



DOI: 10.22363/2313-1683-2023-20-2-197-210

EDN: VUXLTR

UDC 316.6


Research article

## Mutual Acculturation of Russians and Armenians in the Krasnodar Territory

Victoria N. Galyapina<sup>1</sup>, Oksana R. Tuchina<sup>2</sup>, Ivan A. Apollonov<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>National Research University Higher School of Economics,  
20 Myasnitskaya St, Moscow, 101000, Russian Federation

<sup>2</sup>Kuban State Technological University,  
2 Moskovskaya St, Krasnodar, 350072, Russian Federation

 [vgalyapina@hse.ru](mailto:vgalyapina@hse.ru)

**Abstract.** Mutual intercultural relations between the dominant population and representatives of ethnic minorities or migrants have been studied in sufficient detail by both foreign and Russian researchers. However, some minorities have a special status and are referred to by Russian researchers as ‘indigenized’ ones. Armenians belong to such ethnic groups. In this regard, it is of interest to study the mutual intercultural relations between representatives of the ethnic majority and Armenians as an indigenized ethnic minority. This study was conducted in the context of J. Berry’s ecocultural approach. The purpose of the study was to test three hypotheses of intercultural relations (multiculturalism, contact and integration). The sample included Russians ( $N = 198$ ; men – 50%;  $M_{age} = 19.7$ ) and Armenians ( $N = 186$ , men – 43%,  $M_{age} = 23.3$ ) from the Krasnodar territory, the total sample  $N = 388$ . The research methods included scales from the MIRIPS questionnaire adapted to the Russian sample. Using structural equation modeling, the results indicating that the perceived security of the Russian and Armenian respondents predicted their attitudes to support a multicultural ideology were obtained; for the Armenians, this was also positively associated with the integration strategy and negatively associated with the assimilation attitudes. Intercultural friendly contacts among Russians and Armenians were positively associated with ethnic tolerance; however, among the Armenians they were also associated with the integration and assimilation strategies. The Armenians’ preference for the separation strategy predicted their life satisfaction; for the Russians, however, their expectation of the Armenians’ separation did not contribute to their self-esteem. In general, the results of the study had shown that the perceived security and especially intensive intercultural friendly contacts lead to the mutual integration of the non-indigenous ethnic minority and the ethnic majority. The historically determined features of the Krasnodar territory, multiculturalism and multi-confessionalism, as well as the absence of assimilation imposed by the ethnic majority, are important conditions for the successful mutual acculturation of the Russians and representatives of the ‘indigenized ethnic minority’, i.e., the Armenians of the Kuban.

**Key words:** mutual acculturation, multiculturalism hypothesis, contact hypothesis, integration hypothesis, Russians, Armenians, Krasnodar territory

**Acknowledgements and Funding.** The study was carried out as part of the HSE University Program for Fundamental Research (“Mirror Laboratories” project).

© Galyapina V.N., Tuchina O.R., Apollonov I.A., 2023



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/legalcode>

## Sociocultural context of the study

Russia is a multiethnic state, where more than 190 ethnic groups live.<sup>1</sup> Among them are indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Armenians belong to non-indigenous peoples; their number is 1182 thousand people (0.83%) of the number of Russians (Leontieva, Mkrtchyan, 2020). Armenians in Russia as an ethnic minority are sufficiently consolidated and organized, which allows them to be considered as a diaspora (Leontieva, Mkrtchyan, 2020).

The Armenian diaspora is quite active in the South of Russia, especially in the Kuban (Shapovalov, 2015; Berberyan, Tuchina, 2018). The regional group of Kuban Armenians has been formed over the past thousand years as a result of large migration flows.<sup>2</sup> There are several hundred Armenian villages and about two dozen active Armenian churches in the Krasnodar Territory. Currently, Armenians make up 3.62% (211,000) of the region's population.<sup>3</sup> This is the second largest ethnic group after the Russians. A significant part of the Armenian diaspora in the Krasnodar Territory is a fully integrated old-timer population, which is actually recognized here as 'indigenous'.<sup>4</sup>

As noted by a number of researchers (Dmitriev et al., 2017), the Armenian diaspora in the Kuban is distinguished by its openness and readiness to interact with other ethnic groups. The Armenians are actively involved in the life of the region; Russian is native language for the majority of them. The Armenian community makes a great contribution to the development of the Krasnodar Territory. In 2022, a monument to I. Aivazovsky was created and donated to the city at the expense of the Armenian community. One of the main charitable organizations of the region, the 'Armenian Charity', provides social support and protection to citizens regardless of their ethnicity, and also contributes to "strengthening peace, friendship and harmony among peoples, preventing social, national, religious conflicts".<sup>5</sup> Kamo Hayrapetyan, Chairman of the Regional Branch of the All-Russian Public Organization 'Union of Armenians of Russia' in the Krasnodar Territory, noted in his interview that "Armenians are part of the multinational people of the Russian Federation and are united by a common destiny on this land."<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, as studies have shown (Berberyan, Tuchina, 2018), the Armenians of the Krasnodar Territory represent an internally consolidated

<sup>1</sup> *All-Russian population census 2020. The national composition of the population* (vol. 5). (In Russ.) Retrieved April 29, 2023, from <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/56580>

<sup>2</sup> Savva, M.V. (2009). *Armenians of the Krasnodar territory: Persons of Kuban nationality*. (In Russ.) Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.isc-s.ru/istoriya-armyan-kubani/nauchnye-raboty/armyane-krasnodarskogo-kraya.html>

<sup>3</sup> *All-Russian population census 2020. The national composition of the population* (vol. 5). (In Russ.) Retrieved April 29, 2023, from <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/56580>

<sup>4</sup> Savva, M.V. (2009). *Armenians of the Krasnodar territory: Persons of Kuban nationality*. (In Russ.) Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.isc-s.ru/istoriya-armyan-kubani/nauchnye-raboty/armyane-krasnodarskogo-kraya.html>

<sup>5</sup> Armenian Charity. Retrieved from <https://www.kuban-arm.ru/abo/about/>

<sup>6</sup> Airapetyan, K.D., & Dvinov, A. (2023, April 30). Armenians of Kuban for a united and great Russia. *Yerkramas*. (In Russ.) Retrieved April 30, 2023, from <https://yerkramas.org/article/190903/armyane-kubani-za-edinuyu-i-velikuyu-rossiyu>

community along ethnic lines, their level of loyalty to ‘insiders’ is higher than to representatives of the ‘broad’ society.

Based on the definition of acculturation (Redfield et al., 1936), we can say that intercultural interaction between the Armenians and Russians of the Kuban can be considered as ‘mutual acculturation’, since the representatives of these groups are in direct and continuous contact, which resulted in changes in the elements of the original culture of both groups.

### **Study of mutual acculturation of ethnic groups in Russia**

The problem of mutual acculturation of the peoples of Russia has been sufficiently studied by researchers (Galyapina, Lebedeva, 2016; Galyapina et al., 2021; Galyapina, 2017; Kodzha et al., 2019; Lepshokova, 2017, and others). Basically, their research was carried out in the national republics or through the prism of migration processes, for example, Mutual Acculturation of Russians and Migrants from Central Asia and the South Caucasus (Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2013; Ryabichenko, Lebedeva, 2017). This study showed that both Russians and migrants from the countries of Central Asia and the South Caucasus prefer integration attitudes. In all the groups studied, the perceived security predicted their multicultural ideologies and integration attitudes, and integration was positively associated with self-esteem among members of all these groups. These similarities support the reciprocal nature of intercultural relations. However, some differences were also revealed. For example, the contact hypothesis found partial confirmation among the Russian majority and the migrants from Central Asia, but was not confirmed among the migrants from the South Caucasus.

Studies conducted in the republics of the North Caucasus (Galyapina et al., 2021; Lebedeva et al., 2017) showed the importance of the sociocultural context in the mutual acculturation of ethnic groups. For example, in the context of North Ossetia-Alania, ‘culturally close’ for the Russians and the ethnic majority group (Ossetians), integration attitudes increased the positive effect of perceived security and intercultural contacts on the well-being of Ossetians, but in the context of the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic, ‘culturally distant’ for the Russians and the ethnic majority groups (Kabardians and Balkars), such a role was played by attitudes towards assimilation.

Also, the research data showed that the conformity/discrepancy between the acculturation preferences of the minority groups and the majority defines problematic or even conflict zones. For example, a study of intercultural relations in Kabardino-Balkaria showed that the Russians there preferred the integration strategy, while the Kabardians and Balkars preferred segregation. The discrepancies between one group’s acculturation preferences and their preferences as to acculturating the other group predicted a lower level of life satisfaction and negative intergroup attitudes (Lebedeva et al., 2017).

That is, we can say that intercultural relations have been studied in sufficient detail among the ethnic majority groups and ethnic minorities in national republics. However, non-indigenous minorities have almost never been the subject of separate studies. Moreover, in the Krasnodar Territory one can observe an interesting phenomenon that requires analysis: the Armenians (representatives of

an ethnic minority) behave like an ethnic majority in certain areas of the region's life, while the Russians (representatives of an ethnic majority) use behavior patterns characteristic of ethnic minorities<sup>7</sup> (Koryakin, 2007).

All of the above actualizes the study of the problem of mutual acculturation of the Russians and Armenians in the Krasnodar territory.

### **Theoretical foundations of the study**

The theoretical basis of our study is J. Berry's ecocultural approach (Berry, 2019). This author proposed a model that included acculturation attitudes, changes in behavior or lifestyle in a new society, and acculturative stress (Berry, 1990).

In the course of this study, we tested three hypotheses of intercultural relations (multiculturalism, contact and integration hypotheses) proposed in the framework of the acculturation model (Berry, 1990). According to this model, the multiculturalism hypothesis is based on the postulate that the reason for accepting people from a different culture and reducing discrimination is a sense of cultural, economic and physical security (Berry, 2017). Several studies conducted in Russia and abroad have proven the positive relationship between perceived security and multicultural ideology or ethnic tolerance (Ward, Masgoret, 2008; Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2013; Galyapina, 2017, and others).

The contact hypothesis proves that intercultural friendly contacts promote mutual acceptance of cultural groups. However, it is very important that this contact should take place under certain conditions, including equality of the contacting individuals or groups, voluntariness of contact, support for intercultural contacts by politics, social norms and laws prohibiting discrimination, etc. (Tropp, Pettigrew, 2005). Previous studies in Russia have proven that intercultural friendly contacts promote tolerance, attitudes towards integration and assimilation (Ryabichenko, Lebedeva, 2017; Galyapina, 2017; Lepshokova, 2017).

The integration hypothesis proves that the integration strategy, which assumes the involvement of groups and their members both in preserving their own culture and in adopting another one, contributes to the achievement of greater psychological and social well-being than participation in the life of only one cultural group (Berry, 2017; Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2013, 2017).

Based on the theoretical analysis, we formulated *the hypotheses of this study*:

1. The multiculturalism hypothesis: among the Russians and Armenians in the Krasnodar territory, perceived security is positively associated with the support of multicultural ideology, ethnic tolerance, and integration and assimilation attitudes.

2. The contact hypothesis: among the Russians and Armenians in the Krasnodar territory, their intense intercultural friendly contacts are positively relationship with ethnic tolerance, integration and assimilation attitudes.

3. The integration hypothesis: among the Russians and Armenians in the Krasnodar territory their integration attitudes are positively related to self-esteem and life satisfaction.

---

<sup>7</sup> Konovalova, E.N. (2007, December 2). Armenians in the Kuban: Migrants or locals? *Yuga*. (In Russ.) Retrieved September 25, 2021, from <https://www.yuga.ru/articles/society/4760.html>

In addition, taking into account, on the one hand, the fairly strong consolidation of the Armenians of the Kuban, and, on the other hand, the high ethnic mosaic of the Krasnodar territory, we assumed that the separation strategy can play a significant role in intercultural relations. It can be weakened by both intense intercultural contact and increased perceived security (Kodzha et al., 2019). In addition, the analysis shows that the separation strategy is positively associated with life satisfaction (Galyapina, Lepshokova, 2017). Based on the above, we put forward *additional hypotheses*:

4. Among the Russians and Armenians their perceived security and the intensity of intercultural friendly contacts are negatively related to separation attitudes.

5. Among the Armenians, their separation strategy is positively associated with their self-esteem and life satisfaction.

6. Among the Russians, their separation expectation of the Armenians is negatively related to their self-esteem and life satisfaction.

### Research methods

**Sample.** The participants of the study were Russian and Armenian residents of the Krasnodar territory. The total sample size was 388 persons. Table 1 presents the age and gender characteristics of the participants.

Table 1

Gender and age characteristics of the sample

Ethnic groups	Number N = 384	Age			Gender	
		M	Min – Max	SD	Male, N, %	Female, N, %
Russians	198	19.7	18–30	2.5	99 (50%)	99 (50%)
Armenians	186	23.3	17–43	7.8	78 (43%)	108 (57%)

Note: N – total sample size; M – mean value; Min – minimum age; Max – maximum age; SD – standard deviation.

An analysis of the level of education in the Armenian sample showed that 17 respondents (9.1%) had incomplete secondary education, 79 respondents (42.4%) had secondary education, 21 respondents (11.3%) had specialized secondary education, and 69 respondents (37%) had higher education. In the Russian sample, one respondent (0.5%) had an incomplete secondary education, 10 respondents (5.1%) had secondary education, 72 respondents (36.4%) had secondary specialized education, and 117 respondents (59.1%) had higher education.

**Research procedure.** The participants completed a socio-psychological survey in person in the Krasnodar territory in 2019–2020. Convenient sampling ('snowball' method) was used. The participants did not obtain any reward.

**Measure.** In this study, we used scales from the MIRIPS questionnaire, which were translated into Russian and adapted to the Russian sample (Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2009). All the responses were given on a 5-point scale from 1 (absolutely disagree) to 5 (absolutely agree). The reliability and consistency of the scales were assessed using the reliability coefficient (Cronbach's  $\alpha$ ).

**Perceived security:** 6 questions, for example, "There is room for a diversity of languages and cultures in the Kuban" (for the Russians,  $\alpha = 0.54$ ; for the Armenians,  $\alpha = 0.59$ ).

*Intercultural friendly contacts*: this scale included 2 questions: “How many Russian/Armenian close friends do you have?” and “How often do you meet with your Armenian/Russian friends?” (for the Russians,  $\alpha = 0.67$ ; for the Armenians,  $\alpha = 0.52$ ).

*Multicultural ideology*: 10 questions, for example, “We must help cultural and racial minorities preserve their cultural heritage in the Kuban” (for the Russians,  $\alpha = 0.65$ ; for the Armenians,  $\alpha = 0.56$ ).

*Ethnic tolerance*: 6 questions, for example, “We must strive for equality of all groups, regardless of their racial or ethnic origin” (for the Russians,  $\alpha = 0.62$ ; for the Armenians  $\alpha = 0.59$ ).

*Acculturation expectations*: for the Russians: integration (4 questions, for example, “Representatives of other ethnic groups (non-Russians) living in the Kuban must be fluent in both their native and Russian languages”) ( $\alpha = 0.58$ ); assimilation (4 questions, for example, “Representatives of other ethnic groups should participate in those activities where only Russians participate”) ( $\alpha = 0.56$ ), separation (4 questions, for example, “I believe that representatives of other ethnic groups should, above all, preserve their cultural traditions”) ( $\alpha = 0.56$ ).

*Acculturation strategies*: for the Armenians: integration (4 questions, for example, “I believe that Armenians should be fluent in both their native and Russian languages”) ( $\alpha = 0.64$ ); assimilation (4 questions, for example, “I believe that it is more important for Armenians to be fluent in Russian than in their native language”) ( $\alpha = 0.67$ ), separation (4 questions, for example, “I believe that Armenians should make friends only with Armenians”) ( $\alpha = 0.81$ ).

*Self-esteem*: 4 questions, for example, “I believe that I have some good qualities” (Rosenberg, 1985) (for the Russians,  $\alpha = 0.80$ ; for the Armenians,  $\alpha = 0.66$ ).

*Life satisfaction*: 5 questions, for example, “I have everything I need in life” (Diener et al., 1985) (for the Russians,  $\alpha = 0.81$ , for the Armenians,  $\alpha = 0.79$ ).

*Sociodemographic characteristics*: gender, age, education.

*Mathematical statistical data processing*. The data were processed using the SPSS 26.0 statistical software package. The following methods were involved: the differences between the groups were measured using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA); the hypotheses were tested using SEM (structural equation modeling).

## Results

**Results of comparison of means of all the variables.** The results showed that the Russians and Armenians of the Kuban significantly differ from each other in the studied variables (Table 2): Wilks'  $\Lambda = 0.517$ ,  $F(23.011) = 1.98$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.048$ .

**Structural equation modeling results.** Further, to test the main hypotheses, we analyzed the data using structural equation modeling. We controlled for the gender and age of the respondents. However, since they did not have significant effects on the variables under study, we did not display them in the model.

At the first stage, we conducted a multigroup analysis. The results indicated the absence of invariance ( $\Delta CFI > 0.01$ ;  $\Delta RMSEA > 0.01$ ). Therefore, we carried out further analysis separately for each group.

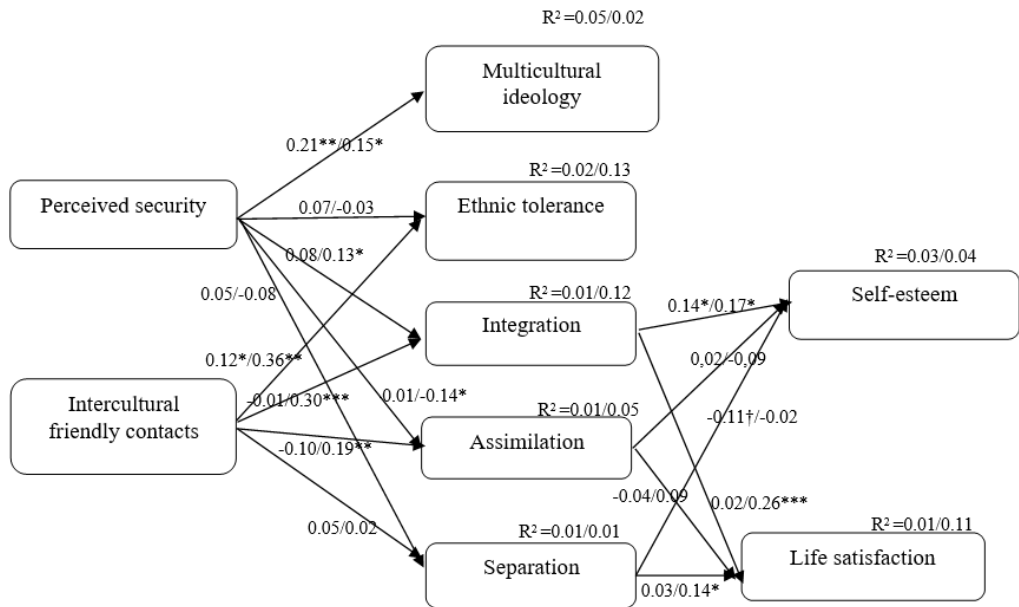
Table 2

Results of the survey of the Russian and Armenian respondents

Variables	Russians		Armenians		F(3,381)	Partial η²
	M	SD	M	SD		
Perceived security	3.15	0.46	3.56	0.51	25.183***	0.061
Intercultural friendly contacts	3.22	1.11	4.80	0.86	79.282***	0.170
Multicultural ideology	3.34	0.55	3.71	0.80	66.763***	0.147
Ethnic tolerance	3.60	0.62	3.78	0.50	49.814***	0.114
Integration	3.85	0.69	4.42	0.59	80.470***	0.173
Assimilation	2.35	0.67	2.83	0.63	5.988**	0.015
Separation	2.65	0.61	2.45	0.68	6.139**	0.016
Self-esteem	3.89	0.63	4.1	0.88	31.300***	0.075
Life satisfaction	3.62	0.86	4.19	0.48	51.256***	0.118

Note: M – mean value; SD – standard deviation; F – Fisher’s F-test; Partial η² – partial eta squared (non-linear correlation coefficient). \* effects are significant at  $p < .05$ . \*\* effects are significant at  $p < .01$ . \*\*\* effects are significant at  $p < .001$ .

To test the hypotheses, we built path models for the Russians and the ethnic minority group, the Armenians (Figure). The characteristics of the models correspond to the requirements for models in structural modeling:  $\chi^2/df = 1.4/2.1$ ; SRMR = 0.03/0.05; CFI = 0.98/0.94; RMSEA = 0.07/0.08; PCLOSE = 0.43/0.31.



Path model for testing the hypotheses of intercultural relations among the Russians and Armenians of the Kuban (coefficients are presented through a slash: Russians/Armenians)

Note: \* $p < 0,05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; †  $p = 0.06$ .

The multiculturalism hypothesis was partially confirmed in both samples: for the Russians, their perceived security predicted attitudes towards maintaining the multicultural ideology; for the Armenians, their perceived security was positively associated with attitudes toward maintaining the multicultural ideology and integration strategy, but negatively associated with assimilation attitudes.

The contact hypothesis was partially confirmed in the Russian sample and completely confirmed in the Armenian sample: for the Russians, the intensity of intercultural friendly contacts was positively related only to ethnic tolerance; among the Armenians, the intensity of intercultural friendly contacts was positively associated with ethnic tolerance as well as integration and assimilation strategies.

The integration hypothesis was fully confirmed in the Armenian sample and partially confirmed in the Russian sample: for the Russians, their expectation of the Armenians' integration predicted their self-esteem; for the Armenians, the integration strategy was positively associated with both their self-esteem and life satisfaction.

The additional hypothesis (4) about the negative relationship of the perceived security and intercultural contacts with separation attitudes was not confirmed in both samples.

However, the additional hypotheses (5 and 6) were partially confirmed: the Armenians' separation strategy was positively related to their life satisfaction; for the Russians, the expectation of the Armenians' separation reduced their self-esteem (at the level of trends).

## Discussion

The multiculturalism hypothesis was partially confirmed in the sample of the ethnic majority (Russians of the Kuban): their perceived security predicted attitudes towards maintaining the multicultural ideology. In the ethnic minority group (Armenians of the Kuban), the hypothesis was also partially confirmed: their perceived security was not associated with the ethnic tolerance; however, it was positively associated with attitudes towards maintaining the multicultural ideology and the integration strategy. These data can be interpreted in the context of the hypothesis of ideological asymmetry proposed by the social dominance theory, according to which multiculturalism is more beneficial for an ethnic minority than for a group of the host population, since multiculturalism allows the minority to preserve their culture and receive a higher social status in society, whereas the host population may perceive the minority and their desire to preserve their culture as a threat to their identity and status (Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, 2008).

Interesting in this study was the result that the perceived security of the ethnic minority (Armenians) was negatively associated with their assimilation attitudes. Accordingly, for the representatives of this group, security is seen as a factor in preserving themselves as an ethnocultural community. The Armenians see the problem not in the imposition of other traditions and rules of conduct, but rather in the gradual loss of their own national traditions. Consequently, they do not feel anxiety in relation to their acceptance by the majority; on the contrary, they want to demonstrate their cultural characteristics and their influence on the life of the region.

The contact hypothesis was partially confirmed in the sample of the ethnic majority: the intensity of intercultural friendly contacts was positively associated only with the ethnic tolerance of Russians. Given the rather high level of ethnic tolerance both in the ethnic minority group and in the ethnic majority group, as well as the high level of intercultural contacts, it can be assumed that these results are



due to the low level of interethnic tension in the multicultural society of the Krasnodar territory, as well as long-standing historical relationship between the indigenous population and the “indigenized” Armenian diaspora.

The contact hypothesis was fully confirmed in the Armenian sample: their friendly contacts with Russians were positively associated with ethnic tolerance and preference for the integration and assimilation strategies. The representatives of the Armenian diaspora of the Kuban are characterized by a large number of intercultural contacts, openness in communication and active interaction with representatives of other ethnic groups. This feature suggests that intercultural contacts are a powerful factor in effective interethnic relations.

The integration hypothesis was partly confirmed in the sample of the ethnic majority: their expectation of the Armenians’ integration in the Krasnodar territory predicted their self-esteem. This is consistent with the results of numerous previous studies, namely, the ethnic majority most often expects the minority to be integrated or assimilated (Barrette et al., 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Ljubic et al., 2010). Migrants who choose the assimilation or integration strategies are perceived by most as less threatening to the host society (Berry et al., 2006; Kopic et al., 2005).

The integration hypothesis in the ethnic minority group was fully confirmed. Their preference for the integration strategy was positively associated with the measures of psychological well-being (self-esteem and life satisfaction). The high level of self-esteem and life satisfaction in this group demonstrates that the Armenians of the Kuban are a fairly adapted and psychologically prosperous ethnic group within the region, and one of the predictors of their well-being is the orientation towards integration into the host society.

The additional hypothesis about the negative relationship of the perceived security and intercultural contacts with the attitudes towards separation was not confirmed in both samples. This is apparently due to the fact that the Kuban is historically a multiethnic region, with a high frequency of intercultural contacts. However, the additional hypothesis about the relationship between the separation strategy of the Armenians and their life satisfaction was partially confirmed. Therefore, we can say that the orientation of the Armenians to preserve their culture and language, maintaining contacts with members of their ethnic group, participating in the diaspora events contributes to their life satisfaction (Galyapina et al., 2022). Thus, “closure” within one’s own ethnocultural community can be a factor in life satisfaction, but does not contribute to an increase in self-esteem. That is, it can be said that in the multiethnic Krasnodar territory, intensive intercultural contacts of the Armenians lead to the blurring of ethnic boundaries, to their assimilation, which does not contribute to their well-being, since the Armenians of the Kuban are quite consolidated and focused on preserving their culture. Their life satisfaction was promoted by the strategy of separation rather than that of assimilation. This is consistent with the results of a number of other studies (e.g., Lebedeva, 2017).

For the ethnic majority group (Russians of the Kuban), the following trend was revealed: their expectation of the Armenians’ separation reduced their self-esteem. This is a rather disturbing trend demonstrating that the Russians perceive the Armenians as a rival group, potentially threatening the status of the Russians

in the region, since low-status groups are more sensitive to subtle status differences in the contact situation than representatives of larger high-status groups (Dixon et al., 2005; Tropp, Pettigrew, 2005).

A number of studies have shown that the leading role in intercultural relations in the region belongs to the ethnic majority, which sets the tone and atmosphere of interaction (Lebedeva et al., 2017). In general, if a hypothesis is completely confirmed in the majority group, then, as a rule, it is confirmed at least partially in the minority group. If it is partially confirmed in the majority group, then most likely it is partially or not confirmed in the minorities. In our study, on the contrary, the hypotheses were fully or partially confirmed in the minority group (Kuban Armenians), and partially confirmed in the majority group (Kuban Russians). This may indicate that the Armenians in the Krasnodar territory are becoming not only a numerous but also influential group that largely determines intercultural interaction in the region.

### Conclusion

The results of the study of mutual acculturation of the Russians and Armenians in the Krasnodar territory allow us to conclude that intercultural relations between these groups are successful and fruitful. This is, first of all, due to the coincidence of acculturation preferences of the Armenians and Russians of the Kuban: integration is seen as the most preferable strategy, it positively affects both the psychological well-being of the ethnic minority (Armenians) and the self-esteem of the ethnic majority (Russians). However, a rather disturbing trend has also been revealed, the expectation of the separation of the Armenians negatively affects the self-esteem of the Russians, which demonstrates their concern in relation to this group but, at the same time, this strategy contributes to life satisfaction of the Armenians.

The perceived security and especially intense intercultural friendly contacts lead to mutual integration. The specifics of the socio-cultural context of the Krasnodar territory, namely multiethnicity and multiconfessionality, historical background, as well as the absence of assimilation imposed by the ethnic majority, are important conditions for the successful mutual acculturation of the Russians and Armenians of the Kuban.

In general, the results obtained show that it is important to actively involve representatives of the Armenian diaspora, especially young people, in citywide and regional public and cultural events, providing them with the opportunity to position themselves as representatives of the Kuban.

It is equally important for national public organizations to more actively involve representatives of other ethnic groups in their activities, to focus not only on their ethnic characteristics, but also on value, cultural and ideological similarities with them.

### References

- Barrette, G., Bourhis, R.Y., Personnaz, M., & Personnaz, B. (2004). Acculturation orientations of French and North American undergraduates in Paris. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 28, 415–438.
- Berberyan, A.S., & Tuchina, O.R. (2018). Research of national identity and historical experience of a person in the titular Armenian ethnos and associated Armenian

- diaspora in Russia. *Russian Journal of Psychology*, 15(2), 190–214. (In Russ.) <https://doi.org/10.21702/rpj.2018.2.8>
- Berry, J.W. (1990). Psychology of acculturation. In J. Berman (Ed.), *Cross-Cultural Perspectives, Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (pp. 201–234). Lincoln, NE.: University of Nebraska Press.
- Berry, J.W. (2019). Ecocultural psychology. *Cultural-Historical Psychology*, 15(4), 4–16. (In Russ.) <https://doi.org/10.17759/chp.2019150401>
- Berry, J.W. (Ed.). (2017). *Mutual intercultural relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316875032>
- Berry, J.W., Phinney J.S., Sam, D.L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 55, 303–332.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R.A., Larsen, R.J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 1–5. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901\\_13](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13)
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal contact strategy: A reality check for the contact hypothesis. *American Psychologist*, 60, 697–711.
- Dmitriev, A.V., Voronov, V.V., & Mikhailova, E.A. (2017). Predictive modeling of inter-ethnic relations in Russian regions based on the analysis of identification strategies of diaspora and compatriot groups. *Monitoring of Public Opinion: Economic and social Changes*, (6), 97–124. (In Russ.)
- Galyapina, V., Tuchina, O., & Apollonov, I. (2022). Acculturation of Armenians in Russia: Role of social identities and diaspora activity. *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, 22(4), 104–111.
- Galyapina, V.N. (2017). Intercultural relations in the Republic of North Ossetia – Alania. In N.M. Lebedeva (Ed.), *Intercultural Relations in the Post-Soviet Space* (pp. 186–211). Moscow: Menedzher Publ. (In Russ.)
- Galyapina, V.N., & Lebedeva, N. (2016). Is multiculturalism in Russia possible? Intercultural relations in North Ossetia-Alania. *Psychology in Russia: State of the Art*, 9(1), 24–40. <https://doi.org/10.11621/pir.2016.0102>
- Galyapina, V.N., & Lepshokova, Z.Kh. (2017). Interethnic relations in modern Dagestan. In N.M. Lebedeva (Ed.), *Intercultural Relations in the Post-Soviet Space* (pp. 212–239). Moscow: Menedzher Publ. (In Russ.)
- Galyapina, V.N., Lepshokova, Z., & Molodikova, I.N. (2021). Intercultural relations in Dagestan: The role of perceived security, intercultural contacts, and mutual acculturation. *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, 22(1), 75–90.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Horenczyk, G., & Schmitz, P. (2003). The interactive nature of acculturation: Perceived discrimination, acculturation attitudes and stress among young ethnic repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(1), 79–97.
- Kodzha, E.A., Lebedeva, N.M., Galyapina, V.N., Lepshokova, Z.Kh., & Ryabichenko, T.A. (2019). Intercultural relations in the Russian Crimea: An empirical test of three hypotheses. *Psychology. Journal of the Higher School of Economics*, 16(2), 250–268. (In Russ.) <https://doi.org/10.17323/1813-8918-2019-2-250-268>
- Koryakin, K. (2007). *Social and cultural aspects of the adaptation of Armenian migrants in the Krasnodar territory* (1988–2006). Ph.D. in Sociology Thesis. Moscow. (In Russ.)
- Kosic, A., Mannetti, L., & Lackland, S.D. (2005). The role of majority attitudes toward out-group in the perception of the acculturation strategies of immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(3), 273–288
- Lebedeva, N., Galyapina, V.N., Lepshokova, Z., & Ryabichenko, T. (2017). Intercultural relations in Russia. In J.W. Berry (Ed.), *Mutual Intercultural Relations* (pp. 34–58). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316875032.002>
- Lebedeva, N.M. (Ed.). (2017). *Intercultural relations in the post-Soviet space*. Moscow: Menedzher Publ. (In Russ.)

- Lebedeva, N.M., & Tatarko, A.N. (2013). Immigration and intercultural interaction strategies in post-Soviet Russia. In E. Tartakovsky (Ed.), *Immigration: Policies, Challenges and Impact* (pp. 179–194). New York: Nova Science.
- Lebedeva, N.M., & Tatarko, A.N. (2017). Intercultural relations of Latvians and Russians in post-Soviet Latvia. In N.M. Lebedeva (Ed.), *Intercultural Relations in the Post-Soviet Space* (pp. 301–323). Moscow: Menedzher Publ. (In Russ.)
- Lebedeva, N.M., & Tatarko, A.N. (Eds.). (2009). *Strategies for intercultural interaction between migrants and the population of Russia*. Moscow: RUDN University. (In Russ.)
- Leontieva, O.B., & Mkrtchyan, L.G. (2020). Armenian diaspora in Russia: Contemporary approaches to studying. *Vestnik of Samara University. History, Pedagogics, Philology*, 26(4), 8–14. (In Russ.) <https://doi.org/10.18287/2542-0445-2020-26-4-8-14>
- Lepshokova, Z.Kh. (2017). Intercultural relations of Kabardians, Balkars and Russians in the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic. In N.M. Lebedeva (Ed.), *Intercultural Relations in the Post-Soviet Space* (pp. 156–186). Moscow: Menedzher Publ. (In Russ.)
- Ljubic, V., Vedder, P.H., Dekker, H., & Van Geel, M. (2010). *Serbian adolescents' Romaphobia and their acculturation orientations towards the Roma minority*. Paper presented at the British Psychological Society, Social Psychology Section Annual Conference. Winchester: University of Winchester.
- Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M.J. (1936). Memorandum for the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38(1), 149–152. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1936.38.1.02a00330>
- Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent child*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ryabichenko, T.A., & Lebedeva, N.M. (2017). Mutual acculturation of migrants and the host population in central Russia. In N.M. Lebedeva (Ed.), *Intercultural Relations in the Post-Soviet Space* (pp. 57–81). Moscow: Menedzher Publ. (In Russ.)
- Schalk-Soekar, S.R.G., & Van de Vijver, F.J.R. (2004). The concept of multiculturalism: A study among Dutch majority members. *Journal of Psycho-Social Studies*, 9(38), 2152–2152.
- Shapovalov, S.N. (2015). Some aspects of Armenian migration to the Krasnodar territory. *Society: Sociology, Psychology, Pedagogy*, (4), 13–15.
- Tropp, L.R., & Pettigrew, T.F. (2005). Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *Psychological Science*, 16, 951–957.
- Ward, C., & Masgoret, A.M. (2008). Attitudes toward immigrants, immigration, and multiculturalism in New Zealand: A social psychological analysis. *International Migration Review*, 42(1), 227–248.

#### **Article history:**

Received 26 January 2023

Revised 11 April 2023

Accepted 17 April 2023

#### **For citation:**

Galyapina, V.N., Tuchina, O.R., & Apollonov, I.A. (2023). Mutual acculturation of Russians and Armenians in the Krasnodar territory. *RUDN Journal of Psychology and Pedagogics*, 20(2), 197–210. <http://doi.org/10.22363/2313-1683-2023-20-2-197-210>

#### **Author's contribution:**

Victoria N. Galyapina – concept, design of the study, analysis of the results. Oksana R. Tuchina – writing the text, discussing the results. Ivan A. Apollonov – collection and processing of materials, writing the text.

#### **Conflicts of interest:**

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

**Bio notes:**

*Victoria N. Galyapina*, Ph.D. in Psychology, Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of Psychology, Chief Researcher of the Center for Sociocultural Research, Faculty of Social Sciences, National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia). ORCID: 0000-0002-3885-1455; eLIBRARY SPIN-code: 2391-7845. E-mail: [vgalyapina@hse.ru](mailto:vgalyapina@hse.ru)

*Oksana R. Tuchina*, Doctor of Psychology, Associate Professor, Professor of the Department of History, Philosophy and Psychology, Kuban State Technological University (Krasnodar, Russia). ORCID: 0000-0001-5525-7645; eLIBRARY SPIN-code: 6989-5374. E-mail: [tuchina@yandex.ru](mailto:tuchina@yandex.ru)

*Ivan A. Apollonov*, Doctor of Philosophy, Associate Professor, Professor of the Department of History, Philosophy and Psychology, Kuban State Technological University (Krasnodar, Russia). ORCID: 0000-0002-1926-8213; eLIBRARY SPIN-code: 7423-6142. E-mail: [obligo@yandex.ru](mailto:obligo@yandex.ru)

DOI: 10.22363/2313-1683-2023-20-2-197-210

EDN: VUXLTR

УДК 316.6


Исследовательская статья

## Взаимная аккультурация русских и армян в Краснодарском крае

В.Н. Галыпина<sup>1</sup>, О.Р. Тучина<sup>2</sup>, И.А. Аполлонов<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»,  
Российская Федерация, 101000, Москва, ул. Мясницкая, д. 20

<sup>2</sup>Кубанский государственный технологический университет,  
Российская Федерация, 350072, Краснодар, ул. Московская, д. 2

 [vgalyapina@hse.ru](mailto:vgalyapina@hse.ru)

**Аннотация.** Взаимные межкультурные отношения между доминирующим населением и представителями этнических меньшинств или мигрантов достаточно подробно исследовались как зарубежными, так и российскими учеными. Однако некоторые меньшинства имеют особый статус и относятся российскими исследователями к «укоренившемуся меньшинству». В частности, к такой группе принадлежат армяне. В этой связи представляет интерес изучение взаимных межкультурных отношений представителей этнического большинства и армян как укоренившегося этнического меньшинства. Исследование проводилось в контексте экоккультурного подхода Д. Берри. Цель – проверка трех гипотез межкультурных отношений (мультикультурализма, контакта и интеграции). Выборку составили русские ( $N = 198$ ; из них 50 % мужчины, средний возраст 19,7 лет) и армяне ( $N = 186$ , из них 43 % мужчины, средний возраст 23,3 года) Краснодарского края, общая выборка  $N = 388$ . В качестве методов исследования использовались шкалы из опросника MIRIPS, адаптированные на российской выборке. На основе моделирования структурными уравнениями получены результаты, позволяющие заключить, что у русских и армян воспринимаемая безопасность предсказывает установки на поддержание мультикультурной идеологии; у армян она также положительно взаимосвязана со стратегией интеграции и отрицательно – с установками на ассимиляцию. Межкультурные дружеские контакты и у русских, и у армян положительно связаны

с этнической толерантностью; а у армян также со стратегиями интеграции и ассимиляции. Предпочтение стратегии сепарации у армян предсказывало их удовлетворенность жизнью; а у русских ожидание сепарации армян не способствовало их самоуважению. В целом выявлено, что воспринимаемая безопасность и особенно интенсивные межкультурные дружеские контакты приводят к взаимной интеграции некоренного этнического меньшинства и этнического большинства. Исторически обусловленные особенности Краснодарского края – поликультурность и поликонфессиональность, а также отсутствие навязанной ассимиляции со стороны этнического большинства являются важными условиями успешной взаимной аккультурации русских и представителей «укоренившегося этнического меньшинства» – армян Кубани.

**Ключевые слова:** взаимная аккультурация, гипотеза мультикультурализма, гипотеза контакта, гипотеза интеграции, русские, армяне, Краснодарский край

**Благодарности и финансирование.** Исследование осуществлено в рамках Программы фундаментальных исследований НИУ ВШЭ (проект «Зеркальные лаборатории»).

### **История статьи:**

Поступила в редакцию 26 января 2023 г.

Принята к печати 17 апреля 2023 г.

### **Для цитирования:**

*Галяпина В.Н., Тучина О.Р., Аполлонов И.А.* Взаимная аккультурация русских и армян в Краснодарском крае // Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Психология и педагогика. 2023. Т. 20. № 2. С. 197–210. <http://doi.org/10.22363/2313-1683-2023-20-2-197-210>

### **Вклад авторов:**

*В.Н. Галяпина* – концепция, дизайн исследования, анализ результатов. *О.Р. Тучина* – написание текста, обсуждение результатов. *И.А. Аполлонов* – сбор и обработка материалов, написание текста.

### **Заявление о конфликте интересов:**

Авторы заявляют об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

### **Сведения об авторах:**

*Галяпина Виктория Николаевна*, кандидат психологических наук, доцент, доцент департамента психологии, главный научный сотрудник центра социокультурных исследований, факультет социальных наук, Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики» (Москва, Россия). ORCID: 0000-0002-3885-1455; eLIBRARY SPIN-код: 2391-7845. E-mail: [vgalyapina@hse.ru](mailto:vgalyapina@hse.ru)

*Тучина Оксана Роальдовна*, доктор психологических наук, доцент, профессор кафедры истории, философии и психологии, Кубанский государственный технологический университет (Краснодар, Россия). ORCID: 0000-0001-5525-7645; eLIBRARY SPIN-код: 6989-5374. E-mail: [tuchena@yandex.ru](mailto:tuchena@yandex.ru)

*Аполлонов Иван Александрович*, доктор философских наук, доцент, профессор кафедры истории, философии и психологии, Кубанский государственный технологический университет (Краснодар, Россия). ORCID: 0000-0002-1926-8213; eLIBRARY SPIN-код: 7423-6142. E-mail: [obligo@yandex.ru](mailto:obligo@yandex.ru)