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EXPLORING ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP: FAMILY BUSINESS OF TAJIK MIGRANTS

Zhuldyz Imasheva¹

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ABSTRACT

Exploring Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Family Business of Tajik Migrants

The article aims to study the peculiarities of the ethnic entrepreneurship of Tajik migrants. The method of interview-narratives was used. The study was conducted based on the "Green Bazaar" in Almaty, which is the center of the accumulation of migrant entrepreneurs. The author formed a certain portrait of a businessman and highlighted the factors of influence on ethnic entrepreneurship. The key feature of the analyzed problem is the collective nature of work, namely, the conduct of business by whole families. The study results highlight the key aspects of building an effective policy toward migrant entrepreneurs.

KEYWORDS: labor migration, migration policy, emigrants, business, enterprise

IZVLEČEK

Etnično podjetništvo: Družinska podjetja tadžiških migrantov

Avtorica v prispevku preučuje posebnosti etničnega podjetništva tadžiških migrantov, pri čemer uporablja metodo pripovednih intervjujev. Študija je bila izvedena na podlagi »Zelenega bazarja« v kazahstanskem mestu Almaty, ki je največje središče migrantskih podjetnikov. Avtorica predstavi neke vrste portret takšnega podjetnika ter dejavnike, ki vplivajo na etnično podjetništvo. Ključna značilnost analizirane teme je kolektivno delo, in sicer sodelovanje celotnih družin pri podjetništvu. V rezultatih študije so predstavljeni ključni vidiki, potrebni za oblikovanje učinkovite politike do podjetnikov migrantov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: delovne migracije, migracijska politika, izseljenci, podjetje, podjetništvo

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INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) significantly affected the economy of the individual republics that were part of it. The participating countries, which had certain roles in the distribution of labor and the extraction of resources under the auspices of one country, actually remained in their own care. For example, Tajikistan, a country with a high level of development in agriculture and trade, needed to search for marketing channels not only for finished products but also for a workforce with high skills in a particular industry. Another key aspect that influenced the life of the population of the former USSR member countries was the transition from socialist ownership of the means of production to the development of entrepreneurship (Voyvoda, 2022; Shahini et al., 2023). The population, actually left without the opportunity to provide for their families, was forced to look for new ways to earn money. Russia remained the main direction of migration of the population of Tajikistan for many years. However, due to the tightening of the Labor Code (including aspects regulating the labor of migrants), many Tajiks shifted their migration vector to Kazakhstan (Yugay, 2022, pp. 206–220). For many years, Kazakhstan, an economically developed region of Central Asia, has been an alternative to moving to Russia. Current data from the Migration Service of Tajikistan indicates that 10.5 thousand Tajiks live and work in Kazakhstan (Yukhudzoda, 2022).

To date, Tajik migrants and their families have faced new challenges. From March 4, 2022, certain rules for issuing temporary and permanent residence permits to foreigners and stateless persons in Kazakhstan changed in Kazakhstan. These changes led to reduced numbers of arrivals and the deportation of Tajiks and their families already living there (Rofe, 2022). Introducing new rules for the stay of migrants may damage the economic condition of Kazakhstan since the free movement of labor made it possible to fill niches with low wages and effectively distribute labor resources (Christian & Preston, 2019, pp. 783–808). The topic of labor migration of Tajiks and their adaptation to running a family business in Kazakhstan is only partially studied in modern scientific literature. So, for example, S. S. Raufov (2020, pp. 266–272) considered the temperament of migrants, its features, structure, and dependence on the geography of migration. In her study, G. Sh. Nazarova (2019, pp. 46–51) examines the differences between migrants who got jobs in Russia and those who temporarily chose this direction and moved further to Tajikistan or other countries. K. Sharifzoda (2019) analyzes the prerequisites for labor migration to Kazakhstan against the background of a change in the vector from Russia and the volume of migrant flows, taking into account different countries. In his article, E. Lemon (2021) describes the business organization at the “Green Bazaar” in Almaty and the ratio of migrants and local sellers in the context of trade.

B. Tatibekov (2018, pp. 33–36) considers the processes of migration to the countries of Central Asia and highlights the common features of the countries as directions for labor resettlement. The key factor in the migration of citizens to

neighboring countries is the Russian language of communication. The influence of various economic factors on the causes of population migration is exhaustively considered in the work of M. Weidenbaum (1996, pp. 141–156). The American economist pays attention to the financial motivation of migrants, considering the issue from the point of view of sciences related to sociology. Researchers O. Brednikova and O. Pachenkov analyze the connections of migrants in the new society and the construction of their connections based on ethnicity. The authors emphasize that in addition to family ties, building relationships between migrants and contractors depends on economic factors and the conditions of interaction (Brednikova & Pachenkov, 2002, pp. 74–81).

At the same time, despite the study of certain aspects of the topic, such as the prerequisites for migration or the problems of discrimination, the portrait of a Tajik migrant remains unaccounted for. The problem of population migration due to various economic reasons does not only apply to the countries of the former USSR. For example, increased migrations to various European countries after 1945 and an increase in population migration after the 1965 US reform are still the subject of study by scientists around the world (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990, pp. 111–135; Koulis & Fouskas, 2022). Separate studies of problems in the context of the East indicate that more than half of the population of Southeast Asia are ethnic Chinese. A comparative analysis of the volume of migration to European countries and US states indicates a significant influx of migrants to the United States from various countries even today (Deutschmann, 2021; Dorn & Zweimüller, 2021, pp. 49–76).

Even though much research has been conducted, some questions still need to be studied. There is limited comprehensive research on Tajik migrant entrepreneurship in Kazakhstan, a lack of examination of how family ties in Tajiks evolve as businesses develop, and an understudied impact of generational authoritarianism on young entrepreneurs.

The article aims to examine Tajik migrant entrepreneurship in Kazakhstan, including the factors shaping this phenomenon and its implications for migration policy. The key objectives are analyzing the process of Tajik migration to Kazakhstan and its impact on migrant families, examining the development of ethnic businesses among Tajik migrants, and exploring the role of family ties and relationships in Tajik migrant entrepreneurship.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study was carried out based on interviews with individual representatives of migrant families who work at the “Green Bazaar” in Almaty. The “Green Bazaar” is the largest market in Kazakhstan, with a history dating back to the nineteenth century. Today, it thrives as a bustling hub of commerce and economic activity. For Tajik migrants, this marketplace serves as an arena for establishing new sources

of income through trade. The concentration of the Tajik diaspora traders fosters a sense of community, while interactions with locals and other groups reflect broader economic integration. These dynamics make the Green Bazaar a great location for exploring the Tajik migrant entrepreneurship in Kazakhstan. The survey was conducted by contacting respondents and in the format of a directed survey on a given topic. The authors informed the participants about the anonymous and voluntary participation, and the participants provided their consent. The key questions raised at the beginning of the conversation were: "Tell us about the prerequisites for migration to Kazakhstan?" "What determines the choice of trade as a way to provide for a family?" "What challenges did you face in the process of developing your own business?" "Did you feel the support of relatives when opening a family business?" "How has the presence or absence of family support affected you and the success of your business?" It is important to emphasize that there are a number of factors that influence the selection of the sample. In particular, some respondents fear research or are reluctant to share their stories with the public. This is because many businessmen operate illegally and without official permission.

The sample included various age categories, income, and education levels. Thus, only one respondent among the surveyed participants has a higher education. The age limits of the respondents are allocated within the range of 17–52 years. The gender identity of all respondents is expressed as 100% male since females are not directly involved in running the family business. In the rare cases where this is possible, it is the man who bears the full responsibility and the opportunity to discuss the family matter with others. In total, the author conducted fifteen narrative interviews. In the course of forming conclusions on the study, cases of three families whose paths to business have their own specific features were selected and, to one degree or another, confirmed the conclusions of sociologists who have previously studied this topic.

The theoretical stage of the study involved the study of the prerequisites for labor migration of Tajiks and the factors influencing the choice of place of work and residence. The analysis of the choice of Kazakhstan as a country for employment was carried out, taking into account the historical events that influenced the fact of migration as such. In addition, the labor legislation of the countries considered for migration and social factors both within migrant families and in the external environment of their residence were taken into account. The scientific works of sociologists served as the foundation for the theoretical part of the study.

The main stages of the empirical part of the study can be described as selecting a sample, selecting research tools (the choice of conducting interview-narratives with representatives of migrants), preparing questions, and conducting the interview itself. The field site of the study is the "Green Bazaar" in Almaty. The author chose this site for research based on the many ethnic Tajik entrepreneurs who run a family business here. Employed entrepreneurs are engaged in both wholesale and retail trade. The bazaar is of particular interest for research not only because migrants

from different countries are concentrated here but also because it is an important element of the economic and social life of the city. Along with Tajik entrepreneurs, trade is also carried out by local residents, allowing us to explore the differences in business opportunities for citizens of the country and visitors.

RESULTS

Migrant entrepreneurship in Kazakhstan

To further understand the course of the study, it is important to review the basic terms. The study considers the concept of “entrepreneur” as a person doing business with employees or performing a task with a certain degree of autonomy in the market. At the same time, the hallmark of a migrant entrepreneur is, as such, the lack of innovation and the reproduction of old forms of business (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003, pp. 573–596). Unlike the classical understanding of entrepreneurship, most ethnic entrepreneurs simply copy and reproduce the old forms, that is, what is fundamental. This is especially noticeable in the retail trade and services sector, where the majority of ethnic “enterprises” are located (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990, pp. 111–135). Summarizing the thoughts of sociologists, it is possible to form a definition of “migrant entrepreneurship,” which refers to income-generating business activities undertaken by migrants in their destination country.

Kazakhstan was chosen as a country for research because population migration is one of the key factors in filling the human capital of this country. First, this is evidenced by the volume of migration from neighboring countries and the fullness of individual trade structures with emigrant workers. By its very nature, migration is a complex process influenced by demographic, economic, and social factors within both the country of origin and the country from which the refugees are coming. These factors affect not only the volume of migration but also the gender and age structure of migration processes, the standard of living and education of the masses of migrants, etc. (Bozorgmehr & Díaz, 2022). Today, Kazakhstan is one of the popular destinations for labor migration from neighboring countries. The official statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan state that 2,518 Tajiks arrived in the country at the beginning of 2022. An analysis of indicators over the past five years suggests that since 2018, the number of Tajik migrants has more than tripled. As described above, one of the most common reasons for migration is moving for further employment (Figure 1).

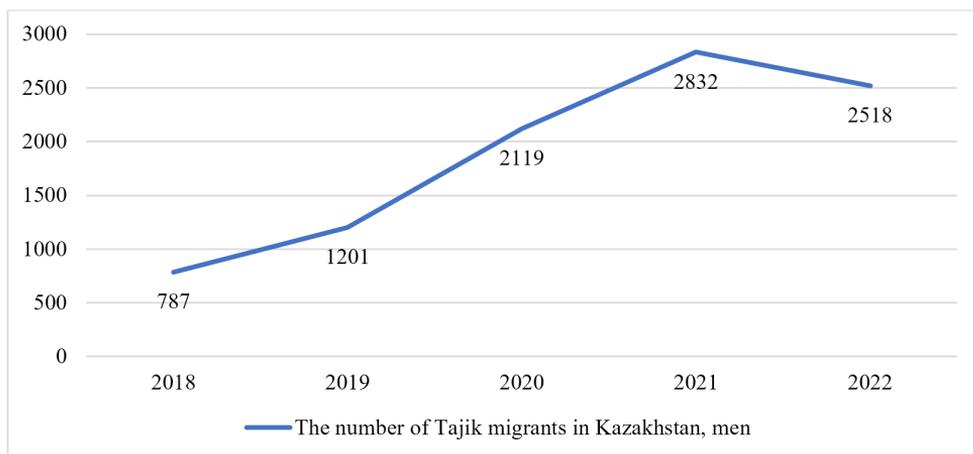


Figure 1: The number of Tajik migrants in Kazakhstan for 2018–2022 (source: composed by the author).

Kazakhstan's economy depends on the level of oil production (Mussin & Mussina, 2023). Due to its sharp increase, the country has recently seen a demand for labor of various formats: highly qualified workers with higher education and skills in industry and low-skilled workers involved in the bazaars (Sharifzoda, 2019). This has become the main reason for labor migration from nearby countries to Kazakhstan. The research for this article was conducted on the territory of one of the largest markets in the city of Almaty, the "Green Bazaar." The market began to function as early as 1875 and was a guest yard where visiting merchants stayed for the night. The Gostiny Dvor was gradually overgrown with small shops of local sellers, which subsequently led to the expansion of the trading area and the organization of a large market. The systematic development and reconstruction of the bazaar has led to its being one of the largest in Kazakhstan today. The "Green Bazaar" is particularly interesting for research because it is a colorful example of a market with many migrant entrepreneurs (Antonov, 2021).

Despite the popularity of "Green Bazaar" and other markets in Kazakhstan, there is still a discourse among scholars about their future development. R. A. Spector (2008, pp. 42–53) describes the need to reform the political attitude to the issue of organizing the work of bazaars, introducing official policy, reconstructing retail space, and departing from the post-Soviet influence on trade. A distinctive feature of the "Green Bazaar" is the concentration of not only migrant entrepreneurs but also a large number of local residents. One of the main products is dried fruit, which adds a special color to the place and makes it attractive to tourists. During the study, the author conducted fifteen narrative interviews with representatives of migrant sellers.

Segments of Tajik Migrant Entrepreneurs

Based on the conversations with Tajiks, several formats for developing ethnic entrepreneurship in the modern market have been identified. Three segments of entrepreneurs have been formed, each with certain characteristics.

The first segment is entrepreneurs who have chosen Kazakhstan because of the similarity of mentality and religious views with the country of origin. A large diaspora and tangible support of compatriots in the place of deployment significantly impacted the relocation of such entrepreneurs. Together with this important aspect are strong family ties in the family of migrants. Building a business for such entrepreneurs necessarily requires the support of close relatives (Yaroshenko et al., 2018). The key channel for the transfer of outlets or business expansion is inheritance—that is, the transfer of property from father to son. The transition of business through the male line is another distinguishing feature of the family business of Tajik migrants since in the family model they have chosen, a woman plays the role of a housewife and mother. During the interview, it was found that entrepreneurs in this segment are most often engaged in selling dried fruit. This is because many buyers associate Tajiks with selling this particular type of product, which gives the process of buying a certain color. This choice of products is emphasized by the increased demand for Oriental sweets among buyers if Tajik entrepreneurs trade them. According to the interviewed representative of migrants, over many years of business development and market research, he concluded that the trade in dried fruit is the most profitable for his family.

The influence of the diaspora and family ties is expressed in many respects in the fact that when moving and forming a client base, resolving issues regarding the place of trade, and completing a complete package or at least partial documents, it is long-standing entrepreneurs from Tajikistan who can help a novice merchant. An interesting factor influencing this segment of migrants is that the main reason for moving is precisely the desire to financially provide for the family at a sufficient level. It can be argued that the final impetus for moving here is not so much “forcedness” but rather the positive experience of compatriots and the desire to form a business “like others.” The constructed hypothesis is emphasized by the fact that the respondent’s family members have a higher education, and the respondent himself worked in his specialty in his hometown before moving. This segment of sellers can be attributed to the intelligentsia in the country of origin. The purpose of the migrants’ move was to reach a new level of income in the context of the rapid development of business in Kazakhstan’s markets. The respondent emphasized the fact that children were gradually introduced to business and taught them the basics of trade. During his father’s absence, his son quietly manages the outlets and takes responsibility for making individual decisions regarding the family’s future.

The second segment identified in the study is emigrants who have taken over the business from their relatives. A distinctive feature of trade development is moving

away from the flavor of Tajikistan and building relationships with suppliers within Kazakhstan. In other words, the presence of “family” in this business was the original factor in its emergence and has lost its influence over time. This segment is a kind of continuation of the previous one. The choice of location is dictated by the availability of a ready-made option for work and does not imply the need for individual skills. Based on the interview, the author concluded that the majority of migrants in this segment lack higher education, their middle age category, and motivation. Thus, the chosen development path is because the business was built before them, and they only adopted it due to age. In a broad sense, the further development of these migrants’ businesses depends not on family ties but on the ability to build relationships with local suppliers or representatives of other cultures. This business format is less colorful but can rightly be called more modern. At the same time, the choice of this type of cooperation is not innovative: the functioning of the bazaars is built in such a way that suppliers themselves offer their services to sellers (Tomashevski & Yaroshenko, 2020).

In the conditions of the development of a market economy, relations with suppliers affect both the pricing policy of the market and the breadth of supply. The supply chain here is built not on the mutual assistance of representatives of the same culture but on the factors of evaluation of one or another potential partner. There is also an age category for these entrepreneurs: it is young sellers who are gradually moving from doing business “the old-fashioned way” and introducing modern solutions to trade in large markets. This format of entrepreneurship allows you to take a broader look at the trading process and analyze new opportunities. Of course, there are certain negative aspects to doing business with strangers. Chief among these is the unreliability and instability of some providers. In contrast to doing business based on “mutual assistance,” more business relationships are built here, tied to the financial component. This communication format does not imply any concessions or desire to help each other. Business is conducted solely based on monetary gain.

The third segment identified in the study is entrepreneurs working under the influence of the authoritarianism of the older generation. They have features in common with the second segment analyzed above. However, the motivation to work is built not on the opportunities seen but under the influence of kindred feelings, namely, the duty to the family and the need to help the father in doing business. The age category of these workers ranges from 17 to 35 years old, and higher education is a particular exception in families where parents insist on combining education with work. At the same time, the father in the families of this segment is a respected person for both the heirs and those around him. He successfully runs a business and often combines it with other activities. Thus, the respondent’s father has a higher education and works in accordance with his specialty. Often, representatives of this segment are third-generation entrepreneurs and will inherit the business not only from their fathers but also from their grandfathers. This fact is common but not the key one in forming the segment.

Analyzing interviews with a representative of this segment allows us to conclude that family ties have a dual effect on the business process. So, on the one hand, the key motivation is the desire to help, and the decision is made by the respondent on the word of his internal motives. However, at the same time, parents often insist on education or choosing a permanent job for their children. The choice of respondents to continue the family business is made because the transfer of business is possible only to a close relative. At the same time, if preference is given to family ties within the business, then suppliers and partners, as a rule, are local or representatives of other nationalities. This type of business can be considered a combination of the two previous segments with certain features.

A key feature of Tajik migrant entrepreneurship is its highly gendered nature, with businesses typically run by males within patriarchal family structures. Women are largely excluded from direct participation, instead providing domestic labor and childcare. However, some indirect involvement occurs through activities like preparing goods. The three entrepreneurial segments identified in this study revealed differences in gender roles. While males dominate leadership and public dealings in all cases, authoritarian control by elder males is pronounced in the third segment. More research is needed on potential shifts in gender dynamics as younger generations introduce innovations and expanded partnerships.

DISCUSSION

Thus, the segmentation of migrant entrepreneurs formed by the author in one form or another is confirmed by the research of sociologists from all over the world. An important contribution of the study to the analysis of portraits of Tajik migrants is their complexity: the studied reasons for moving and the model of forming a family business cover different age categories and life situations of migrants. This study confirms that, to build a successful business, migrants need the support of relatives both at the initial stage and in the future. An analysis of the selected segments shows that in all analyzed cases, there were family ties, even if, in the future, the business is based on interaction with locals.

Thus, the highlighted first segment is more likely unrelated to forced refugees but results from preparations for the move, emphasizing the large diaspora in the destination city and close family ties. Building a business is based on the help not only of relatives but also of compatriots who trade in the same market or are suppliers of goods. This aspect is analyzed in the studies of M. Baitas (2019, pp. 33–45), T. Holzlehner (2014), and L. Yalcin-Heckmann (2014). The authors' works emphasize the importance of family ties and the need for a cultural background when choosing a place to move to. In addition, the listed sociologists point to the formation of a unified system of the migrant community, which implies helping each other not only in conducting trade but also in the related aspects of transport, official

registration, production, and supplies. Unofficial entrepreneurs often need patronage from an already established business based on cultural ties and belonging to one state (Shcherban et al., 2022). In addition, the findings overlap with the results of the study by H. De Haas (2021), who considered migration processes as part of broader social changes in the environment of migrants. The author's conclusions regarding the choice of food products confirm the studies conducted by H. E. Aldrich and J. E. Cliff (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003, pp. 573–596), who consider the dependence of the speed of business development on the group of goods sold. According to these American sociologists, the sale of “cultural” goods, which in the buyer's subconscious are associated with the nationality of the sellers, allows one to develop business at an accelerated pace.

At the same time, R. Palmer (1984, pp. 89–104) emphasizes that the success of the sale of certain goods by migrants of specific nationalities depends on the quality of the relationships built. An important aspect is the veracity of this scheme. In other words, the products sold by Tajiks, brought from their homeland, are exotic for the Indigenous population, even if there are certain domestic analogs in Kazakhstan itself. The main conclusion obtained by the author during the study is that family ties are a key aspect of doing business by Tajik entrepreneurs in the field of trade at the “Green Bazaar.” However, at the same time, the author emphasizes that the influence of this connection may not be permanent and, subsequently, weaken when expanding the business or switching to cooperation with other partners. Modern suppliers themselves are the initiators of the partnership. Many of them are hard-core Kazakhs interested in working with Tajiks. Of course, running a family business by migrants, in all the cases considered by the author, affects the family's welfare and creates new opportunities for several generations to come. This aspect has been studied in the works of Z. Valdez (2011), which emphasize the positive aspects of the influence of family ties. Nevertheless, the opinions of other sociologists emphasize that “There are serious disadvantages associated with the family-run business. Keeping control within the family almost inevitably restricts the size, and especially the complexity, to which it can grow.” (Weidenbaum, 1996, pp. 143).

Regarding the second and third segments of migrant entrepreneurs in the “Green Bazaar,” pragmatism is at the heart of cooperation with partners. That is, the co-ethnic factor in the case of Tajik ethnic entrepreneurship is not the basis for success, as is usually assumed in studies of ethnic minorities. Relations are built not so much on mutual assistance as on mutually beneficial cooperation, the convenience of finding and hiring workers, easy access to cheap labor, knowledge of a common language, and so on (Yaroshenko et al., 2020). Businessmen are limited in building personal relationships that do not continue in the process of doing business based on commercial interaction. Brednikova & Pachenkov (2002, 74–81) highlight these aspects of the interaction of migrants with representatives of other cultures, especially clearly relegating “ethnicity” to the background. The paradox is that many researchers underestimate the function and place of the family in business

development. At the same time, other studies focus too much on the impact of family relationships without considering innovations in trade and the transition to transnational ties. The importance of the family for the migrants themselves is taken for granted and, in a certain context, defined in the daily practices of business (Amrahov et al., 2023).

For example, in the third segment of migrants analyzed, the authoritarianism of the father or other older generation representatives directly affects the involvement of sons in business. M. Weidenbaum (1996, pp. 141–156) has also studied this phenomenon, emphasizing the negative aspects of such influence. On the other hand, this aspect is rather the result of upbringing, and the very model of the Tajik family influences the decision to continue the family business. The son, realizing he is responsible for the sisters and his future children, decides to continue the family business. During the study, the author determined the structure of income distribution. Regardless of the number of outlets, the family's total income goes to the father, who distributes it according to the family's needs. For example, in British Pakistani business families, the income of individual household members is treated as part of the collective family fund. This is one of the distinguishing features of the "family business" since the money received is not distributed among those who work and is not spent on investments in further business but is distributed among all family members, including non-working women (Babayev, 2022).

The author of the current study emphasizes another important aspect which is relevant to all three segments of migrants is the role of women in the family business. An analysis of interview-narrative data with representatives of different age groups shows that no Tajik families welcome the help of women in organizing trade. The complete non-involvement of mothers, sisters, and daughters is due to other social roles: caring for the family, raising children, and home life. Baines & Wheelock (1998, pp. 16–35) considered a woman's place and role in business. Researchers D. Hangartner, D. Kopp, and M. Siegenthaler (Hangartner et al., 2021, pp. 589, 572–576), in their work, analyzed the level of discrimination against women refugees when hiring in various industries. At the same time, it cannot be argued that a woman does not take part in the family business since she takes on some of the important functions, freeing men to work. In the segment of entrepreneurs, which expands to the production of their own products, women, in addition to the reproductive function and running the household, took part in the stage of "preparing the goods," caring for trees, harvesting, drying fruit, etc.

CONCLUSIONS

The problem of Tajik migration to other Commonwealth of Independent States countries is not new and has long roots. The current state of affairs is largely caused by the migration policy of neighboring countries and the level of development of

the Tajik economy as such. The basis of the study of this article is not so much the historical or economic reasons for the migration of the population but the current state of the issue and the impact of migration on the state of the migrants themselves and their standard of living. The key aspect of the analyzed migration is its compulsion, which cannot but negatively impact entire families and sometimes even communities of migrants. The studies carried out during the writing of this article make it possible to identify how the family business of migrants in a large city is formed and developed, the main factors of influence, and the results of the attempts of individual representatives of migrants. An analysis of the experience of successful entrepreneurs and their path to creating their own businesses makes it possible to identify key challenges on the way to establishing a business and develop ways to solve the main problems of migrants.

According to the interview-narratives, the author studied the state of the family business of migrants who moved to Almaty at different times to do business. Based on the interview, three segments of entrepreneurs were identified, doing business in three different formats. The first are not forced migrants but citizens who want to improve their family's financial situation. Others are migrants who left due to lack of money and run a family business not based on relationships with each other but on cooperation with locals and representatives of other diasporas. The third group of entrepreneurs are businessmen who took over their father's business under the influence of the latter's authoritarianism. During the study, the author traces the influence of family relationships on doing business. The "family nature" of Tajik entrepreneurship is expressed in the overall distribution of the budget, the work of men to provide for women, and family ties within the community. At the same time, during the study, innovations in doing business of the younger generation were highlighted, namely, attracting partners unrelated to Tajiks.

The study revealed migrant entrepreneurship in Kazakhstan as a complex phenomenon shaped by intertwined factors. Family ties and diaspora connections provide critical support for new businesses yet also limit growth and innovation. Patriarchal gender norms exclude women from leadership roles. However, generational differences emerge as younger entrepreneurs build new partnerships and supply chains. The diversity of entrepreneurial paths challenges one-size-fits-all stereotypes about migrant businesses.

In conclusion, the article offers a broader and more detailed description of Tajik migrant entrepreneurs across various age groups and life circumstances. By interviewing respondents and delineating three distinct entrepreneurial categories, this research underscores the intricate interplay of factors such as family connections, generational shifts, gender roles, and collaboration with local communities in influencing migrant entrepreneurial activity. This direction is gradually shifting the integral family business and, in the future, requires further research.

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POVZETEK

ETNIČNO PODJETNIŠTVO: DRUŽINSKA PODJETJA TADŽIŠKIH MIGRANTOV

Zhuldyz Imasheva

Avtorica v prispevku preučuje etnično podjetništvo tadžiških migrantov, ki vodijo družinska podjetja v kazahstanskem mestu Almaty. Predstavi zgodovinski kontekst migracijskih trendov po razpadu Sovjetske zveze, ki je mnoge Tadžike s kmetijskimi in trgovskimi znanji prisilil v iskanje novih trgov. Sprva je bila njihova glavna destinacija Rusija, v zadnjem obdobju pa se je zaradi spremenjenih politik v Rusiji kot alternativa pojavil Kazahstan. Avtorica se osredotoča zlasti na sedanji položaj tadžiških migrantov v Kazahstanu ter na dejavnike, ki vplivajo na njihova življenja. Obravnava predhodne znanstvene raziskave o vidikih tadžiških migracij, kot so vzroki zanje ter vprašanja diskriminacije. Vendar pa so kompleksni dejavniki, ki trenutno vplivajo na migrantske in etnično podjetništvo, premalo poznani, zato si avtorica prizadeva zapolniti to vrzel s poglobljeno študijo tadžiških migracij v Kazahstan in razvoja družinskih podjetij. Pri tem med drugim uporablja metodologijo pripovednih intervjujev s tadžiškimi podjetniki na »Zelenem bazarju« v Almatyju. Z analizo intervjujev razkriva tri glavne možnosti za podjetništvo, ki jih imajo migranti. Nekateri med njimi niso bili prisiljeni v selitev zaradi ekonomskih razlogov, temveč so odšli, da bi izboljšali družinske finance. Drugi so bili v odhod prisiljeni zaradi pomanjkanja denarja v Tadžikistanu in so ustanovili podjetja, v katerih se ne zanašajo na druge migrante iz Tadžikistana. Tretja skupina migrantov je pod močnim vplivom svojih očetov prevzela že obstoječa družinska podjetja. Ključna ugotovitev prispevka je, da sta za migrantska podjetja značilni kolektivnost in družinska narava. Migranti so s pomočjo družinskih vezi prišli do zagonskega kapitala, delovne sile, stanovanja in blaga. V svojih podjetjih ne skrbijo zgolj za dobiček, temveč je njihova glavna skrb zagotavljanje preživetja družine. Na drugi strani pa mlajši migranti vse pogosteje sklepajo partnerstva tudi zunaj tadžiške skupnosti, s čimer postopoma spreminjajo tradicionalni model. Avtorica zaključuje, da tadžiške migracije zaradi svoje zapletene narave in neprostovoljnih vzrokov zanje negativno vplivajo na družine. Vendar pa migranti s svojim družinskim podjetništvom dokazujejo odpornost, pri čemer so potrebne nadaljnje raziskave o spremembah, ki se dogajajo pri mlajših generacijah migrantov. Prispevek omogoča edinstven vpogled v trenutno stanje tadžiških migracij in razvoj družinskih podjetij, ki se odzivajo na gospodarske potrebe in spreminjajočo se družbeno dinamiko.

TEMATSKI SKLOP / THEMATIC SECTION

MIGRACIJE DELOVNE SILE V UKRAJINI IN NA OBMOČJU NEKDANJE SOVJETSKE ZVEZE **LABOR MIGRATION IN UKRAINE AND THE POST-SOVIET SPACE**

Zhanna Bolat

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