
The Integration of Russian Immigrants in Armenia: the Impact of Relocation on the Host Society

Yu.G. MELKUMYAN*, N.A. MELKONYAN**

***Yuliana G. Melkumyan** – PhD in Sociology, Associate Professor, Chair of Social Work and Social Technologies, Head of the Chair of Social Work and Social Technologies, Faculty of Sociology, YSU, Yerevan, Republic of Armenia; yulianamelkumyan@ysu.am, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8324-2632>

****Nvard A. Melkonyan** – PhD in Sociology, Associate Professor, Chair of Social Work and Social Technologies, Head of the Public Relations BA and MA Programs, Faculty of Sociology, YSU, Yerevan, Republic of Armenia; nvard.melkonyan@ysu.am, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4750-2879>

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Abstract

This article examines the integration of Russian “relocants” into Armenian society and explores the impact of their relocation on various aspects of the host society. Through qualitative research methods including in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, this study investigates the integration strategies of Russian relocants and assesses the changes in Armenian society as a result. While the economic integration of relocants into the Armenian labor market was quite successful, social and cultural integration is hindered by numerous factors, leading to social segregation and the formation of a new Russian diaspora. The impacts on Armenia include population growth, transformations in the labor force, increased trade with Russia, and cultural shifts such as the resurgence of the Russian language in public spaces and targeted cultural events. However, challenges such as rising real estate prices, inflation, and occasional social tension highlight the complexities of this migration phenomenon.

Keywords: *Russian relocants, impact on host society, integration, assimilation model, segregation, Russian–Ukrainian military conflict*

The research context

Soon after the outbreak of the Russian–Ukrainian military conflict in 2022, Armenia began hosting migrants from Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. For the first time since

The article was received in May 2024.

gaining independence in 1991, Armenia saw positive net immigration rate 2018–2022 (Table 1). The only exception was in 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic.

According to official statistics, 339 Ukrainian citizens, 316 Belorussian citizens, and 65,149 Russian citizens moved to Armenia [Statistical Yearbook of Armenia 2023]. The share of Russian immigrants is the highest in Armenia.

8,660 Russian citizens were granted residency status in 2022, which is a significant increase compared to 2020 and 2021. The majority of them (6,665) obtained temporary status, accounting for 77%, while 1,897 persons were granted permanent status (22%), and only 98 persons received special status (1%) (Figure 1). Employment in Armenia served as the basis for granting temporary residency status in 86.6% of cases, entrepreneurship in Armenia in 6.4% of cases, family reunion in 5.4% of cases, education in 1.1% of cases, and Armenian origin in only 0.5% of cases. Additionally, 57.6% of those granted permanent status did so based on Armenian origin [Statistical Yearbook of Armenia 2023].

This migration dynamic affects different aspects of local life, which is the core research focus of this article.

Table 1. Net migration in Armenia*

Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Net population migration (per 1,000 population)	-6.2	-5.2	1.1	-1.4	2.0

*[Statistical Yearbook of Armenia 2023].

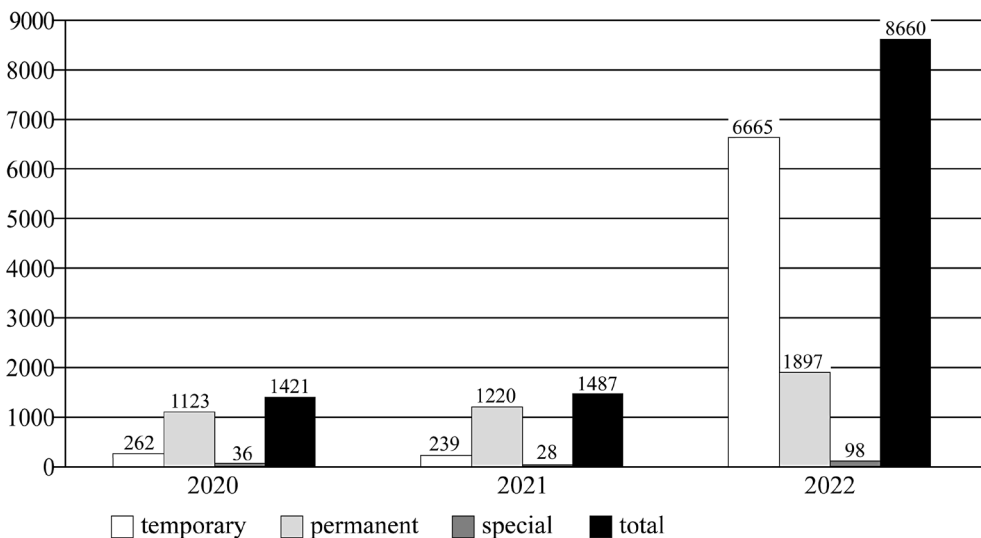


Figure 1. The number of Russian citizens granted residency status 2020–2022*

*[Statistical Yearbook of Armenia 2023].

The models of interactions between hosting societies and immigrants: Integration vs Assimilation

Migration has increased during the 20th and 21st centuries: Individuals relocate from rural areas to urban centers, from one region to another within a country, and from one country to another. Even those who do not move experience the migration effects as it has become an important factor in social transformations in the globalizing world. It reshapes social relations and catalyzes profound changes in societies.

The responses of host countries and societies to migrants vary widely, ranging from exclusion and segregation to assimilation and multiculturalism. The goals and policies of the country or community may align with one of these approaches for all immigrants, or different approaches may be adopted for different immigrants over time. Regardless of the specific process in any society, the interaction has a dynamic character [Oswald 2007, pp. 105–106].

While the pull-push model of migration analyzes the reasons for migration [Melkumyan, Melkonyan 2023; Lee 1966; McAuliffe 2017], assimilation models explore the situation after the immigration, the interaction between immigrant minorities and the hosting majority, and the transformation and interrelation between values and lifestyles. The Chicago school [Park, Miller 1921; Price 1969] posited that immigrants typically undergo four stages of integration “Contact – Conflict – Accommodation – Assimilation”. However, later critiques challenged the assumption that assimilation is an inevitable and irreversible outcome of immigration. Assimilation can be interrupted and transformed to enduring conflict, segregation, or separation based on ethnic or religious factors.

The concept of “a melting pot” is based on the capacity of a nation state and citizenship to serve as a unifying identity framework for diverse linguistic, cultural, and religious groups [Von Meien 2007, pp. 65–67]. However, the reality of cultural pluralism results in the marginalization of minority groups [Han 2005, pp. 297–298].

Esser considers integration and assimilation as synonymous, describing them as the process of achieving equality through learning, which unfolds through several stages:

- **Acculturation.** This stage involves acquiring the cultural traits and norms of the host society. It begins with interaction with the majority culture and leads to the attainment of social status.
- **Integration.** Integration facilitates orientation in the host society through continuous learning. This process enables the satisfaction of needs and the formulation of clear goals within the new context.
- **Assimilation** encompasses 4 dimensions: cognitive, structural, social, and identificatory. Cognitive assimilation involves language acquisition, education, and adherence to social norms. Structural assimilation occurs when individuals attain professional positions and income, which facilitates prestige and social mobility within the host society. The social assimilation stage commences with interethnic interactions and leads to desegregation. The identificatory assimilation stage involves reflection on ethnicity and its utilization, strengthening one’s desire to remain in the host country. This stage may also entail political engagement through activities such as voting [Esser 1980].

Hoffmann-Nowotny makes a clear distinction between integration and assimilation, highlighting that integration pertains to social structures and hierarchies, while assimilation concerns the cultural and symbolic systems of society [Hoffmann-Nowotny 1997].

Ethnicity and Integration of Russian relocants in Armenia

Armenians identify Russian relocants¹ as an ethnic group due to their distinct and easily recognizable habitus, cultural practices, behavior, and language. Their relocation to Armenia was pushed by Russian–Ukrainian military conflict and mobilization.

- Immigrant minorities typically coalesce around ethnic groups, characterized by several core elements:
- Emphasis on the sociocultural similarities, common experience, and collective memory,
- The idea of a common origin,
- Solidarity based on the collective identity,
- Belief in a common future [Oswald 2007, pp. 97–99].

The constructivist approach to ethnicity refers to the situational and instrumental dimensions of the concept without reducing it to a purely manipulative choice. This approach suggests that forming a collective identity fosters a sense of belonging among group members, while also distinguishing and excluding those outside the group [Schlee, Werner 1996].

Due to the armed conflict in Syria that commenced in 2011, Armenia experienced a massive inflow of Syrian-Armenian refugees. The state was not prepared to provide the appropriate legal and logistical assistance to manage such a large flow of refugees and returning Armenians. These refugees experienced different challenges and choose different ways to overcome them. The older age group tends to experience more difficulties in integrating into their host communities compared to younger generations. For Syrian-Armenian women, their new environment seemed safer which was the most important pull factor of their migration [Nersisyan, Tanajyan 2023, pp. 50–51].

The relocation of Russians to Armenia was more opportunistic than a rationally planned migration. Significant changes in lifestyle acted as a push factor for relocation: sanctions applied by Western countries against Russia that caused risks for employment, income loss, the devaluation of the ruble, the fear of war and mobilization etc. [Melkumyan, Melkonyan 2023]. Some relocants moved in February 2022, right after the outbreak of the conflict, driven by a strong antiwar stance and a readiness to move anywhere. The most accessible option was to take a flight to Yerevan. Others decided to move in September when partial mobilization was announced.

I'd never been to Armenia and had quite limited understanding of where we were going. I had decided to move to Tbilisi with a friend, but we could only find a flight to Yerevan. We decided to fly to Yerevan and then take a train to Tbilisi. Our luggage got lost. And we had to stay in Yerevan to get our luggage. The weather in April was very warm

¹ The term “relocant” first appeared in media outlets, social media, and academic literature in discussions surrounding the migration of Russian citizens following the onset of the Russian–Ukrainian military conflict in February 2022. Initially, the term highlighted the trend of temporarily relocating businesses and families. It is generally understood that these relocants do not intend to settle permanently in their new locations.

like in summer. And we could find jobs easily. So we stayed in Yerevan (male, 33, Saint Petersburg, waiter).

My husband got a writ. So he had to move and we moved later. He is Armenian, but has never lived here, nor have his parents (female, 38, Tver, teacher).

Melkumyan and Melkonyan identified the following pull factors for Russian citizens in Armenia, liberal business conditions, access to financial and banking services for Russians, relatively short distance between Armenia and Russia, hospitality [Melkumyan, Melkonyan 2023, pp. 144–146]. The economic pull factors are dominant over the social and cultural ones. Russians moved to Armenia without knowing cultural and social context of the country and without planning to stay there long term.

Research Methodology

This research employs a qualitative approach to investigate the integration of Russian relocants in Armenia and their impact on Armenian society. Secondary analysis of official statistics from the Armenian National Statistical Committee and qualitative research was conducted. Sixty in-depth interviews capturing diverse perspectives from Russians who relocated to Armenia after the outbreak of the Russian–Ukrainian military conflict in 2022 provided comprehensive information about integration strategies of the respondents. Snowball sampling was used to recruit 36 male and 24 female Russian relocants, aged 18–55. The majority of respondents (41) have higher education. 18 respondents moved to Armenia from Moscow, 16 from Saint Petersburg, and 26 from other Russian cities. 60% of respondents relocated to Yerevan, 20% to Gyumri, 12% to Vanadzor, and 8% to Dilijan. The interviews were conducted in Russian by students and researchers from the Department of Sociology, Yerevan State University.

Four focus group discussions with Armenians were conducted to explore the changes that Armenians see resulting from the relocation of Russians after 2022. The focus groups were designed to cover Yerevan and regions: two focus group discussions were conducted in Yerevan, one in Gyumri and one in Vanadzor. The number of participants in each focus group discussion ranged from 7–12, each group including male and female participants aged from 20 to 55. The focus group discussions comprised a total of 42 participants.

Interviews and focus groups were recorded with the oral permission of the respondents. The recordings were transcribed and analyzed using inductive approaches to qualitative analyses: thematic content analysis and narrative analysis.

Relocants' Profiles and Integration

Western scholars usually discuss situations when immigration to Western countries was planned and desired, which defines and facilitates integration within the new

society. Russian relocants considered Armenia as a temporary refuge—a place to wait it out. Those who are optimistic about their future in Russia are planning to move back to Russia after the military conflict. Those who have a pessimistic vision of the future, are looking for an opportunity or planning to move to Western countries. This research helped to identify the factors facilitating the integration of Russian relocants in Armenian society.

Family status: Russian relocants to Armenia are mostly young people, 20–40 years old. Most of them are **single**, which facilitates the relocation. They are more flexible living in unstable conditions, moving from one apartment to the other, looking for jobs, and sharing rented apartments in a new city. Many relocants brought their pets to Armenia. For single relocants, pets become an enabling factor for integration. The relatively short distance and regular flights between Armenia and Russia also make the visits of family members from Russia easier.

For **couples**, it is more challenging to move to Armenia, in some cases one of the partners has a better job in Russia and has to decide to leave and look for a new job in Armenia or to share time between two countries and between their job and their partner.

The situation is even more problematic in case of **families with children**, who need to arrange childcare and education. For families with children under 6 years old it is easier to find a baby-sitter or day-care in Armenia. In some cases, mothers are not working and can take care of their children, while fathers are providing for the family. If the children are of the school age, relocation is more challenging because of the different school systems and the language barrier.

Economic status: Those Russian individuals who possess higher-than-average income in Russia, along with economic assets such as property, bank accounts, or educational qualifications obtained from Western universities, find it easier to relocate. For them, the financial burden associated with moving to Armenia is relatively manageable. In some cases, if they own property in Russia, they can rent it out to cover housing expenses in Armenia.

Location in Armenia: Russian relocants living in Yerevan, Gyumri, Vanadzor, and Dilijan were interviewed. The most attractive city for relocation is Yerevan due to its better social and economic infrastructure and job opportunities, despite higher prices for rent and consumer products compared to other cities. Consequently, there are two main factors pulling Russian relocants to regional cities: relatively lower prices and a quieter environment. Those who moved to regional cities are more likely to integrate easily, because they have lower expectations and ambitions.

I like the climate in the northern part of Armenia. The air is cleaner, and it's quieter than in Yerevan. I work remotely, so it doesn't matter where I live (male, 42, Saransk, IT specialist).

Professional skills: Professionals with universal skills that do not require Armenian language proficiency integrate easily into the Armenian labor market. Among those are waiters, cooks, cleaners, etc. Those Russians who can work online relocate easily. These are usually IT specialists, people working for international companies, or teachers, who can teach online privately or for their institution. There are also cases when people managed to relocate their small businesses like furniture production, moving all the equipment from Russia to Armenia.

I work as a waiter here, just as I did in St. Petersburg. Language is not a problem. When I approach clients, I ask if I should speak Russian or English. I've learned how to ask this in Armenian. The vast majority of clients are okay with Russian. For those who prefer to be served in Armenian, I call an Armenian waiter (male, 33, Saint Petersburg, waiter).

Good Knowledge of English: Most Russian relocants do not speak Armenian. Some of them were initially planning to learn Armenian and started to learn, but there are no language programs for migrants available in Armenia. If Russians start to communicate with locals in broken Armenian, the locals switch to Russian, which many Armenians speak. But written storefront signs, billboards, and street signs are in Armenian and English. Russian signs are very rare. A knowledge of English makes communication easier and some jobs in Armenia more available for Russians.

Liberal views and lifestyle: The decision to leave home, job, and family in Russia and move to a new unknown place is not easy. Those Russians who relocated to Armenia usually have liberal views and a strong antiwar position. The instability of a migrant's life is less frightening for them than the military conflict. Furthermore Armenia is perceived as a democratic country after the "Velvet revolution" of 2018 [Asriyan, Melkonyan 2019, pp. 220–221].

Summarizing the relocants profile we can identify the factors that enable relocation and integration into Armenian society. Factors like family structure, professional skills, knowledge of English, and liberal views enable structural and social assimilation in Armenia. However, there are very few factors that enable cognitive and identificatory assimilation at this stage as these quotes from interviews with Russian relocants demonstrate:

I don't understand the way you make friends here. If you want to have an Armenian friend you have to be friends with his whole family, which is quite unusual for us (female, 55, Ivanovo, tourist guide).

When I walk in the street, I expect that people will keep right. But it is totally unexpected how people move here. Pedestrians often bump into each other (male, 27, Yekatrinnburg, IT specialist).

I am single, but nobody understands it here (female, 42, Moscow, philosophy lecturer).

Impact of Russian relocation on Armenia as a host society

Immigration affects the country of origin and the host country. If the host country accepts immigrants on whatever grounds (work, study, family, or humanitarian), the immigrants can access the labor market and public services. Immigrants become the co-producers and co-users of goods and services along with the rest of the country's population.

Population growth: The immigration of Russian relocants became a component of population growth in Armenia, which is a positive trend, since Armenia has a declining natural population growth and emigration. This influx represents a welcome shift, potentially offsetting population decline and offering prospects for an economic and social revitalization in the country.

Labor force transformations: The majority of Russian immigrants are of working age; they arrive with skills and knowledge acquired in their country of origin. When they arrive in Armenia, they can enter the labor market with their skills changing the profile of the labor force and competing with locals. Russian immigrants increased the working age population of Armenia, the potential labor supply, and are likely to influence productive capital [Boubtane 2019]. Surprisingly this has not resulted in unemployment among the local Armenian population, because the Russian relocants usually enter workplaces that lack professional skills among the local workforce or that are not considered prestigious, thus addressing labor market imbalances.

Increased number of taxpayers: The inflow of permanent migrants increases the number of taxpayers. To be able to stay in Armenia and apply for resident status Russian relocants must be officially employed or have a business. Migrants generally contribute more in taxes and social contributions than they receive in individual benefits [Liebig, Mo 2013].

Development of services: The Russian relocants mostly enter the service industries and compete with the local labor force. This competition leads to the development and improvement of services. The services like banks, restaurants, hairdressers etc. develop to meet the needs of the new customers, who have arrived from the country with higher living standards and higher expectations.

Prices for real estate and rent are growing: The influx of Russian relocants has driven up demand for rental apartments in Armenia. Typically, relocants opt to rent rather than purchase apartments, leading to heightened competition in the real estate market and subsequently increased rental prices, which have adversely impacted locals [Avetisyan, Shoshiashvili 2022; Kuleshova et al. 2023]. Consequently, students migrating from regions struggle to find affordable housing in Yerevan, while those displaced from Artsakh² (September 2023) also face challenges in accessing affordable accommodation.

High prices for consumer goods: Higher demand also affected consumer goods and prices. The prices for consumer goods are growing in Armenia. This has become a significant concern in Armenia, with the surge in demand exerting pressure on the availability and affordability of essentials. This inflationary trend has led to a steady increase in the prices of consumer goods across the country, impacting the purchasing power of individuals and families alike.

Increased trade turnover with Russia: The level of imports of Russian goods to Armenia has also grown. The influx of Russian products into Armenia has noticeably increased, reflecting a burgeoning trade relationship between the two countries. This surge in imports underscores the expanding market presence of Russian goods within Armenian borders, offering consumers a wider range of options but also potentially shaping local market dynamics.

The use of Russian language in public spaces and services: The Russian language, which had gradually faded from public contexts in Armenia after the collapse

² On the 19th of September 2023, Azerbaijan embarked on a full-scale offensive against Artsakh This was followed by the displacement of almost all Armenians from Artsakh.

of the Soviet Union, has seen a resurgence with the relocation of Russians. Now, Russian speech is heard more frequently in public spaces, not only among Russians but also among Armenians communicating with them.

Cultural events targeting Russian relocants: The immigration of Russian relocants also changed the scope of visiting artists. Russian musicians, actors, and stand up comedians have more tours in Armenia than before, mostly targeting Russian relocants. The Armenian audience alone was not big enough to sustain that frequency.

Social tension: The tense social and political situation in Armenia and Artsakh has sparked discussions about Russia's role as a strategic partner of Armenia in the war in Artsakh and the exodus of Armenians from Artsakh. The negative attitudes towards Russia's role in this also impacts the perception of Russians among the local population [Atanesyan 2023]. While this tension is not pervasive, there are instances where relocants find themselves having to discuss their positions with locals.

Ethnic diversity: Armenia has historically maintained a relatively homogeneous population, with Armenians constituting approximately 98% of its demographic makeup. Therefore, the emergence of Russian relocants into this predominantly Armenian context introduces a significant level of diversity unusual for the country.

LGBTQ+³ community: The LGBTQ+ community is also present among Russian relocants in Armenia. While Armenian society is generally perceived as not very tolerant towards LGBTQ+ individuals, the presence of relocants, who are often viewed as outsiders rather than locals, seems to make it more tolerable within certain contexts. A sense of anonymity and safety for LGBTQ+ individuals within Armenian society is inadvertently provided, allowing them to express their identities more openly in certain environments. This dynamic reflects the complex interplay between cultural attitudes, social perceptions, and individual experiences within the context of immigration.

Social Segregation of Russian relocants in Armenia and the shaping of a new Russian diaspora

Despite the economic integration of Russian relocants in the Armenian labor market, social and cultural integration is still lagging. The process is hindered from both sides. The host society does not have any programs for cultural integration, while the immigrant community is not sure about their future in Armenia. Therefore, they do not learn the language or engage in local cultural events but maintain a cultural connection with Russia. This result in the economic co-existence of Russians in Armenia lacking social ties.

The following quotes from the interviews with Russian relocants demonstrate their vision or lack of the vision of the future:

We were planning to stay in Armenia for a couple of months, but it's been almost 2 years
(female, 28, Saransk, IT specialist).

Life will show how long we will stay in Armenia (male, 42, Yaroslavl, carpenter).

³ The international LGBT community movement is recognized as an extremist organization.

Segregated ethnic groups tend to be marginalized if they do not engage in social integration. The prolongation of this process could result in the formation of new Russian diaspora in Armenia, which will not speak the local language, thus existing in different media spaces and online communities, participating in extra cultural events, opening their own clubs, lofts, and cafes and becoming “relocants for relocants”.

Sahakyan describes diaspora as (a) a set of scattered ethnic collectivities in which ethno-cultural continuity, ethnic consciousness, and orientation towards the motherland are emphasized, and whose location is between the homeland and the host country, (b) a place of manifestation of intercultural mixed forms and identities, in which emphasis is placed on the dual consciousness, multiple loyalties, complex relationships and interdependencies of diasporic population groups with other groups, (c) a set of emigrant and immigrant communities, in which the interstate and transnational networks formed between immigrants, the state’s policy towards its dispersed, emigrant citizens [Sahakyan 2022, pp. 35–36].

Conclusion

The immigration of Russian relocants to Armenia, forced by the Russian–Ukrainian military conflict, has profoundly affected various aspects of social and economic life in Armenia. While the economic integration of Russian relocants into the Armenian labor market has been notable, social and cultural integration lags behind, leading to a degree of social segregation.

The integration of Russian relocants into Armenian society is multifaceted and influenced by factors such as family status, professional skills, knowledge of English, and liberal views. While these factors facilitate structural and social assimilation, cognitive and identificatory assimilation remain limited. The absence of cultural integration programs within the host society and the relocants’ uncertainty about their future in Armenia hinder the process of social and cultural integration, potentially leading to the formation of a distinct Russian diaspora within the country.

The impact of Russian relocants has become a component of population growth in Armenia. One of the most important impacts is the economic transformation: the majority of Russian immigrants are of working age; they increase the potential labor supply and are likely to influence the productive capital of Armenia. So far, it has not resulted in unemployment, since Russians are entering the workplaces that lack professionals and are not considered prestigious in Armenia. A new labor force brings the development of services both by relocants as employees and as end users of the services with higher demands. The number of taxpayers in the country increases. Since 2022, the trade turnover between Armenia and Russia has increased.

Among the transformations happening in the cultural sphere are ethnic diversity, which is new for the homogeneous Armenian population, the return of Russian language to public spaces and services, and cultural events in Armenia targeting Russian relocants.

This research has also uncovered negative impacts on Armenian society. One significant challenge is the increasing prices of real estate and rental properties, exacerbated by the influx of Russian relocants. This surge in demand has driven up rental costs, making housing less affordable for both locals and those displaced from Artsakh.

The affordability of essential products has diminished, impacting the purchasing power of individuals and families across Armenia. Additionally, the tense social and political situation in the region has sometimes led to the scapegoating of Russia and Russians for the challenges facing Armenia, particularly in relation to border issues with Azerbaijan. While tensions are not pervasive, instances of blame and discord between locals and relocants highlight the complexities of social dynamics.

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Интеграция российских иммигрантов в Армению: влияние релокации на принимающее общество

Ю.Г. МЕЛКУМЯН*, Н.А. МЕЛКОНЯН**

*Юлиана Гагиковна Мелкумян – кандидат социологических наук, доцент, заведующая кафедрой социальной работы и социальных технологий, Факультет социологии, Ереванский государственный университет, Ереван, Республика Армения, yulianamelkumyan@ysu.am, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8324-2632>

**Нвард Аранковна Мелконян – кандидат социологических наук, доцент, руководитель учебных программ бакалавриата и магистратуры «Связи с общественностью», кафедра социальной работы и социальных технологий, Факультет социологии, Ереванский государственный университет, Ереван, Республика Армения, nvard.melkonyan@ysu.am, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4750-2879>

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Аннотация

В данной статье рассматриваются проблема интеграции российских релокантов в армянское общество, а также влияние релокации на различные аспекты принимающего общества. С помощью качественных методов исследования, включая глубинные интервью и фокус-групповые дискуссии, изучены интеграционные стратегии российских релокантов и изменения в армянском обществе, вызванные миграцией. Если экономическая интеграция релокантов на армянский рынок труда прошла достаточно успешно, то социальная и культурная интеграция тормозится многочисленными факторами, приводящими к социальной сегрегации и формированию новой русской диаспоры.

Влияние релокации на Армению включает демографический рост, реструктуризацию рабочей силы, увеличение торгового оборота с Россией, а также культурные трансформации, такие как возрождение русского языка в общественных местах и целевые культурные мероприятия. Однако такие проблемы, как рост цен на недвижимость, инфляция и социальная напряженность, подчеркивают сложность этого миграционного процесса.

Иммиграция российских релокантов стала фактором роста населения в Армении, что оценивается как положительная тенденция, поскольку в Армении наблюдается снижение естественного прироста населения и тенденции эмиграции. Этот приток представляет собой долгожданный сдвиг, который потенциально компенсирует сокращение численности населения и открывает перспективы экономических и социальных перемен. Большинство российских иммигрантов находятся в трудоспособном возрасте и обладают определенными навыками и знаниями, приобретенными в стране происхождения. Они преобразовывают профиль рабочей силы на рынке труда Армении и стимулируют конкуренцию, что позитивно сказывается на производительном капитале. Интересно, что это не приводит к безработице среди местного населения: релоканты обычно занимают свободные рабочие места, которые либо считаются непрестижными в армянском обществе (официанты, служба доставки и т. д.), либо не соответствуют профессиональным навыкам местной рабочей силы.

Приток долгосрочных мигрантов увеличивает количество налогоплательщиков. Чтобы остаться в Армении на длительный срок и подать заявление на получение статуса резидента, релоканты должны быть официально трудоустроены или заниматься предпринимательской деятельностью.

Релоканты в основном трудоустраиваются в сфере услуг, что приводит к развитию и совершенствованию услуг. В услугах, предоставляемых банками, ресторанами, парикмахерскими и т. д., наблюдается прогресс с целью удовлетворения потребностей новых клиентов, прибывших из страны с более высоким уровнем жизни и более высокими ожиданиями.

Приток релокантов повысил спрос на аренду квартир в Армении, что привело к повышению арендных цен и отрицательно повлияло на местных жителей: местные студенты и вынужденные переселенцы из Арцаха с трудом находят доступное жилье в Ереване; также выросли цены на потребительские товары и услуги.

Уровень импорта российских товаров в Армению также повысился: этот всплеск подчеркивает расширяющееся присутствие российских товаров на армянском рынке, предлагая потребителям широкий выбор и трансформируя динамику местного рынка.

Русский язык, который постепенно исчезал из общественных коммуникаций Армении после распада Советского Союза, с переселением русских релокантов снова стал входить в обиход. Русская речь все чаще звучит в общественных местах не только из уст россиян, но и из уст общающихся с ними армян.

Релоканты привлекают в Армению также культурные мероприятия, ориентированные на российского потребителя.

Напряженная общественно-политическая ситуация в Армении и Арцахе вызвала дискуссии о роли России как стратегического партнера Армении в войне в Арцахе и переселении армян из Арцаха. По этой причине негативное отношение к роли Кремля в этих процессах влияет на восприятие релокантов, вызывая социальную напряженность.

Релоканты проживают в Армении достаточно сегрегированно. Несмотря на экономическую интеграцию на армянском рынке труда, социальная и культурная интеграция не происходит. Процесс затруднен с обеих сторон: принимающее общество не имеет никаких программ культурной интеграции, а сообщество релокантов не уверено в своем будущем в Армении, поэтому они не учат язык, не участвуют в местных культурных мероприятиях, сохраняя культурную связь с Россией, что приводит к экономическому сосуществованию российских релокантов в Армении без интенсивных социальных связей.

Ключевые слова: *русские релоканты, влияние на принимающее общество, интеграция, модель ассимиляции, сегрегация, российско-украинский вооруженный конфликт*

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