СОЦИОЛОГИЯ МИГРАЦИИ

ADAPTATION PRACTICES OF FORCED MIGRANTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RUSSIAN EMIGRANTS IN GEORGIA AND GERMANY IN 2022–2023[1]

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Abstract. The most recent Russian emigration wave of 2022–2023 has some peculiar features. Unlike their predecessors, the migrants of that wave have been leaving the country in conditions of high economic instability, strong tensions in the international political arena, closed airspace for Russia's airlines, and suspended facilitation of obtaining the Schengen visa. The research goal of the current paper is to describe the adaptation practices of Russian migrants in 2022–2023 in the context of international tension. The empirical basis of the research consists of sixteen interviews with migrants in Germany and Georgia who left Russia in 2022 and 2023. The analysis shows that most common and successful adaptation practices include membership in a community and participation in activities that the migrants find interesting and valuable. Peculiarities of adaptation process in each country have been defined. The forced nature of emigration leads to the choice of a country with easier entry conditions, however, further adaptation in such cases is less successful. When moving to a country requiring entry preparation, informants adapt better as they have a clearer vision of their future in the new location. Thus, unlike migrants in Germany, informants from Georgia do not plan to remain in the country, which results in their isolation within the Russian-speaking community. They have a vague image of their future, which decreases the overall level of their adaptive capacity.

Keywords: emigration, adaptation practices, Russian emigrants, Germany, Georgia

Introduction

Emigration waves have been occurring in Russia since the collapse of the Russian Empire and even earlier (Slobin 2013; Lokosov, Rybakovsky 2014; Aleshkovski, Grebenyuk, Vorobyeva 2018). According to the United Nations

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World Migration Report (2022), more than ten million Russian people currently live abroad, which is the third highest score after India and Mexico. Since the beginning of the 1990s, half of the post-Soviet migrants went to the CIS countries, and the other half chose non-CIS countries (Tinchurin et al. 2021). In the early 2000s the Western countries were the most popular destination. However, after 2014 and subsequent sanctions imposed on Russia, most of the new migrants left for the CIS member-states (Tinchurin et al. 2021).

The emigration wave of 2022 drew the attention of scholars as well as journalists, and legislators. Korobkov (2022) highlights that it differs from the migration processes that happened before. During the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, people emigrated because they were both "pushed" out of the country by internal factors, including economic instability, degradation of the state-run sector and academia, etc., and "pulled" in the foreign countries by the liberalization of migration policies. In 2022, the emigrants' decision to leave the country was based mostly on the "push" factors inside Russia. The migration wave of 2022–2023 has some peculiar features. Unlike their predecessors, new waves of emigrants were leaving the country in conditions of high economic instability, strong tension in the international political arena, logistic barriers, and complex bureaucratic procedures.

In 2022, after the conflict between Russia and Ukraine began in late February, several hundred thousand Russians left the country. Although estimates of the number of Russians who left vary, on average, various experts claim that at least half a million people migrated (Kasyanchuk 2022; Shirmanova 2023); the upper limit is still a highly controversial issue. Experts summarise that new Russian emigrants constitute "a heterogeneous group that has left the country for a variety of reasons" (Petersen 2022). While the major trigger is the ongoing military conflict, the particular reasons for emigration vary. Some people left the country as they assumed it was not safe anymore. For others, the political situation became incompatible with their personal beliefs and values. The migration routes also included ethnic emigration and business emigration (Gulina 2023: 64).

Media discourse typically categorises the emigration of 2022 into two waves, namely the "February wave" which occurred after the announcement of the beginning of the special military operation on February 24th, and the "September wave" which took place after the announcement of the start of 'partial mobilisation' on September 21st. The second wave is assumed to be more massive. According to the decree "On the Declaration of Partial Mobilisation in the Russian Federation" (2022), men aged 25–35 in the armed forces reserve who previously served in the Russian army, and who have combat experience or military specialities, were called up to join the Russian armed forces

in Ukraine. The partial mobilisation resulted in country-wide protests and outmigration of reservists to the neighbouring states (Vorobeva 2022).

After arriving in the place of destination, Russian emigrants of 2022–2023 face financial challenges. The economic situation became extremely unstable as the currency course fluctuated over months. For instance, the dollar exchange rate doubled during March (Bank of Russia 2022). In the same month, international payment systems MasterCard and Visa suspended operations with Russian bank accounts outside the country, which meant that owners of Russian bank cards could only use cash payments abroad and couldn't carry out cross-border transactions (Bank of Russia 2022).

Thus, in 2022–2023, Russian migrants left their homeland in unique conditions that were predetermined by the political situation not experienced before. Due to the peculiarity of the economic, political, and social context of that emigration wave, the behaviour of Russian emigrants in the countries of destination presents interest as well as the circumstances of their departure. How do these people adapt to the new place? Which needs and issues are their main priorities? How do they try to solve them? Do these adaptation practices differ depending on the host countries that migrants find themselves in? The context of the host country can impact emigrants' perception of their position in the host society. For example, the available data shows that emigrants estimate their position as less "stable" in the countries that are easier to access (Georgia, Turkey), while those who left for Germany and Serbia view their position as more stable (Sergeeva, Kamalov 2024: 25). A study on the psychological adaptation of Russian emigrants in CIS countries (Tatarko, Lebedeva 2023) supports the suggestion that the context of the host country impacts the adaptation practices, yet provides no data for the European context.

This article examines migrants' personal experiences and perceptions. Therefore, we need to discover their views on their migration and adaptation process. The findings pertaining to migration factors and migrants' adaptation stories are supposed to provide us with an understanding of (1) how Russian emigrants adjust to the new environment in the context of international events of 2022–2023 and (2) how their adaptation practices differ in European and post-Soviet countries. The previous studies on the topic provide the socio-demographic portrait of that emigration wave (Baranova et al. 2023), the political views of these people (Krawatzek and Sasse, 2024), the main routes of Russian emigration after 2022 (Gulina 2023), the anticipated effect it might have on European society (Inozemtsev 2024), migrants' activism practices in the host countries (Darieva et al. 2023; Tysiachniouk, Konnov 2022), digital solidarity practices (Khapsaeva 2023), and online narratives of the migrants (Prashizky 2023). A special emphasis is put on the mass migration of Russian people to CIS

countries (Melkumyan, Melkonyan 2023; Petersen 2022; Gunko 2022). The adaptation process of Russian emigrants is a research subject of several studies. The OutRush project panel survey (Kamalov et al. 2025) provides insights into the integration progress of Russian emigrants; however, this data is of a quantitative nature and does not give voice to the emigrants themselves, as their reflections on their experiences are left out. The study on psychological adaptation of Russian emigrants provides an insight for the CIS countries only (Tatarko and Lebedeva 2023), which does not allow us to trace the impact of the host country on adaptation practices.

The current study aims to fill in this gap. We have collected sixteen in-depth interviews with emigrants in Germany and Georgia, which allows us to analyse their perception of adaptation experience and compare these perceptions in the context of two countries. The first chapter of the article provides a conceptualisation of the main terms, namely migration, adaptation, and adaptation practices. The empirical chapter includes a comparative description of the context of Russian emigration in Georgia and Germany. It is followed by a description of the research method and the process of data collection. The results indicate that there are similar and specific adaptation practices for both countries. The article finishes with a conclusion and a list of limitations.

Defining Migration

Migration is usually characterised by the following features: the reason to leave the country of origin, the longevity of staying in the host country, and the intention to stay in the host country (Anderson, Blinder 2011). Defining migration in accordance with the reason to leave the homeland is of particular importance for policymakers, as this understanding helps to define the kind of assistance migrants need at the place of departure. In this sense, both policymakers and academics use the forced-voluntary dichotomy. Petersen (1958) provides one of the most frequently quoted typologies of migration, where he lists five types of migration, with forced and impelled migration being one of the types.

Yet dividing migration into voluntary and forced as mutually exclusive types is not always effective in terms of empirical studies. Human mobility often combines circumstances from both, as the level of migrant agency is almost impossible to estimate (Koser, Martin 2011; Bakewell 2021; Erdal, Oeppen 2020).

The difference between the terms lies in the conceptual distinction between "forced" and "voluntary". Erdal and Oeppen (2020) state that volition of choice is based on two factors, i.e. the availability of any alternatives and, if there are any, the acceptability of these alternatives. Therefore, migration is labelled as forced if the person is physically forced to leave (due to military conflicts

or natural disasters, for example) or they can stay in the country of origin, yet their life conditions can be seen as unacceptable to human dignity, including threats of being put to prison for political reasons or being forced into prostitution. Yet, even in such cases, one can argue that deciding to leave requires agency, which means that migration can be described as voluntary. Therefore, the authors highlight the subjective nature of the distinction as it depends on "the labeller's perception of what constitutes 'acceptable' alternatives". Another important aspect is the distinction between primary and secondary choices. Even if the person exhibits their agency in choosing the mode of travel, their migration as a fact of leaving their homeland can still be forced in the first place, which makes their whole migration experience involuntary.

The latter situation seems to be the common case for Russian emigrants in 2022-2023: international military escalation and partial mobilisation were the factors forcing these people to leave, yet they had the opportunity to choose the destination and plan their trip to a certain extent.

Defining Adaptation of Migrants: Distinction from Integration, Acculturation, and Assimilation

To define adaptation, we need to distinguish this term from integration, acculturation, and assimilation, which are often used as its synonyms. Berry, who focused on acculturation, provides one of the most cited frameworks on the topic. He defines acculturation as "the process of cultural and psychological change that results following a meeting between cultures" (Sam, Berry 2010: 472). In his conception, assimilation and integration are acculturation strategies along with separation and marginalisation. The difference between these strategies lies in the extent to which the individual merges into the host culture and maintains their homeland culture. Assimilation happens when a migrant fully adopts the host country culture; integration includes both maintaining the homeland culture and adopting the culture of the host (Sam, Berry 2010: 476).

In other studies and frameworks, integration is used as a broader term and might be hard to separate from adaptation. The key difference between them is reciprocity. According to The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU (Council of the European Union 2004), integration is "a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States". Phillimore and Grzymala-Kazlowska (2017) point out that it can happen only "through the mutual adaptation of migrants, the host population and the state". Cormos defines adaptation as the first step towards integration into the host society (Cormos 2022: 5). According to her framework, integration is a process of becoming part of the new societal network, while adaptation is "the ability of the migrant subject to fit into the

pre-existing structures of the receiving society". Ager et al. state that integration is successful if an individual or a social group interacts with both host and home community, organises their accommodation, employment, and other aspects of life "in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship in that society" (Ager et al. 2002: 23). Ager and Strang also introduced a conceptual framework or integration that included ten components (Ager, Strang 2008). Unlike integration, adaptation is a one-way process, an effort taken by the migrant that does not imply reciprocity from the host society. Cormos understands assimilation, another term often used as a synonym to integration and adaptation, as "a form of integration into a social or national group by losing or transforming one's own characteristic features" (Cormos 2022: 5). While assimilation and integration imply major changes in a migrant's identity, adaptation is one's adjustment to the new conditions: cultural, political, lifestyle.

In Russian academia, adaptation studies gained popularity during the 1990s as scholars analysed the way Russian society adapted to radical changes and experienced internal migration. Anna Gotlib, who studied adaptation to the new post-Soviet labour market (2000), defines the process of adaptation as a psychological and behavioural adjustment to the social environment that is being formed at a given moment. In general, she views adaptation as a process with a linear structure consisting of three major elements, i.e. a goal, instruments, and a result. Gotlib distinguishes behavioural adaptation from cognitive one. She assumes that the first reaction to the changing environment is behavioural, while social attitudes, values, and stereotypes remain the same for quite a long period of time. Context is an important aspect of Gotlib's framework because she views adaptation in conditions of uncertainty, which was relevant for post-Soviet research. Gotlib emphasises that in conditions of uncertainty "adaptive behaviour is not externally observed forms of activity, but a process of behavioural exploration of a rapidly changing environment — in fact, a 'survival activity' (Gotlib 2000: 11)

To sum up, adaptation represents a socio-psychological concept, while integration, acculturation, and assimilation imply cultural changes for an individual. In this study, we view adaptation as an adjustment to the new environment. It is the first step towards integration in the new society, yet integration is not the initial goal of the adaptation process. While adapting to the new place, an individual seeks psychological stability and adjustment to the new social norms.

Adaptation of Russian Emigrants Abroad

Though most studies on recent Russian emigration do not focus on migrants' adaptation/integration process, some of them provide valuable data on the topic. Tatarko and Lebedeva (2023) point out that cultural distance and

the host country's policy towards Russian emigrants impact acculturation. They studied the acculturation of Russian emigrants in post-Soviet countries. The data showed that Kyrgyzstan and Armenia are the easiest countries for acculturation, while acculturation in Estonia and Latvia requires some additional effort, and Georgia and Tajikistan are the most unfavourable for the psychological adaptation of Russians. Gulina (2023) lists typical emigration scenarios for the latest Russian emigration wave that imply potential adaptation paths. The list includes ethnic repatriation, especially noticeable in Israel and Germany, transit migration, most common for countries that are easiest to access, such as Turkey and Georgia, business relocation observed in most CIS countries, and "foothold", or applying for state support in countries which launched special programs for Russian political refugees. The OutRush project, a longitudinal study of Russian emigration wave of 2022, revealed that in the very beginning of life abroad, the emigrants "demonstrated a willingness to integrate into their host societies" (Kamalov et al. 2023: 16). In the 2024 report (Sergeeva, Kamalov 2024), scholars emphasized the importance of the perceived stability of emigrants' position in the host society as an adaptation factor. The countries where most of the respondents felt "very stable" were Israel, Serbia, and Germany, while Kazakhstan, Georgia, and Turkey occupied the last positions on the list. Scholars concluded that countries which, on one hand, were harder to enter, provided, on the other hand, "more opportunities for stable settlement, possibly due to a more stable migrant status" (Sergeeva, Kamalov 2024: 25). That conclusion can be partly supported by Gulina's "emigration scenarios" summary. A year later, another OutRush survey (Kamalov, Nugumanova, Sergeeva 2025) showed a slight increase in emigrants' adaptation. Scholars associated that progress with continuing learning of local languages, a decrease in perceived discrimination, gradual obtaining of legal status, growing social ties in the host society and strengthening ties with loved ones in Russia.

These studies provide evidence that the context of host countries impacts migrants' adaptation process. Some of the studies suggest adaptation/integration motives and practices that migrants perform to arrange their lives in the new country. Yet no research provides in-depth qualitative data on the adaptation process perceived by emigrants themselves and the particular adaptation practices they perform. Moreover, no research indicating the difference between the European and CIS contexts for the adaptation of Russian emigrants has been conducted yet.

Adaptation Practices

In their study of migration as adaptation to climate change, Ober and Sakdapolrak (2017) refer to practices as "routinised" and social actions, including

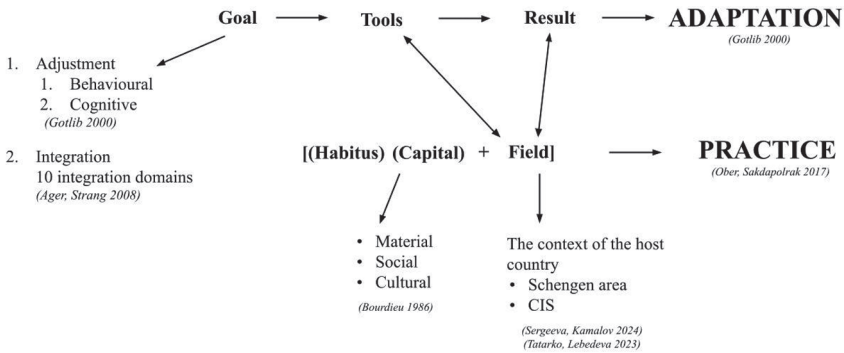

Fig. 1. Conceptualisation of adaptation practice

bodily, mental, and communicative activities, as well as motivations, knowledge, and technology use. They follow Bourdieu in his view on practices "in the context of and as a result of the interplay of the actors' inner structures ('habitus'), their ability to act (their endowments with 'capital'), and the social world they are embedded in ('field')" (Ober, Sakdapolrak 2017: 361). They view "migration as adaptation" as a field: "defined, social spaces with specific internal logics (rules, topics or issues, and forms of relevant capital)".

In this paper, in order to define adaptation practice, we combine the adaptation definition suggested by Gotlib and the practice definition suggested by Ober and Sakdapolrak (see Fig. 1).

Adaptation is a process that consists of three main elements, i.e. a goal, tools to achieve this goal, and the result (Gotlib 2000). The goal is the adjustment to the new conditions, namely behavioural and, later, cognitive. As adaptation is the first step towards integration (Cormos 2022), we assume that the long-term goal might be integration that we conceptualise according to Ager et al. (2002). Integration consists of ten domains (Ager, Strang 2008). We assume that the adaptation process, as the first integration step, can also be viewed through these components. An emigrant appears in the host country with the habitus and capital they managed to gain in the home country and bring abroad. The tools used to adjust to the new context vary according to the conditions of the new country or the field. The result of the adaptation process varies, as we assume, in different host countries.

To sum up, in this study, adaptation practice implies an attempt to adjust to the new environment (which is its goal) using available tools in the context of the host country (the field) and considering an individual's habitus and existing capital (economic, social, and cultural). The result of that attempt can be an adjustment to the new environment and further integration into the host society or not.

The Context and Sample Collection

In this paper, we consider the host countries as the foundation of our sample collection, as they are the contexts in which migrants find themselves and carry out their practices. These differences are summarised in Table 1 and described in more detail below.

Table 1

Characteristics of the political, social, and cultural context in Germany and Georgia

	Germany (Schengen area)	Georgia (CIS)
Entry conditions	• To enter Germany, Russian citizens require a Schengen visa (for tourist, education, or business purposes) • Germany provides repatriation programs • In 2022, Germany launched humanitarian visas for Russian citizens who are at risk in Russia for their anti-war engagement (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023: 14–15) • The country can be reached from Russia only by plane. In 2022, no direct flights were available due to the closed airspace for Russian airlines (RBC 2022)	• To enter Georgia, Russian citizens require no visa, just an international passport • The country can be reached by land as it shares a border with Russia (Khapsaeva 2023)
Political context	• The migration flow from the former Soviet Union to Germany has been active since the 1990s (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023: 12). • Germany has been the most popular European destination for Russian emigrants (wiiw 2023). • The political views of the Russian diaspora in Germany are heterogeneous (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023: 12).	Many Georgians see Russian emigrants as a political threat (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023: 12) due to the recent military conflicts between the countries: • The 1992–1993 Georgian–Abkhaz conflict: Russia supported Abkhazian separatists (Kızılbuğa 2006); • The August War of 2008: Moscow moved military forces into the Georgian breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia (Galeotti 2023).

end of table 1

	Germany (Schengen area)	**Georgia (CIS)**
	• In 2022, the country offered special entry options for certain groups of Russian emigrants, partly due to long-standing connections between the civil societies in Russia and Germany (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023: 15).	Russian emigrants in Georgia are generally critical towards Russian political institutions (Krawatzek, DeSisto, Soroka 2023: 24).
Social context	Germany has offered protected status of war refugees for more than 1,2 million Ukrainian citizens (German Federal Ministry of Interior 2025) Germany is seen as a long-term destination by most emigrants rather than a "transit point" (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023: 14–15).	The country has not been prepared for the mass inflow of Russian emigrants. The reaction in Georgian society has been mixed: while the government views it as a new economic opportunity, part of Georgian society perceives Russian emigrants as a trigger for social and economic inequality and risks to national security (Kakachia, Kandelaki 2022). Georgia is perceived as a transit point by most of the emigrants (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023: 12; Geiger, Syrakvash 2023)
Language	The state language is German; the Russian language is spoken only in the Russian-speaking diaspora.	State language is Georgian, yet the majority of citizens understand Russian at an advanced or intermediate level (CRRC Georgia 2022)

The difference between emigration destinations begins with the entry conditions. In September 2022, the announcement of partial mobilisation in Russia resulted in protests and outmigration of reservists to the neighbouring states (Vorobeva 2022). In conditions of uncertainty and a direct threat of being sent to war, people decided to migrate very hastily. Therefore, they had little opportunity to prepare for the departure, especially bureaucratically. Entry conditions in various countries played a major role in that stage of migration. Therefore, we divide the emigrants' destinations based on their visa regimes. Addressing Russian Federal Security Service data (EMISS), expert assessments (Re: Russia 2023), and independent research (Kamalov et al. 2022), we assume that the emigration destinations can be basically divided into two major groups.

The first group includes those who require a visa, and the second includes those who do not. As the resources for our research are limited, we choose the most popular emigration destination to represent each of the two groups mentioned above. Moreover, although we are aware that the geography of migration of Russian nationals after February 24, 2022, is wide and includes South America, Southeast Asia and other regions of the world, we limit our focus to European and post-socialist geographical contexts as quantitatively most significant.

Most of the European 'visa-required' destinations for Russian emigrants in 2022–2023 were part of the Schengen Area. Among Schengen countries, Germany is a remarkable case, as for years it has been the most popular European destination for Russian migrants (wiiw 2023). The same trend has continued in 2022, when Russians were actively relocating and applying for refugee status there.

Choosing a case among post-Soviet countries is a more challenging task as there are no integrated databases, the available statistical data is scattered and poorly comparable, and many migrants move between the states. Considering the official statistics available, the independent research data, and officials' claims, we chose Georgia as a second, 'visa-free' case in our research. This South Caucasian country still allows Russian citizens to stay with no residence permit for a long period of time (360 days) and admits the 'visa run' practice. According to Georgian President Salome Zourabishvili, in November 2022, around 100,000 Russian citizens stayed in Georgia (News.am 2022).

For the current migration case, 4 groups of aspects of the overall context present a particular importance in terms of migrants' adaptation:

- Entry conditions which play an important role in the context of urgent, forced migration;
- Political context that implies diplomatic relations between states and recent military conflicts;
- Social context that implies socioeconomic level of the host country compared to Russia and its changes caused by the first wave of mass exodus at the beginning of 2022;
- Language spoken by residents of the host countries.

In Georgia, two cities became the main hubs for the concentration of Russian migrants: Tbilisi, the capital of the country, and Batumi, the second largest city. Relations between Russia and Georgia have not been peaceful during the post-Soviet era. The first reason is the 1992–1993 Georgian–Abkhaz conflict, in which Russia, as a sidelined combatant, supported Abkhazian separatists fighting against Tbilisi (Kızılbuğa 2006). The second trigger of the political tension was the August War of 2008, when Moscow moved military forces into the Georgian breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia (Galeotti 2023).

As a result, Abkhazia and South Ossetia declared their independence from Georgia, and Russia became one of the few states in the world to recognise it. Despite the independent status, these regions are militarily and economically dependent on Russia and have been occupied by Russian forces ever since (Peterson 2022). Such a political backdrop explains the contentious attitudes Georgians have toward Russian migrants (ibid). At the same time, the current party in power, 'Georgian Dream', has not joined Western sanctions against Russia (ibid). The Russian language is spoken by many Georgian citizens as part of Soviet heritage and close business ties with Russia, especially among the older generations (CRRC Georgia 2022). As a consequence of mixed political attitudes towards Russia, the reaction to the mass migration flow varied as well. The arrival of emigrants caused a rapid increase in prices for rent and services. Part of Georgian society perceived Russian emigrants as a trigger for social and economic inequality and risk to national security (Kakachia, Kandelaki 2022).

The German context significantly differs from the Georgian context. The German government condemned the Russian invasion and provided military support for Ukraine. At the same time, Germany did not prohibit entry for Russian citizens as Poland and Baltic states did and even provided support for Russians "at risk" while accepting hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees (Darieva, Golova, Skibo 2023). Nevertheless, for Russians, entering Germany is much more complicated than entering Georgia as the country is a member of the EU. The migrant should either prove their purpose of visit to get a Schengen visa, or prove their life is under a threat in Russia and receive a humanitarian visa. Obtaining a regular Schengen visa requires having a source of income to support one's lifestyle abroad, which becomes more complicated with currency fluctuation and economic sanctions. While Germany has been the most popular destination for Russian migrants in Europe for years, unlike Georgians, the German population does not speak Russian.

We suggest that differences between the countries lead to various adaptation practices performed by Russian emigrants in Georgia and Germany. Regarding the complexity of adaptation, we assume that for Russian emigrants it is easier to adapt in Georgia. This country has fewer entry barriers, shares a Soviet past with Russia, and has stronger economic ties with the country despite recent political tension; many Georgian citizens speak Russian.

Data Collection

Addressing personal experiences of Russian migrants and their perception of the adaptation process, we conduct semi-structured interviews with them. The sample consists of sixteen interviews with Russians who live in Georgia and Germany, eight from each country (see Appendix 1). In the sample, we aim

to cover emigration routes described by O. Gulina: ethnic repatriation, transit migration, 'foothold', and business relocation (the fifth route, 'return to Russia', has been intentionally excluded) (Gulina 2023). In the 'business relocation' type, we include those migrants who left Russia to pursue their careers abroad. In addition to Gulina's classification, we pay attention to the cases of those who have migrated to Germany to study at universities ('academic migration').

According to Kamalov et al., a 'typical' emigrant of the spring migration wave from Russia is a person at the age of 32, from Moscow, Saint Petersburg or other million-plus cities, not married and with no children, highly qualified and employed in the IT, office work or cultural sphere (Kamalov et al. 2022). This portrait frames our search for relevant informants. As it seems to reflect an average HSE University alumnus (That's So HSE 2021), we have decided to use a network of public Telegram chats uniting HSE University graduates living outside Russia. We recruited 10 informants by the convenience sampling method; namely, we have posted a request to participate in the research in the chats devoted to Georgia and Germany, and then contacted the members who volunteered.

Yet, to avoid getting into the "bubble" of the HSE graduates, we have intentionally searched for cases outside the portrait described above. Aiming to represent the variety of cases and stories, we used the target sample to recruit migrants who are 40+ years old, political refugees, repatriates, or who relocated with children. Thereby, six more informants were recruited.

The interviews were conducted online via the Zoom platform. Conversations were audio-recorded and then transcribed. All the participants have been guaranteed anonymity and have given informed consent for participation in the research and audio recording at the very beginning of the conversation. The average duration of interviews is 60 minutes.

Interview Guide

As stated above, we view adaptation as a first step towards integration. Therefore, we assume that the structure of integration can be applied to view the structure of the adaptation process, too. Among other things, our interview guide adopts most of the 'integration domains' by Ager and Strang (2008). They propose a theoretical framework with four groups of 'integration domains':

- "Markers and means" including employment, housing, education, and health necessities;
- "Social connections" refers to the establishment and perseverance of social ties;
- "Facilitators", which are language skills and cultural knowledge;
- "Foundation", which rests on migrant rights and citizenship.

In the current study, the interview guide is divided into two sets of questions: an introductory one and a main one. The introductory set of questions concerns the conditions of leaving Russia, e.g. motivation to leave, the choice of destination, and preparation for departure.

The main set of questions is divided into 5 blocks. In general, they all concern migrants' aspirations in the new place, the tools they used to satisfy their needs, and their satisfaction with the result they received. Block 1 concerns the process of finding the source of income or accommodation. Block 2 covers issues related to adjusting to the culture of the host country. Blocks 3 and 4 focus on social ties and diaspora membership. Finally, Block 5 includes psychological adaptation-related questions.

Data Analysis

We analyse data using the coding reliability approach to thematic analysis (Terry et al. 2017). The first step implied inductive coding: we have assigned labels to the ideas which the informants expressed in their interviews. The second step, uniting labels in categories, was deductive as the categories have been predetermined by Gotlib's adaptation structure (a goal, tools, a result). The additional category, which has been defined inductively, is the "barrier" category that, in some cases, predetermines "the goal". The third step of analysis implied uniting categories into themes, which are identified deductively from Ager and Strang's framework of integration domains. Thus, we manage to identify adaptation practices and arrange them according to the spheres of emigrants' lives that require adjustment to the new place.

Results

Adaptation practice, according to our definition, implies an attempt to achieve a certain goal (in general, adjustment to the new environment) using available tools in the context of the host country (the field) and considering an individual's habitus and existing capital. The result of that attempt can be achieving the goal (adjustment) or not. We divide adaptation practices and results into the following groups: meeting necessities (income and accommodation), joining the community, and finding the content of daily life. For each practice, we define goals and tools and describe the results of performing these practices; certain practices contain barriers as well. The specifics of the situation in Georgia and Germany are pointed out and described in detail for each group.

When analysing informants' stories, we distinguish three emigration goals, which are the main reasons why informants have decided to leave Russia. These goals are restoring the feeling of safety, restoring the feeling of freedom, and

accessing new career opportunities. The justification for choosing migration as a proper instrument to achieve one of these goals varies. Those who leave Russia to feel safe or "free" tend to reunite with their families or friends abroad or leave the country spontaneously with no particular plan. Education is another justification in these cases, yet it is not very common and happens only in cases of relocation to Germany. Searching for new career opportunities is a similar reason, and these people do not migrate chaotically either: they choose the destination according to the employment conditions in the new country. For each group of adaptation practices, we define similarities in two countries and highlight practices which are specific to Georgia and Germany.

Meeting Basic Needs

This section includes adaptation practices that migrants perform at the stage of preparation or right after arriving in the new country. Informants' goals in this context are to find accommodation in the new place, to keep their source of income or find a new one, to keep their consumption patterns, and, overall, to keep the level of life they had in Russia. When trying to achieve these goals, migrants face some barriers. One of them concerns consumption patterns: both Germany and Georgia do not have the level of services that informants are used to in Russia.

The instruments to satisfy basic needs vary. To find accommodation, migrants use online platforms for accommodation search and ask friends and acquaintances for help. Both in Germany and Georgia, emigrants aspire to find a job for a local or international employer, yet it is complicated because of emigrants' uncertain legal status. To cope with the new financial situation, emigrants reduce consumption and stop using some of the familiar services and products due to their high price or their absence in the new country. For example, the vast majority of informants mentioned how the absence of food delivery services impacted their daily routines.

> *"In Moscow, I ordered everything; it happened in one click, and I knew exactly what set of products I must buy. Here I should dedicate special time to buy groceries. Also, nothing works on Sunday, so you have to buy everything on Saturday or Friday, calculate so it will be enough for 2-3 days, to go to the supermarket on Monday"* (M., female, migrated from Moscow to Frankfurt, a repatriate).

Specific Adaptation Aspects in Georgia

Unstable currency rates impact emigrants in Georgia strongly. Those who have left Russia in a very short period of time manage to keep their Russian-

based employment remotely. Keeping that source of income presents a challenge because the majority of Russian companies have returned to the office after the pandemic. Emigrants have to specially ask the employer for the option of working remotely. In the cases when it is not possible, informants seek new remote opportunities in Russian companies. Some of the emigrants have to look for side jobs to keep the level of consumption they used to have in Russia. Those who keep working for Russian companies have a high level of uncertainty as their actual income is different each month depending on the currency rates. The quality of their life in terms of consumption is declining as well. These conditions cause stress, anxiety, and feelings of dissatisfaction.

Specific Adaptation Aspects in Germany

For migrants in Germany, the language barrier becomes a serious obstacle in solving any daily problems. They attempt to use English, yet it is widely spoken only in big cities like Berlin. Bureaucracy presents another challenge: emigrants are used to digital services, while German bureaucracy and banks rely on traditional media like paper mail and phone calls. Working remotely for Russian companies is not a reliable income source, as money transfers between Russia and the EU have become very complicated since 2022. To provide for themselves, emigrants find jobs in local companies and universities or receive the state allowance as a repatriate or refugee. One exceptional income case in our sample is the informant who is provided with everything by her family: her visa type allows her neither employment nor state support.

Adaptation Results

In this section, understanding the habitus of migrants from our conceptual scheme is extremely important. Back in Russia, the vast majority of informants lived in Moscow and St. Petersburg, had salaries higher than average, and were in-demand employees and successful people. They were used to an extremely high-quality level of products and services. Migration has reduced their life conditions, as instead of the demanded young specialists, they are migrants with high demands and without knowledge of the local language and market specifics. Now they are forced to adjust to the environment they would probably never choose voluntarily.

As a result, migrants experience difficulties in adjustment to the new place, an increase in spending while their income is decreasing.

Membership in a Community

Migrants establish new social ties or strengthen the existing ones in the new place: membership in a community provides them with emotional and

practical support, a feeling of belonging, and presents an entry point to joint events and activities.

We can distinguish the two main goals when migrants seek a new community: the desire to know the local people more and the desire not to feel lonely. A strong barrier to achieving this goal is stress: in some cases, informants are so exhausted that they admit not having any resources to establish new social ties.

Instruments of becoming involved in a community vary. The first group of instruments is based on the connections that informants have had before migrating. People with wider social circles have more chances to discover acquaintances in the new country: some informants expand their social circle by knowing the friends of their friends. Another way is to keep a strong connection with old friends and family. Even if they remain in the country of origin, that social bond can be a source of emotional support and thus ease the adaptation process. The second group of instruments is based on a common activity: informants naturally get acquainted with colleagues at the new job, university, language courses or at the place where they share accommodation. Taking care of kids is an example of a common activity as well.

> *"We meet because of the kids once every two weeks. [Members of the Latvian diaspora] organise different events and excursions, and try to do it in the Latvian language. They can learn some songs, talk about traditional holidays, and all of that. We celebrate these holidays: for the New Year, there was a big celebration at the embassy. A lot of people came — they invited all the people across the whole of Georgia".* (A., female, migrated from Moscow to Tbilisi, a citizen of Latvia, on maternity leave).

The third group of instruments requires the most effort as it is based on the intentional search for new friends. Migrants use dating applications and visit the events organised by the Russian diaspora to meet new people.

Specific Adaptation Aspects in Georgia

Migrants in Georgia appear isolated within the Russian-speaking diaspora: they explain it with their intention to socialise and create new communities, while the Georgians already have established social ties and have no motivation to expand them.

> *"Not because they are Russophobic or something. Just imagine: some people come to your country, you have a lot of friends, and you just don't need anybody new, you have everything. And we* [migrants] *socialise, because we have nobody* [here]*".* (A., male, migrated from Moscow to Tbilisi, works remotely for a Russia-based company).

Migrants receive emotional and practical support from the Russian-speaking community; they feel comfortable when they are surrounded by like-minded people.

> *"[In this company] you don't feel lonely, you feel that you are surrounded by people who share your opinion, you feel that they are in the same position. Everybody is ready to help, to contact. You feel the closeness. Maybe the value of socialising increased for everybody, and this* [community] *is the result"*. (A., female, migrated from Moscow to Tbilisi, works remotely for a Cyprus-based company).

Specific Adaptation Aspects in Germany

Same as for any adaptation activity, the language barrier presents a strong challenge for building new social ties in Germany. Emigrants tend to appear among Russian-speaking people as emigrants in Georgia, because communication with locals in German requires much effort.

> *"Now I have a certain "distancing" strategy* [in communication with Germans] *because I am overloaded with all the daily issues I have. I find myself in a Russian-speaking company because I am simply too lazy to talk in English"*. (I., male, migrated from St. Petersburg to Weimar, graduate student).

Yet emigrants in Germany do not remain isolated in the Russian diaspora: they join the community of migrants from all over the world. Informants mention the connection that they feel with people who have to go through the same experience.

> *"Luckily, as my programme is about Latin America, there are plenty of Latino people. They are very easy-going, it is easy to arrange something with them <...>. Establishing the contacts is probably not that hard — I mean, not as hard as if I studied with Germans or other Europeans"*. (N., male, migrated from Moscow to Bonn, graduate student).

In these cases, migrants reach a certain balance: they explore new cultures and people, yet communication with other migrants causes much less stress than with German people.

> *"Earlier, I used to have a feeling that I should aim to socialise with locals more than with migrants, to integrate into the local culture, understand life here and so on. I don't have this feeling now. <...> [Migrants from other countries] are very nice, pleasant people, and learning their culture is interesting in the same way as learning German culture. <...> migrants have a "common pain" that we are kinda socially isolated, they are always happy*

to talk. It is much easier and more pleasant than with Germans, who, as I feel it, dislike migrants". (V., female, migrated from Moscow to Munich, relocated with the support of the employing company with an office in Germany).

Some informants manage to engage in the local community and get acquainted with German people. They do it intentionally as, in their opinion, remaining in the community of migrants is not the right way to integrate into the new country.

"I always feel sad when I hear the stories about the people who move to another place and hang out with their compatriots. <...>. And they have this Russian clique, and I have always thought: "Guys, why did you actually migrate?" I understand that this is a primitive question, but it is confusing for me". (N., male, migrated from Moscow to Bonn, graduate student).

Informants with such socialising results have an overall nice impression of German people and think that they can understand their way of thinking. Yet some barriers remain.

"I can find the common language with people who have been living in Germany their whole life. But I have a feeling that we have a different mentality. In some moments, we don't understand each other quite well. <...> Overall, I like interacting with Germans; I like them. But it feels like we do not always manage to establish a connection with them really well". (P., female, migrated from Moscow to Berlin to reunite with her family, neither works nor studies).

Another quite common stereotypical impression that migrants have of European people is perceiving them as "spoiled" and "privileged". That impression creates another boundary for intercultural communication.

"[The colleagues are] very nice guys, but I think we have a bit different… a very different life experience. <...> Just because they had a different life. They don't understand how it is to worry about your future, to have no money, to move somewhere with no idea when you can come back home. I feel it, even though we don't discuss these topics — of course, I don't bother anybody with my life at work. But I feel it, that's why we are not close". (E., female, migrated from Moscow to Berlin, works in digital marketing; previous relocation stops — Serbia and Armenia).

Adaptation Results

Adjustment to the new social environment is partly predetermined by the social capital that emigrants have had. Such tools as broadening one's social circle through common acquaintances work naturally for people with various

connections. Moreover, that way of adjustment to the new context appears the most successful in our sample. It is the least stressful and helps to find like-minded people on the first try. In cases when migrants appear in a place with no acquaintances at all, they opt for another group of practices: they join a new community through a shared action. The least successful adaptation practice is the intentional search, as it requires the most effort; none of the informants have managed to establish comparatively close relationships with anybody this way. Tysiachniouk and Konnov (2022) share the same observation in their research on emigrants in Georgia. They note that "as a whole, the relocant community is rather self-centred, with high in-group and low out-group connectivity. Integration is dependent on personal informal connections with Georgians, which are often hard to establish".

Migrants in Georgia seek emotional support, but fail to join any local community. At the same time, the Russian-speaking community is very active: emigrants organise events and even local businesses. Migrants in Germany are in a different position. To enter Germany, they have to arrange a job or education there in advance. That activity "forces" them to socialise with colleagues who are either foreigners or Germans. Informants keep in touch with Russian emigrants as well: first of all, because that communication has no language barrier.

Engagement in a Particular Activity

Another group of adaptation practices is related to being occupied with anything interesting and meaningful for the migrants. It can be their hobby, job, academic interest, or taking care of their children. Like any adult, informants experience the need to be occupied with something, and in the new environment, it is not a trivial task. Doing something meaningful is a tool of self-actualisation and a point of entry into a community of people with the same interests and values. Another advantage of such an activity is the established routine. Many informants mention difficulties with establishing a new routine in an unfamiliar environment: with regular activity, it is largely predetermined.

> *"It is a surprise for me that, first, I am on my own here, and second, I have to fulfil my routine step by step. I thought, "Why do I have this feeling?". Then I checked my calendar for winter and the end of the autumn* [of 2021] *and realised that it was so much more eventful. I was constantly going somewhere, doing projects, meeting my friends, somebody coming from another city, going to the countryside, going to Turkey to meet friends, or to some corporate event. <...> And here I am like "Maybe, next Saturday I can invite these groupmates to go for a beer, cool".* (N., male, migrated from Moscow to Bonn, graduate student).

For some of the migrants, their work is both a duty and a leisure activity. So in the new country, they create the best conditions for doing their job.

> *"The library, the university, and the organisation of a German university overall, the way they organise the course choice, the book exchange — yes, it is very cool. It impacted my study process <...>. Yes, the quality of university life changed* [for the better]*"*. (D., male, migrated from Moscow to Bielefeld, graduate student).

Some of the migrants pursue their hobbies to make their lives more interesting and eventful.

> *"[Sewing] gives me the feeling <…> that I am not miserable, that I can earn money as well. Also, I like it as a physical process; it relaxes me.* [I like it] *not because I need money, but when the client says: "Wow, that's cool!". That I can bring people some joy, and I can stay occupied. Because with two children, these kids' clubs are all the time… You can go insane*". (A., female, migrated from Moscow to Tbilisi, a citizen of Latvia, on maternity leave).

Specific Adaptation Aspects in Georgia

For some emigrants, the "community" and "activity" adaptation practices blend as they join the migrants' communities and attend the events that they organise. Those who obtain the resources to unite other people, organise their own events and thus broaden their social circle.

> *"I started to go to special events where people meet each other, play mafia, other board games, I went to the theatre with screenplays in Russian, things like that — this is how I created a new social circle. I think I organised events myself for the same purpose: to meet someone, to socialise. Now I don't have any problems with that"*. (I., male, migrated from Moscow to Tbilisi, works remotely for a Russia-based company).

Specific Adaptation Aspects in Germany

When trying to engage in any activity and establish a routine, emigrants in Germany face two barriers. The first one, as in the previous cases, is the language barrier. The second one is of a legal nature: most emigrants require legal permission to get employed in the host country. Thus, for some emigrants, attending language courses becomes an occupation which brings them both a "duty", new acquaintances and a routine.

> *"Closer to the New Year, I had a really serious depressive condition. I was in my bed all the time and didn't want to talk to anybody. Then the language course started, and it cheered me up a bit, because I got a reason to get out*

of the house, meet some people, and overall, some changes made me feel a bit better". (P., female, migrated from Moscow to Berlin to reunite with her family, neither works nor studies).

Adaptation Results

This group of adaptation practices shows the importance of "capital" and "field" elements from the conceptual scheme: the results of performing these practices depend on the starting positions of the migrants rather than the instruments that they choose. Those who migrated to perform any kind of activity (to work in the local company, to study in the local university), overall feel that their life is quite eventful. They do not experience any problems with establishing a routine, as it is predetermined by their main occupation. The migrants who "have brought the occupation with themselves" have more difficulties with making their lives more joyful, as their activity is usually remote. Thus, they have to put additional effort into initiating any offline activity. Those who migrated with no particular occupation have the hardest experience as they feel lost in the new country and struggle to join any activity. For them, the main opportunity to add some "content" to their life is attending language courses.

The Result of Emigration

Ober and Sakdapolrak (2017) viewed migration as an adaptation to climate change. In the current paper, migration is viewed as adaptation to changes in politics. According to Gotlib's definition of adaptation, emigration should have a result. Adaptation results defined in the current study vary strongly and can be summarised in the following way. Increasing spending with decreasing income, and, as a consequence, decreasing quality of consumption is typical for our sample. Another common result for both Georgia and Germany is the overall feeling of stress and exhaustion. It can be explained by the fact that all the informants have spent less than a year in the new country and are at the beginning of their migration path.

In Georgia, Russian emigrants tend to get isolated within the diaspora of Russian-speaking migrants and do not have any intention to expand their connections with local people and culture. For example, multiple informants explain their reluctance to learn the Georgian language with its "uselessness".

"You should understand: it is a very complicated language, not like European languages. And only 3 million people speak it. It is a very useless skill if you don't plan to live here. Especially because everybody speaks Russian". (A., male, migrated from Moscow to Tbilisi, works in a Russian company remotely).

This attitude is the consequence of their perception of Georgia as an intermediate stop rather than a new home. Uncertainty is another very common result of migration in Georgia. Migrants cannot stay in the country for a long time because of the legal rules, yet none of them have a clear plan for their further actions.

In Germany, the situation is the opposite, as the migrants intend to stay in the country. They attend language courses and attempt to establish social ties with the local people or plan to do so. At the same time, multiple informants from Germany experience a feeling of disappointment as their former perception of the "advanced" West and "not so advanced" Russia does not match reality.

Conclusion

Summarised, the adaptation practices of Russian migrants in 2022–2023 can be united into three major groups. The first group refers to providing basic needs: income and accommodation. To achieve these goals, emigrants actively use digital tools and existing social ties.

In Georgia, working remotely for Russian companies is a common practice; it is closely associated with uncertainty due to currency rate fluctuations. In Germany, the language barrier and bureaucracy present the strongest challenges. In both countries, emigrants experience a decrease in their income and level of consumption.

The second group of adaptation practices is related to membership in a community. Migrants establish new social ties or strengthen the existing ones. Membership in a community provides them with emotional and practical support, a feeling of belonging, and presents an entry point to joint events and activities. Being inside a community of like-minded people positively impacts their self-esteem as well.

In Georgia, performing these adaptation practices leads to isolation in the Russian-speaking community that gives emigrants a feeling of solidarity, yet encapsulates them within the status of a stranger. That kind of adaptation cannot be viewed as a step towards integration. In Germany, a less dense concentration of Russian emigrants motivates informants to make steps towards non-Russian speaking communities. While Germans might be perceived as unfriendly and "privileged", communication with emigrants from other countries provides informants with support and exposes them to other cultures.

The third group of adaptation practices is related to being engaged in an activity that is interesting and meaningful for the migrants. It can be a hobby, a job, an academic interest, or taking care of children. Doing something meaningful is a tool of self-actualisation and a point of entry into a community of people with the same interests and values. Another advantage of such an

activity is the established routine. Informants mention difficulties with establishing a new routine in an unfamiliar environment, but with regular activity, it is largely predetermined.

In Georgia, performing these adaptation practices requires additional effort from the emigrants. Informants struggle with establishing a routine and occupying themselves because many of them continue working remotely for Russian-based companies. To arrange their life in Georgia, they intentionally look for events organised by the Russian-speaking community, search for the information online, and plan their activities. In Germany, engagement in the common activity happens more naturally. To enter the country, emigrants have to arrange work or education in Germany as the purpose of their visit. That occupation becomes the core of their new everyday life: new routine, new acquaintances, new routes, and new activities emerge around that occupation. At the same time, emigrants who appear in the country without a "legitimate goal" (as refugees, repatriates, or family members) struggle with occupying themselves. For them, language courses become the main regular activity.

Overall, the adaptation process of Russian emigrants in Georgia and Germany differs strongly. In Georgia, they build their new lifestyle inside the Russian-speaking diaspora and try to recreate familiar practices (services, products, events) in the new place while almost ignoring the specifics of the new region. M. Gunko refers to this attitude as a "Moscow gaze" in her paper on the Russian emigrants in Armenia: "It is not only disdain for Armenia per se, but also arrogance and discontent with what is perceived as a less cosmopolitan way of life than that led in major, so-called global urban centers" (Gunko 2022). In contrast, the emigrants in Germany have a vision of their future in the new country: they perceive their current struggles as a certain investment in a new, bright future. At the same time, this vision is often accompanied by disappointment in Germany for not living up to the expectations of the "developed European country".

To estimate the success of adaptation of our informants, we can use the framework of 4 adaptation types suggested by Yuri Levada (1999). According to his typology:

- "Improving adaptation" is experienced by people who find new ways to satisfy their growing demands.
- "Decreasing adaptation" is experienced by people who are forced to use unfamiliar instruments to maintain their status, which remains the same or decreases.
- "Isolating adaptation" concerns individuals who state that their lifestyle has not changed as they try to avoid the new environment.

- "Destructive adaptation" is applied to people who, in fact, cannot adapt to the new environment, have to decrease their lifestyle and consumption unprecedentedly, and view these changes very negatively.

Classifying each adaptation story according to that typology, we can assume that all informants from Georgia belong to the "decreasing" type, and in Germany, 4 informants belong to the "decreasing" type as well, 1 story belongs to the "destructive" type, and 3 stories belong to the "increasing" type. Some of the "decreasing" cases of migrants in Germany have the potential to become "increasing", as the migrants describe their progress in adapting to the new place, starting to feel "like home", and learning the new culture. That adaptation can be viewed as a first step towards their further integration.

Our findings correspond with existing literature on the topic and add to the results of the previous studies. We took the claim of Tatarko and Lebedeva (2023) as a starting point of the research. The authors state that cultural distance and the host country's policy towards Russian emigrants impact acculturation. The OutRush 2024 report narrowed our general hypothesis. The authors assumed that countries which are harder to enter provided "more opportunities for stable settlement, possibly due to a more stable migrant status" (Sergeeva, Kamalov 2024). Our data provides qualitative evidence for that assumption. Yet the reason for adaptation being more successful in the countries with a more complicated entry lies in the area of emigrants' agency rather than in the area of state support. While all the informants have been forced to leave Russia by the beginning of the armed conflict in Ukraine, adaptation practices require less intentional effort from the emigrants who had the chance to plan and organise their lives abroad in advance. These conclusions bring us back to the distinction between forced and voluntary migration. "Easy access" countries are more likely to be destinations for forced emigrants who later struggle to adjust to the new context because of the circumstances of their departure. "Hard access" countries become destinations for those migrants who possess more capital of any form and thus can perform stronger agency. Emigrants who have arrived in "hard access" countries as refugees face the same challenges as emigrants who arrived in "easy access" countries as a result of their "voluntary" choice.

Limitations and Future Research Perspectives

One of the limitations of the current study is geographical. We analysed the cases of two regions, while Russian migrants massively moved to South American countries (Argentina and Brazil), Asia (Indonesia), Middle East (UAE). These countries provide radically different contexts for adaptation and present a particular research interest, as well as Georgia and Germany. Another limitation regards the size of the sample (16 informants). As adaptation is an

ongoing process, conducting a longitudinal study to trace the transformation of adaptation tools and results is one of the opportunities for future research. Conducting a quantitative study focused on the adaptation process of Russian emigrants could deepen the understanding of that process as well.

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Appendix 1

List of Interviews

Informant	Host country and city	Emigration route	Occupation
A., female	Georgia, Tbilisi	Transit migration	Works remotely for a Cyprus-based company
P., male	Georgia, Tbilisi	Transit migration	Works in Tbilisi
I., male	Georgia, Tbilisi	Transit migration	Works remotely for a Russia-based company
A., male	Georgia, Tbilisi	Transit migration	Works remotely for a Russia-based company
A., female	Georgia, Tbilisi; previous relocation stop — Türkiye	Transit migration	Works remotely for a Russia-based company

Informant	Host country and city	Emigration route	Occupation
A., female	Georgia, Tbilisi	Ethnic repatriation + transit migration (a citizen of Latvia)	On maternity leave
A., male	Georgia, Tbilisi	Business relocation	Works both remotely for a Russia-based company and offline in Tbilisi, migrated with one of the kids
E., male	Georgia, Tbilisi previous relocation stop — Türkiye	Transit migration	Works remotely for a Russia-based company
P., female	Germany, Berlin	Transit migration	Neither works nor studies
O., female	Germany, Stade	Foothold (holds a political refugee status)	Neither works nor studies
V., female	Germany, Munich	Business relocation	Works for the company that moved its Russian office to other countries
N., male	Germany, Bonn	Academic migration	Graduate student
I., male	Germany, Weimar	Academic migration	Graduate student
E., female	Germany, Berlin previous relocation stops — Serbia and Armenia	Business relocation	Works in a German company
D., male	Germany, Bielefeld	Academic migration	Graduate student
M., female	Germany, Frankfurt	Ethnic repatriation	Neither works nor studies

АДАПТАЦИОННЫЕ ПРАКТИКИ ВЫНУЖДЕННЫХ МИГРАНТОВ: СРАВНИТЕЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ РОССИЙСКИХ ЭМИГРАНТОВ В ГРУЗИИ И ГЕРМАНИИ В 2022–2023 ГОДАХ[1]

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Аннотация. В 2022–2023 гг. россияне покидали родину в условиях экономической нестабильности, высокой напряженности на международной политической арене, закрытого воздушного пространства для российских самолетов и отмены упрощенного порядка получения Шенгенских виз. Целью исследования является описание адаптационных практик российских эмигрантов, покинувших страну в этих обстоятельствах. Эмпирическую базу составили 16 интервью с россиянами, которые эмигрировали в Грузию или Германию в период с 2022 по 2023 г. Проведенный анализ показал, что наиболее успешные адаптационные практики включают принадлежность к сообществу и участие в деятельности, которую эмигранты считают для себя значимой. Выявлен ряд особенностей адаптации эмигрантов в двух странах. Вынужденный характер миграции становится причиной выбора страны с более простыми условиями въезда, однако адаптация в таких случаях проходит менее успешно. Переезжая в страну, для въезда в которую необходима подготовка, информанты адаптируются лучше, имея более четкий образ своего будущего на новом месте. Так, в отличие от мигрантов в Германии, информанты из Грузии не планируют оставаться в новой стране: такая установка становится причиной их изоляции в русскоязычном сообществе, а их представление о своем будущем довольно туманно. Эти обстоятельства понижают их общий уровень адаптации.

Ключевые слова: эмиграция, адаптационные практики, российские эмигранты.

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