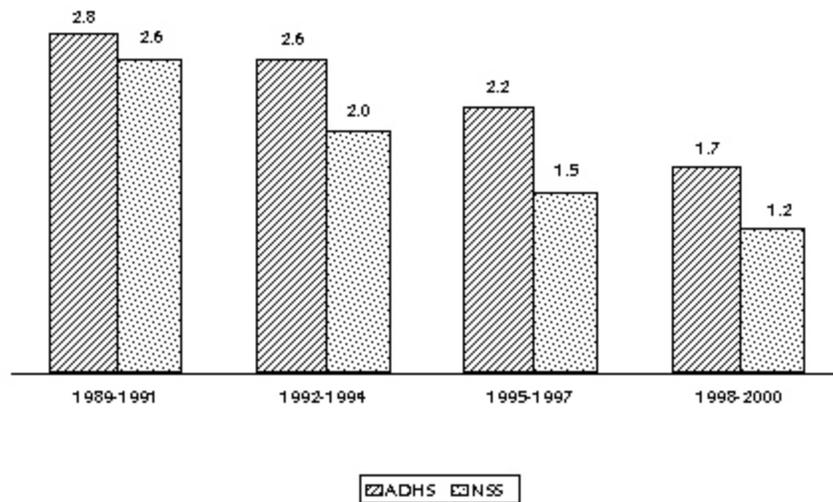
Note: Age-specific fertility rates are per 1,000 women. Estimates in brackets are truncated.

4.5 COMPARISON OF FERTILITY RATES FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF ARMENIA AND THE ADHS

According to the National Statistical Service (NSS), at the national level, the average of the official government TFRs for calendar years 1998 through 2000 is 1.2 children per woman (among women age 15-39). The ADHS rate of 1.7 (among women age 15-39) is significantly higher. To examine the differences between the ADHS and NSS figures, fertility trends can be compared. Figure 4.2 shows that the rates for the 1989-1991 period are similar for the ADHS and NSS data (2.8 and 2.6, respectively). During the 1992-1995 period, however, a significant difference between rates are observed. Whereas there was little change in the ADHS rate, the NSS rates declined 23 percent, from 2.6 to 2.0. In later periods, there is steady decline in both the ADHS and NSS rates. Overall, during the decade preceding the survey, both the ADHS and the NSS total fertility rates declined by more than one child per woman. The ADHS rate declined by 39 percent, while the NSS rate declined by more than half (54 percent).

When examining the differences between the ADHS and NSS rates, a few points regarding the comparability of the data sources should be kept in mind. First, the rates are based on different populations. The ADHS rates are based on the female population resident in Armenia at the time of the survey. The NSS rates, on the other hand, are based on population projections from previous censuses and do not take into account migration. The difference between the resident population and the official population is likely to be significant. Although there is currently little concrete information about the size of the resident population, during the 1992-1999 period, there was a net population loss of at least 670,000 and quite possibly more (MOSSRA 2000). It should be stressed that these data do not encompass the whole period of this fertility comparison. Nonetheless, it is possible to conclude, using this conservative estimate, that the government estimate of the official population size (used to calculate the government TFR) is at least 20 percent larger than the available population.

Figure 4.2 Trends in the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) among Women Age 15-39 according to the ADHS and the National Statistical Service



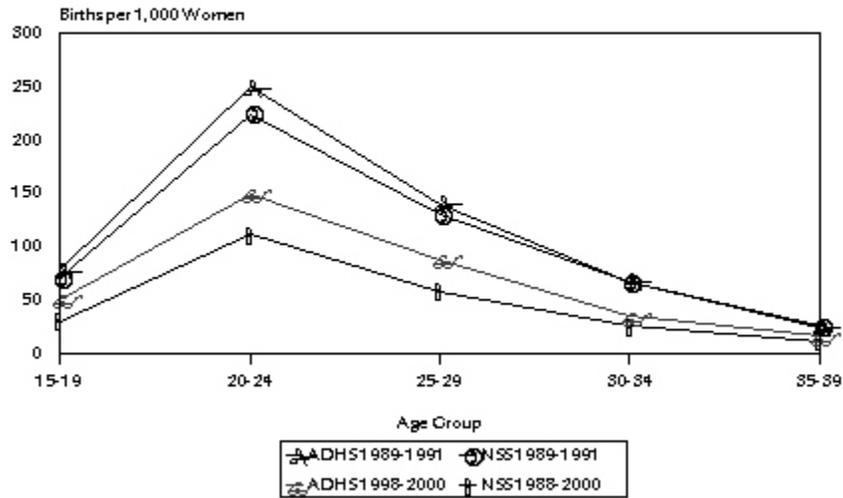
Armenia DHS 2000

This may account for the difference between the rates, particularly during the 1992-1994 period when there was significant fertility decline according to the NSS data, but not the ADHS data. Although there is a paucity of data on migration activity across national borders, there is reason to believe that the highest levels of emigration from Armenia occurred during these years (MOSSRA and EUROSTAT, 1999). Because this out-migration was not officially registered, an overestimation of the number of women of childbearing age would result in a significantly lower NSS TFR. Other factors that could contribute to the difference between rates include sampling variability of the ADHS estimate and underreporting of births to the government registration system.

Figure 4.3 shows the ADHS and NSS age-specific fertility rates for the years 1989 through 1991 and 1998 through 2000. It is significant that the ASFRs for 1989 through 1991 are similar. The ADHS rate is significantly higher only among women age 20-24. In the 1998-2000 period, the ADHS rates are higher among all cohorts; the difference is particularly pronounced among women age 20-24 and 25-29.

It is possible to draw two general conclusions from the comparison between ADHS and NSS rates. The first is that the ADHS results confirm the decline in fertility documented by the NSS over the last decade. The second is that there is a strong possibility that the official fertility rates as calculated by the NSS—due to current uncertainty about the number of women of reproductive age residing in the country—are underestimating the true levels of fertility in Armenia.

Figure 4.3 Trends in Age-Specific Fertility Rates for Women Age 15-39 according to the ADHS and the National Statistical Service



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4.6 CHILDREN EVER BORN AND LIVING

Table 4.4 presents the distribution of all women and currently married women by number of children ever born. Data on the number of children ever born reflect the accumulation of births over the past 30 years and therefore have limited reference to current fertility levels, particularly when the country has experienced a decline in fertility.

On average, women in Armenia have given birth to less than two children by their late twenties. Even in the oldest age groups, the mean number of children ever born does not exceed three. As expected, currently married women have had more births than all women in all age groups. The greatest difference between the data for currently married women and the total sample occurs among young women due to the large number of unmarried young women with no exposure to the risk of pregnancy. Differences at older ages reflect the generally fertility-reducing impact of marital dissolution (divorce or widowhood).

Among currently married women, 12 percent have had only one live-born child, 39 percent have two children, and 29 percent have three children (Figure 4.4). Fifteen percent of women have four or more children.

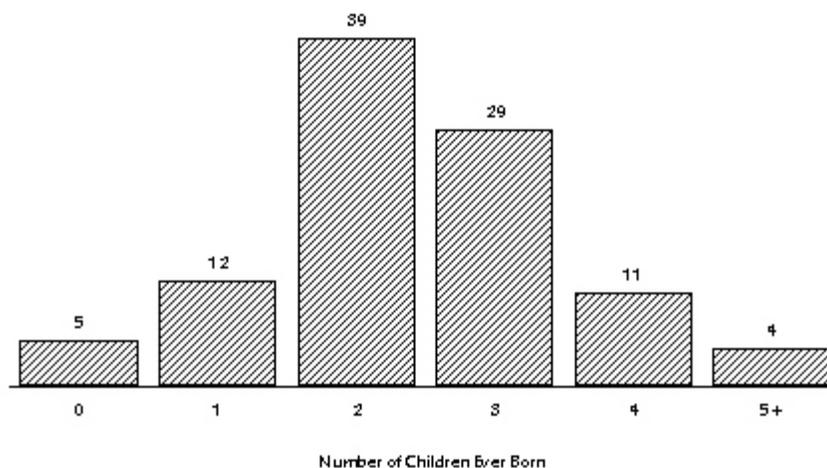
In total, 3 percent of currently married women age 45-49 have never had a live birth. This is an indirect indicator of primary infertility. Voluntary childlessness is rare in Armenia, and most women desire to have at least one child, preferably soon after marriage.

Table 4.4 Children ever born and living

Percent distribution of all women and currently married women by number of children ever born (CEB), mean number of children ever born, and mean number of living children, according to age group, Armenia 2000

Age group	Number of children ever born								Total	Number of women	Mean number of CEB	Mean number of living children
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+				
ALL WOMEN												
15-19	95.6	3.4	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	1,160	0.06	0.05
20-24	55.7	21.1	19.1	3.6	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	1,007	0.72	0.70
25-29	18.3	17.4	42.0	17.4	4.3	0.4	0.1	0.0	100.0	769	1.74	1.66
30-34	8.9	8.4	45.2	27.0	8.0	1.9	0.4	0.1	100.0	763	2.25	2.14
35-39	7.2	6.6	37.3	32.2	12.1	3.5	0.7	0.4	100.0	962	2.51	2.37
40-44	8.8	6.9	30.7	34.8	13.6	4.3	0.4	0.5	100.0	947	2.55	2.35
45-49	8.9	6.5	29.2	31.4	15.2	5.7	2.0	1.2	100.0	822	2.70	2.45
Total	32.7	9.8	27.4	19.8	7.3	2.2	0.5	0.4	100.0	6,430	1.69	1.59
CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN												
15-19	48.2	40.2	10.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	99	0.65	0.64
20-24	15.0	40.1	37.0	6.9	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	511	1.39	1.34
25-29	4.8	17.9	50.2	21.3	5.3	0.4	0.2	0.0	100.0	625	2.06	1.97
30-34	3.1	6.3	49.0	29.8	8.9	2.2	0.5	0.1	100.0	660	2.44	2.33
35-39	1.0	4.7	38.8	36.6	13.7	4.0	0.8	0.4	100.0	816	2.75	2.60
40-44	1.8	3.8	32.9	39.6	15.7	5.1	0.5	0.6	100.0	773	2.84	2.62
45-49	3.0	4.1	31.3	34.1	17.1	6.4	2.5	1.4	100.0	640	2.96	2.69
Total	5.2	11.9	39.0	28.8	10.6	3.2	0.8	0.4	100.0	4,125	2.43	2.28

Figure 4.4 Percent Distribution of Currently Married Women Age 15-49 by Number of Children Ever Born



Armenia DHS 2000

4.7 BIRTH INTERVALS

A birth interval, defined as the length of time between two live births, provides information about birth spacing patterns. Research has shown that short birth intervals may adversely affect maternal health and children's chances of survival. Children born too close to a previous birth, especially if the interval between the births is less than two years, are at increased risk of health problems and dying at an early age. Longer birth intervals, on the other hand, contribute to the improved health status of both mother and child.

Table 4.5 presents the percent distribution of second and higher order births in the five years prior to the survey by the number of months since the previous birth. The median birth interval is 32 months. Nonetheless, approximately one-third of births (34 percent) occur within 24 months of the previous birth. Indeed, 17 percent of births occur within 18 months of a previous birth.

Table 4.5 Birth intervals

Percent distribution of non-first births in the five years preceding the survey by number of months since preceding birth, according to background characteristics, Armenia 2000

Background characteristic	Number of months since preceding birth					Total	Median number of months since preceding birth	Number of births
	7-17	18-23	24-35	36-47	48+			
Age								
15-19	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	13
20-29	21.8	22.4	25.5	15.7	14.6	100.0	26.2	637
30-39	6.4	8.9	16.2	12.8	55.7	100.0	54.2	319
40-49	(5.2)	(0.7)	(12.2)	(9.4)	(72.5)	(100.0)	77.7	34
Birth order								
2-3	17.8	18.1	22.4	14.5	27.3	100.0	30.5	845
4+	11.9	13.2	19.4	14.6	40.9	100.0	40.5	158
Sex of prior birth								
Male	16.5	17.3	20.3	13.5	32.5	100.0	32.9	492
Female	17.2	17.3	23.4	15.5	26.5	100.0	29.9	510
Survival of prior birth								
Living	15.1	17.2	22.5	14.9	30.3	100.0	32.2	947
Dead	47.1	19.0	11.1	8.3	14.5	100.0	18.6	56
Residence								
Urban	13.5	14.0	20.7	16.2	35.5	100.0	37.8	464
Rural	19.7	20.1	22.9	13.1	24.2	100.0	27.9	538
Region								
Yerevan	9.8	13.6	20.7	16.3	39.7	100.0	41.2	253
Aragatsotn	26.1	20.2	19.3	11.8	22.7	100.0	26.9	69
Ararat	17.6	16.8	22.7	16.8	26.1	100.0	29.9	135
Armavir	14.4	23.3	21.1	11.1	30.0	100.0	28.7	101
Gegharkunik	19.4	24.2	21.8	13.7	21.0	100.0	27.0	123
Lori	17.2	18.8	29.7	7.8	26.6	100.0	27.0	76
Kotayk	29.1	12.7	21.8	12.7	23.6	100.0	27.2	62
Shirak	25.0	9.6	25.0	15.4	25.0	100.0	32.0	65
Syunik	10.3	16.2	25.0	19.1	29.4	100.0	34.5	37
Vayots Dzor	7.8	18.9	25.6	18.9	28.9	100.0	34.0	22
Tavush	18.9	17.9	13.2	17.0	33.0	100.0	36.0	59
Education								
Primary/middle	25.7	21.7	22.9	12.6	17.1	100.0	25.3	95
Secondary	17.2	20.6	23.5	10.1	28.6	100.0	29.2	428
Secondary-special	16.6	13.8	18.9	18.9	31.8	100.0	36.6	336
Higher	10.6	12.8	23.5	18.5	34.7	100.0	39.4	143
Total	16.9	17.3	21.9	14.5	29.5	100.0	31.5	1,003

Note: First-order births are excluded. The interval for multiple births is the number of months since the preceding pregnancy that ended in a live birth. Figures in parentheses are based on 25 to 49 unweighted cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases.

Birth intervals are shortest after a deceased prior birth—only 19 months. Birth interval is also related to birth order and residence. For example, the median birth interval is 38 months in urban areas, but 28 months in rural areas. Birth intervals also vary by region, with the longest in Yerevan (41 months) and the shortest in Aragatsotn, Gegharkunik, Lori, and Kotayk (27 months). There is also a strong relationship between birth interval and education. Birth intervals among mothers with higher education are 10 months longer than births intervals among mothers with a secondary school education and 14 months longer than birth intervals among women with a primary/middle school education.

4.8 AGE AT FIRST BIRTH

Age at first birth is an important determinant of fertility. It has significant demographic consequences for society as a whole, as well as for the health and welfare of mothers and children. Table 4.6 presents the percent distribution of women by age at first birth according to current age. For women age 25 and older, the median age at first birth is presented in the last column of the table.

Current age	Percentage of women who have given birth by exact age:					Percentage who have never given birth	Number of women	Median age at first birth
	15	18	20	22	25			
15-19	0.0	na	na	na	na	95.6	1,160	a
20-24	0.0	8.0	25.6	na	na	55.7	1,007	a
25-29	0.0	5.7	33.6	57.4	75.8	18.3	769	21.4
30-34	0.0	3.7	30.5	58.8	80.6	8.9	763	21.4
35-39	0.0	2.1	23.9	53.8	74.5	7.2	962	21.7
40-44	0.0	3.3	22.0	46.7	71.3	8.8	947	22.3
45-49	0.1	6.5	23.7	44.9	69.8	8.9	822	22.6

na: Not applicable
^a Median was not calculated because less than 50 percent of women in the age group x to $x+4$ have given birth by age x .

The ADHS findings indicate that childbearing among Armenian women begins relatively late. The majority of women age 20-24 have never given birth. The median age at first birth among women age 25 and older is between 21 and 23. The data show that the median age at first birth has decreased by more than one year from women age 45-49 to women age 25-29. This shift in childbearing is reflected in the smaller proportion of older women whose first birth occurred by exact age 20: less than one-quarter (24 percent) of women age 45-49 had given birth by age 20, compared with approximately one-third (34 percent) of women age 25-29.

The decrease in median age at first birth is associated with a decreasing age at first marriage (see Table 7.2). Other researchers have noted that among Armenians, there is an expectation that a child will be born within the first two years of marriage (NPRH 1998). The ADHS data indicate that Armenian women of all cohorts have adhered to the practice of giving birth to a first child

within two years of getting married. Among women age 25-29, the median age at first marriage is approximately one and a half year less than the median age at first birth (19.8 and 21.4, respectively). The same interval between age at first marriage and age at first birth is observed between women age 45-49 (21.1 and 22.6, respectively).

Table 4.7 shows the median age at first birth among women 25-49 by current age and background characteristics. The median age at first birth shows an inverse relationship with educational attainment, from 20 years among women who have a primary/middle school education to 25 years among women with higher education. Variation by region ranges from 21 to 22 years of age in all regions except Yerevan, where the median age at first birth is 23.

Table 4.7 Median age at first birth by background characteristics

Median age at first birth among women 25-49, by current age and background characteristics, Armenia 2000

Background characteristic	Current age					Women age 25-49
	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	
Residence						
Urban	22.2	21.7	22.4	22.6	23.0	22.4
Rural	20.4	20.7	21.0	21.8	21.3	21.0
Region						
Yerevan	22.9	22.4	22.5	23.0	23.8	22.9
Aragatsotn	20.3	21.0	21.9	22.5	23.0	21.5
Ararat	20.5	20.5	20.7	21.7	21.6	20.9
Armavir	20.8	21.4	21.9	22.1	21.3	21.5
Gegharkunik	19.8	20.4	20.7	21.4	20.7	20.6
Lori	21.9	21.2	21.9	21.8	22.4	21.8
Kotayk	20.8	20.8	20.8	21.8	22.2	21.3
Shirak	20.8	21.3	21.8	22.8	22.4	22.0
Syunik	21.1	20.8	21.5	22.2	21.2	21.4
Vayots Dzor	21.8	21.4	21.4	22.1	21.8	21.7
Tavush	20.9	21.0	22.6	21.9	22.7	21.9
Education						
Primary/middle	20.8	19.5	19.7	21.2	20.0	20.4
Secondary	19.7	20.2	20.8	21.2	20.7	20.5
Secondary-special	21.6	21.4	21.7	22.3	22.6	21.9
Higher	24.4	23.1	25.1	24.4	25.3	24.6
Total	21.4	21.4	21.7	22.3	22.6	21.8

Note: The medians for cohorts 15-19 and 20-24 could not be determined because less than 50 percent of the women had given birth by exact ages 15 and 20, respectively.

4.9 TEENAGE PREGNANCY AND MOTHERHOOD

It is well known that adolescent pregnancy, early childbearing, and motherhood have negative socioeconomic and health consequences. Adolescent mothers are more likely to have complications during labor, which result in higher morbidity and mortality for themselves and their children. Moreover, childbearing during the teenage years frequently has adverse social consequences, particularly on female educational attainment, since women who become mothers in their teens are more likely to curtail education.

Table 4.8 presents the proportion of women age 15-19 (teenagers) who are mothers or pregnant with their first child, by background characteristics. The total proportion of teenagers who have begun childbearing is approximately 6 percent. More than 4 percent of Armenian teenagers are already mothers, and almost 2 percent are pregnant with their first child. As expected, the proportion of young women who have begun childbearing increases rapidly with age, from less than 1 percent among women age 15 to 20 percent of women age 19.

Teenage fertility varies significantly by residence. More than twice as many rural teenagers as urban teenagers have begun childbearing (9 percent versus 4 percent). The data indicate that teenagers residing in Gegharkunik are significantly more likely to have begun their childbearing than teenagers in other regions (16 percent), while teenagers in Kotayk are the least likely (2 percent).

There is a strong negative correlation between early childbearing and educational attainment. For example, four times as many teens with a primary/middle school education have begun childbearing, compared with teens who have a higher education.

Table 4.8 Teenage pregnancy and motherhood

Percentage of women age 15-19 who are mothers or pregnant with their first child, by background characteristics, Armenia 2000

Background characteristic	Percentage who are:		Percentage who have begun child-bearing	Number of teenagers
	Mothers	Pregnant with first child		
Age				
15	0.0	0.1	0.1	236
16	1.0	0.4	1.4	249
17	2.3	0.0	2.3	247
18	5.4	2.7	8.1	213
19	14.7	5.3	20.0	216
Residence				
Urban	3.0	1.0	4.0	688
Rural	6.4	2.5	8.9	473
Region				
Yerevan	2.8	1.4	4.2	393
Aragatsotn	6.5	3.3	9.8	53
Ararat	2.0	2.0	4.0	113
Armavir	8.3	1.2	9.5	94
Gegharkunik	13.7	2.1	15.8	94
Lori	7.6	0.0	7.6	79
Kotayk	2.3	0.0	2.3	98
Shirak	1.1	3.2	4.3	117
Syunik	3.2	0.0	3.2	52
Vayots Dzor	6.8	4.5	11.4	22
Tavush	2.4	2.4	4.8	47
Education				
Primary/middle	7.0	0.9	7.9	263
Secondary	4.4	2.2	6.6	592
Secondary-special	3.2	0.9	4.1	168
Higher	1.0	1.0	2.0	138
Total	4.4	1.6	6.0	1,160