

Reija Sandelin

Russian Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Finland

Narratives of Eight Russian
Immigrant Entrepreneurs



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS 143

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Editors

Tuomo Takala

Jyväskylä University School of Business and Economics

Pekka Olsbo, Ville Korhakangas

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Cover photo by Reija Sandelin, Loviisa May 5, 2013. Birches are common trees both in Finland and Russia and symbolize here growth and energy.

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ABSTRACT

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The focus for this dissertation was to investigate the narratives of eight Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. The research objective was to analyze and understand how Russian immigrant entrepreneurs operating in the Finnish business environment manifested their Russian cultures in their actions at the different life-cycle stages of their businesses.

Eight Russian immigrant entrepreneurs running their businesses in Finland were interviewed to investigate, with the help of related theories, informants' Russian cultures at different life-cycle stages. The interview material was analyzed with the help of theory-guided narrative empirical analysis. Thematic cross-case analyses focused on the cultural preferences at various life-cycle stages and business development. The structural analysis concentrated on critical phases in immigrant entrepreneurship and their impact on the cultural preference and business development.

The informants were divided into four pairs according to their business aspirations. Business-first entrepreneurs were professional developers. Family-first entrepreneurs were self-employed for family reasons. Money-first entrepreneurs kept looking for possibilities to earn and were serial entrepreneurs. Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs enjoyed their self-employment and were willing to learn and develop.

The cultural preference of the money-first entrepreneurs changed from a Russian preference to a Finnish-Russian mix. One lifestyle-first entrepreneur and one family-first entrepreneur moved from Finnish-Russian mixed preference to Finnish preference when their companies grew from birth to growth or maturity. The rest of the informants had Finnish-Russian mixed preferences through the different phases of their business development.

Different critical phases made one business-first and money-first entrepreneur react in a Russian way when difficult. Family-first entrepreneurs preferred the Finnish cultural approach in times of crisis. The rest used a Finnish-Russian cultural mix. In general, Russians liked their own masculine and collectivist culture that they expressed also in entrepreneurship. Consequently, the informants balanced between three variants of cultural preferences: Russian, Finnish-Russian, and Finnish. Their situation can be called culturally as trialist.

Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are capable of integrating, starting, and developing their companies, and they earn, employ, and in that way support the economy of Finland.

Keywords: immigrant entrepreneurship, cultural dimensions, life-cycle stages, business aspirations

Author's address	Reija Sandelin School of Business and Economics University of Jyväskylä Laaksonkaari 4, 06650 HAMARI reija.m.sandelin@jyu.fi
Supervisors	Professor Emeritus Matti Koiranen Department of Entrepreneurship School of Business and Economics University of Jyväskylä Adjunct Professor Tarja Römer-Paakkanen Department of Entrepreneurship School of Business and Economics University of Jyväskylä
Reviewers	Professor Leo Paul Dana University of Canterbury New Zealand Kari Liuhto Turku School of Economics University of Turku
Opponents	Professor Leo Paul Dana University of Canterbury New Zealand

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Porvoo January 8, 2014

Reija Sandelin

FIGURES

FIGURE 1	The research orientation and the central boundaries of the doctoral thesis.....	17
FIGURE 2	The interactive model of ethnic business development (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 22)	28
FIGURE 3	Research design.....	61
FIGURE 4	Example of the contents of the first and the second interview rounds.....	99

TABLES

TABLE 1	Business orientation priorities of informants	69
TABLE 2	The priorities of Russian-Finnish cultural dimensions of the informants	97
TABLE 3	Life-cycle stages and business orientations of the informants at the point of the first interview and the re-check.....	112
TABLE 4	Developing life-cycle stages and changing the preferred cultures of the informants.....	113
TABLE 5	Vadim's critical points in immigrant entrepreneurship	115
TABLE 6	Lidia's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship	116
TABLE 7	Inessa's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship	117
TABLE 8	Alexey's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship.....	118
TABLE 9	Vladimir's critical points in immigrant entrepreneurship.....	119
TABLE 10	Sonya's critical point of immigrant entrepreneurship	120
TABLE 11	Maxim'a critical points in immigrant entrepreneurship.....	121
TABLE 12	Aslan's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship	122
TABLE 13	Life-cycle stages and preferred cultures of the informants in various critical points of entrepreneurship	123
TABLE 14	The Russian immigrant entrepreneurship research abroad	151

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIGURES AND TABLES

CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	9
1.1	Background and motives	10
1.2	Research orientation and objectives	15
1.3	Boundaries of the study	17
1.4	Definitions of key concepts	21
1.5	Structure of the dissertation	24
2	LITERATURE ANALYSIS	26
2.1	Immigrant entrepreneurship	26
2.1.1	Immigrant entrepreneurship research	32
2.1.2	Russian immigrant entrepreneurship research	35
2.2	Theoretical foundation of the study	37
2.2.1	Dominant Russian cultures	37
2.2.2	Life-cycle perspective	43
2.2.3	Business orientation	47
2.3	Summary of literature analysis	49
3	METHODOLOGY	50
3.1	The social constructivist worldview	50
3.2	Researcher's background and role as an interpreter	51
3.3	The narrative approach	53
3.4	Data collection	58
3.5	Data analysis	59
3.6	Summary of methodology	60
4	EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS	62
4.1	Manifested cultures of four informant pairs	62
4.2	Thematic analysis cross-cases	70
4.2.1	Russian-Finnish dualism: the cultural view	70
4.2.2	Business development: the life-cycle view	98
4.3	Structural analysis	114
5	DISCUSSION AND REFLECTION	124
5.1	Summarized answers to the main research question	124
5.2	Key results versus prior knowledge	126
5.3	Limitations and critical assessment	127
5.4	Contributions and implications	129
5.4.1	Theoretical contributions	129
5.4.2	Practical contributions	131
5.5	Suggestions for further research	133

TIIVISTELMÄ	135
SUMMARY	136
BIBLIOGRAPHY	138
APPENDICES.....	151
APPENDIX 1. TABLE 14. The Russian immigrant entrepreneurship research abroad	151
APPENDIX 2. The background information of the respondents	154
APPENDIX 3. The Interview Guide, January 14	158
APPENDIX 4. The Interview Guide, November 18	159
APPENDIX 5. The Interview Guide, fall 2012	160
APPENDIX 6. The Interview Themes, fall 2013.....	161

1 INTRODUCTION

Wolves as well as bears are distinguished animals in Russian folklore and nature. Russian language cultivates sayings related to wolves. When discussing with one of the informants of this doctoral thesis we had the following discussion:

Vladimir: You always have to look for something new, you have to work, all the time, yes, all the time. That's the way it is. I am like a wolf, so to say.

Interviewer: Wolf, how?

Vladimir: Always doing something, always looking for something. --- Always searching. Ready to do anything. To sell houses, to sell in a cafe or something or build, I mean. --- Previously I have had trade names. One limited company. Its industry is wide reaching. In principle I can do anything, sell medicine or do housing. It is nice to be in a company operating in a Schengen country, to discuss semitrailers and payments, why not. I'm totally indifferent as to what to sell. I mean legal operations.

Wolves are gregarious and hungry and they keep looking for something to eat. In the same way, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs can be hungry in Finland for many reasons. This quote made me understand that Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is a multi-dimensional and dynamic phenomenon that can be described and analyzed from many angles. The analysis is shared because the research field is virginal and important. Therefore, I have chosen to investigate in this thesis the Russian cultural identities of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland at the different life-cycle stages of their businesses. I wish to allow this entrepreneurial minority to speak and increase the understanding on every-day life of Russian entrepreneurs in Finland and their mental map. The insights produced in this thesis may be of significance to the socio-economic development perspective in Finland, too.

1.1 Background and motives

Finland had a population of 5,4 million people in 2011, and the dependency ratio was 52,9 at the end of the year. This means that there were 3,5 million people of working age and the remainder, 1,9 million people, were under 15 or 65 or older. Forty-four percent of the Finnish population is employed. The newest prognosis claims that the dependency ratio will increase to 63 in 2020 and to 70 in 2030 (Ruotsalainen 2013). It is obvious that it will be challenging for Finland to support everyone. Consequently, immigration and immigration entrepreneurship are vital for the future of Finland.

The history of immigration is different from the one of traditional strong immigration nations, for instance the United States or Germany. Finland has not had a lot of immigration at all due to location and the Fenno-Ugric language. Finland has instead been an emigration country. Finns have emigrated to Sweden, the United States, Canada, and Australia to work and earn more than in their home country. In the 1960s and 1970s more than 300,000 Finns moved to Sweden to work in Swedish industry. Nowadays, Finland suffers from the so-called brain drain like many other countries, including Russia. Highly and expensively educated experts leave Finland for better opportunities and migration is taking place from East to West. (Forsander 2000, 150; Härkäpää & Peltola eds. 2005, 22.)

Finland was able to offer a lot of work after World War II. The Finnish society was developed and constructed after the destruction of World War II and hard times. Finland did not need any foreign labor because there was a big enough workforce in the Finnish country-side. The Finnish population was still growing in those days, unlike now. Finland had also strict and controlling conditions for foreigners looking for work. As late as in the 1980s a potential immigrant needed to have a valid work permit from the Finnish authorities before even arriving in Finland. This permit had to be fixed to only one work place and employer. (Jaakkola 1991; Härkäpää & Peltola eds. 2005, 22; Joronen 2012, 82.)

Most of the immigrants in Finland were Finnish return movers with families coming back to Finland for instance from Sweden. In 1989, a total of 40% of all immigrants were born in Sweden and 13% in the Soviet Union. As they come from neighboring countries it is obvious that they have some connection to Finland. They were often Finns returning to their home country. From the 1970s Finland received also refugees from Vietnam and Chile among other countries, which was a political decision. The refugees were different from the homogeneous Finnish population and received a lot of attention. (Jaakkola 1991, 22 – 23, 133; Härkäpää et al. 2005, 22; Joronen 2012, 82 – 83.)

The immigrant situation in Finland changed in 1991 when the foreign law was revised. Because the immigration policy and the new foreign law had become more liberal it was possible for an immigrant to change work place during the validity period of the work permit. The European Union offered also

free work markets between the union members. (Jaakkola 1991, 22 – 23; Joronen 2012, 82.)

After the Soviet Union broke up in 1991 the border between Russia and Finland became more open as the FCMA treaty [The Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, the YYA Treaty, in Finnish *Ystävyys-, yhteistyö- ja avunantosopimus*] did not exist anymore. It had previously prevented migration from the Soviet Union to Finland and illegal immigrants were brought back to the Soviet Union during the validity of the FCMA treaty. Finland also decided that Ingrian people in the Soviet Union or the Russian Federation automatically would get a return mover status and were able to migrate to Finland easier than other nationalities. Consequently, there were more immigrants than ever in Finland in 1991; in total 13 400. Between 1992 and 1993 Finland received about 8000 – 9000 immigrants per year. They moved mostly to big cities as the society had developed from an industrial to a service society and the old factories were more in the country-side. In 2010 there were 248 135 people who were born abroad in Finland and 48 678 of them were born in the former Soviet Union. In 2010 the number of immigrants in Finland had become nine times as big as in 1990. (Myrskylä 2003; Joronen 2012, 82 – 83, 85, 1 – 2; Tilastokeskus 2012a.)

Family ties, such as marriage to a Finnish citizen, are the most common reason for immigration to Finland. Almost 65% of all immigrants have migrated to Finland due to family reasons. Only 5 – 10% of all immigrants have come to Finland in order to work, which is a low rate. Return move and exile were also common motives. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 6, 19; Joronen 2012, 83 – 84.)

Because Finland and Russia are neighboring countries, there have always been Russian people and Russian entrepreneurship in Finland. From 1809 to 1917 Finland was even part of the Russian empire after Sweden lost the Finnish war to Russia in 1809. There were Russian merchants and family businesses in Finland, e.g. the famous brewery Sinerbrychoff (see e.g. Nemilentsev, Kirmanen, & Kansikas 2010; Nemilentsev 2013). When the Russian Revolution took place in 1917 and Finland became an independent republic, some Russian people migrated to Finland. During the communist era Russians from the Soviet Union were not able to travel freely, move to, or live in Finland. There were only a few accepted reasons to move to Finland, such as marriage or work for the Soviet Union in Finland. After the Soviet Union collapsed Russian people have been able to apply freely for a visa, a work permit, and a residence permit in order to move to Finland. Many tens of thousands of Russian people moved to Finland and naturally there are also a lot of tourists and visitors in the country. The Russians in Finland have their own communities, radio channels, and from 2013 even Finnish Broadcast Company YLE offers TV News in Russian. It is natural to hear Russian in Finland. The amount of Russian speaking people is expected to double from 26 600 in 2013 to 52 800 in 2030 in the capital region according to a prognosis concerning the population speaking other languages than Finnish, Swedish, or Sami (Helsingin seudun vieraskielisen väestön ennuste 2013 – 2030).

Attitudes toward Russians vary in Finland. There has been prejudice homogenizing the whole group. Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010) suggest that there are four standard reaction types to foreign visitors. The first phase is curiosity, everything is interesting and new. The second phase is about evaluating the visitor by the standards of the host culture and some activities can be interpreted to be negative if they are different. This phase is called ethnocentrism and it is equivalent to what egocentrism is to an individual. The own universe is the center of the world. The third phase is polycentrism. Here it is already recognized that foreigners should be measured by other standards than one's own culture. Xenophilia is to idealize foreign cultures and it is as unhealthy as ethnocentrism. (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov 2010, 387.)

As Russia was an expansive empire, there were stereotypical views about Russians being hard-souled drunkards as early as the sixteenth century. Finns used to call Russians *ryssä* which is not a nice appellation. This word comes from 1917 when Finland became independent and Russia and the new Soviet Union were experienced as a serious threat to the independency of Finland. World War II did not make things easier either as Finland was fighting against the Soviet Union to keep their independence. Still, there are stereotypical pictures of Russians in Finland describing Russians as whores, hucksters, or criminals. On the other hand, in 2013 Finland is a more international place than ever and many Finns know Russians that do not stick out distinctively. World War II has become a more and more distant memory now. There is also a growing middle class in the Russian Federation that is interested in democracy, good conditions, and development. They have also money to spend and they visit and buy things in Finland which is in the economic interest of Finns. (Karemaa 1998; Jerman 2009, 98.)

In Finland immigrants are employed depending on the economic situation. When there was an economic upswing and growth in the 1980s and the Finnish unemployment rate was as low as 5% in 1988 immigrants found work and their equivalent unemployment rate was only 8% (Jaakkola 1991, 54 - 56). At the beginning of the 1990s there was a deep and difficult recession in Finland and immigrants suffered more from unemployment than the native Finnish population (Hjerppe & Vartia, 2002). Long after the recession in the 1990s immigrants had difficulties in finding jobs and also the attitudes to them were more negative than during good times. If they worked they also earned less than Finns. They could partly practice the same professions as the native population depending on their education. (Joronen 2012, 89 - 90.)

The most important criteria for immigrant employment were ethnic background, year of immigration, age, education, Finnish language skills, and counseling. If an immigrant comes from a close European country he/she will not have as significant difficulties to become employed as an immigrant from a distant country. The longer an immigrant has lived in Finland the easier it is to get a job. Therefore, it is of concern to mention that according to Hämäläinen, Kangasharju, Pekkala, and Sarvimäki (2005) immigrants pay more income tax than receive income transfer after the sixth year of living in Finland. A good educa-

tion and being of work-age helps the situation. It is obvious that European men got the best jobs of all immigrant groups in the capital area at the beginning of the 2000s. A good command of the Finnish language is required in demanding jobs and is still a powerful means of integration even though more and more people speak English in Finland. (Härkäpää & Peltola eds. 2005, 25 – 28; Joronen 2012 89 – 90.)

Immigrants from different nationalities are employed in different sectors and there is a hierarchy among them. Western immigrants work in the field of education, Asian people work in the restaurant business. Many immigrants work also in the field of technology and also in consulting. (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008, 77; Joronen 2012, 92.)

It is difficult to say how many immigrant or ethnic businesses there are in Finland as immigrant background is not necessarily registered as a criterium for self-employment statistics. It is estimated that in 1985 there were about 400 immigrant ventures in Finland. In 2001 there were already six times more immigrant entrepreneurs in the country, about 2600, and in 2004 the amount had increased to 5000. In 2010 there were already 6400 foreigners running businesses in Finland. (Jaakkola 1991, 65 – 67 ; Tilastokeskus 2004 ; Okulov 2007, 51; Joronen 2012, 104; Tilastokeskus 2012a.)

The capital area is the most popular immigrant concentration in Finland. There are less ethnic areas in Finland than in the big cities of the United States but certain areas with many rented flats are popular among immigrants. None of the nationalities have an exclusive concentration. As there has been no ethnic market, immigrants have mostly been active on the open market. Their products (e.g. Asian food) or services (e.g. Thai massage) can be ethnic, but the clients come from the majority of the population. The only exception is the restaurant business. There are all kinds of ethnic restaurants with co-ethnic personnel, most of all Turkish. (Joronen 2012, 85, 108.)

Approximately 70% of immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland were European. The biggest groups in 2010 were Estonians (17%), Russians (13%), Turkish (9%), Swedish (6%), Thai (6%), and Chinese (3%). There were only 3% African and 4% American citizens. Two-thirds of the immigrant entrepreneurs were men and about one-third women. They were in their working years, usually from 30 to 54 years old (Akola, Heinonen, Kovalainen, & Suvanto 2008, 32 – 33) and ran mostly small businesses with under five employees (Lith 2007; Joronen 2012, 104 – 105, 108; Tilastokeskus 2012a.)

Russian immigrants have a good education. If they are unemployed it is often because of low education. Sometimes Russian people with higher education do not get work that would be demanding enough or equal to their qualifications. Naturally, in challenging positions good Finnish language skills are demanded (Keski-Nisula 2007). Foreign degrees or diplomas are still not understood or recognized in Finland. Only a Finnish degree has previously given the needed competence. Some immigrants with high education prefer being unemployed instead of accepting a job with lower requirements than their compe-

tence. (Haapakorpi 2004; Liebkind, Mannila, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Jaakkola, & Kyntäjä 2004, 147; Kyhä 2006; Joronen 2012, 92 – 93.)

Consequently, a good command of Finnish language is significant for all immigrant groups including Russians. If a Russian entrepreneur understands Finnish poorly, his/her chances of becoming employed are 37%. If he/she talks Finnish even though the spoken Finnish is not fluent the employment percent is already as high as 47%. If a Russian person has written language skills, his/her employment percent rises to 54 %. (Reuter, Jaakkola, & Mannila 2005.)

Finns have traditionally been prejudiced towards foreign labor. Cultural differences, lack of knowledge, traditional recruitment principles, and communication problems do not help the situation of the immigrants. If the economic situation is weak the attitudes become harder toward foreigners. It is natural that the social status of an immigrant can easily fall from the one in a home country. In a situation like this, entrepreneurship is a choice to keep one's position and dignity. (Joronen 2012, 91 – 93.)

To increase immigration and immigrant entrepreneurship Finland revised its migration policy in 2006 after being restrictive and conservative. The new policy is focused on employment-based migration and immigration entrepreneurship. According to the new migration policy immigrants have good potential to start businesses, employ, innovate, create, and maintain global economic networks. Entrepreneurship is an excellent way to become integrated into Finnish society and immigrant entrepreneurship research is able to produce insights on the trends, experiences, structures, and strategies of immigrant entrepreneurship to enable it. Research makes immigrant entrepreneurship transparent and justifies the phenomenon. (Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2007, 13; Findikaattori 2012.)

In 2010 almost 6400 foreign citizens earned their livelihood as entrepreneurs in Finland and 9100 entrepreneurs had another mother tongue than the Finnish national languages of Finnish, Swedish, or Sami. Almost 21% of all foreign language speakers were Russian speaking. Foreigners owned 2,6% of all companies in Finland in 2008 making them more active entrepreneurs (16%) relatively than the native population (10%). Immigrant entrepreneurship influences positively economics and enhances integration especially if the immigrant entrepreneur is in working age, has a good education, intends to stay in Finland, and brings his/her family to the country. Especially Russians, Estonians, and immigrants coming from OECD countries are quickly employed and have good prerequisites to start a business as they possess human capital, are of working age, come from neighbor areas, can adjust to the destination society – and are hungry and used to competition. Industrial restructuring of the society has led to a resurgence of small and medium size businesses concentrating on services which is more favorable for new immigrant entrepreneurs with limited financial resources. Consequently, Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland is worth-while researching. It is socio-economically a significant phenomenon, and the field of immigrant entrepreneurship research faces a lack of information on this question. (Blaschke, Boissevain, Grotenberg, Josphe, Morokvasic,

& Ward 1990, 79 – 80; Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2007, 15, 22; Ruotsalainen 2010; Tilastokeskus 2012a.)

From the point of view of the socio-economic development of Finland and this research, Russian immigrants are an important and a potential immigrant group worth examining. They are capable of starting and running businesses successfully because of their high human capital, their will to success, and ability to integrate into the Finnish society. In Southeastern Finland every sixth new venture is started and run by Russians (Virta 2013). They are also able to do business with Russia and have contacts. The economic growth of the Russian Federation has been fast and enormous, a rate of 7% per year during the last decade (Sutela 2012, 324), and there are business opportunities and a huge market even though there are risks, too, as always. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs can work between these two markets.

1.2 Research orientation and objectives

The inquiry is intended to constitute a doctoral dissertation in immigrant entrepreneurship, specifically with regard to Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland. The main themes of the dissertation are both data-driven and literature-driven. They have arisen from the eight narratives based on interviews with Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland conducted in 2010 – 2012. After transcribing, analyzing, and reading scientific publications on immigrant entrepreneurship the following research question arose for my doctoral thesis:

How are Russian cultures of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs operating in the Finnish business environment manifested in their actions at the different life-cycle stages of their businesses?

There are different aspects to the research question. Firstly, there is the cultural approach. It dominates because the cultural variation in the narratives was intriguing. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs run their businesses in dualism between Russian and Finnish cultures. The actions of the informants are affected by the cultural variation.

The Russian cultural characteristics expressed in the informants' speech and behavior are documented in the interviews. To find out how they are manifested in their actions a thematic narrative analysis is conducted. The empirical analysis is guided by the scientific framework on cultural dimensions created by Hofstede (2001) and his team. Hofstede's dimensions make national cultural values dealing with a plus and a minus pole of the same quality visible. Hofstede's framework describes also the Finnish culture and it is possible to compare. This is important because the informants are affected by the Finnish culture and business development in different situations and contacts over time. (Hofstede 2001, 1 – 10.)

The cultural dualism is interesting and not easy to see. Therefore the cultural approach of this study makes it visible through theory-guided empirical analysis. This dualism can benefit a Russian immigrant entrepreneur. They have their Russian way and contact network but operate in the Finnish infrastructure and business culture with Finnish people.

For instance, Azmat & Zutshi (2012) have written about cultural dualism even though it is not a popular research theme. According to Ma, Zhao, Wan, & Lee (2013, 43) the research focusing on cultural aspects within the research of immigrant entrepreneurship is suggested to be a future trend because of the globalization and development of transport.

The research question asks also how the Russian cultures of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are manifested in their actions at different life-cycle stages. The thematic analysis process is undertaken with a life-cycle approach and the cultural approach is used all the way because cross-case analysis is utilized to gain information as much as possible.

The life-cycle approach was invented because all informants of this study had diversified their businesses and tried different business ideas and clientele during their career as immigrant entrepreneurs in the Finnish business environment. The theoretical literature guiding this stage of the empirical analysis is written by for instance Bernard and Slaughter in 2004 and Hoy and Sharma in 2010. Another important source for this process is produced by Rusinovic (2006, 2007, 2008) who investigates ethnicity, moves between markets, and questions of generation from the perspective of immigrant entrepreneurship, in particular.

Ma et al. (2013, 43) point out that changes in service structures and technology enhance diversifications in businesses owned also by immigrant entrepreneurs. Business development is also a future research theme in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship inquiry.

The cultural perspective and the life-cycle perspective are investigated with the help of narrative analysis to get insights about their work, life, and mindset in Finland. The eight entrepreneurial narratives are told by Russian immigrant entrepreneurs of different ages, backgrounds, and fields of business.

The informants of the inquiry are divided into four informant pairs on the basis of their business aspiration. The interviewed Russian immigrant entrepreneurs expressed different orientations in their narratives. Suitably, Basu's (2004) article introduced the business aspiration approach in the context of immigrant entrepreneurship. It became the third theoretical point to guide the empirical analysis because the business aspiration of the informants affects the manifestation of the culture and business development. The business-aspiration view parses the empirical data, too.

The narrative analysis conducted is mainly thematic but also structural. The thematic analysis follows the themes of the dissertation and makes the dualist cultural expressions and life-cycles visible. The critical points of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurship of the informants are analyzed structurally to see if crises raise any cultural or life-cycle manifestations. The cultural and life-cycle themes are discussed throughout the whole analysis process whether it is

thematic or structural. Thematic and structural analyses triangulate each other and a cross-case synthesis is made.

This research is a theory-guided empirical analysis. Hypotheses are not used, but theory helps the identification and classification of the narrative analysis. The chosen cultural, life-cycle, and business-aspiration approaches are not supposed to create an integrated theoretical model. These approaches are used to triangulate the analysis process in order to triangulate the investigation and to extort more information on the studied phenomenon. The research orientation and the most powerful sources of this thesis are summarized in the following picture:

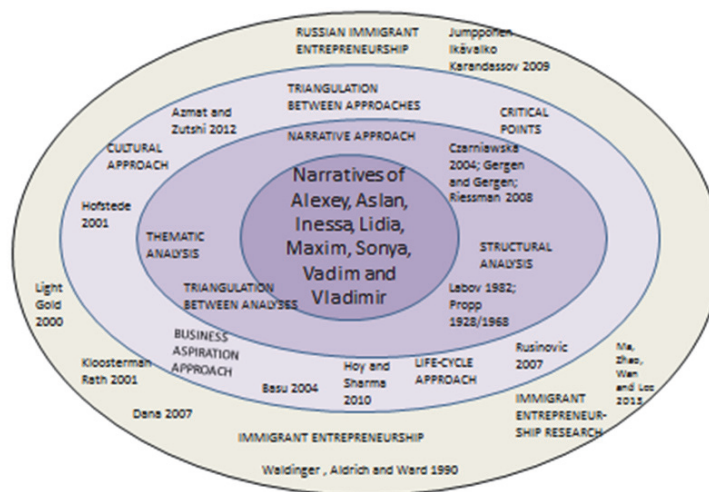


FIGURE 1 The research orientation and the central boundaries of the doctoral thesis

Obviously, on the basis of the background facts and the global and socio-economic development immigrant entrepreneurship, Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs' cultures, and business development and aspirations are vital to investigate. The research increases insights and understanding and gives ideas about how to develop, facilitate, and increase Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland to vitalize business and guarantee a steady income in the country.

1.3 Boundaries of the study

This doctoral thesis takes part in the scientific discussion on immigrant entrepreneurship and gives insights on Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Fin-

land, particularly from the cultural and life-cycle perspective. As stated, there is not one single theory in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship that would cover this inquiry but three theoretical approaches are used to parse and triangulate the data.

Firstly, the dominating cultural perspective of this dissertation is visualized as a result of a thematic narrative analysis. It is conducted with the help of the theoretical framework of cultural dimensions created by Hofstede (2001) and his team.

The framework is developed from the originally quantitative research data that was collected for the needs of the international and multicultural company IBM for personnel development. It is used in other contexts and combined with various research methodologies and objects as it is universal. Hofstede and his son rise above the organizational level and validate and supplement and implement it in other projects, such as hands-on teaching or international networks. (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov 2010, xii.)

Hofstede explains that culture is a mental programming, software of the mind (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov 2010, 5). There are three levels of uniqueness in mental programming: personality, culture, and human nature. Human nature is the most general. It is universal and inherited. The second level is culture. It is specific of group category and learned. The first level is personality. It is specific to individuals and is both inherited and learned. In this research culture is discussed as Russians have their specific learned group categories characteristic to them - and so do Finns. Hofstede's model is useful because it has comparable data from both discussed cultures: the Russian and the Finnish variants. (Hofstede et al. 2010, 6.)

Hofstede finds five dimensions of culture: uncertainty avoidance, power distance, masculinity versus femininity, individualism versus collectivism, and short versus long time orientation. There is enough data on the first four dimensions for Russia. These dimensions explain and open cultural behavior in various situations and phases and four of them are utilized in this thesis to parse and analyze the material throughout the empirical section of this dissertation. (Hofstede 2013.)

The cultures are manifested in values, rituals, heroes, and symbols. These manifestations show in practices and there is no person or group that can escape culture. From the point of view of this thesis it is significant to know that values are learned early in families. Practices like rituals, heroes, and symbols are absorbed at school and at work later. Cultures are not stable but change and so do people when they grow from one life-cycle to another which affects the practices as well. Therefore, it is of interest to study how the cultures of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland are manifested in various situations and contexts as they grow older, develop their companies, and are surrounded by Finnish culture and business culture. (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov 2010, 5 - 11.)

The concept of cultural relativism is good to remember in this research. Lévi-Strauss writes that one culture can evaluate only itself and its activities

because the representatives of that culture are both actors and observers. He claims that there are absolutely no criteria for one culture judging other cultures in a normative manner as good or bad. Therefore, this is a good reminder that both informants and I make only interpretations, even if they are informed ones. (Lévi-Strauss & Éribon 1988, 229; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov 2010, 25 - 26.)

The idea of the life-cycle perspective based on the publication of Hoy and Sharma (2010) of this inquiry became the second triangulating approach of the research after listening to the entrepreneurial narratives describing business development and reading an article of Rusinovic (2007). She writes about immigrant entrepreneurs moving between markets and developing their businesses, which supports the life-cycle perspective approach of this thesis. Her thoughts are close to the mixed embeddedness theories of Kloosterman, Van der Leun, and Rath (1999).

According to Rusinovic (2007, 440 - 441) the dynamic character of immigrant entrepreneurship has not been studied. The research focuses on one-point first-generation immigrant businesses. Rusinovic discusses also the second generation immigrant entrepreneurship and studies the ethnicity of the immigrant ventures. It has three stages: 1) ethnic market serving co-ethnics, 2) middleman market providing the general public ethnic products, and 3) mainstream market functioning wholly in the general market with any products or services. Even though Rusinovic studies first and second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands, where there are more immigrants, the categories are thought-provoking. Her research offers good criteria for defining and analyzing Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland.

Rusinovic is also interested in formal, informal, and transnational networks immigrant entrepreneurs and their role in business development and success (Rusinovic 2006; Rusinovic 2008). The network and transnational aspects of immigrant entrepreneurship exist also in Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland and the expression of cultures. They are also research objects for the future as the world becomes increasingly global.

The ethnicity of the market, the shifts, and the life-cycles 1) birth, 2) growth, 3) maturity, 4) decline/death/renewal (Hoy & Sharma 2010) in business are also objects for a thematic analysis of the narrative research data of this dissertation. The Russian immigrant entrepreneurs grow older, go through development phases, and adapt to the Finnish culture and business culture. This research attempts to shed light on the life-cycle view even though the real-life phenomenon is hard to catch.

Also Basu's (2004) research is significant when conducting this inquiry. Therefore, it creates the third triangulating approach for this study. Basu (2004) states that there is an interaction between business aspirations, behavior, and cultures of immigrant minority entrepreneurs. According to her also culture, ethnicity, class, and personal aspirations interact in the immigrant entrepreneurial process. Basu introduces four categories of self-employed immigrants: business-first, family-first, money-first, and lifestyle-first entrepreneurs. They are used to parse the empirical data and characterize how Russian cultures of

the informants are manifested at various life-cycle stages. Russian immigrants cannot be generalized or homogenized and therefore, it is vital to open more angles.

As narrative approach is implemented in this doctoral thesis, it participates also in the scientific discussion on narrative inquiry. The most important sources are written by Rae (2000), Czarniawska (2004; 2012), Gergen & Gergen (2006), Riessman (2008), and Auvinen (2013) and many classics are referred to (Propp 1928/1968; Labov 1972; Todorov 1977; Polkinghorne 1987). Both the thematic and structural narrative analyses are discussed and the cross-case analysis of such previous analyses is conducted with the guidelines given by Yin (2009).

To position this research in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship and understand the wider scientific context a brief literature review on main streams of the immigrant entrepreneurs is conducted in chapter two. For instance, there are supply theoretical points (see Light & Bonancich 1991; Portes 1995; Light & Gold 2000; Dana & Morris 2007) focusing on the resources, abilities, and motivation to start and run a business. Supply theoretical points are important in this thesis as the human capital and the background of informants are studied and their business aspiration is analyzed when the cultures and the life-cycle stages are examined. Demand theoretical points (e.g. Aldrich 1975; Ward 1987) of immigrant entrepreneurship concentrate on the socio-economic environment in the destination country. The cultural relation to the Finnish society investigated in this study reveals how Russian immigrant entrepreneurs experience and value the Finnish business environment and culture. Kloosterman & Rath (2001) emphasize socio-economic and policy factors and introduce the concept opening up the social embeddedness in immigrant entrepreneurship. This thesis describes how the Russian and also Finnish cultures of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are expressed and developed on the basis of the research material collected and analyzed.

The interactive model of ethnic business development was created by Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward (1990, 22). It combines the supply theoretical and demand theoretical starting points of immigrant entrepreneurship research orientation. This model confirms the fact that Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is a multi-perspective phenomenon. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs do not act alone but in interaction with their own background, ethnic group, culture, networks, business, and society. It is of importance as Joronen (2012) has utilized it in her comprehensive doctoral thesis on Finnish immigrant entrepreneurship.

Consequently, Joronen (2012) and Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö (2007) are important domestic sources describing the current situation of immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland and related phenomena thoroughly. Finnish immigration is discussed with the help of scientific studies conducted by for instance Forsander (2000), Härkäpää and Peltola (2005), Johansson (2006), Okulov (2007), Jumpponen, Ikävalko, and Karandassov (2009), and Nemilentsev (2013) that have written previously about Russian entrepreneurs in Finland.

1.4 Definitions of key concepts

Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is a complex phenomenon connected to bigger themes. Firstly, *entrepreneurs* are defined in several ways. Often the actions of an entrepreneur are evaluated. The definition is based on the active role taken by the entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs have invested capital and labor in their businesses, and they aim at developing the products, services, and companies to earn and achieve good financial results. For instance, some researchers focus on ownership and social class (Scase & Goffee 1982, 22 – 26) and others emphasize the quality of activities or the entrepreneurial mindset, e.g. innovativeness, strong will, or energy (see Lovio 2009, 8 – 15 and Schumpeter 2009). Duening (2010, 15) claims that the opportunity recognizing, the designing, the risk managing, the resilient, and the effectuating entrepreneurial mindsets are synthetic meta-categories and entrepreneurial cognitive sub-skills for the future that provide educators with a taxonomy. In this thesis *entrepreneurs* are defined to be the owner-managers of their own companies (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 17) because immigrant entrepreneurs mostly run small businesses that employ a couple of people or even are practitioners of some profession with a trade name or a limited company of a micro scale. Very seldom they only administrate, manage, and lead their own companies. Hyrsky (2001, 33 – 34) states that the Finnish word for entrepreneur *yrittäjä* is semantically close to *small business owner-manager*. The entrepreneurial motives are often examined when immigrant entrepreneurship is researched. Either immigrant entrepreneurs belong to the group of forced or reluctant entrepreneurs (see Heinonen, Kovalainen, Paasio, Pukkinen, & Österberg 2006, 164; Akola, Heinonen, Kovalainen, & Suvanto 2008, 41) or they are entrepreneurs of opportunity. The collected narrative data will define in more detail the characteristics of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland.

Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland is increasing. In 2010 Russians were after Estonians (17%) the second largest immigrant entrepreneur group. Consequently, 13% of 6400 immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland were Russian citizens (Tilastokeskus 2012a). Approximately 9100 entrepreneurs in Finland spoke foreign languages (not Finnish, Swedish, or Lapp) as their mother tongue. Almost 21% of them were Russian speaking (Ruotsalainen 2010). These people have Russian, Finnish, or some other citizenship, e.g. Estonian or Latvian. A total of 9,4% of Russian speaking men belonging to the labor force in Finland were entrepreneurs. The corresponding share of Russian speaking women was 8 %. In total 46% of all Russian entrepreneurs were women, which is higher than the national average of 39% in 2011. Typically, Russian entrepreneurs are forty-year-old men with higher education received in Russia and a good command of the Finnish language. (Joronen 2012, 106 – 107; Jumpponen, Ikävalko, & Karandassov 2009, 14 – 17.)

In 2004 there were 2018 limited companies that had some Russian influence or background which is about 1% of all registered companies in Finland.

There were over 3000 Russians working in these companies of Russian influence and 1079 companies had a CEO or/and a chairman of the board with Russian citizenship. Serial or portfolio entrepreneurship was typical of these Russian companies. Every one in five of them had the same owner or contact information as some other Russian influenced company in Finland. The majority of these companies, 81%, had been started by a Russian owner. Okulov (2007, 74) interviewed 10 Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and almost all of them had started their businesses about five years after immigration. It was also typical that they had been unemployed after immigration. (Jumpponen, Ikävalko, & Karandassov 2009, 10.)

Jumpponen, Ikävalko, and Karandassov (2009, 10 - 14) examined 62 Russian influenced companies in Finland in 2005 and 2006. The thirty biggest Russian companies in Finland had a total turnover of five billion euros in 2006. Jouslehto (2005, 10 - 11) states that Russian companies are on average small and employ 3,6 people on average. Seventy five companies had zero or unprofitable results. This is also the case in Southwestern Finland where Johansson (2006, 60) studied 41 Russian companies. Only one-third of Russian companies were active.

Twenty-eight of the companies operated in the field of wholesale and retail trade. Five of them were active in timber imports and another five in care sales and mediation. Eleven companies focused on transport, forwarding, and storage business and the connection with foreign trade between Finland and Russia was obvious. Raw materials, different equipment, or products were purchased in Russia. Understandably, Russian entrepreneurs had working networks and connections including financing from the Russian Federation and 75% of studied companies had some clients in Russia. According to Johansson all active Russian companies in Southwestern Finland had business contacts with Russia even though they were not active in foreign trade directly. (Johansson 2006, 62; Jumpponen et al. 2009, 10 - 14.)

The clients of the Russian entrepreneurs are mostly Finnish or international because the ethnic entrepreneurship and markets are small. There are not enough immigrants in Finland to create a profitable ethnic market. As Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are well educated, they can operate in their own expert fields. They do not necessarily need to change their professional field, unless they want to. (Joronen 2012, 190 - 191; Okulov 2007.)

As stated previously Russian immigrant entrepreneurship has its history in Finland. Nemilentsev (2013) has studied late-empire Russian capitalists, such as the Sinerbrychoff brewery in Finland. He has investigated culture-specific resources and Russian family values in the Sinerbrychoff dynasty.

In this thesis *Russian cultures* belong to the key concepts because of the first theoretical approach. Pluralis is used intentionally to avoid stereotypes. Even if a person is Russian, he/she is not necessarily similar to other Russians. Everyone has his/her own background, history, religion, perceptions, and temper. The cultures are also situation-based. Besides, the Russian Federation and its precedents have never been coherent, regardless of the ruler or the period of

time. The old slavophile formula created by monarchy, orthodoxy, and statehood and the communist manifestations keep vanishing. The old adjective *russkaya* (Russian) is replaced by *rossiiskaya* (the New-Russian, the Post-Soviet understanding). Consequently, Russian cultures are somewhat mosaic in nature.

It is not easy to say who is Russian. In this thesis Russians are defined as persons born in the Soviet Union or the Russian Federation. They have had or have Soviet or Russian citizenship. They are Russian speaking but can come from different parts of the country and may partly have different ethnic background, e.g. being a Tartar or an Ingrian. Naturally, this can be challenged. I am willing to accept that a person with partly Tartar and Russian or Ingrian and Russian background can be considered as a Russian because they have belonged to the Russian or Russian-Soviet society and spoken Russian. For instance, the Finnish-Swedish population considers itself completely Finnish and Finnish citizens even if they use Swedish language at home or at work most of the time. But they definitely are not Swedish.

The Russian Federation is huge and multidimensional in every respect. The Russian Federation consists of the following subjects: 21 republics, one autonomous area (oblast'), four autonomous districts (avtonomnyj okrug), 9 krajs (kraj), 46 areas (oblast') and two cities, Moscow and St. Petersburg. It is enormous: 17.075.400 km². There are more than 143 million people and 160 nationalities in the Russian Federation and the biggest groups are ethnic Russians (81%), Tartars (3,9%), Ukrainians (1,4%), Bashkir (1,1%), Chuvash (1%), Chechens (1%), and Armenians (0,9%). The diversity is enormous and hard to comprehend (Suomi-Venäjä-Seura 2013; SVKK 2013.)

Russian cultures are defined with the help of the framework developed by Hofstede (2001), which expresses five cultural dimensions. According to Hofstede (2001) Russians are avoiding uncertainty. Therefore, they keep developing massive bureaucracy. They are also collective on the basis of the inquiry conducted by Hofstede. Russia is a medium masculine culture compared with other nations. So, Russians are not afraid to show signs of success. Naumov & Puffer (2000, 717) emphasize a high level of paternalism among the younger generation of Russians. The narrative data will produce attributes describing Russian cultures during different life cycles of Russian immigrant entrepreneur businesses.

Hofstede (2001; 2013) claims that the Finnish culture is more feminine and softer than the Russian. There is less bureaucracy or uncertain factors due to stronger coping with uncertainty. Finns are more individual than Russians that live through their networks. Finns are not particularly long-term oriented. Cultures are different in Finland and Russia which makes the business environment and business culture dissimilar.

Finnish business environment will be explained partly from the point of view of the eight Russian informants in this thesis even if it has been examined previously. The infrastructure, regulations, and culture of Finland create together with actors the business environment. Finland is a Schengen country and a member of the European Union which creates a clear European context when

it comes to legislation and practices. It is of note that for Russian immigrant entrepreneurs there is a lot of transparent, official information on the Internet and at offices of different authorities. There are also support system structures for immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland offering education, financing, and services. (Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2007.)

The Finnish government has realized the meaning of immigrant entrepreneurship. A working group was set to make an inquiry on immigrant entrepreneurship and how to cultivate it. In Finland authorities and organizations give advice and educate on entrepreneurship, business, and the Finnish language. There are entrepreneurship centers, Employment and Economic Development centers, business services, and different regional projects supporting immigrant entrepreneurs. A lot of information is presented on the Internet and there are different guides and brochures in Finnish, Swedish, English, and even in other languages like Russian. There are even Russian speaking supervisors, like in Kotka, Eastern Finland because many Russians live and work there and their contribution is growing and significant. The problem is that sometimes immigrants do not find these services or that the services do not match their needs. (Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2007, 32 - 39, 44 - 45.)

The capital area offers best opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland as there are both co-ethnics and the biggest open markets in Finland. When different areas and cities are compared by Joronen (2012, 114) in her doctoral thesis on immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland, Helsinki and Vaasa are different from other cities because all immigrant groups are active entrepreneurs there. Lahti (100 km north of Helsinki) and Lappeenranta (close to the Russian border) have exceptionally high rates of immigrant entrepreneurial activities so they must do something different. One reason is that it can otherwise be hard to become employed in these regions.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

The introduction chapter presents the background and the motives of this dissertation. The research objectives and orientation are reported. Theoretical boundaries are stated and key concepts briefly explained.

The second chapter concentrates on literature analysis. The most important general immigrant entrepreneurship models are referred to here to outline the research context of this study. The most relevant sources of this dissertation are presented to present the three theoretical approaches utilized in this thesis to guide and triangulate the empirical analysis. They are the mentioned cultural dimensions, life-cycle, and business-development questions. Previous essential research concerning international and Finnish immigrant entrepreneurship and Russian immigrant entrepreneurship research is also summarized in chapter two.

The third chapter describes the methodology utilized in this thesis. The social constructivist worldview is explained to enlighten the choices made in

the inquiry. Since the research has a narrative approach, the main concepts and trends are introduced to show the meaning of the used orientation. Data collection and analysis are documented and the researcher's background and role as an interpreter is opened to make everything transparent.

The empirical section starts from chapter four by presenting the narratives and analyzing thematically how Russian immigrant entrepreneurs manifest their Russian cultures in actions at the different life-cycle stages of their businesses in Finland. The critical points of entrepreneurship are revealed by the structural analysis and their entrepreneurial aspirations are detected, too. The observations are synthesized by conducting a cross-case analysis between first thematic and then structural analyses. Finally, the conclusions are presented in chapter four.

The final chapter is dedicated to discussion and reflection. Research questions are answered and the key results are presented and compared with the prior knowledge presented at the beginning of the thesis. Limitations and critical assessment are discussed. To conclude, the contributions and implications are summarized. They are theoretical and practical. Further research is suggested.

2 LITERATURE ANALYSIS

The first part of this chapter, 2.1., outlines the most important trends and sources of immigrant entrepreneurship research to show the wider context of the research area and to position this inquiry. The second part of the chapter, 2.2, presents the specific theoretical literature in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship that marks out the three approaches triangulating the narrative analysis of the empirical data.

2.1 Immigrant entrepreneurship

There are several ways of defining immigrant entrepreneurship. There can be foreign entrepreneurs that run their business in Finland or any other destination country. The entrepreneur can also have moved to the destination country and is self-employed. In this thesis, Russian immigrant entrepreneurship refers to Russian people that have moved to Finland and live in the destination country. They earn their livelihood as entrepreneurs in the Finnish business environment. Even though there are several theories on immigrant entrepreneurship none of them is sovereign and accepted by the majority of researchers in the field.

Most supply theoretical starting points (see Light & Bonancich 1991; Portes 1995; Light & Gold 2000;) that focus on the immigrant entrepreneur examining his/her resources, abilities, and motivation to start and run a business. Immigrants can have an entrepreneurial mindset driving him/her to self-employment and their business aspirations can vary, as is examined later in this study by focusing on Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. Dana and Morris (2007) argue that there are entrepreneurial features in the act of emigration, such as risk taking, competitiveness, achievement, work ethics, and individualism. Immigration itself is a major change in a person's life. It can make a person alert and willing to consider different possibilities in their professional path, with risk taking being a crucial part of self-employment. The Russian im-

migrant entrepreneurs in this inquiry have all moved to Finland because the conditions in Russia were hard in different ways and the society was labile. Human capital (Sjaastad 1962) leads to emigration and entrepreneurship if there is a chance to earn and achieve more as an immigrant entrepreneur in a new country and Russians are a special immigrant group because of their strong human capital. There can also be something in the ethnic culture of the immigrant that lowers the threshold for entrepreneurship, e.g. strong traditions of entrepreneurship, family ties, networks, and worldviews. Russians are used to competing and showing initiative to achieve something. Some ethnic or immigrant groups are more actively self-employed than others (see Flap, Kumsu, & Bulder 2000). Chan and Hui (1995) even claim that immigrant entrepreneurship is divided into two schools: cultural and structural. These ethnic characteristics are cultural and belong to the supply theories of immigrant entrepreneurship. Supply-side theories are criticized because they are one-sided and emphasize culture, economic liberalism and the role of networks (Engelen 2001, 203 – 204) and forget the structures or the demand side. The entrepreneurial motives of immigrants can be also negative, for instance unemployment, limited possibilities in the labor market, and disadvantaged position. That goes also for Russians. (Vinogradov & Gabelko 2009; Labianidis & Hatzikopion 2010, 195.)

Demand theories (see Aldrich 1975 and Ward 1987) of immigrant entrepreneurship claim that the outside culture or socio-economic conditions in the destination country drive an immigrant to self-employment and in Finland there are at least equal possibilities. These factors can be positive offering opportunities to become employed and employ, earn, experience, develop, and gain an increased social status that may have decreased in another culture and environment. Naturally the new environment can offer less possibilities and the self-employment can be seen as a chance to achieve better conditions or positions in the immigration country. Demand-side theories are deterministic and neglect human efforts and ethnic culture according to the criticism presented by e.g. Chan and Hui (1995) and Engelen (2001). (Labianidis & Hatzikopion 2010, 196.)

Interactive theories link immigrants and their environment and phases as immigrant entrepreneurship cannot be explained by supply or demand factors. All factors are mixed in interaction and theories are combined. This interaction is a process describing and analyzing how immigrants become and work as entrepreneurs in a destination business environment. The immigrant entrepreneurs develop continuously - and so do their companies and the destination society.

The interactive theories get criticized for being teleological, meaning that the phenomenon is explained based on outside facts, not on content and importance. They focus on spatiality, the ethnic environment. The interactive orientation neglects socio-economic processes and changes in the migration movement. This is emphasized in so-called mixed embeddedness theories (see Kloosterman & Rath 2001) taking socio-economic processes and politics into

consideration. (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 22; Labianidis & Hatzikopion 2010, 196.)

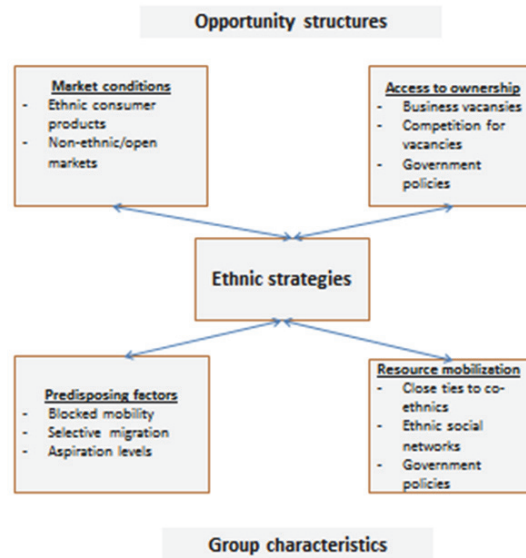


FIGURE 2 The interactive model of ethnic business development (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 22)

In the interactive theory there are some terms that are important to mention and open up from the point of view of this thesis. The adjective ethnic in this interactive model means that people are categorized into different groups. These people do identify themselves as a member of a particular ethnic group. There are naturally individuals, sub groups, intra groups, and intergroups interacting with each other. This communication between group members cultivates a sense of identity. From the point of view of immigrant entrepreneurship, it is crucial that social ties among members of a distinct ethnic group generate professional, spatial, or industrial connections. Often the words immigrant and ethnic are used almost as synonyms. An immigrant has moved to a country and has another ethnic origin than the majority of the population. Ethnic people do not need to be immigrants. They can be born in the destination country and have the nationality but they still represent an ethnic group because of their family culture. Zhou (2004, 1045) points out the concept *ethnic economy* is wide covering any business under an ethnic umbrella. (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 33 - 34.)

Usually both ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurs are also minority entrepreneurs. The amount of ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurs of a group cannot exceed the number of entrepreneurs belonging to the majority in one country.

Entrepreneurship is one way to become integrated in the society and therefore, minority entrepreneurship is enhanced in Europe. (Young, women, ethnic minority, and co-entrepreneurs, 90 - 91, 105.)

Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are naturally an ethnic group and minority entrepreneurs. Their ethnicity in Finland is not similar to the ethnicity of big immigrant groups in great immigration countries or hubs, for instance Turks in Berlin. Finland has a small population, and there is a relatively small immigrant population.

However, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland use their *ethnic strategies* to finance their business, get support, and network with other Russians in order to do business. There are not many *ethnic structures* (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 22 - 23) in the entrepreneurship of Russian immigrants in Finland. They do not often serve or sell ethnic products, such as Russian food, even if their business operations are related to Russia or with Russians. They are not active in businesses that the majority of the population does not need. Based on empirical data, they simply work in the middleman market or on the open market. According to Joronen (2012, 108) immigrant entrepreneurs in general in Finland are working in wholesale and retail (30%) and they are operating often in foreign trade, which implies that the immigrant entrepreneurs use their ethnic competence to make business from Finland. Almost 20% of the companies were in the hospitality business and the immigrants ran restaurants with an ethnic background i.e Turkish people run 553 Turkish restaurants in Finland. Russians had companies in the field of transport as the transport and traffic between Europe, Finland, and Russia is heavy.

Group characteristics of the interactive model mean that the members of an ethnic group support each other, change, and distribute information. Russians know each other in Finland but they do not work together as an ethnic group. However, the economic impacts of these described weak ties can be more relevant than those of strong ties as larger networks are bigger and contain a lot of information and possibilities. A group of family members or friends has limited possibilities to operate in business unless the family is extra powerful and influential (Granovetter 1973, 1360 - 1380; Waldinger et al. 1990, 35 - 36.)

Sometimes ethnic groups can concentrate their business activities and companies in the same geographic area or/and same industry. These concentrations are called *ethnic enclaves*. According to the enclave theory of Portes (1995) one ethnic minority takes over one industry, e.g. Jewish people used to have tailor shops in New York and other major cities in the United States and the size of the entrepreneurial class is significant within the ethnic group. The other variant is that one ethnic group lives and runs its immigrant businesses in one geographical area of a city or a country, like China Town in San Francisco, California. In cases of ethnic enclaves there are strong ethnic area concentrations and business is specialized including also a strong cultural aspects leading to trust and solidarity in the different contacts in the enclave (Portes & Zhou 1992). Zhou (2004, 1045) also points out that an enclave is more than a shelter for disadvantaged immigrants. It can develop an economic potential offering an alter-

native way for social mobility in the new destination society. Ethnic enclaves are typical of leading immigrant countries and are not at all usual in Finland. (Waldinger, McEvoy, & Aldrich 1990, 125.)

Light and Gold (2000, 5) combine these two theories and see that ethnic entrepreneurship is part of a larger concept, the *ethnic economy*. Ethnic economy can be divided into *ethnic ownership economy* and *ethnic controlled economy*. In ethnic ownership, economy it is vital to know who owns the companies. Ethnically controlled economy dominates chosen sectors of labor markets. Both ethnic controlled and ethnic ownership economies can operate in official, unofficial, or illegal sector or somewhere between these sectors as they can be hard to define especially if there are people from different cultures perceiving the world and business in various ways.

In spite of ethnic networks and ethnic control an immigrant might also start a business because of *blocked mobility*, inability to move on with life, and become employed because of insufficient language skills needed in the destination country and unrecognized or inadequate professional competences. Then he/she is somewhat a forced entrepreneur. Support from the ethnic network and personal aspirations and target levels are crucial even in this case. Blocked mobility is a predisposing factor in the group characteristics of interactive model of ethnic business development. (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 31 – 39; Joronen 2012, 26.)

Many researchers have studied different ethnic groups and examined their success and activity. Sometimes researchers choose one region, e.g. Greece (Piperopoulos 2010) and analyze various immigrant entrepreneur groups there. They can also focus on the ethnic enclaves in one country if the immigrant population is big enough like the Cubans in Miami for instance (Wilson & Portes 1980). In other cases one immigrant group in one area, for instance Russians in Norway, can be the focus of an inquiry (Vinogradov & Gabelko 2009). In these studies (see Light & Rosenstein 1995) the special resources of one immigrant nationality is researched in some specific context. There can be some features in national culture or skills impacting on the entrepreneurial mindset, activity, and success. One nationality may also have different general resources, such as education. Naturally the conditions in the destination country are vital. This study focuses on Russians and gives insights into their cultural dimensions and business development in the Finnish context. (Joronen 2012, 27.)

Government policies belong also to the group characteristics of the interactive model of ethnic business development. Ethnic and minority businesses have not been supported by governments until the 1960s. Even though the amount of money granted is not huge the symbolic significance is great. Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich (2008) have made an inquiry concerning the impact of policy on immigrant entrepreneurship in Israel. They state that there are three ways of supporting immigrant entrepreneurs: 1) Training 2) Financing and 3) Support for creating and maintaining of business links. Surprisingly, they come to the conclusion that receiving support does not influence the growth of the company in Israel. Their inquiry revealed that entrepreneurs that had problems

were likely to receive government support. By contrast, the education, type of business, and share of co-ethnic clients were significant growth factors. Collins (2003, 141 - 144) documents the change in the macroeconomic policy concerning immigrants and their entrepreneurship. For instance, company taxation and the company start-up processes have been made simpler to enable the creation and growth of small businesses. Australia has gone in for multiculturalism instead of previous assimilation politics. Also microeconomic supportive actions have taken place in the form of education and training of immigrant entrepreneurs. For example, web-based courses have been popular. (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 39; Heilbrunn & Kushnirovich 2008, 694 - 695, 700 - 701.)

The interactive model of ethnic business development takes the development of the immigrant entrepreneurs and the society into consideration even though it is criticized by Collins (2003). Pre-migration characteristics, circumstances of migration, and post-migration characteristics all influence the self-employment process in several ways and nothing stays the same but is in continuous interaction and change. (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 41; Joronen 2012, 25.)

Pre-migration general skills are critical but sometimes high education does not correlate with the self-employment rate. Appropriate skills, like prior experience of tailoring of Russian Jews in the United States, seem to be the most crucial for entrepreneurship. Language skills, work, and entrepreneurial experience are vital pre-migration circumstances. Even though the interactive model of ethnic entrepreneurship discusses human capital it does not explain if the non-ethnic affiliations, such as social class, race, nativity, or gender, affect the quality and quantity of self-employment. The social embedded market approach (Block 2003; Valdez 2008) claims that the role of group affiliation in entrepreneurial actions comes from the social structures of the society and is reproduced in the social structure where the group was/is embedded. (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward 1990, 41; Joronen 2012, 25.)

For an immigrant entrepreneur it is significant if he/she intends to stay in the new country or wants to return to their home country. Temporary migrants are willing to work with tasks that the majority of the population rejects. These *sojournees* want to earn quickly as much money as possible and send it home for both altruistic and self-interest concerns (Ansala 2012, 148). If they are entrepreneurs they are likely to work in the middleman market as pointed out previously. Basu and Altinay (2002, 373) state that some ethnic groups are more similar in the expression of ethnicity because of their cultural background and therefore, they can stay in the middleman market and compete there together.

If a person is going to stay, he/she will get frustrated with unsatisfactory dead-end jobs. He/she might be spurred on to start up their own business. Permanent immigrants are determined to succeed as they cannot return. They are able to commit as they even take their families with them. (Bonacich 1973; Waldinger et al. 1990, 43; Rusinovic 2008, 443 ; Joronen 2012, 25.)

Post-migration entrepreneurship is dependent on the motivation of the immigrant entrepreneur. Motivation increases if the immigrant entrepreneur is

well informed and has know-how of the required activities. He/she has to recognize the business opportunities. It helps if the immigrant has experience in the field of his/her own business. Language skills, integration, professional development, and lack of racism give immigrant entrepreneurs more business possibilities in a post-migration situation. (Waldinger et al. 1990, 33 – 45 ; Joronen 2012, 25.)

The interactive model of ethnic business development combines theories but is not the only or leading model in immigrant entrepreneurship research. In fact, entrepreneurship inquiries lack one strong in-common theory. The interactive model has also been criticized for concentrating only on ethnic business. Jones, Barret, and McEvoy (2000) point out that even different markets and geographical factors should be included in the research model. According to Joronen (2012, 194) there is ethnic business in Finland but there are not actual ethnic enclaves as the amount of immigrant entrepreneurs is not big enough to be able to build one and the immigrants do not spatially dominate any particular area. Immigrant entrepreneurs are active in different markets in Finland, not only in ethnic ones. (Joronen 2012, 27 – 28.)

2.1.1 Immigrant entrepreneurship research

Already in the 1980s Wilson and Portes (1980) researched ethnic enclaves in the United States. There ethnic enclaves are possible because of the great immigrant populations of all nationalities. Aldrich, Zimmer, and McEvoy (1989) did the same in Great Britain as it is also a major immigration country. Rath and Kloosterman (2000, 655) argue that at least in the Netherlands the research pays too much attention to the ethnic character of immigrant entrepreneurship. According to them research on immigrant entrepreneurship becomes easily one-sided or policy-driven. (Rath & Kloosterman 2000, 655, 665.)

Ma, Zhao, Wang, and Lee (2013) have made an overview on contemporary ethnic entrepreneurship studies between 1999 and 2008. They have specially focused on themes and relationships and their method is citation and co-citation analysis. These four authors state that immigrant entrepreneurship researchers quote papers that are somehow significant to their research. Heavily cited papers have an excellent impact on research. (Ma, Zhao, Wang, & Lee 2013, 34.)

In immigrant entrepreneurship the most cited articles between 1999 and 2008 that were examined by Ma, Zhao, Wang, and Lee (2013, 35) were published in *American Sociological Review*, *International Migration Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic, and Migration Studies*. The list of the most popular journals reveals the fact that immigration entrepreneurship is researched in social and economic sciences.

Ma, Zhao, Wang, & Lee (2013, 36) state that the most influential scholars in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship were Light, Waldinger, Portes, Ram, and Bonacich. Most of them are referred to in this thesis. The most important publication between 1999 – 2004 was Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward's *Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies* published in *Ethnic Entrepreneurs* in 1990.

The second most quoted publication was written by Light and Rosenstein (1995) and is called *Race, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*. It was included in the journal called *Urban America*. Barrett, Jones, and McEvoy (1996) published a well-cited article in *Urban Studies* named *Ethnic Minority Business: Theoretical Discourse in Britain and North America*. In 2005 – 2008 the same publications were popular and mentioned by Ma, Zhao, Wang, and Lee (2013, 36) as well, but the second most referred article was written by Light in 1972 and called *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese and Blacks*.

According to analysis of Ma, Zhao, Wan, and Lee (2013, 39 - 41), there are different thematic clusters within immigrant entrepreneurship inquiry. They draw interaction maps between most cited themes and authors. During the first five examined years the most quoted research topic was ethnic enclave economies. For instance Nee, Sanders, and Sernau (2004) made a longitudinal analysis on employment of Asian immigrants in the Los Angeles area. Zhou & Logan (1989) studied the ethnic labor market advantages of the Chinese and Sanders and Nee (1996) conducted research on the self-employment of Asian and Hispanic immigrants both in New York and Los Angeles. The second research cluster was about ethnic minority business, such as comparison of four subcategories of South Asian entrepreneurs (Metcalf, Modood, & Virdee 1996). The third cluster processed constraints for ethnic entrepreneurship by emphasizing that resources were crucial in development and diversification of ethnic businesses (Ram & Deakings 1996; Deakins, Majunder, & Paddison 1997). Social embeddedness of ethnic entrepreneurs was the fourth cluster. Granovetter (1985) states that social networks are crucial; Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) point out that the mutual obligations of ethnic partnerships can turn out to be hindering and restrictive. The last cluster maps the demographic picture of ethnic entrepreneurship in the United States. Famous researchers of this cluster are Razin and Light, among others.

The second intellectual phase of immigrant entrepreneurship inquiry (2004 – 2008) handled ethnic enclaves by discussing human capital or flexibility from a positive perspective (Sanders & Nee 1987; Zhou 2002). Self-employment questions were researched as well. Often rates between ethnic groups and mainstream labor forces were examined (Light 1979; Borjas 1986). The third cluster was about survival and growth of ethnic businesses. These inquiries focused on the characteristics and social class of the ethnic entrepreneur, chosen strategies, and differences between ethnic and mainstream companies (Mulholland 1997; Basu & Altinay 2002). The last inquiry cluster discussed transnational entrepreneurs and networks, middleman theory, and niche markets. (Bonacich 1973; Waldinger 1996; Ma, Zhao, Wan, & Lee 2013, 41 – 42.)

Ma et al. (2013, 43) suggest that on the basis of their citation analysis there will be new future trends in the research of immigrant entrepreneurship. Immigrant networks and transnational entrepreneurs will be attractive fields of inquiry. The development of transport and technology makes it easy for people to move, communicate, and become a transnational immigrant entrepreneur working in a global reality. The changes in the service structure and technology

lead also to diversification of businesses including the companies owned and run by immigrant entrepreneurs, which is worth-while researching. Another future trend seems to be the knowledge of immigrant entrepreneurs concerning the culture, language, and market in his/her home country. National cultures are also compelling for future researchers as Hofstede (2001) is often quoted. This thesis belongs to the new sector of immigrant entrepreneurship research as it concentrates on Russian cultures and company life-cycle stages of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. (Rahman & Lian 2011, 255 - 256.)

As Finland is not a strong immigration country, there has not been a much research on immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland. Before the 1990s only historians were interested in immigrant businesses and entrepreneurship. Finnish inquiries concerning immigrant entrepreneurship focus on the restaurant business because it is the most visible and common field of business run by immigrants. Therefore, there are stereotypes that many immigrants start a kebab or pizza restaurant. It has been and still is an object for scientific research in Finland that restaurants are owned and managed by nationalities that are a minority in the immigrant population of Finland (Karisto 1992), e.g. Chinese (Katila 2005), Turkish (Wahlbeck 2007; Wahlbeck 2010), or Sikhs from India and are discussed in Finnish media, too (Hirvi 2011). These restaurant owners belong to the middlemen minority by employing themselves instead of choosing unemployment. (Joronen 2012, 43 - 44.)

For instance, Jaakkola (1991), Joronen, Salmenkangas, & Ali (2000) and Forsander (2002) have researched the choice of business areas of immigrant entrepreneurship. It is stated that immigrants take care of other fields other than the original population. They are active in Finland in retail, wholesale, restaurant, cleaning, and services. Background factors, such as education and nationality, influence the choice of business. Entrepreneurs from one nationality have companies in the same industry. Many Russians, for instance, run a freight forwarding company in some phase of their entrepreneurship. They do not live and run their businesses necessarily in the same areas of the country or the city they live in. (Joronen 2012, 44 - 45.)

So, the networks of immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland have been examined by Joronen, Salmenkangas, and Ali (2000), and Okulov (2007) because they are an essential part of entrepreneurship. The question of why immigrants become entrepreneurs intrigues Finnish immigrant entrepreneurship researchers, too. The motivation for self-employment is typically the weak position in the labor market. However, most immigrant entrepreneurs seem to succeed just as well as Finns in self-employment. Capital theories are discussed also in Finnish immigrant entrepreneurship inquiry which is relevant to the Finnish context because immigrant entrepreneurs have internationally an exceptionally high education (Jumpponen, Ikävalko, & Karandassov 2009; Joronen 2012, 44 - 49.)

Joronen (2012) wrote her doctoral thesis about immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland. Her study describes the development and growth of immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland from 1985 to 2010 and focuses on the opportunity structures Finland provided to immigrants in the last decades. The background,

immigration, motivation, activities, networks, human capital, family matters, resources, business environment, and ethnic markets are all thoroughly examined both by quantitative and qualitative methods using the interactive model by Ward, Aldrich, and Ward (1990). Because Joronen (2012) has worked for a long time with questions and research concerning immigrant entrepreneurship, her contribution is sovereign and important in Finnish immigrant entrepreneurship research.

Joronen (2012) states in her thesis that the Finnish immigrant entrepreneurship research concentrates on industries, ethnic networks, and employment questions. In my opinion, research on immigrant entrepreneurship can become policy-driven because there is documentation and research on the official development and support projects (see Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2007; Logrén & Heliste 2007). Projects are evaluated but where and why do they start? Why not view economic, cultural, or scientific aspects more as starting points for immigrant entrepreneurship research in Finland?

Because there are only a small number of immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland and are not a popular research topic, there is a lot of space for inquiries of all kinds in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship. For example my topic, the Russian entrepreneurs in Finland, is not yet well examined. Neither has the ethnic cultural aspect been emphasized or research topics immigrant entrepreneurs themselves would recommend. Many inquiries create statistics that describe only one part of the whole development. The life-cycle view and the business development are not widely discussed in the Finnish immigrant entrepreneurship research tradition.

Immigrants, their self-employment, and empowerment are vital questions in Finnish economics. Immigrant entrepreneurship research makes existing phenomena and conditions transparent and gives a chance to develop society for the better. Therefore, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are given the floor in this study. They are crucial for the development of Finland, particularly Southeastern Finland.

2.1.2 Russian immigrant entrepreneurship research

Immigrant entrepreneurship research has seldom focused on Russian immigrant entrepreneurship. Some other sources can be found in addition to the mentioned Finnish inquiries.

Because there was a wave of Russian Jews from the former Soviet Union moving to Israel in the late 1980s and 1990s they have been examined a lot. Russian and other Jewish immigrant entrepreneurs are separated from the Israel entrepreneurs because these immigrant entrepreneurs have different ethnic backgrounds even though their religion is the same. Mesch and Czamanski (1997) studied the factors affecting the start-ups of Russian Jewish immigrant entrepreneurs in Israel. Lerner, Khavul, and Hisrich (2007) researched how human capital, social capital, and free-choice start-up of a former-USSR immigrant entrepreneur enhances the survival of the company in Israel. Razin (2007) analyzed the institutional environment for immigrant entrepreneurs from the for-

mer-USSR in Israel. Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich (2008) focused on the government support systems for Russian Jewish immigrant entrepreneurs. Kushnirovich (2010) investigated also the integration of the Russian Jewish immigrant entrepreneurs in the labor market in Israel.

In 2010 three inquiries on Russian immigrant entrepreneurs were published. Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou (2010) studied immigrant entrepreneurship in Greece and one of the focus groups were Russians. Vinogradov and Gabelko (2010) examined entrepreneurial activity of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs compared to their Russian non-immigrant peers. Schvarts (2010) wrote his doctoral thesis on 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. This study does not have either a cultural, life-style, or business orientation view but does discuss capital theories.

Russian literature on Russian immigrant entrepreneurship abroad was hard to find and it was not scientific, just mostly news. I tried with three different search commands in various databases. They were *rossijskie predprinimateli za rubezhom* [Eng. Russian entrepreneurs abroad], *rossijskij biznes za rubezhom* [Eng. Russian business abroad] and *rossijskie immigrant preprinimateli za rubezhom* [Eng. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs abroad]. Mostly the findings referred to instructions on how foreigners could start a business in Russia. That is evidently desirable so as to get investments in the Russian Federation.

Some of the found texts did discuss Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in a wider perspective abroad. For example EKSAR (2013), The Russian Agency for Export Credit and Investments Insurance, wants to strengthen the rights of Russian entrepreneurs abroad. OPORA (2013), All Russian Organization for SME's wants also to monitor international entrepreneurship and defend the rights of all Russian entrepreneurs abroad, as well as international commercial chambers, such as The Estonian- Russian Chamber of Businessmen.

The web page iport.info - Glavnye novosti seti [Eng. Leading news of the web] (2013) reports that 22% of Russian people would like to emigrate. Among these people the most eager groups are students (45%), entrepreneurs (38%) and employees (33%). According to a survey of the Levada Center the most important reason to emigrate is to achieve better living or business conditions. So, the Russian Federation suffers from brain and entrepreneur drain as most of the respondents willing to move away had a high education.

Weissband (2011) writes about the fact that Russian entrepreneurs like to run businesses in Germany because it develops even during economic crises, the infrastructure functions, and the contact network is active. It is also easy to get financing for projects. Also big Russian ventures seek partnership, cooperation, and invest in Germany and other European countries to facilitate operations and avoid Russian bureaucracy (Heinrich 2005; Liuhto & Vahtra 2005).

To help the reader a table (Table 14) of the found research on Russian immigrant entrepreneurship abroad is compiled in Appendix 1. As far as I know, there are no other inquiries on Russian immigrant entrepreneurship of cultural or life-cycle perspective utilizing a narrative approach.

2.2 Theoretical foundation of the study

The theoretical foundation of this inquiry is three-polar. The research data produced repeated themes that could be utilized to parse and analyze material and triangulate the research. There are theoretical starting points found in the literature that guide the empirical analysis and its main themes. The most important theories within the field of immigrant entrepreneurship are in the background of the study and valid but the chosen three approaches explain the narrative material and analysis.

The first of the three approaches utilized to analyze the narrative data of the study is the cultural framework of Hofstede (2001). The changing Russian cultures in immigrant entrepreneurship were the first to distinguish during the interviews and to arouse curiosity. No other research as comprehensive and with a comparative framework as Hofstedes's could be detected in the literature.

The second notion from the material was the business development and the life-cycle view. In following, the central life-cycle theories are presented in the context of immigrant entrepreneurship. An important source is Rusinovic (2007) who focuses on immigrant entrepreneurship, ethnicity, moves between markets, and business development.

The third implemented model comes also from the context of immigrant entrepreneurship. It is based on Basu's (2004) research on business aspirations of the immigrant self-employed in family business. Immigrant entrepreneurs like any family business owners have different business orientations, backgrounds, and motivations. Somehow the business behavior that comes to expression in culture or business development is connected to the aspiration orientation of the immigrant entrepreneur.

2.2.1 Dominant Russian cultures

Different national cultures have always been described and studied (see for instance Dianina 2012 on myths of Russian culture). Very seldom have the implications of culture for entrepreneurship or immigrant entrepreneurship been investigated even though there are culture-oriented studies in the field of management research. There has been research on how culture influences the entrepreneurial motivation and the process of creating a business (see McGrath, MacMillan, Ai-Yuan Yang, & Tsai 2002; Mitchell, Smith, Morse, Seawright, Peredo, & McKenzie 2002).

Investigating the impact of cultures can be done using various methods. For instance, Lalonde (2013) has studied Arab immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada. He uses anthropological and sociological methods, such as ethnography and participative observation, to research Arab culture in enterprise creation in immigrants in the context of entrepreneurship. The theoretical insights of Arab culture come from literature and he focuses on family, the Beduine ethos, and the religion of Islam (Lalonde 2013, 216).

This research utilizes Hofstede's theoretical framework as a tool for thematic narrative analysis. It is one of the theoretical approaches triangulating each other. Hofstede (2001) was chosen because of the comparative aspect of this study. Hofstede provides information on both Russian and Finnish cultures that occur in the narrative material.

Even though this research is qualitative it could be asked if it is dangerous to analyze narrative material with qualitative methods by using Hofstede's (2001) framework on cultural dimensions: It is based on quantitative data. However, Onwuegbuzie, and Leech (2007, 381) state that inquiries in the social sciences attempt to understand human beings and the world they live in. Quantitative and qualitative research traditions utilize methodologies that are typical of them. Dzusec and Abraham (1993, 75) argue that different methods and paradigms have a consistent objective, scope, and nature of inquiry. The discrepancies between quantitative and qualitative researchers exist because both groups have operationalized their strategies in different ways to reach the same goals, not necessarily for any other reason. Pragmatic researchers (Sechrest and Sidani 1995; Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007, 385) utilize both quantitative and qualitative information or techniques in the same research and combine the strength of both methods.

Hofstede (2001) writes about human mental programs that are individual, collective, or universal. Culture is a collective program, a human collectivity expressing the same as what personality is to an individual. Culture distinguishes its representatives from another cultural group or category of people and is expressed in all human actions, also in immigrant entrepreneurship.

Culture consists of desired or desirable values in a society. Values and culture are invisible but can be operationalized in words and deeds either provoked (e.g. verbal interviews or field experiments conducted) or in a natural way (e.g. discussions or through observation). Values are programmed in early childhood by our own culture. They are non-rational feelings that deal with a plus and a minus pole of the same quality, such as evil vs. good, decent vs. indecent, paradoxical vs. logical, or rational vs. irrational. All visible elements, like common symbols, heroes, and rituals manifest a national culture and create practices. Identities are built on stereotypes concerning symbols, heroes, and rituals of culture. Values are not a part of identities. (Hofstede 2001, 1 - 10.)

In this thesis the plus and minus poles of the characteristics expressing different Russian cultures of the informants are based on the collected narratives. They are placed in the framework provided by Hofstede (2001) defining cultur-

al dimensions. His model offers tools to analyze Russian cultures when discussing different life cycle stages of Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland.

For instance, Basu and Altinay (2002, 388) have also studied ethnic entrepreneurs and their cultures. They want to outline that it is vital to recognize the complexity between culture and immigrant entrepreneurship. Basu and Altinay (2002, 373) criticize Hofstede for generalizing as there can be different cultures, languages, and religious groups within one country, like in the huge Russian Federation. Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010, 45) state that regional, ethnic, and religious cultures or minorities standing at the crossroads between their own group culture and the dominant culture can be described in the same ways as national cultures and see how they apply within countries. This research does not include religion and minor ethnic differences are not discussed either because they are understood as visible characteristics of identity, to which group a person feels they belong (Hofstede et al. 2010, 22).

Hofstede and his research team have studied country culture dimensions in a massive way by collecting data made up of 116 000 questionnaires from 72 countries and in 20 languages. They have analyzed the data and came up with five main cultural dimensions that are described in a detailed manner. They are: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, masculinity/femininity, and later long-term orientation (Hofstede 2001, 41.)

Power distance is the first of the five national cultural dimensions of Hofstede (2001, 79 - 84). Power distance is expressed in words and deeds when there is inequality between human beings or groups in the family, schools, work, organizations, politics, religion, and society between human beings. Russia scores 95 and thus belongs to the 10% most power distant societies within those examined. This tells about an enormous discrepancy between powerful and less powerful people, strong centralization, and hierarchy in the society. The strong power distance dimension is reflected in the way of bringing up and educating children and young people in families and at school, in military service, work places, businesses, leadership, and politics - everywhere. Finland scores 33 points, which means coaching leadership, individualism, equal rights, and hierarchy only when needed. This indicates that Russian immigrant entrepreneurs meet a different society from their home country when starting and running a business in Finland. (Hofstede 2013.)

The second dimension of national culture is uncertainty avoidance. Uncertainty bothers Russians a lot because their index is high, 95. They feel stress in ambiguous situations when the future cannot be controlled. There are ways to cope with the uncertainty in life. Therefore, Russians have laid down a lot of laws and established a heavy bureaucracy in their society. There is a sentimental need for rules and unorthodoxy is not well tolerated. Yet they are masters in breaking the rules. Hofstede (2013) states that uncertainty avoidance can be noticed in business in Russia in two ways: either the negotiations are excellently prepared or not prepared at all. In the second case the focus is on relationship building. Finland has a medium high uncertainty avoidance score, 59.

Uncertainty avoidance is expressed in Finland when working hard and being punctual. (Hofstede 2001, 145; Hofstede 2013.)

Individualism is the third cultural dimension. Its antithesis is collectivism. It means how people relate to the collectivity and how they live together, in families, extended families, or even tribes. Russia scores 39 indicating a collectivist society. Russians live intensively with their families and neighbors which can be heard in speech. They say: "We with friends went to the cinema" instead of "I went to cinema" or "I and my friends went to the cinema" which emphasizes togetherness. The personal, trustful, and warm relationships are crucial both in coping with everyday life situations and doing business. Finland is on the contrary an individualistic country. A manager sees his/her subordinates as individuals and takes that into consideration. Decisions are based on advantage and recruitment choices on merits, not personal ties. (Hofstede 2001, 209; Hofstede 2013.)

The fourth dimension differing national cultures is masculinity/femininity, the two opposite poles. Femininity means focusing on social relationships, helping each other and taking care of the physical environment and quality of life. Masculine goals aim at success, dominance, and winning. Russia scores here 36. Hofstede (2013) accounts for medium masculinity manifested by showing off achieved success. Especially superiors are expected to demonstrate their position, which has to do with the high power distance, too. Peers behave in a modest way, not emphasizing their achievements. Finland with 26 points is clearly a feminine society. People believe in order and democracy in work life. Conflicts are solved by discussions and compromises. (Hofstede 2001, 279; Hofstede 2013.)

The last cultural dimension is long- versus short-term orientation. Finland with a score of 45 is a short-term orientation country like many Western societies. Finland does not look far into the future. In Finland traditions are respected and decisions are made quickly. The rules and virtue are notable. Unfortunately, there is not enough data to define Russians according to the model of Hofstede. Naturally there are strong traditions of different kinds in Russia, but it is hard to say about the future orientation as the society changes all the time. (Hofstede 2013.)

The fall of the Soviet Union changed the whole society and the economic system in the new Russian Federation. The Russians running their businesses in Finland in 2013 are all old enough to have somehow experienced and lived the life of a Soviet citizen with no right to private property or business. Everything was socialized, centrally planned, and managed and the cultural values of the society tied to the institutions of the society (Hofstede & Hofstede 2010, 22).

The Soviet culture and the Russian traditions live on even though Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have seen a lot and keep developing. The business culture has also been totally different. It is a prominent transformation to immigrate from a somewhat chaotic super power, a former socialist empire, to a small and organized country and start a business in a different environment.

Naumov and Puffer (2000, 717) compared the cultural dimensions between Russian generations on the basis of previous material of Hofstede (e.g. 1980). They claim that the younger generation of Russians is reported to possess the highest levels of masculinism and the lowest level of paternalism. They have less experience of the socialist welfare system and collectivist value promoted by the USSR government. Consequently, background factors, such as society play a role. Mihhailova (2008, 91) has also researched Russian and Baltic virtual workers using the framework of Hofstede and comes to the conclusion that the occupational background affects more the work satisfaction than the national culture. Therefore, it can be useful to combine the cultural framework with the business aspiration theme.

The role of an immigrant is different to the role of a citizen. The Russians from the old Soviet Union or Russian Federation need to invent in new categories of culture, identity, and business to make sense of their lives and work (Laitin 1998, 190; Vedina & Vadi 2007, 140). First they have only little or no networks at all, and they cannot speak Finnish well. The achieved competences in the home country are not necessarily noticed or recognized. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs adopt also the Finnish culture and business culture and of course they compare them. They live in a dualistic situation between two cultures. Both cultures influence their behavior in business and every-day life (Azman & Zutshi 2012, 73). Somehow these people can see both cultures and their experiences may be richer than those of the majority population. Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010 report that there are different phases in the acculturation process of an immigrant or a visitor, as expected. The first phase is euphoria and it is extremely positive and does not last for a long time. The second is a negative phase called culture shock. The everyday life has begun. Acculturation means that the immigrant has learnt how to operate in the new cultural environment. The last phase is the stable state. It can mean that the immigrant is still a bit negative or then he/he has adopted the bicultural identity with a variation which is manifested in the thoughts and actions of the immigrant. The values stay usually the same but the practices can change. (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov 2010, 20, 384 – 385.)

Finland belonged to the Russian Empire from 1809 to 1917 after which Finland became independent and Russia became the socialist Soviet Union that was formed five years after the October Revolution. Russians have a pre-understanding of some kind of the culture of the neighboring country. However, there are differences in the Russian and Finnish dominant cultures that can be compared.

According to scholars the greatest differences are in the power distance dimension. Russian leaders are expected to be sure of themselves, know best, and decide. Their authority is to be respected. They sit alone in their rooms, and there are strict hierarchies through the whole society. Finns are more democratic. Modern Finnish leaders want to keep a low profile, even though there are directors of the old school needing more space and air power. When Russian-Finnish delegations meet, it is salient for Finns to know who is the biggest

boss among Russians and treat him/her with extra courtesy and respect, use titles, and address to/him in a polite manner. Because power in the Russian Federation is centralized, it is of great worth to know that the decisions can be made high in the organization, often in Moscow. It can be surprising for Russians that a Finnish person not showing off his/her position can possess plenty of influence. (Hofstede 2013.)

The Russian uncertainty avoidance is manifested in the massive bureaucracy. When doing business with Russians Finns need to use consultants to survive everything in a legal manner. Patience is required to fill in all the forms, go through processes, and get all the necessary stamps. Russians again do not believe that things can be so easy and transparent, since Finnish bureaucracy is lighter. Finns are also more punctual than Russians and want to be prepared before meeting. Finnish business people can get a hard time when expecting decisions from Russia that relies on centralized high-level decisions and rules. (Hofstede 2013.)

Russian culture is more masculine than the Finnish culture. Men rule and dominate openly in Russia even though the Soviet society emphasized democracy and educated women and nominated them to demanding posts. Men are also masculine, and women are feminine. Beauty and elegance are valued. In Finland men act softer and less masculine. They take care of children and other tasks that traditionally have belonged to women. Finnish women do not beautify themselves but use practical clothes and shoes. This is strange for Russians who are delighted by everything fancy. (Hofstede 2013.)

Finns like to be more alone or with their closest family than do Russians. Finns are individual and few. Russians are a great nation with a lot of people scattered everywhere. This can be distressing for Finns. In Russia people share everything and socialize. They love to make friends and enjoy. They are talkative and they show freely their sincere emotions. They live in the moment not worrying about tomorrow because there have been hard times in the history. There is no certainty about tomorrow. It can be hard to accept for a Finn that in Russia the masses are enormous and one person can vanish easily in the crowds. Russians are more used to fighting for their positions because the competition is harder since there are more hungry competitors. (Hofstede 2013.)

Having lived almost all my life between Finnish and Finnish-Swedish cultures I know how hard it is to understand completely and learn the hidden meanings and manners of a culture and a language. A life time is not enough. When Russian immigrants come to Finland it must take a lot of energy and effort to absorb the Finnish culture and business culture and still hold on to their own Russian culture, manners, and friends. In the narratives of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs the informants of this inquiry are able to express how they see and interpret the dominant culture's influence on their business actions at different life-cycle stages of their businesses in Finland.

2.2.2 Life-cycle perspective

The first observations of the life-cycle perspective in the context of this inquiry were concluded when I was interviewing Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. It was to note that they do develop and diversify their services and companies. The article published by Rusinovic (2007, 440) was also thought-provoking. She suggests that there is a dynamic character in immigrant entrepreneurship revealing that immigrant entrepreneurs move between markets using ethnicity as a strategic way to break out into other markets, especially if the entrepreneurs are second generation immigrants.

Rusinovic (2007) confirms that there are four markets operated by immigrant entrepreneurs and originally presented by for instance Waldinger, McEvoy, and Aldrich (1990, 125). As explained previously in chapter two, the markets can be ethnic with ethnic products, actors, and mainly ethnic clientele. Immigrant entrepreneurs belonging to the replacement minority settle with selling products or services that they are able to get into the hands of these entrepreneurs. They do not possess human or financial capital but run their businesses often in an ethnic environment to get along somehow and be self-employed. They still often live in ethnic communities. Middleman market means that the immigrant entrepreneurs sell ethnic products or services to the general public. Rusinovic (2007, 443) mentions also a niche market where non-ethnic products or services are sold to the entrepreneur's own immigrant group. The most developed phase of the immigrant entrepreneurship is operating totally in the mainstream market.

Wang and Altinay (2012, 17) suggest that breaking out onto the open market is an effective strategy for an ethnic minority business to grow. Breaking out does not only have an impact on growth but also on the values, norms, and behavior of the firm. It is vital to go beyond co-ethnic and family networks. Billore (2011, 50) has investigated Indian female immigrant entrepreneurs in Japan. As these well-educated and energetic informants managed to develop their roles and relations with natives and businesses the revenues and the economy of their companies grew. Drori and Lerner (2002) have studied Arab immigrant entrepreneurs in Israel. They claim that there are different strategies to breaking out. The Janus-face approach means that the immigrant entrepreneur operates both internally and externally and the break-out is limited. One way to continue the integration is to work as a subcontractor or to go in for joint ventures with the majority entrepreneurs. Opportunity structures and institutional support is vital for the business development of an immigrant company. (Billore 2011, 10; Drori & Lerner 2002, 151 – 152.)

Rusinovic (2007, 444) observed on the basis of 252 interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs included in the Mixed Embeddedness Project of Kloosterman, Van der Leun, and Rath (1999) that immigrant entrepreneurs do move from one market to another, especially if they belong to the second immigrant entrepreneur generation. According to Rusinovic (2007, 448) 44 out of 252 immigrant entrepreneurs interviewed in the Netherlands had evolved from one

market to another. Twenty-seven of them moved from an ethnic market to a middleman market and 13 made a shift from the niche market to the mainstream market. Of these 13 entrepreneurs, 10 were second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Consequently, Rusinovic states the business development, moving between the markets and the second generation immigrant entrepreneurs have been left unstudied. The immigrant entrepreneurship does still remain focused on the first generation entrepreneurs operating in the ethnic market and does not take into consideration the dynamic character of immigrant entrepreneurship. (Rusinovic 2007, 440 - 441.)

Rusinovic emphasizes that the open market is often also overlooked (Rusinovic 2006, 67). This is interesting from the point of view of this thesis because there are not many typical ethnic enclaves in Finland and immigrants work either in the middleman market or general market; a little like second generation immigrants.

Another interesting point is the embeddedness in the transnational networks (see Portes 2000, 258; Portes, Haller, & Guaraizo 2002, 284; Rusinovic 2006, 142). Even though only contacts and activities with co-ethnics are profitable but hinder the growth of the company, transnational contacts to the country of origin are valuable even for the second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. They are more natural for the first generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Transnational immigrant entrepreneurship is also a future trend in immigrant entrepreneurship research (Ma, Zhao, Wan, & Lee 2013, 43).

Bernard and Slaughter (2004) find that the also the United States faces enormous demographic changes. The labor force will grow slower than previously. The growth is accounted for by minorities only. Therefore, they consider that it is necessary to research minority entrepreneurs, including ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurs. According to Bernard and Slaughter the business development of minority, ethnic, and immigrant entrepreneurs should be analyzed to gain more insights and understanding. The life-cycle framework tracks the development of minority owned companies over time as well as the moves between markets. The approach of the life-cycle framework is longitudinal, not merely a cross-section observation or discovery. This study describes the longitudinal development as retrospective. (Bernard & Slaughter 2004, 1 - 14.)

Life cycles consist of a series of stages. These stages pass during the lifetime of an individual, a culture, a product, a company, or an organization (Merriam-Webster 2013). Life-time models have their origin in biology and they have been utilized in the fields of entrepreneurship, marketing, economics, and psychology. In entrepreneurship life-cycle models describe mainly organizational, individual, family, product, or industry life-cycle stages. Regardless, the target phenomenon life-cycle models show four stages: 1) Birth 2) Growth 3) Maturity, and 4) Decline/Renewal. Sometimes different life-cycle models with various contents can be combined and the interaction between chosen and relevant life-cycle models are made transparent. (Hoy & Sharma 2010, 20 - 25.)

The organizational life cycle is one of the main business life cycles. Business organizations change and grow over time. Every organization is unique

though, and not all of them follow the classical and usual life-cycle stages of birth, growth, maturity, and decline/death. When companies are between stages they go through transitional phases. Changes are called evolutions or even revolutions if the change is radical. (Hoy & Sharma 2010, 82 - 83; Kimberly & Miles 1980.)

The birth stage is the creation of the new enterprise. The three key dimensions involved in the creation process are products and services, markets, and personnel. New ventures can focus on the product or market expansion. On top of that the entrepreneurial team can be brand new. In immigrant entrepreneurship one, two, or all three of these key dimensions can be ethnic but this cannot be generalized. Bernard and Slaughter (2004, 14) highlight that the concept of an individual entrepreneur looking for economic resources is nearly always inextricably linked to the birth of a minority owned firm, e.g. a firm owned by an immigrant entrepreneur. The access to partners is limited because of the newness and creativity of the venture challenge, the entrepreneurs, and their closest network. (Hoy & Sharma 2010, 85 - 87.)

The growth or adolescence stage can be the riskiest period of the new venture because empirical literature shows that young and small enterprises are at risk of going out of business. It is not easy to control or steer the relation between revenues and expenses, demand and supply, roles and responsibilities, and external and internal environments. Immigrant entrepreneurs might have to compete with lower prices. For instance, they need to reduce salary costs by using an ethnic or family labor force that works extra hours with tenuous or zero salary. The potential growth can also be restricted if the company stays in the ethnic market. There are too many similar products and services and the clientele can be restricted, too. (Joronen 2012, 18; Hoy & Sharma 2010, 87 - 88.)

The maturity stage is critical because then it can be possible for a company to thrive. The niche can have been established and the firm can have found its loyal customers. Roles and processes are clear and jobs are being created. There can be problems, too. Assets can become worn out and owners bored. The competition can become harder and margins narrower. New opportunities, strategies, and innovations should take place to keep the enterprise going and developing. Schumpeter (1934) talks about creative destruction when explaining how entrepreneurs go radical with their concepts, services, or products and avoid the prevailing status quo of the venture. An immigrant entrepreneur can for example break out into the general market to grow his/her business. It is not easy if the entrepreneur does not have a good command of the language of the destination country or contacts. (Rusinovic 2007, 441; Hoy & Sharma 2010, 89 - 91.)

The last phase is called decline, death, or renewal. At this stage the company loses its clients and the growth becomes negative. Systems can be old-fashioned and heavy. The companies face either renewal or decline leading to death. Transformation, new concepts, or new people are needed and diversification can be crucial for the future success of the firm. Minority owned or immigrant owned ventures can die even though they are successful. In that case

they go public or change their concepts and ownership-structure so that it no longer ethnic or minority-owned. Interestingly, immigrant businesses can be renewed and flourish after the mature stage of the life cycle. (Hoy & Sharma 2010, 91 - 93; Bernard & Slaughter 2004, 17.)

Rusinovic reasons also about what is business success in immigrant entrepreneurship. Naturally, it can be profitability. Rusinovic uses a broad definition of success. She thinks that it is good if the company stays alive as many immigrant entrepreneurs fail in their business operations because of the lack of business skills in the new operational environment. The death of an immigrant business can also happen of other reasons. For instance an immigrant can find better opportunities and decides to start a new business or work for another employer. (Rusinovic 2006, 137 - 138.)

Since immigrants have gone through a major transformation in their lives, moved from one country and culture to another, their individual development has been influenced by their experiences and phases. They grow older and choose different perspectives and strategies. They keep in touch with their families either living in the destination country or in the home country. They do not act alone but live and work in a more dynamic and multi-dimensional world in another country than the one they were born in. Therefore, it is vital to examine simultaneously the old and new environment, the life-cycle stages of key individuals, their families, and business. They are in continuous interaction and otherwise the interpretation could be narrow. (Hoy & Sharma 2010, 93.)

Individual life-cycle stages keep changing as the societies and people act in new ways and shape these definitions. On the basis of many scholars (e.g. Levinson 1978; Sheehy 1995; Douglas 1991) people can be divided into generations according to their birth year. The newest generation is called millennial (born after 1992). Generation Y came into the world between 1977 - 1992. Generation X was born between 1963 - 1977 and baby boomers 1948 - 1963. The silent generation saw daylight in 1933 - 1948 and VW II Gen before 1933.

These generations live through biological and sociological imperative. Biological imperatives are pre-adulthood (0 - 15 years, occupied in 2013 by the millennials), provisional adulthood (16 - 30 years, occupied by Generation Y), early adulthood (31 - 45 years, occupied by Generation X), middle adulthood (46 - 60 years, occupied by Baby Boomers), late adulthood (61 - 75, occupied by Silent Generation) and finally late-late adulthood (76 and over, occupied by the World War II generation). Like in business, people live through transition periods that are supposed to last about 5 years before the stage shift. If the standard life-cycle model is compared with the biological and sociological imperative, birth would be the pre-adulthood, growth provisional and early adulthood, maturity middle and late adulthood and decline late-late adulthood. (Hoy & Sharma 2010, 33 - 35.)

Family life-cycle models can also be divided into four stages. Before the new family is formed there is an unattached adult belonging naturally to his/her childhood family. The birth of the new family happens when a young couple gets married or becomes committed in some other way. The growth

stage starts when there is a young family with small children or adolescents. The maturity stage of a family includes middle-aged parents launching their careers and children. Life is moving on. The decline stage is about retirement and later life family. (Hoy & Sharma 2010, 63.)

In this study, that focuses on the business development and entrepreneurship of Russian immigrants, the most central life-cycle models describe and analyze organizational, individual, and family stages. They do interact with each other. Also ethnicity and market moves are described. The perspective is not very longitudinal because the cultural view is emphasized and the respondents are interviewed only twice during the research process. The past immigrant entrepreneurial phases of the respondents are examined from the start to the first interview day and re-checked during the second interview round

2.2.3 Business orientation

During and after the interviews with my eight informants I noticed that they cultivated different aspirations or orientations to their entrepreneur. I started thinking if they could be grouped somehow on the basis of their manifested cultures which express their business aspirations. When reading articles on immigrant entrepreneurship for this thesis I found one journal article (Basu (2004) that described the interaction between aspirations, business behavior and cultures of immigrant minority entrepreneurs running family businesses. Even if this thesis does not focus on family business research, the presence of every entrepreneur's family is obvious and the categorizations are useful because they give insights on the research topic.

According to Basu (2004, 12) immigrant business owners operate in the diversity and complexity of interaction between culture, ethnicity, class, entrepreneurship, and aspirations. Their educational level, business training, and family tradition are heterogeneous. It is crucial to realize that even though aspiration levels are predisposing factors of group characteristics of the interactive of ethnic business development created by Ward, Aldrich, and Waldinger (1990, 32 - 33) the entrepreneurs are heterogeneous when running their businesses and manifesting their cultures.

To examine business orientations Basu utilized a large research data consisting of 60 in-depth interviews with founders of immigrant family-owned businesses and 19 with their family members in the United Kingdom. The study was guided by several thoughts. Firstly, the social embeddedness theories come in once more. Traditionally entrepreneurs are seen as individualistic with aspirations to venture, innovate, or maybe to start a dynasty of their own (see Schumpeter 1934). It is vital for this thesis to realize that immigrant entrepreneurs - here Russian immigrant entrepreneurs - are in fact embedded in social networks, such as their family or their own culture. (Basu 2004, 13.)

Other theories have also discussed family businesses and their aspirations. Ward (1987) introduced the concepts business first and family first in entrepreneurship. Dunn (1995) speaks about businesses contributing to families and families contributing to businesses. (Basu 2004, 14.)

There are also behavioral thoughts behind the business aspiration thinking. Maslow's (1970) hierarchy of needs is classical but is criticized as everybody does not have the same hierarchy of needs. The role of money or the will to hire outside personnel or managers to develop the business are different needs but they both affect the type and level of aspiration guiding the development path of the company, especially at the beginning. (Basu 2013, 15.)

A deeper understanding of business aspiration was gained even though it was not the main focus of the original inquiry. A four-category model explaining aims and aspirations of immigrant minority entrepreneurs was developed. The presented four cultures of self-employed immigrants in family business are business-first, family-first, money-first, and lifestyle-first entrepreneurs. Basu's analysis suggests that background and in particular human capital endowments, such as education and work experiences, influence aspirations. Wang and Altinay (2012, 17) state that the entrepreneurial orientation (see Wiklund 1998 and Lyon, Lumpkin, & Dess 2000) of an immigrant company depends a lot on the founder or owner and his/her capacity, just like in the majority businesses. Prior work experience gives also financial capital for the start-up or venture acquisition. The family life-cycle stage and background have also an effect on the business orientation, too. In other words, there are reflections on social embeddedness (see Granovetter 1985) and life-cycle orientation (cf. Dyer & Handler 1994) in Basu's investigation. (Basu 2004, 12, 16.)

The four categories introduced by Basu (2004, 14) have their origins in the thoughts of Ward (1987) and Reid, Dunn, Cromie, & Adams (1999) that have previously divided family businesses into two groups according to their orientation. Family-first businesses have centralized their decision making, are risk-averse, do not wish to have shareholders not belonging to the family, possess smaller business wealth, do not use technology eagerly, and are in need of personal services. Business-first entrepreneurs are the opposite. Their decision making is de-centralized, they are less risk-averse, they recruit non-family shareholders and managers, the business-wealth is usually larger, and the business is high-tech. Invention and research are enhanced in these companies run by business-first entrepreneurs. Birley (2000) again finds three types of entrepreneurs: family-in entrepreneurs favoring family members, family-out entrepreneurs trying to find outside personnel resources, and jugglers that want to blend family and business. Tagiuri and Davis (1992) again suggest that family business owners have multiple goals, not just family or business. Basu (2004) takes these theoretical views into consideration but analyzes the effect of several background factors on entrepreneurship.

Consequently, Basu's (2004) model is multidimensional and focuses on immigrant minority entrepreneurs. This model is used in this inquiry to categorize and characterize the business aspirations and cultures of the informants because it has partly the same background elements as this study. Family orientation alone does explain all immigrant minority business aspirations even if the family is present. The model has regard for the dynamic and nascent character of immigrant entrepreneurship and is not merely restricted to the start-up

phase of self-employment. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland have various motives, educational and social backgrounds, contacts, and Russian dominant cultures which affect their aspirations and strategies in different life-cycle stages of their businesses. Basu's categorization and the theoretical insights characterizing aspirations of immigrant minority entrepreneurs are implemented to introduce the informants of this inquiry. Their motives and the background factors behind them are exposed. Naturally some informants do not fit fully to only one category. Basu (2004, 19) points out that 81% of her informants could be explained by these four categories. The rest could not be grouped.

2.3 Summary of literature analysis

The literary analysis of this thesis was conducted to connect it with the wider context of immigrant entrepreneurship research and to constitute the theoretical background guiding the empirical analysis.

The leading theoretical streams of immigrant entrepreneurship are presented. This thesis is somewhere between the social embeddedness theories and the interactive theories even though Finland is not a typical country of immigrant entrepreneurship and Russians are well educated immigrants here.

Russian immigrant entrepreneurship has not been studied much at all either in Finland or abroad. Cultural or life-cycle approaches are not popular and therefore there is a research gap.

This dissertation is a theory-guided empirical analysis that uses three approaches. These are the cultural, life-cycle, and business-aspiration perspectives that triangulate each other and are combined because the cultural aspect dominates throughout the research.

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains and motivates the methodological choices of this inquiry. The central concepts and views are opened to position this research.

3.1 The social constructivist worldview

In qualitative social science research inquiries, research topics and interpretations are always a part of our lives, our world. There is always a relation with reality. The informants and researcher share the same lifeworld, *Lebenswelt*. It is impossible for a researcher to study this *Lebenswelt* from outside. The lifeworld is said to be a grand theater of objects arranged in time and space relative to understanding subjects. Interestingly, *theory* has the same etymological root as *theater* – and implies a viewing of all subjects. (Husserl 1936; Bruffee 1983, 776.)

The researched phenomenon of this inquiry, immigrant entrepreneurship, is a social, practical, interactive, and creative process and phenomenon that cannot be decontextualized or isolated from the surrounding world. In this inquiry Russian entrepreneurs account for the entrepreneurial reality of the Finnish business environment that they live in and develop in Finnish-Russian ways. As this qualitative thesis focuses on Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland and describes the phenomenon, it is social constructivist. (Gergen 1985, 266.)

The social constructivist paradigm is based on relativist ontology, the nature of reality. Relativist ontology assumes that there are many truths and realities. Every Russian immigrant entrepreneur has his/her own understanding of life and business. The researcher has his/her own experiences, educational background, and pre-understanding.

The subjectivist epistemology typical of social constructivist research acknowledges that the nature of knowledge is produced in co-creation of meanings together by the informants and the researcher. There is a strong communal

basis of knowledge. (Acker, Barry, & Esseweld 1983; Bowles 1984; Gergen 1985, 272; Denzin & Lincoln 2005.)

Qualitative and constructivist inquiry are recognized and used methods in immigrant entrepreneurship research. They are utilized to explore the entrepreneurial processes in the lifeworld of immigrant entrepreneurs, here Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in the Finnish business environment. In this study it is assumed that there is no objective reality of Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland. There are multiple realities connected to each other and the lifeworld that are shared by the informants, researcher, and their contacts. Russian entrepreneurs come from different parts of the Russian Federation, have their own history, background, experience, and skills so they cannot possibly be identical. Their perceptions of their own life and entrepreneurs are changing through times. If the informants of this study were to be interviewed years later they could possibly present different thoughts and so could the research, too. As the informants and researcher simultaneously share the same lifeworld it is possible for a researcher to create an understanding of the studied phenomenon and share it.

The co-construction of understanding between the informants and researcher of the inquiry refers to subjectivist epistemology. As the researcher is part of same lifeworld, and discusses with the informants and analyzes, she cannot remain objective or neutral. The interviews with the informants were initiated and steered by the researcher, but they were co-created as the informants could bring up what was meaningful for them in their immigrant entrepreneurship. The informants and other potential readers can continue their co-creation and dialogue between each other and the researcher during the study and after it has been made public.

A social constructivist study can be evaluated by viewing dependability, credibility, and transferability. In this thesis, dependability is measured by the way in which the inquiry process is described and documented to the readers. The process should be logical and transparent. Credibility in this inquiry refers to the researcher's ability to discuss the phenomenon and convince the scientific and practical audience in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship. Transferability is the researcher's duty to connect to the scientific discussion of the field.

In the following chapters all methodical choices and characteristics will be explained as thoroughly as possible. The researcher's role is clarified and the inquiry process is described to enhance and ensure the conformability and dependability of this thesis.

3.2 Researcher's background and role as an interpreter

As in qualitative, social constructivist inquiry the researcher shares the lifeworld with informants, co-creates understanding, analyzes, and makes interpretations of his/her position that should be examined thoroughly. Therefore, I will position myself.

I was born to Finnish parents in 1966 but I started studying Russian language in the gymnasium and took also the second highest degree in Russian language at the Swedish speaking university Åbo Akademi in Turku, Finland. The degree program focused on Russian language and literature so it had nothing to do with entrepreneurship. We got acquainted with Russian language and literature, Russian culture and Russia or the Soviet Union as the country was in the late 80s. I got to know Russian people, visited Russia, and even studied in Leningrad, which later became St. Petersburg.

When I was young I got wonderful insights into Russia and its history, culture, literature, and people which I got to like. I remember, though, that I was often annoyed and even stressed living in the Soviet Union. There was not much food and the people were sometimes rude in the field of service. Leningrad was grey, there were crowds, and the smell from drains could be felt everywhere. The economic system was socialist and the people were communist. I got to experience how all this worked in practice.

When I started working as a lecturer in a business college and later in higher education after finishing my Master's degree in Finnish language, Russian language, and literature and communication I had nothing to do with Russia or Russians for many years. My children were small, and I was not willing to travel a lot then. Therefore, I never travelled to the Soviet Union and Russia between 1991 - 1996.

As I knew the Russian language, I was offered to take care of some Russian contacts and international double degree networks including Russia at Heli University of Applied Science in 1997. Finally, I got to know Russian representatives of prominent business schools and universities of economics and finance. I also met a number of Russian students on an exchange period in Finland.

I feel lucky to have been able to experience the development of the Russian Federation and Russian economy after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. A lot of Russians have moved to Finland, and I have been able to travel to different parts of the Russian Federation about four times a year to observe Russian society and talk with people.

It is strange how the time I spent in my youth studying the Russian language has cultivated a life-long interest in Russia and Russians. I share and co-create a lifeworld together. Our context is in common. I spend so much time with Russians that I have a good contact network in Russia and in Finland that consists of Russian people. It is easy for me to understand them as we share to some extent Russian history and the way of thinking, if there is in fact one.

I have got over the fact that my father's family was evacuated during World War II from Vyborg, a Karelian city that used to belong to Finland and was conquered by the Soviet Union. My grandfather died in World War II fighting against the Soviet Union.

I think I partly I have a Russkaya dusha, a Russian soul, and act like it. In my opinion, it means that I shall be friendly, loyal, and cordial with my friends that trust and do anything for their true friends. The discussions with Russians

are intensive and full of acceptance, politeness, and even enchantment (*vostorg*, in Russian).

Therefore, I feel like at home in Russia and with Russians, and it was easy for me to get in touch with the Russian informants. In contrast, I did not know much about Russian immigration or entrepreneurship in Finland. I have naturally been able to learn about entrepreneurship in accomplishing my doctoral courses at the Business School of Jyväskylä University and when conducting my eMBA courses at my work place, HAAGA-HELIA University of Applied Sciences. Still, I cannot imagine what it is like to be a Russian entrepreneur in the Finnish business environment as I have never been a Russian or an entrepreneur. Consequently, I need to have a continuous dialogue with my informants, sources, and readers in order to be able to co-create a view of the researched phenomenon in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship inquiry.

3.3 The narrative approach

Over the past 40 years, narrative approaches have yielded a rich body of literature (Gergen & Gergen 2006, 112) and they have been accepted as a functional method in the interpretative (Schwandt 1998) research of entrepreneurship (Rae 2005, 325). In this thesis a narrative approach is used to explore Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in the Finnish business environment in the lifeworld of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. This research gains access to their entrepreneurial stories, development, and relation to their Russian background and Finnish business culture. The floor is given to Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and their voices become connected to academic study. The gulf between the experiences and academic theory becomes narrower. The value of the lived entrepreneurial lives is significant even though these experiences cannot be generalized. (Rae 2000, 148.)

It is no wonder, that narratives have been utilized in research in many fields. They represent the most typical form of social life (MacIntyre 1990, 129) and generate a fine source of insight. Narrative analysis began when the Bible, Koran and Talmud were studied in hermeneutics. Russian formalism (Propp 1928), US new criticism, French structuralism, and German hermeneutics are the origins of the contemporary literary study of narrative. (Polkinghorne 1987, Czarniawska 2004, 1 - 2.)

Narratives are something narrated by human beings. When people create a narrative they imitate action (mimesis). Mimesis is a representation of the world in a narrative. It does not necessarily have to be true in an objective sense. It needs to make sense and it is measured through verisimilitude, the inner truth of the narrative (Bruner 1986).

Narrative knowledge is relative, and the informant narrates about his/her own reality as he/she perceives is. Narrative is a cognitive framework constructed to make sense in life (Gergen & Gergen 2006, 118; Flory & Iglesias 2010, 116 - 117). Fisher (1987) writes about the narrative paradigm in addition to the

rational paradigm. The traditional, rational paradigm emphasizes facts, logics, and the rational human being. The narrative paradigm focuses on people acting, deciding, and relying on narrative messages to construct reality. According to Fisher, the narrative rational approach is based on coherence and fidelity. Coherence requires that the structure, logics, and central characters of the narrative are credible. Fidelity means that the narrative is true to life. (Fisher 1985; Auvinen 2013, 36.)

When conducting the inquiry the researcher understands the narrative material in his/her own way. From a social constructivist perspective narratives also become discursive actions (Gergen & Gergen 2006, 118) and communication between informants, the researcher, and readers is a social process. (Czarniawska 2004, 117; Riessman 2008, 4; Boje 2011, 1.)

Narratives are used in every-day life to organize thoughts and make sense. They have been developed from the beginning of human history and are therefore full of receptivity. Narratives provide pleasure, humor, drama, and are easy to understand and memorize. Narratives are also recognizable and familiar. They repeat the structure in common and convince us. The narrator witnesses while telling his/her story. Narratives lead us to emphatic witnessing. Listeners become second-order witnesses as they visualize, imagine, and empathize with the narrator and the narrative narrated. When telling and listening we recreate ourselves by positioning ourselves in the narrative provided. (Gergen & Gergen 2006, 117 - 118.)

Narratives are utilized in therapy, e.g. in psychotherapy. The client is to transform narrative constructions to enhance well-being. In organizations narratives are tools for organizational change, leadership, and conflict reduction. In entrepreneurship inquiry narratives are utilized in entrepreneurial learning research (e.g. Rae 2000), foresight studies (see Sandelin, Vuori, & Römer-Paakkanen 2012) and entrepreneurship in general (Smith 2006).

Hawkins and Saleem (2012, 209) have found three different levels of narratives: individual, group, or organizational and societal. In entrepreneurship research one narrative can represent all of these three groups. The narrative can be important to the informant and help him/her make sense of own experiences. The told narrative can characterize a certain group or the themes that the group stands for and repeats. The narrative might even be significant to the society. The narratives produced by Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland represent all three categories as they organize the expressed entrepreneurial lives of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and focus on the typical features of this specific immigrant entrepreneurship group. Finally, these narratives have a societal impact. They can contribute with insights relevant to the development of the society.

As said previously, narratives are present also in our societies. Czarniawska (2012, 756) writes about strong plots popular in the media, finance circles, and society. These strong plots repeat the same type of explanation, whereas intellectuals offer atypical plots. The narratives of this inquiry give the floor to Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. Their narratives could break the

strong and repeated plots (Czarniawska & Rhodes 2006; Czarniawska 2012, 759) published in the mass-media in Finland that confirm the countless negative and racist stereotypes about Russians in Finland. Russians are expected to be criminals, liars, cheaters, prostitutes, or mafia members without considering how they really live their lives. As my knowledge interest is critical I intend to affect the Finnish society when publishing my thesis.

In common speech words, stories, and narratives are utilized as synonyms. Both stories and narratives report and describe people, procedures and happenings. Narratives are “interpretative templates” consisting of patterns or models. These patterns can be typical characters or plots found in narratives. Emplotment creates a structure that allows to make sense of the told events. Stories are more free of patterns, plots, characters, and forms. (Czarniawska 2012, 758.)

Within the field of narrative inquiry, literature theory, and semiotics there are many formalists emphasizing structural characteristics of narratives. Plot is mentioned already as early as in Poetics written by Aristotle. Plots arrange action. Tsvetan Todorov (1977, 11), the Bulgarian-French literary theorist, defines a basic plot:

The minimal complete plot consists in the passage from one equilibrium to another. (Czarniawska 2012, 758.)

Russian formalist Vladimir Propp (1928/1968) called this minimal plot a *move*. Most narratives contain many moves or *narrative programs* like Lithuanian-French semiotician Algirdas Greimas names them. He also writes about *actants*, figures that act different roles in narratives. (Czarniawska 2012, 758.)

If Greek figures of speech, rhetorics, are studied we can find that various classical tropes (tropos = turn in Greek language), such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony are still used in modern narratives. Antique Greek dramturgical conventions, eg. romance, tragedy, comedy, and satire can be found in different types of narratives. (Czarniawska 2004, 20 - 21.)

Propp (1928/1968) analyzed Russian folktales for folklore narratives. His analysis was structural, in that he organized folkloristic text in linear sequences. His Morphology of the Folk Tale (Морфология сказки) from 1928 presents the most common and repeated elements and characters in the folktales. All of them do not necessarily occur in all folktales. The changing sequences or plots are called “moves” by Propp. He has also found characters in the folktales, such as heros, villains, and donors.

Even though Propp’s syntagmatic approach has been criticized and further refined by e.g. Dundes (1964) to be isolated from the environment or even culture as a whole it provides a universal framework for folktales. They are intriguing to follow, universal, informative, and full of metaphors. They are also positive, true success stories.

In general folktales are human and repeat universal themes in life. Folktales discuss situations and problems offering solutions and etiologies. They suggest potential paths to be taken. Folktales are optimistic and happy

endings seem to win. Russian folktales have a local color, but in general they are pretty similar to those of other peoples in content. (Pilinovsky 2012.)

Emplotment occurs in the narratives examined in this thesis. They can reveal repeated phases in the entrepreneurial narratives of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. They can also expose different roles or characters in the course of events. They are expressed in sequences created by our unconscious minds. (Auvinen 2013, 35.)

Narrative material and analysis do interact in many ways during the research. A theory, planned themes, or a chosen structure can be used as a framework when analysing the narrative data. The research material can also produce new thematic or structural variants of analysis that the researcher would never even think of or plan. Bold (2012, 121) points out that there is definitely no one right way to analyze narrative material. The analysis can also start from different phases of the research process. Organizing the narrative data is insightful and interpretative. (Bold 2012.)

Structural analysis of narratives is traditional. It has its roots in interrogation of literary texts and linguistics. Literary theorists found sequences in texts and interpreted them. Linguists wanted to reach and understand the deep structure (Chomsky 1957) that allows language to make sense. Text linguistics (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981) that focuses on uncovering text grammars and modularity is also formalistic. William Labov (1972) created the basic model of narrative structure consisting of six phases of narrative. The functions of each clause or phase can be analyzed. It is vital to know if the functions carry the action forward, provide some information on relations between characters or events, or even resolve the narrative. (Riessman 2008, 89.)

Consequently, structural analysis is based on functions, moves, turns, or characters in a narrative. These functions can have their equivalent in universal folk tales, hero tales, and myths. Structures make us see hidden functions and create understanding even though their formalism can be criticized.

Structural narrative analyses are related to semiology and formalism. Semiotics is a theory that finds and defines different signs in the human world. In natural or artificial languages signs are created on different levels, such as sounds, words, sentences, or larger sets, for instance paragraphs, chapters, or texts. These signs communicate a meaning, relevant or irrelevant. Semiotics is also close to structuralism in that it detects structures in languages. Structures express also meanings as they organize data and give significance to elements and entireties needed in human communication. In modern linguistics deep structures are observed. They are the true meanings at the deeper level of language not tied to the formal surface structure. (Propp 1928/1968; de Saussure 1933/1983; Chomsky 1957; Barthes 1977.)

Structural analysis is conducted in this thesis to see if the Russian cultures and the different life-cycle stages can be detected in the stories of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs concerning critical points of their entrepreneurship in Finland. Structural analysis can produce more relevant information than thematic analysis alone. The structural analysis is able to make visible at what

juncture the moves of the narrative take place in the spiral of the whole story or one sequence of it. The structural analysis gives us the chance to step back from the whole of the narrative. We can realize how language and form are utilized to give effects. (Riessman 2008, 81, 87.)

Because I have studied Russian language and literature at university I have read about Propp's (1928/1968) structuralism. It is fascinating, and shows the universal elements in Russian folktales. As a matter of fact, Aslan's narrative fits in Propp's folktale function lists well. There are characters, such as the hero (Aslan himself), his father, villain, and his story has folktale-like phases with a happy ending of one kind. Propp's functions do not however cover all narratives of this inquiry and was not therefore chosen as a structural analysis tool.

Greimas' actant model is based on Propp's model and contains roles of various kinds. Greimas (see Greimas & Courtés 1982, 204) writes about a canonical narrative schema with a qualification of the subject, its realization in the way the subject acts, and finally retribution and recognition, which confirms the existence of the subject through the actions of the subject. In my opinion, the actant model is not relevant because I want to see all my informants as subjects who are verified by their actions in Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland.

Mandler (1984) writes about the differences between a story grammar that describes regularities of a text and a story schema that is a mental structure about story procedure expectations. Mandler presents a basic structure inspired by Propp that consists of a setting, episodes, a beginning, a development, and different endings. There are ending-embedded or outcome-embedded causal connections in the stories.

Todorov (1977) specializes in the plot structure and he thinks that characters result from a series of actions in the spirit of both Propp and Greimas. He finds (dis-)equilibriums, actions and complications of different levels in stories. Often the equilibrium is a problem and actions are taken to take care of the problem. Complications are also managed somehow.

The models of Mandler and Todorov could well be implemented in this study, but I choose to conduct the structural analysis with the help of the approach of Labov's (1982) analytic model as modified by Riessman (2008). His model is based on a long-term observation and a will to identify structures and sequences and their interaction with each other. According to Labov, narratives include six elements. They are used also in this thesis:

Abstract, summary of point of the narrative

Orientation, place, time, characters, and situation of the narrative

Complicating action, sequence or plot with a turning point or a crisis of the narrative

Evaluation, the narrator steps back and comments on meaning and emotions during the action

Resolution, outcome

Coda, ending and bringing back to the present

Not all narratives or sequences of them contain all these phases, and the order varies. The phases expose the inner meaning of some part of the narrative. The approach developed by Labov and used by Riessman is interesting because it makes the inner thoughts, the evaluation of the informants of this inquiry visible. The mental reality and sense-making of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland is seen, heard, and documented in the framework of this study.

Thematic analysis methods are recognized in qualitative and narrative inquiry. It is interpretative as the empirical research material and the theory are in continuous dialogue. In thematic analysis types, classes, categories, or themes are recognized on the basis of the research material and theories or theoretical frameworks implemented. Research material can be any text, speech, picture, or audiovisual material created in any context or it can be narratives produced to research something. The researcher can create a new narrative based on knowledge produced when analyzing narrative material or specific narratives. This is called analysis of narratives. (Riessman 2008, 53 – 54; Auvinen 2013, 38.)

3.4 Data collection

The data collection was performed in two different phases. In the first round interviews with eight Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland were conducted in 2010 – 2012. The informants were found through personal contacts and the only criterium for the choice of informants was that they should all be different enough to enable variation.

I wrote an e-mail to the informants to introduce myself and my project. Afterwards I called them and asked if they would like to give an interview. All of them were positive and talked openly and willingly.

The informants are presented in Appendix 2. There are men and women of different ages and they have different backgrounds and companies. They come originally from different areas of the Russian Federation. Ethnically they are all Russian but there is variation. Lidia is a bilingual Tartar and Aslan's father originally comes from India. His mother is Russian. Maxim's grandfather was an Ingrian but his parents are Russian.

The interviews took place in the informants' offices or homes or in restaurants. Sonya and Alexey were interviewed through the visual Internet telephone program Skype as it would have taken several days to travel to them as the distances were long.

Each first round interview took about one hour. The informants were basically asked to tell their entrepreneurial story. I had written interview guides (see Appendices 3 - 5) to lead the interview, if necessary. Because this study is a theory-guided empirical analysis there was no hypothesis or focus. The main themes of this inquiry were created on the basis of the repeated points. I recorded every interview and transcribed the recordings.

The informants also chose what language they preferred during their interview, which may have had an impact on the outcomes of the research. The possibility to choose the language resulted in that all of them, except Vadim who spoke English, spoke mostly in Finnish. Sometimes the language was changed to Russian or some expressions were emphasized by speaking Russian. This contextual and functional code-switching is typical of bilingual people when both languages are present (see Heredia & Altarriba 2001) and does not occur because of a lack of competence but to simply highlight and express something. At certain points the Finnish was hard to understand from the recordings, but my knowledge of Russian structures and phonetics helped me to understand what the informants were trying to convey.

The second round of interviews was a short re-check of the current business situation to get more information for the life-cycle perspective that is mostly based on the retrospective data acquired during the first interviews. The themes of the re-check interviews were planned (see Appendix 6) and every informant was called by phone. I documented the discussions and asked them if something in their business had changed. I also wanted to know the reason and consequences for any changes. The interview was ended when the respondents were asked about their future plans. The phone calls lasted about 15 - 20 minutes each. The respondents were very positive and interested in answering the questions.

3.5 Data analysis

This thesis describes and analyzes a real-life phenomenon, business development phases and Russian characteristics in Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in the Finnish business environment, therefore, it is a social constructivist, qualitative multi-case study (Yin 2009) that examines the narratives of eight Russian immigrant entrepreneurs collected in 2010 - 2012.

The analysis process of this dissertation is a theory-guided empirical analysis. Hypotheses are not used but theory helps to identify and classify the empirical data. Narrative analysis is utilized.

To start the analysis, the material was collected, transcribed and read by me, the researcher. When working with the interview data, I noticed that there were themes that were repeated, like business development, life-cycle stages and diversifications, Russian cultures and elements in business, Finnish elements in business, and Finnish business environment. As my employer, HAA-GA-HELIA University of Applied Sciences gave me the chance to use the QSR

NVivo8 qualitative data program to save my material, create tree nodes and branch nodes, and code the data.

The material indicated also that the informants had different business aspirations which led to the fact that these eight multi cases could be divided into four informant pairs according to Basu's (2004) model of business aspirations in immigrant family businesses. Consequently, on the basis of the narrative material and literature (Hofstede 2001; Basu 2004; Rusinovic 2007; Hoy & Sharma 2010) three approaches were found:

- 1) cultural approach
- 2) life-cycle approach
- 3) business-aspiration approach

The cultural approach is primary because it was the first observation and it dominates throughout the inquiry. The cultural approach is examined by means of the thematical narrative analysis. The thematic analysis continues when the second, life-cycle approach is investigated. A structural analysis is also conducted to enlighten the critical points of the entrepreneurship of the informants to see if the structural analysis can bring more information on the cultural or life-cycle aspects of the study. The structural plots or turns in the narrative express something and patterns are found and made transparent. A cross-case analysis is made between the thematic narrative analyses and the structural narrative analysis to triangulate and produce more insights.

The third approach is the business-aspiration approach. The informants are divided into four categories according to their business aspiration: business-first, family-first, money-first, and lifestyle-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. The business-aspiration categories are used throughout the empirical analysis process. They both structure the data and bring out more variation. The business-aspiration approach triangulates also the two other approaches.

To sum up, in this doctoral thesis the cultural, life-cycle, and business aspiration approaches are utilized in the theory-based empirical analysis of eight narratives of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland to answer the research question. These approaches do not have any theoretical interrelation and they are chosen on the basis of the multi-case narrative material and scientific literature. The approaches shed light on and open up the examined phenomenon. Triangulation between approaches come into existence, more information is found, and conclusions are made. (Yin 2009, 156 - 158)

3.6 Summary of methodology

This thesis is a qualitative social constructivist inquiry based on the real-life, social phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship. It cannot be isolated from the surrounding world. The experiences and analyses are shared and co-created by the informants and the researcher. The relativist ontology of the research

states that there are several truths. The dependability, credibility, and transferability are proven when the research process is described in detail and the research object is discussed and relates to the scientific discourse on the main themes of the study.

The analysis is empirical, but at the same time theory-guided. There are three approaches: cultural, life-cycle and business-aspiration. These parse the narrative data and produce variation allowing for a triangulation between the approaches. The three approaches have risen from the narrative material and literature.

The analysis is thematic and structurally narrative in nature. The informants tell their own stories with their own words as they have experienced it. The researcher's role is to make a thematic and structural cross-case analysis based on the three theoretical approaches. Narratives are analyzed in interaction with the informants, researcher, and chosen theories.

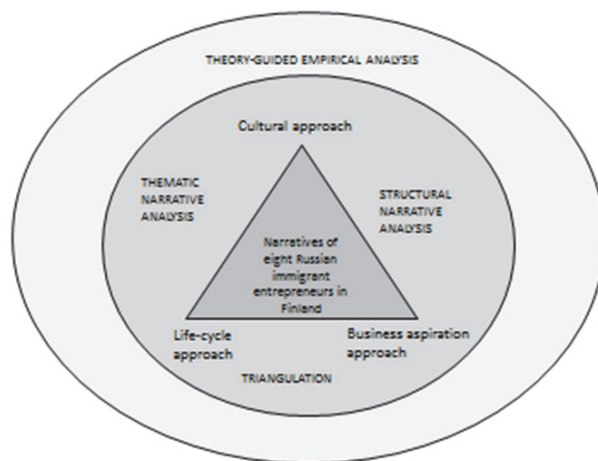


FIGURE 3 Research design

4 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter the interview data collected from the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs is presented, categorized, and analyzed. Firstly, the narratives of eight informants are divided into four informant pairs according to their business aspirations and cultures. Their business orientations are studied and analyzed with the help of a framework found in the literature because it opens up the backgrounds and motives of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and widens understanding. Secondly, a thematic cross-case analysis is conducted using the narrative data. The thematic analysis focuses on the business development of the Russian immigrant ventures and the Finnish-Russian dualism of the four informant pairs with various business aspirations and manifested cultures. A life-cycle view is utilized to study business development. When Finnish-Russian dualism is investigated the view is cultural. The structural analysis enlightens various critical phases in Russian immigrant entrepreneurship and opens also cultural preferences and questions on life-cycle development. Thematic and structural analyses together give more insight even though the methods are different than the thematic or the structural alone. As said before, they triangulate each other.

4.1 Manifested cultures of four informant pairs

Business-first immigrant minority entrepreneurs are intrigued by the business itself. They often come from a business family, have a higher education, and even a qualified business education. In the narrative material of this thesis, Vadim and Lidia represent business-first entrepreneurs according to my interpretation. They both live and work in the capital area of Finland. (Basu 2004, 20 – 23.)

Vadim grew up in Moscow and he has formal business training as he studied international business in Moscow during the Soviet era. All business was then controlled by the state. His mother graduated from a financial university in St. Petersburg and his grandmother was a business manager of a big

business unit in the Soviet Union. Like Basu (2004, 23) suggests, Vadim had strong prior business experience before starting a business of his own. He worked many years for the trade sections in Russian embassies in several countries. In Finland he was in charge of the commercial chamber activities. During the interview he discussed vividly about the economy and trends in international business since he obviously enjoys it.

Lidia's background is different. She is a linguist with a university education. Her parents were not in business but worked at the university. Her mother was an English teacher and her father was a teacher of Physical Education after a successful career as an athlete. Her grandfather had a more economic and entrepreneurial background as he kept a shop:

Lidia: I have not worked as an entrepreneur in the Soviet Union at all but my grandfather had a small shop. --- So, he did not actually have the shop but he was kind of a merchant. It was an ironmonger's. He worked extremely well as an entrepreneur. He had his entrepreneurship. --- Obviously, I got it from him.

Interviewer: So you inherited this characteristic?

Lidia: Yes, I would say so.

Lidia's business is a medium-size language school with consultant activities. The niche of the language school is Russian language and business culture. Basu (2004, 18 – 19) states that business-first immigrant minority entrepreneurs have a strong entrepreneurial aspiration. Lidia was very determined to start her own business and has never thought of giving up. She financed the firm herself and never got a penny from the state or organization:

Lidia: And then...mmm...I have always had this dream to start a school of my own-

Lidia: Sometimes it [entrepreneurship] is like a dark forest.

Interviewer: Yes, and on top of that you are in Finland

Lidia: In Finland, in Finnish.

Interviewer: Did you ever get the feeling that you wanted to quit or did you always want to continue?

Lidia: Ooo...mmm...I would answer this way that I have never decided. Life shows. *Vremja pokazhet.* [laughter]. Hard to say.

Interviewer: But at the beginning, did it ever cross your mind that --- At the beginning...

Lidia: Ooo, I never even thought about it. --- I would say, I see --- there is a saying in Finnish *Yrittämällä pärjätät* [free transl. When you try/work as an entrepreneur, you can make it] or *Yrittämällä pääset eteenpäin* [free translation When you try/work as an entrepreneur] you go forward. --- In the same way I answer: "When there is a will, there is a way" This is an English slogan. So, if you want something, then you make it.

Basu (2004, 24) suggests that the businesses of business-first entrepreneurs are often in the knowledge based industry as are both Vadim's and Lidia's. Vadim's company works in the field of investment business. He and his co-workers deal with foreign investors from all over the world and put them in touch with Russian companies in different parts of the Russian Federation. Lidia's enterprise is active in the field of education and consultancy.

According to Basu (2004, 18), the goals of business-first entrepreneurs are growth or survival. Vadim and Lidia have expanded their businesses. Vadim has four people working for him of which one is his son. He owns also at least four other companies together with his family members. Lidia employs about 14 teachers/consultants of which some are employed on a free-lancer basis. Lidia's son also joined the business after graduating from university. Lidia's company has also opened offices in three other cities in Finland and one in St. Petersburg. Business-first entrepreneurs more easily hire outside professionals and have less family participation in their ventures than family-first entrepreneurs. Basu (2004, 29) states that business-first immigrant minority entrepreneurs are more willing to hire outside professionals and managers than family-first entrepreneurs.

In the narrative data of this inquiry the two informants Inessa and Alexey were in my opinion clearly *family-first* immigrant minority entrepreneurs. Neither of them has a business family background or business tradition which is described when discussing family-first orientation in the article of Basu (2004). Alexey has a professional qualification in business administration that he got in Finland. Inessa does not have any formal business training which is typical of family-first entrepreneurs (Basu 2004, 20 - 23).

Inessa is a Master of Pedagogics and used to belong to the Olympic Team of the Soviet Union because she was a top gymnast. She has had teaching jobs and is not a forced entrepreneur. She is reluctant, though. Inessa's goals are strictly family-oriented (Basu 2004, 19). She runs the family business of importing and selling plastic packages from Russia because that is the will of her Russian husband and business innovator, who is a medical doctor working full-time within the field of medicine. They used their own finances:

Inessa: I am interested in our own business, gymnastics, everything else we own together, my husband more. Of course, it is about money. Money is one thing, but there is more to it, my self-esteem, my husband. Men usually like that woman stay at home. They like that women take care of the household, children, and are cosy. And as a matter of fact I would be happy if my husband would be like this. He wants women to work. He forces me and says that I can look for something else, do what I want, serve at a counter or something else. He is not frank, but I know. So, I started my own business, and I knew nothing about anything other than physical education. So I got some money in my pocket, and I showed my husband that I can do something.

Inessa: We go to fairs. It is awful to ask if people need packages. My husband is pushing me to this.--- I never do anything that I want to do. --- Our company is like a child. He [husband] has invented everything. --- He wants me to succeed.

Inessa's son works also for the family business. When she was asked how many employees they have in their family business focusing on packages, she answered:

Inessa: Maybe just my husband and I. Our child has just begun little by little.

Consequently, Inessa's business aspiration is mostly non-economic and social (Basu 2004, 19) which is characteristic for family-first immigrant minority entrepreneurs. Inessa sees that the family business gives the family a good life with some property which is enough. She is not so content with the fact that she has to work a lot all alone for income but is conscious of the fact that entrepreneurship gives her family a comfortable life:

Inessa: We have succeeded in establishing a warehouse of our own, even though we pay off the debt. If our activities end, the company has the warehouse after all.

Inessa: We have one son. We have a summer cottage and a boat. I cannot say that we are making money. I do everything myself.

Inessa: A car, a boat, a house, a warehouse.

Alexey is a self-employed legislated translator, interpreter, and consultant even though he has a Master's degree in Engineering, or process control automation to be exact. His entrepreneurial goal is also family-oriented, like Inessa's. He has a wife and two children that are not involved in his business:

Alexey: When I was brought up in Russia I was taught that family is the cellular core of society and welfare. The most important role of man in the family is to arrange things so that the family economy is healthy. --- The man in the family has the responsibility to predict the various situations and to decide. So, family means pretty much the same in both life and in business.

Alexey feels that he is not fit to be an entrepreneur. He would rather work for others and do his share. Like Inessa, Alexey is a reluctant entrepreneur, forced to be self-employed to support his family. Alexey's entrepreneurship is based on a desire to be independent which is an essential motive for most of the family-first immigrant entrepreneurs (Basu 2004, 22). He found an opportunity to earn his livelihood as a self-employed translator and practitioner after running a process automation company of his own:

Alexey: In 1994 I had started a limited company with a Russian partner and the business idea was to transfer automation technology knowledge from Finland to Russia. I have no entrepreneurial background, no education, just a Master's degree in engineering. Therefore, it was impossible to take the project further. --- So, I gained the professional qualification for community interpreting. I noticed that I could employ myself as a translator and I took the chance because I was not satisfied with the short-term jobs mostly done by immigrants. I was not happy with that in any way. It did not give any liberty or safety for me.

Alexey: Bold entrepreneurship is not like me at all. If I want to know something I need to know the background information and decide after that if I want to take or leave the case. --- I am more analytical, like you said. I would be a good official, I

could work in civil service or in research, but not as an entrepreneur. I am an entrepreneur out of compulsion. --- I would clearly fail [as an entrepreneur in Russia]. I am way too open-minded, frank. There is no place for this kind of businessman in Russia.

Basu (2004, 20 – 22) suggests that family-first entrepreneurs have the lowest education of all four categories. This is not the case in the data of this inquiry since both family-first informants have a Master's degree. This is typical of Russian entrepreneurs in Finland. They have a high human capital.

Money-first oriented entrepreneurs have typically less privileged backgrounds than for instance entrepreneurs with business-first aspirations. They usually do not come from a business family or have a particularly high education (Basu 2004, 21, 28). This fits well Vladimir and Sonya that can be categorized as money-first immigrant minority entrepreneurs. They both had working parents, with normal, operative jobs. Their homes were ordinary Soviet households. Vladimir got the education of a trained ship chef and Sonya studied at a vocational school and institute. She later studied accounting at evening school in Russia and finally Finnish, English, and entrepreneurship in Finland on various courses.

Money-first entrepreneurs have economic or financial goals. They are motivated by making money and becoming rich quickly. (Basu 2004, 19, 23.) In Vladimir's speech this can be heard. He talks about money and tells what he is ready to do to earn money. Already in his youth in the 1980s in the Soviet Union he had been a trader on the black market as the income that could be earned in one day was as much as the monthly salary earned doing normal, average work:

Vladimir: Many earned the seed corn when they sold Ladas [a Soviet car brand from Siberia]. --- *Tjzhelo, ochen' tjzhelo* [translation *Heavy, very heavy*]. But anyone would do things like that if the pay would be 5000 [Finnish] marks a day. Five thousand Finnish marks was a good reward. A monthly wage in Finland.

Vladimir: Clients call and are interested. It is a hard life. Can't help it. If I don't go to Tampere and we return tomorrow, there is nothing. In 1995 – 1996 there was this magazine *Keltainen Pörssi* [translation *Yellow Market*, a purchase and sales magazine] --- there was information. If there was a cheap Lada or Samara [another, more modern name for Lada] there was a huge demand for these machines. Tourists could export Ladas very much from Finland. And the difference was good. For instance 5000 marks. I go, I buy, I bargain and get 8000 marks. For one job.

Vladimir: I made it, I in principle saw how this thing is functioning, how I built it. It is of concern to understand when money becomes money.

Sonya has also realized that she cannot earn more money when employed by someone else. Even though she has had hard times with her companies she would not like to give up. Partly this has to do with the desire to maintain her comfortable life-style which is typical of all orientations (Basu 2004, 18):

Interviewer: Naturally it is extremely heavy, very heavy. Not everyone is able to cope. Some people just collapse. But what, what keeps you going? What is it, what

does drive you forward so that you don't give up? Why do you like to fight? What is the reason? Can you say?

Sonya: It is some kind of standard of living. If I want to travel a lot, I have to understand that it costs a lot. --- Yes, I want to travel and see the world. It takes a lot of money. So, in principle I will work.

Sonya: When I started the business, I had so many loans. Therefore, I cannot stop any more.

Vladimir and Sonya have entrepreneurial aspirations, like the money-first self-employed usually do (Basu 2004, 19). They have been in business all of their lives starting from when they were young in the Soviet Union and acquired the needed skills for business and entrepreneurship. Sonya had a kiosk in St. Petersburg. In Finland, she was a Lada dealer like Vladimir. She sold abrasives from Finland to Russia and finally she runs a construction and pipeline company. Vladimir was a black market dealer and after that he has also been a car dealer in Finland. He buys, sells and mediates whatever is profitable. They both look around and recognize opportunities in an entrepreneurial way. They see the benefit of the big and inexpensive Russian market close to Finland and their chance to earn there. They are ready to act – and they will:

Sonya: I want to be an entrepreneur here but do business with Russian. They have money.

Interviewer: How did you come up with this? Where did you get the idea?

Vladimir: In Russia everything collapsed. Wages decreased. The currency had become expensive [in Russia]. I realized that I can buy cheap goods. Also timber. Also for transportation, the price had collapsed. --- There the labor is cheaper, the raw material is inexpensive. And they saw. And I again ask what do you want, what size, what ---

Vladimir: I have counted this, that if you invent something right from the start in Russia ---

The money-first entrepreneurs do not usually grow their businesses. They are smaller than the companies of business-first entrepreneurs. For instance, Vladimir works alone. He says that his wife helps him every now and then when it really gets busy. He makes a good economic result, too, partly because he does not have any employees. Sonya again has a staff consisting of the former owner of her company and his personnel. Money-first entrepreneurs are in general still willing to rely on professional managers more than family-first entrepreneurs just like Sonya has done. She is not quite happy with the management, though, as she feels that she cannot fully trust the former owner and the staff under him. Later she had to give up this business because she felt that she did not have enough expertise to manage it and the economic difficulties. (Basu 2004, 26 – 27.)

The last informant pair, Aslan and Maxim, have a manifested lifestyle-first orientation. Both Aslan and Maxim are young men in their twenties and have both lived in Finland for more than 10 years. Basu (2004, 20) stipulates that life-

style first entrepreneurs come from entrepreneurial families. This holds true for both Aslan and Maxim when their family backgrounds are examined. Both Aslan's parents have worked as entrepreneurs. His mother had her own restaurant in Russia. Aslan's father is a prominent businessman in the medical industry. He was self-employed in Russia and later in Finland. Now he works in Russia and lives in Finland. Maxim's father ran an engineering works. So as can be seen, entrepreneurship is a family tradition (Basu 2004, 22).

Aslan and Maxim have both gone to school in Finland and have completed a bachelor's degree in business administration at Finnish universities. Basu (2004, 21) points out that life-style first entrepreneurs usually have a good education, like Aslan and Maxim do. Both value independence and entrepreneurship and enjoy their lives as self-employed people. It gives them satisfaction. Maxim has realized that his entrepreneurship is not, after all, just about money. (Basu 2004, 19.):

Interviewer: Would you like to be employed by someone else or would you rather be an entrepreneur?

Maxim: Well, I definitely want to be an entrepreneur.

Interviewer: Why?

Maxim: I can do what I want to do. Then there is of course the fact that if it is successful the prize is bigger. E-business is very close to my interests and therefore so is the Internet and computers. ---This is my opinion for why I am an entrepreneur. When we started I had more dreams because I had already lived the student life for seven and half years. There was the will to make a fortune. Now it does not matter so much. It is so hard to achieve. In retail it is very difficult. The central businesses control retail.

Interviewer: What in you as a person is the thing for why you became an entrepreneur? In your character? Or did you always know or did it grow gradually?

Maxim: The will has always been there. It was not a dream to start up. It was normal. --- I have always gotten along with people. It is easy to be an entrepreneur.

Aslan is also entrepreneurial and wants to make a career as an entrepreneur in the long run:

Aslan: As a matter of fact I have always been interested in entrepreneurship. I am more the kind of person that values independence. --- I like to make my own timetables, I am not at all an eight-to-four person. I could not function. I have tried other jobs, everything from cashier jobs, construction work, to manufacturing cardboard boxes.

Aslan: --- if you are not ready to take risks and you are not ready for it, it is better to work for someone else.

Obviously money is not the most important thing in the entrepreneurship of Maxim and Aslan. They are intrigued by the business, their own ideas, and entrepreneurship. They are both still young but have experienced also hard times in their entrepreneurship. They know now that it is not easy to earn money but

Maxim and Aslan learn all the time and they both have good business training. Both of them have future plans and dreams and are development-oriented. In my opinion the business orientation and manifested cultures can change over the years. It is possible that Maxim develops into a business-first entrepreneur when he becomes more experienced, older, serious, and even more expansive. He has all the prerequisites to become a business professional as he has a good education, energy, experience, – and an open mind. Aslan could also do that but when the second interview took place he was working for a car leasing company and was not self-employed. However, he still wanted to start-up and run businesses of all kinds. That could be a signal of a future portfolio for entrepreneurship, too.

In the following table the found business aspiration priorities are summarized.

TABLE 1 Business orientation priorities of informants

	Business-first	Family-first	Money-First	Lifestyle-first
Alexey		x		
Aslan				x
Inessa		x		
Lidia	x			
Maxim				x
Sonya			x	
Vadim	x			
Vladimir			x	

The impact of ethnicity cannot be discussed here. There are no representatives of other ethnic groups than Russians or part Russians among the informants of this study. However, the Russian cultures of the four informant pairs are analyzed in the thematic analysis. Basu (2004) states also that the family life-cycle may have an influence on the manifested cultures. All eight informants discussed their families, too. The business-first entrepreneurs were the oldest and had adult children formally employed in the business. The family-first entrepreneurs worked for the sake of their families, and Inessa's whole family was involved in the company. Money-first entrepreneurs talked about their Finnish spouses that could help them. They did not actually work in the same venture, though. Life-style first entrepreneurs were still in their twenties and did not have their own family. Maxim's brother was a business partner, and Aslan's father was truly supportive when it came to financing and psychological encouragement. Human capital is crucial in immigrant entrepreneurship. The backgrounds of the informants were pretty similar. Money-first entrepreneurs were less-privileged. Almost everyone had a good education. The informants had definitely acquired the needed skills during their years as entrepreneur. Everybody, except Vadim, spoke Finnish, too.

This inquiry will not generalize any facts. It is simply interesting that the eight informants can be placed into four categories when their business aspirations are examined. The informants have multiple goals and cultures and one stereotype of a Russian immigrant entrepreneur cannot be found in the collected data of this thesis. The examined phenomenon is multidimensional. Basu's descriptions and guidelines are based on a large sample. The results match astonishingly well to the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs of this study. Aspiration levels of immigrant entrepreneurs are also ethnic strategies that represent group characteristics. The categorization will be used to parse and explain the different approaches to Finnish-Russian cultural dualism, business development and the critical phases of their entrepreneurship.

4.2 Thematic analysis cross-cases

To gain and analyze information provided by the literature and narrative data collected for this inquiry, thematic analyses are conducted. Like the research question suggests, the Russian cultures and the shifts between Russian and Finnish dominant cultures of the four informant pairs are examined using the framework built by Hofstede (2001). The business development is analyzed and the life-cycle phases of the Russian immigrant businesses and entrepreneurs are studied.

4.2.1 Russian-Finnish dualism: the cultural view

During the first round of research interviews of this inquiry, the informants kept talking about their Russian cultures. They compared them with their thoughts and insights about Finnish culture. It was noteworthy to find out that the informants feel that they are both Russians and Finnish. There is no formula or model that tells to what extent the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are Russian or Finnish. They can think or react in a Russian way in one situation and in a Finnish way in another. The preference and choice of one culture varies depending on the situation. Azmat & Sutshi (2012) suggest that immigrant entrepreneurs adapt to the culture of the new country but are still simultaneously affected by the culture of their home country. This dualism influences their behavior, too. This dualism is possible because they are all culturally in the stable state of their acculturation and they do not feel xenophilia in the sense that they would idealize either Russian or Finnish culture (see Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov 2010, 385 - 387). This study examines why and when immigrant entrepreneurs represent one culture and when another and how they act in their entrepreneurship.

Power distance is the first cultural dimension of Hofstede (2001). The power distance index of Russia is 93, and the Finnish index is 33. There is a difference in the way of thinking about using and showing one's power in society and entrepreneurship. Russians are used to strong leadership that is emphasized.

Finns are more equal and modest. The informants of this study express their dualistic thoughts about their observation concerning power distance.

The Finnish society wants to minimize inequality and offers education and support systems for all to create democratic opportunities for entrepreneurship and a good life in general. Almost all of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs interviewed for this inquiry have come into contact with the Finnish education and support systems. *Business-first* entrepreneurs Lidia and Vadim have a strong academic background from Russia and long business experience, so they are not in need of basic education. They were also older (Lidia was 52 and Vadim 63 when they were interviewed for the first time) than the other informants at the time of the interview and consequently their experience and human capital are rich – they do well and develop their businesses. Vadim’s venture is involved in international business, and he does not need to speak Finnish. He does not mention any finance sources, entrepreneurship counseling, or education or language schools. He is business-focused and full of stories about his career and international business trends. Lidia feels that she is not in need of any support or education. In her opinion, economic support distorts the economic facts of reality. Russians do not get much support in their home country. Therefore, to think that entrepreneurs should do and earn everything alone without any help represents a Russian worldview of the neo-capitalism after the collapse of the Soviet Union:

Lidia: I should say that the person that wants to get somewhere will do that without money. --- Finns should not apply for money because if you get financial support then you can relax. --- You just have to give the green light to people if they try to organize something and show some effort. ---- So, I know that many foreigners and Russians have received a lot of support money. I have not received anything personally.

Lidia talks also about her upbringing that has influenced her worldview:

Lidia: And then there is this upbringing. ---- So, everything you own, you have to yourself ---

Interviewer: Earn

Lidia: Get --- You cannot just knock on the door and ask for money.

Lidia is still grateful for all kinds of help she received from Finnish officials when asking questions concerning her enterprise in Finland:

Lidia: But if you try hard, then ask, if there is something, if you want to make an inquiry, what this is and I ask people to explain the same thing many times. --- “I’m sorry, I am not Finnish, could you possibly friendly explain once more?”--- After all, we can reach a consensus.

Lidia: There were no obstacles. Maybe people were surprised that this lady could not speak Finnish and she still kept asking for something.

Lidia underlines that there are great opportunities in Finland for entrepreneurship which is part of the Finnish power index system with a low score. In Russia people do not have equal chances and power is not always used in a constructive way. In Lidia's opinion entrepreneurs should not be supported economically but given the good business environment. She describes the business environment with an expressive metaphor:

Lidia: But about entrepreneurship [in Russia], aaaa, the feeling that you would be at the bottom of a bottle, inside. And it ---

Interviewer: A bottleneck ----

Lidia: Bottleneck --- It is so narrow, small and up there. And nevermind how high you may try to jump --- You cannot make it. Here [in Finland] it is not a wine bottle. And in Russia you are like inside a wine bottle. In Finland you are in an ordinary jar.

Vadim discusses also the Finnish environment from the point of view of an immigrant entrepreneur or a person planning to move to Finland and start a business. In general he summarizes that Finnish society offers its inhabitants a lot but still Finland could be even more attractive to potential immigrant entrepreneurs:

Vadim: You know, there are some other circumstances, for example in London there exists a special program for foreign investors who comes to Great Britain. It doesn't matter whether they are from Russia or Saudi-Arabia, it is the same program for all foreign investors with some amount of money invested in the British economy. They get, at the same time, a permanent visa for Great Britain. And for the business people in every case if it is, if it goes to business investments, it is quite attractive. There is no such program in Finland. But there is the same program in Latvia, for example. There is a program in the Czech Republic. I don't know if it is so in all countries, but it is in many countries. It is an advantage. It is not the crucial point ---

Interviewer: But it's one of the pluses.

Vadim: If I own a company in Moscow and I plan, I evaluate 3-4-5 countries and definitely Finland at the same time. It has quite many advantages. For example it is good for Russian children: a good education, the medical services are good. Helsinki as a city is good. There is a good standard of living and it is quite comfortable. But at the same time other countries have advantages. For example in the Czech Republic the real estate prices are much lower and so on.

Lidia has also made use of the low power index in Finland. Directors are not so distant and hard to reach as in Russia. So, she contacted the general manager of the Finnish railway company, Valtion Rautatiet, to get a client. That was bold of her. How many people would do the same in Lidia's situation? She was a Russian immigrant entrepreneur in a new country and could not speak Finnish well. Russians are of course more used to competing and standing out, as there are so many. Russia has always been an empire and a mighty super power:

Interviewer: Yes. Well, how did you get clients? Was it so that once you got one client, you got recommendations?

Lidia: I picked up the phone and called managing directors. And I remember well once when I called to the general director of VR [Valtion Rautatiet, the state-owned railway company in Finland], Panu Haapala, and I tried to explain what I wanted even if my Finnish was poor. He said: "Let's meet and see." --- Then I continued with him.

Lidia has also experienced the negative side of the Finnish low power distance index. Finns emphasize democracy and say that all people are equal. The superiors are not supposed to show their position and power. So, if someone succeeds and makes money it is not shown, whereas Russians do not hide it. Finns are somewhat an envious nation and Lidia has had her share:

Lidia: And then, people are the same everywhere. There is also envy and all. So, during these 20 years that we have worked, I have worked with people. I have seen all kinds of things here. But --- I talk about my company. --- In our circle. But envy is known everywhere.

Interviewer: Envy, how is it expressed?

Lidia: A good Finn calls. I have been explained once that if you get a new car, then a neighbor can call to the taxman and ask--- Could you check why this person has a new car?--- Especially now that there is an economic depression.

Obviously Lidia runs a double agenda. In many ways, she acts and talks like a Finn and she is grateful for everything good she has obtained in Finland. Yet, the Russian upbringing and values are still there.

Family-first entrepreneurs Inessa and Alexey are satisfied with the opportunities and services provided by Finnish society for entrepreneurs:

Inessa: When I started [a business] and worked, Finland never prevented me. I did not understand everything at first as I did not have an economic education and we did not know the laws and the taxes. But we learned. I wanted to say that the Finnish state never put any obstacles and lent money. If we did not understand something, it was our own fault.

Interviewer: Should there be more education or support?

Inessa: I don't know. Maybe for young people. --- You need support with start-ups. People gave me advice, go there, and I did.

Alexey: The whole structure of the society and the business model makes entrepreneurship as easy as possible [in Finland]. --- The business is transparent in Finland. You get background data easily and you find information about all directors.

Alexey: Of course when I started a business I received start-up money. Then there is Tekes, when the project is promising. About Finnvera I cannot say anything good because there are such groups there that do not support small businesses. --- It [Finnvera] is bureaucratic and tough. I think it is because they have institutional money. --- They do not deal with risk financing.

It is consequential to notice that the family-first entrepreneurs value the opportunities and the climate that the low power distance index country offers them. Their dislike is particularly strong. Maybe it is due to their reluctant entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship orientation. They would rather not be self-

employed. They do not naturally enjoy risks or disorder. They both say that they are more Finnish than Finns themselves and that they have lost their Russian identity. In my opinion, it is still there, but the values and the attitudes and the power distance dimension are Finnish for family-first entrepreneurs.

Alexey, is conscious of the unofficial exercise of power in the Russian business context. Alexey cannot put up with this side of the Russian power distance system. He prefers in this aspect the Finnish business culture:

Alexey: Well, it is characteristic for Russian business culture to lie, bribe, and steal. These three things cannot be accepted by me. --- If you run a business in Russia you need to have a protector of some level. Then you are not an entrepreneur any longer. You are a director and that's another story. Someone protects you and you kind of take the risks. It is not entrepreneurship. Therefore, Russian oligarchs are not entrepreneurs, they are directors.

Inessa, the other one of the family-first entrepreneurs, knows about the dark side of Russian business and dislikes it openly. She does her best in Finland to do everything well and honest and ignores the Russian criminal culture and power:

Inessa: Naturally, things are slowly going in a better direction. It is good if you as an entrepreneur know some high official, things are easy. And money plays a significant role. There is still black money and money laundering but even if we co-operate [with Russians] it does not concern us. We pay our bills and expenses on time, what is our storage is our costs. If we send some goods there, I am not interested what happens there. It is their headache. It is easier for an entrepreneur here.

Money-first entrepreneur Sonya has found the possibility to study in Finland. She says that she studies all the time, mostly Finnish and English. She has received financial support and counseling during her years as an entrepreneur. She is satisfied with the Finnish corporate bond system that gives a democratic opportunity to be self-employed:

Sonya: And that, when I did, I started from the wrong direction. When I made the deal I ran out of money. And I was supported. I can say that this Finnvera [state owned corporate bond company] is a truly good system. I got support from it, was it 20 000 or 12 000 [euro]. So, Finnvera is always involved in my business, it still is. I just say that the Finnish system is really good. There is nothing similar in Russia. If you get a loan you have to pay an awfully high amount of interest.

Sonya: When I started it and began a new career in January 2010 I realized that there would not be enough money even though I got 40 000 [euro] help from Finnvera to run this business.

Like Lidia, Sonya thinks according to the Russian world-view that free support to entrepreneurs or unemployment compensations do not encourage but make people passive, ungrateful, and lazy. She does not like dark economy either because it harms the society. Business loans from for instance Finnvera and advice from TE-keskus are acceptable and useful in her opinion:

Sonya: In Russia the life, no one pays for you to live. If you [interviewer] write and research you can say that is so wrong to pay these ---?

Interviewer: Support money or?

Sonya: Well, support or that people, they become lazy. --- They sit at home for 500 days. I would never employ a guy like that. Never, ever will! --- Yes, the state pays. State pays for the car. And then in the construction business some people do dark business. It is so wrong! I think people need to fight, then they will become something. Think about the Chinese, there is a good example for me.

Vladimir has always been busy making money so he has not had any time to study in Finland. He is involved and committed to his own enterprise and does not think about Finnish society from a power distance index perspective. Vladimir refers to a Russian power distance variant that is not represented in the same way as in Finland. Power can be used in an illegal context. The organized crime is present in Russian business and it expresses the power by controlling, dominating, and practicing cruelty (see Hofstede 2001, 94). Once a Russian person has experienced the power of crime they never seem to forget it. It haunts the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and they keep thinking about the powerful and illegal Russian way of taking care of business problems or leading business operations. It also makes them think about their own safety and value the Finnish business environment that is safer and milder than the Russian. They keep comparing.

When Vladimir was young in the 1990s he started his business activities by operating as a black market dealer in the Soviet Union. It was illegal but the profit was good. He tells now that many of his co-dealers became businessmen in the Russian Federation after the fall of the Soviet Union. He claims that many of his old partners have been murdered. Vladimir has also been contacted by organized crime that uses illegal power and control, but the Finnish side of him has taken over. He said no:

Interviewer: Haven't you met any crime here [in Finland]?

Vladimir: Yes, *krysha* [Russian criminal slang for roof, protection]. Krysha is to protect.

Interviewer: Oh, the roof.

Vladimir: I have been offered Krysha. I said: "What?" It was year five [2005] or something. I was doing very well and we lend a lot and I had a trade name. Ladas were coming in every week from England. They were so many. They offered me: "Hey, would you like to have some protection, better?" I felt that these are undoubtedly tough criminals. They could do anything.

Interviewer: Yes, I'm sure.

Vladimir: I said: "No. Here I pay taxes for each Lada, and this is enough."

Interviewer: That's the way it goes. You have to do everything officially. Then they can't get you.

Vladimir: I confided in the police. I don't remember what other things we discussed.

The *life-style* first entrepreneurs of this study have both lived in Finland for more than 10 years. They have immigrated in their early years when they still went to school. They speak fluent Finnish and are integrated into the Finnish society, even though they still have their Russian background. They have gone to Finnish primary school, commercial college, and universities of applied sciences and specialized in business administration and Maxim in particular in e-Business. They live inside both cultures, and their perspective is different from that of the other six informants.

Maxim and Aslan appreciate their education and the friends they have got in Finland. They do not even notice the support systems as these Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are integrated to the Finnish low power distance index society. Maxim mentions that he got the start money, but he did not use it in his company first because he feels that money coming in from outside is not his own money. They both are touched by the unofficial high power distance existing and influencing all business in Russia. They value the lack of danger and cruelty in Finland and respect the rules of the society. Maxim has less experience of that but he is aware and alert, too:

Maxim: Corruption [in Russia]. Otherwise you cannot accomplish anything. Money plays too big a role and life is hectic. --- And infrastructure in Finland is in its own league. Western relations, membership in the EU, this is of course a jackpot for us. Free freight. Lifeline.

Interviewer: What if it is betrayed, the trust [in Russia]?

Maxim: Then it is the end. There will be background-aid. Here [in Finland] the background-aid does not exist. Still we are safe here.

Aslan's narrative is more serious. He and his family had to emigrate from Russia in 2000 because the lives of his family were threatened by organized crime. He has experienced himself the unofficial power distance factor of Russia and this affects his thinking of his own entrepreneurship. When he was bitterly betrayed by a business partner at a young age he kept thinking about ways to revenge him. He imagined what might have happened in Russia, but the Finnish business culture and practice keeps him from temptations to act like a Russian in power distance questions. The fantasies seem to help him through the crisis after the fraud:

Aslan: When we sat there around the table with dad, he said: "You know, here you can see the big difference when you do business in Finland and in Russia. If this had happened in Russia, everyone of us could imagine what the case would have been."

Interviewer: So how? Something nasty?

Aslan: For sure. ---If I had the chance to fix this thing so that I could get the money out in another way than through collection or some other way and it happens quicker, so every one of us would have used this card. Absolutely.

Interviewer: Why don't you do it here?

Aslan: Because, the sanctions are too hard here. They are here. Not just the sanctions, it is just normal in Russia.

Interviewer: Well in a way, no one condemns --- or here is like the more thing ---

Aslan: Here you act like a gentleman, send a reminder letter and then it goes to collection. You can be sure, that everyone knows there that money has to be earned in hard work. No social services department or --- Everyone knows that there is no one that helps you but pushes you to actually serious things because everyone, if you take into consideration that if you have two small children. Oh yes, I think that I could do anything to get enough money to support and protect my family. It is the same for me if I know that my nearest people are safe. That maybe in Russia people really are not afraid of anything. That's for sure.

To sum up, the Russian immigrant entrepreneur informants of this inquiry value the Finnish power distance system. It gives them equal chances at various schools, entrepreneurship training, and language courses if needed. They are able to find relevant information. Finland offers instruments for financing. There is start-up money and loans. As there are no strong hierarchies, it is easy to contact and get along with business partners and officials. The official administration does not prevent anything or make processes complicated. Unofficial control systems or organized crime do not in general create problems in Finland.

Because Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have lived in the Russian culture and business environment, they keep thinking about the conditions in their home country. In my interpretation, business-first entrepreneurs were experienced and possessed good human capital. Therefore, they were not in need of education or support. They were also so focused on their business that they did not speak about unofficial use of power or if it was a taboo for them. Money-first entrepreneurs did talk about unofficial control but kept them out. Sonya had utilized loan and education possibilities. Vladimir was too busy with his business. The family-first entrepreneurs detested the Russian power distance concept, which revolves around dishonesty and crime. Their dislike was clear and distinctive. They had chosen the Finnish way of living even if the Russian way was still there to some extent. Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs have a Finnish education and they are the most integrated. They still discussed the cruel business culture in Russia and Aslan survived a case of fraud by imagining revenge in Russian style. The Finnish business culture was accepted by all informants, and they wanted to follow the Finnish practice, because they found it appropriate and useful. However, the Russian way was never forgotten. Lidia, Sonya, and Inessa felt that the free financial support of entrepreneurs or the unemployed distorts the competition and makes people less enterprising. Their Russian upbringing and culture is dominant in regard to this question.

The Finnish low power distance influences immigrant entrepreneurship because the society is based on values enhancing equality and development. According to Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward (1990, 31) the government policies on immigrant entrepreneurship belong to the opportunity structures of ethnic

strategies. The government policies are a product of Finnish dominant culture indirectly guiding the society.

According to Hofstede (2001, 79 - 84), Russians are keen on avoiding uncertainty, which is the second cultural dimension in his research. They score 95 and the *uncertainty avoidance* can be seen in the way Russians create laws, regulations, and bureaucracy in their society. When they come to Finland, they are surprised by the different spirit of administration, legislation, and transparency of Finland. Finland is a member of the EU and a Schengen country which is seen as a benefit when the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs compare the business environment in Russia and Finland.

Of *business-first* entrepreneurs, Vadim has seen the world and worked in many countries. He sees clearly the strengths of Finnish legislation in international business. Since Finland is a member of the European Union, the legislation follows the EU standards. Russians feel safe when there are rules and they can obey them:

Vadim: In fact in business we keep Finnish standards. We keep the standards which are common in Finland and more common in Europe.

Interviewer: And you feel that's good?

Vadim: That's good. It helps. But at the same time we keep in mind that some of the business standards in the Russian market are a little bit different, or quite different. That's why our company has quite an advantage for when we give advice or comments to European companies. It is very important to explain that they have to observe some rules or legislation and business habits in the Russian market. From our side in the relations with European companies we keep European standards. That we make contracts with legislation.

Vadim: So the main advice in my opinion is that when starting and running a business in Finland it is important to follow the business rules that exist in Finland and in Europe because the business rules in Finland are very close to the business rules in Europe.

Vadim lives between two cultures in uncertainty avoidance. His main business is to find foreign investors that want to finance projects in the Russian Federation. He and his team operate in Finland which is easy for his foreign customers looking for an investment in Russia. They can come to Finland without a visa and rely on the fact that Vadim's enterprise follows the Finnish and European standards without fail. On top of that, Vadim is an expert on the Russian legislation and bureaucracy. He knows how to operate in Russia in a legal and utilitarian way and his clients can relax. He realizes that many foreigners avoid Russia because of the different rules, habits, and the Russian language that foreigners seldom speak and which is still a must for co-operation in the Russian country-side. He feels that there has been improvements in the Russian legislation and also in the way business people follow them. As he has been categorized as a business-first immigrant entrepreneur he does not seem to think about himself but the business.

The second business-first Russian immigrant entrepreneur of this thesis, Lidia, does not speak very much about Finnish or Russian rules and laws. She describes how she visits Finnish offices and after asking gets help. Lidia wants to become integrated into the society. Because Russia is full of heavy bureaucracy and complicated rules from a Finnish or European point of view, Russians have found a lot of ways to evade the massive set of regulations. In Lidia's case this does not mean that she would break the law according to my interpretation but she believes in thinking outside-of-the-box, in finding creative solutions:

Lidia: What to do? Oo, oo, oo. You need to follow carefully how, how Finnish people relate to different things and oo, oo, oo. You have to try to become integrated --- to become integrated and add something of your own country, the Russian creativity. --- Consequently, if you try to use this creativity and in this way act in the style of your own country and you still try to be open and part of the society. You try to learn the language because it is one step towards communicating with Finns. And you will make it. It is not hard to get along if you really want to.

So, Lidia thinks also in a dualistic manner. The Soviet Union was a police state full of rules and control and people had to be creative to survive every-day life. The creativity is partly an antithesis for the massive regulation which does not make Russian feel safe anyway. Naturally, poverty and shortage of things and food also make people clever.

Family-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs suffer from the uncertainty that prevailed in Russia in spite of all the legislation at the beginning of 1990s when they both emigrated. Alexey states that there was such chaos in Russia at the time:

Alexey: Well there was a chance to come to Finland and when the situation in the home country was close to a national war, so many thought that it would be sensible to leave and try, try to be, that there would be order in life somewhere else and it would be different from the life in the Soviet Union and Russia then.

Inessa feels also that it is too garbled in Russia now that she has lived in Finland:

Inessa: You should never leave Russia. If you live in Russia, travel, do business, but I have been away so long. My husband tried five years ago to arrange all things because he has the factory there. He took a vacation and went there for one year. He could not take it and people were not able to deal with him.

Alexey feels that there is nothing great about the Russian creativity rising from the countless amount of rules and regulations. He cannot accept the way Russians can circumvent the laws:

Alexey: That is --- the creativity is characteristic for Russians but there is another side to it. The Russians are creative in circumventing the laws.

The money-first entrepreneurs Vladimir and Sonya like the fact that the rules apply and make business life easy and certain. Vladimir says that it is amazing that an entrepreneur can start a business in one day. That would not happen in Russia because of the bureaucracy. Sonya is excited because there are insurance

companies in Finland that cover the damage. In Russia she could not rely on that:

Sonya: Business, security. Bank people tell me that I should have my insurance with the Fennia insurance company as I do these big contracts. We had pipelines. And someone drilled in the wrong place. There was water damage and we received compensation [from the insurance company in Finland], but I could ask if we ever had got the same compensation in Russia. It looks already better than how the laws are working [in Russia] but anyway they do not work after all. It should not be so. So, you have to be rich if you want to do business in Russia. You have to warn [the future entrepreneurs in Russia] that if something happens they have to have the money to pay.

Sonya is confused about the fact that in Finland invoices are paid after the order is delivered or the contract is done. She has experienced a couple of times that her clients have not paid their bills. She questions this practice which tells about her Russian-Finnish dualism. She likes the Finnish rules but cannot fully relax.

Like his colleagues, Vladimir gives the advice to follow the Finnish rules and act legally. It is typical of Russians to demand and be fascinated about rules and laws, but they do not follow the rules, unless they feel that the rules are useful and the environment cultivates them:

Vladimir: No. Here I pay taxes for every single Lada, and this is enough.

Interviewer: If a new Russian, a new entrepreneur arrives what advice would you give to him or her? Do you have any instructions?

Vladimir: A hard question, what could I --- To be more honest with the taxman. Not to be engaged in fraud in any way.

Life-style immigrant entrepreneurs respect Finnish rules, regulations, and laws sincerely. Maxim and Aslan find that Finnish business processes serve entrepreneurs and create a unique infrastructure. Because uncertainty is not avoided the bureaucracy is not as heavy as in Russia, and the feeling of certainty and safety grows:

Maxim: Then we have foreign trademarks. Customs and tax systems work very well. Everything works. Money is transferred so quickly. --- And the infrastructure in Finland is in its own league. Western relations, membership in the EU, that is a jackpot for us. Free freight. A lifeline.

Maxim: I can believe and imagine that really simple things are difficult there. If I bring our daily cash to a bank, here I can walk with my money in my pocket and nothing happens. I put it into a night safe. There [in Russia] you must surely order a money transport car.

Aslan: Also the fact is that bureaucratic things are so hard and there is corruption. You cannot even compare it to this. That I can deposit normally. If I have organized an event and received cash, I just walk into a bank. I say that here is my ID and here is the account number of my firm, put it there. That's it. It takes two minutes. --- In St.Petersburg you have to fill in thousands of notes. Or use a mobile phone. In Finland you get the invoice at home through the mail and you pay it. In Russia you have to go to a bank and pay cash every month to a mobile phone account.

In Russia entrepreneurs cannot rely on authorities because of the heavy corruption. The authorities can be unpredictable and notorious. There are laws but they can be avoided. Russians are capable of using their creativity to find loopholes:

Aslan: So the corruption there [in Russia unlike Finland] really, when you cannot rely on anyone and you cannot say anything to police when you know that they lift their hands up.

Aslan: It is good that Russian entrepreneurs can see how easy it is to do business here and how you don't have to do certain things when there is no corruption or anything like that. It is good that you can do business with Russia and still stop doing those things there. It depends on the state. Then there is the opposite side because there is always the risk that they can find a loophole and see how it can be done, tax avoidance.

Like Lidia, Aslan finds Russians also creative, and all creativity does not have to do with breaking the laws and finding loopholes. Russians think simply in a different matter which is also a strength in business:

Aslan: I would believe, I would believe it that it is because it is so much rawer, so much more serious the life there. I look at things in another way than a Finn even though a person would be very educated he cannot see it the way I can see it. Certain matters. I cannot give you an example, but there are certain matters that I ---. I have tested this many times with Tim [Aslan's Finnish business partner]. We have an opinion about something, and I have asked him what he thinks. Then I can see that he once says his opinion. Then I ask if he ever thought about it this way or this way or this way. He says: "No I have not. How did you come up with that?" I don't know, I saw it the other way around at once. These things, if you are Russian, only you can know it. I feel myself Russian.

The forbidden things fascinate Russians. Even though the regulations are strict they enjoy breaking the rules:

Maxim: So, they bought it in principle. It did not disturb us if they had that knife because it was not forbidden in Finland. There is an old legislation [in Russia], it will not be changed, from the Soviet times. --- There can be two similar knives and the other one is forbidden there.

Interviewer: Why do they want it right here?

Maxim: Because it is forbidden.

Therefore, it is natural that Russian authorities control more to diminish uncertainty whereas Finnish authorities trust people:

Maxim: No one controls the contents. No one gives you advice. --- In Russia it is different, they ask --- They ask in the export phase if you have permits. Here [in Finland] you are so trusted that you rely on the fact that everyone does things the right way which is a prerequisite for a healthy business, you develop a trust. There is not so much of this in Russia.

Like Sonya, Maxim does not always trust his clients and asks for the payments in advance in the Russian way. Maxim has received his education in the Finnish

education system and has lived in Finland for more than 15 years and still he does not trust clients. He is influenced by his older brother that has a shorter education and a more Russian identity:

Maxim: It is different. If you deceive in Finland, the payments will be late. We minimized the risk so that we asked for advance payment of everyone at first.

Even though the taxation is hard in Finland compared to Russia Maxim accepts it and realizes that it is worth paying:

Maxim: I had this one thing that it hurt to pay taxes at the beginning. In the end you kind of know what you pay for. If someone starts a business in Finland and it feels that you pay taxes so much they are used in a proper way. It is worth paying. At the beginning it would have been great that we would not have been forced to pay the corporate taxes.

Maxim underlines that he would not like to be an entrepreneur in any other country. He feels that this is the ideal state of affairs. He means that entrepreneurs can earn more in Russia but most of the business is somehow illegal in spite of the legislation and control. Entrepreneurs have to be afraid there but in Finland it is simple.

To conclude, high uncertainty avoidance in Russia has created a massive bureaucracy, set of rules and laws, control, and finally insecurity and also several ways to avoid control. Russian entrepreneurs feel safe, free, and content with the Finnish infrastructure, laws, free spirit, and EU membership. Business is easy and there are good prerequisites to succeed and the entrepreneurs were motivated and willing to follow the rules. They realize their golden chance to make business with Russia and still live in Finland and follow the business practices here.

It was noteworthy that the family-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs felt strongly for the Finnish low uncertainty avoidance system and openly detested the Russian way of permitting bureaucracy and dishonesty. Even though they do not enjoy risks and entrepreneurship they revolt against Russian heavy bureaucracy followed by the dishonesty. Life-style first entrepreneurs again discussed openly the criminal and dangerous consequences of Russian high uncertainty avoidance. Sonya and Maxim did take advance payment to avoid uncertainty which is a manifested Russian culture even though they otherwise like the Finnish system. Lidia and Aslan could see a positive Russian creativity rising from the uncertainty. All Russian creativity does not aim at criminal actions and evading the law.

Russian entrepreneurs recognize the value of *collectivism*. Business-first entrepreneurs Vadim and Lidia talk about their contacts and networks which they themselves created, maintain, and utilize. They are a crucial part of their business. Vadim speaks about his international career and networks both in Finland and abroad. He thinks that his Russian contacts are valuable as they set him apart from other entrepreneurs consulting for foreign companies that are

planning projects and investments in Russia. Moscow is the important business center with plenty of contacts:

Vadim: Then I gained good experience when I was deputy manager for the chamber of commerce. That's why I decided to implement it [Vadim talks about his entrepreneurship].

Interviewer: Did you get a good contact network then?

Vadim: Yes, quite good.

Interviewer: Is it hard to make contacts with the Finns?

Vadim: Probably, it is not very hard but it takes time. And Finland is not an exception. There is a similar situation in other countries, too. I stayed in Denmark and Austria. So if you are connected to some real business it takes time, the practical preparation. It is an opportunity to get good contacts.

Vadim: It is quite a big benefit [to have contact networks] because in fact almost 80% of the finance activity in Russia is concentrated in Moscow. And it means that with any big project – its a good idea to make a plan using the departments or units which are concentrated in Moscow. And then Moscow is center, it is a big educational center, scientific center. So, it means that from those years we have plenty of good experience with contacts in Moscow. They are very important. At the same time we have useful contacts in all parts of the Russian Federation.

Interviewer: Do you know many other Russian entrepreneurs here [in Finland]? Do you keep in contact with them?

Vadim: We keep in contact of course. We may say that we know many but in Helsinki it means a few dozens but in Moscow we know hundreds. It makes a difference. --- The Russian entrepreneurs are a few dozen but formally they are Finnish entrepreneurs because they are Finnish companies.

Vadim: Foreign or Finnish companies? Of course we are operating with some investment funds, banks. We keep in touch. But the principle of co-operation is when we are starting some operation, consulting and they do a part of the job based on the consulting agreement.

Vadim's contact are very business-like and international. He does not find it difficult to take care of his networks as he is an experienced business professional. His contacts are a genuine part of his work, nothing more or less. He knows Russian entrepreneurs in Finland but his business and client contacts in Russia and all over the world are the most important and unique. As he is busy with international business Vadim does not socialize with Finns very much because he does not speak Finnish.

Vadim mentions an interesting thing: that Russian oligarchs living abroad, such as Abramovich or the late Berezovsky, do keep in contact with Russia and Russians and gladly invest in Russian business. Abramovich, for instance, bought a portfolio of Norilsky Nickel that is the number two company in world nickel production. Vadim states that the risks and also the profits in Russia are huge. Of course, money is the greatest motive for these Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and billionaires. In my opinion, Russians are also more patriotic

than Finns and want to keep in touch with the Russian business networks and make a difference.

When Vadim is asked about trust and betrayal in business his attitude is experienced and professional. He does not become sentimental at all. He is discrete. He could be said to be so experienced that he has learnt that it is better to keep silent about negative things:

Interviewer: Have you met people that are not honest in your career?

Vadim: It happens in business. In my opinion you can meet such people in any country. --- But in my opinion the percentage of such people in Finland or business people – probably it is less than in the Russian market. But in the Russian market it is also a positive point that 10 years ago there were more such unreliable people than today.

Lidia has a good command of the Finnish language, which is an enormous advantage when thinking about her integration and business networks. Her contacts are different as her language school has mostly Finnish clients. Lidia too relate to Finns because she lives here and because she gets clients that way. She wants to be part of the society, and integration happens best through contacts with Finns. She emphasizes her gratitude to Finns that, generally speaking, have accepted her and her son and helped them in business and private matters. The integration and the good contacts with Finnish clients and people have helped her entrepreneurial coping and learning and have been a source for her empowerment:

Lidia: --- Our clients have given us advice. Fortunately I have run into good people that have said what I should do.

Lidia: I have a good teacher here. --- All the time he teaches me. So, I learn by talking. --- If you want to succeed, then you can learn anything.

Lidia: --- Everybody says that Finns are very shy and introvert and, mmm – after that I have taught that Finns are quite ordinary people, just like Russians. You need to find the right key to open them. --- If you find the key you can open that door. So, you have to find the right way. --- And then things happen, you succeed. You can do anything.

This is a highly Russian approach in my opinion. Russians take care of many things through personal contacts. If something is to be arranged, it is better to look for help from the personal network of contacts. The networks are not extremely organized or systematic, and they are used when they are needed. Once the trust of a Russian is won they will do anything for you. Lidia does not speak about fraud of any kind in business. I do not know if she has experienced any or if she just keeps silent.

Lidia is also touched about the kindness that Finns have shown to her and her family. Finns might be individualistic and shy, but they are sincere and cordial once they have let someone enter their individual territory. Lidia feels that if Finns are treated well they are good in return:

Lidia: Yes, if you yourself are polite. And I am in general. If you are polite, it could be that people want to be at the same level, not at a level, but try to be helpful.

Lidia: If I remember correctly --- and --- I teach, I say to Andrey, to my son that --- we really should be grateful to Finnish people because they gave us the chance to get somewhere here. --- During my life I have run into people, different people that tried to help. Once, for instance, there was a difficult thing with the mortgage, quite impossible. But that bank director did something, and I got an apartment. Maybe he saw that this lady cannot do anything, but asks and wants or tries to do something without fear. The success we achieved here comes partly from the Finns that were with us, present and accepted. Sometimes they supported. When one person smiles to another, that is support, too.

Lidia: --- we had very good neighbours, and when we moved to another place the neighbours cried: "Why are you moving away? It was so nice with you." That makes you feel well.

Interviewer: Well, why do you think that Finns have assisted you?

Lidia: Because we tried to be open as well.

Lidia has underlined the importance of integration through the interview. She has initiative and says that the immigrant entrepreneurs have to take an active role and not just wait for other people to connect and help.

Even though Lidia thinks highly about Finns she has experienced racism being a Tartar woman with dark hair and brown eyes. She looks foreign in Finland and that has resulted in some nasty comments or shouting in the streets. Racism is a universal phenomenon and naturally there is racism in Finland with only a small immigrant population. Racism is an act of uncertainty avoidance according to Hofstede (2001, 146).

When it comes to family networks, both Vadim and Lidia have employed their own sons. They also speak warmly about their childhood families consisting of well-educated parents and good human and social capital. Neither of them mention that they would have received any financial help from co-ethnics or even their strong ties in the Russian Federation. Since their companies are based on services they probably have not needed a huge capital stock, either.

To conclude, both Vadim and Lidia utilize and value their business networks. Vadim is more international and Lidia concentrates on Finnish business and personal networks. Lidia is more willing to integrate into the Finnish society. Their orientations are in that sense different even though they both can be classified as business-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs.

Even though the family-first entrepreneurs of this inquiry, Inessa and Alexey, cannot stand the Russian way of doing business they both earn their livelihood because of contacts with Russians. They dislike the Russian dishonesty and obscurity but they take their golden chance to earn with the help of Russia and Russians. Just like many Russians, Inessa's business career started with freight forwarding:

Inessa: Russians had started doing business in Russia and they looked for partners. Finland was the closest country. It was at first, there were many Russian companies coming in [to Finland]. Of course they were searching for their own industries. She was my friend, from childhood, a girl. Her husband was in the same school. She started a business called Lumiere. We tried to help, arrange. When people started buying Western cars here, there were problems to take them out [of the country]. Export and import. I had to learn, my husband was working. As a matter of fact we started a company together with my husband. Our first expertise was forwarding. --- little by little we did the work and gained experience with Russians and Finns. We were able to say to Russians why they cannot do it this way. An order.

Inessa and her husband learned soon the Finnish legislation and business culture. The business contacts were Russians and they were acting as entrepreneurs between the Russian and Finnish business ethics and legislation and teaching Russians what to do.

Alexey started also an automation technology business together with other Russians in Finland focusing on Russia in 1994. As he did not have any economic education, it was difficult. When the Russian partner did not finance the business was run down. Finally, he sold his stocks to Russians and worked as a CEO for a couple of years. Now he is an authorised translator and interpreter working with Finnish and Russian clients in his own company. Here comes the Russian effect again.

Inessa's contacts with Russians are two-fold. She knows well that the family-business money comes in from Russia and the opportunities it has given to them when they founded a plastic factory and started selling Russian plastic packages in Finland. However, she dislikes the insecurity produced by the different business culture and contacts with the Finnish:

Inessa: But every time, every time I think when it is going to come to its end because we are so dependent on Russia. What if they say, we have a price war on the raw-material, system, everything. --- We are selling the products of our own company because we were the first and my husband invented it all. Then we can see our own packages being sold in stores in Finland. And we ask Russians what is this, and they say: "Well, everybody can buy anywhere!" --- Now we found the contracts what we represent and sent them there. --- They have changed the personnel and do not remember.

Inessa: Then there was this thing that they suggest that they change the prices. Every month there will be new prices. --- Well, we are shocked because you cannot offer a Finnish client a different price every month. --- There is no security about the future. That's why I keep teaching and my husband is a full-time medical doctor.

Inessa says that the only success and good thing that the business contacts and networks with Russians have produced is that their family business owns its own warehouse and that the family has a house, three cars, and a summer cottage. Alexey thinks that networking is the only chance to survive even if he does not prefer the Russian networks.

Inessa and Alexey are very Finnish when it comes to individualism. They enjoy peace and do not need a vivid crowd around them. Inessa loves peace and quiet and the nature, just like Finns:

Inessa: I am in the nature, I don't need anything else. My dogs. In the forest. There are some dog people, actually I don't need anyone else. I don't have friends. Of my own age. --- I try to stay away because they have their own life there [in Russia]. --- If I hear a Russian has a problem in a shop it would be easy to help, but I don't want to get any closer to them. It means extra work.

Alexey even declares that he has a Finnish character:

Alexey: As a matter of fact I don't possess a Russian mentality anymore. I have adopted. So, my character, my personal character is maybe closer to that of a Carelian nature, Finnish. Therefore, it was easy for me, how do you say, to integrate into the Finnish society. And my Russian background does not naturally bring me any advantage or help.

It is interesting how Inessa and Alexey are tired of Russian business networks even if they depend on them. They are reluctant entrepreneurs that have adapted the Finnish business culture and need of being alone instead of sharing everything with one's own networks. They do connect with Russian and Finnish business partners, but it does not come easily. They are not so collectivist as one would suppose them to be. They have an individualist approach like the Finns have.

Money-first entrepreneurs have had business networks ever since they were young in Russia. Vladimir was a black-market dealer. Both Sonya and Vladimir sold Russian Lada cars to Russia. Vladimir got into contact with English car brokers but was disappointed severely which is the negative part of entrepreneurship and hard for Russians willing to trust people they have accepted as their friends:

Vladimir: The business started growing. And I got to know an Englishman, I did. I started travelling to England. There were seldom Samaras and Ladas. Then I met with the Englishmen and started importing Samara and Lada. --- This one English guy that lived here brought Samaras from England and sold them here at marketplace to Russians. It was in 1993, 1994, 1995. Then I noticed that the Englishmen had good cars and sold them to tourists, but he is not honest and ---

Interviewer: Did he betray confidence?

Vladimir: Oh yes, he deceived many people, even his own people in England. They called to me: "Hey, where are our cars?" And I asked: "Where is the money? Why don't you pay. --- He was fraudulent. Same person that the whole of Finland was talking about. --- Police knew him. I did not know that he was a cheat. --- And he --- took 10 000 dollars and even more. He did not bring the vans or the Ladas. --- It does not matter, I cannot be mad at him. Because of him I got to know his gang, and I go to England to buy Ladas.

Sonya started also as a car dealer in Finland. She came to the country through her contacts. Her sister was first married to a Finnish man and Sonya started visiting them in Finland. Then she met her own Finnish husband to-be, Otto. Later she bought a construction company, and she found the former owner machinating. According to Sonya's story he promised to take care of the business but did not do his best and the company made losses. So, against all stereotypes Russians are not always the ones that cheat and Russians do get betrayed

even though their business culture is harder. Like Vadim said, it happens everywhere. It is the price an entrepreneur has to pay if he or she trusts someone in business.

Sonya has been disappointed and has experienced hardships during her entrepreneurship. She has never given in, though. When I ask how she has the power to go on with her business she emphasized the relevance of communication and collective, friends and family:

Sonya: I have my family and husband and he helps me and so does my son. He has Finnish friends, a girlfriend and Russian friends here in our city. We eat in restaurants, and I spend evenings with friends and now I received friends from Russia. My old friends. And I speak about every problem. I don't mind. When I talk, it goes away, and I forget. I am not unforgiving. ---It is, you have to discuss about things. This is my opinion. If they are left inside, people commit suicide or burn out when they can't take it any more.

Vladimir is forgiving, too. He thinks about the good contacts and the experience he got when he was betrayed. He coped through speaking about what happened and forgiving:

Vladimir: So, I kind of forgave him.

Sonya is also grateful to her Russian friends who have stood alongside her in good times and poor times. Sonya's Russian friends are loyal, and they support her both mentally and financially in her entrepreneurship. Russians sacrifice for their friends because they are collectivist:

Interviewer: --- like you told me, there has been problems, how do you always cope with them?

Sonya: With friends. I have really good old friends, and they have always supported me.

Interviewer: Finnish or Russian?

Sonya: No. Russian. I can say that Finns do not dare to lend me money even if I know that they have it but of course I understood. Russians are more open-minded. -- They support me. And I got somewhere. When I got some money I paid everything back for my apartment.

Vladimir's wife assists him if he is in a hurry. His wife is a Finn and they come into conflict because of the cultural differences and Vladimir's intensive way of working almost 24/7 and need of making money:

Vladimir: Of course I quarrel with my wife. There is always this Finnish culture, Christmas Peace, clearly. The Christmas holidays. It is true. It can well be true. But I am the kind of person that dislikes long holidays. I don't like really Sundays when there is nothing to do. When clients call me during Christmas, they call me. --- And I go somewhere with them, I am with them all the time selling a semitrailer to Russians. I do something all the time. I have to make phone-calls. She says: "Switch that mobile off." There has been a lot of these things. And she gets mad easily and wanted to divorce me because I am like this.

Evidently there are other factors than only the cultural differences playing a part here, such as overtime work and absence. Finns want some privacy and peace at least during the Christmas holidays and Russians are more social and outgoing at every turn.

Vladimir does not speak about any other personal contact than his wife when he discusses the contacts. When I ask what is beneficial in being a Russian he answers with the following words:

Vladimir: Russia. Russia, Mother Russia.

Interviewer: Of course all contacts.

Vladimir recognizes a great deal of business opportunities because he lives close to the Russian border in Finland. He is happy that he does not have to travel a lot to get to his Russian business partners. He sells whatever Russians need from Finland or the other way around he sells for instance timber from Russia to Finland. He sees where he can get cheaper labor or raw material. Russians see, and Vladimir asks his clients what they want.

Vladimir is obviously hungry for money. When teaching Russian students at work I have noticed that they are ambitious in another way than Finnish students. One explanation is that they come from a grand collective nation, and they have learnt how to fight for their place in the sun. They are also used to dealing with other people all the time, whereas Finns have possibilities to privacy because the population is small and the culture individualist. Russians seem to show their feelings more openly. They do not feel ashamed, unlike the Finns that traditionally think about what other people might say about them. Like Sonya, Russians are good at coping because they rely on their friends and family and speak out.

Money-first entrepreneurs do both discuss networks, trust, deception, and coping when it comes to the relationship between individualism and collectivism. Neither of them says that they would be particularly Finnish in that sense. Both seem to have a clear Russian identity. Sonya is more social and Vladimir is more of a maverick. Perhaps he does not wish to share his profits and workload with anyone except his wife.

Both the life-style first entrepreneurs emphasize the meaning of their family members which is part of the collective cultural dimension of Russia. Maxim runs his business together with his brother. Maxim's brother does not have such a long education as Maxim does, but he is more experienced. He had worked in a sporting goods store, served Finnish and Russian customers and listened to their preferences and wishes. He had been able to create a business contact network that was useful at the beginning of their entrepreneurship. Maxim tells that the Russian contacts and clientele were crucial in the first phase of their business:

Interviewer: Well, then the fact that you and your brother are Russians. What advantages and disadvantages are there?

Maxim: Well, it is an advantage when a client comes to us and feels like home.

Maxim thinks that it is a strength that he and his brother get along with people:

Maxim: I have always got along with people. With everyone. Entrepreneurship is easy. I have always been social and my brother contacts people. He is such a salesman, if you can say so. You can do sales employed by others or for yourself.

Maxim feels that another good thing about being a Russian is the Russian humility. Because Russians want to show their success, I wanted to know how he would characterize what Russian humility is:

Maxim: It means that you have grown up in another environment and have different requirements. --- I did not mind not getting paid during the first year [of entrepreneurship]. For a Finn it would be a big issue.

The median living standard has been traditionally lower in the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation than in Finland. In 2012 there still was a big difference in gross domestic product per capita between Finland (36 500 \$) and Russia even though the gross domestic product per capita and middle class of Russia are growing (Index Mundi 2013a; Index Mundi 2013b). So, the majority of Russians has not experienced the safety and convenience of a welfare state like Finland. This makes them humble and able to put up with different phases and situations. They are also willing to fight for a better future and use their contacts to cope with the every-day challenges.

Like Lidia, Maxim highlights the importance of integration into the Finnish society:

Maxim: The most important thing is absolutely to integrate into Finnish society. It is hard to function here if you don't respect what already exists here. And then the second issue is to keep good contacts in the other direction [Russia]. If someone from Russia comes here and starts a business, it is likely to function with Russia. --- Interpersonal relationship and networking are crucial. Then - if possible - it would be useful to get an education here. --- Thereby comes the language skill. It is extremely important. And then honesty. In Finland people act honestly and you need to follow the common rules.

Maxim has had the chance to become a grown-up and get a Bachelor's degree in Finland. He feels Finnish even though he also is a Russian and knows how to do business with other Russians. Education, language skills, networking, respect, and honesty are key factors in integration according to Maxim. He respects the Finnish way of working:

Maxim: I have totally become a Finn. You cannot become more Finnish if my friends are asked.

Naturally, Maxim's fluent Finnish language and manners make him Finnish, but there is still something Russian about him, maybe his polite manners.

When Maxim speaks about networking he includes the Internet in this phenomenon. Maxim has studied e-Business in a university of applied sciences

and he made their enterprise an Internet-shop, too. That was a productive solution which created new opportunities even outside Finland and Russia. Their business is growing:

Maxim: I thought it [education] was wasted but it wasn't. Somehow I started running an Internet-business. Once you get an education, you can utilize it later.

Maxim: It [the business] was profitable but then we started developing the web-page. This led to less work. We got in more goods. Now Russia is not the main supplier and we are known in Europe. Domestic producers get orders from all over the world. In the beginning, Russia was crucial.

Maxim does not want to be dependent of Russia because it is labile. Laws and practices change at the border. Customs policies vary from week to week depending on politics among other factors.

Aslan's business has never had any connection with Russia or Russians. He started his promotion and event management business focusing on young people in Finland together with a Finnish school friend. He had lived and gone to school in Finland. As the business was truly local all partners and clients were Finns. Like many life-style immigrant entrepreneurs, Aslan's parents are professional business people. His father is an important example, a mentor supporting his son in a Russian collectivist way both mentally and financially.

Once Aslan had borrowed a great deal of money, about 500 000 euros, from his father to organize an event tour in Finland. One of the co-organizers and partners of the project lied that he would get a lot of sponsor money in. When the event was over there was no money and Aslan and his partner lost almost everything that Aslan's father had lent them. It is touching how the family sticks together in crisis and how Aslan and his experienced father discuss with each other:

Aslan: When that day was kind of through, I sat with him [Aslan's father], like you and I sit here. I looked him in the eye and said: "Do you know how bad I feel? I really sold this idea to you, and you invested a huge amount of money, and it all failed. I cannot pay you back. Of course I will try. It takes some time." I have never felt this bad. I was so ashamed. I felt that I betrayed a real good friend. And, well, then my dad looked at me and said that you can't do anything about it.

Aslan shows how serious he is when he tells about looking his father in the eye. That is a Russian expression expressing true sincerity. Aslan's father acts like a good Russian father does. He is older and wiser, and he is understanding. Aslan's Finnish business partner helps him to get through the bad times, too. They discuss and evaluate the situation and decide to try together once more. They will not let the company go to bankrupt and let Aslan's father lose his money. The support from Aslan's partner is priceless as well. The trust and loyalty are strong in the closest networks in the Russian context and play an important role in coping. Aslan claims that he has not recovered yet from what happened. Russians take it often extra hard if their trust is let down:

Aslan: --- specifically the fact, that here [in Finland] people forget certain things quite quickly. That if you for example do something for someone, trust someone, in Russia it really is forever. --- If you cheat someone, it really is a bad thing to do. Like we were betrayed. Tim has gotten over it and so - but I haven't until this very day.

Even if Aslan has Russian characteristics he balances between two cultures when it comes to collectivist behavior. Aslan says that he does not understand all the jokes that the visiting Russian friends tell him. They refer to things strange to him. On the other hand, Aslan states that the Finnish culture is and will be distant for him. In Russia people sit, discuss a long time before they start doing business. On the other hand people trust more in each other in Finland.

Aslan does not comprehend why Finns do not share things with each other. He tells about an incident that happened to him when he was 14 or 15 years old, and some school children went to smoke even though it is forbidden to smoke in Finland if one is under 16 years of age:

Aslan: If you don't have a cigarette of your own and ask for one, then "Here you go!" People say that I will pay you back tomorrow or here are 50 cents. I could not believe this. You know in Russia things go like this. If I have, you have, too. --- When I had run out of tobacco and I asked I was told again that "I don't have any" or "I have only two left". So, we were two.

Aslan thinks also that it is strange that Finnish families for example do not even ask the young friends of their children to come to dinner with the Finnish family. A Russian mother asks first if the friends would like something to eat or drink. Russians are hospitable even though their standard of living has been lower than that of Finns and there has been a shortage of some products.

Aslan and his business partner Tim have been good at networking. They have received all their contracts through networks. One contact leads to another. If Aslan and Tim have organized everything well and many clients are happy they get more work. Russians are active and social but Aslan and Tim might also be networking out of their entrepreneurial character.

Life-style first entrepreneurs are supported by their families which is important from the collectivist point of view of Russians. Maxim emphasizes integration and honesty. Aslan refers more often to the Russian collectivist way of thinking when it comes to questions like trust and sharing. Both are good at networking.

Every Russian immigrant entrepreneur finds their Russian collectivist background useful in business. It gives them the will to compete and achieve as Russians are used to fighting for everything with millions of fellow Russians. All except Aslan has utilized their networks and ability to communicate with Russians, assist, and understand them. Almost all have sold or bought products or services in Russia. Money-first and lifestyle-first entrepreneurs have been supported economically and mentally by friends in Russia. Everyone feels that the Russian family is such a help and source of energy and advice, whereas Finns are friendly but a bit distant toward them. Family-first entrepreneurs avoid Russian company because they have adopted the Finnish business ethics and individualism. Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs have lived a long time in

Finland and seemed very Finnish but rely on their Russian family background. Almost all emphasized the importance of integration into the Finnish society and language skills.

Russia is a more masculine culture than Finland according to Hofstede (2001). This means in practice that Finns like order and safety and value quality of life. Finns show sympathy for the weak. Russians again want to work, succeed, make money, and dominate. They can be tough and have a large ego. Men are masculine and women are feminine and the gender roles are traditional even if women are well-educated in Russia.

Both business-first entrepreneurs were work-centered. Vadim was very masculine as he reports economic development and issues in an enthusiastic way. He talks about bilateral economic co-operation between Russia and Finland, economic growth, markets, projects, and business environment in the Soviet Union, Russia, Finland, and other countries. He talks about his career and advancement which is important in Russian masculine culture:

Vadim: In my opinion it is a very good potential in bilateral economic operation and for the future business.

Vadim: Yes and the market in general is meeting problems and heavy times, difficult. So, we are suffering, too. --- Still the same, still the same. The concept we made some years ago is not to concentrate on bigger-sized projects. We started to concentrate on small-sized projects. This in our opinion is more effective. Any kind of project could be efficient if the depreciation is efficient.

Vadim: Not very good but not bad. It [the economic growth in Russia] should be in my opinion around 5%. It gives such an opportunity. Also, we are dependent on market strategy adopted by the Russian government. For example, the last 2 years was too strong or overvalued but it was decided by the government because the strong ruble at the same time means low inflation and more market stability ---.

When I was visiting Vadim's office, I was treated like royalty. He ordered coffee and cake for me, opened doors, helped me with my coat, and saw me to the door himself. Finnish men can be polite to women, but in Russia it is a law.

Lidia again is feminine. She wears a coat and skirt. She tells me that I am pretty which is quite usual in Russia. It is more a sign that one is accepted than an objective truth. Finns do not comment on other people's looks as often as Russians do – even in business. Even though Lidia is a businesswoman that has created and cultivated her firm in Finland she is not afraid to show that she is a woman:

Interviewer: It is wrong. There should not be such [humiliating, racist comments on the streets of Finland from Finns to Lidia and other immigrants]. Then there is the fact that when you are a woman you belong to a minority. Is there something special to be a woman in business? Are there good sides, bad sides? Compared to men?

Lidia: That you can turn it to a good advantage. --- If you are a woman in business, you can turn that to a good advantage. --- If I have a man against me I have to try to find the appropriate language. Try to speak the same language with him.

Lidia's feminine side is expressed when she talks about her personal relationships, love, and her precious son.

As stated previously, Lidia's aspiration is entrepreneurial. She says that if there is a will there is a way. Lidia seems to have a very strong will even though she is feminine. She is not afraid to seize the moment, try, and finally succeed. As she is Russian, she wants to show her success. Therefore, after buying a black luxury car someone turned her in for tax fraud, which was incorrect. That is part of the low Finnish Power Index behavior – if there is success it should be hidden. Lidia has done absolutely nothing dishonest according to her own words and my observation.

As family-first immigrant entrepreneurs are interested in their own families, they have also clear gender roles. Inessa would have liked to be an ordinary house-wife taking care of children and the household, but her Russian husband wants her to run their business. Even if Inessa started her entrepreneurship in freight forwarding, her first own business was of a feminine type. Because Inessa is a former Olympic gymnast and an educated teacher in physical education she started running a gymnastics club for children in her Finnish home town. A children's gymnastics club is about educating, guiding, and taking care of children, which is traditionally typical of women. She talks about her students very nicely even though she has now left the gymnastics club and works for the plastic package company of Inessa's family.

Like many women Inessa is stressed about sharing her time between the family business, home, and family. As Inessa's husband is a doctor and works in a private medical clinic in Finland, so Inessa has been alone in the family business. Now the only son who speaks fluent Finnish, Swedish, English, and Russian is working with his mother Inessa. Inessa would like to take care of her home and family more:

Inessa: --- Suddenly I noticed that my priorities had changed a great deal that I don't take care of the house, the garden, or the dogs. I just keep thinking about what should I do next, now there, now here. And when Friday came I did not even know what to do, to go to the cottage or --- It was not good for the dogs either, no dog shows, no contests.

When Inessa talks about their business in Finland, she is not happy because the family firm has brought long working hours and worries. When she thinks about the outcomes of her entrepreneurship, she mentions their house, three cars, summer cottage, and the company warehouse. That is a lot from a Russian middle class perspective. Inessa sees that her family benefits from its entrepreneurship and it possesses signs of success acceptable in a masculine culture.

When I visited Inessa's home, she was very friendly, energetic, and quick. Her clean house was a typical Finnish family house and she was a good hostess. She was not dressed in a very feminine way but her appearance was almost girlish.

Alexey emphasizes his role as the head of the household. In Russia, it is the father and the man of the family that takes the ultimate responsibility. Alex-

ey is an entrepreneur in Finland to support his family and to guarantee them a good material life. Alexey does not aim at becoming rich or successful because he has adopted the Finnish way of life and is a reluctant entrepreneur. Because Alexey is an analyst and not a risk taker, there are no ups or downs in his entrepreneurship:

Alexey: I count a solution for each alternative for what I do in every case. First and foremost in my business I am very precautious and there are no ups or downs in business.

Family-first entrepreneurs are dualistic. Somehow they are Finnish in their aspirations but still they have Russian masculine and feminine family roles influencing their entrepreneurship as a stimulating factor. Because they are family-oriented, they do not enjoy risk taking or competition.

Money-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs express their dominant masculine Russian culture in their entrepreneurship because they are work and money oriented. They want to earn and succeed and show it when possible. Vladimir has worked at sea which is masculine. Since he wanted to make money, he also was a black market dealer in his youth. In Finland he has driven his one man company day and night and he loves the excitement and money that his efforts bring him. He does not mind sleeping only four hours a night if compensation is big enough. He is constantly looking for new business ideas to make money. He is ready to do anything to earn. As he is also a car dealer, he drives an expensive black car and obviously enjoys it:

Vladimir: I am always looking for something. I am ready to do anything. --- It does not matter what I am selling.

Sonya loves the money that she gets from her business. She wants to lead an extravagant life and travel. She is motivated by the luxury that entrepreneurship offers her. She is not modest in any way. Sonya is very feminine and talks about her family and feelings as well.

Sonya is not afraid of work or anything. She is amazingly brave and determined in her entrepreneurship. She has always kept studying and trying all kinds of businesses. Even though she has had severe hardships she has not given in but found the energy to survive and believe in her business. Because of the money and the good life it offers she is ready to take risks, fail, and keep going:

Sonya: I am not afraid.

In Finland she was surprised that the women were expected to work as much as men. Sonya is definitely an entrepreneur and would not sit at home, but still the fact that she is expected to take care of her own things bothers her. She is used to the traditional Russian role of a woman that has the privilege to be weak before the head of the household, the man:

Sonya: Of course as a Russian lady I am used to the fact that men support us. If you get married, your husband takes more responsibility. And you just work and raise your children and take care of the household. And here I should pay my own bills [laughing] and my phone bill was more than 1000 FIM at the beginning.

Because work, effort, and success are valued in Russian masculine culture Sonya cannot put up with Finnish people that do not work or study. She feels that they are spoiled and disabled by these social benefits:

Sonya: As my husband is an entrepreneur he was fighting serious problems. People need to work. In the newspaper I read that refugees receive 2500 euros but do they want to work? Of course. If people get easily money they become lazy.

Both life-style first entrepreneurs are young and masculine. They are both masculine and polite to me and Maxim even carries my heavy bag like Russian men are supposed to do if they have a good education. His business can be considered masculine because they sell sporting, hunting, and outdoor goods traditionally bought and used by men both in Russia and Finland. He likes computers and enjoys creating and developing the e-business for their company.

Aslan dreams about success in a Russian masculine - or just in an entrepreneurial - way and makes plans for the future even though he likes to work with young people. Aslan has some dreams concerning Asia and especially India:

Aslan: There are people that have really a lot of money and are wealthy and they lack many services that they would be ready to pay for. They will pay anything. You can go there and have maybe a little gross attitude and ask for so much more than it really costs. People would pay for it because it specifically is expensive as they know that it is of good quality. That's how.

Aslan recognises also that he is able to take risks easier than Finns. Like Aslan and also Sonya say, Russians are not afraid. Maybe they have less to lose and more to win because the society is huge and not as stable and regulated as Finland:

Aslan: Maybe the ability to take risks is lower than Finns have. Maybe a Russian is not capable of being afraid of really basic things. Perhaps it is the personality, but I don't ---. I have always liked taking risks. Naturally, you have to be sensible but --- I have always been told at home that without risks no one of us drinks champagne. You need to take risks if you intend to be an entrepreneur. That's the way it goes.

Unlike other Russian masculine characteristics, Aslan values the safety in Finland which is a Finnish characteristic. He knows that the chances to succeed and earn are bigger in Russia, but he prefers safe conditions because the safety of his family was jeopardized in Russia because of the entrepreneurship of his parents:

Aslan: --- when you compare the business here with the business in Russia, it is bigger there. But it depends on what you are used to and what you want. I have decided one thing. I am satisfied with less money if I know that my family and I are safe, at least for the time being.

Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs have clear gender roles. Maxim fulfills his Russian side when he is selling masculine products and computing. Aslan wants to think about possible future success and take risks. On the other hand, he respects the safe Finnish business environment after having seen the cruelty and control of the Russian side.

Hofstede's fifth cultural dimension, Short-term/Long-term orientation, is not examined thoroughly here because Hofstede cannot provide enough material on Russia. Finns are a short-term nation with a score of 41. It means that Finns value traditions and want to behave like other Finns do. On the basis of the narrative material of this inquiry, I would say that the informants represent also a short-term orientation. They know their place and role in society and want to follow the tradition. No one is unconventional.

The cultural dimensions have been discussed, and the narratives of the informants have provided information on how the Russian and also Finnish cultures are manifested in their thoughts and actions as entrepreneurs. Sometimes informants prefer clearly the Finnish or the Russian cultural dimensions. Sometimes they prefer both simultaneously. Table 3 illustrates what the priorities of the informants of this study are when it comes to various cultural dimensions.

TABLE 2 The priorities of Russian-Finnish cultural dimensions of the informants

R = Russian priority

F = Finnish priority

RF = both Russian and Finnish priorities simultaneously

Cultural dimension	Power distance	Uncertainty avoidance	Collectivism-Individualism	Masculinity-Femininity
Business-first				
Vadim	F	F	R	R
Lidia	RF	F	R	R
Family-First entrepreneurs				
Inessa	RF	RF	RF	R
Alexey	F	F	RF	R
Money-first entrepreneurs				
Vladimir	F	F	R	R
Sonya	RF	RF	R	R
Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs				
Maxim	F	RF	R	RF
Aslan	RF	F	R	RF

There are trends in the preference of culture among Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. They all praise the Finnish power distance system giving chances and educating people. They dislike the Russian unofficial use of power in the form of organized crime and violence. Yet, in some situations the Russian culture is simultaneously there and preferred in certain situations, such as in the opinions concerning financial support and unemployment allowances. Because of the Russian education they are seen as dangerous since people become lazy when they receive money.

The informants liked Finnish uncertainty avoidance with relatively light bureaucracy and transparency in business matters. However, advance payments were preferred by Inessa, Sonya, and Maxim which leads to double preference in the table.

All informants preferred Russian collectivism. It is deeply rooted in them and they utilize their Russian contacts and networks. They love their families in a Russian sentimental way. Families give them a lot of support. Inessa and Alexey had chosen to become Finnish and they preferred the Finnish isolation, too.

Also Russian masculine culture was preferred. The informants had clear gender roles and they like it this way. They show their masculine culture in business and do not hide either their success or sex.

To conclude, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs value and adopt the Finnish way but often feel that their Russian culture is definitely a strength in entrepreneurship. In their minds they keep comparing the two dominant cultures. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have left Russia but Russia has not left them.

4.2.2 Business development: the life-cycle view

As well as the Russian-Finnish cultural dualism of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland that was detected during the interviews with the informants of this inquiry, their business development was not what the immigrant entrepreneurship research generally suggests. Like Joronen (2012) states, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are not involved in ethnic enclaves of any kind as they do not form such a close-knit community like, for example, the Chinese in San Francisco. Another observation was that their businesses were developing and dynamic.

The narratives in this study are examined to see the shifts in the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. All the informants are first generation immigrant entrepreneurs, so the second generation cannot be studied. Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs Aslan and Maxim have lived in Finland from their early years though and have gone to school in the destination country.

The market shifts of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs represent simultaneously also the life-cycle view of the business development. Every shift is a result of different life-cycle phases. The immigrant entrepreneurs businesses have gone through birth, growth, maturity, to renewal/death when they shift from one market to another place. The renewal can also be about changing the business idea or concept within the same market. Interestingly the four life-

cycle stages are not enough to cover all informants. There is also a fifth category: portfolio or serial entrepreneurs that run several businesses simultaneously and start up new ones all the time.

The different life-cycle stages, developments, and market shifts of the examined Russian immigrant ventures are described and analyzed thematically in the following. The cultural view is also studied because the cross-case analysis between the thematic analysis themes is expected to produce relevant information on the Finnish-Russian dualism and the business development of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland.

The thematic analysis of life-cycle stages is based on two interviews. The first ones were recorded mostly in autumn 2012. Lidia's first interview took place in 2010 and Aslan's 2011. All the informants told their entrepreneurial stories and the shifts and the life-cycle stages are documented retrospectively until that moment. The second interviews were conducted in autumn 2013 and they cover only the period of time between the first and the second interviews.

Figure 5 describes the fact that the first interview contains the business development from the start up until the day of the interview. The second interview is a re-check to hear if any changes have taken place in the businesses and how the entrepreneurs are doing.

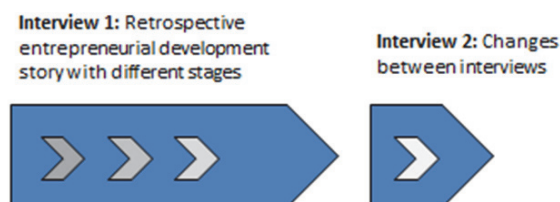


FIGURE 4 Example of the contents of the first and the second interview rounds

Both business-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs started their businesses in Finland in the field of their own expertise. Lidia was a trained language teacher with a distinct idea on effective language learning methods. She came to Finland in 1990 from the Soviet Union. Lidia started studying Finnish at the university, and she very soon realized that she could teach languages in Finland.

She understood that Russian language is needed in bilateral business between Finland and Russia and decided to provide language training for business people. Her company was founded in 1991, in the middle of a severe economic recession in Finland.

Lidia's entrepreneurship was a major change in her life. Having been a language teacher, PhD student, and mother she fell in love with a Finnish man and moved to Finland, a Western society. In the communist Soviet Union all kinds of private business was officially forbidden so the thought of entrepreneurship was strange and her education was not at all business-oriented. In her individual development Lidia's early adulthood life was full of growth and change. Immigration and the new environment launched a new career in Lidia's life. She used her Russian creativity based on the will to find a way to self-realization and success in the jungle of rules, prescriptions, and bureaucracy based on the heavy uncertainty avoidance in Russia. She was able to employ herself and develop a prominent company. It is fascinating to listen to how she started an enterprise without knowing the Finnish language, system, or business in general. Now she has a good command of the Finnish language, and she has got working business networks through integration, hard work, and the Russian collectivist way of operating.

Lidia's business operates in the open market. Her clients are Finnish business people in need of Russian language skills and knowledge of Russian business culture. However, her business idea is based on the fact that Lidia is Russian. She utilizes her background, education, and ethnicity to run her business. Her Russian origin is a niche in her firm and one could say that she works in the middleman market.

Lidia's firm has grown and developed because Lidia is a studious person with high energy, capacity, and human capital:

Lidia: Well, the work is not easy but I try. We employ here 12 - 13 teachers.

Interviewer: And then you have in Tampere ---

Lidia: --- and in Lahti and now even in Jyväskylä one school.

Interviewer: So, 12 - 13 teachers.

Lidia: More, maybe 14. --- In St.Petersburg another girl. Local. --- We have a company of our own there, on the Russian side.

Lidia has recognized opportunities and put the enlargement of the company into action:

Interviewer: How did you come up with the idea to expand your firm to different cities, such as Tampere, Lahti, Jyväskylä, and St.Petersburg?

Lidia: Life itself showed me. So, you just have to read the signals that --- Because in Tampere they asked for lessons and we tried. The same happened in Lahti. I don't remember why but it just happened. So, there was a request or need.

Lidia: Because Stockmann said that they have people [in St.Petersburg in need of Russian language training]. They will move soon to Russia to work and the education department wants us to continue with them.

Interviewer: And then you started to find a solution of how to help the client. Yes, that's really great.

Lidia: You have to be able to read the signs of life.

Even though Lidia's business development seems to be improvised I think that she is only entrepreneurial observing her environment and recognizing the needs of the clientele and opportunities.

There has not been any shift from one market to another in the perspective of immigrant entrepreneurship. From 1991 to 2013 Lidia's company has gone through different life-cycle stages, however. After its birth with one person employed, Lidia, it has grown into a language school with 14 teachers and branch offices in four other cities than Helsinki. The company is now at the renewal stage. Lidia's son has now a university degree both from Russia and Finland and he has started to work at the company. When I discussed with Lidia's son in November 2012 he said to me that they have started consulting more. That is obviously a diversification. Lidia's son has also begun to take over increasingly and Lidia takes it a bit easier. In Russia the retirement age for women is as low as 55 years and therefore she might like to concentrate more on the role of a grandmother.

When Lidia was contacted in August 2013 she was worried. When I asked how her business is doing, she answered in the following way:

Lidia: It is very bad. The economic situation is so bad. Companies are saving. We need to sit down and make some changes. There are clear signs. I read today that 1600 companies went bankrupt in Finland this year.

Lidia's company has fewer teachers than before and the results are weaker, too. Lidia and her son have broadened the field of services that her company offers. Lidia's language school arranges seminars and provides legal services because Lidia's son is a law school graduate from Kazan. Yet, Lidia feels that she stands at a crossroads. Either the company will be run down or there has to be some kind of renewal unless times get better. She is sad but calm and analytic and she has been through hard times before at the beginning of her firm in the 1990s. She wants to think things over.

Vadim again has had one diversification in his period of entrepreneurship. After his economic education and career as a representative at the international trade organizations of Russia abroad he started a business in Finland exporting timber materials from Russia and importing construction goods to Russia. Foreign trade dealing with timber and construction material is typical of Russians and therefore Vadim's firm had to face increasing competition. Finally, large enterprises got control of the market. Vadim was alert and found a new opportunity in the investment segment, free of competition. According to Vadim, the

risk level is lower. Vadim's company is looking for investors willing to invest in Russian projects. His firm sells know-how and investment consulting.

Vadim's business employs five persons in Finland and one in Russia. Vadim's company has gone through one life-cycle because after birth it started growing, reached maturity, and started declining. Then it was re-conceptualized. Now it is again at the maturity stage because it has already grown and reached stability. Vadim plans the actions of the company carefully:

Vadim: Still the same, still the same. The concept we made some years ago is not to concentrate on bigger-size projects. We started to concentrate on small-size projects. In our opinion they are more effective. Any kind of project could be efficient if the depreciation is efficient.

Vadim: That's why we decided to make some plans every five, six years.

The growth has also been controlled:

Vadim: It was done step by step. Every year when we got more projects, business, we decided to increase the number.

Vadim himself is living his late adulthood being over 60 years old. His son is also working in the company. Vadim's venture might face a new renewal phase when the generation shift takes place.

Vadim's business is now also active in the open market, like Lidia's. Also he gains advantage by the fact that he is Russian, knows the Russian market, and has a great deal of business network contacts there and in other countries. The first phase of his business was operating more, but not fully, on the middleman market because the products were to some extent Russian and they were sold to the general public. Good business networks are also a result of his Russian collectivist character.

In August 2013 Vadim is a happy 64-year-old pensioner. He works still on the board of the family companies. When he was asked if the family companies have developed in some way after the first interview nine months previously he said at first that everything is the same, not bad. Later he told that the company has new plans, though:

Vadim: In fact, we have a new program for 2014 - 2015. It is about construction business in Russia.

So, the consulting and investment business will start dealing with construction business because according to the analysis conducted by Vadim's family business this industry is growing in Russia.

Both Lidia and Vadim have not re-conceptualized their companies more than once. One reason for this may be the fact that they are business-oriented, highly educated professionals. They are able to analyze, plan, and develop and the companies grow and succeed which leads to stability in business, too. They can expand their services and sometimes, if the times are bad, they need to think over.

Also the two family-first entrepreneurs of this study have changed their business concepts after their immigration to Finland. Because they are both reluctant entrepreneurs they started their businesses when there was not so many other tempting opportunities. They were pushed to immigrant entrepreneurship.

Inessa had been cleaning and working as a substitute teacher in physical education in Finland but to become employed she had to live alone with her child in another city away from her husband, the medical doctor. Through Russian contact networks Inessa started helping her childhood friend from Russia in business with Russians. From the beginning of 2000 Inessa and her husband started a business. The business idea was to assist Russian business people operating in Finland in export and import. At the beginning of 2000 Russians did not import Ladas from Finland but had switched over to buying Western vehicles and taking them to Russia. Inessa took care of the problems rising in the import process of cars. Her business was ethnic in the sense that the provided services pertained to Russia and the clients were Russian of ethnic origin:

Inessa: As a matter of fact our first field was freight forwarding [in traffic between Finland and Russia].

During the first 3-4 years Inessa took care of four, five, or six trucks daily and worked with a lot of arrangements, papers, and stickers but did not earn enough. Therefore, Inessa decided to start a gymnastics club. Gymnastics is close to Inessa's heart because she was an Olympic level gymnast and an educated teacher in Physical Education. It is also vital that Inessa had observed what commercial services were offered to Finnish children in the field of physical education. She had noticed that there were all kinds of clubs but nothing for gymnastics. As Inessa and her husband already had a company of their own the first step was not hard to take.

Inessa was entrepreneurial when she started her gymnastics club. She still took care of the freight forwarding business and also rented premises and equipment, marketed, held lessons, and took care of all paper-work that nowadays has become increasingly electronic. Inessa's gymnastics club was intended for Finnish children and their parents so she was operating in the mainstream market.

Inessa herself was in her early adulthood life-cycle stage. Her businesses did work but they were not growing. She earned her livelihood by doing freight forwarding and running a gymnastics club simultaneously. Neither of the businesses died either. As Inessa's husband is something of an innovator, always creating according to Inessa, he was thinking about new business ideas. The problem with many innovations though was the lack of capital. Inessa and her husband worked hard but did not have any extra money to invest.

Finally Inessa and her husband, the medical doctor, made a new business plan that they started realizing in co-operation with Finns, Dutch, Americans, and Belgians:

Inessa: Yet, there was this business idea that he [Inessa's husband] had offered to our friends in Russia. And the idea was to build there the first European standard plastic package factory that would manufacture all kinds of packages, products. Well, it was difficult but that is another story. The factory came in to existence, however. --- It is in St.Petersburg, a little way toward Finland. Now it is the biggest in Europe, modern and making plastic of high quality and actually --- we are in. We are partners. This has become our business, after all.

Inessa started importing packages to Finland in 2006 and her family business bought a warehouse. They store packages there and sell them further to Sweden. Inessa and her husband still continue with other work. Later Inessa and her husband sold their share of the factory and focused on importing, storing, and selling the plastic packages in the general market. Even though Inessa has entered the free market the business is based on the close business connections and production in Russia. The plastic package company has reached its maturity and there is nothing else in sight yet while it is doing well. The gymnastics school has declined as Inessa has not had any inspiration to run it in the last couple of years. Inessa's family earns its livelihood because of the plastic package business and the medical profession practice. The family has been able to buy a warehouse for the company and a house, three cars, and a summer house for their own use in Finland. Yet they started with no capital.

In August 2013 Inessa stated that there are no changes in sight in their family business. She describes that their business goes up and down. In the fall it is quieter than in the summer when fishermen need the plastic packages that Inessa's firm provides. She said that the problem with the supplier selling packages to competitors in Finland has disappeared for some reason. When I checked the economic situation of the company I could see that the gross margin had grown.

In my opinion the Russian culture is in evidence in the immigrant entrepreneurship of Inessa in the way she finds her husband superior. She lets him be the boss, the innovator that leads her. As mentioned previously, Inessa would probably not have become self-employed if it was not for her husband that hoped for a successful career for Inessa. This goes together with her family orientation, too. Another significant Russian factor is obviously the Russian contact network. Freight forwarding started with the guidance of a friend and the plastic package factory was founded with the help of a Russian network that had or found contacts abroad to finance the project.

To support his family is also the motivation for the self-employment of the other family-first Russian immigrant entrepreneur of this inquiry, Alexey. Alexey has reconceptualized his business only once. He started his career as an entrepreneur out of compulsion after he immigrated to Finland because of chaotic circumstances in Russian society. As told previously, Alexey has a master's degree in chemical engineering, and he is specialized in process

control. His arrival in a Northern Karelian city was a contingency. He happened to get a free ride to his future home city in Finland.

Alexey did not have any chances to become employed in this Karelian city of limited resources in the middle of the economic recession in 1992. Consequently, he found a Russian partner to start a business in Finland. The business idea was to transfer automation technology knowledge from Finland to Russia, but it was harder than that:

Alexey: But because I had no background in entrepreneurship, no education, only my Master's degree in engineering so it was almost impossible to take the project forward especially when the Russian partner stopped financing. So that's why it [the firm] was left. And the company was in liquidation for 10 years.

Alexey was able to free himself from his troublesome company when Russian people contacted him and wanted to do the same that he and his partners had tried to do. This gave him the chance to get rid of his share and he sold everything.

Alexey studied while running his unsuccessful business. He took a bachelor's degree in financial accounting. He passed also a demanding test for authorized translators with the language combination Russian-Finnish-Russian. Alexey saw his chance here:

Alexey: So, I noticed that I had a chance to employ myself as a translator, and I took the chance because those short-term jobs done by immigrants did not satisfy me. They did not give me any freedom or security.

At first Alexey had a registered trade name and worked part time, but in 2004 or 2005 he started as a full-time entrepreneur with a limited company. He is specialized in technological and industrial vocabulary, and he translates and interprets consecutively. Alexey does also some consulting, as there are three development companies in Northern Karelia in need of assistance. At some point, he also tried freight forwarding [from Finland to Russia] like most of the Russian entrepreneurs do according to Inessa and Lidia. That was only a side-line in Alexey's entrepreneurship, though.

The turnover of Alexey's business has grown or remained the same despite the economic depression in 2009, but he cannot employ anyone else than himself. He is a practitioner. Alexey feels safe though because he has diversified his actions. He has different services to provide and rely on:

Alexey: Let's say that you have to be multi-skilled.

Once more, Alexey's current business idea is aimed at the open market, but the service he sells has its origin in the Russian language and business culture. He has had to study and command the Finnish language after arriving in Finland. Alexey does business in the Finnish market but utilizes his Russian ethnicity. The life-cycle stage of Alexey's business is mature, and at the moment he has no further plans.

When the second round of the interviews takes place in August 2013 Alexey claims that he continues just like before. He says that he has learned his lesson at the beginning of his entrepreneurship. He has to offer different services and plans. Before implementing a plan he experiments. Alexey has already some new projects for the autumn period and the depression in Finland does not seem to harm him.

When the cultural dimensions are analyzed in the context of shifts of Alexey's immigrant entrepreneurship, Russian networks are involved again. Alexey does also avoid uncertainty as he does not feel safe with short-term jobs and prefers starting a business of his own. He prefers the Finnish business culture and environment though and dislikes the Russian clients which is naturally not always beneficial.

Money-first entrepreneurs are the most anxious to reconceptualize their businesses, and they can be called portfolio/serial entrepreneurs. I suppose it is due to the fact that they are extra alert because of their strong will to earn. They keep thinking about the money and how to keep the company going. Their plans are short-time oriented, and they move quicker. Consequently, the long-time planning suffers and the companies might not develop or grow as well as possible.

Sonya's and Vladimir's entrepreneurship is about improvisation and bricolage [do-it-yourself in French]. Improvization is a cognitive process. It is the opposite of strategic management and emphasizes systematic, planned, and calculated proceedings in a company. Bricolage comes from anthropology and refers to innovation, situation-based, and unofficial action in entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurs make the best of the resources at hand. (Baker, Miner, & Easley 2003.)

Vladimir did not have any economic education when he came to Finland in 1990. He had worked as a chef on Russian ships and traveled the world and dealt with unofficial black-market business, so it was only natural to start with a business of some kind. He was used to contacting people and utilize his networks.

His first business was selling Ladas and Samaras to Russian tourists in his Finnish home town. There was a market-place called Red Square, named after the famous Red Square in Moscow, where deals were done daily. He also imported Ladas and Samaras on demand from England. He made a lot of money, but his business did not expand or develop as he was acting alone and his resources were after all limited even though he often worked 18 hours a day. Lada dealing was an ethnic business. The product was ethnic, and so were the clients.

It was time for the renewal stage when the Russian Federation developed, and people got richer. Russians were able to buy other cars than Ladas or Samaras because the society had become more open. So, Vladimir's car dealing declined. He finished the car business after the beginning of Putin's first presidential period.

Vladimir founded a limited company after running a trade name in Finland for 10 years. At the very beginning of 2000 (2000 or 2001) Vladimir started selling timber from Russia to Finland:

Interviewer: How did you come up with this? Where did you get the idea?

Vladimir: Everything in Russia collapsed. Wages went down, currency up. I understood that I could buy everything cheap. The timber, too. Also transport, the transport prices collapsed. --- Saws, timber companies, all kinds of timber, people building summer houses. And I just called, hello, here is some trading. Would you like to buy this stuff, I have a lot of bulk, sizes, stuff, terminology of that kind, there is pine, this is planed and the heart of the wood is split. That kind of stuff, that kind of stuff I imported quite a lot to Finland. And then I found, I was looking all the time, looking, which is better.

Vladimir is obviously making sure that he gets a lot of income and his business continues. Therefore, he keeps running different product lines in his business. They do well but no one thing is better than the other:

Vladimir: I sell pallets, I sell semitrailers. --- I sell electronics to Russia. It is never good to go down just one line. It can end tomorrow. ---I am always looking for something. I am ready to do anything. I mean housing or selling in a café or building a house. --- I am like a wolf and I can say so.

As already mentioned at the beginning of the thesis, Vladimir is hungry like a wolf and he keeps searching for opportunities. As Vladimir acts alone he earns a lot. The life-cycle of his business is not linear. He finds new products and business concepts all the time and tries everything. He works all the time without resting and when we meet he has been up and traveling all night long. He says that his head is not working well. Business and work is his life. He never stays still and so his businesses keeping moving also. He renews the assortment often. The question is if his wish to ensure income through continuous renewal and parallel business tracks limits his company from growing and developing. Vladimir probably enjoys the action and exciting business and likes it this way:

Vladimir: I kind of did, in principle I saw how this thing is going, how I built it. It is important that --- you see your money become money.

Vladimir's hunger for money is in my opinion related to the Russian cultural collectivism. Because there are so many Russians they really need to fight to make a difference and succeed. Things do not happen easily in a country that has had a lower standard of living than Finland and a bigger population. His collectivism is seen in the way he utilizes his Russian, Finnish, and international networks even though he acts alone in his business:

Vladimir: And some of those Russians that live here are a great help.

Vladimir's businesses have almost always had a connection with his ethnic origin, Russia. Mostly he buys products cheaper in Russia, imports them to Finland, and sells them for a profit. His clients come from the general market.

One could say that he operates in a niche market, selling in one sense products from Russia to the majority of the population.

When interviewed the second time, Vladimir says that he keeps on doing business as before. He has new plans, though. He wants to focus on timber, once more. Vladimir reports that the internal customs on timber has been eliminated, and he is convinced now that people will build more in the autumn. His company is doing well but the recession in 2013 is making business actions slower. Vladimir's orientation is still the same.

The other money-first Russian immigrant entrepreneur, Sonya, has developed her businesses in Finland and made many shifts so that she finally operates in the open market with non-ethnic services. Sonya had experience of entrepreneurship while she still lived in Russia. She ran a kiosk of her own. Later she was a car dealer selling Ladas from Finland to Russia for 6 years. Sonya had the possibility to visit Finland because her sister was married to a Finnish man. She studied also Finnish to succeed in business.

Sonya started her entrepreneurship in Finland after she had gotten married to a Finnish man, an entrepreneur, that gave her a job in his company for the first 2 years. She gave birth to a child in 2001 and during her maternity leave she took the decision to start a business of her own. Sonya had seen all kinds of business activities while working in her husband's firm, and she realized that it is easy to purchase abrasives in Europe and sell them to Russia where they are needed. After making a lot of phone calls and visits to factories during her child-care leave Sonya registered a trade name in 2003. Her turnover was at first about 50 000 euro. Abrasives did not sell well because Russians did not want to buy the big amounts offered by Sonya but did get one or two pieces from the famed wholesalers in Moscow. Like Vladimir, Sonya also tried different concepts simultaneously but did not succeed:

Sonya: Then at the end of 2005 I try everything. I import timber. It does not really work, the quality is not accepted here in Finland. Then I try this metal sand, metal ---. That fell as well. ---Then I started thinking about what I can do, this or that. Foodstuff, dried bread, a bit like chips.

Sonya's business is first an ethnic niche because she sells general products to her own ethnic clientele. She operates also the other way around, from Russia to Finland. Like Vladimir's businesses, Sonya's company does not grow as her attention is divided between the many sidelines of her business, which leads to additional searching, and maybe even panic. Maybe there is no other way at the beginning and sometimes the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have to take whatever they can get.

A major shift in Sonya's business takes place in 2006 when she decided to focus on mediating a temporary labor force. This activity did not start well either. Sonya worked six months without salary. In 2006, she got her first deal, and in 2008, her turnover had grown already to 900 000 euros. Now Sonya's business had finally entered the life-style stage called growth and she had started operating in an open market.

In 2009 there was an economic recession in Europe and Sonya's temporary labor force did not sell. The business was already in the decline stage. After receiving advice from banks and from Finnvera Sonya turned her business into a limited company because her company was relatively big. She spread the word that she was interested in a plumbing firm and a consultant offered her one. Sonya bought it and the plumbing firm was already the second open-market company that Sonya ran, maybe because of the close influence of her husband, the Finnish entrepreneur. However, there was a lot of trouble with the plumbing firm because the former owner stayed within the company as foreman. The former owner did not do his best to run the company as profitably as possible even if though he promised to. The company started going downhill, so it is in the decline stage of its life-cycle unless some renewal is made.

When Sonya's businesses have been in a bad state she has received a lot of advice, education, and financial support from the Finnish authorities. She is forever grateful for all the kind help and finds the system superb. As written before, the Finnish support systems are a part of the Finnish power distance system. Sonya keeps going because she loves the money she earns and because her intention is entrepreneurial:

Sonya: There is hope always and I have my ideas and everything. I never stand still.

Sonya is going through a major crisis when she is interviewed for the second time in August 2013. Her construction company is bankrupt and Sonya has divorced. Sonya says that she did not have enough expertise to run a construction company so it did not succeed. Times are rough, too. Sonya is selling her apartment and property and has a loan of 70 000 euros to take care of. She works for her son that is running the recruitment agency that she used to take care of. This personnel firm is doing well and Sonya has mediated with known construction workers as an employee in her son's firm. Sonya is frightened because she has read in the newspapers that many companies, such as Finnish Metso, UPM-Kymmene, Wärtsilä and Fiskars, and the international ABB are terminating employment relationships because of economic hardships.

So, Sonya's company declined and died. Now she is trying to survive and bounce back. Sonya gives the impression of being a true entrepreneur. She might start one more business in the future like portfolio entrepreneurs do.

Both life-style first entrepreneurs have lived in Finland ever since they were young and have gone to school in the new destination country. Somehow, on the surface level, both seem Finnish but they still have their Russian cultures influencing their businesses and lives. For instance, Maxim's business was sort of an ethnic niche at the beginning.

Maxim's brother was never as integrated to the Finnish society as well as Maxim because he is older and never went to Finnish school as long as Maxim did. He worked in a sporting goods store for 10 years, became experienced, and saw how to do business in Finland. Because the brothers live in Eastern Finland Maxim's brother had a lot of contact with Russian clients. Maxim complemented his brother well as he got a Bachelor's degree in business, in particular e-

business. When Maxim graduated in 2007, the brothers started a small wholesale business for companies in St. Petersburg or in Finland. Maxim's brother stayed employed in another company until autumn 2008. Maxim and his brother wanted to sell other products than the employer of Maxim's brother so there was a conflict of interest, but the line was the same:

Maxim: Bulk, hunting, fishing, small appliances, parts, equipment. --- We set up client accounts for suppliers from the beginning. And that became a trade mark that the clients asked for. Take these. We started there, it was actually client-oriented. We did not need too much capital at the beginning.

Maxim and his brother's business started very quietly, as usual. They developed the firm with resolution and created information systems for the company:

Maxim: For half a year it was really quiet. Well, there I did acquire all information systems, basic, cash, and all this. --- We had a warehouse and an office.

Since Maxim was professionally educated in e-Business, he made web pages for the company and kept improving them. He added more functions, product lists, translations, and search engine listings:

Maxim: All the time we improved them, improved the [web pages and systems]. --- When the web pages were developed we got a more retail and a wider product assortment. We started advertising on the Internet, on discussion forums.

First the majority of clients came from Russia and Maxim says that the role of Russia was crucial at the beginning. Without Russian clients they would never have managed. Outdoors equipment and hunting became the main product groups and the Russians were naturally interested in the products that were not available there, such as forbidden knives that are permitted in Finland.

After the web pages and e-commerce tools were developed Maxim's firm was noticed all over Finland and also in Europe. Russia is not any longer the main market for their products. It was also a fact that more and more products are now available also in the Russian Federation. Consequently, there was a clear shift from the ethnic niche market - general products to own ethnic group - to open markets. The business development is supported by both Russian and Finnish cultural strengths. The Russian collectivist networking capacity and contacts are vital and naturally, the knowledge of the Russian market and the needs of the Russian clientele are beneficial. The Finnish low power distance index enhances education giving Maxim a wonderful opportunity to develop his company so that it can operate in the international, open market and reach the life-cycle stage growth. Yet all this happens in a peaceful and Russian humble way. Maxim already has experience and knows that he will not become rich quickly but can lead an interesting life where he can implement his know-how and enjoy his business together with a family member, his brother.

The second interview with Maxim was delightful because his firm has succeeded. The e-commerce of their venture has grown and become significant.

Now half of their income comes from Russia and the other half from other countries. Maxim is a true transnational immigrant entrepreneur utilizing both contact networks in his country of origin, in Finland and abroad. Consequently, there is no decline in sight only development of the company and the entrepreneur as well. In a Russian collectivist way, Maxim emphasizes that neither he nor his brother would have achieved all this alone. They complement each other.

The other lifestyle-first Russian immigrant entrepreneur, Aslan, has always operated in the open Finnish market. There has not been any ethnicity in his products or business idea. He runs a promotion company together with his partner and good friend. It was established during his bachelor degree studies in business administration. They organized student parties and did well. Therefore, they got a good reputation and prominent actors in the entertainment business contacted Aslan and Tim, his partner. They were offered to organize student cruises and disco evenings for minors. They also did marketing, promotion, and program services.

Aslan and Tim's company grew rapidly, and the young men made money. They were full of ideas. In a major promotion tour they were deceived and Aslan and his partner had to consider bankruptcy. They chose to go on trying and paying back their debts to Aslan's father who had lent a lot of money to their firm.

The company started the decline phase almost immediately after the rapid growth phase. There was never maturity or stability in Aslan's firm, in my opinion. Now Aslan and Tim are working more for others and doing less in their own firm. They are still in the entertainment and promotion field because they are responsible for restaurant entertainment in a leading local and privately owned restaurant group.

In August 2013 there are signs of deep decline and even death in Aslan and Tim's firm. They have quit their jobs in the restaurant group because it is in trouble and the young men disliked the leadership and responsibilities given to them. So, Aslan works in a car leasing business and Tim is the managing director of a couple of electric companies. Aslan says that he is now gaining experience and learning as an employee even though Aslan and Tim undertook some jobs in their own firm last year. Aslan is convinced they both will return to entrepreneurship as they have both had a taste of it and liked it very much. It is hard to say if Aslan will develop into a portfolio entrepreneur in the future or if he will find his own niche in self-employment. Aslan is dreaming about international entrepreneurship and golden opportunities. He can see the potential in Russia and Asia.

Aslan's Russian culture is not detected in the present business idea. His Russian background can be seen more in the creative way of thinking which may be a result from the reaction to restrictions created by Russian uncertainty avoidance. Aslan is also social and relies on his family when in need of financing and asks for advice at different stages. His family is also a great source of

comfort and support when things go wrong, and Aslan is forced to learn and cope.

In table 4 the life-cycle stages of the informants are documented after the first interviews (marked Name 1) and after the second interviews (marked Name 2).

TABLE 3 Life-cycle stages and business orientations of the informants at the point of the first interview and the re-check

Business orientation	Business-first entrepreneurs	Family-first entrepreneurs	Money-first entrepreneurs	Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs
Business life cycle				
Birth/ Start-up				
Growth				Maxim 1 & 2
Maturity/ Stability	Vadim 1 & 2 Lidia 1	Inessa 1 & 2 Alexey 1 & 2		
Decline/ Death	Lidia 2		Sonya 2	Aslan 1 & 2

From the text and table 4 it can be seen that both business and family-first entrepreneurs have reached maturity in their companies when the first interviews took place. Both business-first entrepreneurs have diversified their businesses once, just like family-first entrepreneur Alexey. Lidia's business has clearly started declining in 2013 because of the recession even though there are new service products in the firm. Inessa used to be a serial entrepreneur, but she has now settled with her sales business and reached maturity with it. The money-first entrepreneurs are clearly portfolio entrepreneurs, as they keep looking for profitable opportunities. Their businesses seldom reach even the growth stage. As stated previously, Sonya's company was bankrupt during the second interview. Obviously though, she will continue with her Russian immigrant portfolio entrepreneurship when ever it is possible. Vladimir keeps looking for new opportunities to earn money.

The lifestyle-first entrepreneurs in this study are not homogenous. Aslan's company is declining and Maxim's is growing when they are interviewed first time. Later Aslan works for others but plans start-ups and Maxim has been able to grow his business together with his brother. In my opinion Maxim is on his way to become a business-first entrepreneur.

When observing the life-cycle stages of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and the Russian cultures related to the found life-cycle stages, the informants show their preference. Table 4 combines the informants, their life-cycle stages, and cultural preference in the shift situations.

TABLE 4 Developing life-cycle stages and changing the preferred cultures of the informants

Cultures	Dominant Finnish culture	Finnish-Russian culture mix	Dominant Russian culture
Life-cycle stages			
Birth/Start-up		Alexey Maxim	Sonya Vladimir
Growth	Maxim		
Maturity/Stability	Alexey	Vadim Lidia Inessa	
Decline/Renewal/Death		Aslan	
Habitual/Portfolio/Serial		Sonya Vladimir	

The Russian cultures played a role in the life-cycle and business development of the studied Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. As stated, their cultural preferences vary and develop in different situations and at changing life-cycle stages. Most of the entrepreneurs moved from the Russian cultural preference of the birth stage to a Finnish-Russian mix when their companies developed to maturity or even declined. Money-first entrepreneurs were very Russian at the beginning but during their serial entrepreneurship they started acting in a Finnish-Russian cultural mix by varying their preferences from one situation to another. Alexey and Maxim were mostly Finnish when life-cycle stages are discussed.

The observations based on the narratives of this inquiry confirm the results presented by Rusinovic (2007). Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is a dynamic phenomenon with shifts from one market to another and one life-cycle to another. As Joronen (2012) states, the immigrant entrepreneur minority is small in Finland and they do not create ethnic areas or enclaves. Naturally Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are more active in fields like freight forwarding, car dealership, or transport than others but they cannot be described as purely or dominantly ethnic. They seem to operate in the middleman market or niche market with a Russian aspect in their business. They enjoy the Finnish open business environment and use their golden chance to do business with Russia. They benefit from their Russian origin and the good level of their human capital. The moves from one market to another seem to advance from the ethnic to the open markets.

The companies and business ideas of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs develop, decline, die, or are reconceptualized according to the life-cycle theories. Life-cycles are affected by the personal development of the entrepreneurs, changes in the business environment, markets, and finally their cultural preferences. The business ideas either grow and become mature or then they start to decline after the maturity stage or directly after birth. This is typical of

short-term money-first habitual entrepreneurs. The renewal stage can mean also a shift from one market to another.

4.3 Structural analysis

In the following, I will choose one critical point in Russian immigrant entrepreneurship described in the informants' narratives and conduct a structural analysis. I will then interpret the information produced in the analysis and combine it further with the cultural dimensions and life-cycle stages, because the critical points of entrepreneurship may reveal a sincere and original side of an entrepreneur that gives wonderful insights into the cultural view.

The narratives of the informants of this study cannot be identical nor can the critical points of their entrepreneurship. People speak about things that are significant in their lives. Why should they talk about something that they are indifferent to? It is worthwhile asking why something is of importance to a person. Is it the character, orientation, and experience of the entrepreneur or does a cultural dimension have an impact on the way of thinking and acting? Is the style of reaction, learning, and coping a cultural matter or is it more personal?

Vadim, one of the business-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs of this study does not present anything especially dramatic in his narrative. He is 63 years old and has seen it all and I suspect that he does not get upset very easily. Besides, he has a higher business education, lots of experience, and a strong business orientation; he is fully capable of planning well his business and managing risks. As Vadim is representative of a Russian masculine culture he is also very work-oriented. He does not speak about his feelings.

I choose to conduct a structural narrative analysis on Vadim's one and only diversification in business in Finland. Vadim had started a business in Finland importing Russian timber to Finland at the beginning of 2000. Soon he noticed that there was a lot of competition and he had to reconceptualize his company. Table 5 illustrates the sequence concerning the diversification and analyzes what functions the quotations play and how they in my opinion are culturally influenced. Also the life-cycle view is taken into consideration. The first two titles with explanations are made on the basis of Robichaux's table 4.1 (2003) that is reprinted in Riessman's *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* (2008, 92).

TABLE 5 Vadim's critical points in immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative
Abstract	Yes, we were exporting the timber materials and then imported construction goods to the Russian markets.
Orientation	But then quite soon we realized that the competition was increasing.
Orientation	But at the same time we realized that some segments of the market were in fact still – free. One such important segment was the investment segment of the Russian market because ---
Complicated action	We started to deal with the investments for quite a long period ---
Evaluation	--- because construction projects in Russia give stable and good profits. --- The level of risk is not so high. And that's why the Russian market is getting more and more attractive.
Coda	Well, still mainly connected with the investments.

On the basis of this sequence of a narrative Vadim does trust his professional skills, ability to analyze, and experience in his Russian immigrant business in Finland. He is calm and his speech is rational and work-oriented. He undertakes every business development decision with logical reasoning that is the outcome of an observation and analysis process. He is not at all sentimental, and his evaluations concern only business, not his personal thoughts. He follows the Russian masculine cultural dimension. As can be seen, Vadim's critical point is diversification. His timber import business declines in Finland and he shifts to investment services with Russia as his investment object. He sells his know-how on Russian investment projects to the general market.

Lidia, the other one of the business-first entrepreneurs, has faced some hardships on her way, but there is nothing dramatic in her narrative. I make a structural narrative analysis on her story about her first years as an entrepreneur in Finland. I suppose the start is the hardest thing Lidia has been through in business.

TABLE 6 Lidia's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative
Abstract	The beginning was very hard. The first 6 years, I would say, were very difficult.
Orientation	At the beginning, well --- mmm --- [sigh] I had to do everything: look for new clients, employees, write teaching material, and all this I made myself.
Evaluation	It feels like a dark forest.
Orientation	I would answer, that I never made decisions [when asked if she thought of quitting].
Evaluation	Life itself shows. Vremya pokazhet [laughs]. Hard to say.
Complicating action	I picked up the phone and called CEOs.
Resolution	I would say, I see clearly – there is a saying in Finnish “Yrittämällä pärjää [When you try/are an entrepreneur, you make the grade]” And in the same way I answer: When there is a will, there is a way.
Coda	We talked about this with Andrey, my son, and we both agree that --- in Finland people have more chances to try.

The structural narrative analysis of one sequence of Lidia's narrative confirms that Lidia is determined and entrepreneurial. She is more sentimental and on the surface level more fatalist than Vadim, probably because she is a woman and in the Russian masculine culture women are allowed to show their feelings. The structural analysis shows that Lidia evaluates more than Vadim and she moves back and forth among orientation, complicating action, and evaluation. Lidia visualizes her statements and feelings with Russian metaphors.

Lidia's narrative sequence describes the birth life-cycle stage of her basic business. The cultural aspects are observed clearly. First there is the gender role rising from the masculine culture of Russia. Then Lidia is entrepreneurial because she is used to competing in the collectivist Russian culture. The cultural dualism is seen in the low Finnish power distances index influencing Lidia's entrepreneurship in the Finnish business environment. Lidia feels that in Finland she has been given true chances and she is equal. She is able to contact people that are high-up in organizations. With her vigor and courage Lidia gets Finnish clients for her new firm in Finland.

Family-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs tell about crises in their ventures. One of the critical points in Inessa's entrepreneurship has to do with the differences in business culture and practices between Finland and Russia. Inessa says that her Russian business partners do not keep their contracts but change prices and sell plastic packages to competitors in Finland. Table 7 analyzes Inessa's critical point.

TABLE 7 Inessa's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative
Abstract	We always start from scratch.
Evaluation	But every time I think about when this [business] will end because we are so dependent on Russia.
Complicating action	We fight all the time about prices, raw material, system, everything.
Orientation	We have a sales company here because we were the first and my husband invented the whole thing [package factory in Russia] and 10 years have passed.
Complicating action	And now I notice that our products are sold on shelves and we ask the Russian side. They say that everyone [in Finland] is free to buy the packages [for wholesale purposes]
Complicating action	So they betray us.
Evaluation	This is awful because Finland is close and Russians can start a similar warehouse here.
Orientation	We have agreements.
Evaluation	Now we are broke.
Complicating action	We found the agreements.
Evaluation	And no one remembers who we are.
Coda	Now it is sure that I go on. Of course I go on---

As Inessa has adopted the Finnish culture and business culture and does not enjoy risks she finds it hard to bare when the Russians do not keep their contracts and override their business partners, Inessa and her husband. She finds it untenable that Russians keep changing the conditions without discussing and that the Russian uncertainty avoidance creates chaos. Yet, she wants to go on despite the hardships in the middleman market position when utilizing Russian contacts and products. Inessa's firm has reached maturity, and there are no diversifications in sight.

Inessa's narrative sequence is logical. She is open and motivated. She alternates between orientation and complicating action. In between she evaluates and her message is clear. She dislikes the unreliability of Russian business partners even if she herself is Russian and summarizes the negative factors in her evaluations.

The other family-first entrepreneur, Alexey, has experienced one critical point in his entrepreneurship. That was when he had to change business after his first business in Finland, an engineering company, got into trouble.

TABLE 8 Alexey's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative
Abstract	I came to Finland when the Soviet Union was broken. It was in 92. Finland was then in a deep recession. It was hard to become employed. Therefore, entrepreneurship was a choice.
Orientation	In 94 I had established a limited company with a Russian partner and the idea was to take automation technology know-how from Finland to Russia.
Evaluation	But I did not have any entrepreneurial background, education, only my MSc in engineering. So, it was almost impossible to take the project further.
Complicating action	Russian partner had given up financing.
Evaluation	It was a major disappointment.
Complicating action	Other Russians contacted me. --- I sold the share capital.
Complicating action	There was a problem with patent affairs.
Resolution	Then we decided that we would not continue activities, that the activities were run down.
Orientation	When this company was passive I obtained another profession.
Complicating action	I got a diploma, I was an authorized translator.
Evaluation	I noticed that I could become self-employed. These temporary jobs done often by immigrants did not satisfy me. They did not give me any freedom or feeling of security.
Resolution	I became a full-time entrepreneur not earlier than 2004 or 2005.

So, Alexey has also had bad experiences of Russian business partners that do not keep to contracts and stop financing the firm as agreed. Anything can happen. Alexey describes his entrepreneurship rationally. Alexey does not evaluate very often, only three times, but after each evaluation and expression of his thoughts and opinions about his affairs something significant happens. His business becomes passive, and his shares are sold. He starts a new business.

Alexey emphasizes that he is not a born entrepreneur and his evaluations during the narrative sequence confirm his character. He has to make a living. He is looking for security in his life, and therefore, he moves from the automation engineering business to translation and from a niche market to a middleman market. Alexey's ventures do not grow very much, but the translation firm has reached a maturity stage and is doing well.

Money-first entrepreneurs speak also about their difficulties that are the most critical points in their entrepreneurship. Even though Vladimir is cool and anxious to work and earn he is sincere and honest to me. He talks a lot about a deception that took place almost 20 years ago. As mentioned before, people report significant thoughts and memories to each other. In following Vladimir's story about the deception his learning process can be read and analyzed.

TABLE 9 Vladimir's critical points in immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative
Abstract	All Russian that came to Finland in the 90s were men. No women. There were people making capital by selling Ladas.
Orientation	In the morning work started at seven or eight. And my day ended at two o'clock at night.
Evaluation	Tjazhelo, ochen' tjazhelo [heavy, very heavy]. But anyone would work days like that if the salary were, say, 5000 FIM a day.
Evaluation	It was passion. It is nice. It is adrenaline.
Orientation	Then it started growing the thing. I met an Englishman.
Complicating action	I came to know the Englishmen and started importing Samara and Lada to Finland.
Orientation	There was this one English guy that lived here and sold to Russians at the market-place.
Evaluation	--- but he is not honest, the Englishman
Complicating action	He betrayed many. Even his own group in England. --- Well, he took --- 10 000 dollars or even more and never delivered the vehicles.
Evaluation	It does not matter. I cannot be angry at him because I met his mates.
Resolution	He has revealed his contacts. I go to England and buy Ladas from them.

Even if it has been almost 20 years since Vladimir was betrayed by an Englishman in Finland he still remembers it well. Vladimir describes how he worked hard and the good compensation justified it. Russians are hungry and ready to fight for money because their starting point is not always as good and as democratic as in Finland. Many are in the Russian collectivist manner, and they need to make a difference and do well if they are willing to succeed. Therefore, Russians do not respect lazy people. The work-orientation is also a part of the Russian masculine culture.

Vladimir's confidence is breached, which is an insult for a Russian collectivist person because in Russia trust is something rare, precious, and sacred. On the other hand, Russians do betray each other because it is part of the collectivist competition mentality and breaking the rules in the rule jungle of uncertainty avoidance. In Finland people trust each other in principle and traditionally Finns are honest, too, even though Finns naturally also deceive each other in business and private.

Maybe it is Russian creativity and flexibility in seeing alternatives in restricted situations that makes Vladimir forgive the Englishman. In the Russian collectivist way Vladimir utilizes the business contacts introduced by the Englishman. The Englishman lets his own people down, too, so there was no conflict of interest anymore. Forgiving makes life easier, too.

Vladimir's narrative sequence is in my opinion operational. Whenever he evaluates, he tells what he thinks or how he feels. Soon after the evaluation he justifies why he has to work like he does as an entrepreneur. He is committed to money and work-orientation, and he seems to enjoy every second even though he gets tired and does everything at the expense of his health, free-time, and family. He wants to make sense and justify his lifestyle.

Sonya's entrepreneurship has had many ups and downs. In her narrative she speaks most about a recent crisis that occurred after she bought her second business in the general market in Finland. According to Sonya her big mistake was to trust the former owner that continued as the foreman in Sonya's plumbing firm after the acquisition.

TABLE 10 Sonya's critical point of immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative
Abstract	And the former owner became my foreman.
Evaluation	A really stubborn man.
Complicating action	He promised me everything at the beginning. He said that he takes care of sales, business, this and that. I asked what I should do. "Nothing, enjoy life and take care of your own business" he said.
Evaluation	I thought, how nice. I was so naïve.
Complicating action	In January 2010 we should start a new thing and when I look I see that there is not enough money even though I got 40 000 euros from Finnvera.
Complicating action	And there it begins, I can say that I don't believe what the foreman says when I see that he twice lies to my face.
Complicating action	Then I make the mistake that I get involved in the work process.
Complicating action	The financial year ends in a minus. Minus 40 000.
Evaluation	The numbers are big but you need to know how, you need to keep the time-tables. So, I realized that the construction business at the beginning was way too difficult.
Evaluation	My second mistake was that when I didn't understand a thing I shouldn't have started there [pain in the voice].
Resolution	Now I have to survive, I have a payment plan when I did not pay the taxes. I have being doing well now for five months. So, I balance all the time.

Sonya is open and sincere when she discusses her crisis with me and I can hear the pain in her voice and way of speaking when she evaluates her actions. In her evaluation comments Sonya blames the former owner of being a liar, but she realizes what she should have done it another way. She trusts a man because in Russia women obey and listen to the decisions of men. The breach of confidence hurts Sonya, as Russians believe in faithfulness in confidential relations according to the Russian collectivist worldview.

Sonya has been supported financially and mentally by the entrepreneurship organizations in Finland to which she is grateful. It is the low power distance index that makes all this possible. Sonya is a fighter, and she is not afraid. That is the result of the Russian collectivist way. If a Russian person wants to achieve something, like Sonya does, he/she has to try, be resilient, and rise after defeat.

The structure of Sonya's sequence reporting her critical points in entrepreneurship is a bit different from that of others. There are often two similar elements following each other, such as complicating action or evaluation. When Sonya starts telling something she goes through it thoroughly and gives reasons.

Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs have different critical points in their entrepreneurship which is naturally expected. Maxim is a calm person and he does not report anything dramatic because he seems to plan a great deal. Maxim says that the beginning of self-employment was hard but educational. Table 11 describes the start-up situation of Maxim's company.

TABLE 11 Maxim's critical points in immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative.
Abstract	Yes, there was [trouble]. There was no money to use.
Orientation	We started with 5000 euro capital.
Complicating action	We invested our own money. We had to take a loan to make the first big purchase.
Evaluation	That was difficult.
Complicating action	Then we also had to ask for an advance payment.
Evaluation	That made the process longer.
Complicating action	Then in 2008 we moved into our first rental facilities. There was a warehouse and a small office.
Complicating action	Then we made the webpage.
Evaluation	That was profitable.
Complicating action	We got so much more products.
Resolution	Now Russia is not the main supplier but we are known in Europe. These domestic producers order from all over the world.
Evaluation	The beginning, Russia, was crucial.

Maxim's narrative is describing. The events follow each other in a logical order. His story is a success story. The beginnings are small and the company sells mostly to fellow-ethnics. With the help of a Finnish e-Business education the firm creates a web-page that enables international growth and a shift from the middleman market to the general market.

Maxim has evaluative inserts in his narrative sequence. He mentions how he feels only once. It is at the beginning of this narrative sequence when he says that it was difficult. Other evaluations make comment on whether the actions have been profitable or wise from the business point of view. Maxim has good potential to become a business-first immigrant entrepreneur because he apparently is interested in business and has an analytic and developing mindset.

Aslan's communication is different from Maxim's. Whereas Maxim is cool Aslan is full of energy, and his speech is quick and verbose. His story is about deception. Aslan and Tim organized a big promotion tour and their business partner said that he has many sponsors. When the event was over Aslan and Tim realized that there were no sponsor agreements and they had to pay all costs with the money they had invested. It was extra difficult for Aslan as his father had lent them 500 000 euros of his own money- and they lost it.

Because Aslan was very young and relatively inexperienced in 2008 when the fraud happened he took it seriously. He has not been able to quit thinking about what occurred. Aslan says that he has understood and learnt a lot. Simultaneously his mind repeats almost compulsively the thought of committing nasty revenge in Russian style. The unofficial use of power is a part of the Russian power distance concept. Aslan is sad and ashamed because his father lost his money due to Aslan and Tim's businesses.

TABLE 12 Aslan's critical point in immigrant entrepreneurship

Narrative elements	Example from narrative
Abstract	I borrowed money from my father.
Orientation	When that day was over I sat with him like we sit here now.
Complicating action	I looked him in the eye and said: "Do you know how bad I feel? I have sold my idea to you and you invested a lot of money and this has become a major failure."
Evaluation	I have never felt so bad in my life.
Complicating action	Then dad looked at me and said that I could not do anything about it. He said that everything was organized just great.
Evaluation	Things happen. But this was the biggest. If the loan had been from a bank it would have been easy. We would have gone into bankruptcy.
Resolution	Right. But then we decided that we will try.
Coda	Until this very day. It has gone well.

Aslan's narrative sequence shows a powerful emotional reaction which has to do with the breach of confidence which is a major disappointment for a Russian. Aslan becomes affective because his business actions have harmed his father, who is his mentor and financier. He is ashamed and full of anger, which can be detected in the way he talks and in strong evaluative expressions alternating with other parts of the narrative sequence. Yet, he wants to understand, learn, and cope. It is the Finnish business culture and power distance factor that keeps him from harm as in Finland fraud is not taken care of in a violent way.

In Aslan's narrative about the fraud can be found even elements of Propp's (1928/1968) folktale. Characters and functions are similar. A young hero travels, and there is a protective father, villain, fraud, and finally revenge in a way. As entrepreneurship is an eternally old human function, the stories about entrepreneurship can be seen as universal and folktale-like.

Table 13 sums up the life-style stages and the cultural preferences of the informants when the critical points of their Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland are analyzed with the help of structural analysis.

TABLE 13 Life-cycle stages and preferred cultures of the informants in various critical points of entrepreneurship

	Finnish dominant cultures	Finnish-Russian cultural mix	Russian dominant culture
Birth/Start-up		Lidia	
Growth		Maxim	Vladimir
Maturity/Stability	Inessa		
Decline/Renewal/Death	Alexey	Aslan	Vadim
Portfolio/Serial/Habitual		Sonya	

When the structural analysis of chosen and non-proportional critical points is summarized in terms of life-cycle stages and cultural preferences the view is different from the previous analyses. Obviously, crises make the informants prefer one culture easier even though Lidia, Maxim, Aslan, and Sonya had a mixture of both Finnish and Russian cultures when managing the critical points of their entrepreneurship. It was compelling that when family-first entrepreneurs Inessa and Alexey met hardships they strongly preferred the Finnish way and condemned the Russian way. Vladimir and Vadim were masculine Russians in their crisis management. They were work-oriented and rational.

5 DISCUSSION AND REFLECTION

To be able to answer the main research question several analyses were conducted. Firstly, immigration and immigrant entrepreneurship related scientific literature was analyzed to be able to see what is relevant in immigrant entrepreneurship theories that is emphasized internationally and nationally. The research material was classified and both thematic and structural narrative analyses were performed following the main themes of this research, that of Russian cultures in business life-cycle stages of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. The material was rich and gave a lot of insights that is summarized in the following chapter and the analyses complemented each other.

5.1 Summarized answers to the main research question

The data-driven research question that directed this inquiry was as follows: How are the Russian cultures of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs operating in the Finnish business environment manifested in their actions at the different life-cycle stages of their businesses?

The findings of this research indicate that Russian immigrant entrepreneurs operating in Finland have changing and not only dualist but *trialect* cultures at different life-cycle stages. They prefer either Russian, Finnish, or mixed Finnish-Russian cultural dimensions at the different life-cycle stages which can be seen in their actions.

This observation was made in the first phase of the data analysis. The eight informants were divided into pairs in four categories on the basis of their business aspirations observed in their narratives. Basu (2004) presented four categories that were used in this study: business-first, family-first, money-first and lifestyle-first immigrant entrepreneurs. When the narratives of the four informant pairs were analyzed thematically according to the framework of Hofstede (2001) the informants preferred sometimes the Russian variant, Finnish variant, or used both simultaneously. Therefore, the cultural orientation was

divided to three classes: Russian preference, Finnish preference, and Finnish-Russian mixed preference that included elements of both orientations.

It was typical that the informants preferred Finnish or Finnish-Russian mixed cultures when it comes to power distance and uncertainty avoidance. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs value the democracy, possibilities, transparency, and peace in Finland even if Russian values, such as creativity and success without any state support appeared in the narrative data. Russian collectivism and masculine culture were clearly preferred by the informants. The collectivism played a significant role in the role of the family ties in the entrepreneurship. In the question of collectivism family-first entrepreneurs had a Finnish-Russian mixed culture as they liked solitude. Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs preferred a Finnish-Russian mix probably because they have lived in Finland since they were young.

When the life-cycle stages of the informants' businesses were analyzed it was interesting to see that both business-first and family-first entrepreneurs had survived and passed the birth and the growth stage because they had a long-term orientation in business development. Money-first entrepreneurs tried almost everything to earn money and were serial entrepreneurs since their entrepreneurial method was based on *bricolage*, taking chances when they appeared. One of the lifestyle entrepreneurs was at the growth stage, the other at the decline stage.

Interestingly, the manifested cultures and the life-cycle stages were not stable but changed over time. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland developed their companies, diversified their enterprises, and integrated into the Finnish culture and society. On the basis of the narrative material it can be stated that money-first entrepreneurs made a move from the birth stage of their company to portfolio entrepreneurship with a series of companies and from a Russian preference to a Finnish-Russian mix. One lifestyle-first entrepreneur and one family-first entrepreneur moved from a Finnish-Russian mixed preference to a Finnish preference when their companies grew from birth to growth or maturity. The rest of the informants had mixed preferences throughout the different phases of their business development.

The structural analysis of the critical phases gave more insight on the cultural preferences. The family-first entrepreneurs were empowered by preferring the Finnish cultural dimensions when they were suffering from a crisis in their venture at the mature or decline life-cycle stage. One of business-first and money-first entrepreneurs were identified to react in a Russian manner when they had a hard time in their business. Both of them were men and they used Russian masculine mechanisms in coping. The rest of the entrepreneurs preferred Finnish-Russian cultural mix when in trouble. Their described crises took place at all other life-cycle stages but maturity.

5.2 Key results versus prior knowledge

This study showed that Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland do adapt to the Finnish culture, but they are still affected by the Russian culture like Azmat and Sutshi (2012) state. They can at one life-cycle or business development stage react in either a dominant Russian, Finnish, or Finnish-Russian mixed way.

The longer the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have lived and run their businesses in the Finnish business environment the more their actions are affected by the Finnish culture, which is a natural result of an immigrant entrepreneurial learning and coping process. The Russian and Finnish dominant cultural dimensions were recognized and confirmed in accordance with the framework created by Hofstede (2001).

The business aspiration of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs plays a role when their cultures are analyzed. Basu's (2004) classification on immigrant family-business entrepreneurs in England was used to categorize informants into four pairs: business-first, family-first, money-first, and lifestyle-first according to business orientation. Business aspirations are also discussed in the interactive model of ethnic business development created by Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward (1990).

The business aspiration of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland not only affected the preference of the cultural dimension but also the business development and life-cycle stages of birth, growth, maturity, and decline/renewal presented by Hoy and Sharma (2010) among others. The cultural dimensions changed along life-cycle stages and diversifications. The results indicate that the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs move from the Russian preference to the Finnish-Russian mixed preference or from the Finnish-Russian mixed preference to the Finnish preference as time goes by and the businesses develop. The direction was clear.

Most of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs developed and diversified dynamically their companies and sometimes they failed, too. The business-first and family-first entrepreneurs were all at the maturity stage of their businesses. All of them had diversified their business ideas previously, however, and changes take place due to economic and personal development. Money-first entrepreneurs were portfolio entrepreneurs. Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs had both a changing situation either at the growth or decline stage. As they were the youngest, it is likely that their business orientation also can develop in another direction, such as from lifestyle-first to business-first or portfolio entrepreneurship. To sum up, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs moved from the ethnic to the middleman market and sometimes from the middleman or niche market to the general market like Rusinovic (2007) states. However, they utilize their transnational contacts, which is beneficial (Rusinovic 2006). Joronen (2012) claims that immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland do not create ethnic enclaves because there are no big immigrant groups in Finland which applies also to the

narratives of the informants of this inquiry. The Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have ethnic social networks like Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward (1990) suggest. Otherwise their interactive model is too ethnic to describe Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland.

The Finnish business environment and its peace, democracy, transparency, simplicity, and entrepreneurship policies are valued by the informants. This is part of the cultural preference system and the triadist worldview of the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs of this research. These are also part of the opportunity structures of the interactive model of ethnic business development (Waldinger et al. 1990, 22) and relate to the discussion on immigration in Finland (Forsander 2000; Härkäpää & Peltola 2005; Joronen 2012). In general this thesis is a part of the rising research trend in immigrant entrepreneurship that focuses on the culture, language, and markets of the immigrant's home country (Ma, Zhai, Wang, & Lee 2013).

5.3 Limitations and critical assessment

When this research was designed it was obvious that the qualitative and constructivist inquiry methods could be used to explore the manifested cultures at different life-cycle stages of the interviewed Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland. I and the informants share the same life-world and are able to co-create in interaction with existing research a picture of the entrepreneurial reality of the informants of this study.

I also look at my research material and literature through a lens of a Finnish part-time researcher, Master of Arts, and as a program director in the field of higher education. Another researcher with another background would probably understand the cultures in another way. A Russian researcher or entrepreneur would probably pay attention or emphasize different things and not let the Finnish aspect dominate. I have explained openly background factors, though.

The informants are Russian entrepreneurs in Finland and their backgrounds vary due to their age, gender, education, religion, cultural background, and the area of origin such as Karelia, St. Petersburg, Moscow, or the steppes. Lidia has a Tartar background and is bilingual and bicultural. Aslan's father comes from India but his mother is Russian. The informants were not chosen on the basis of any criteria but it was thought that different backgrounds would produce rich material. Besides, the final focus of the study was found after the interviews. Therefore, here there could not be any specific criteria. Like Basu and Altinay (2002) suggest there are differences within one country and culture which can be noticed also in this research. Religion or language issues have not been emphasized at all and they also can have an impact on the expression of culture. Naumov and Puffer (2000, 717) state that the Russian Federation consists of more than 100 nationalities and generalizations are hard to make.

The first interview was made for my master's thesis 1-2 years before the rest of the discussions with the informants. The themes were not exactly identical which can be questioned. However, all the informants told their entrepreneurial story. The narratives had similar outcomes when it comes to the everyday life of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland and the main themes of the research.

In constructivist oriented study the criteria for reliability and validity are filled if the research is trustworthy. Trustworthiness can be examined through evaluation of the findings. These findings should be significant and important. Credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability examine whether the qualitative and constructivist-oriented research is trustworthy or not. (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 290 - 331; Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008, 294.)

The qualitative interpretations are made by me, the researcher, on the basis of the narrative data in dialogue with the informants and scientific literature. Alasuutari (1999) underlines local explanations. Qualitative research expands understanding and questions old models rather than generalizes. It is important that the study is understandable and well-explained so the readers can accept the logic of it and share the produced insights. To test the credibility the study was read by a fellow PhD candidate in entrepreneurship. He is of Russian origin and found the research understandable and in keeping with reality.

This research should also fill the criteria for credibility because the examined phenomena is discussed thoroughly and the topic is familiar. The material is sufficient because the same phenomena and characteristics were repeated through the interview data that was rich as can be observed in the empirical section of the thesis, even though it consists of eight one hour interviews in the first phase and eight telephone interviews lasting 15 - 20 minutes each.

The life-cycle perspective would naturally be of a better quality if there had been several interviews over a longer time. Now the life-cycles are described mainly on the basis of the first interview that produces the retrospective story of business development of each informant from birth to the interview day. The second interview is a re-check after a short period of time, 1 - 3 years.

The whole research could have been longitudinal but the cultural perspective was the first starting point of the inquiry. Therefore, it comes first even though a cross-case analysis is made and business aspirations are studied. The life-cycle perspective was formed when I noticed that the expression of cultures varied at different stages of the company development.

The problem with immigrant entrepreneurship research is the fact that there is no general theory that could be used everywhere in research. This study is the same and does not have one single theory that would apply to it. The empirical analysis is theory-based, though. The three approaches have risen from the interview data and literature. They are the context of this research triangulating it. They are connected to each other only through the real-life observations found in the narrative data and the theoretical context of this study. Otherwise they are not naturally interrelated. Thus, transferability is reached in the way this research combines the studied phenomena with the various scientific

discussion relevant to this thesis and immigrant entrepreneurship theories. The theories of entrepreneurship in general are not discussed in this thesis very much because the focus would suffer.

If the dependability of this constructivist study is examined it can be stated that everything about the inquiry process is described and documented in a logical, transparent way. The research process was explained in chapter 3 and the structure of the report in chapter 1. Also this subchapter informs and explains the research.

5.4 Contributions and implications

Even though I share the same life-world with the informants of this inquiry, this research has been a journey into the world of Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland. The understanding of the examined phenomenon has grown and on the basis of the interpretations of this research, contributions of different kinds can be found.

5.4.1 Theoretical contributions

The theoretical starting points of this study produce the central theoretical contributions of this doctoral thesis. Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is a continuously changing and multi-dimensional phenomenon with theoretical and practical importance that should be examined.

Because Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland live between two cultures the dualistic theme mentioned also by Azmat and Zutshi (2012) was formed. When the manifested cultures were examined it was obvious that the concept of dualism was not enough to cover the manifested cultures of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. The expression of Russian cultures in entrepreneurship can or shall be called *trialect* because the preferred cultures were Russian, Finnish, or mixed Finnish-Russian depending on the situation and the life-cycle stage of the Russian immigrant business in Finland.

Not only were dominant Russian cultures dynamic but also the businesses of the informants. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs had various business aspirations that could be parsed by the categories created by Basu (2004) on the basis of literature and a large empirical data. These aspirations affected the expression of cultures and also business development. Therefore, a theoretical contribution is the fact that the life-cycle view was combined with the business orientation to produce more information. The manifested trialect cultures were studied in different situations, including life-cycle stages combined with different business aspirations and critical points of Russian immigrant entrepreneurship. The manifested cultures moved from the Russian preference toward the Finnish or Finnish-Russian preference as the businesses were diversified and became more Finnish, too. The business aspiration affected also the cultural orientation, too. The family-first entrepreneurs emphasized their Finnish prefer-

ence and the rest was mixed. Business-first and Family-first entrepreneurs had rather stable companies whereas money-first entrepreneurs ran a series of different businesses. Lifestyle-first entrepreneurs seemed to be in search of a suitable variant of business.

The concept of *bricolage* (see Baker 2007, 694 – 695) describes Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. Portfolio entrepreneurs make the best of the situation and create a business idea and realize it on basis of the resources that are at hand. It is different from resource seeking because the resources already are there and it is not necessarily improvisation as they plan their actions. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs prefer Russian masculine and collectivist culture. The meaning of the own family and the closest network is significant. Their use of networks in entrepreneurial actions is also characterized by *bricolage*. They are not systematic but whenever they face a problem they think of the contacts they or someone else they know has. Because they keep asking they come further and get help. Baker (2007, 708) talks also about *network bricolage* giving a social approach to the concept worth-while examining.

Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are also creative and utilize their resourcefulness (see Saarikoski, Koironen, Lambrechts, & Huybrechts 2012) that is central to entrepreneurial performance. Russian creativity rises from the uncertainty of the Russian society and a lack of resources. Practical every-day problems were and are solved by thinking of and coming up with alternative solutions and ways to take care of everything. Also big decisions can be taken in the companies of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs as a result of creative, out-of-the-box thinking. When the collectivist worldview and the resourcefulness are combined, the Russian wolf metaphor from the beginning of this thesis can be mentioned yet again. Wolves are hungry and they keep seeking. They are resourceful and collectivist. They work in their own pack, and they have their hierarchies. They are able to share and fight, when necessary.

It is also special that all informants of this study have not only moved from one culture to another and become entrepreneurs but experienced the move from one economic system to another. All interviewed Russian immigrant entrepreneurs were born in the socialist Soviet Union before 1991. The state had full control of property and business, and the Soviet people could be more or less privileged due to their position in the communist party. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to a private economy that was chaotic and out of control at the beginning of the 1990s when the New Russian, Post-Soviet era began. Huge development and growth have taken place since 1991. This background and change have an impact on immigrant entrepreneurship. The Russian immigrant entrepreneurs operating in Finland have gone through an identity transition (see e.g. Ibarra 2005) when moving from one culture and economic system to another. They have developed an entrepreneurial identity in the Finnish business environment while living more or less permanent in a *diaspora*.

After the identity transition the informants of this study see the Finnish business environment in another light than Finns that have lived with the Finnish market economy and stable conditions all their lives. They can be grateful

for their new chances in a stable environment. In my opinion, informants find a lot of business opportunities in Finland which also refers to bricolage behavior.

It is naturally a stereotype that Finland would be more global, Western, and modern, that is something to learn from (Koveshnikov 2011, 360 - 361). Both Finnish and Russian cultures have their positive sides when it comes to entrepreneurship. The differences between the Finnish and Russian cultures exist and the immigrants balance and develop continuously. Also the opinions toward Russians or Russian culture might affect their thoughts and actions.

It is noteworthy that the family-first Russian immigrant entrepreneurs deny their Russian culture strongly. They emphasize that they are more Finnish than the Finns and see very little good about the Russian culture. Yet, their Russian culture is still there even though they do not admit it. Do they apply for approval? Is their wish to integrate stronger than those of other informants? In Sweden the Finnish immigrants, called the second generation Swedish Finns, sometimes hid their origin and even refused to speak Finnish, their mother tongue. They were ashamed of their background because Finland in the 1970s was a less developed country than Sweden and offered industrial labor to Sweden. The third generation is again proud of its Finnish culture and language and cultivates it even though generalizations cannot be made. (Björklund 2009.)

Business-first entrepreneurs clam up about difficult matters, such as violence, organized crime, and circumventions. Are they a taboo for them or did they never face these things? One alternative is that they are experienced and have no need to consider the question.

5.4.2 Practical contributions

This study confirms the fact that a good practical and theoretical command of the Finnish language is a key to integration and indicates success in immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland. Communication, understanding people, and the culture become possible and democracy increases. The development of Finnish language education for immigrants should continue and be cultivated. The language education possibilities and the methods should serve the immigrants which was not the case 20 years ago, for example. There were not many competent teachers specialized in the theories and didactics of Finnish as a second language. For instance, grammar could be taught in the same way as for native Finnish speakers. There could be more special groups for Russians because there are many of them and then the education could concentrate on the special characteristic differences between the two languages.

The informants of this study support the results (see Joronen 2012) that claim that Russian immigrant entrepreneurs possess a high human capital when they arrive in Finland. Therefore, their entrepreneurial and other education shall be designed from another point of view. My suggestion is that the education should be customer-driven so that the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs can themselves participate in the planning of what is needed and how it is taught. The instructors could be partly Russians and the education could also be about empowerment as Russians face prejudice. Basu and Altinay (2002, 388)

recommend that immigrants should not be seen as a mass but that there should be recognition of the special characteristics of each ethnic group, like the Russians. The study shows also that Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have various business aspirations and growth patterns in their companies. If these factors are recognized it is easier to instruct.

On the basis of the interviews with respondents it seems that the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs value education and support systems. However, some comments indicate that Russian immigrant entrepreneurs do not know about courses and support systems. Also value-based negative attitude toward government support occurs. It is experienced as distorting the natural competition. Just as in the teaching and learning process of the Finnish language, the education does not suit the learner if it is designed solely from the point of view of the education or support organization. Educational organizations need to come closer to the everyday entrepreneurial world to meet the clients and enhance learning even if theories are vital, too.

On the basis of the interviews it is of importance to emphasize legality and business culture questions in the education of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. Russia has more rules but they are not always followed even though there is more control. There are less rules and control in the Finnish business environment but the laws are followed and taxes are paid in general. This is hard for a Russian to believe at first, but after they find out how everything works they are happy and would not change.

The narratives of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs and meetings with them can enhance entrepreneurship. Rae (2000, 145, 156) claims that narrative methodology develops both understanding and practice of entrepreneurship. Immigrants and immigrant entrepreneurs are crucial for the Finnish economics and future development. They iterate income, employ, and keep the country vital. Therefore, Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is worth cultivating.

It would be a good idea to publish common-sense success stories and show what Russian immigrant entrepreneurs do, what kind of people they are, and what they think; like this inquiry and all research concerning Russia does. Information would increase understanding and decrease prejudices, that may still be left in the Finnish minds. It is not easy to be an entrepreneur and the Russians have to struggle with one extra challenge. They need to win the confidence of Finnish business partners and clients and that is energy consuming even though Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are used to it and do not complain.

The time is right because the Russian economy has grown and there are more and more middle-class Russians traveling, shopping, and doing business in Finland and Finnish people get to see and meet them. As stated before, every sixth new company in Southeastern Finland has a Russian business owner. Southeastern Finland and also other areas in Finland could benefit from these Russian companies that can produce services for Russians, for instance shopping and tourism. This would compensate the great losses due to shutdowns in the forest industry in the area. Russian entrepreneurs have also the possibility

to use their weak and strong networks to get financing or to invite Russian investors to Finland.

Consequently, Finland could continue running development projects to support and educate Russian immigrants in entrepreneurship. One idea is to let Russian entrepreneurs network with Finnish companies. They would have a lot to offer to each other. Finnish companies would learn about Russia and Russian cultures and could get practical help with their internationalization process with Russia. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs would learn about the Finnish way to do business. They could earn and get references.

5.5 Suggestions for further research

There are only a few studies concerning Russian immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland. Yet, there are more Russians and Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland than before. Any research on this subject is helpful because Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are needed in Finland to support the nation; understanding is important to help them in their work and cultivate their entrepreneurship.

Since Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is a dynamic phenomenon it would be interesting to continue this inquiry after 10 and 20 years with the same informants and make it longitudinal. Also other informants could be studied to see how Finnish society and the Finnish business environment and conditions in Russia have changed. Action research could triangulate the narrative approach and give more insights on the cultural aspects and life-cycle development of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs. A new understanding is definitely needed to be able to enhance Russian immigrant entrepreneurship.

Research focusing on cultural aspects and life-cycle stages could be done among other nationalities in Finland to see the differences and parallels in their entrepreneurship to plan their consultation and education. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs could also be studied in some other countries and cultures to see the difference.

Like Rusinovic (2007) says, most of the immigrant entrepreneurship research concentrates on first generation immigrants. The second generation immigrant entrepreneurs have adapted to the culture and economic system of the destination country. The border between Russia and Finland has been more open since the Russian Federation formed. There will soon be an increasing amount of young people that have Russian parents but who have grown up in Finland. They will not have experienced the Soviet economy and society. These young people are potential entrepreneurs and some of them have grown up in a business family. There are also entrepreneurs in Finland that come from a mixed family with both Russian and Finnish culture. These entrepreneurs with a double cultural identity could further open up the phenomena made visible in this study.

On the basis of this study there are interesting themes in the process of immigrant entrepreneurship that could be studied more thoroughly. The trialist cultural preferences could be studied with a larger amount of data material to find similarities to understand it because in general it is not discussed. Coping and learning processes of immigrant entrepreneurship have a cultural aspect because in a change situation a person reacts in a way his/her culture suggests. Betrayal in business seems to be a hard thing to accept for a Russian immigrant entrepreneur because trust is holier in Russia than in Finland yet people deceive there, too. Fraud processes could be examined from a cultural perspective. The taboos of Russian immigrant entrepreneurship would open unspoken and unfinished business and make something new visible. Russian creativity and resourcefulness are positive potencies that could give more insight about these positive factors in immigrant entrepreneurial processes.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tutkimuksen kohteena olivat Suomessa toimivien venäläisten yrittäjien narratiivit. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli analysoida sitä, miten Suomen venäläiset yrittäjien venäläisyydet ilmenevät yrityksen eri elinkaarien aikana.

Kahdeksan venäläistä maahanmuuttajayrittäjää haastateltiin, jotta heidän eri elinkaarien vaiheissa ilmeneviä venäläisyyksiään voidaan tutkia empiirisen aineiston ja siihen liittyvien tutkimusten perusteella. Aineistolle suoritettiin teorian ohjaama narratiivinen ja empiirinen analyysi. Temaattiset ristikkäisanalyysit keskittyivät kulttuuripreferensseihin eri elinkaarien aikoina. Strukturaalisen analyysin avulla jäsennettiin maahanmuuttajayrittäjyyden kriittisiä pisteitä ja niiden vaikutusta kulttuuripreferensseihin ja yritysten kehittämiseen.

Informantit jaettiin neljään pariin liiketoimintaorientaation perusteella. Bisneshenkiset yrittäjät olivat ammattimaisia kehittäjiä. Perhekeskeiset yrittäjät harjoittivat yritystoimintaa perhesyistä. Rahasuuntautuneet yrittäjät etsivät ansaitsemismahdollisuuksia. Elämäntapayrittäjät nauttivat yrittäjyydestään ja haluavat oppia ja kehittää

Kun liiketoimintaorientaation yhdistettiin kulttuuripreferensseihin ja elinkaarivaiheisiin, jotka ovat tutkimuksen kolme toisiaan trianguloivaa näkökulmaa, voitiin havaita trendejä. Haastateltavat tasapainottelivat kolmen kulttuurisen variantin välillä: venäläisen, suomalais-venäläisen ja suomalaisen. Heidän tilannettaan voidaan kutsua trialistiseksi.

Rahasuuntautuneet yrittäjät kehittivät liiketoimintaansa syntymästä portfolioyrittäjyyteen. Heidän kulttuuripreferenssinsä muuttui venäläisestä suomalais-venäläiseksi. Yksi elämäntapayrittäjä ja perhekeskeinen yrittäjä siirtyivät suomalais-venäläisestä preferenssistä suomalaiseen, kun heidän yrityksensä kasvoi syntymästä kypsyyteen. Maahanmuuttajayrittäjyyden kriittiset pisteet saivat bisneshenkisen ja rahasuuntautuneen yrittäjän reagoimaan venäläisesti vaikeuksissa. Perhekeskeiset yrittäjät tukeutuivat suomalaiseen kulttuuripreferenssiin kriisin aikana. Loput suosivat molempien kansallisuuksien kulttuuriulottovuuksia. Yleisesti venäläiset pitivät omasta maskuliinisesta ja kollektiivisesta kulttuuristaan, joita he myös hyödynsivät yrittäjyydessään.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että venäläiset maahanmuuttajayrittäjät kehittävät yrityksiään, siirtyvät etnisiltä markkinoilta välittäjävähemmistöön tai yleisille markkinoille. Heidän kulttuuripreferenssinsä muuttuu ajan myötä venäläisestä suomalais-venäläiseksi tai suomalaiseksi.

Venäläinen maahanmuuttajayrittäjien venäläisyydet ja kulttuuripreferenssit sekä elinkaarikehitykset ovat dynaaminen ilmiö. Sitä kannattaa tutkia, koska venäläisillä yrittäjillä on korkea inhimillinen pääoma, he ovat luovia ja neuvokkaita. He pystyvät sopeutumaan, perustamaan ja kehittämään yrityksiä, ansaitsemaan, työllistämään – ja siten edistämään Suomen kansantaloutta.

Asiasanat: maahanmuuttajayrittäjyys, kulttuuriulottovuudet, elinkaaret, liiketoimintaorientaatio

SUMMARY

The main research task of this doctoral dissertation is to dissect how Russian cultures of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs operating in Finland manifest their Russian cultures in their actions at the different life-cycle stages of their businesses. The methodology used to study Russian entrepreneurs in Finland within the field of immigrant entrepreneurship is qualitative, narrative approach in particular. The empirical data consist of eight interviews with Russian immigrant entrepreneurs operating in Finland. Thematic and structural narrative analyses of the interviews were conducted to answer the research question guiding this inquiry.

The research question was created when the interviews were listened to for the first time because the cultures and the life-cycle stages of the Russian immigrant entrepreneur informants seemed to be in a state of change. To understand the studied phenomenon a literature analysis was made.

Finland is not a typical immigration country because of its northern location, Fenno-Ugric language, and previous strict immigration policy. Finland has noticed that there are not enough people to support the nation, and the immigration policy has been revised in a liberal direction. After the fall of the Soviet Union the amount of Russian immigrants has increased rapidly. Russians are the biggest immigrant group in Finland and they have a lot to offer because of their high human capital and a good ability to integrate because of their close location of origin.

There are several theories in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship research, such as supply and demand theoretical theories, social embeddedness theories, and interactive theoretical models focusing on the interaction between opportunity structures and group characteristics.

Immigrant entrepreneurship in Finland is different from the great immigration countries. Immigrants are few, and they do not form ethnic enclaves. The Finnish government wants to serve, support, and educate immigrant entrepreneurs.

Russian immigrant entrepreneurs are not researched much in Finland. They work often in transport, forwarding, export, and storage business. Their Russian culture is different from the Finnish culture. Russians have a higher power distance and uncertainty avoidance index than the Finns. Russian culture is also more masculine and collectivist than the Finnish culture.

When the data analysis was conducted the thematic analyses of the narrative data indicated that the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs could be divided into four categories according to business orientation: business-first, family-first, money-first, and lifecycle-first. The business orientation affected the preference of the cultural dimension, business development, and moving between life-cycle stages.

The informants' way of preferring the cultural dimensions was trialist. Sometimes they chose the Russian culture, sometimes a mixed Finnish-Russian culture, or Finnish culture. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs preferred Finnish

or Finnish-Russian mixed cultures when it comes to power distance and uncertainty avoidance. Russian immigrant entrepreneurs value democracy, possibilities, transparency, and peace in Finland. Russian collectivist and masculine cultures were clearly preferred by the informants.

The business development of the companies of the interviews Russian immigrant entrepreneurship was dynamic. They diversified their businesses and became more Finnish. Money-first entrepreneurs moved from the birth stage of the company to portfolio entrepreneurship and from the Russian cultural preference to a Finnish-Russian mixed cultural preference. One lifestyle-first entrepreneur and one family-first entrepreneur moved from a Finnish-Russian mixed preference to a Finnish preference when their companies grew from birth to growth or maturity. The rest of the informants had mixed preferences at the different stages of their business development.

The structural analysis showed that crisis in entrepreneurship make Russian immigrant entrepreneurs react in a more Russian way even though the Finnish-Russian mixed preference was most common among informants in critical phases of entrepreneurship. The life-cycle stages varied here.

This research contributes to the scientific discussion on immigrant entrepreneurship. It shows that the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland express their cultures in a triadist way and that the preferences change over time toward the Russian-Finnish mixed or even Finnish culture. Their entrepreneurship is manifold and dynamic as well as their cultures. They prefer Russian masculine culture and collectivism.

The use of contacts and networks of Russian immigrant entrepreneurs can be called network bricolage. Money-first portfolio entrepreneurs take the chances at hand in the manner of bricolage, too. In general, Russian immigrant entrepreneurs have high human capital and they can integrate into the Finnish society. Their creativity and resourcefulness are a strength factor in entrepreneurship.

Russian immigrant entrepreneurship is worth cultivating because there is a good potential in their businesses and actions. They can be supported by offering education in Finnish language and business practices. The floor should be given to them to make their work visible and let them influence their own unique situations. They are able to create and take care of Russian contacts, together with Finnish companies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

TABLE 14 The Russian immigrant entrepreneurship research abroad

Year of publication	Author(s)	Goal	Method	Finding
1997	Mesch, G. and Czamanski, D.	To investigate factors associated with opening a small business through a sample of Jewish immigrants from the former USSR countries in Israel.	Survey among Jewish immigrants from the USSR countries in Israel.	Disadvantage theory is supported. Immigrants with low or middle level education are likely to start a business because of the opportunity closure due to their education.
2007	Lerner, M., Khavul, S., and Hisrich, R.	To examine if the human capital, social capital, and free-choice start-up of a former USSR immigrant entrepreneur enhances the survival of the company in Israel.	Immigrant business owners were interviewed. The dependent variables were business survival, independent growth, and human capital. Univariate tests and a logistic regression model were used.	Human capital plays an important role, institutional capital does not. Motivation did not have an effect on survival.

(continues)

TABLE 14 (continues)

2007	Razin, E.	To analyze the institutional environment for immigrant entrepreneurs from former USSR in Israel.	Overview, description.	Israel offers a mid-level institutional environment for immigrant entrepreneurs.
2008	Heilbrunn, S. and Kushnirovich, N.	To research the impact of governmental support to immigrant entrepreneurs from the former USSR in Israel and to find out their needs.	Quantitative survey and statistical methods.	Entrepreneurs encountering problems need more support than those doing well.
2010	Labrianidis, L. and Hatziprokopiou, P.	Immigrant entrepreneurship in Greece with focus on immigrant entrepreneurs from China, Nigeria, Albania, and the former USSR.	Statistics and literature review and interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs.	The immigrant entrepreneurs from the former USSR have a high human capital and their business is often ethnic. Second generation immigrants should be able to break out to the general market.
2010	Kushnirovich, N.	To examine if former Soviet Union immigrants in Israel are integrated if they are in an ethnic niche in the labor market.	A survey of 231 former Soviet Union immigrants in Israel.	The immigrants in an ethnic niche in the labor market are not as integrated as others.

(continues)

TABLE 14 (continues)

2010	Schvarts, A.	To research 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.	Interviews based on three bodies of literature: transitional economy, (ethnic and class dimensions of entrepreneurship, and transnationalism to examine how they affect social, financial, and human capital and experiences. Different theories, e.g. disadvantage, opportunity, and business background theory were used to explain the results.	Capitals and experience play a role in establishing a successful business. Belonging to the elite in Russia enhanced becoming an elite entrepreneur in Canada. Elite entrepreneurs can run large, transnational companies. Russian cultural background can be a benefit.
2010	Vinogradov, E. and Gabelko, M.	To test if Russian immigrants in Norway were more likely to become self-employed than their non-migrant peers.	Comparison between a Russian GEM study with a postal survey among Russian immigrants in Norway according to hypotheses.	Russian immigrants are more likely to start a business than non-migrants because of their human capital.

APPENDIX 2

The background information of the respondents

Pseudonym	Alexey
Interviewed	September 5, 2012
Re-check	August 30, 2013
Age	48
Origin	St.Petersburg, Russia
Cultural/ethnic background	Russian
Education	M.Sc. (Eng.), (Finland)
Industry	process control engineering, forwarding, translation and interpretation, consulting
Year of immigration	1992
Reason of immigration	chaos in Russia
Area in Finland	North Karelia, Eastern Finland
Employees	Alexey
Turnover, 1000 euro	2012: not available
Result, 1000 euro	2012: not available
Operational profit, %	2012: not available

Pseudonym	Aslan
Interviewed	November 18, 2011
Re-check	August 30, 2013
Age	23
Origin	St.Petersburg, Russia
Cultural/Ethnic background	Russian
	Mother Russian, Father Indian
Education	BBA (Finland)
Industry	promotion, event management
Year of immigration	2000
Reason of immigration	family security
Area in Finland	Uusimaa, Southern Finland
Employees	Aslan + one person
Turnover, 1000 euro	2010: 191
Result, 1000 euro	2010: -479
Operational profit, %	2010, -248,7

Pseudonym	Inessa
Age	40
Interviewed	September 14, 2012
Re-check	August 30, 2013
Origin	St.Petersburg, Russia
Cultural/Ethnic background	Russian
Education	M.Ed.
Industry	gymnastics club, freight forwarding, plastic packaging
Year of immigration	1995
Reason of immigration	chaos in Russia, opportunities, husband's work
Area in Finland	Uusimaa, Southern Finland
Employees	Inessa + two persons (son and husband part-time)
Turnover, 1000 euro	2011: 430, 2012: 511
Result, 1000 euro	2011: 28, 2012: 25
Operating profit, %	2011: 8,8, 2012: 4,9

Pseudonym	Lidia
Age	52
Interviewed	January 14, 2010
Re-check	August 29, 2013
Origin	Kazan, Tatarstan, the Russian federation
Cultural/Ethnic background	Tartar/Russian
Education	M.A.
Industry	language school, consultation
Year of immigration	1991
Reason of immigration	personal
Area in Finland	Helsinki, Southern Finland
Employees	Lidia + son + about 14 freelancers
Turnover, 1000 euro	2011: 644, 2012: 545
Result, 1000 euro	2011: 12, 2012: -15
Operational profit, %	2011: 2,2, 2012: -15,3

Pseudonym	Maxim
Origin	St.Petersburg, Russia
Age	30
Interviewed	September 24, 2012
Re-check	August 30, 2013
Cultural/Ethnic background	Russian Grandfather from mother's side was Ingrian
Education	BBA (Finland)
Industry	sports, outdoors and hunting equipment
Year of immigration	1995
Reason of immigration	return migration
Area in Finland	South Karelia, Eastern Finland
Employees	Maxim + brother + one/two persons
Turnover, 1000 euro	2011: 1 110, 2012: 1 564
Result, 1000 euro	2011: 99; 2012: 164
Operating profit, %	2011: 12,5; 2012: 14,1

Pseudonym	Sonya
Age	52
Interviewed	September 21, 2012
Re-check	August 29, 2013
Origin	St.Petersburg, Russia
Cultural/Ethnic Background	Russian
Education	Technician, BBA, Accountant
Industry	car dealer (from 1988), abrasives, plumbing, and construction
Year of immigration	1998/1999
Reason of immigration	business opportunities and experience
Area in Finland	Ostrobothnia, Western Finland
Employees	Sonya + 10 persons
Turnover, 1000 euro	2011: 1 503, 2012: not available
Result, 1000 euro	2011: -106, 2012: not available
Operating profit, %	2011: -6; 2012: not available

Pseudonym	Vadim
Age	63
Interviewed	December 5, 2012
Re-check	August 30, 2013
Origin	Moscow, Russia
Cultural/Ethnic Background	Russian
Education	M.Sc. (Econ.)
Industry	timber, foreign investments to Russia
Year of immigration	1997
Reason of immigration	business opportunities and experience
Area in Finland	Helsinki, Southern Finland
Employees	Vadim + son + two persons
Turnover, 1000 euro	2010: 1 115, 2011: 60, 2012: not available
Result, 1000 euro	2010: 13, 2011: -110, 2012: -25
Operating profit, %	2010: 4,3, 2011: -160, 2012: not available

Pseudonym	Vladimir
Interviewed	September 24, 2012
Re-check	August 30, 2013
Age	47
Origin	St.Petersburg, Russia
Cultural/Ethnic background	Russian
Education	ship chef
Industry	car dealer, timber, trailers, real estate, electronics
Year of immigration	1991
Reason of immigration	opprtunities in Finland, marriage
Origin	South Karelia, Eastern Finland
Employees	Vladimir
Turnover, 1000 euro	2012: 1 360
Result, 1000 euro	2012: 57
Operating profit, %	2012: 4,2

APPENDIX 3**The Interview Guide**

1.12.2010

Interview with Lidia January 14, 2010

This interview is a part of my doctoral studies and I investigate Russian entrepreneurs in Finland because there is a great deal of potential in them and they are an important group. I would like the Russian immigrant entrepreneurs to speak about their entrepreneurship in their own words. I will not mention the name of the respondent in my research.

The themes of the interview are as following:

- name, age, family, profession, company
- childhood in the home country, parents, family
- education
- work experience in home country
- the USSR, entrepreneurship then, and entrepreneurship in the Russian Federation

- immigration
- adjusting, impressions
- difficulties, benefits
- discrimination
- studies, language skills, employment, work experience in Finland

- entrepreneurship, motive, business idea
- own company
- information services, support, financing
- success factors of the company
- Russian characteristics in entrepreneurship
- experiences of the Finnish business environment
- immigrant entrepreneurship
- Russian immigrant entrepreneurs in Finland
- female entrepreneurship

Thank you for your time in advance!

Reija Sandelin

APPENDIX 4

The Interview Guide

18.11.2011

Interview with Aslan November 18, 2011

The story of the entrepreneur

- background, birth, growth, family
- entrepreneurship: start-up, company
- Russian business environment vs. Finnish business environment
- critical points of entrepreneurship
- coping
- development
- the future

APPENDIX 5

The Interview Guide

Fall 2012

Interviews with Alexey, Inessa, Sonya, Maxim, Vladimir, and Vadim

- background: childhood, family, education, work experience, education
- immigration
- entrepreneurship: start-up, business idea, phases, development, the future
- Finnish business environment
- critical points
- success factors
- Russian influence on business operations

APPENDIX 6

The Interview Themes

Fall 2013

What has changed in your business since the first interview?
Why?
What consequences has it had?
What are your future plans?