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THE ARMENIAN DIASPORA IN RUSSIA: INTEGRATION VS REPATRIATION

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Annotation.

The current state of the Armenian Diaspora in Russia testifies to the presence in it of some divergent tendencies: on the one hand, this is the historically inherent desire of the Armenian Diaspora to thoroughly integrate into the social and economic life of Russia; and on the other hand, this is a certain orientations for repatriation to the homeland in the context of current western sanctions against Russia and a special military operation in Ukraine. In order to study the degree of integration of the Armenian Diaspora in to Russian society and identify a potential repatriation resource among the Armenian migrants, a comparative sociological survey was conducted in Russia and in Armenia.

In the Russian Federation, the sociological survey among the Armenian migrants was conducted by the scientists of the Institute of Demographic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the most Armenian-populated communities in Moscow, and in the Stavropol and Krasnodar regions. In Armenia, the sociological survey among the migrant families was conducted by the scientists of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia in the several cities of the republic.

The main results of comparative sociological surveys conducted within the framework of the joint academic project are presented in this article in the form of a predictive analysis of the current situation.

Keywords: integration, repatriation, diaspora, sociological research.

Introduction

For a whole millennium Armenians have lived and worked in Russia. The first information about Armenians in ancient Russia dates back to the X-XI centuries, when trade relations with the Byzantine Empire began to be established¹. In Kievan Rus in the XI-XII centuries there were Armenian communities in Kiev, Moscow, Novgorod, Kazan, Astrakhan and the North Caucasus. Over time, the number of Armenians in Russia increased and XVI-XVII centuries they already lived in 50 cities and were mainly engaged in trade and production². In February 1828 the “Turkmenchay Peace Treaty” was signed between Russia and Iran, according to which Eastern Armenia was liberated and incorporated into Russia³. After the Armenian Genocide of 1915 in Turkey, the surviving refugees from Western Armenia found refuge in Russia. The process of formation of the Armenian Diaspora continued throughout the XIX century. The October Revolution of 1917 created new political conditions under which the development of Russian regions was carried out without regard to the nationality of the population. The Armenian communities of Soviet Russia did not create Diaspora organizations, which were founded in large numbers by the Armenian Diaspora in Europe, America and the Middle East. In 1988, as a result of the catastrophic Spitak earthquake in Armenia, hundreds of thousands of homeless citizens were evacuated or emigrated to Russia on their own. Several hundred thousand

¹ Arutyunyan Ju.V. Russian Armenians. Ethnosociological Studies of Armenia and the Diaspora. Yerevan: “Gitutyun”. 2016, p. 14. (In Russ.)

² <http://diaspora.gov.am/ru/pages/15/russia> [Date accessed:21.11.2021].

³ Tavakalyan N. The Accession of Eastern Armenia to Russia and its Progressive Meaning. Yerevan: “Lraber”. Academy of Sciences of Armenian SSR. 1978, p. 3-20. (In Russ.)

Armenians fled to Russia from Azerbaijan as a result of the pogroms and war in Nagorno-Karabakh. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 also created a large-scale migration flow of Armenians to Russia. The most Armenian-populated regions of Russia are Moscow and the Moscow region, St. Petersburg, Rostov region, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krai. During the period between the censuses of 1989 and 2002, the number of Armenians in Russia doubled, amounting to 1 million 130 thousand people. According to the results of the 2010 census, it amounted to 1 million 182 thousand people⁴.

With Armenia's accession to the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) in 2015, the Armenian Diaspora at least maintained its numbers due to the stability of the indicators of the number of arrivals in Russia, until the "COVID" year 2020 (2015 - 45670; 2016 - 43929; 2017 - 46898; 2018 - 46442, 2019 - 71984 col. people)⁵. In 2021, the migration flow from Armenia increased, from where 103 thousand people left in three quarters⁶. Along with Tajikistan and Ukraine, it was among the three countries that gave the largest migration growth to Russia⁷. The depopulation processes that have started in Armenia today put forward the task of stimulating the birth rate and organizing a mechanical inflow of population through the repatriation of the Armenian Diaspora. Currently, about 2-2.5 million Armenians live in Russia, which is comparable to the population of modern Armenia⁸. In this regard, the problems of integration of the Armenian Diaspora in Russia or its partial repatriation acquire special demographic and political-economic significance.

Research methodology

The study of the Armenian Diaspora is necessary because it is an important actor of socio-economic processes in Russia and has an impact on all spheres of life in the country. In recent years, scientific literature has revealed the methodological foundations of the study of the theory and phenomenon of the diaspora⁹, the role of diasporas in the context of ensuring Russia's

⁴ Arutyunyan Ju.V. Russian Armenians. Ethnosociological Studies of Armenia and the Diaspora. Yerevan: "Gitutyun". 2016, p. 80. (In Russ.).

⁵ Federal State Statistics Service. International migration. URL:<https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> [Date accessed: 02.05.2022].

⁶ Mejlumyan A. There is a sharp increase in population outflow in Armenia. Nov. 9. 2021. <https://russian.eurasianet.org/in-Armenia-there-is-a-sharp-growth-of-the-population-outflow> [Date accessed: 10.07.2022].

⁷ Russia is preparing for a record increase in migrants. URL: <https://lenta.ru/news/2021/10/26/demogr/> [Date accessed :01.19.2022].

⁸ More than 2.5 million Armenians live in Russia. <https://ria.ru/20021216/282886.html> (Date accessed: 03.17.2022).

⁹ Brubaker, R. The "Diaspora" diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 2005. № 28 (1). P.1-19; Safran W. *Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return* // *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*. 1991. №1 (1). P.83- 99; Tölölyan K. Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment // *Diaspora: A Journal*

national security¹⁰, theoretical problems of studying the adaptation of migrants in the host society¹¹, as well as published works analyzing various aspects of the Armenian diaspora¹². However, the issues of integration or repatriation of Armenian migrants in Russia have not been specifically analyzed in recent years.

The presented analysis of the integration behavior of Armenian migrants is based on the results of sociological research carried out under a joint project in Russia and Armenia. The Institute of Demographic Studies of FNIS RAS together with the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of NAS RA launched a joint research project entitled "The Armenian Diaspora of Russia in the Context of Integration Processes in the EAEU" in 2020. The sociological research was conducted by scientists from both institutes in spring-summer 2021. In the Russian study, 1273 people were interviewed: in Moscow and the region (658 people), in the Krasnodar and Stavropol regions (310 and 305 people respectively). The choice of regions was conditioned by the largest number of Armenian diasporas: 281,680 people lived in Krasnodar region, 161,324 in Stavropol region, and 106,466 in Moscow¹³. In Armenia, 500 migrant families in 33 cities of the republic were interviewed. Thirty Armenian experts dealing with migration issues were also interviewed. In both sociological studies, respondents were selected by snowball sampling. In the Russian study, they were selected according to two main characteristics: ethnicity and arrival in Russia after 1990. In the Armenian study, respondents were selected according to the presence of family members and close relatives who had left for Russia.

When developing the research model, sociologists assumed that integration (or disintegration) is the result of adaptation and embeddedness of Armenian migrants in the structure of Russian society¹⁴. The developed system of indicators is based on the individual level of perceptions of

of Transnational Studies. 1996. Vol.5. № 1. P.3-15.

¹⁰ Lubsky A. V., Bedrik A. V., Serikov A. V. Social institution of the diaspora in the context of provision of national security of Russia. Humanitarian of the South of Russia. 2016. Volume 21. No. 5. pp. 63-73; Avdashkin A. A. Diaspora: the methodological basis of the research of the phenomenon. *Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosuniversiteta. Istoriya* [Bulletin of Chelyabinsk State University. History]. 2015. No. 2 (357). Is. 62: 131-137. (In Russ.); *Integration of migrants with different cultural background: prospects of interculturalism* I.Tsapenko, I.Grishin (eds). Moscow: IMEMO. 2018. 233 p. DOI: 10.20542/978-5-9535-0538-3. (In Russ.)

¹¹ Khamidulin V.S. Theoretical approaches to the study of problems of incorporation of immigrants into the host society. Humanitarian research in Eastern Siberia and the Far East, 2016, № 1, pp. 49-60; Endryushko A. A. Theoretical approaches towards examining the adaptation of migrants to the host society: foreign practices. *Vestnik instituta sotziologii* [Bulletin of the Institute of Sociology]. 2017. Vol. 8. No. 4. pp. 45-70. DOI: 10.19181/vis.2017.23.4.480. (In Russ.).

¹² Tirabyan K. K. Diaspora in the political process of modern Russia (on the example of the Armenian diaspora) "Political institutions, processes and technologies." 2018. 155 p.; Shapovalov S. N. Some aspects of Armenian migration to the Krasnodar krai. *Society: Sociology, Psychology, Pedagogics*. 2015. No. 4, pp. 13-15. (In Russ.); Gevorkyan G. N. The phenomenon of heterogeneity of the Armenian diaspora in Moscow (late 20th - early 21st centuries): towards the topic establishment. *Istoricheskii zhurnal: nauchnye issledovaniya* [Historical Journal: scientific researches]. 2020. No. 1, pp. 102-114. DOI: 10.7256/24540609.2020.1.31883. (In Russ.)

¹³ Demographic Yearbook of Russia. (Statistical handbook). 2010. Moscow. (In Russ.)

¹⁴ Integration and adaptation of migrants and refugees in Russia. - In: *Collection of materials of the scientific-*

everyday life and individual assessments of respondents. The depth of integration was characterized by satisfaction with work, housing conditions, material well-being and tolerance in interaction with the local population.

In the Armenian surveys, sociologists were interested in the question about the repatriation potential of the Armenian Diaspora in Russia. Does it have such sentiments, is there a repatriation resource, what is its scale and what are the expectations of families in Armenia whose relatives have migrated to Russia.

Results of sociological research

The most important indicator of the degree of integration of migrants is their position in the labor market. Thus, 6 out of 10 Armenian migrants work, and a fifth of them both work and study. The employment structure of members of the Armenian diaspora differs from that of migrants from other countries: they are more often engaged in highly skilled, intellectual labor. In the Russian study sample, 21.8% work in services, 20.7% in trade, 10.5% in education, 10.0% in construction, 7.9% in health care, and 5.6% in industry. At the same time, 46.3% are qualified employees, 13.3% are engaged in unskilled labor, 11% are individual entrepreneurs and self-employed, 8.8% hold managerial positions, 7.8% are entrepreneurs and businessmen. It should be noted that one third of the respondents had relevant work experience in Armenia.

The indicator of satisfaction with their work in Russia also characterizes the degree of integration of immigrants. Thus, 8 out of 10 respondents believe that the work they do is well paid, corresponds to their knowledge, abilities and opportunities, and generally satisfies them. Higher scores were received from migrants in Krasnodar Krai, and comparatively low scores in Stavropol Krai.

The vast majority of respondents (75-80%) have good relations with management and colleagues at work. The degree of integration is also characterized by migrants' assessment of various aspects of everyday life: income status, housing conditions, and organization of free time. Thus, 7 out of 10 respondents highly assess their income status. The position "I have enough money to

practical conference on November 15. St. Petersburg. 2018. 113 p. (In Russ.); Volokh V. A., Suvorova V. A. Theoretical foundations for studying the problems of adaptation and integration of migrants into the Russian society. Vestnik Universiteta [University Bulletin]. 2013. No. 20, pp. 202-208. (In Russ.); Integration of migrants with different cultural background: prospects of interculturalism. (I. Tsapenko, I. Grishin (eds). Moscow: IMEMO RAS. 2018. 233 p. DOI: 10.20542/978-5-9535-0538-3. (In Russ.); Alba R., Nee V. Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. International Migration Review. 1997. Vol. 31(4). P. 826-874; Kim Y.Y. Intercultural personhood: Globalization and way of being // International Journal of Intercultural Relations. 2008. No. 32. P. 359-368.

buy everything I think I need" was noted by 33% of respondents. According to the self-assessment, members of the Armenian Diaspora in Moscow were more financially well off, while the least well off - in Stavropol Krai. Moscow Armenians more often live in their own or rented apartments, while Stavropol and Krasnodar Armenians live in their own houses or apartments. At the same time, housing conditions are more often assessed as "good" by those living in Krasnodar region (71.3%), and as "satisfactory" or "poor" by those living in Stavropol region (35.1% and 6.6%, respectively).

Knowledge of the Russian language is also an important integration factor. More than 80% of Armenians living in Russia for less than 10 years have an excellent knowledge of Armenian, but 66% of those who have been living in Russia for less than 10 years also rate their command of Russian as excellent. The majority of those born in Russia have an excellent command of Russian (92%), but insufficient knowledge of Armenian (60%). Over the years, the knowledge of Russian language improves and the Armenian language is forgotten. (See Fig. 1).

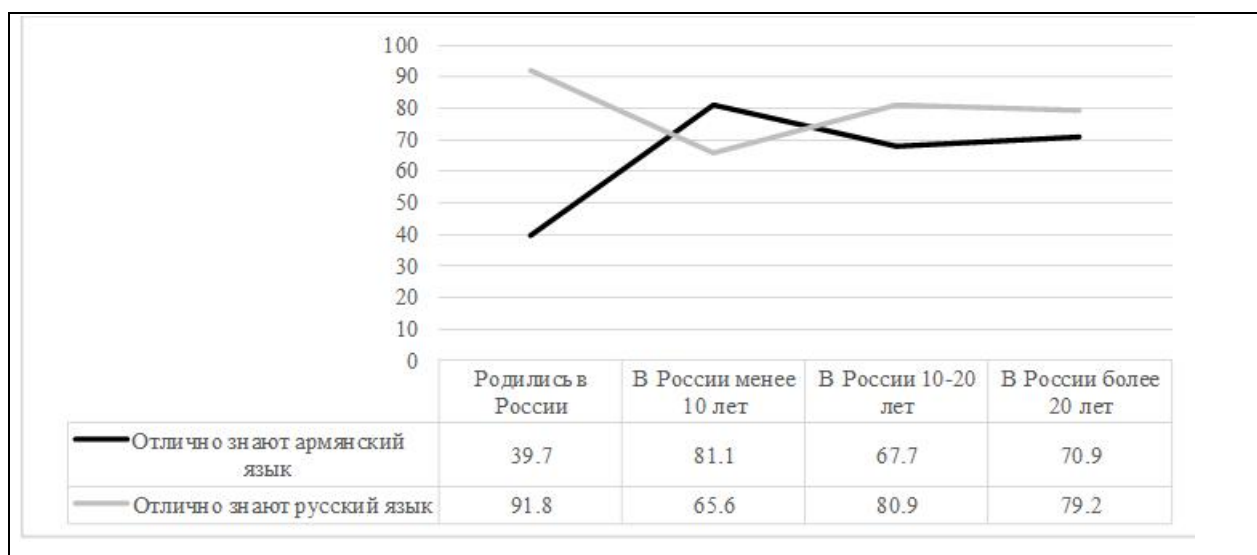


Fig. 1. Respondents' assessment of the degree of proficiency in Armenian and Russian languages, % of all respondents.

A functional condition for integration into society is informal social interactions and relations with different groups in society. In case of problems in Russia, members of the Armenian Diaspora more often turn for help to local acquaintances (49.2%), then to compatriots from Armenia (26.5%), or to local authorities (19.3%) and police (14.2%). Thus, the institution of neighborhood seems to be the most important. Among friends in Russia, members of the Armenian Diaspora have Russians (16.8%), Armenians (21.2%) and others, but the majority (56.2%) responded, "I do not distinguish friends by nationality".

Mixed marriages are known to promote integration. According to the survey data, 37.4% of respondents have interethnic families. The majority of respondents (62.6%) have spouses of

Armenian nationality. However, among young Armenians aged 22-30 only one fifth of them do not consider the possibility of interethnic marriage. According to this indicator, we can state a higher degree of integration among young people.

Numerous public associations of the Armenian diaspora in Russia, such as the "Union of Armenians of Russia", "Armenians of Russia", "Association of Armenian Youth", "Assembly of Armenians", contribute to the integration of migrants into Russian society. Armenian migrants are quite familiar with the activities of these diaspora organizations (from 17.4% to 42%). In addition, about half of the respondents have recently noted cases of support from Armenian diaspora organizations in various life situations. About 10% of the respondents had to contact Armenian Diaspora organizations themselves on any issues, and the overwhelming majority assessed the experience of contacting them as positive. In general, 66.2% of respondents trust the existing Armenian organizations and associations in Russia.

Support for the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union is quite widespread among the respondents; half of the respondents approve of the creation of the EAEU. At the same time, 14% believe that not only economic but also political integration is necessary, and 20% - economic, political and military integration. However, there is still a considerable share of those who are still undecided in their assessment of integration processes (35%).

An important characteristic of integration is identification, acceptance of group norms and rules existing in the Russian society. The official status of citizenship in terms of identifying oneself with Russia is more often used for identification (see Table 1).

Table 1 Possessing citizenship of any country feel themselves...

	Possess citizenship	Feel themselves			
		Citizens of Russia	Citizens of Armenia	Representatives of Armenian people	Citizens of the world
1	Citizens of Russia	44%	7%	15%	6,3%
2	Citizens of Armenia	14,3%	45%	10,2%	6,6%
3	Citizenship of Russia and Armenia	25,9%	16,2%	14,2%	9,1%

About a half of respondents see themselves as citizens of Russia in the future, linking their professional and personal aspirations with Russia (48.4%). One fifth of them see themselves as holders of dual citizenship (RF and RA), linking their aspirations with both countries (20.1%). About 10% see themselves as citizens of Armenia, linking their aspirations with their historical homeland (9.4%). Another 8% intend to move to third countries. Regional peculiarities partially affected the integration perspective. Thus, Armenians living in Krasnodar Krai are more likely to link their future with Russia, those living in Stavropol Krai - with both countries, and those

living in Moscow - with moving to third countries. Subjective assessments of Armenian migrants demonstrate relative stability and high intensity of integration, as well as active inclusion of Armenians in the Russian environment.

Perspectives of repatriation

As the analysis has shown, among the family members who moved to Russia for permanent residence, in search of work or study, 38% are brothers and sisters, i.e. a relatively young generation. The second largest group (32%) are relatives of the family. Children who left for Russia accounted for 17%; parents - 8.6%, and grandchildren - 3.8%. In all groups of those who left, the predominant group was male, which once again indicates the dominance of male migration in terms of gender. In addition, the main reason for migration according to almost half of the respondents (45.8%) is the lack of work at home. In other words, migration from Armenia is mainly labor migration.

A significant part of migrants left for Russia a relatively long time ago. The majority left 10-15 years ago (41.6%), a quarter of them left 5 years ago (25.8%) and a small part (13.0%) left relatively recently, several years ago. In fact, the predominant part of migrants are people who have been living and working in Russia for a long time, and have put their children in schools.

In terms of geography, the following picture emerged: the largest number of migrants left for Moscow (41.4%), followed by Krasnodar (13.8%), St. Petersburg (11.6%), Stavropol (4.4%) and other cities (28.6%).

Armenian migrants are quite actively employed, which is also evidenced by the analysis of economic integration processes within the EAEU¹⁵. According to the survey results, the absolute majority (88.2%) of Armenian migrants work in various sectors of the Russian economy. Thus, 24.8% of migrants work in construction, 20% in trade, 11.2% in industry, 7.6% in transportation and 11.8% study or are employed in the household. Some migrants have obtained Russian citizenship (13.0%), and another 45% intend to obtain it. Obviously, they confidently want to integrate into Russian society.

The absolute majority (82.2%) of the families remaining in Armenia keep in constant contact with their relatives who left for Russia by phone and Internet. According to the interviewed

¹⁵ Tavadyan A., Manaseryan T. Short-term and Medium-term Prospects for Development of the Armenian-Russian Economic Cooperation. In: Collection of Articles "The Current State and Visible Prospects of the Armenian-Russian Strategic Union". Yerevan, 2021. «Nahapet» Publishing House, pp. 36-41. (In Russ.)

families, half of the relatives (52.6%) regularly provide them with material and other assistance: 14.6% send money home every month; 24.2% send money from time to time; 13.8% provide various kinds of support to their families.

The main question about whether the departed family members and relatives intend to return back to their homeland was answered as follows: 10% of the respondents answered that they intend to return in the near future; another 13.8% expressed hope to return sometime in the future. But the majority of respondents (63.2%) answered that they have no such intention, and most likely they will never return to their homeland again.

A survey of 30 experts conducted in Armenia showed approximately similar results. Among the experts were economists, sociologists, psychologists, migration service and law enforcement officers who were involved in the migration issue. Thus, 36.6% of experts believe that Armenian migrants may return sometime in the future; 26.6% are sure that they have no such intentions yet, and 36.6% believe that most likely they will never return. In total, 63.2% of experts believe that migrants have no intention to return or are likely to never return. Exactly the same percentage of answers was received in the sociological survey of Armenian families. Such unanimity between experts and relatives of migrants, in our opinion, testifies to the great reliability of the results obtained.

In the Russian survey of Armenian migrants almost the same results were obtained. Of the 1,346 Armenian migrants, 26.6% said that they might return home sometime in the future; 39.2% said that they had no such intentions at the moment; and 19.6% said that they would probably never return. Thus, 58.8% do not intend to return home. The discrepancy with the results obtained in Armenia is only 4.4%. It should be noted that such coinciding results are quite rare in comparative studies. In our opinion, this again testifies to the high reliability of the results obtained in the joint study.

Similar results were found among those migrants who expressed a firm intention to return home. Thus, 7.4% of migrants in the Russian survey answered that they intend to return to Armenia in the near future. As noted above, 10% of families surveyed in Armenia also responded that their relatives were going to return home in the near future. It can be assumed that the repatriation resource of Armenian migrants is about 7-10%. Taking into account the total number of Armenian migrants in Russia, this amounts to about 80-100 thousand people. The Armenian Diaspora in Russia as a whole is 2.5 times larger. Consequently, we can assume that the total repatriation resource of Armenians may amount to 150-200 thousand people.

The Armenian Institute in London conducted the Armenian Diaspora Survey 2019, which surveyed 3,000 Armenians in Argentina, Canada, Lebanon and Romania. When asked if they

intend to move to live in Armenia, 4% said they have a strong intention to return to their homeland in the near future (2% in Argentina, 3% in Canada, 12% in Lebanon and 3% in Romania), while another 23% of respondents said they would like to return if circumstances change in Armenia¹⁶.

The question about the conditions of Armenian migrants' return home was of particular interest. Thus, migrant families interviewed in Armenia pointed out the main conditions under which their relatives could return home (see Table 2).

Table 2 Main conditions for return of migrants. Survey of families in Armenia

(respondents could give several answers).

№	Answers of respondents	Percentages
1.	If there will be a job with high salary	33,3%
2.	When the socio-economic conditions improve	25,7%
3.	When there will be peace in the region	18,1%
4.	For the family reunification	8,3%

Almost the same picture of conditions of return was obtained in the survey of Armenian migrants in the Russian study, presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Main conditions for migrants' return. Survey of migrants in Russia

(interviewees could give more than one answer).

№	Answers of respondents	Percentages
1.	When the economic situation in Armenia improves	39,9%
2.	When the threat of war and tensions in Armenia will disappear	32,8%
3.	When the political stability will be established in Armenia	31,5%
4.	When the average salary in the country will increase a several times	27,3%
5.	When the new job opportunities will appear in Armenia	22,4%

Similar answers were also received in the survey of 30 Armenian experts. Thus, the main conditions for migrants to return to their home country are: the absence of a threat of war, guarantees of security of the population, availability of new jobs and improvement of the socio-economic situation in the country. The absolute majority of families (86.8%) consider their return more realistic if these conditions are ensured. The comparative analysis of the results showed that the conditions for the possible return of migrants correlate well with the reasons why they left Armenia.

¹⁶ <https://armeniandiasporasurvey.com> [Date accessed: 11.07.2022].

Historical experience of repatriation

In the 20th century, there were several waves of repatriation of Armenians from the Diaspora to Soviet Armenia. Thus, in the 1920s and 1930s, the Soviet authorities organized the repatriation of Armenians from Iraq, then from Greece, Iran, Syria, Bulgaria, France and other countries¹⁷. Overall, in 1921-1936, the number of repatriates reached 456,000¹⁸. In two years, 1946-1948, more than 100 thousand Armenians immigrated to the Armenian SSR¹⁹. The resettlement of Armenians from abroad was carried out by the decision of the leadership of the Soviet Union in the post-war period in order to compensate for the large losses of the Armenian population in the Great Patriotic War. Thus, the republic has a historical experience of organizing the repatriation of compatriots.

Today Russia has the largest Armenian Diaspora. We live in such socio-political conditions that if the situation is favorable, many of the Armenian Diaspora may well return to their homeland. Especially since all groups of respondents in our comparative study stated that repatriation is possible if several basic conditions are present. However, even possessing a considerable repatriation resource, the authorities of the republic should be able to ensure these conditions and organize their return. So far, annual migration from Armenia has been observed.

Conclusion

It should be noted that sociological studies in Armenia and Russia were conducted long before the special military operation in Ukraine and Western sanctions against Russia. They had an impact on the changes in migration flows in the post-Soviet space. The Ukrainian crisis and sanctions forced many Russian entrepreneurs to leave the country²⁰. Unexpectedly, there was a rather large flow of migrants to Armenia. As of July 2022, about 90 thousand Russians arrived in Armenia, 70 thousand of whom opened accounts in Armenian banks²¹. Some of them transited to neighboring Georgia. The overwhelming majority are representatives of medium-sized

¹⁷ Dyatlov V., Melkonian E. *Armenian Diaspora: Essays on Sociocultural Typology*. Yerevan. 2009. 162 p. (In Russ.)

¹⁸ *Armenian Diaspora. Encyclopedia*. Yerevan. 2003. PP. 14-15. (In Arm.)

¹⁹ Zemskov V. N. (2003) *Special Settlers in the USSR. 1930–1960*. Moscow. 2003. 306 P. (In Russ.); *Population Redistribution in the Soviet Union, 1939-1956*. Michael K. Roof and Frederick A. Leedy. *Geographical Review*. Vol. 49. No. 2 (Apr. 1959). P. 208-221. American Geographical Society.

²⁰ Todar Baktemir. Fake foreign country. https://holod.media/2022/03/19/nenastoyashhaya-zagranicza/?fbclid=IwAR0MkZWcw9vMl4_bVO11C2ZeQc6mn7LMMZxO-dUlw-i_NjzrWHH4ItkHZN8 [Date accessed: 19.03.2022].

²¹ *Armenian Business News (ABN)* https://finport.am/full_news.php?id=46167&lang=1 [Date accessed: 11.07.2022].

businesses engaged in foreign economic activities. Hundreds of Russian IT companies have applied to move their business to Armenia. Business relocation services began to be advertised in Armenia and guides for immigrants from Russia, including for Armenian repatriates, were published. During January-June 2022, 9, 917 foreigners were granted Armenian citizenship. While during the whole of 2021 only 3,448 people received Armenian citizenship. Perhaps many Armenians will prefer to return and transfer their business to Armenia. By maintaining economic ties with Russia and holding dual citizenship, they will be able to bring great benefits to the economies of both countries. The repatriation of Armenian migrants from Russia will help modernize and invest in the Armenian economy and partially solve the demographic problem.

At the same time, the integration of Armenian migrants in Russia is a continuum that does not imply full assimilation. It proceeds with varying degrees of intensity in specific historical conditions and in specific spheres of everyday life. In general, the integration process demonstrates relative stability and active inclusion of Armenians in the general Russian environment.

The results of the conducted sociological research can contribute to improving the efficiency of using the potential of the Armenian Diaspora in the socio-economic development of Russia and Armenia.

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