

THE IMPACT OF
LGBT
EMIGRATION ON
ECONOMIC
INDICATORS OF
ARMENIA



CONTENT

Definition of Key Concepts	2
Introduction	4
Project Description	8
Part 1: Factors Contributing to the Emigration of LGBT Persons, Features Consequences	12
General factors stimulating emigration	13
Homophobia and LGBT emigration	16
Factors stimulating the emigration in case of LGBT persons	21
Stimulating factors typical to emigration of LGBT persons	23
Other stimulating factors to the emigration of LGBT persons	34
Ties with Armenia: Remittance	37
The consequences of LGBT emigration	39
Part 2: Economic Effects of Emigration	44
Calculation of loss of investment by society for education	51
Calculation of GDP loss and loss to budget revenue	60
Conclusion and Recommendations	78
The conditions of reducing emigration of LGBT persons	80
Actions aimed at reducing the emigration of LGBT persons	87
Appendix	89
Appendix 1: Types of discrimination in labour market	90

DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Discrimination – a distinction, exception, restriction or preference that has the effect to put a person carrying certain characteristic in a less favourable position.

LGBT – acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans people.

LGBT community – a community of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people united by common interests, problems and goals. It is also composed of various subcommunities, groups and communities.

Sexual orientation – refers to each person's capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with individuals of a different gender or the same gender.

Homosexual (lesbian and gay men) – refers to each person's capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a same gender.

Bisexual – a person emotionally and/or sexually attracted to persons of more than one sex.

Heterosexual – refers to each person's capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender.

Transgender – refers to those trans people who live permanently in their preferred gender, without necessarily needing to undergo any medical intervention(s). In this research it is used as an umbrella term referring to all those people whose gender identity and/or a gender expression differs from the sex they were assigned at birth.

Gender – refers to people's internal perception and experience of maleness and femaleness, and the social construction that allocates certain behaviours into male and female roles which vary across history, societies, cultures and classes. Gender is hence strongly linked to society's expectations and is not exclusively a biological matter.

Gender identity – refers to each person's deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerism.

Sexuality – a complex of each person's biological, mental, behavioral, and social characteristics, which defines a person's identity, behavior, image and role as an individual and a member of society.

Homophobia – irrational fear of, aversion to, or hatred against homosexuality, homosexuals or people perceived as homosexual. In this research the term homophobia applies to a broader concept, including LGBT people and discrimination against LGBT community.

Economic indicator – economic data of macroeconomic scale released by government and non-profit organizations that is used by investors to interpret current or future investment possibilities and evaluate the overall health of an economy.

Gross domestic product (GDP) – a macroeconomic indicator, which reflects market value of all final goods and services produced within the borders of a country in a given year, regardless of nationality.

Purchasing Power Parity, PPP – an economic theory that estimates the amount of adjustment needed on the exchange rate between countries in order for the exchange to be equivalent to each currency's purchasing power.

Remittance – a transfer of money by a foreign worker to an individual in his or her home country.

Emigration – the act of leaving one's own country by force or voluntarily with the intent to settle permanently or temporarily in another country because of political, economic, or other reasons.

Brain drain – Mass emigration process, during which professionals, scientists and high-skilled workers leave the country because of political, economic, religious, or other reasons.

INTRODUCTION

The rates of emigration from Armenia cover wider layers of society day by day: people of different ages, education, social status and other characteristics are leaving the country, which is alarming. As a result, not only the demographic indicators, but also the entire social structure is being exposed to noticeable changes. According to the estimates of different experts, 700,000-1,300,000 people (22-40% of Armenia's 2008 nominal population) left Armenia and settled abroad during 1990-2005 alone. The global economic crisis of 2007-2008 surely had an impact on Armenia's weakened economy as well and, naturally, on tendencies of those emigrating to find better paid jobs abroad. After this economic crisis and the launching of Russian "Compatriots"¹ program, emigration from Armenia flourished. According to some data, around 5000 citizens from Armenia moved to live in Russia². The number of applicants exceeds 25000, while, according to unofficial data, the number reaches 60 thousand³. During 2007-2012, an average of 70 thousand Armenians took part in the "Green Card" lottery to get a chance to settle in the United States⁴. 2216 RA citizens from drawing participants won the diversity visas (Green card) during the years⁵ of 2013-2014.

¹Mission of the Federal Migration Service in the Republic of Armenia
http://fmsarmenia.ru/index.php?cat_id=326

²It is impossible to find updated information in Internet about the number of people who left Armenia with this program, and we did not receive any response neither from queries we sent, nor for the phone calls.

³Russia makes the program terms of "Compatriots" easier (in Armenian)
<http://www.yerkirmedia.am/?id=10085>

⁴There are no clear statistics on how many people leave to USA annually with Green Card Lottery, but the following numbers show Armenians' intentions for emigrating.
http://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/DV_Applicant_Entrants_by_Country_2007-2013.pdf

⁵Over the past two years, more than 2000 citizens of Armenia won Diversity Visa (in Armenian) <http://www.azatutyun.am/content/article/26619299.html>

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Assistant Representative in Armenia Garik Hayrapetyan notes: *"During these 13 years (meaning 2000-2013- ed. group) we have a total of 311 thousand negative balance, that is, we have lost a population of 311 thousand, or more than 10% of our total population."*⁶ According to statistics of international passenger flow, the negative balance has the following image⁷.

2010	2011	2012	2013
-46684	-43820	-42811	-31188

Some experts note that these statistics do not reflect the real situation; that they are understated, and the data for 2013 is even reduced twice.

From the data of a research initiative recording public sentiment⁸, it follows that almost half of the adult population in Armenia (49,6%) expressed a strong or weak stance on emigration as of December 2012, and 35.7% undertook certain steps for it: these are considered potential emigrants.

The quantitative data of emigrants, however, only points out one side of the problem. The qualitative changes taking place in society as a result of it are also important. As a result of the emigration, number of mostly able-bodied citizens with professions and skills, social activism is decreasing in the country. This, along with quantitative indicators, lead to a decrease in the number of public groups with intellectual and social capital that

⁶Civilnet c-ԿԱ&ԱՌ program, see http://civilnet.am/2014/07/22/c-academy-unfpa-garik-hayrapetyan-demographics/#.VEC1B_mSyXp

⁷"The Socio-Economic Condition of Armenia, January-December" 2012, page 138 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_12a_530.pdf and "The Socio-Economic Condition of Armenia, January-December", 2013, page 139 (in Armenian), http://www.armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_13a_520.pdf,

⁸Manukyan S. "The factors of Migration Management in Armenia", 2013, (in Armenian) http://www.soyuzinfo.am/upload/pdf/2013_Migration_Control_Factors.pdf

contain viable and favorable resources for the development of the country. In his public lecture about changes of quality and causes of emigration from Armenia in the last ten years, Garik Hayrapetyan mentions: *"While in the past low-skilled workers were leaving, now well-educated, highly qualified people are leaving, which is a lot more dangerous"*.⁹

In one of the working discussions about demographic indicators of Armenia, where we had an opportunity to participate, senior representatives from several governmental agencies were comparing our situation with the situation in the Western developed or developing countries and were considering processes such as migration, declining birth rates, population ageing, and increase in the marital age natural, considering the latter as manifestations of global tendencies.

Such an inadequate approach seems to be widespread; however, whereas it has no rational justification because the severe differences in socio-economic structures of Armenia and Western countries cannot make the processes taking place in our countries comparable, the causal complex of which is different.

Of course, global tendencies such as the globalized economy have a role in ensuring migratory flows from Armenia. However, emigrants from Armenia are not the workers with freedom of movement who can find their place in different corners of the global economic network by making choices, but a cheap workforce exported from a poor and periphery country, which has a better opportunity to be realized in centers-of-capital. In the given situation, Armenia becomes a country, which acts as resource exporter instead of guiding its internal resources to its own development¹⁰, thus endangering not only its opportunities of development, but also its sovereign existence in general. This, perhaps, should not only be considered important, but it should also be of concern for state policy actors. Yet, emigration is being viewed as a mechanism that supplies the

⁹Civilnet c-ԿԱՃԱՌ program, see http://civilnet.am/2014/07/22/c-academy-unfpa-garik-hayrapetyan-demographics/#.VEC1B_mSyXp

¹⁰The above mentioned is true not only for human resources, but also in terms of raw material resources, but in this case it is especially about human resources.

country with remittance and reduces waves of social discontent, putting quite a positive light on the process of emigration for state actors. This is a short-term and unpromising approach: in terms of economic, social, and political development of the country, managing migration and promotion of anti-emigration factors are a vital necessity for Armenian society.

Taking into account that the factors contributing to the emigration are not only economical, but also connected with political, legal, cultural (normative values) factors, our goal is not only to make the negative impact of mass-emigration, such as economic damages, visible, but also to point out political, legal and cultural opportunities to ease them.

This particularly applies to certain vulnerable groups, especially to LGBT people, whose emigration behavior, in addition of being part of a global trend, has specific features. Many of them are forced to leave their homeland because of the society's discriminatory treatment. As we will see later in the analysis, discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity is widespread in almost all areas of public life (including family, workplace, education and healthcare institutions etc.). With an absence of this discrimination, LGBT people would be less likely to want to leave the country, taking with them their own workforce, professional and other skills, intellectual capacity, financial resources, etc.

Therefore, apart from the overall economic policy, the ease of emigration also requires special approaches with legislative, human rights, informational, and other political tools.

The concerns due to the issue of emigration from Armenia, and as stakeholders of LGBT rights, the specific concerns of this group led us to undertake this project.

Authors' group

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The purpose of this project is to study the impact of LGBT emigration on economic indicators of Armenia during 2011-2013 as a result of discrimination against the LGBT community and to reflect those changes in a long-term perspective.

The project consists of two main parts:

1. Sociological study on LGBT emigration and peculiarities of contributing factors to emigration.
2. Economic assessment on the economic impacts of emigration.

The study objectives are to determine:

1. What the main stimulating factors for emigration from Armenia are.
2. What role the main stimulating factors for emigration have on the behavior and the decision of LGBT persons to emigrate.
3. What specific stimulating factors influence the behavior and decision of LGBT persons to emigrate.
4. The consequences LGBT emigration has in public life.
5. The impact of LGBT emigration caused by existing discrimination against LGBT community on economical losses of Armenia.
6. The impact of discrimination against LGBT persons on the economy in a long-term perspective.
7. How to reduce the volumes of emigration from Armenia by overcoming the stimulating factors of LGBT emigration.

Traditional document analysis and expert survey methods were chosen for obtaining information in scope of the research.

Document analysis method was chosen due to the fact that it allows to examine the changes of economic indicators caused by discrimination

against LGBT persons for a chosen period of time and to reflect those changes in a long-term perspective.

Due to the lack of studies about the LGBT community, we have a situation where only experts from different spheres (psychologists, sexologists, human rights defenders / advocates, doctors, etc.) are aware of some aspects of social behavior of LGBT people. Among the problems included are the sentiments of LGBT emigration, the cases of applying to emigration and their motivations (e.g., because of discrimination based on sexual orientation and / or gender identity). Therefore, experts are becoming the core sources of information, whose assessments on LGBT community are the only grounded data.

The sociological part of our research is based on the method of focused (semi-structured) interviews with such experts, which allowed to understand emigration sentiments, decisions, features, and factors contributing to the decision of self-identified LGBT persons (persons who consider themselves as LGBT).

The experts have been chosen by their professional sectors, by the criteria of contacts' circle size and intensity of communications with LGBT persons. A total of 15 core informer-experts were surveyed.

As an additional method, secondary data analysis of expert assessments and already carried out researches have been applied, particularly to find answers to questions related to the general picture of emigration from Armenia.

Considering the purpose of the research and the proposed problems, it is appropriate to carry out economic statistical analysis (inductive analysis of data and economic indicators), as the required information for this research can only be obtained with analysis of already published statistical and economic reports in the spheres of interest of the research. Based on it, the indicators obtained from results of the study can be replicated (projected) throughout the economy with the use of the inductive method.

During the economic analysis, the following four indicators have been considered: expenditure on education, income not generated, GDP not

generated and revenues not acquired by the budget calculated per single emigrant of average demographic figures in 2011-2013, at dollar parity as of January 1st, 2014, considering also the need to secure correspondence for making international comparisons (Armenia's Purchasing Power Parity – PPP). Predictions are also made in the end for the values of those figures, given the maintenance of current trends.

The quantitative data on LGBT people in RA is missing, and in the scales of Armenia the image of LGBT percentage is unclear.

Within our project, during the economic calculations we will use the calculations of an average of 5% based on studies done since the beginning of the 20th century and measurements on the Western experience, which are ongoing¹¹ (data in the researches detecting the percentage of LGBT persons vary from country to country and year to year, usually 4-6%, 7-10%, and 12-15% are indicated).

Limitations and obstacles of LGBT issues study

The study related to issues regarding LGBT persons is difficult throughout the world, including Armenia, where the matter of sexuality is extremely sensitive, and sexual orientations other than heterosexuality are taboo. There are no studies done in Armenia on the total number of LGBT persons. Moreover, it is hard to imagine the possibility of obtaining reliable results even in case of such study. Firstly, this problem is associated with LGBT self-perception, and secondly, with concealing their own sexual orientation because of the fear to be labeled "abnormal", as well as to become a subject of discrimination and violence. All research attempts done in Armenia only refer to self-perceived LGBT group, who are a part of the community to some extent, and/or those who have become subjected

¹¹Details about the researches can be found in the following websites:
<http://www.kinseyinstitute.org/research/ak-data.html#homosexuality>;
<http://www.svoboda.org/content/article/24744323.html>

to some type of discrimination, a victim of violence, and thus became beneficiaries of non-governmental organizations working in the sphere of human rights or LGBT issues. Therefore, researches on LGBT issues mainly concern the LGBT community and/or persons who perceive themselves as LGBT.

Part 1

THE FEATURES OF FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE EMIGRATION OF LGBT PERSONS

GENERAL FACTORS STIMULATING EMIGRATION

The situation concerning the emigration from Armenia has many interrelated causes and factors. On a large scale, the main issues are factors which are over 25 years old: the collapse of the Soviet Union, the earthquake in 1988, war and post-war situation, the economical crisis, deindustrialization, ineffective management, severe polarization, the decrease of intellectual resources, social injustice and sense of insecurity, moral situation. The aforementioned factors are directly linked to all social institutions, such as mass media, educational institutions, family, church, the functioning of institutions of state power and / or problems with their policies.

Some experts, combining the effects of Armenia's foreign and domestic problems, distinguish the following factors, which serve as specific reasons for migration flow:

1. The small labor market in the Republic of Armenia, limitation of professional growth, the labor intensity, high levels of unemployment, low wages, which do not lead to a decent lifestyle and average adequate standard of living even for the employed.
2. The Nagorno-Karabakh perpetual conflict resolution, long-term absence of a sense of security (especially among people living in border areas).
3. The lack of political governance, corruption and a high degree of impunity of the ruling elite, lack of the vision for government policies, opposition weakness, uncertainty over the future of the country.
4. Human rights (civil, economic, political, etc.) violations, lack of social justice, legal, social and psychological protection, discrimination against vulnerable groups.
5. Poor quality and inaccessibility of health services in case of life threatening diseases.

Numerous studies of public opinion also show the growing scale of emigration in the society, and enumeration of the latter confirms and complements the above experimental evaluations once more.

Hence, according to the Caucasus Research Resource Center (CRRC) "Caucasus Barometer" annual survey in 2013, 31% of respondents desired for permanent emigration, and 61%¹² were willing to leave the country temporarily. According to the same research group, the permanent emigration sentiment in 2009 was 21%, in 2010 - 26%, in 2011 - 23%; in 2012 it was again 26%. It is noteworthy that the percentage of respondents who have a close friend and family member / relative outside Armenia has increased by 20 percent during 2010-2013, which is showing the real rates of emigration increase.

S. Manukyan's article "The factors of Migration Management"¹³ mentions higher indicators of permanent emigration. According to it, *"In December, 2012 about half of the adult population in Armenia, 49.6 percent, had stance for permanent emigration [strong or weak]. Moreover, the third of all respondents, 35.7 percent, were undertaking steps to leave the country"*. Compared to earlier massive sociological research data among Armenian young people aged 18-30 in December 2011, the author notes that 37.5% of the proportion of young people planning to emigrate had risen to 58% by December 2012. That is to say that the stance for emigration has strongly increased in a period of one year. About half of Armenian young people were eager to leave the country at that time.

By observing the stances towards emigration in a number of other socio-demographic criteria, which are the different types of residences, respondents' education levels, marital status, number of children in the family, and the quantity of generations in the family, S. Manukyan notes that they did not differ significantly from each other, which means that the

¹²See

http://www.crrc.am/hosting/file/_static_content/barometer/2013/CB%202013_Public%20Presentation_Armenian.pdf (in Armenian)

¹³The article is of interest to us in terms of research data, however, the political recommendations derived from it are questionable for us.

attitudes of emigration have systemic nature. Being a systemic problem, there are a number of factors, which can be seen especially in indication of reasons. Thus, having several options to answer, the 82.4% of the respondents mentioned *socio-economic reasons* and 45% mentioned *psychosocial reasons*. Among the most frequently encountered expressions the following interpretations were the most common: *"There is no future for me and for my children in this country", "I want to live in a civilized country."* In other words, under the study named *"psychosocial reasons"* at least the 2nd, 3rd, and the 4th of the above points were recorded.

According to the same survey, among persons who had the lowest satisfaction of their economic status, the stance of emigration is 60%, and among those whose satisfaction with their family's economic status is the highest, the stance of emigration is 42%, that is to say that *"The perception of the economic status of the family is the essential factor in emigration, but "even if the satisfied family's economic condition will be an effectively realized factor, it will reduce the potential for emigration, the number of those who want to emigrate will be 42%, which is also very high."* Consequently, in addition to significant economic factors, *psychosocial reasons* mentioned by 45% of survey respondents are also very essential. *"Therefore, they also need a separate solution, regardless of the actions taken in the economic policy of the country."* Note that with time, social and psychological reasons tend to increase due to the lack of legal, social and psychological positive changes, lack of human rights protection, non-discrimination, and opportunities for self-actualization.

HOMOPHOBIA AND LGBT EMIGRATION

The lack of human rights protection, the absence of opportunities for non-discriminatory self-actualization as an emigration factor first of all refers to the society's most vulnerable groups, including LGBT people. Thorough qualitative studies concerning emigration issues of specific vulnerable groups in Armenia are not known, but there is data from a monitoring¹⁴ conducted by "Public Information and Need of Knowledge" in September-October 2012, which contains some information about LGBT emigration sentiments¹⁵.

Thus, according to the above mentioned survey, 86 out of 111 people surveyed were intending to permanently leave the country (see Figure 1). The most reported reason for leaving the country is "being discriminated based on their sexual orientation and gender identity" (60 people). The second most mentioned reason is the "noncompliance between personal values and the norms accepted in the country" (57 people). The third most mentioned reason was "Limitation of self-determination and freedom" (56 people). All the main reasons are directly connected to the issue of human rights, individual freedom, and self-realization with an insufficient degree. The factor "Social-economic conditions of the country" was in the fourth place for 111 LGBT respondents (53 people).

The fact that LGBT individuals intend to emigrate because of discrimination, especially forever (first of all it is about self-identified LGBT people), our experts, who were requested to comment on this matter, also

¹⁴See "Monitoring of Human Rights Violations of LGBT People", Armenia, 2013
<http://issuu.com/pinkarmenia/docs/lgbtmonitoring/>

¹⁵LGBT people are hard-to-access in Armenia; quantitative characteristics of the community are missing, thus making it impossible to conduct sample representative surveys with them. That is why the research does not meet the representativeness requirement of quantitative surveys. However, the accessibility of respondents was ensured with the "snowball" method, and this study contains quite reliable information about general tendencies.

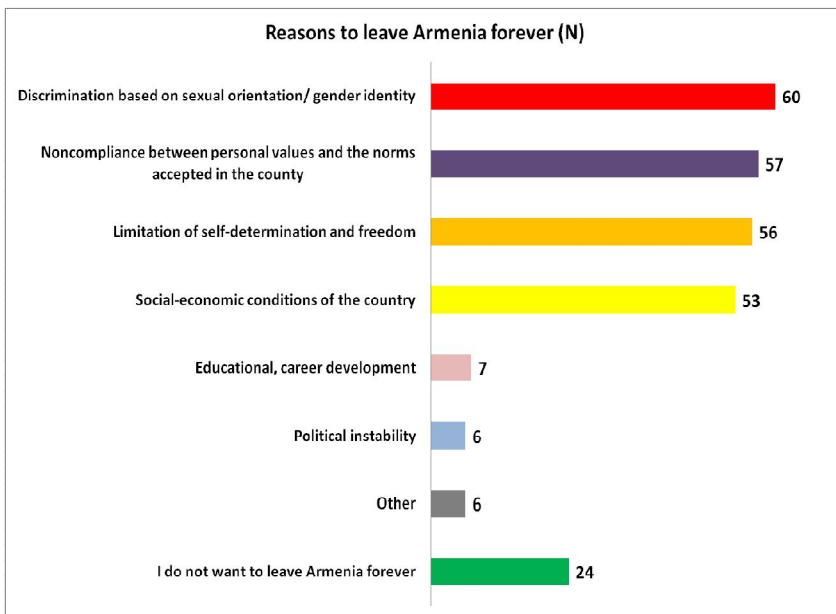
confirmed: *"Those who leave wish not to come back", "I want to leave, Armenia is not a place to live, I do not see my future here."* The number of people saying such things is high; I would not exaggerate if I say 60-70%. Among my acquaintances that number can even reach 80%."

Experts note that there are also some cases of people returning to Armenia, especially among LGBT youth who have left for western countries with educational purposes. However, this group often undertakes some actions in order to leave the country or, at least, has such aspirations.

This tendency of permanent emigration is related to the structure of emigration-stimulating factors of this social group.

If in general the primary cause of emigration for Armenians are the socio-economic problems followed by security and psychosocial problems, among the LGBT people the reasons for emigrating are like an upside down pyramid. According to one of the experts "Heterosexuals are leaving in order to earn money abroad, money going into the first place; and the primary cause of LGBT people is to have freedom and to live in peace". This means that those who leave only because of the socio-economic conditions may return in the future with hope that their country's economic situation will change for the better, while people with psychosocial, physical and legal insecurity issues, cultural pressure, and controversial values, such as LGBT people, cannot do so. They'll return only when public values will be changed, and some hope of reformed policies will be maintained.

Chart 1¹⁶



According to one of our experts, whose circle of LGBT acquaintances is about 1100 people, 80 LGBT who have left the country with an intention of permanent leave during the last 3 years haven't returned. One of the experts who does LGBT rights advocacy notes that only during the last month 13 LGBT people have left Armenia, and from January 2014 to July 2014 almost 70 LGBT people have left for European countries.

This position is based on the existing homophobia in society, which is common in almost all social groups. Thus, for example, "Public attitudes towards LGBT people in Yerevan, Gyumri, Vanadzor" survey done in 2011 shows that 70.9% of respondents believe that these are strange people, and 97.4% are confident that the phenomenon is deviation and should be

¹⁶The chart is cited from "Monitoring of Human Rights Violations of LGBT People Armenia". The study was conducted during September-October 2012 by PINK Armenia NGO. See <http://issuu.com/pinkarmenia/docs/lgbtmonitoring/>

condemned by society.¹⁷ According to data by the "Caucasus Barometer 2011" held by CRRC, 97% of the Armenian population does not approve of homosexuality¹⁸, and "social cohesion" survey results show that 95% of the population would not want to have a homosexual neighbor¹⁹. Inherited from the Soviet times (homosexuality was criminalized), the cultural homophobia is regularly reinforced by the political elites' statements²⁰condemning it, even though homosexuality is not legally prosecuted. According to one of the experts *"We are dealing with a state-sponsored homophobia. When DIY was firebombed, some public figures and speakers legitimized and justified it in every possible way."* The power of this system is the carrier of homophobia. "Amnesty International" 2013 report entitled "There is no place for diversity in Armenia" reports about discrimination of LGBT people and hate crime cases, the unwillingness of the authorities to protect them, as well as attacks and harassment on activists, journalists, and human rights defenders²¹. "Public Information and Need of Knowledge" also reports on this issue in various publishings, and the "LGBT rights situation in Armenia 2013 "annual report in 2014 noted that Armenia is backsliding, as intolerant views are heard now more often and state officials turn a blind eye to violence against LGBT people, representing it in the context of "national values"²².

Indeed, some experts also note positive changes compared to Soviet times, such as the visibility of the LGBT community in Armenia. Because of that, in

¹⁷Public opinion toward LGBT people in Yerevan, Gyumri and Vanadzor cities
<http://issuu.com/pinkarmenia/docs/lgbtsurveyen/>

¹⁸Caucasus Barometer 2011 Armenia- JUSHOMO: Justified or not - Homosexuality (%) <http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/cb2011am/JUSHOMO/>

¹⁹Social Cohesion Survey <http://www.crrc.am/research-and-surveys/completed-projects/social-cohesion-survey?lang=en>

²⁰On this regard, see the reports about bombing of DIY in 2012, such as http://issuu.com/pinkarmenia/docs/2013_annual_report_eng/ (page 4)

²¹ Armenia: No space for difference

<http://amnesty.org/en/library/asset/EUR54/002/2013/en/6d6a852f-6494-4ef5-bc13-1373f154e0de/eur540022013en.pdf>

²²For more details see Annual Review: "Human Rights Situation of LGBT People", Armenia, 2013 http://issuu.com/pinkarmenia/docs/2013_annual_report_eng/

contrast to the older generation, young people are able to render assistance, access to the services of specialized NGOs, and they are more secure and express their sexuality more freely. But by and large, homophobia is still deeply rooted in the society. The research conducted among the helping professions²³ in Armenia shows that even the professionals whose job it is to provide appropriate services for all members of society equally are intolerant and have discriminatory attitudes towards LGBT people²⁴. One of the experts interviewed emphasized that even many human rights activists are homophobes.

²³“Helping professions” is a collective term which involves all professions aiming to support people, to understand and interpret their behavior, to disclose their needs and to overcome the problems theoretically and practically. These specializations include social work, social pedagogy, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, pedagogy, etc.

²⁴Karamyan L. “Armenian helping professionals about homosexuality and LGBT community: the level of awareness and attitude”

FACTORS STIMULATING THE EMIGRATION IN CASE OF LGBT PERSONS

It is noteworthy that the above-mentioned emigration-stimulating general factors work not only for LGBT, but are also specifically displayed within homophobic context. For example, the labor market problems have more severe impact on LGBT people, not only because of the high intensity of competition, but also because of the discriminatory attitudes towards them. Many interviewed experts point out cases of rejection or dismissal from work on the grounds of discrimination towards LGBT people²⁵. *"A gay person who used to work in the next door salon was concealing his identity, and everything was normal. But he was fired as soon as his colleague told about him."*

Some experts notice that, apart from existing problems, there are separate areas, communities, and organizations where homophobia is at minimum level, and where LGBT people can easily have a job or be integrated. These fields include artists, writers' community, design, modeling, show business, academic circles, international non-governmental organizations, and some restaurants and bars opened by foreign investment. *"I have noticed that there are some managers of local restaurants that are very open to allowing gays to work."* On the other hand, such places are rare and do not provide full protection. That is to say, even if gay people get a job, it does not guarantee safe environment for them to live in. When sexual orientation or gender identity is exposed, blackmail, mockery, shame, and threat of being laughed at will always remain.

The lack of quality in health care services generally serves as another incentive for emigration, which is more significant in the case of LGBT individuals. LGBT individuals often avoid visiting health care institutions in order to stay away from stigma and discrimination, which consequently results in worsening of the disease (note that it also affects the overall

²⁵Also see the examples from the section "Fear of loss and loss of social status".

level of public health). For this reason, as well as conditioned by vulnerability towards some diseases due to sexual behavior, LGBT people are often forced to emigrate based on the need for health care services.

"You know that LGBT people are more vulnerable towards various diseases and it doesn't necessarily need to be sexually transmitted disease. Their health problems are solved more easily abroad, which makes it one of the important reasons for emigration prospects, and it makes the process even easier."

STIMULATING FACTORS TYPICAL TO EMIGRATION OF LGBT PERSONS

Within a heteronormative cultural context, LGBT persons are not only confronted with common problems in the country (faced by other citizens as well), but also with numerous specific interrelated problems, which become substantial and primary enhancers in making a decision for emigration. Let us address these problems by separating them conditionally.

Threats to the physical security and non-protection from the state

The interviewed experts describe many examples of physical threats against LGBT people, such as attempt to commit arson, arson to property or house, ejection from parents' home, beating, and other forms of violence. LGBT persons face these threats in family, public places, educational and healthcare institutions, private sector, law enforcement agencies, army, etc. In fact, many of LGBT persons are subjected to physical threats in connection with any institution (even from the institutions that are meant to protect them in every sphere of public life, which pushes to the decision and action of leaving the country.

“There is one guy who had really serious problems in the university; he had been subjected to discrimination numerous times. He wasn't very expressive in appearance, but you could tell he was different, and he tried to look different. The other students were often saying “you're gay”, and were mocking him; and once they also beat him in the street. Even the professors were talking behind him. He left the country to study abroad and decided to stay there forever.”

“4 transvestites wanted to leave long ago: their primary reason for leaving was their wish to live in a more tolerant society. They were constantly being cursed at and degraded in the street. It was happening all the time, and even if they were in male clothes outside in the mornings, it was all still

obvious from them. And they also had such clients (because the latter were also sex workers) who put their life in danger”.

“There are also many problems in connection with army: the exemption from compulsory military service, cases of violence, humiliations, degrading treatment during the military service. I have witnessed myself during my work, how a guy was isolated and locked in a cell, and no one went to see him. The conditions were so bad: cold, moist, that the guy became ill. I went there to examine someone else, and that’s when I saw that guy. The way he was treated was beyond words inhumane: no one went to see him, they wouldn’t bring him food, he had a high temperature, and no one did anything about it. If I didn’t go there to examine the other soldier, perhaps he could just die there.”

“I know a doctor who says “If a gay person came to me, I would try to make him die”.”

The public incident that received attention in regards to physical security was the firebombing of DIY bar on May 8, 2012, and the writings at the entrance of the bar with threats of retribution against the owner regarding her sexual orientation and the fact that the bar was LGBT friendly. The “Diversity march”, which was interpreted as a "gay parade", also received hate speech and expressions of aggression on homophobic basis on May 21st, 2012.

These incidents became a litmus test for homophobic sentiments in Armenia and subject for manipulations for domestic political purposes the days following the National Assembly elections and on the eve of presidential elections. Some politicians, including politicians from the current ruling party, came up with statements supporting the bombings of DIY bar and the attackers. Subsequently, the judicial process, as well, did not ensure sufficient accents with regards to LGBT rights²⁶.

Some experts claim, that the absence of necessary actions to be undertaken by the state and legal institutions to protect LGBT citizens and

²⁶For more details see Annual Review: “Human Rights Situation of LGBT People”, Armenia, 2013 http://issuu.com/pinkarmenia/docs/2013_annual_report_eng/

the support of hatred towards LGBT persons during these events became factors of fear aggravations for LGBT persons, especially those who had a direct connection with DIY and stimulated the growth of emigration sentiments.

“When DIY pub was bombed, LGBT persons began to feel more defenseless and vulnerable, and it was absolutely clear that as long as there is political hate speech and hatred directed by state officials, they will not feel safe in Armenia. From time to time this tendency is increasing or weakening with regard to the overall situation in the country.”

Considering her own security and security of her close ones, the owner of DIY bar emigrated after the incident, seeking asylum in Sweden. Some experts bring other examples of emigration as a result of this event: *“There’s another guy that left after the case of DIY, because it was especially hard for him, he had a direct connection with DIY and had serious difficulties with even finding a job, problems in the family, with relatives, in the street, and as a result he left the country permanently.”*

Although during the usual “peaceful” times the cases of causing serious physical harm to LGBT persons are not massive, the constant and very likely threat of it exists at any time. With defenseless conditions provided by the state and legal institutions, the threats and danger often motivate LGBT people to emigrate.

“There, I know that if you pass in the street and someone derides you, calls you homo, you can apply to law enforcement bodies, and they will protect you. It is not the same here. If you go to the police station with the same situation, they do nothing; they will accept a bribe from the abuser and tell you “well, you’re gay, they called you gay, so they’re right”.”

“Actually, Armenia is not the only one; it does not differ a lot from other countries: you’re not safe anywhere when you’re LGBT. Armenia is different only in the sense that the laws do not protect the person. In France you will be protected by law. If, for example, you are beaten, you can achieve some result with the case, sue them, but in Armenia all that does not happen. We cannot say that LGBT persons leave Armenia because they get beaten, as in

France they get beaten as well. The thing is that in France their case will proceed and they will restore justice; their rights are better protected there, than in Armenia.”

Therefore, LGBT emigration, besides the presence of number of problems, also reveals the fact of inactivity of the state in solving these problems: *“And, of course, in these high rates of emigration every person is of a great price and is a great loss. And if people emigrate because of the lack of justice, it is a greater loss, because it turns out that emigration is happening due to the choice of the state.”*

Family rejection or a fear of rejection by family

According to the assessments of many experts, LGBT persons receive the most severe strokes in means of psychological and social aspects when being rejected by their own family. Often the only way to solve family conflicts is emigration under any pretext.

“A gay guy was driven out from the house, and he had to temporary live at his friend’s house. Then he collected money with many difficulties, LGBT community helped him with some funds, he received visa, left for Germany and never came back.”

“One was sent abroad by his/her mother, to live with relatives, knowing that there he/she will be accepted: “you have nothing to do here, I don’t have a child anymore, and my last motherly action is that I send you away there.”

“...The reason was that his brother-in-law found out about his homosexual orientation and sent her (his wife) back to the family, saying “your brother is gay”. And after that conflicts began in their house: “It was not enough you destroyed our family, now you are destroying your sister’s family”. That’s why his only salvation was to run away, disappearing, so they would forget about him.”

Family problems make LGBT persons twice more vulnerable. From one side, an LGBT person who needs moral and psychological support and is deprived of family support immediately appears in a highly unfavorable

and depressed condition. On the other hand, with the rise of family conflicts, with disruption of primary social relations, an LGBT person also forfeits from socio-economic relations and capital, making him/her more vulnerable by reducing the opportunities for obtaining education and social status.

“He was thrown out from home after the family revealed his sexual orientation. He didn’t want to stay in Armenia, because he had a conflict with family. The family agreed to finance him for leaving the country. They considered it was a shame for relatives and close ones... The boy was 19 years old. He did not even go to university, as the connection was broken so long ago, that there was no one to finance him to get education.”

“T. was studying here in medical university, and was studying well... When parents found out about his orientation, the situation was dramatically worsened for him: despite the fact that he was already 21, parents were taking him to university, then home. Then, some time later they somewhat relented, he was able to work, and did bad things as well, took money from the banks and left without returning... He could be a good dermatovenerologist, but he didn’t finish his education, and everything was broken in him just because of that reason.”

“One was saying recently: “My parents got to know about me, and began to feel disgusted by me. They don’t want to see me anymore; they don’t want to eat with me, as if I have an infectious disease.”

LGBT persons who had received education before conflicts happened with the family have an advantage in avoiding further conflicts with family by taking the opportunity to leave Armenia under the pretext of continuing the education in the West. And one of the major pressures in the family is the requirement to get married. Regardless whether an LGBT person conceals or reveals his or her sexual orientation and identity, this is a problem that every LGBT person faces at a certain stage of life.

“When you cannot get away from the family, you’re told that you have to get married. In this case the method to study abroad is more common: it helps to be away from the family and have dialogue during that time.

Family problems are quite difficult. There are many people, who are open to friends, but not to the family; they are afraid it will go beyond that narrow circle."

Restriction of free self-expression and identity recognition, isolation, psychological pressures

Everyday homophobic, intolerant discourse and ridicule in expressed differences pursue LGBT persons everywhere. They cause psychological pressure, and the urge to get rid of them also leads to the sentiments and decision to emigrate.

"Being unaccepted is a reason for emigration: "in the best" case they are considered ill, and in the most extreme cases they are considered distorted, spoiled, perverted people."

"They are not accepted, and isolated. For example, there's a girl in my son's class, who wears male clothes, and behaves like a boy. And there's a problem right from the side of the class teacher: she makes the girl sit separately, so she can tell to other parents: "Well, the girl does not have a father, so that's what was supposed to happen", so they build over the girl whatever they like."

"Once I met a guy in the elevator, who was a little feminine. There were also two other men in the elevator, and I felt a pressure from them towards the guy: they were speaking some things, making fun of the guy. And I'm convinced, that the guy faces such treatment every day."

"Maybe you don't get pressured directly, but in one way or another you deal with it every day, you feel that the pressure exists, even on television or in the street, when you see the posters of "One Nation" which claim to condemn "homo-addiction"; and it is also a pressure. Yes, escape from that violent, abusive society, it can happen, one may want to leave."

It is remarkable that despite the positive tendencies towards different details (e.g. tattoo or piercing) and behaviour in Yerevan during recent years, cultural intolerance continues to be a problem, and it is not only

targeting LGBT persons, but it is common regardless of sexual orientation and gender identity.

"Here, if you differ even a little bit from the whole, you become "a white raven" and it becomes hard for you; you cannot communicate. Human is a social creature, right? And he/she needs people, feels the need for friendship. And here, if a person does not have that opportunity, he/she wants to emigrate, right? Here one needs to fit in a common framework, and if you stray a bit, you stay alone. And loneliness is one of the problems in life. It does not matter if you're an LGBT, or not. If you differ from the rest, you have to pay the price."

Almost all LGBT persons are forced to conceal their sexual orientation and gender identity in order to avoid public condemnation and humiliation.

"I know people who had jobs and money, but they left. I believe that they all leave for freedom, to find freedom there; there is no freedom here. If you'd want to be free here, you'll be persecuted with insulting comments and actions."

"There is a notion in Asian societies that if one has authority, then (s)he has the right to have sex, no matter if it's a homosexual relation or not. Therefore, if you have authority, you don't have a problem. And other LGBT persons, who do not have authority, they cannot express themselves."

In some extreme cases LGBT persons turn to refusal from sex life in general, which later leads to physical and psychological problems. Many find the solution to this problem in emigration.

"A left the country because of being gay even though nobody suspected his sexuality. He didn't let himself to even have sexual intercourse secretly either with girls, or with boys. And he covered it with religious motives, alleging that he was all into religion and didn't want a girlfriend or anything else. He was already 26; he was starting to have mental disorders. The reason was that he didn't want anyone to know about his sexual orientation and didn't try anything at all, even secretly. He was thinking that he would only have a private life away from this country. And that's why he left his job: he was a restaurant manager, working in his profession,*

and had a good milieu. He had a promising bright future here, but he left everything. Just because of the fact that he couldn't have a private life here, he left the country; and now he already has a boyfriend there."

"I know a married gay guy, who emigrated with his wife, and they keep on living together, but he felt more comfortable to live away from Armenia. Maybe his wife knows about the husband, or maybe they came to some consensus. But anyway, they feel more comfortable away from Armenia rather than in Armenia. LGBT persons want to leave to breathe some air."

Fear of loss and loss of social status

The impossibility of self-expression is directly related to high probability and fear of loss of achieved social status, job, respect, and friends of LGBT persons.

"And as for the status in society, then it is only possible if you conceal your sexual orientation. Otherwise you will lose your status. That's what the public attitude is. There was a guy who was gay and was working as a cook; and when one day the manager found out about him being gay, he was dismissed and beaten so hard, that he ended up in a hospital. We just helped him escape from the country; and now he lives in Brussels."

"B was a good specialist and now has a good job abroad, he lives well. The reason to leave the country was that he wanted to live a free life, and he couldn't do it here. He thought that revealing his identity could make him lose his job, and that he wouldn't enjoy the good reputation among scientists. So the guy concealed it until the end and had a great success, so he could easily adapt abroad as well."*

"I know someone, who works in customs service, and earns 1million AMD. He's gay, but he conceals the fact, and if they find it out, he will immediately be fired. There are LGBT persons having such positions and salaries in legal, medical, political spheres, in banking system; I know at least 4 of them. They all conceal their sexual orientation."

Monetary blackmail and other pressures

As we saw in previous paragraphs, non-disclosure and being hidden, as public pressure forces, still does not protect LGBT persons from various problems. Because many LGBT persons conceal their sexual orientation and gender identity in their primary milieu: family, relatives, neighborhood, neighbors, workplace, the fear of disclosure becomes a “weapon” in the hands of many, including law enforcement bodies. It becomes a subject of monetary blackmail or a mean for restricting the freedom of speech and civic activism.

“About two years ago policemen were often blackmailing gay people; they would come and tell that they knew they were gay, and wanted money, so they wouldn’t tell the family, neighbors, or in the neighborhood.”

“Even I, being a relatively visible activist, have many problems at home, even though everyone in the family knows about me except my father. But they are always afraid that maybe someone can call, and I can tell something at some point; they are afraid I might speak a lot or tell too much.”

Armenia's foreign policy and integration processes, risk of increasing pressures, and activation of homophobic discourse

The majority of interviewed experts explain the recent increasing emigration rates and sentiments within LGBT persons due to failure of European integration processes and RA authorities’ decision to join the Customs Union (later on, Eurasian Economic Union).

“Joining the Customs Union can become a reason: big political projects can create a big wave of emigration.”

“Although the Western countries do not provide asylum that easily, and the conditions there are not that favorable, still, a large flow of emigration is noticeable among LGBT persons. And I think it’s due to Armenia’s statement about joining the Customs Union, because the countries within that Union have a clearly negative attitude towards LGBT persons and these topics. I’ve recently heard a statement, according to which joining

Customs Union does not only assume economic integration, but also cultural values; thus, after joining the union, the situation for LGBT persons in Armenia will become worse.”

In order to ensure the legitimacy of decisions to refuse European integration and integrate with Russian political projects, Armenia’s heteronormative cultural values are being actively manipulated, and homophobic discourse is being raised and developed. For example, it happened during RA National Assembly discussions on the drafted law on “Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women”. Homophobic statements and the activation of such discourse are being supported by pro-Russian political advocates, conservative groups in Armenia, and by the Armenian apostolic church servants. Moreover, the latter often simply coincide.

In these conditions of political agenda, LGBT persons and their rights advocates are concerned about the threat of criminalization of homosexuality “propaganda” with Russia’s example, especially since the RA Police had attempted drafting this law in August, 2013²⁷, before making the statement about the decision of joining the Customs Union. According to experts’ predictions, the accession to the Customs Union in the near future and practical persecutions or legal restrictions against LGBT persons will further lead to higher emigration rates not only among LGBT persons. Political and state repressions against LGBT persons often become an opportunity and reason for non-LGBT persons for simplified emigration process to the West.

“When DIY was firebombed, or when the police introduced some “anti-gay” law, and our Kremlin clowns were trying to do the same thing Putin did in Russia, the problem of emigration intensified here not only for LGBT persons, but for the general public.”

“If this discrimination gets legal basis, the harassments against LGBT persons will grow, and the rates of emigration will thereby increase. For

²⁷For more details see Annual Review: “Human Rights Situation of LGBT People”, Armenia, 2013 http://issuu.com/pinkarmenia/docs/2013_annual_report_eng/

example, the process of providing asylum to LGBT persons from Russia was simplified in Europe. I believe something similar will be done for Armenia as well, if we have discriminatory legislations like Russia does. I remember that even in the 90s, when homosexuality was criminalized, it was really easy to leave Armenia for that reason. Many (including my neighbors), even not being LGBT, used that reason to leave. The same thing will happen now. If the prosecution becomes stronger, it will be easier to emigrate. And in this case not only LGBT will take advantage of the opportunity, but everyone will leave. Discrimination harms not only LGBT people, but also others, and it is problematic in means of emigration. And in the end oligarchs, a group of activists and, slaves will be left in the country.”

Generalizing the above mentioned factors and examples, it can be claimed that the existing homophobia in the Armenian culture and all the problems related with primary social institutions (family, education, military service, workplace, rights, church, and state) often aspire LGBT persons to emigrate -the only way left to “escape”. One of the experts quotes the following words from an LGBT person: *“The problems abroad are the same as they are here. But just the fact that you can walk in the street hand in hand with your boyfriend and no one will kill you for that, the fact that you can live with your boyfriend, and when neighbors find it out, no one will burn your house, the fact that you can go to a gay club without a fear when entering or going out, is enough to go abroad and overcome the problems there.”*

OTHER STIMULATING FACTORS TO THE EMIGRATION OF LGBT PERSONS

Besides the Armenian heteronormative culture and stimulating factors caused by homophobia, there are also other factors specific to LGBT emigration, which can be considered “calling” factors of hosting countries in contrast to the above-mentioned negative evacuative Armenian factors.

A quest for a happy life, decent old ages

The experts note that the motivation of young LGBT emigrators is to access the pleasures in life, while emigrants of mature age look for happiness by building a stable life, having a life partner - spouse, and a “normal” job.

“Youth goes to enjoy life, because the life that an LGBT person needs does not exist here. Pleasures for an LGBT person here are few; if you look at it as for general youth, it seems you have nothing to do, and what does the youth need? They don't have it here, that's why they leave.”

“The community in Armenia is relatively small, and I've even heard from some people that the opportunities to choose a partner are not that big. There was a gay boy, who was saying: “I cannot find a partner I like”. Therefore, being abroad, the range of choices expands.”

“There are reasons related to private life; they want long and free relationships, because there is something here, but not a full freedom. They're not poor, they don't live in bad conditions, but they want to live a better life, have better clothing, go to better places, feel free, have rest after work, and have a better future. They want to be sure that they can use normal healthcare services and insurance when they're sick or that there will be someone to take care of them when they get older and stay alone. They started thinking about all those things as well.”

“They think about what they are going to do when they get older, how they are going to live. At least they will get married there... The problem of marriage makes people leave.”

“Gay people mostly go to find a job; they think that some will find out about them, and they cannot work, and they don’t have that problem there. And in case of trans people, it is mostly the problem of building a future. The majority of them, who are involved in sex work here, cannot do anything when they get 40-50 years old. Here you lose your family, relatives, everyone finds out about you, and it is a big label. Transgender persons usually leave, thinking about the future; at least they will have a place to live there.”

Sex reassignment surgery

Sex reassignment surgery is a complex procedure and it requires highly qualified specialists. Two experts mentioned cases of emigration for such surgical intervention: *“I know people who left Armenia for the reason of sex reassignment surgery.”* Besides, there are also legal issues related to it: there is no law prohibiting or permitting changing documents after sex reassignment surgeries.

Intercommunal "tendencies"

The existence of social resources in means of those already emigrated is another stimulating factor, which makes it easier for other community members to emigrate.

Mutual assistance and encouragement inside the community contribute to increasing flows in this regard.

“There’s also one psychological thing here, that when many people you know leave, then call and say that their conditions are perfect there. They don’t tell what the reality is, that there is a language barrier, that the future is hazy. They say that there are good gay prides, where they can take part in. Here the gay person thinks “What do I have to lose?” And that’s why the flows increase.”

“The opportunities to leave have increased, and the knowledge of foreign languages contributes to it, which could be an obstacle in the past, the existence of community member they know in other countries also

contributes to it, because when one-two people leave, they call others as well. And that, of course, contributes to the decision making of emigrating.”

It is important to note that some of the experts mentioned examples of immigration of LGBT individuals from the Diaspora. However, these are rare cases, and only a few of them settle in Armenia; usually they leave after living here for 1-2 years. The importance of the presence of these people is conditioned by the fact (talking about immigrants from Western countries), that they are more open about revealing their sexuality, which paves the way for the locals.

“At the same time I notice immigration of LGBT persons. There are many people, who have been born and raised in another country, but they come to Armenia, and they feel better here, they get along with the local community and try to make connections. That is an interesting tendency. It probably talks about the fact that Armenian families abroad do not accept the issue.”

“But there’s an interesting tendency that people who were not raised in Armenia come from abroad and try to do some activism here, to support these issues somehow, to talk openly about themselves.”

TIES WITH ARMENIA: REMITTANCE

As we can see in paragraphs above, LGBT persons mostly tend to leave the country, which is especially related to the nature of reasons for their emigration. Emigration, regardless of the excuse, is often becoming the only mean of escape from the oppressive or condemning family, violent society, and the state that left them unprotected. In its turn, it implies on certain features of preserving connections with relatives left in Armenia. The interviewed experts note that due to the reasons of emigrating, severed family ties, low financial opportunities of LGBT persons resulting from the refugee status in the host countries and other reasons, the economic ties of LGBT persons with their families are on average weaker than in the cases of non-LGBT individuals. Thus, even if LGBT persons continue to keep certain ties and send gifts and money on some occasions, there are few examples of sending regular remittances among them.

“There are people, who already severed ties with their families before leaving, and after leaving it is hard to recover those ties in a distance.”

“If we compare the situation to other forms of migration, for example, when people go abroad to work, the motivation in those cases is mostly to send money to relatives. And in case of LGBT individuals I do not see such a direct link.”

“Because the primary reason for leaving the country is not financial, but there are other reasons, it can be presumed that not in all cases or in rare cases only the ties with relatives are being preserved and that they send remittances.”

“LGBT individuals are in a very vulnerable situation abroad, as it’s not easy to live abroad with a refugee status. The people I know do not get rich abroad. Being abroad only helps them to live in peace. But they’re not able to help anyone here.”

“Financial support depends on how much they earn. As far as I know, the majority does not have enough money to help their families here. I suppose that few would regularly send some money.”

In cases when social ties with families are strong or when it is possible to recover them with family members in a distance, LGBT individuals often tend to move their family members to their host country derived from their purpose to settle there permanently. Therefore, although the percentage of LGBT individuals among emigrators is high, the percentage of remittances is quite low, and it mostly carries temporary nature.

“Those leaving permanently will take their families with them somehow. Visiting every year for a short time, once they tell about them to the mother, the next time they tell their sister or brother, then to the father, and that’s how they take the family members with them.”

Experts note that emigrants engaged with LGBT community in Armenia keep on communicating with other community members through the Internet, especially for the first 3-4 years. Sometimes they send gifts, parcels of clothes, money, and more frequently they support their friends to emigrate.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF LGBT EMIGRATION

LGBT people living in the Armenian society have different levels of education and are involved in various activities. Experts point out that the most visible part is involved in the service sector: waiters, hairdressers, sometimes sex workers, or workers in the trade sector. LGBT people are also involved in the fashion industry, modeling business, pop music industry. There are musicians, designers, architects, artists, writers, bank employees, IT specialists, TV journalists, linguists, doctors, psychologists, many of them work as lecturers, and there are scientists (physicists, chemists, mathematicians), and active people in the public sector.

Experts say that regardless of their social status or occupation, LGBT people are united by the strong desire and aspiration to achieve success and a better life. *"They need to be strong and able to protect themselves, that is why they make efforts to make a career, do their best, and become good specialist. Their specificity, their difference motivates them to be better, more intelligent, they will be more successful."*

According to experts, LGBT people have to solve their problems alone because of the problems in social, familial, psychological spheres, due to public pressure that they receive, so they seek higher education or professional education, economic freedom to reach independence and they also put higher goals in front of them to achieve.

"When receiving a job they become more or less stable, the pressure is somewhat relieved. Therefore, it becomes more important to earn money. Many people desire to live by themselves. So they prove to their families that they can make it by living alone and are independent."

"They always seek to get a job whether in the service sector or another starting from a very young age. If we compare with the general population, the percentage of unemployed among LGBT is less; they tend to work for their own independence and stability. I know people who worked or work in mining, which some non-LGBT people would avoid considering it as not so honorable, thinking that it's a hard and dirty work for them."

"They always want to do more work to get a higher salary. I do not know what the reasons might be; maybe for independence or independent life, because many of them are leaving the family or trying to live by themselves. I am in touch with educated young people, and they work in order to be able to pay house rent, to study and to dress well."

Therefore, by experts' assessments, the percentage of socio-economically active persons among LGBT people in proportion is greater than among heterosexuals. The same applies to the social and political activism, as it becomes a fight for justice over injustice in the way of their reimbursement, on one hand, and on the other it gives hope for a fair, democratic, egalitarian society where LGBT people will also be protected. Being members of the society, and at the same time different from the majority, LGBT people carry another person's opinion in them, which gives self-development opportunities to any society. According to one of the experts, *"They strongly feel the lack of justice, requirements of fairness, because they are looking at the world in another way. That is to say you become marginalized in society, being there, you also happen to be outside."*

Taking under consideration these specified circumstances, LGBT emigration is considered to be a significant loss of active people in the economic, civic, cultural, and social layers of the society.

If we generalize experts' opinions, the overall character of the losses that occur in the country as a result of LGBT emigration, we can notice both general and specific characteristics of losses that appear as an effect of emigration. These are presented below:

Loss of human resources as a potential for development

"Human resources go away, and it's the greatest, the greatest loss for Armenia... With every leaving person the country loses a part of its future, as well as a part of future prospects, in terms of which huge losses take place in the country in all spheres, in social, economic, in all aspects."

"If they don't leave, the benefit of it will be that the Armenian society will have potential da Vinci, Tchaikovsky, Michel Foucault, or Patrokloss, who was known as a good soldier in ancient Greece. Thus, potential scientists, artists, musicians, soldiers or even general officers in the military sphere and other good experts in any other field can have a very large investment in the future of the country. If they have the opportunity to stay in Armenia and get educated, develop and express themselves, paint their own Mona Lisa, it can be just as beneficial to Armenia as Parajanov museum."

Economy: loss of potential businessmen, consumers, workforce, employers²⁸

"The simplest consequence is that consumers are dwindling. For example, I notice major changes in my job. There is nobody. And it stems from a lot of other problems. Less people, less taxis being used, less people go to the doctor, taxi drivers live in poor conditions, the doctors live in poor conditions, supermarket workers live in poor conditions and well-off people start living bad at least a little bit."

"If we take into account the fact that the main reason for emigration is not financial, but the general social attitudes, lack of a secure environment, it turns out that people who are professionally qualified and able to work have to leave the country as well. Therefore, we lose both personnel and labor force that are really able to work." "Good employees go away and successfully make it somewhere else. I think it's a large issue that has everything to include: you do not pay for utilities and taxes here, you don't help local trade organizations and the local population, and with each leaving person country loses all of these."

"Well, imagine how many employees leave. I have friends who have graduated from universities in Russia, and they could open textile factories here, but they did not. Now they are in Europe doing the same job. I know a girl, who now works in Prague, she sews dresses for all belly-dancers and

²⁸Quantitative indicators of economic losses because of LGBT emigration, see details in Part 2, p. 44

each dress costs about 5000-7000 EUR. It is a simple calculation to do - Do it!"

Brain drain and emigration of creative people (artists, highly skilled specialists, professionals educated in Western countries)

"People with higher education, knowing more languages, especially English, French, and German, are inclined to emigrate to the West. Some even went to Australia to study and stayed there."

"We lose intelligent people, we lose artists, and there are many LGBT people among the artists... There is a psychological factor: usually a person who is under pressure expresses and develops his artistic skills in specific way."

Loss of artisans and people working in the sphere of service (hairdressers, tailors, etc.)

"Although little, but there is also emigration to Russia. For example, hairdressers, tailors, more workers are going to Russia, because there is no language barrier, and they know the language more or less, so they're able to find a job."

Loss of civil and political activists

"Some part of the LGBT community is also involved in social movements, some of civic activism; therefore, if these individuals leave the country, the number of participants of social movements will decrease."

"All LGBT people whom I know are involved in either socio-political activism or political party that tries to make some change happen. They are very active. Compared to other sectors of population, LGBT individuals are more involved in activism than non-LGBT who are not very involved in activism and are apathetic."

Loss of diversity and pluralism, decline of democracy

"We still remain the same, alike, one-dimensional society where everyone seems to make a standard order, dressed in the same way, there is not a lot to offer, and there is no alternative. We are a mono-ethnic society, we have a lack of the different, and it's what we lose. It's precisely that different who must be breaking the taboos of society and leading to the liberation. Tabooed society cannot be developed; it does not tend to develop. Thus more people will withdraw into themselves, will not act, and the potential of the society will not be realized."

"The country is losing its diversity, which is no less important. The society is becoming more homogeneous, with the same way of thinking. Even when a person who has another way of thinking, different views, different dressing style leaves the country, homogeneity appears, where all are the same, and it is more of a controllable society. The country is losing its diversity and this is also an irrecoverable loss in my opinion."

"Simply by their presence, LGBT people remind us about the importance of diversity as a philosophical concept, which is also based on the grounds of democracy, human rights etc. Why? Because such people in the society remind us that people can vary in different aspects – political and other. LGBT individuals do not let totalitarian system to develop; diversity doesn't lead to a totalitarian system, and if they do not emigrate, but stay and fight, they'll prevent the transition to a totalitarian system."

Part 2

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF EMIGRATION

The prevalence of discrimination in the labor market could end up having a high cost for an institution and, even more so, for the economy as a whole. It greatly hampers the economic growth of a “discriminatory state” (a state where discrimination is practiced against members of a certain group, based on certain characteristics).

Discrimination in the economy and the labor market implies the division of the work force, associates, and suppliers into “us” and “them”, which in turn implies differentiated conduct at the level of countries, organizations, or individuals toward economic actors on the same playing field.

85% of the world’s largest companies – those included on the Fortune 500 list²⁹ – having acknowledged the negative impact of discrimination against the LGBT community on economic indicators, have commissioned various studies that describe the economic costs of the prevalent discrimination against LGBT individuals in the labor market. Such studies serve as the basis for strategies set up by those companies. The Center for American Progress published a report in March, 2012, entitled “The Costly Business of Discrimination”, in which it is noted that American companies have lost 64 million dollars as a result of discrimination against LGBT individuals.³⁰

In 2011, the Center for Talent Innovation (CTI)³¹ carried out its first study on LGBT employees who have to conceal their sexuality in the workplace, indicating that 40% of such workers find it unlikely to trust their employers.

The international oil and gas giant British Petroleum (BP)³² will be among the major corporate sponsors of the CTI’s wide-ranging “LGBT Global” study, the findings of which will be published in 2015.³³

²⁹ Fortune 500 <http://fortune.com/fortune500/wal-mart-stores-inc-1/>

³⁰ The Costly Business of Discrimination. http://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2012/03/pdf/lgbt_biz_discrimination.pdf

³¹ Center for Talent Innovation <http://www.talentinnovation.org>

³² British Petroleum <http://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/about-bp.html>

³³ BP backs global discrimination research <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/6c0d3d2a-924d-11e3-9e43-00144feab7de.html#axzz359zoUZ3Z>

There is much research on the socio-economic fallout of emigration, both when it comes to sending as well as receiving countries. But, in terms of sending countries, such research mainly focuses on remittances and indicates their economic benefits. Moreover, the major driving point is that sending countries gain more economically than they lose as a result of emigration from them. The benefits are mostly connected with remittances, and also decrease in unemployment and Diaspora networks.³⁴

Armenia is one of the countries of which the economies depend greatly on private remittances from abroad. According to a recent study by the World Bank, Armenia is sixth after Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Lesotho and Moldova when it comes to volumes of private remittances from abroad as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).³⁵ The question arises whether those sending remittances to Armenia are more our compatriots who are emigrants or simply temporary (up to a year's stay) seasonal migrant workers. Specific research in this regard has not been carried out. However, based on a few data points listed below, it can be claimed that *there are citizens of the Republic of Armenia who have already emigrated in essence (that is, who are absent from the country for more than a year), who continue to transfer money, mostly to members of their families left behind in Armenia, and also in some cases to other close individuals who are not relatives or friends.*

According to surveys by Armenia's Central Bank, 14-15% of households in Armenia receive remittances from abroad.³⁶ Around the same proportion

³⁴ Effects of Migration on Sending Countries: What Do We Know? Louka T. Katseli, Robert E.B. Lucas and Theodora Xenogiani, June 2006, p. 5
http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium_Turin_files/P11_Katseli.pdf

³⁵ World Bank. "Migration and Remittance Flows: Recent Trends and Outlook, 2013-2016", p. 5
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1288990760745/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief21.pdf>

³⁶ Consumer Confidence Index, 2014, Q1, p. 6 (in Armenian)
<https://www.cba.am/AM/Consumer%20Confidence%20Index/CCI%20%202014.1.pdf>

of households (12%) have emigrant family members.³⁷ Given the closeness of those two figures, one may presume that, firstly, it is mainly those families with emigrant members abroad that receive foreign remittances and, secondly, those families that have emigrant members are the ones that mainly receive remittances. As per research conducted by the National Statistical Service of Armenia, among those households that had family members who had left the country in 2009 and had not returned by 2012, the period of absence of 33.8% of such family members had lasted a year or more.³⁸ Therefore, it could be claimed that at least one part of those individuals who send remittances to their family members in Armenia are already essentially emigrants (those who have moved abroad, but not with their entire families).³⁹

As seen through surveys and the assessment of experts, ***emigrant LGBT individuals do not usually send remittances to Armenia*** and often sever their ties with relatives left in the country. The reason is that LGBT

³⁷ World Bank. "Armenia - Accumulation, competition, and connectivity", p. 33
http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2013/10/03/000333037_20131003152734/Rendered/PDF/811370revision0Box0379837B00PUBLC0.pdf

³⁸ "Social Profile and Poverty in Armenia, 2008-2012", p. 22
http://www.armstat.am/file/article/poverty_2013e_2.pdf

³⁹ It is mentioned in the World Bank study noted above that families with emigrant members have substantially decreased in number in Armenia in recent years. However, the volume of private remittances from abroad continues to increase (<http://smsmta.am/?id=1008>). This implies that, in all probability, individuals who no longer have family members in Armenia send money to the country. Judging from the small difference in the proportion of families receiving remittances (14-15%) and families with members abroad (12%), one could suppose that the number of such individuals is not very large, but it is also not insignificant. If not (if remittances were sent only by those with family remaining in Armenia), with the substantial decrease in the number of households with emigrant members, money transfer volumes ought to have likewise been substantially affected. The remittances, however, although slower to grow during 2010-2013 as compared to the pre-crisis 2009 period, nevertheless continued to increase. It follows from all this that certain emigrants send remittances not just to their family members, but also, in all likelihood, to their friends or other people with whom they are close at times.

individuals move abroad due to occurrences of discrimination, including negative conduct on the part of their family members and people close to them or fear of negative conduct from them⁴⁰. Supposing that the probability of remittances sent by LGBT emigrants is very low,⁴¹ we shall neglect the remittance in our model for calculating the economic effects per LGBT emigrant (for Armenia). That is to say, the positive effects on the sending society in case of regular migration (remittances, networks, decrease in unemployment, etc.) are prevalent and can even surpass the negative effects (investments by the society on the childhood and education of the emigrant, reduction in labor force, brain drain, etc.). However, in case of a society sending members of the LGBT community abroad, the aforementioned positive factors are significantly lower or they are absent; only the negative socio-economic effects become prevalent. The losses borne by the sending society per individual emigrant involve the loss in investment by the society in the childhood and education of the emigrant (brain drain), the loss of capital that the emigrant takes along in leaving the country, the reduction in total demand and psychological impact.⁴² Out of all of these major factors, it is possible to measure two (investment made by society and reduction in total demand) – the subject of this very study. Given the economic losses following the migration of one individual from Armenia (only the losses, leaving out the benefits), we assume that quantity to be on average the same as the economic losses

⁴⁰ See detailed about the intentions of LGBT persons to emigrate starting from Part 1, section Homophobia and LGBT Emigration, p. 16

⁴¹The fact that many emigrants from the Republic of Armenia (among which there would be, presumably, LGBT individuals) do not send remittances can be seen by comparing the following figures. The World Bank's "Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011" states that around 28% of Armenia's population, or 870,000 people, are currently to be found in some other country. However, as already mentioned, only 12% of households in Armenia have emigrant family members, while only 14-15% receive remittances from abroad. This implies that many from Armenia do not send any money at all.

⁴² Migration and its effect on Sending Countries, edited by Beth J. Asch, p. 9, p. 124

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/2006/MR244.pdf

following the emigration of one LGBT individual. As this piece of research aims at figuring out the economic effects of LGBT emigration, therefore the model does not need to take any economic benefits into consideration (because, as mentioned above, LGBT individuals send insignificant remittances or do not send any money at all).

The economic losses borne by society due to the emigration of an individual are based on the expenditure on that individual's education, as well as the revenues (such as income) that could have been generated if the individual remained and worked in Armenia. The psychological effect of emigration is nearly impossible to measure in monetary terms. As for the amount of capital taken away, that is difficult to estimate, as relevant studies or surveys have not been carried out for emigrants from Armenia. It is also difficult to give a number to the expenditure on the upbringing of the emigrant, as that has to do with the time that the parents (the mother) spent on the child, away from work, and also the amounts received as benefits for children.⁴³

As for the expenditure on the emigrant's education made by society, the literature indicates that the calculation for that is made from state expenditure on education in proportion with the number of school students.⁴⁴ Consequentially, the amount of revenue that could have been acquired by the individual (and so by society) can be calculated if the so-called emigrant with average demographic figures remained in Armenia and worked (or carried out entrepreneurial activities). The average age of the emigrant is calculated on the basis of the premises that emigrants are

⁴³ Data on motherhood and benefits for childcare are scarce and include only figures for after 1996. Moreover, benefits were allotted at times to children up to the age of two, at times up to the age of six. In any case, the quantities are small, so it is possible to ignore them, bearing simultaneously in mind that society spends more in reality on the individual than merely the budgetary expenditure on education.

⁴⁴ Emigration and its effect on Sending Countries, edited by Beth J. Asch, p. 33, p. 175-178
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/2006/MR244.pdf

mainly in the age range of 15-44 and the age structure of the emigrants does not essentially differ from the age structure of those in the age range of 15-44 in Armenia.

The loss of revenues thus not generated is calculated on the basis of the average monthly nominal wages in Armenia during 2011-2013, presuming that, had the emigrant not left, the individual would have generated additional income until retirement. Given the losses by revenues not generated by one average emigrant, it is easy to calculate the gross revenue loss, the GDP not generated (as wages comprise 43-50% of Armenia's GDP). And as 22-24% of Armenia's GDP is the revenue for the budget, it would be possible also, following the figure for GDP not generated, to calculate the revenue loss to the state budget per emigrant (and also due to the emigration of all LGBT individuals).

These four measures (expenditure on education, income not generated, GDP not generated and revenues not acquired by the budget) are calculated per single emigrant of average demographic figures, at dollar parity as of January 1, 2014, also considering the need to secure correspondence for making international comparisons (Armenia's Purchasing Power Parity – PPP). Predictions are also made in the end for the values of those figures, given the maintenance of current trends.

CALCULATION OF LOSS OF INVESTMENT BY SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION

In order to calculate the investments made by society on the education of the emigrant and the quantity of total demand lost due to emigration, it is necessary to know the age range and qualification of emigrants during 2011-2013. But neither the age structure nor the qualifications of emigrants is available. Therefore, we may presume that the emigrants have approximately the same age structure as the general population of Armenia. Even more, it is possible to claim that emigrants are overwhelmingly in the age range of 15-44.⁴⁵ After calculating the age of the average emigrant, it is necessary to figure out how much has been spent by society on the education and qualification of that individual and how much revenue could have been acquired on average for the individual (and simultaneously for society) by staying in the country.

As a rule, society spends less on the education and qualification of a 17-year-old, than on a 25-year-old, as the one who is 17 has only secondary education, whereas someone at the age of 30 may have higher education,

⁴⁵ In theory, anyone may emigrate. But the belief is widespread that it is mainly those between 18 and 59 who emigrate. If families emigrate, then children up to the age of 17 are also added. As we are to calculate the age of the emigrant with average demographic data in our model, it is possible to do so based on an age structure of 0-59. However, as research suggests that the desire to emigrate is much higher among the 18-45 demographic ("Migration Management Factors in Armenia", p. 11, Yerevan, 2011), and, in fact, one may consider the number of emigrants of the range 0-14 and 46-59 about the same, therefore, it would be much more appropriate to take the age range of 18-45 in order to calculate the average age of emigrants. As official data is not given for each age group, but per groups of five years (e.g., the range 15-19 years), we shall consider the age range of 15-44 years. As a result, the age of the average emigrant that we shall calculate will probably be lower than in reality. However, in calculating the losses due to emigration, the difference of a few years, even up to five to seven years, does not make any essential difference – at the very least, because less future revenue (or GDP) is generated by those older as compared by those younger, but the investments made by society turns out to be high.

could hold a master's degree or a PhD. Moreover, the 30-year-old has higher qualifications also due to life and work experience. But when we calculate the average age $[(17+30)/2=23.5]$, then it turns out that society has spent more or less the same amount on two individuals at the age of 23.5 as on one individual each at the ages of 17 and 30. Similarly, if a 25-year-old has 40 years before retirement (at the age of 65⁴⁶), then the 45-year-old has 20 years. Their total years of work amount to 60, which is the same as the years of work of two individuals at the age of 35 $[(25+45)/2]$. Thus, by figuring out the average age of the emigrant and calculating his education and future income, there is the permissible skewing of some accuracy, instead allowing for the simplification of the calculation.

In order to come to a figure for the average age of the emigrant during 2011-2013, we require the total number of emigrants during 2011-2013 and how many individuals were in the age range 15-44 (and also the percentage of the total population of Armenia comprised of 15-44-year-olds). The (you should mention whether it is positive or negative difference to make it more clear) difference in departures and arrivals at border crossing points of Armenia was 43,820⁴⁷ in 2011, 42,811 in 2012, 31,188⁴⁸ in 2013 – a total of 117,819 departures in 2011-2013. In order to find out

⁴⁶ Individuals receive pension at the age of 63 if they have a minimum of ten years work experience (Law on Pensions, Article 9 (in Armenian); <http://www.arlis.am/documentview.aspx?docID=64540>). But if they have less than ten years work experience, pension (retirement benefits) begins at the age of 65 (Law on Benefits, Article 29 http://epension.am/am/law_article?content.cid=17 (in Armenian)). We have taken the age of 65 in our calculations not because we supposed that all emigrants would have worked fewer than ten years, but because average longevity in the world and in Armenia continues to grow, which is why the pension age is also going up. For example, women would start to receive pensions at the age of 55 twenty years ago. Given that, as the future calculations will show, the average emigrant in the model will retire more than thirty years later, it is certainly appropriate to consider the age of 65, which corresponds to the age of retirement for those with fewer than ten years work experience.

⁴⁷ "The Socio-Economic Condition of Armenia, January-December, 2012", p. 138 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_12a_530.pdf

⁴⁸ "The Socio-Economic Condition of Armenia, January-December, 2013", p. 139 (in Armenian) http://www.armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_13a_520.pdf

the age ranges of these 117,819 citizens (to come to a final average figure), we require data on the population in the age range 15-44. The data are given in Table 1. As we are to decide the average age of the emigrant, and the figures for those up to the age of 15 and those of the age range 44-65 mainly cancel each other out in statistical calculations, we shall presume all emigrants to be in the age range 15-44. Therefore those in the table of the age range 15-44 will correspond to a measure of 100%.

Table 1. Part of Population of the Republic of Armenia of the Age Range 15-44, 2011-2013⁴⁹

Age Group	In 2011 (thousands)	In 2012 (thousands)	In 2013 (thousands)	Average 2011- 2013	Proportion of total for the 2011-2013 average (%)
15-19	272.3	228.7	214.4	238.5	16.6
20-24	317.5	291.8	285.6	298.3	20.7
25-29	300.1	273.1	278	283.7	19.8
30-34	250.3	225.3	234	236.5	16.5
35-39	206.2	188.6	191.9	195.6	13.6
40-44	198.1	176.5	176.9	183.8	12.8
Total	1544.5	1384	1380.8	1436.4	100.0

Now let us divide the number of 117,819 emigrants according to the age groups of 15-44. At the same time, as the data is given in groups of five years (e.g., an age range of 20-24), let us average that out for one year (22). As can be seen in Table 2, the average age of emigrants during 2011-2013 turns out to be 28.4. Moreover, 28.4 as the average age has been calculated separately for 2011, 2012 and 2013.

⁴⁹ Statistical Yearbook of Armenia, 2013, p. 29
<http://www.armstat.am/file/doc/99477293.pdf>

Table 2. Calculating the Average Age of Emigrants

Age Group (1)	Proportion of total for the 2011-2013 average (%) (2)	Age Structure of Emigrants (people) (3)	Average Age (4=1x3)
17	16.6	19557.954	[17x19557.95] 332485.2
22	20.7	24388.533	536547.7
27	19.8	23328.162	629860.4
32	16.5	19440.135	622084.3
37	13.6	16023.384	592865.2
42	12.8	15080.832	633394.9
Total	100	117819	3347237.8
Average Age	-	-	3347237.8/117819= 28.4

An individual at the age of 28.4 in 2011 would have been born in 1983, in 2012 – in 1984, and in 2013 – in 1985.

The individual born in 1983 attended school from September, 1990, to June, 2000. Let us presume that the financing of the education of such individual was carried out from January, 1991, until the end of 2000, so that we can take the total expenditure on education from the budget for the period of 1991 to 2000 and divide it by the total number of school students. We require the quantity during those ten years per young person, who would be at the age of 28.4 in 2011. For that we require the financing on education for 1991-2000 and the number of school students for each year.

There are no official data on state expenditure on education for 1991 and 1992 (due to difficulties in converting roubles to dollars). There are data starting only from 1993. However, figures for 1991 and 1992 are possible to acquire, presuming that they changed in future years along with the change in GDP. There was a drop of 41.8% in GDP in 1992 compared to 1991, while the drop was 8.8% in 1993 compared to 1992.⁵⁰ Consequently, taking as a basis the amount spent on education in 1993 (\$38,705,000⁵¹), we get \$42,440,000 for 1992 and \$72,921,000 for 1991. The numbers are given in Table 4. Meanwhile, Table 3 calculates the expenditure from 1991-2000 converted to dollar as per January 1, 2014, as well as Purchasing Power Parity.

Table 3. Inflation and PPP Adjustment Index

Year (1)	Annual Inflation Rate in the US ⁵² (%) (2)	Conversion factor for dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (3)	Purchasing Power Parity in Armenia ⁵³ (4)	Adjustment Factor (5=3x4)
1991	4.2	1.784	3.34	5.957
1992	3.0	1.712	3.34	5.717
1993	3.0	1.662	3.34	5.551
1994	2.6	1.613	3.34	5.389
1995	2.8	1.573	3.34	5.253

⁵⁰ GDP growth (annual %)

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?page=4>

⁵¹ Adjusted savings: education expenditure (current US\$)

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.ADJ.AEDU.CD?page=4>

⁵² Inflation, consumer prices (annual %)

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG?page=4>

⁵³ PPP calculated based on World Bank Data

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/PA.NUS.PPPC.RF>

1996	2.9	1.530	3.34	5.109
1997	2.3	1.487	3.34	4.965
1998	1.6	1.453	3.34	4.854
1999	2.2	1.430	3.34	4.777
2000	3.4	1.400	3.34	4.675
2001	2.8	1.354	3.34	4.521
2002	1.6	1.317	3.34	4.398
2003	2.3	1.296	3.34	4.328
2004	2.7	1.267	3.34	4.231
2005	3.4	1.233	3.34	4.120
2006	3.2	1.193	2.5	2.982
2007	2.9	1.156	2	2.312
2008	3.8	1.123	1.67	1.876
2009	-0.4	1.082	2	2.164
2010	1.6	1.087	2	2.173
2011	3.2	1.069	2	2.139
2012	2.1	1.036	2	2.073
2013	1.5	1.015	2	2.03

As expenditure by society for those born in 1984 and 1985 are also to be calculated, the following tables take figures from 2001 and 2002 into account as well.

Table 4. Expenditure on Education, Converted for Purchasing Power as on January 1, 2014

Year (1)	Education Expenditure (thousands of dollars) ⁵⁴ (2)	Adjustment Factor (3)	Education Expenditure, adjusted for PPP and for purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (thousands of dollars) (4=2x3)
1991	72921	5.957	434390.4
1992	42440	5.717	242629.5
1993	38705	5.551	214851.5
1994	35157	5.389	189461.1
1995	39218	5.253	206012.2
1996	27555	5.109	140778.5
1997	31955	4.965	158656.6
1998	43376	4.854	210547.1
1999	42184	4.777	201513
2000	43605	4.675	203853.4
2001	48454	4.521	219060.5
2002	54705	4.398	240592.6

⁵⁴ Adjusted savings: education expenditure, data from 1994-1998
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.ADJ.AEDU.CD?page=3>
and data from 1999-2002
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.ADJ.AEDU.CD?page=2>

Table 5. Expenditure During 1991-2000 on Secondary Education Per Child Born During 1983-1985

Year (1)	Number of School Students ⁵⁵ (thousands) (2)	Education Expenditure, adjusted for PPP and for purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (thousands of dollars) (3)	Expenditure Per School Student, adjusted for PPP and for purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (4=3/2)
1991	591.9	434390.4	733.9
1992	600.8	242629.5	403.9
1993	604.2	214851.5	355.6
1994	593.4	189461.1	319.3
1995	572	206012.2	360.2
1996	584.7	140778.5	240.8
1997	591.8	158656.6	268.1
1998	596.6	210547.1	352.9
1999	583.5	201513	345.4
2000	564.6	203853.4	361.1
2001	533.2	219060.5	410.8
2002	520.6	240592.6	462.2

⁵⁵ Data for 1991-1994: Specifics and Stages of Economic Reforms in Armenia 1991-1998, p. 41 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/tntbar_91_98a_13.pdf
 Data for 1995-1998: Statistical Yearbook of Armenia, 2001, p. 91
<http://armstat.am/file/doc/99452283.pdf>
 Data for 1999-2001: Statistical Yearbook of Armenia, 2002, p. 123
<http://armstat.am/file/doc/653.pdf>
 Data for 2002: Statistical Yearbook of Armenia, 2003, p. 104
<http://armstat.am/file/doc/632.pdf>

Total for 1991-2000 (for those born in 1983)	3741.0
Total for 1992-2001 (for those born in 1984)	3417.9
Total for 1993-2002 (for those born in 1985)	3476.2

And so, the investments made by society for educating a citizen born in 1983 and emigrating in 2011, at purchasing power as on January 1, 2014, comes to \$3,741. For those born in 1984 and 1985, the figures come to \$3,417.9 and \$3,476.2 respectively. **The average amount for an individual emigrating during 2011-2013 would be \$3,545, taking into account purchasing power as on January 1, 2014 and PPP.**

CALCULATION OF GDP LOSS AND LOSS OF BUDGET

In general, when any citizen emigrates, the GDP of the sending country ends up being lower than it would, had the emigrant remained and worked or started a business (of course, if remittances are not sent after emigration). If, for example, 43,000 individuals emigrated in 2011, then not all of them should be considered labor. At least a small percentage of that 43,000 could have taken on entrepreneurial activities, paying wages for labor, adding value, and increasing GDP. And so, *when the number of emigrants is in the thousands, that implies not just a reduction in the supply of labor in the market, but also a reduction in labor demand, which in turn generates a lower GDP than if those individuals had not emigrated.*

In order to calculate how much GDP is lost by the country in a year due to emigration, average wages, the weight of wages in GDP, the age structure of emigrants, and unemployment levels are required. Age structure is not given in official data on emigrants, but we calculated the average age of 28.4 for emigrants in the years 2011-2013 in the previous section. As for the proportion between wages and GDP, that can be found out based on official data.

The wage factor. Table 6 calculates average wages in dollars, based on PPP and adjusted for the purchasing power of the dollar as of January 1, 2014.

The numbers under the fourth column of Table 6 are thus only wages that would have been part of the GDP not generated per emigrant worker (per month). But GDP is not only generated through wages. Wages are only a part of GDP. Given specifically how much of GDP is comprised of wages, it would be possible to calculate how much GDP was left out due to a single emigrant.

Table 6. Average Wages 2011-2013, adjusted for PPP and purchasing power as on January 1, 2014

Year	Average Monthly Nominal Wages (drams)	Average Conversion Rate for the US Dollar	Average Monthly Wages, adjusted for PPP and purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 ⁵⁶ (dollars)
2011	115265 ⁵⁷	372.5 ⁵⁸	661.9
2012	121374 ⁵⁹	401.76 ⁶⁰	626.3
2013	151076 ⁶¹	409.63 ⁶²	748.7

Calculating the GDP not generated. Table 7 calculates which part of the GDP comprises nominal wages.

⁵⁶The data in this column are calculated by converting the average wages to dollars, then multiplying by the corresponding adjustment factors (adjustment factors are given in the fifth column of Table 3). Those factors are 2.139 for 2011, 2.073 for 2012 and 2.03 for 2013.

⁵⁷“The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-December, 2011”, p. 7 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_11a_03.pdf

⁵⁸“The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-December, 2011”, p. 127 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_11a_430.pdf

⁵⁹“The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-December, 2012”, p. 7 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_12a_03.pdf

⁶⁰“The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-December, 2012”, p. 125 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_12a_430.pdf

⁶¹“The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-December, 2013”, p. 7 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_13a_03.pdf

⁶²“The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-December, 2013”, p. 130 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_12_13a_430.pdf

Table 7. GDP and Total Nominal Wages 2011-2013

Year (1)	Nominal GDP (millions of drams) ⁶³ (2)	Average Annual Nominal Wages Per Worker (drams) ⁶⁴ (3)	Employment Figures (people) ⁶⁵ (4)	Total Annual Nominal Wages (millions of drams) (5=3x4)	Percentage of Wages in GDP (6=[5/2]x100)
2011	3777945	1383180	1175100	1625374.8	43.0
2012	4000722	1456488	1172800	1708169.1	42.7
2013	4272895	1812912	1164300	2110773.4	49.4

As can be seen in the last column of Table 7, wages comprised only 43% of nominal GDP in Armenia in 2011, with 42.7% in 2012 and 49.4% in 2013. Now, given the data from the final column of Table 6, let us calculate how much GDP was generated per worker/emigrant during the period 2011-2013 (PPP adjusted for dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014).

⁶³ For 2011: "The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-March, 2013", p. 11 (in Armenian)

http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_03_13a_112.pdf

For 2012, 2013: "The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-March, 2014", p. 11 (in Armenian)

http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_03_14a_112.pdf

⁶⁴ Average annual nominal wages is calculated using the average monthly wages (listed in the first column of Table 6) and multiplying them by twelve.

⁶⁵ For 2011, 2012: "Labour Market in the Republic of Armenia, 2008-2012", p. 47

http://armstat.am/file/article/trud_13_6.pdf

Table 8. Monthly GDP Generated Per Worker/Emigrant in Dollars, given PPP adjusted for dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014

(1) Year	Average Wages, adjusted for PPP with dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (2)	Percentage of Wages in GDP (3)	GDP Generated Per Worker/Emigrant, PPP with dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) ([2x100]/3)
2011	661.9	43.0	1539.3
2012	626.3	42.7	1466.7
2013	748.7	49.4	1515.6

But instead of per worker/emigrant, we require the GDP generated per emigrant (including the potential unemployed emigrant). There is a sense to such a calculation in economic terms, as the unemployed also help form the GDP in essence, since they create competition in the labor force, reducing wages and, consequently, the weight of wages for the employed in measuring GDP. In order to come to a figure for that, we need to decide which segment of the emigrant population would presumably remain as workers in Armenia and which segment would be unemployed. Let us presume that such a proportion would match that same statistic for the country as a whole. Employment numbers for 2011 (within the economically-active population) was 82%.⁶⁶ As most emigrants are active in the economy, and the average age of the emigrant of average demographics is 28.4 in our model – a citizen of the Republic of Armenia with at least secondary education – we shall presume, even with some

⁶⁶“Labour Market in the Republic of Armenia, 2007-2011”, p. 16
http://armstat.am/file/article/trud_12_3.pdf

degree of inaccuracy, that all emigrants are either employed or unemployed (leaving out students, pensioners, homemakers).⁶⁷

Table 9 calculates how much GDP would be generated per emigrant (and not per worker/emigrant), had the individual remained in Armenia.

Table 9. GDP Not Generated Per Emigrant During the Year Following Emigration

Year (1)	GDP Not Generated Per Worker/Emigrant, PPP with dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (2)	Employment Level (%) (3)	Monthly GDP Not Generated Per Emigrant, PPP with dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (4=2x3)	Annual GDP Not Generated Per Emigrant, PPP with dollar purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (5=4x12)
2011	1539.3	82	1262.2	15146.4
2012	1466.7	83 ⁶⁸	1217.4	14608.8
2013	1515.6	84 ⁶⁹	1273.1	15277.2

⁶⁷One could also consider that emigrants, as labor resources, are divided into an economically-active population and an economically-inactive population in the same way as the prevalent total population. In that case, 37% of emigrants in 2011 would be considered inactive in the economy, and the number of employed would be calculated with the remaining 63%, using the 82% level of employment as a basis.

⁶⁸"Labour Market in the Republic of Armenia, 2008-2012", p. 17

http://armstat.am/file/article/trud_13_3.pdf

⁶⁹"The Socio-Economic Condition of the Republic of Armenia, January-March, 2014", p. 98 (in Armenian) http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_03_14a_141.pdf

The data in the fifth column of Table 9 shows how much GDP would have been generated over the course of the year following the emigration of a citizen of the Republic of Armenia during 2011-2013, had that individual remained in the country. Moreover, the data have been produced with a model presuming emigration right at the beginning of the year. In reality, people emigrate throughout the year; it would have been more appropriate to include someone who emigrated in December, 2011, in our calculations for 2012. The differences are not significant, however, and we can maintain the calculations made in the framework of our model.

And so, each citizen of the Republic of Armenia who emigrated during 2011-2013, if not returning to Armenia, does not contribute on average 15,011 dollars to Armenia's GDP over the course of the year following emigration.

However, that GDP is also not generated over the course of the second or third year following emigration, and so on, until that individual would retire.

If real GDP would not increase in the country, then, *ceteris paribus*, due to each citizen of Armenia who emigrated in 2011, the GDP would be reduced by the exact same amount of \$15,011. But real GDP does increase – at an average of 5% over the past three years.⁷⁰ That means that each citizen of

⁷⁰A real GDP growth rate of 55.62% has been projected in the Armenia Development Strategy for 2014-2015 (p. 29, Table 2 – <http://minfin.am/index.php?cat=58&lang=3>). We believe that such figures, however, are not feasible. Firstly, the plan foresees economic growth of 5.5% in Armenia in 2014, but the data for economic activity (upon which GDP is based) during the first half of 2014, January-June, came to 3.4% (http://armstat.am/file/article/sv_06_14a_03.pdf), while the International Monetary Fund had reduced back in April, 2014 its projection for 2014 down to 4.3%, with 4.5% for 2015 (WorldEconomicOutlook, April, 2014, p. 65 – <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2014/01/pdf/text.pdf>). Nevertheless, we consider the real rate of GDP growth at 5% itself for the coming years, a figure that corresponds to the forecasts made by the World Bank for the period 2014-2017 (Global Economic Prospects, June 2014, p. 100 – <http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/GEP/GEP2014b/GEP2014b.pdf>), being somewhat optimistic for at least the years 2014-2015.

Armenia who emigrated in 2011 would reduce GDP in 2012 by $(15011 \times 1.05=)$ \$15761.

Now we must return to the average age of the emigrant, 28.4 years, in order to find out, having emigrated in 2011, 2012 or 2013, how many more years on average that individual would have worked (until retirement) by staying in Armenia.

The retirement age for both men and women in Armenia is 65, which is less than the average lifespan. That is to say, in all cases – for emigration in 2011, 2012 or 2013 – an average citizen of Armenia would have 36.7 years until retirement (if remaining in Armenia).

The number comes to around \$1,222,744 for all 36.7 years (with PPP, purchasing power as of January 1, 2014).

And so, in case of a single citizen of Armenia who emigrated during the years of 2011-2013 (if that citizen of Armenia were to completely cut off ties with the country and not send remittances), Armenia loses on average, by current prices, around \$1,223,000 (with PPP) worth of revenue (GDP) over the following 37 years.

Returning to the number of emigrants during 2011-2013 and considering that 5% of them represent the LGBT community, it will turn out that, as a result of the emigration of LGBT individuals due to discrimination, Armenia lost 33,185,000 dollars in 2011 (PPP, purchasing power as of January 1, 2014), \$31,277,000 in 2012 and \$23,817,000 in 2013 (Table 10).

Table 10. Economic Effects of LGBT Emigration

Year (1)	Number of Emigrants (2)	LGBT Individuals Among Emigrants (5%) (3=2x5/100)	Annual GDP Not Generated Per Emigrant, PPP with purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (4)	GDP Not Generated by LGBT Individuals, PPP with purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (5=3x4)
2011	43820	2191	15146.4	33185762
2012	42811	2141	14608.8	31277441
2013	31188	1559	15277.2	23817155

In order to bring these figures to current prices, to purchasing power for corresponding years, and to ignore PPP (so as to compare with GDP), they must be adjusted with the factor with which they were multiplied earlier. Those factors were 2.139 for 2011, 2.073 for 2012 and 2.03 for 2013 (these factors were presented under the fifth column of Table 3). The resulting calculations are under the third column of Table 11.

Table 11. Economic Effects of LGBT Emigration, Current Prices

Year (1)	GDP Not Generated by LGBT Individuals, PPP with purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (2)	Annual GDP Not Generated by LGBT Individuals, at Current Prices (dollars) (3=2/Respective factors presented under the fifth column of Table 3)	GDP, Current Prices (dollars) ⁷¹ (4)	GDP Not Generated by Emigrant LGBT Individuals, Corresponding to the Year's GDP (%) (5=3x100/4)
2011	33185762	15514615	10142342770	0.153
2012	31277441	15080808	9958217880	0.151
2013	23817155	11732589	10432169571	0.114

And so, as can be seen from Table 11, Armenia's GDP could have been greater by 0.153% in 2011, had there not been emigration due to discrimination, with a 0.151% increase in 2012 and a 0.114% increase in 2013.

Following such GDP not generated, revenues fall for the budget as well. In 2011, for every increase per unit of GDP, there was an increase of around 0.205 of revenue for the budget, the figures being 0.219 for 2012 and 0.219 for 2013.

⁷¹ GDP (current US\$) <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD>

Table 12. Budget Revenue Loss at Current Prices Due to Emigration of LGBT Individuals

Year (1)	Annual GDP Not Generated by LGBT Individuals, at Current Prices (dollars) (2)	Tax and Duty Revenues for the State Budget ⁷² (% of GDP) (3)	Taxes Not Received by the State Budget due to Emigration of LGBT Individuals (dollars, current prices) (4=2/100% \times 3)	Taxes Not Received by the State Budget due to Emigration of LGBT Individuals ⁷³ (dollars, purchasing power as of January 1, 2014) (5)
2011	15514615	20.51	3182048	3403127
2012	15080808	21.89	3301189	3421071
2013	11732589	21.89	2568264	2606788

The data under the fourth column of Table 12 indicate at current prices how much less revenue the state budget receives over the course of only one year after all LGBT individuals emigrate from the country. The same figures adjusted for purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 are given under the fifth column. And so, at the beginning of 2011, due to all emigrant LGBT individuals, the budget did not receive around \$3.4 million (at 2014 purchasing power) in 2011 itself. But revenues from those who emigrated in 2011 would not be received by the budget in 2012 and 2013 as well. Therefore, the figure for 2011 must be tripled in order to calculate how much revenue was not received by the budget from those who

⁷² Data for 2011 taken from 2013 Government Budget Message, pp. 100-101, Table 2.4; data for 2012-2013 taken from 2014 Government Budget Message, pp. 111-112, Table 2.4

⁷³ Calculated based on data from the first column in Table 3

emigrated in 2011 for 2012 and 2013 as well (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014). Similarly, the figure for 2012 must be doubled. In the first case, the number comes to around \$10,209,000, and \$6,842,000 in the second case.

And so, the state budget did not receive around \$10 million during 2011-2013 due to all LGBT individuals who emigrated in 2011, while it did not receive around \$7 million during 2012-2013 due to those who emigrated in 2012. The total loss to the state budget for the period 2011-2013 due to all LGBT individuals who emigrated during 2011-2013 comes to around \$19,657,000 (at purchasing power as on January 1, 2014).

The quantity that could have gone to the budget over the course of the following 36 years or so (until retirement) from those who emigrated during the years 2011-2013, had they stayed in Armenia, could also be calculated. Using the dollar at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 would be appropriate in this case as well, without PPP.

We calculated that, in the case of a single citizen of the Republic of Armenia who emigrated from the country during 2011-2013 (if that individual were to cut off all ties with Armenia, not sending remittances), Armenia's GDP (calculated with PPP) loses on average around \$1,223,000 given prices as of January 1, 2014. As can be seen in the third column of Table 12, revenues from taxes and duties in 2011 comprised 20.51% of GDP, and 21.89% in 2012 and 2013 (an average of 21.43%). Given that this measure be maintained over the following 36 years, it turns out that, due to the emigration of one citizen of Armenia, at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014, tax revenues not received by the state budget come to \$131,044 (21.43% of the \$1,223,000 worth GDP not generated per emigrant, divided by the PPP factor of 2 added in before). If that quantity was not received from a single emigrant, then

the amount not received by the state budget over more than the following 36 years by the 5,891 LGBT individuals⁷⁴ who emigrated during the years 2011-2013 comes to approximately \$1,841,145,000 (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014).

Let us reiterate that this figure has to do with the following 36 years and more.

We can also calculate how much society would lose in terms of GDP, budget revenues and investments made for the education of the individual, given the maintenance of the rates of emigration of recent years.

Let us begin with educational costs. Society had on average spent 3,545 dollars (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 and considering PPP) for each individual who emigrated during the years 2011-2013. Those emigrants were born between 1983 and 1985. The costs for their education had been calculated based on general expenditure on education during the period 1991-2002. Given the age once again of 28.4 of the emigrant with average demographic data, we require educational expenditure for the period 2003-2014 as well for those who emigrate up to the year 2025. The data is available through the World Bank website⁷⁵ (with the exception of 2013-2014, for which we take the average of 2012-2013). Given the number of school students for the period 2003-2014,⁷⁶ we can calculate costs per student in the same way as was done above. The calculations reveal that, for the education of a citizen of Armenia of average demographics at 28.4 years emigrating during the years 2014-

⁷⁴ This is once again 5%, as LGBT individuals, of the total number of emigrants during 2011-2013. It is the total figure from the three years of the third column given in Table 10.

⁷⁵ Adjusted savings: education expenditure (current US\$)
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.ADJ.AEDU.CD?page=2>,
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.ADJ.AEDU.CD?page=1>,
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.ADJ.AEDU.CD>

⁷⁶ From the "Education and Culture" section of the 2006, 2010 and 2013 Statistical Yearbooks

2025, an average of \$7,582 would be spent, at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 and adjusted for PPP.

Table 13. Educational Expenditures on Emigrants of Average Demographics of 28.4 Years (2014-2025)

For Those Born in the Given Year	Educational Expenditures on Emigrants of Average Demographics of 28.4 Years, at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014, adjusted for PPP (dollars)
1986 (schooling during 1994-2003)	3679.8
1987(schooling during 1995-2004)	4079.5
1988	4695.9
1989	5393.8
1990	6254.3
1991	7119.5
1992	7851.7
1993	8739.0
1994	9643.0
1995	10502.1
1996	11230.5
1997	11799.1
Average	7582.3

As for GDP, we had already calculated that, if a citizen of Armenia does not return to the country having emigrated during 2011-2013, the individual does not generate on average around \$15,011 worth of GDP for the

following year (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014, adjusted for PPP). Given that the tendency of emigration from Armenia be maintained in the coming years at the same annual rate as the average of the period 2011-2013 (39,273 people), given that GDP be increased at 5%,⁷⁷ and with the same PPP, then it would turn out that society would lose on average \$20,907 for each average citizen of Armenia emigrating during the years 2014-2025. Given also that 5% of the average annual emigrants are LGBT individuals, then the loss to GDP following LGBT emigration can also be calculated. Finally, based on the fact that, according to the long-term development plan of the government of Armenia for 2014-2025, tax revenues to the budget will comprise 23.8% to 27.4% of GDP in the coming twelve years⁷⁸ (25.35% on average), we can also calculate revenues not received by the budget due to the emigration of LGBT individuals. Table 14 lists the resulting figures.

⁷⁷ See footnote 37

⁷⁸ Armenia Development Strategy for 2014-2015 (p. 29, Table 2 – <http://minfin.am/index.php?cat=58&lang=3>)

Table 14. Losses to GDP and Budget Revenue due to LGBT Emigration, 2014-2025

Year (1)	Annual GDP Not Generated by Emigrants, PPP with purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (2)	Annual GDP Not Generated by 1,963 LGBT Emigrants, PPP with purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (3)	Annual Budget Revenues Not Generated by 1,963 LGBT Emigrants, PPP with purchasing power as of January 1, 2014 (dollars) (4)
2014	15762	30515232	3867806
2015	16550	32040800	4061171
2016	17377	33641872	4264107
2017	18246	35324256	4477349
2018	19158	37089888	4701143
2019	20116	38944576	4936225
2020	21122	40892192	5183085
2021	22178	42936608	5442215
2022	23287	45083632	5714350
2023	24451	47337136	5999982
2024	25674	49704864	6300092
2025	26958	52190688	6615170
Average for second column; total for third and fourth columns	20907	485701744	61562696

If accounting for only one year after the emigrant leaves the country, over \$485 million are lost to GDP (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014, adjusted for PPP) for all twelve years (2014-2025) and over 23,500 LGBT emigrants. The budget will not receive around \$61 million during those twelve years (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014), once again taking only one year after emigration into consideration. In reality, the losses from the 1,963 LGBT individuals who emigrated in 2014 would not only be felt in 2014, but also in 2015, in 2016, and so on. Taking that factor into account, considering all the LGBT individuals emigrating from 2014 to 2025, the loss to GDP would be estimated at \$2,916,000,000 (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014, adjusted for PPP), and the loss to the budget would be \$370,000,000 (at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014).

Main Findings: LGBT individuals who emigrate from Armenia because of discrimination do not usually send remittances, which implies that Armenian society mainly suffers financially following their emigration. The losses are measurable in monetary terms when it comes to the state expenditure on the upbringing and education of the individual (whether or not LGBT), the income that the emigrant would have generated in working or undertaking entrepreneurial activity in Armenia, as well as the revenues that the budget would receive. The calculations made by this study demonstrate that, for a citizen of Armenia of average demographics who emigrated during the years 2011-2013, a minimum of the equivalent of \$3,545 was spent on education. According to approximate estimates, 5,891 citizens of Armenia emigrated due to discrimination during the years 2011-2013, which implies that society has lost around \$21 million in one go only in terms of educational investment toward LGBT emigrants.

As for income not received, the calculations reveal that, in the year following emigration during 2011-2013, Armenia did not receive an additional \$15,000 approximately, which comes to (5,891 x 15,000=) \$88,365,000 across three years and for all LGBT emigrants. This is the loss following only one year after emigration, but that loss is prevalent

in reality in all the years until the emigrant reaches retirement age.

Budget revenues for all three years taken together – 2011-2013 – could have been more by \$20 million had the LGBT individuals who left due to discrimination remained. As a result of the emigration of 5,891 LGBT individuals during the years 2011-2013 (5% of the total number of emigrants during those years), the state budget will lose around \$2 billion in revenue, at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014, over the course of more than the following 36 years (until retirement).

Given that emigration rates from Armenia will be maintained at the 2011-2013 average annual levels (39,273 people) in the near future, given that GDP growth rate will be around 5% and PPP will remain unchanged, as a result of LGBT emigration in the following twelve years, from 2014 to 2025, GDP will have a loss of \$3 billion at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014, adjusted for PPP, while the budget will lose \$370 million at purchasing power as of January 1, 2014.

The elimination of discrimination in the labor market is the most important step, which will allow for the struggle against discrimination to take place in other spheres as well, placing society on a more democratic footing. When the labor market brings together people of different characteristics – independent of sex, race, religious or sexual belonging, gender identity or sexual orientation – they develop a sense of general purpose.

In case of the constant prevalence of discrimination and, as a consequence, the polarization of society, societies can end up poorer and stratified – something that cannot but harm economic growth, the improvement of social conditions and the successful implementation of public health programs. On the contrary, diversity in the labor market can turn a business more profitable and competitive, as such businesses can understand and fulfill better the various demands and desires of all kinds of clients.

The struggle against discrimination in work relations can also be beneficial to reduce cases of violations of human rights and to increase dialogue among various segments of society, hindering social tensions and the creation of conflict among various groups. Ultimately, it will allow for the struggle against the negative consequences of discrimination and will reduce the rate of emigration.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*“We must be sure we have a neutral or loyal government...
because then it will be possible to be gay,
lesbian, transgender or bisexual, and be Armenian,
an RA citizen and to live in Armenia”, – expert.*

Widespread emigration behavior in Armenia can be explained in many ways. However, they generally have a common ground: emigration is citizens' behavioral response towards being defenseless, as well as emigration is a form of protest against the country's problems. As we saw in the analysis, economic and psychosocial factors are quite essential and can be overcome through combined actions by state (as dominant political course in charge) as well as non-state actors.

It is clear that the process of economic improvement is a much more complicated and lengthy process, taking into account the need to solve not only internal but also external problems (the above said does not mean that economic development policy is secondary or impossible to implement). However, the emigration stimulating psychosocial factors are easily manageable for state institutions if responsible approach and required targeting is demonstrated. Therefore, if there is consistent state policy, we believe that the social and psychological stress will reduce, and, of course, significant reduction of emigration from Armenia and emigration sentiments will be observed, especially among LGBT people, for whom the psychosocial stimuli for emigration are a priority.

As we saw above, one of the specificities of LGBT emigration is that the economic benefits in terms of remittances are short-termed and limited. Therefore, it is a social group, emigration of which initially damages the society and isn't refunded by sustained remittance flows⁷⁹. Emigration for LGBT persons is a way of escape from many problems caused by homophobic culture, and they are unable to find solutions for these problems alone. Some NGOs that are already well established and conduct regulated activities support LGBT human rights protection, and these organizations ensure connections with community, which, again, is important for the realization of mutual support mechanisms. But without focused policy and support of state institutions, issues may not achieve their final solution.

⁷⁹ Quantitative indicators of economic losses because of LGBT emigration, see details in Part 2, p. 43

THE CONDITIONS OF REDUCING EMIGRATION OF LGBT PERSONS

Based on the observations of experts interviewed within our research, below we will present the conditions which need to be developed and implemented by the help of governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as LGBT people's private efforts and through community support to reduce the rates of LGBT emigration.

Reduction of homophobia

In order to reduce emigration rates of LGBT persons, fundamental cultural change is required to reduce homophobia. This is a problem that is present in almost all societies dominated by patriarchal cultural patterns. In Armenia and in neighboring countries (particularly former Soviet Union member countries), the spread of the degree of homophobia is so high that it even includes groups with civic consciousness and human rights stances. Therefore, this is an area where thorough work needs to be done by all public institutions, both governmental and non-governmental.

"If we want LGBT people not to leave Armenia, the mentality must be changed for that; the level of homophobia needs to reduce. However, this would be difficult to accomplish, because "children suck it in with the milk" and become such. Even the person who fights against the rise in gas prices or other injustice is likely to kill or curse representatives of LGBT and the ones who defend them."

"What would the factors be to make LGBT people come back to Armenia? They need to have a better job offer, a better paid job or should at least have equal rights with others; they need to be respected, and at least not threatened and mocked because of their identity, which is currently missing."

“The case of DIY showed that our people are ready to kill the child, if the child says that he/she is gay. If it's possible to overcome maybe something will change.”

Security guarantee by the state, a fair judicial system

The most significant factor that will ensure LGBT people's sense of security and reduce the homophobia is the reforms and their practical implementations in legal-legislative sector. According to experts interviewed, *“The respect for human rights, opposing legal sanctions on propaganda of hatred, violence, and harassment will bring real change.”*

Besides, it is also important to fill in the gaps in legislative framework, developing and adapting new laws, which, for instance, will ensure discrimination prevention and coping mechanisms, and provide possibilities to challenge them legally. *“We had cases when the applicant claimed that he/she had restrictions due to discrimination whether at workplace, during the hiring process or when being dismissed; there were property-related disputes, problems in the police. But as long as we do not have mechanisms to prevent and combat discrimination, and as long as we do not even have definitions of discrimination in our Constitution; it is very difficult to challenge those actions.”*

Legal protection of LGBT individuals is possible by the state's targeted policy and by developing LGBT people's confidence towards state and legal institutions, police and courts.

“And if such laws are adapted to protect people, which will contribute to their rights' protection, elimination of corruption, when the country becomes more democratic, then emigration may be diminished. But so far it is increasing.”

“The situation may change when LGBT people feel more secure and protected in Armenia. Even in the most liberal countries where gay marriage has been legalized, there is hatred, hate speech, there are fascist and neo-fascist groups who are constantly trying to persecute them, but the most important thing is that there is also an adequate, appropriate

response from the state and law enforcement bodies. The whole secret, the key to a secure life of both LGBT and non-LGBT people is the exclusion of state authority inactivity. And as long as people cannot trust the police, go to the police to report the crime, as long as they cannot go to the court, as long as they cannot publish an article to denounce their offender or violator, they won't feel safe here. And this insecurity mainly leads to emigration. This is why we shall strengthen their protection in Armenia as much as possible."

"We must be sure that we have a neutral or loyal government, which will stand between these two, traditional or conservative and a little more progressive segments of society as a real guardian or defender, or as a party openly forbidding conflict, and a non-biased party, which solves its own problems. The important thing is to have neutrality that will not allow tension to turn into bloodshed. In this case, of course, emigration numbers will somewhat dwindle, because then it will be possible to be gay, lesbian, transgender or bisexual, and be Armenian, an RA citizen and to live in Armenia."

"The positive aspect of the change theoretically would be possible, if there were authorities in Armenia, which would declare human rights and its protection a dominant value. And it would not be a formal imitation of democracy, but a real one. In that case, LGBT community flow could be decreased."

"There are countries where similar conditions existed, but things changed due to adaptation of anti-discrimination laws, and creation of a fair judicial system. For example, if someone was fired from work because of being gay, it was broadcasted on television, and the judge imposed a sanction on the employer to pay that person around, let's say 100,000 euro. The next employer before doing such thing would think whether he has so much money."

"If an LGBT person is sure about her/his safety in this country, she/he will not leave. In general, if the socio-economic conditions change, people will feel that they can express themselves, can grow, evolve, do progress, if

there's a healthy competitive environment, if there are changes made in education and other systems, in this case they'll come back, if not, they will not. If there is democracy, fair judicial system, reforms, then, yes, they'll come back."

Information policy, work with mass media

Managing information policy is less expensive; a faster influential and an effective way especially for the state institutions, because sometimes there is simply a need to "not do" anything towards LGBT people. This refers to the exclusion of hate speech and statements supporting hatred towards LGBT, and respect for the Constitution. At the same time it is important that media projects, containing or circulating LGBT hatred, do not receive funding from governmental or public funds.

Of course, implementation of systematic policies is needed in order to cease the hatred towards LGBT people. In this regard, cooperation between state institutions and public sector can be quite effective in means of working with state institutions responsible for media and media institutions. According to a research carried out by "Socioscope" NGO, topics related to human rights have a little place in the discourse of Armenian media⁸⁰. That's why journalistic courses on human rights are necessary, particularly from the perspective of LGBT rights and human rights to fill in the existing gap in journalism. At the same time promotion and organization of competent and comprehensive media discussions on LGBT issues are important.

"In order to see this change, it is very important to ensure the visibility and the flow of information. Just as television, Internet, radio are constantly talking about any kind of topic from different perspectives, for instance in debates, the same ought to be with this case, there should be an interesting story from someone's life, a series of videos, a soap opera and by continuously producing various informative materials people will see the case from different perspectives and will understand more and more clearly

⁸⁰Report: Police is the main violator of human right in Media articles (in Armenian) <http://goo.gl/pp7mwx>

who actually gay, lesbian people are, what it is they want and why they are not silent, but continue to speak.”

Publicizing an alternative idea of family

Organization of public discussions about the institute of alternative family may be a condition for legitimization of LGBT couples in public consciousness. It is important to note that the legal establishment of alternative family does not ensure the acceptance of society, and on the contrary, it can cause reactionary and resisting effects. Therefore, in this regard, we believe that before the legislative innovations ,first of all it is necessary to implement informational policies, as well as development and implementation of legitimization mechanisms for LGBT couples by social and civic groups (for example, civil marriage ceremony processing and presentation for LGBT couples).

“If the situation changes and people speak up and raise these issues, and if work will be done with media, and alternative families appear, people who live differently, in this case LGBT people won’t leave the country.”

“It is also a particular problem when, for example, a same-sex couple lives together. They can have serious psychological problems as they find themselves in a rather difficult situation as they have their new same-sex family and parental families. The reason is that there is a narrow circle of people where they can act as a same-sex couple, but in their parental families, among other friends and acquaintances, in public they are forced to hide it. This issue may be solved if same-sex marriage institute is introduced in Armenian society.”

Increasing visibility, politicization of own interests and consistent reclamation of rights

As we have seen, emigration of LGBT people is an easy way to escape from difficult problems, while solutions to the problems happen only on a private level. Hence active participation of LGBT people in the protection of their interests and consistent achievement of their rights is needed for

systemic solutions. Some experts give very specific wordings for this purpose, by expecting LGBT people to acknowledge and exercise their civil and political strength.

“If you do not try to solve some problems, to face them, or politicize yourself as a community, then you choose the path of escape.”

“Well, if they won’t emigrate and remain inactive, it will bring no change, but if they stay and be active and politicize their existence, if they understand that their personal concerns are also political, not that it is their individual problem, then they can solve problems here in Armenia. The ones who stay here have to understand that there is some way to go, and that, of course, is an individual thing to decide. But they have to realize, that those problems will not be solved before they start raising their issues and speak about it.”

“The more vulnerable you are, the more problems you have, the more it is of your interest to solve those problems, to change something. Only the activities of LGBT community will influence the fate of the LGBT community. If you do not have a long-term strategic planning for your community, then nothing will change.”

“In today’s Armenia even people or organizations who say they are tolerant or they are LGBT organizations, prefer to be more closed; they act within their closed circles with small groups. It is a matter of security and so on, but it is needed to slowly “come out of their shell”, to take actions with different directions to bring change.”

In this regard, according to experts, LGBT individuals who have public recognition have some work to do. Their public disclosure of their sexual orientation or gender identity can play a big role in changing the public's perception towards LGBT issues. Despite being an extremely risky event, it is still an awaiting step for Armenia, as so far no LGBT public figure, no famous or publicly recognized person has ever voiced about their sexual orientation or gender identity.

“I think that the tendency can change by 100%, and it will change in a case when, for example, someone would go to X-Factor TV show and say that

today is the International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia (smiles, ed.). Or when someone, for example, is working as a doctor for 10 years, and when he/she does not have financial problems, with that good doctor reputation he/she comes out to family members, acquaintances, relatives. So, the biggest response is visibility. If I am not visible, it means I do not exist. And if I do not exist, then I don't have the right to demand something. And that's why it is important for your relatives to know about you, so the government sees that this group exists among the citizens of the country, that they have such problems and demands. The situation will especially change when a lot of people come out, when homosexuality will be more talked about, and if there are well-organized small groups that will work and bring bigger changes through arts, science, activism and any other means."

"There are many writers, painters, artists that I know for sure are gay, but until now they do not openly talk about it. In general, there is still no culture of coming out in our society, and it will remain long this way, because if someone openly announces that he/she is gay, so many gossips will spin around it, and so many people will lapidate that person, and the small mass of the loyal people will say nothing anyway. Today's society makes everyone so vulnerable."

"We do not yet have a precedent, when someone famous disclosed their sexual orientation on public television... We haven't heard of such case, that is, it's something awaiting for our society."

ACTIONS AIMED AT REDUCING THE EMIGRATION OF LGBT PERSONS

Based on the need of formation of the above-mentioned conditions, we have developed recommendations addressed to different actors:

The state (RA state bodies, Government, National Assembly):

- Implement a common state policy based on the principle of non-discrimination in all spheres of public life.
- Implement RA Government social policy and human capital development envisaged by RA Government 2012-2017 program based on the principle of non-discrimination in various fields towards society's most vulnerable groups, in this case LGBT persons.
- Adopt a separate piece of legislation prohibiting discrimination, which will prohibit discrimination on any basis in labor market and all the spheres of the society, ensuring equal rights and opportunities for all.
- Adopt effective law enforcement mechanisms. Anti-discrimination legislation is, of course, necessary, but it is not enough, and without effective mechanisms discrimination will not just disappear.
- Take into consideration the principle of non-discrimination when adopting laws and normative-legal acts as a basic rule for ensuring the realization of rights and freedoms of a citizen.

To local and international companies:

- Clearly state in internal regulations of companies the exclusion of discrimination on any basis, the consequences of discrimination against workers, and undertake appropriate measures in case of abuse of official authority.

- Undertake explanatory work among the employees about the consequences of discrimination, organize self-help groups, and promote teamwork.

To non governmental organizations and civil initiatives:

- Advocate and promote the adoption of the anti-discrimination legislation.
- Raise public awareness about discrimination, negative consequences deriving from it, importance of elimination of discrimination and principles of equality.
- Provide an alternative platform to inform, to discuss the topics of human rights, discrimination and tolerance.
- Organize civil initiatives to create labor unions in order to protect workers' rights and to combat various forms of discrimination in the workplace.

To mass media:

- Raise public awareness about LGBT issues and the existing discrimination against them.
- Let the community members speak and express themselves when writing about LGBT persons or raising LGBT issues.
- Avoid labeling, stigmatizing, and discriminatory statements and qualifications.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOR MARKET

The primary meaning of discrimination is deprivation, rights restriction, distinction, exclusion.

The word discrimination originates from a Latin word **discernere** (to separate, to highlight), composed of **dis** meaning lack of, apart, and **cernere** meaning to sift.

Discrimination: Expression of distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference, which aims or effects to the creation of a less favorable conditions for a person or a group of people on the grounds of one's sex, race, skin color, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, worldviews, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age, sexual orientation or gender identity or other personal or social circumstances.

Types of discrimination: The main forms of discrimination recognized by international law are direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, incitement to discrimination, associative discrimination, victimization, harassment.

Direct discrimination: Based on one of the points of prohibition of discrimination, the treatment of a person and/or persons that differs from another person in the same situation, regardless of intentions.

Indirect discrimination: A seemingly neutral action or inactivity, legal norm, criterion, or practice, as a result of which an unfavorable situation occurs or may occur for a person or a group of people, excluding those situation, when such action or inactivity, legal norm, criterion, or practice is objectively justifiable, bears a lawful purpose, and the means for reaching that purpose are appropriate, rational, and necessary.

Incitement to discrimination: Orders, provocations, or calls for discrimination towards a person and/or a group of people with certain characteristics.

Associative discrimination: A discriminative treatment of a person conditioned by an association of the given person with another human being, based on the latter's sex, race, skin color, ethnic or social background, genetic characteristics, language, religion, world views, political or other ideas, ethnic minority affiliation, monetary status, birth, disability, age, sexual orientation or gender identity, or other personal or social circumstances.

Victimisation: Any action or inactivity towards a person bearing a negative impact on the given person and based on the fact that the person has complained of discrimination, filed for a legal protective action, or provided information regarding a discriminative behavior towards him/her or another human being.

Harassment: Any unfavorable behavior towards a person an/or a group of people that bears the purpose of or leads to an offense to dignity and/or creation of a threatening, hostile, offensive, or exclusive environment.⁸¹

⁸¹The definitions are taken from the official documents of United Nations Bodies, particularly the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Organization for Migration, European Council, and the judicial precedents of the European Court of Human Rights.

In the modern market economy, the following types of workplace discrimination are identified:

- **Wage discrimination:** In almost all countries, two employees with similar professional and labor qualifications and experience in the same field or, even, in the same organization can often times receive different compensations for the same job. The groups most vulnerable to discrimination are: women (when compared to men), people of color (when compared to white people), locals (when compared to foreigners).
- **Hiring and firing discrimination:** Such discrimination is usually applied to people with certain criminal backgrounds, persons with disabilities, and youth with lack of or insufficient professional experience; they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired.
- **Prevention of career progression:** It is more difficult for employees facing discrimination to build their careers; they are less likely to be promoted to higher positions and to be rewarded for excellent professional service. Such discrimination is most often faced by women, immigrants, and ethnic, religious, or sexual minorities; however, other groups are also susceptible to these situations.
- **Professional segregation:** There are certain professions that are typically considered “male” or “female”.
- **Discrimination based on educational or profession qualifications:** Often times even in developed countries, certain groups face various difficulties on the way to receiving education and professional skills; they may not possess the financial resources to pay for educational expenses and receive lower compensation. In a large number of countries the women’s levels of education are much lower than men’s levels of education.



SIGRID RAUSING TRUST



NORWEGIAN MINISTRY
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This report was prepared by
Public Information and Need of
Knowledge and “SocioSCOPE” Societal
Research and Consultancy Center NGOs.

We thank all the individuals and organizations who
contributed to the implementation of the project,
and the 15 experts surveyed, who collaborated with us,
offering their time, experience and knowledge. We also thank
the independent researchers for reviewing the report and making
professional recommendations.

Special thanks to ORAM - Organization for Refuge, Asylum, and Migration
for informational support.

This report was conducted and published with the financial support of
Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Sigrid Rausing Trust.



www.pinkarmenia.org

Public Information and
Need of Knowledge NGO
Yerevan, 2015