

Armenia's Social Policy Response to Covid-19: Mitigating Expectations, Financial Stress, and Anxiety

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CRC 1342 / No. 10

Covid-19

Social Policy Response Series

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Vardan Baghdasaryan
Gayane Shakhmuradyan

Armenia's Social Policy Response to Covid-19: Mitigating Expectations, Financial Stress, and Anxiety



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ARMENIA'S SOCIAL POLICY RESPONSE TO COVID-19: MITIGATING EXPECTATIONS, FINANCIAL STRESS, AND ANXIETY

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ABSTRACT

This report examines the social policy response of the Government of Armenia to the Covid-19 crisis. Official data on the implemented programs suggest that since March 2020, around USD 55 million has been transferred to individuals and households as wage support, unemployment and family benefits, utility payment subsidies and tuition fee support. Survey data suggest that despite being early and extensive, government assistance has not been effective in relieving the financial stress and anxiety caused by the pandemic, while public expectations about the future remain pessimistic. As individuals most and least in need have benefited equally from the implemented programs, government assistance has also not been well-targeted.

INTRODUCTION

The first case of infection with the novel coronavirus disease in Armenia was recorded on 1 March 2020 (National Center for Disease Prevention and Control of Armenia, 2020). The infected person returned to Armenia from neighboring Iran, where the disease had spread earlier, causing the borders between the two countries to be partially closed on 25 February (Armenpress, 2020; Radio Liberty Armenia, 2020a). Due to early detection and isolation measures taken by the Ministry of Health, the first case did not result in an outbreak in the country, but the numbers started to grow in mid-March after a woman returning from Italy participated in an engagement party in Ejmiatsin and an Italian manager came into contact with factory workers in Yerevan (Radio Liberty Armenia, 2020b, c).

To prevent the spread of the disease, as well as taking into consideration the fact that the World Health Organization declared Covid-19 a pandemic on 11 March, the Government of Armenia introduced a state of emergency on 16 March 2020 (Government of Armenia, 2020a). It would last for a month, until 14 April 2020 entailing, *inter alia*, bans on travel and public gatherings, closure of educational institutions and businesses in most ('non-essential') industries, and restrictions on media regarding spread of information that would create public anxiety about the epidemiological situation in the country (*ibid.*).

Although initially the Government of Armenia was praised for exemplary control of the pandemic, the large influx of labor migrants (mostly from Russia) allowed the virus to spread out of control (Aslanyan and Mirzoyan, 2020). For a period during June–July 2020, Armenia was among the top ten countries in the world in terms of Covid-19 cases per capita, and as no downward trend could be noticed, the state of emergency was prolonged five times (Government of Armenia, 2020a; World Health Organization, 2020). Due to gradual improvements,

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on 11 September 2020 the state of emergency was replaced with a state of quarantine, which will last until 11 January 2021 (Government of Armenia, 2020b). This regime is milder than the state of emergency but still entails restrictions on international travel, individual movement, and public gatherings.¹

Before the declaration of martial law on 27 September 2020 due to resumption of the Nagorno-Karabakh War, businesses, educational institutions, and cultural institutions in Armenia were allowed to operate provided that containment measures, such as wearing masks and physical distancing, were appropriately implemented. Although educational institutions were closed again on 15 October, other controls were once again relaxed, resulting in a new surge of cases by the end of October 2020 (National Center for Disease Prevention and Control of Armenia, 2020; World Health Organization, 2020).

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT PROGRAMS

Since the introduction of the state of emergency, the Government of Armenia has implemented twenty-four programs to address the social and economic impacts of the pandemic (Government of Armenia, 2020c). These have been adopted by government decrees, the earliest on 26 March and the latest on 13 August 2020. Of the twenty-four, thirteen are social assistance programs, providing family and unemployment benefits, utility bill subsidies, tuition fee support, and temporary employment (see Table 1 below for a summary). Labor market policies mostly target employees of affected industries, such as tourism, hospitality, and retail trade. Most policies have an equity component: laid-off employees whose pre-crisis monthly income exceeds a specific threshold (AMD 500,000 or USD 994² in most cases) are not eligible.

According to official cost estimates, around AMD 26 billion (USD 55 million) has been allocated for the implementation of the thirteen social assistance programs.³ Most spending has been on wage support to employees of the affected industries (USD 25 million), followed by family benefits (USD 15 million) and utility bill subsidies (USD 10 million). All benefits have been one-off, ranging from USD 53 to USD 270 per beneficiary.

Table 1. Social Programs implemented by the Government of Armenia, March–September 2020

Program	Adoption Date	Implementing Agency	Form Of Assistance	Budget Amd
Program 1	26 March	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Family benefits	211,400,000
Program 2	30 March	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Unemployment benefits	551,616,000
Program 3	30 March	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Family benefits	977,100,000
Program 4	30 March	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Wage support*	9,079,323,800
Program 5	2 April	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Family benefits	5,132,467,000
Program 6	13 April	Public Services Regulatory Commission	Utility bill subsidy	786,219,295
Program 7	14 April	Public Services Regulatory Commission	Utility bill subsidy	1,842,928,668
Program 8	16 April	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Family benefits	1,221,308,000
Program 9	23 April	Ministry of Education, Science, Culture, and Sport	Tuition fee assistance	914,069,000
Program 10	30 April	Ministry of Environment	Temporary employment	200,000,000
Program 11	4 May	Public Services Regulatory Commission	Utility bill subsidy	2,145,656,433
Program 12	18 June	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Wage support*	3,035,144,000
Program 13	25 June	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	Unemployment benefits	326,944,000

Note: * Support provided to employees and sole proprietors of the affected industries, as defined and listed in government decrees.
Source: Authors' compilation from official document review and formal communication with implementing agencies.

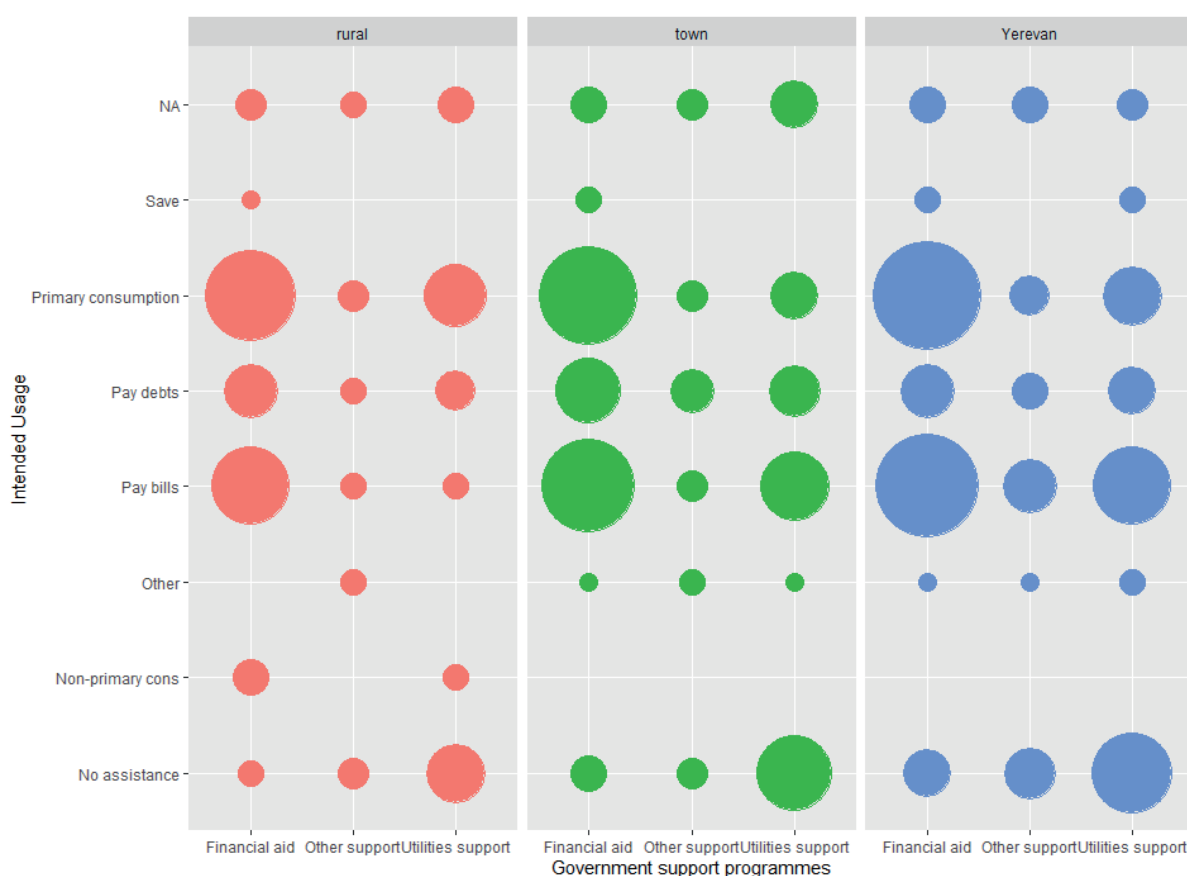
- 1 The restriction on travel pertains to all individuals who are not citizens of the Republic of Armenia. Exempted are: family members of the citizens of the Republic of Armenia; individuals having the right to legal residence in Armenia; diplomats, consuls, and representatives of international organizations, as well as their family members; close relatives (parent, spouse, child, sibling) of deceased citizens of Armenia; international truck and freight train drivers. All are required to present a valid certificate of a negative test result.
- 2 Exchange rates as of 23 November 2020: AMD 1=USD 0.0021; AMD 1=EUR 0.0017.
- 3 Data obtained by authors through formal communication with implementing agencies.

EFFICACY OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

To estimate the efficacy of the implemented programs, we use survey data collected by the Avedisian Center for Business Research and Development at the American University of Armenia (CBRD, 2020). The survey was conducted in May 2020, and the sample includes around 1,300 working-age individuals who answered a set of questions on demographics, labor market conditions, status as beneficiary of government support programs, and expectations for the future. While there may be various dimensions to measure efficacy, two are examined in this paper: *supporting current consumption* and *supporting the future expectations of the population*.

It can be observed from Figure 1 that most assistance is directed towards consumption of primary goods and covering bills. Furthermore, it can be seen that in rural areas, as well as in the capital city Yerevan, social assistance programs covering utility bills substantially increased the consumption of primary products, an observation that may be attributed to the fungibility of money. Still, over 1.5% of the population claimed (at least as an intention) to save the funds. Meanwhile, a disproportionately high share of the intended usage of the funds is directed toward servicing debts, especially in urban areas outside Yerevan, where poverty levels are high.

Figure 1. Intended Usage of Government Benefits

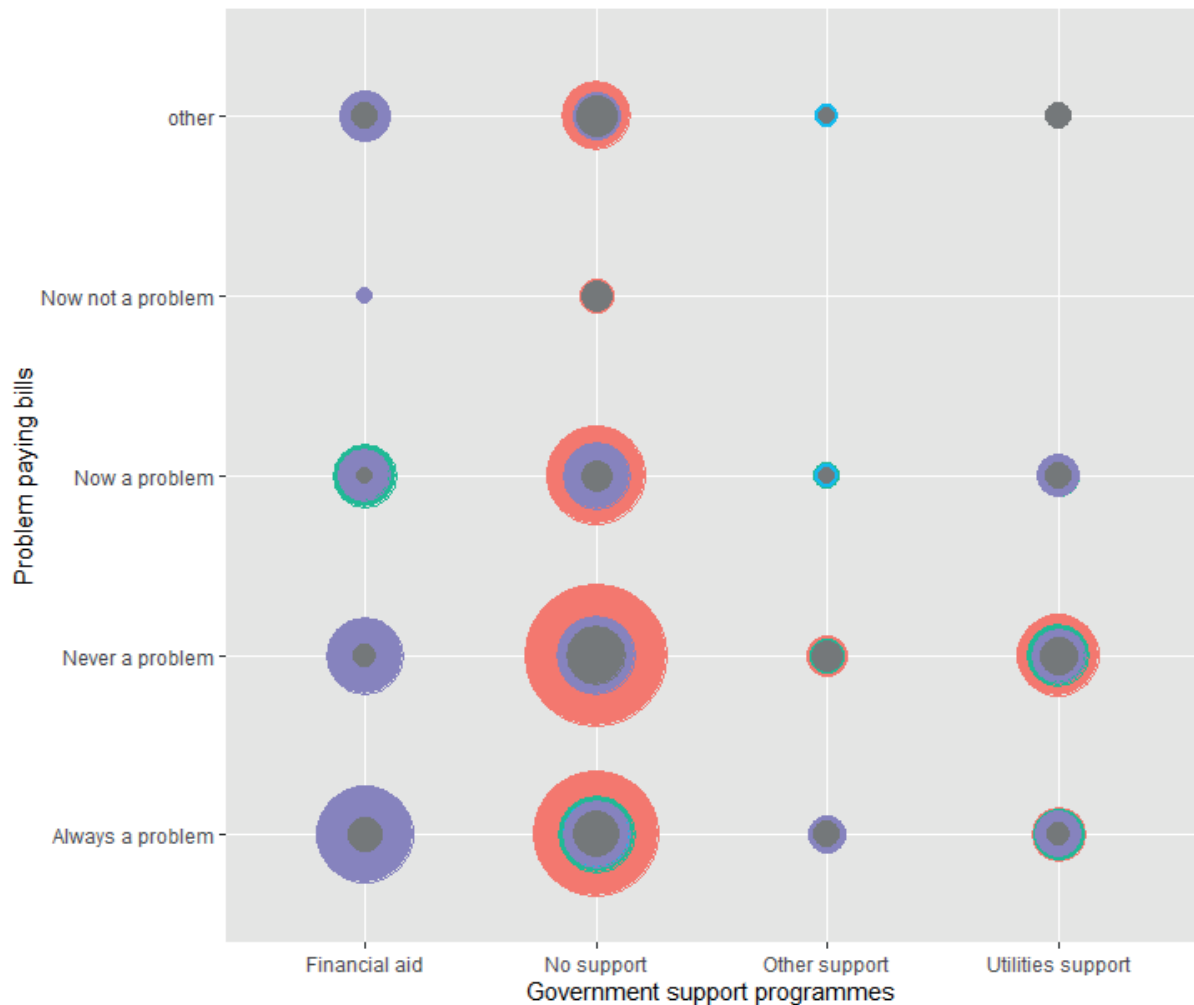


Note: It can be observed from the figure that the implemented programs support immediate aggregate consumption through primary consumption.
Source: Authors' analysis of CBRD (2020) survey data

Figure 2 presents the assistance programs vis-à-vis the perceived problem of covering bills. The population is divided into four groups: those who were having difficulties with finances before and now ('always a problem'), those who did not have problems either before or now ('never a problem'), those who had everything under control but have difficulties now ('now a problem'), and finally, those who were worse off before but are better off now ('now not a problem'). It can be observed that those who have improved their livelihoods during the Covid-19 pandemic constitute a very small group and mostly did not benefit from the programs. Those who never had and those who always had a problem with bills are very similar in their size, behavior (colored in Figure 2) and assistance received. Furthermore, respondents from both groups that did not benefit from any program equally expected not to be eligible. While most of the government assistance is (intended to be) spent on primary

consumption, in small towns the respondents from the 'now a problem' group that received a subsidy to cover the costs of communal utilities have spent some assistance money to service their debts.

Figure 2. Government Support Programs according to ability to finance own Expenses and Type of Spending

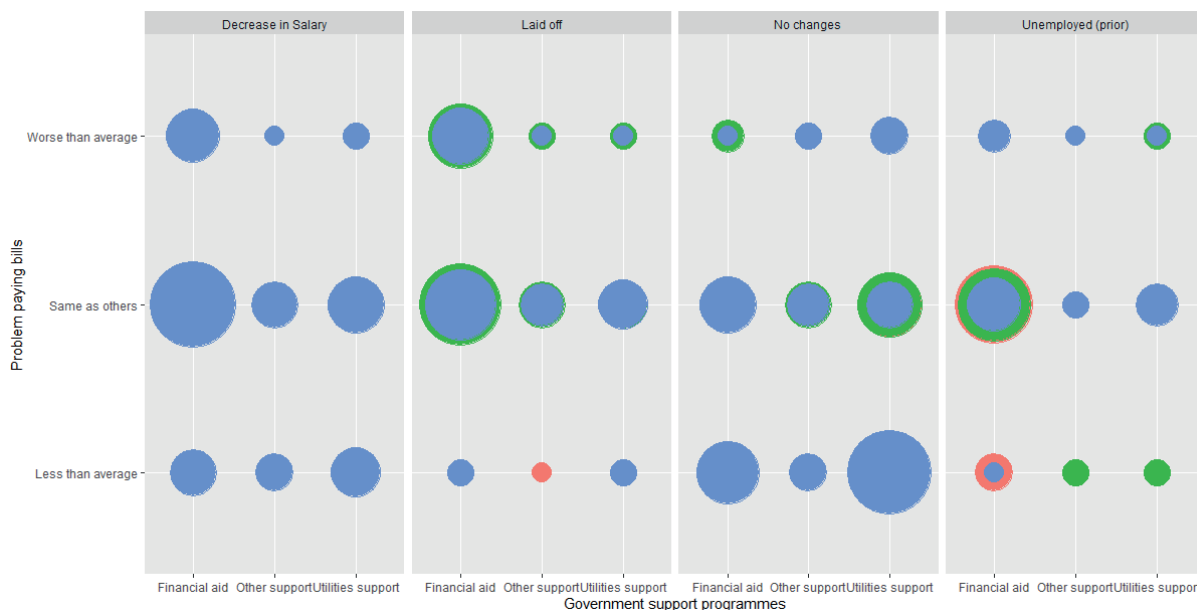


Note: It can be observed that while most of the respondents do not report their current or past ability to cover their daily expenses, the coverage of government support programs is similar in size for those who always had problems and those who never had a problem. This hints at the inefficiency of the implemented social assistance programs as a mitigating mechanism for subjective well-being or in terms of targeting those in need. Color keys: red - no financial aid, green/turquoise - financial aid directed (or to be directed) at paying bills, purple - financial aid used (or to be used) for primary consumption, grey - financial aid used (or to be used) to pay debts.

Source: Authors' analysis of CBRD (2020) survey data

Figure 3 shows cross-tabulation of beneficiary status (financial aid, utilities, other, and none) and financial strain (defined based on response to the question of whether the pandemic caused them more, less, or equal financial hardship compared to the average), divided into four groups based on labor market experience (lost part of their salary, lost employment, employed with no changes, and still unemployed). The second column shows the level of financial strain for the portion of the population who have lost their employment during the pandemic. Interestingly, in this case the rural population (in red) feels less hardship than the average person in the country, those from Yerevan (blue) mostly feel no extra hardship, and those in small towns (in green) feel more hardship compared to the average. This trend has two main explanations: comparison groups ("keeping up with the Joneses" (French and Vigne, 2019)) and dependence on salaried employment.

Figure 3. Financial Strain and Government Programs



Note: Color keys: red - no financial aid, green – financial aid directed (or to be directed) at paying bills, blue – financial aid used (or to be used) for primary consumption.

Source: Authors’ analysis of CBRD (2020) survey data

Table 2 summarizes the extent of financial strain by location (rural, urban, Yerevan) and participation in various programs. Those who have not benefited from any program are more likely (four times more in Yerevan and two times more in other places) to feel less stressed, due to the government’s strict eligibility criteria. However, in small towns those who have received financial aid are three times more likely to feel more stressed. In general, on average in the small towns the subjective feeling of hardship seems to be more prevalent compared to other locations (17%, as opposed to 12% or 13%).

Table 2. Financial Strain by Location and Government Support (% of respondents).

	Extent of the Financial Strain			
	Less	Same	More	Sum
Rural				
Financial aid	4.0	12.5	3.1	19.6
Utilities subsidy	3.1	7.3	0.6	11.0
Other support	1.2	2.4	0.6	4.3
No support	15.9	40.1	8.9	64.8
Total	24.2	62.4	13.1	100.0
Towns				
Financial aid	1.4	12.5	4.9	18.8
Utilities subsidy	4.2	7.2	1.6	13.0
Other support	0.7	3.2	0.7	4.6
No support	18.8	33.6	9.5	61.9
Total	25.1	56.6	16.7	100.0
Yerevan				
Financial aid	3.7	9.6	3.9	17.2
Utilities subsidy	5.4	5.0	1.5	11.8
Other support	1.5	3.3	0.9	5.7
No support	22.0	35.3	5.9	63.2
Total	32.5	53.2	12.2	100.0

Source: Authors’ analysis of CBRD (2020) survey data

Furthermore, dividing the financial strain into objective (ability to cover expenses) and subjective (self-assessment) phenomena reveals some interesting patterns (thus, within the group that never had a problem with covering expenses, those who received government financial aid and those who did not experienced comparable levels of subjective strain). Meanwhile, for the group that always had a problem covering daily expenses, the subjective strain increased with being a beneficiary of one of the financial aid programs. However, the trend reverses for the subgroup who always had a budgeting problem but saved for 'rainy days': by being a beneficiary of a program, this group of people self-assesses lower levels of financial strain. In general, higher voluntary savings decrease the subjective assessment of financial strain (Aslanyan and Baghdasaryan, 2020).

Table 3 presents the results of logistic regressions explaining the connection between a number of factors. First, a group of four variables to be explained was created based on respondents' answers evaluating their worries about a number of issues based on a 5-point Likert scale. The highest two ('think about the issue daily' and 'think about the issue almost daily') have been used for the creation of the variables. The fifth and sixth columns of Table 3 present subjective and objective financial strain. Thus, 'financial stress' is constructed based on the respondent's perception of whether the pandemic has affected their finances more than others or not. The 'inability to cover expenses' is taken directly from their response.

A number of factors are used for explaining respondents' worries and strain (Friedline, Chen, and Morrow, 2020). The main factors of interest are government social programs that are summarized in two variables: *financial aid*, which shows whether the respondent (or their family) has benefited from any of the programs that involve direct financial assistance, and *aid at large*, which includes subsidized usage of utilities as well. Labor market experience is represented by three variables: salary reduction, employment loss, and job suspension (or lack thereof) during the pandemic.

Table 3. Logistic Regression Results (Anxiety and Subjective and Objective Financial Strain)

	Worried for				Financial Stress	Inability to cover expenses
	Inability to cover expenses	Unable to service debt	Possible salary reduction	No future job		
Intercept	-1.46 ***	-0.89 *	-0.43	-2.07 ***	-2.11 ***	-0.23
Financial aid	0.89 **	0.70	0.15	0.38	0.52	-0.12
Aid at large	-0.46 .	-0.30	-0.05	-0.02	-0.11	0.13
Decreased salary	0.88 ***	0.73 ***	1.27 ***	0.78 ***	0.28	0.56 *
Employment loss	0.55 *	0.52 *	0.45	0.97 ***	0.24	0.29
Job suspension	0.00	0.06	0.88 *	0.21	-0.37	0.27
Very low income	1.01 ***	0.87 ***	0.70 **	0.44 *	-0.43	-0.07
Low income	0.61 **	0.59 *	0.47 .	0.49 *	0.14	-0.11
Savings	-1.45 ***	-1.90 ***	-0.82 ***	-1.34 ***	-1.04 *	-1.17 **
Demographic and regional controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1' '1

The results indicate that government policies may have mitigating psychological effects, but the variable is statistically insignificant in all but one case (worries about inability to cover expenses), and even then only if a rather large error range is allowed. Moreover, in the case of direct financial assistance from the government, anxiety seems to grow, although again statistically significant only in the case of direct finance-related issues.

The positive relationship between financial aid and anxiety may have two sources:

- (a) *Financial aid includes unobserved characteristics of the respondents, such as family size, number of children, or even pregnancy* (as one of the programs was explicitly directed towards pregnant women). This would result if the financial aid variable is serving as an indicator of multidimensional poverty. Although we control for income groups, and income effects are economically and statistically significant, some family unobservables may still be part of the problem. To eliminate this hypothesis, Table 4 specifically singles out Program 8, which was supporting workers in an (almost random) list of industries. The effects are still positive

and no family heterogeneity can be observed. Furthermore, industry heterogeneity cannot be observed as industry type is also controlled for.

- (b) *Direct financial support by the government increases financial anxiety by making the future without such support seem more uncertain.* One piece of indirect support for this hypothesis could be the large negative effect of pre-existing savings that serve as a shield against uncertainty.

Table 4. Robustness Check for Logistic Regression Results

	Worried fo inability to cover expenses				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	-1.46 ***	-1.43 ***	-1.46 ***	-1.42 ***	-1.48 ***
8th p.me support		0.69 *	0.33	0.76 *	0.33
Financial aid	0.89 **				
Aid at large	-0.46 .		-0.42 .		-0.78 *
other controls	yes	yes	yes		yes

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1' ' 1

CONCLUSION

The Government of Armenia responded to the health, social, and economic challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic by introducing a restrictive state of emergency and implementing a wide range of support programs for individuals, households, and business enterprises. This study provided descriptive statistics on the social programs implemented and analyzed the efficacy of social policy responses using survey data. Official documents and cost estimates suggest that government support has been early and extensive: the first four social aid packages were adopted on 26–30 March, two weeks after the state of emergency was declared, and AMD 26 billion (USD 55 million, 0.5% of GDP) has been spent on thirteen social programs. Survey data analysis of around 1,300 working-age individuals suggests that government support has substantially increased primary consumption, but most people, especially in urban areas outside Yerevan, used or intended to use the assistance funds for servicing current debts. Thus, aggregate consumption has been supported, but the population’s expectations for the future have not improved. Secondly, government support has not been well targeted, as individuals in the most and least need, as measured by ability/inability to cover current expenses, have benefited equally from social assistance programs. Pre-existing savings, rather than government support, appear to serve as a shield against uncertainty. Finally, the results indicate that, especially in towns and rural areas (as compared with the capital Yerevan), increased levels of financial stress and anxiety are present among people who received direct financial support rather than in-kind benefits from the government.

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**APPENDIX 1: SOCIAL POLICY DEVELOPMENTS IN RESPONSE TO COVID-19 BY POLICY AREA
(ARMENIA, JANUARY–SEPTEMBER 2020)**

	Policy Area	Pensions	Healthcare	Long-term care and disability	Labor market	Education
(1)	Have there been any significant legislative reforms in the indicated policy area during the indicated time period?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
(2)	If (1) yes, have any of these reforms been explicit responses to the Covid-19 pandemic?	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Yes
(3)	If (2) yes, has there been significant regional variation in the implementation of these reforms?	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	No
(4)	Have subnational governments enacted any significant legislative reforms in the indicated policy area during the indicated time period?	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Policy Area	Family benefits	Housing	Social assistance	Other*	
(1)	Have there been any significant legislative reforms in the indicated policy area during the indicated time period?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
(2)	If (1) yes, have any of these reforms been explicit responses to the Covid-19 pandemic?	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	
(3)	If (2) yes, has there been significant regional variation in the implementation of these reforms?	No	N/A	No	No	
(4)	Have subnational governments enacted any significant legislative reforms in the indicated policy area during the indicated time period?	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	

* Legislative reforms in other policy areas explicitly aimed at social protection, e.g., food subsidies or tax cuts aimed at social protection.

Note on subnational governments (entered “not applicable” for all policy areas): Armenia is a unitary state and legal acts adopted by the Government and the National Assembly (decrees and laws) apply with equal force to all regions (*marzes*) of Armenia.

APPENDIX 2: SOCIAL POLICY LEGISLATION IN RESPONSE TO COVID-19 (ARMENIA, JANUARY–SEPTEMBER 2020)

Note: This appendix covers all major national social policy legislation published between 1 January 2020 and 30 September 2020. Source files (decrees as originally adopted and with amendments) and cost estimates (formal requests and answers from respective authorities) for all thirteen decrees are available upon request (in Armenian).

Decree 1		
(1)	Number of decree	358-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման չորրորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the fourth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	26 March 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	29 March 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 1: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Family benefits
(14)	Brief description of reform component	One-off benefits to families with children under age 14, provided that the parents did not work or were laid off due to the pandemic. The benefit is AMD 100,000 (EUR 177) per child. Families where a parent was laid off in the period between 13 and 25 March 2020, but his/her monthly income exceeded AMD 500,000 in January–February 2020, are not eligible. Families where the parent(s) had been laid off but could find other jobs between 13–25 March 2020 are also not eligible.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Retrenchment
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	If fix-term, duration in months	One-off support
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has been amended four times since adoption. The generosity of benefits (AMD 100,000 per child) has been maintained, but eligibility conditions have been tightened. In particular, according to the latest revision of the decree (18 May 2020), families where the laid-off parent was a sole entrepreneur during the specified period are also not eligible.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Maintenance
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	If fix-term, duration in months	One-off support (application portal closes on 1 October 2020).
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.

Decree 1: Component 1		
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term, duration in months</i>	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	211 million
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Not Applicable
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 2		
(1)	Number of decree	410-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման վեցերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the sixth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	30 March 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	01 April 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 2: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Labor market
(14)	Brief description of reform component	One-off benefits to private-sector employees who were employed in the period between 1 January 2020 to 13 March 2020, but were laid off in the period 13–30 March 2020. Benefits equal the minimum wage (AMD 68,000). Employees of the finance and insurance sector (including banks, credit, insurance, stock trading, investment companies, investment funds, and lotteries) are not eligible. Laid-off employees in other sectors are ineligible if one or several of the following conditions hold: monthly income in the two months before the layoff was more than AMD 500,000; the employee had another contract with another employer or with the same employer as of 30 March 2020; the employee was operating a sole enterprise as of 30 March 2020; the employee was a beneficiary of family benefits, as specified by Government decree N 358-L.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Expansion
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	One-off support (application portal closes on 1 October 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has been amended five times since adoption. The generosity and duration of benefits (one-time support, AMD 68,000 per employee) have been maintained, but eligibility conditions have been changed (both expanded and retrenched, on different aspects). In particular, according to the latest revision of the decree (18 May 2020), employees who were laid off in the period between 13 and 30 March 2020 but could find other jobs during the same period are not eligible. At the same time, the fourth condition for ineligibility (being a beneficiary of family benefits) has been removed.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Maintenance
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	552 million
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Not Applicable
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 3		
(1)	Number of decree	411 -L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման յոթերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the seventh Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	30 March 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	01 April 2020

Decree 3		
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.
Decree 3: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Social assistance
(14)	Brief description of reform component	One-off benefits to pregnant women who were unemployed as of 30 March 2020 and whose husbands were laid off in the period between 13–30 March 2020, and did not find other jobs. The benefit is AMD 100,000 (EUR 177). Pregnant women who were single and unemployed as of 30 March are also eligible.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Retrenchment
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	One-off support (applications close on 15 September 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has been amended three times since adoption. The generosity and duration of benefits (one-time support equal to AMD 100,000 per pregnant woman) have been maintained, but the eligibility conditions have been tightened. In particular, according to the latest revision of the decree (21 April 2020), only those pregnant women who are registered at medical institutions are eligible. The revised decree states that the woman should not have been a wage employee as of 30 March 2020 and elaborates on being single (unregistered marriage, divorced, or deceased husband).
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Maintenance
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	977 million
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Not Applicable
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 4		
(1)	Number of decree	412-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման ութերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the eighth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	30 March 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	01 April 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 4: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Labor market
(14)	Brief description of reform component	One-off benefits to wage employees and sole entrepreneurs of four affected industries (hospitality, tourism, personal services, and retail trade). Benefits vary depending on the pre-crisis monthly wage of the employee: for those who earned more than the minimum wage in January–February 2020, the benefits range from AMD 68,000 to 136,000; for those who earned less than the minimum wage, the benefit equals their pre-crisis monthly wage. For sole entrepreneurs, the benefit equals 10% of their turnover in the fourth quarter of 2019 but cannot exceed double the minimum wage (AMD 136,000).
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Expansion
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	One-off support (application portal closes on 1 October 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has been amended eight times since adoption. The generosity and duration of benefits (one-time support varying by the pre-crisis wage of an employee) have been maintained, but eligibility conditions have been expanded. In particular, the initial list of affected industries has been expanded to include sectors in transportation, education, culture, sports, and entertainment. Along with wage employees and sole entrepreneurs, and contractual employees in the affected industries are eligible.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Maintenance
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	9 billion

Decree 4: Component 1		
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Not Applicable
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 5		
(1)	Number of decree	427-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տևտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման իններորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the ninth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	02 April 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	05 April. 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 5: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Family benefits
(14)	Brief description of reform component	One-off benefits to families with children under age 18, provided that both parents or the single parent did not have an employment contract (were unregistered employees) as of 12 March 2020 and did not enter into a temporary or permanent employment contract between 12 and 31 March 2020. Benefits amount to AMD 26,500 (EUR 47) per child. Families where both parents or one of the parents had registered employment between 1 January 2020 and 1 March 2020, and the combined salary (monthly income of one of the parents) in that period exceeded AMD 500,000 (EUR 883) are not eligible. Families that are beneficiaries of state support to poor families (social assistance system) and where one of the parents or both parents had a registered sole enterprise as of 31 March 2020 are also ineligible.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Expansion
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	If fix-term, duration in months	One-off support (application portal closes on 1 October 2020).

Decree 5: Component 1		
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has been amended seven times since adoption. The generosity and duration of benefits (one-time support, AMD 26,500 per child) have been maintained, but eligibility conditions have been expanded. In particular, according to the latest revision of the decree (3 June 2020), parents who are on leave caring for up to 3-year-old children and those whose employer company has been dissolved as of 12 March 2020 are also eligible. Legal guardians of children (instead of parents) may apply.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Maintenance
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	5 billion
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Not Applicable
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 6		
(1)	Number of decree	542-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման տասնմեկերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the eleventh Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	13 April 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	15 April 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 6: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Other (Legislative reforms in other policy areas explicitly aimed at social protection (e.g., food subsidies or tax cuts aimed at social protection))
(14)	Brief description of reform component	Utility payment subsidies to resident subscribers whose bills for February 2020 did not exceed AMD 10,000 (EUR 18) and 5,000 (EUR 9) for natural gas and electricity, respectively. The subsidy amounted to 50% of both bills and was transferred to provider companies as debt repayment or prepayment.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	If fix-term, duration in months	One-off support (all support distributed by 15 April 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has not been amended since adoption.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	786 million
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Not Applicable
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Public Services Regulatory Commission (23 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	Completely

Decree 7		
(1)	Number of decree	550-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման տասներկուերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the twelfth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	14. Apr. 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	16. Apr. 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No

Decree 7		
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 7: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Other (Legislative reforms in other policy areas explicitly aimed at social protection (e.g., food subsidies or tax cuts aimed at social protection))
(14)	Brief description of reform component	Utility payment subsidies to resident subscribers whose bills for February 2020 amounted to AMD 10,001 to 30,000 for natural gas and AMD 5,001 to 10,000 for electricity. The subsidy amounted to 30% of both bills and was transferred to provider companies as debt repayment or prepayment.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	One-off support (distributed by 17 April 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has not been amended since adoption.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	1.8 billion
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Click to enter your text.
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Public Services Regulatory Commission (23 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	Completely

Decree 8		
(1)	Number of decree	557-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման տասներեքերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the thirteenth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	16 April 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	19 April 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable

Decree 8		
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 8: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Family benefits
(14)	Brief description of reform component	Support to socially vulnerable families, i.e., families that were recipients of family and social benefits as of April 2020. Benefits amount to 50% of the pre-crisis benefit per family, of which 70% is paid in cash along with the April monthly benefit, while 30% is transferred to the electricity provider (if the beneficiary is a subscriber).
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	<i>If fix-term, duration in months</i>	One-off support (distributed by 30 April 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has not been amended since adoption.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term, duration in months</i>	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term, duration in months</i>	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	1.2 billion
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Click to enter your text.
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 9		
(1)	Number of decree	596-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման տասնչորսերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the fourteenth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	23 April 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	26 April 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes

Decree 9		
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 9: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Education
(14)	Brief description of reform component	Support for RA citizen students (undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate) at higher educational institutions. Graduating students whose GPA is equal to or more than 90% of the maximum possible value receive 100% reimbursement of the outstanding tuition fee for the Spring semester of 2019–20 academic year. Others receive 75% reimbursement. Student loans of those enrolled full- or part-time at state and state-accredited universities are fully or partially subsidized, depending on the GPA of the student.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has not been amended since adoption.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	1 billion
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Click to enter your text.
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture, and Sports (23 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 10		
(1)	Number of decree	642-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման տասնհինգերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the fifteenth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure

Decree 10		
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	30 April 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	06 May 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 10: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Other (Legislative reforms in other policy areas explicitly aimed at social protection (e.g., food subsidies or tax cuts aimed at social protection))
(14)	Brief description of reform component	Temporary employment opportunity for RA citizens and non-citizen residents. Involves tree planting and fencing work near high altitude rivers in Armenia, organized by "ArmWoods" a state non-profit entity and two foundations for environmental protection.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has not been amended since adoption.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	If fix-term, duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	200 million
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Click to enter your text.
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Environment (23 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree

Decree 11		
(1)	Number of decree	658-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման տասնվեցերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the sixteenth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	04 May 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	06 May 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 11: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Other (Legislative reforms in other policy areas explicitly aimed at social protection (e.g., food subsidies or tax cuts aimed at social protection))
(14)	Brief description of reform component	Utility payment subsidies to resident subscribers whose bills for February 2020 amounted to AMD 30,001 to 40,000 AMD for natural gas, AMD 10,001 to 25,000 for electricity, and up to AMD 3,000 for water and sewerage. The subsidy equals 30% of natural gas and electricity bills (50% of electricity bills for non-gasified communities) and 50% of water bills. Subsidies are transferred to provider companies as debt repayment or prepayment.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	<i>If fix-term, duration in months</i>	One-off support (distributed by 8 May 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has not been amended since adoption.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term, duration in months</i>	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term, duration in months</i>	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	2.1 billion
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Not Applicable
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Public Services Regulatory Commission (23 September 2020).

Decree 11: Component 1		
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	Completely

Decree 12		
(1)	Number of decree	983-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տնտեսական հետևանքների չեզոքացման քսաներորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the twentieth Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	18 June 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	21 June 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 12: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Labor market
(14)	Brief description of reform component	One-off support to wage employees, workers with a civil-legal contract, and sole entrepreneurs of the affected industries, equal to the minimum wage (AMD 68,000). Twelve sectors are specified, including hospitality, tourism, education, sports, culture, gambling, and real estate. Wage employees are considered eligible if they worked for an employer in an affected industry for at least one day in the period 1 March – 15 June 2020.
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Expansion
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	One-off support (application portal closed on 15 July 15 2020).
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has been amended only once since adoption (on 26 June 2020). A thirteenth sector (healthcare and social work) has been added to the list of affected industries.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Maintenance
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.

Decree 12: Component 1		
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	3 billion
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Click to enter your text.
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	Completely

Decree 13		
(1)	Number of decree	1038-L
(2)	Name of decree (original language)	ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը կորոնավիրուսի տևտեսական հետևանքների չեղոքացման քսաներկուերորդ միջոցառումը հաստատելու մասին
(3)	Name of decree (English)	RA Government decree on adopting the twenty-second Covid-19 economic impact mitigation measure
(4)	Date of first parliamentary motion	Click to enter a date.
(5)	Date of decree enactment	25 June, 2020
(6)	Date of decree publication	01 July 2020
(7)	Is the Covid-19 pandemic explicitly mentioned as a motivation in the law or any accompanying text?	Yes
(8)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for the initial parliamentary motion for this law?	Not Applicable
(9)	Was the Covid-19 pandemic a motivation for a significant revision of the legislative project after the initial parliamentary motion?	Not Applicable
(10)	Note on (7)-(9)	The measure was adopted by a government decree and was not discussed in the parliament.
(11)	Was this law a legislative package that contained multiple social reform components?	No
(12)	If (11) yes, how many distinct social reform components did it contain?	Click to enter your text.

Decree 13: Component 1		
(13)	Policy Area	Labor market
(14)	Brief description of reform component	One-off support to individuals who were laid off in the period between 31 March 2020 and 1 June 2020, were employed for at least 85 calendar days prior to that, and did not find other jobs. Employees of finance and insurance, government, and non-profit sectors are not eligible. Individuals for whom the following conditions hold are also ineligible: average monthly income in January to March 2020 exceeded AMD 500,000 (EUR 883); the employee had another contract with the same or another employer as of 1 June 2020; the individual was a sole entrepreneur whose enterprise was operating as of 1 June 2020; the individual was a beneficiary of assistance allocated within measure 20 (see Decree 13 above). The benefit is equal to the minimum wage (AMD 68,000).
(15)	Change in coverage of existing benefits?	Not Applicable
(16)	Duration of coverage change?	No
(17)	If fix-term, duration in months	One-off support
(18)	Note on (15)-(17)	The decree has not been amended since adoption.
(19)	Change in generosity of existing benefits?	Not Applicable

Decree 13: Component 1		
(20)	Duration of generosity change?	Not Applicable
(21)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(22)	Note on (19)-(21)	Click to enter your text.
(23)	Introduction of new benefits?	No
(24)	Duration of new benefits?	Not Applicable
(25)	<i>If fix-term</i> , duration in months	Click to enter your text.
(26)	Note on (23)-(25)	Click to enter your text.
(27)	Cuts of existing benefits?	No
(28)	Note on (27)	Click to enter your text.
(29)	Estimated cost of reform in 2020 (national currency)	327 million
(30)	Estimated cost of reform in 2021 (national currency)	Click to enter your text.
(31)	National Currency Code (ISO 4217)	AMD 051
(32)	Source of cost estimation	Other
(33)	Note (29)-(31)	Source of cost estimation: formal communication with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (22 September 2020).
(34)	If the implementation of the reform should already have started, has the reform been implemented?	to a large degree