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THEMATIC ARTICLES: MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THEIR INTEGRATION TO THE LABOR MARKET OF THE HOSTING COUNTRIES

The Post-Soviet Migrant Entrepreneurship: a Critical Assessment of Multidisciplinary Research

Sanja TEPAVCEVIC[1]

Abstract. The collapse of the Soviet Union combined with political and economic reforms generated increasing migrations and capital flows between and from the former Soviet countries. As indicated by International Organization of Migrations (IOM), in 2019 only the number of Russian citizens living abroad was 10 million. The researchers from various disciplines have been following relationships between post-Soviet migrations, the outward capital flows and emigres' entrepreneurship and during the last two decades over 40 studies related to post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship have emerged. This paper identifies the development of the research on post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship, its main trends, and research gaps. It delineates the boundaries and outline the contributions of immigrant entrepreneurship research to the fields of post-Soviet migrations and Russian outward foreign direct investments (OFDI). The review of the existing literature results in a new analytical framework that integrates findings in these domains and can be further extrapolated to analysis of entrepreneurship of other migrant groups.

Keywords: *migrations, post-Soviet (im)migrants' entrepreneurship, literature review*

Introduction: Post-Soviet Migrations and Migrant Entrepreneurship

The demise of the Soviet bloc generated the creation of both large ethnic disporas and mass migration flows, both within and outside of the borders of the former Soviet Union (Collyer, Duwell, and Molodikova eds, 2014; Nikolko and Carment eds, 2017). The late 1980's and early 1990's were characterized by

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significant migration outflows of Soviet Jews, Armenians and Germans from the SU to Western Europe and the USA (Aron, 1991). From the mid 1990's onwards former Soviet migration waves also included Chechens, Russians, Kazakhs and Ukrainians (Molodikova, 2017; Ryazantsev, 2015). Simultaneously, with the collapse of the Soviet Union the Russians became the world's second largest ethnic diaspora after Chinese (Heleniak, 2017), changing their legal status into an ethnic minority and prompting migration. In turn, over the last three decades the former Soviet republics have remained among the top 20 sending countries (IOM Report, 2018). In 2019 the number of Russian citizens living outside Russia counted to 10 million, while migrations from Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan were among the largest European emigration corridors (IOM Report, 2020).[2]

Table 1: Emigration from the former Soviet republics in selected years

Sending country/ Number of emigrants (in millions/year)	2000	2015	2019
Russian Federation	12.1	11	10
Ukraine	5.9	6	6
Kazakhstan	3.5	3	2,5

Sources: IOM Migration Reports 2015/2018/2020

Concurrently many host countries official statistics (in particular Germany, Israel and Hungary) have accounted citizens of post-Soviet countries as "citizens of the former USSR" long after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, with the definition continuing to be used within Israeli official statistics today (Ryazantsev et al., 2018). More recent OECD statistics on global migration indicate that immigrants who originate from former Soviet republics (mainly Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan) are currently among the largest immigrant groups in some receiving countries, namely Germany and Israel, and are also characterized as Russian speaking immigrants (Ryazantsev, 2017). Consequently, Soviet geographical origins and a native level knowledge of the Russian language placed the post-Soviet emigres within a coherent and often ethnically and culturally diverse migrant group.

Additionally, the transformation of economic systems coincided with a gradual collapse in socialist political regimes, requiring social deinstitutionalization and the building of market institutions (Gustaffson, 1999; Aslund, 2007). The collapse of communist-era economic institutions initially created an economic vacuum, in

[2] Coinciding with one another, Russia and Ukraine accounted amongst countries with the largest migration inflows mostly from other former Soviet countries.

which numerous types of entrepreneurships emerged (Kshetri, 2009). Some entrepreneurs that emerged in such a context were seen as „quasi-entrepreneurs, capitalizing on the opportunities created by the decay of the Soviet system, and the turmoil of the early post-Soviet transition" (Gustaffson, 1999, 113). On one hand, examples of Soviet citizens that had already migrated to the US during the 1980s including Jews, Armenians and ethnic Germans, had already demonstrated the possibility of successfully integrating into American society, having generated larger yearly incomes than the average American citizen (Aron, 1991). On the other hand, the deregulation of the economy and opening of the borders generated a new post-Soviet class of international traders, the so-called *'chelnoki'*, who travelled to Turkey, Poland or United Arab Emirates to buy products that they would later resell in their own countries. Some of these early post-Soviet international traders stayed in these countries, "established their businesses there and became successful entrepreneurs, and later – the citizens of these countries" (Ryazantsev et al. 2018, 94).

Furthermore, since 2000, because of significant investments and business projects made by the former Soviet citizens especially in the EU and the US, post-Soviet migrants' entrepreneurship had found its way into international headlines as an evolving social and economic phenomenon: two of the most striking examples being Google's co-founder Sergey Brin (Leadem, 2017), and owner of the British football team, Chelsea, Russian oligarch Roman Abramovich (Kuznetsov, 2011). Sequentially, it attracted academic interest in the outbonds of various fields of study such as post-Soviet migrations, outward foreign direct investments (OFDI) from Russia, immigrant entrepreneurship and technological innovations. Nevertheless, scholars analyzing post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship have frequently overlooked each other's works. As a result, the research concerning post-Soviet (im)migrant entrepreneurship has appeared on the margins of various research fields, and the experts of the OFDI from Russia research field, Kari Liuhto and Saara Majuri (2014) recognized it as an important theme.

In the light of these developments, the paper attempts to answer the following questions: How has the relationship between post-Soviet migrations and entrepreneurship been analyzed by scholars of various disciplines? What have been major directions, topics, and findings in the study of post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship? Therefore, the aim of this paper is three-fold: firstly, to describe and assess the existing research about post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship across

various disciplines; secondly, to systematize and accumulate knowledge about the post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship by providing analytical framework; and lastly to reveal the current gaps in the research and suggest avenues for further inquiry.

Objective and Methods of Inquiry

With regard to its aforementioned aims, this paper offers a review of the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship literature from the three most relevant disciplines: the first is history with focus on the Soviet Union and its' dissolution; the second is migrations studies that represents a significant intersection of social sciences – sociology, international relations, politics, public policy, legal studies and social anthropology; and the third broader discipline is applied sciences – the studies of business, management, and entrepreneurship. Thus, scholars of many of these disciplines have researched post-Soviet (im)migrants entrepreneurship, but rarely considering analyses of the phenomenon from other disciplines. For instance, over the first decade of the 21st century the whole research field exploring foreign direct investments (FDI) from and to Russia emerged (Liuhto and Majuri, 2014). Heated debates about the phenomenon have been generated mostly by the economists and scholars of business, and the post-Soviet (im)migrant entrepreneurship has been analyzed through the prisms of outflow investments from Russia.

On the contrary, sociologists, political scientists, historians and geographers have explored large migration flows within and outside the former Soviet territories, and the creation and identities of post-Soviet diasporas around the globe. They have mentioned Post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship as being an integration tool for migrants, however with a lack of inquiry into the nature of the entrepreneurship itself. Overall while contributing to the interdisciplinary debates, these branches of literature often overlooked one another, disregarding relevant aspects of the theme. The objective of this paper, therefore, is to aid other researchers by compiling contributions about the post-Soviet (im)migrants entrepreneurship and briefly analyzing and assessing their main discoveries. This paper represents a combination of within-study literature analysis and between-study literature analysis as first the content and contribution of each relevant study found is analyzed, and then it is compared as a way of highlighting general trends and gaps.

The review is limited to the scholarly works on post-Soviet (im)migrant entrepreneurship in English and Russian languages. Analyzed articles, monographs, edited volumes, and dissertations were accessed through several search engines in

both English and Russian or directly from the authors. In terms of thematic choice, the three general criteria have been applied in search of the scholarly works to be reviewed: first, those works that address post-Soviet migrations, secondly, those works that address entrepreneurship in the post-socialist countries, and thirdly – those works that deal with immigrant entrepreneurship. These three themes then were synthesized to focus on post-Soviet (im)migrant entrepreneurship. They were systematized according to: a) the discipline and research field, in which they were explored, b) the time of publication, c) the type of publication (research article, theoretical article, review, monograph, edited volume), d) the geographical territory that they cover, and e) the language they are written/published in. As a result, the literature has been divided into three thematic clusters: The first cluster describes the works focusing precisely on post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship in business, social, geographical, and historical aspects. The second cluster composes of works addressing OFDI from Russia with a notion to post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship. The third cluster concerns literature devoted to the migration flows within and from the territory of the former USSR. As a result, 35 works were reviewed and structured around these thematic clusters. Given that migrations are a dynamic process of movement between various localities and institutional settings, several terms referring to the people in different stages of this process are used in this review interchangeably depending on context, namely: emigres, (im)migrants (immigrants and migrants), and transmigrants.

Post-Soviet Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Core Studies Reviewed

Only a few years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, 500.000 Jews from the former Soviet republics migrated to Israel, which had a population of 5.000.000. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first scholarly work addressing the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship emerged in Israel: Miri Lerner and Yeoshua Hendeles (1996) explored entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial aspirations of 1530 post-Soviet newcomers to Israel. They found that gender, education and previous experience are among top determinants of post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship in Israel.

Following Lerner and Hendeles, Gustavo Mesch and Daniel Czamanski (1997) explored entrepreneurial intentions and their implementation of the post-Soviet Jewish immigrants in the Israeli city of Haifa. According to them, rapid and massive influx decreased newcomers' chances of employment. In turn, this situation created

the structural conditions for their entrepreneurship. By surveying 275 post-Soviet immigrants in Haifa, where the (post-)Soviet emigres were territorially concentrated, Mesch and Czamanski found that immigrants become interested in entrepreneurship after learning that their prospects of finding a job in their profession are meager, and explained their motivation to open a small business as a way to increase their income. Thus, as Mesch and Czamanski pointed out, their findings supported the disadvantage theory that conceptualizes entrepreneurship as an adaptive mechanism to structural barriers in the primary labor market.

More than a decade later, one more team of Israel-based researchers, Sibylle Heilbrunn and Nonna Kushnirovich (2008) examined impact of government support to immigrant entrepreneurs based on survey of 218 immigrant entrepreneurs from all former Soviet Union, residents of all Israeli regions. Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich pointed out that most frequent obstacles that post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurs faced in Israel were related to competition, environment, lack of capital and availability of information. In addition, as Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich found, those post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurs, who received the government's support encountered significantly more problems in setting up their business, than their counterparts, who did not receive such support. Another intriguing finding was that higher level of business owners' education negatively influenced business growth.

Almost in the same period, focusing on motives for immigration of the post-Soviet families to Hungary, Angelina Zueva (2005) revealed that some post-Soviet emigres who went to Israel later moved forward to Hungary. Zueva's (2005) contribution was based on in-depth interviews with the Russian Post-Soviet immigrants in Hungary and assessment of migration policies, gender ideologies and personal desires. Simultaneously, she attracted the attention of personal and family-related motives for migration and emphasized the role of women in migration decision-making processes. In relation particularly to post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship, Zueva demonstrated that some of the Russian-speaking immigrants in Hungary founded companies and became entrepreneurs mostly in order to obtain residency permits.

In sequence, Finnish scholars of economics and business studies observed growing Russian entrepreneurship in Finland. Their research interest was prompted by significant migrations from Russia, and it resulted in several groundbreaking studies about the motives and nature of the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship. Linda Johansson (2006) chronologically was the first Finnish

scholar, who studied Russian migrant entrepreneurs. She conducted her research in Southwestern Finland and discovered that Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Southwestern Finland did not launch their companies as a result of unemployment or the threat of it. Additionally, Johansson demonstrated that, despite their relative geographical proximity to Russia, the group of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs under her focus were not internationalizing their companies toward Russia. However, regarding this internationalization towards the home country, opposite to Johansson, a year later Jaana Okulov (2007) published a research focused on 10 Russian migrant entrepreneurs in Eastern Finland and noticed the relevance of their connections to mainland Russia. Thus, these two studies reflected the difference in nature of the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship in various regions of Finland, which seemed to depend on their geographical proximity to the Finnish-Russian border.

In turn, by surveying 60 Russian entrepreneurs in Finland, Jari Jumpponen and his associates (2009) complemented Johansson (2006) and Okulov (2007) arguments by finding that Russian owned immigrant businesses in Finland were created independently both from the help of public funding and any other supporting activities from the host country (Jumpponen et al. 2009). Several years later, contributing mostly to this Finland-focused research on post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurs, in her doctoral dissertation, Reija Sandelin (2015) explored the ways in which Russian immigrant entrepreneurs manifested their Russian cultures in their actions in different life-cycle stages of their businesses. In contrast to Jumpponen and his associates (2009), Sandelin applied interpretative method to the study of entrepreneurship and complemented previous contributions by analyzing the narratives of eight Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. Consequently, Sandelin found that the cultural identity of these entrepreneurs varies between the Finnish and the Russian cultures, which revealed levels of their integration into the Finnish business environment.

Parallel to this growing body of research about post-Soviet entrepreneurs in Finland, three significant studies about Russian immigrant entrepreneurs were conducted in another Scandinavian country. While conceptualizing and analyzing immigrant entrepreneurship in Norway, in his doctoral dissertation Evgeny Vinogradov's (2008) used the survey questions borrowed from Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) to study entrepreneurial intentions and activities of Russian immigrants in Norway. Based on 543 their responses to his survey

questions, Vinogradov (2008) found that they were more eager to start the business and be self-employed than their peers in the host country. His inquiry also revealed that Russian female immigrants in Norway usually have more intentions and more required knowledge to become self-employed or start their own enterprise. Building up on the same data set from Norway, in his later study published with Maria Gabelko (2010), Evgeny Vinogradov compared entrepreneurial activity of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs to their Russian non-immigrant peers. Vinogradov and Gabelko (2010) findings simultaneously confirm the general assumption that migrants are more entrepreneurial than non-migrant population, and reject so-called 'brain drain' assumption that immigrants are income maximizers.

Seven years later, by utilizing the same method of inference as her Finnish peer Reija Sandelin (2015), the Norwegian scholar Mai Camilla Munkejord (2017) examined the nature of immigrant entrepreneurship in the rural Finnmark area of Norway focusing on local and transnational networks of Russian female entrepreneurs in this Norwegian countryside. By conducting in-depth interviews with nine Russian female entrepreneurs in the Finnmark area, Munkejord found that being the part of the mainstream economy and support of the family ties were the most striking features of their immigrant entrepreneurship. Munkejord (2017) also pointed out that most of her interviewees were marriage migrants. Thus, while complementing to the understanding of the gender and rural aspects of the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship, Munkejord's analysis also contributed to spatial embeddedness and strength of ties explanations of immigrant entrepreneurship. Hence, while Vinogradov's (2008) and Vinogradov's and Gabelko's (2010) contributions provide understanding about the entrepreneurial intentions and potential of the Russian immigrants in Norway compared them with Norwegians and non-migrant Russians, Munkejord's findings provide a nuanced and detailed explanation of the phenomenon of post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship in the particular Norwegian locality.

Parallel to these analyses of Russian immigrant entrepreneurship across Scandinavia, several studies explored the nature of the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship that operated in other parts of Europe and the world. For instance, Alexander Shvarts (2010) in his doctoral thesis explored how experiences in the former Soviet communist economy and in the transitional economy affect the role that human capital, financial capital, and social capital played in establishing businesses and becoming successful in Toronto, Canada. Shvarts interviewed 32

post-Soviet immigrants, mostly Russian Jews from two distinct waves of migration: the first group, who migrated between 1971 and 1980 before the political-economic transformation in the Soviet Union, and second, those, who migrated in 1980s and 1990s. Shvarts' findings demonstrate relatively clear distinction in pre-startup phase of entrepreneurship between the first and second groups of post-Soviet immigrants in Canada. the representatives of the first group had fewer financial resources and were more likely to turn to ethnic community for seed capital. On the contrary, the representatives of the second group emigrated with financial resources accumulated through their businesses established during the transition to market economy.

Similarly, given relatively large size of the Russian-speaking diaspora in the Great Britain, which in 2014 reached about 150000 (Guardian, 2014), several studies from various disciplines focused on post-Soviet-owned businesses in this country. For instance, approaching the topic of post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship from an angle of the Russian foreign policy, the British sociologist Andrew Byford (2012) explored the nature of relations between Russian-speaking diaspora and the Russian state-representative institutions in the United Kingdom (UK). Byford conducted the interviews with the representatives of the Russian-speaking diaspora in London, and as a participant observed the process, in which some of Russian-speaking immigrants turned Russian culture-promoting "Compatriots" project organized by the Russian state, into self-serving and money-making entrepreneurial activities.

In addition, a year later, by conducting in-depth interviews with 14 Russian entrepreneurs, who set up their business in London, and analyzing them within the "forms of capital" theoretical framework, Nataliya Vershinina (2012) demonstrated that their businesses were not aimed at the enclave economy with reliance on co-ethnic migrant customers. Instead, according to Vershinina, their entrepreneurial activity in London was influenced by the transnational nature of their social and professional networks. Therefore, despite being conducted in entirely different geographical area and within different theoretical framework, this argument complements Munkejord's (2017) conclusions regarding the Russian female immigrant entrepreneurship operation in the mainstream economy of the Norwegian countryside.

Building upon Versinina's (2012) research on post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurs in the UK, Peter Rodgers and his associates (2018) further discussed the ways in which social networks – known as *blat* in Russian - sustain entrepreneurial activities of the post-Soviet (or as they put it, Eastern European)

immigrants in the UK. Rodgers et al. (2018) found that both the monetarization of such networks and the continuing embedded nature of trust existing within these networks cut across transnational spaces. In turn, they suggested that forms of social capital that are based on the use of Russian language and legacies of the Soviet past are as significant as the role of co-ethnic and co-migrants' networks in facilitating development of post-Soviet migrants' entrepreneurship and businesses. In addition, Vershinina and her associates (2018) problematized notions of legality and binary depictions of migrant workers by conducting interviews with 20 Ukrainian, as they put it, "fake business-owners" in London. The researchers found a co-existence of various forms of legality and illegality: they point out that migrant workers may be 'illegal' according to their migration status whilst simultaneously paying taxes as business-owners and employing workers.

In contrast to majority of previously analyzed works, several studies of the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship situated the phenomenon in question into broader historical and political contexts. For instance, the leading scholar of Russian science and technology outside Russia, Loren Graham's (2013) masterly examined Russian emigration, entrepreneurship and innovations across Western Europe and Northern America in his monograph titled "Lonely Ideas. Can Russia Compete?". Graham pointed out that search for financial and technological support for the development of innovations have been driving motives for Russian famous innovators to emigrate from Russia to the West. Exploring biographies of more than a dozen innovators originating from the Russian Empire and later from the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, Graham found that many of them emigrated from Russia first to some of the Western European countries and then to the United States of America as the latter with its' political and economic system provided fertile ground for the development of their innovations. Graham's main argument was that despite the fact that Russia traditionally has had a rich scientific talent pool, due to its political and economic system, it has failed to capitalize its scientific potential on to become a leading scientific and technical power.

Simultaneously, in a partial confirmation of the Graham's main argument, in her doctoral thesis addressing outward foreign direct investments from Russia to Europe, Sanja Tepavcevic (2013) revealed the existence of several associations of post-Soviet Russian-speaking innovators entrepreneurs in Germany. Through a series of interviews, she found that many of them came to Germany during the 1990s in a search for finances to develop their technical innovations. She also revealed that

some of the joint attempts of Russian-speaking scientists-entrepreneurs residing in various EU member states turned successful in receiving the EU grants to further develop their innovative ideas.

In Southern Europe so far only two studies dealt with the entrepreneurship of immigrants from the post-Soviet countries. First, Lois Labrianidis and Panos Hatziprokopiou (2010) studied immigrant entrepreneurship in Greece and immigrants from the former Soviet Union were one of the migrant groups of their focus. This group counted for 10% of then 800000 immigrants in Greece. Based on the fieldwork conducted in Thessaloniki, Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou demonstrated that most of these post-Soviet immigrants are Pontian Greeks, who were naturalized based on their ethnic origin. Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou and that immigrants from the post-Soviet Union, mostly from Georgia, counted for about 30% of immigrant entrepreneurs in Thessaloniki and that they preferred employees of Pontian origin.

Second, Italian scholars of business Diego Matricano and Mario Sorenttino (2014) tested the disadvantage theory about immigrant entrepreneurship based on the case of the Ukrainian ethnic enclave of the Italian city of Caserta located in Southern Italy. They explored what pull, push and socio-demographic factors affect the creation of ethnic ventures in the Ukrainian enclave. Based on data obtained from a questionnaire survey and a logistic regression, Marticano and Sorenttino found that major factors affecting the creation of new Ukrainian ventures are housing area and age: if immigrants lived outside the enclave and they were younger than forty years old, then they were more likely to create new ethnic ventures in the enclave.

Complementing to these findings from Greece and Italy, by using global migration statistics of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and by comparing them with official statistics from Russia and a number of host countries, Russian demographer Sergei Ryazantsev (2017) built the theory of the Russian-language migrant economies. He reveals that over the last two decades, Russian citizens who organized businesses abroad tend to employ other Russian and Russian-speaking former Soviet citizens abroad, mostly in tourism and trade industries. As Ryazantsev demonstrated, this usually happened in Southern Asian and some African countries, where Russians and other post-Soviets have little possibilities for cultural and economic integration. As a result, several Russian villages emerged in Thailand, Cambodia, Viet Nam and Liberia.

Though in smaller scale, such Russian-language economies were also found in the Central and Eastern EU member states. For example, approaching the post-Soviet

immigrant entrepreneurship in the context of one the European post-socialist market economies - Hungary, Sanja Tepavcevic's (2017) examined motives that driven entrepreneurship of the post-Soviet citizens in Hungary and patterns of its emergence. By conducting surveys with experts and in-depth interviews with post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurs in Hungary, and by applying Lee's (1966) theoretical model of migration to post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship, she also traced historical roots of the phenomenon. As a result, Tepavcevic (2017) revealed considerable differences in patterns of entrepreneurship among post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurs depending mostly on time of their arrival to Hungary, finding Russian-language economy significant mostly in the 1990s. She also found that the motives for entrepreneurship among the first post-Soviet wave of migrants combine negative factors in the former Soviet Union with positive factors encountered in Hungary.

Regarding the post-Soviet waves of emigration, a year later, Ryazantsev and his associates (2018) conceptualized them as "the three new waves" and related them to the types of Russian migrant entrepreneurship (94). These concepts are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Waves of the Russian post-Soviet migrations and types of their migrant entrepreneurship

Wave of the Russian post-Soviet emigration	Type of Russian emigres and/ their entrepreneurship	Most frequent recipient/host countries
First new wave – 1991-1998	Refugees and *'Chelnoki'* (post-Soviet 'grey' traders) / international trade between former Soviet republics and 'far abroad'	Israel, Germany, USA, Poland, Turkey, UAE
Second new wave 1998-2008	Labor emigrants and 'New Russians' (Oligarchs)/ real estate investments, money-laundering	Great Britain, Offshore zones
Third new wave 2008-2017	Middle-class emigres, pensioners, transmigrants/ small and medium-size legal businesses	Countries with relatively high salaries, or relatively low costs of life, and relatively warm climate

Source: Ryazantsev et al. (2018)

Still, the limitation of this Ryazantsev et al. (2018) study was that it

concerned only the Russian citizens. Furthermore, by focusing on motives for Ukrainian migration and entrepreneurship in Poland, Katarzyna Andrejuk (2019) points towards the 'entrepreneurship drain' from Ukraine and develops a concept of governance-induced migration. Based on the interviews with 51 Ukrainian migrant entrepreneurs, Andrejuk (2019) found the wage differentials, family reasons and availability of welfare benefits as the attracting aspects of the host country as opposed to the sending country. She also demonstrates that their motivations for migration encompass the quality and efficiency of public institutions: the differences between Poland and Ukraine in the functionality of public institutions and the level of socio-political risks lead to enhanced migration flows and entrepreneurship drain from Ukraine.

Finally, among the core studies Sanja Tepavcevic, Irina Molodikova, and Sergey Ryazantsev (2020) compared post-Soviet outward direct investments and immigrant entrepreneurship in Hungary, Czech Republic and Austria. By conducting interviews with post-Soviet entrepreneurs and their acquaintances, Tepavcevic and her associates examined six cases of post-Soviet Russian-speaking immigrant entrepreneurship, two in each country: one functioning according to the principles of Russian-language economy, and another oriented to the mainstream economy. Based on these comparisons, Tepavcevic, Molodikova, and Ryazantsev found that post-Soviet-owned companies in construction and human resources sectors belong to the mainstream economies of the three host countries. Based on the cross-countries comparisons, the researchers conclude that entrepreneurship of post-Soviet immigrants in these countries serves not only purposes of legal residence, as, for instance, Zueva (2005) previously found in Hungary, but also for social integration in these host countries.

Other Important Studies Addressing Post-Soviet Immigrant Entrepreneurship

In this section the main works of the second and third thematic clusters are described and assessed according to their contribution to the post-Soviet (im)migrant entrepreneurship. Most importantly, in their literature review of the works devoted to OFDI from Russia in Europe, Kari Liuhto and Saara Majuri (2014) were first scholars, who summarized the importance of the research particularly in Russian immigrant entrepreneurship by arguing that "[a]lthough Russian migrant entrepreneurship is based more on human capital rather than monetary

capital crossing the border, this phenomenon also deserves attention, since many Russian migrants, even highly educated ones, remain unemployed in their host countries." (210).

An already maturing research field about outward foreign direct investments (OFDI) from Russia also pointed towards post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship, though it was not the focus of these studies. For example, in the volume titled "Expansion or Exodus? Why do Russian Companies Invest Abroad?" edited by Finnish economist Kari Liuhto, relevant for the study of post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship was the contribution of the Hungarian scholar Kalman Kalotay (2005). He observed the 'Russian paradox' created by the duality of the Russian economy and underlined the difference between OFDI of large Russian enterprises and small outward investments made by the Russian middle class. In compliance with this theory in his monograph written in the Russian language, economist Alexei Kuznetsov (2007) pointed out that many of the smaller individual outward investments made by Russian citizens serve the creation of "safe haven" and "additional airport" by establishing or buying small businesses abroad. Similarly, in his essay about Russian investments in Hungary, Csaba Weiner (2015) traced the process of transformation of Gazprom's FDI in Hungary into a number of businesses organized and owned by the family of Megdet Rakhimkulov during and after his mandate as the first Gazprom's representative. According to Weiner, by the end of the 1990s the Rakhimkulovs were among the richest and most influential people in Hungary. It is worth mentioning that most of these studies are based on statistical data obtained usually from several official sources, such as central banks and statistical offices of Russia and receiving countries.

In contrast to other studies of Russian OFDI that provide some insights into the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship, in their business-case study, Marina Latukha, Andrei Panibratov, and Elena Safonova-Salvadori (2011) described the internationalization strategy decision-making process of the GKG Global, a small Russian enterprise providing technology-intensive services. Latukha and her colleagues explored potential obstacles that KGK Global and other foreign investors and entrepreneurs could face in Brazil, the country that was chosen by the company in question as the first market for internationalization. Among these obstacles, the researchers found high entry taxes, mistrust towards foreigners, and high presence of family involvement into businesses.

At the same time, the issue of unemployment in home countries of the former Soviet Union attracted the attention of post-Soviet scholars mainly as the reason for migration and all sorts of (im)migrant entrepreneurship. The related transmigration and entrepreneurial strategies were also the focus of some studies in the research field of the post-Soviet migrations. For instance, Rano Turaeva (2014) used ethnographic methods to describe rather illegal entrepreneurship of the Uzbek transmigrants in Russia and Kazakhstan, finding greater significance of informal social rules – family and religious traditions – rather than legal contracts as the key in entrepreneurial and migration strategies. She analyzed several Uzbek mobile entrepreneurs and their transnational economic activities in post-Soviet space. Based on her observations, Turaeva (2014) argued that the space of informal economic activities of mobile entrepreneurs are structured by trust-network in the context the concept of 'muddling through' or survival, which unifies many economic activities, varying from trade, service delivery, middleman services, administration and any kind of entrepreneurial activity that generates cash.

In a similar vein and the same year, in her master thesis, Nodira Davlyatova (2014) explored Tajiks' labor migration to Russia in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. By analyzing and comparing migration policies of Russia and Tajikistan and the contexts in which they have emerged, Davlyatova (2014) noticed that impoverishment, political and economic instability, and discrimination of ethnic minorities motivated Tajik citizens to migrate and work in Russia despite challenges such as segregation, xenophobia, sexism, and intolerance working abroad.

A year later, focusing on motives for emigration from Ukraine, sociologist Olga Oleinikova (2015) applied discourse analysis on interviews with 37 Ukrainian labor migrants in Italy and Poland to analyze their home-country-transition-related life strategies, dividing them into two general categories: achieves-oriented and survival-oriented strategies. Based on conceptual framework that differentiates between personal, institutional, and cultural dimensions of social environment, Oleinikova (2015) pointed out that the majority of the interviewed migrants implemented achievement strategies rather than survival, though most framed 'achievement' in terms of the accomplishment of individual goals, through entrepreneurship among other means.

In his turn, Sergei Ryazantsev (2015) examined the global nature of the

contemporary Russian diaspora, both in the West and Far East. Focusing on the example of the USA, Finland, Cyprus, Japan and Korea, the statistical size of this diaspora, its ambiguous ethno-cultural composition, its patterns of integration and assimilation, its forms of diasporic self-organization and support, and the creation of diaspora-based business, professional, socio-cultural and educational networks, Ryazantsev (2015) recognized increasing significance of these diasporic groups in Russian diplomacy and foreign policy. For instance, he highlighted that by the time of writing, only in Cyprus Russian citizens registered 21000 companies, which brought about 3000000 US dollars to the country's economy (2015).

Finally, Irina Molodikova (2019) focused on integration processes of Chechen communities in the EU in her contribution to the edited volume titled "Muslim Minorities and Refugee Crisis in Europe: Narratives and policy responses". Molodikova pointed out that the availability and creation of jobs is the most important element of the integration of the Chechens into European societies: according to Molodikova, in the Chechen culture masculinity is extremely important and men are expected to sustain their families materially. Therefore, as Molodikova found based on interviews with the Chechen refugees, those prosperous Chechen migrants organized their entrepreneurship around the professions that are regarded masculine, and thus 'honorable': they established construction companies and sport clubs. Other Chechens, as Molodikova found out, tend to use "'the strategy of quick money'" by smuggling people across the EU borders, and posing rent-seeking activities on other migrants, providing them with 'roof', i.e. virtual protection. Molodikova concluded that the Chechens' religious customs and clan-based traditions slower the process of integration and makes it achievable mainly with youth and second generation of Chechens born in the EU.

Research on Post-Soviet Migrant Entrepreneurship: Findings and Discussion

To summarize in parallel to research on OFDI from Russia, the collapse of the Soviet Union boosted the research of post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship. The majority of contributions have been descriptive, while others offered either contributions to existing theories of immigrant entrepreneurship, or provided some novel theories and concepts specifically related to post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship. All the findings of the reviewed works are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Summary of the scholarly literature exploring post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship (in chronological order and published in English and Russian)

Level of analysis	Emphasis on theory	Emphasis on understanding phenomenon
Macro	Kalotay (2006), Kuznetsov (2007), Kuznetsov (2010), Graham (2013), Ryazantsev (2017), Ryazantsev et al. (2018)	Liuhto and Majuri (2014), Ryazantsev (2015)
Meso	Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich (2008), Vinogradov (2008), Vinogradov and Gabelko (2010)	Oleinikova (2015), Tepavcevic (2017), Tepavcevic, Molodikova, Ryazantsev (2020), Shvarts (2010)
Micro	Lerner and Hendeles (1996), Mesch and Czamanski (1997), Zueva (2005), Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou (2010), Matricano and Sorenttino (2014), Munkejord (2017), Andrejuk (2019)	Johansson (2006), Okulov (2007), Latukha, Panibratov and Safonova-Salvadori (2011), Byford (2012), Vershinina (2012), Tepavcevic (2013), Turaeva (2014),Dovlyatova (2014), Weiner (2015), Sandelin (2015), Rodgers et al.(2018), Vershanina et al. (2018), Molodikova (2019)

The topics that have been raised in relation to post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship have ranged from motives for migration to the role of gender in migrant entrepreneurship. Most frequent questions raised in research of post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship have been related to the role and place that post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship occupies in markets of receiving countries, and the motives for entrepreneurship. Specialization in particular topics among authors became evident. A detailed classification of topics that have been addressed in a study of post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship and authors discussing them is summarized in Table 4 below. This table simultaneously represents the analytical framework that can serve as a guidance in further research in post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship and immigrant entrepreneurship in general.

The main contradictions in the findings seem to depend on the geography of research and methodological approaches. Therefore, further comparative quantitative and qualitative studies about the post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurs in various countries would be the next logical step for the research field. A detailed list of potential topics for further studies is provided within the next section.

Table 4: Analytical framework – topics raised in research of post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship

Topics	Motives for emigration	Choice of receiving country	Motives for entrepreneurship	Choice of mode of entrepreneurship	The role of FDI in migrant entrepreneurship	Government support to immigrant entrepreneurship	Role of migrant entrepreneurship in host market (ethnic – Russian-language *versus* mainstream)	Cultural embeddedness in host country	Women roles in migration and entrepreneurship
Author (year of publication)	, Aaron (1991), Zueva (2005), Kuznetsov (2007), Tepavcevic (2017), Molodikova (2019), Andrejuk (2019),	Aaron (1991), Mesch and Czamanski (1997), Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou (2010)	Mesch and Czamanski (1997), Zueva (2005), Tepavcevic (2017)	Marticano and Sorenttino (2014), Vershinina (2013), Tepavcevic (2017)	Kalotay (2006), Kuznetsov (2007), Weiner (2015)	Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich (2008), Jumpponen et al., (2009), Shvarts (2010)	Shvarts (2010), Turaeva (2014), Tepavcevic (2017), Ryazantsev (2018), Tepavcevic, Molodikova, Ryazantsev (2020)	Sandelin (2015), Rodgers et al.(2018)	Zueva (2005), Munkejord (2017), Molodikova (2019)
Geography of coverage	USA, Hungary Poland, Austria, France, Germany	USA, Israel, Greece,	Israel, Hungary	Italy, UK, Hungary	Western Europe, USA, Cyprus	Israel, Finland, Canada	Canada, Russia, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, Southern-Eastern Asia, Africa	Scandinavia, UK	Hungary, Norway, Poland, Austria

Conclusions: Trends, Gaps, and Avenues for Further Research in Post-Soviet Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Historically post-Soviet migrations and immigrant entrepreneurship seem to be divided into three periods: firstly, the emergence of the first traders and significantly sized Russian-speaking communities in the 1990's; second, from the turn of the century to the global economic crisis in 2008, when migrations represented dual outflows of labor migrants, oligarchs and their foreign investments. As the analysis above has displayed, the later were combined with the processes of OFDI of Russian transnational corporations. The third period constitutes the time between 2008 and 2017 when mostly representatives of the emerged post-Soviet middle class emigrated and established businesses abroad. A number of studies that explore post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship are approximately around 40 in various languages and disciplines.

However, as the current literature review demonstrates, it is quite contested among various disciplines. In order to avoid repeating prevailing perceptions within the disciplines and rather to build upon them, the emerging research field is in need of a cross-disciplinary approach and large surveys carried among post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurs in many countries by an international research team. As the analysis of the literature above has demonstrated, most of the existing research addressed Russian, Russian-speaking or Ukrainian immigrant communities. At the same time, the research on post-Soviet immigrant entrepreneurship lacks studies that would examine and compare migrant entrepreneurship of two or more post-Soviet ethnic or national groups. Such studies are needed in order to better understand trajectories of political and economic developments in various countries and how remnants of the former Soviet Union affected emigrations and tendencies of their emigres to become entrepreneurs in their countries of destination.

Secondly the literature review of post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship has also revealed that post-Soviet emigres quite often have migrated from one recipient country further to another, while keep operating their businesses both in the first and second (and sometimes even third) country of destination. Therefore, further mapping and qualitative research of these migrations and expansions of the post-Soviet migrant businesses would be needed in order to understand both their roles in the host markets and in integration of their owners to the host societies. Third, most of the current studies about post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship represent

either case studies that address one host country and/or a locality within one host country. Thus, more within host country cross-regional comparisons is further needed, as well as and cross-country cross-regional comparisons.

Furthermore, studies analyzing Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Scandinavia and the Central Europe are much more numerous, than studies in Southern European countries despite significant size of the post-Soviet diasporas in, for instance, Spain and Portugal. Further mapping of these diasporas and monitoring of types and size of their entrepreneurship in addition to cross-regional and cross-country comparative analyses would also contribute in understanding the formation of the post-Soviet diasporas in Europe, as well as its role in economy on the regional and country levels. Additionally, some of the described studies revealed the relationship among entrepreneurship and legal status, time of migration, age, and gender. Further theory-building comparative studies are needed to explain the relationship between these factors in post-Soviet migrant entrepreneurship.

Sixth, the review of the literature revealed a lack of comparative studies of post-Soviet migrants' entrepreneurship across post-Soviet space. Such research would provide novel theoretical insights not only into migrations and entrepreneurship research fields, but also into the broader research of evolution of economic and political institutions. In turn, these insights would also nurture decisions of migration policy decision-makers to the benefits of the larger society. Last, but not least, social entrepreneurship, including increasing political activity of post-Soviet migrants, can be added in the study of the post-Soviet entrepreneurship. It may shed further light on the nature of relations between post-Soviet emigres and governments of their home countries.

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