



International Journal of Applied Business and Economic Research

ISSN: 0972-7302

available at <http://www.serialsjournal.com>

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Volume 15 • Number 11 • 2017

Russian-Language Economy as a Mechanism of Integration of Migrants from Russia into the Receiving Society (Through the Example of the USA)

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ABSTRACT

The USA became the key country, receiving Russian emigrants, and a territory of concentration of the most populous Russian-speaking communities outside the former USSR. Nowadays, the Russian language is included into the first ten most widespread languages of the USA (of course, exclusive of the English language). It means that the Russian-speaking audience is quite vast and is a large segment in the US economy. In this regard, the USA present a quite interesting example for research of a new social phenomenon of the Russian-language economy which takes the important place in formation of Russian-speaking communities and includes the system of institutes, the infrastructure and economic ties between their representatives based on use and domination of the Russian language. Incoming immigrants from Russia and countries of the former USSR are integrated into American society, gaining the first experience of work and life in new conditions most often in the Russian-language economy. Russian-speaking communities are expanded and flourished thanks to immigration of not only new workers, but also commodity buyers and service consumers from Russia. And sometimes development of ethnic economy mixed with other factors becomes an incentive for new immigration.

JEL Classification: D02, E02, O15, J24.

Keywords: Russian-language economy, Russian-speaking communities, emigration, adaptation, integration, economic institutes, economic ties, the USA, Russia, labor market.

1. INTRODUCTION

About 30 million people, who are related to the Russian culture and the Russian language, living outside modern Russia for a number of reasons, became the second more populous expat community in the world

after the Chinese (huatszyao). Most Russians lives in countries of the former USSR. Formation of Russian-speaking communities abroad took place thanks to four components. Firstly, emigration from the USSR and Russia which flows at different times created kernels of Russian-speaking communities in different states of the world. The USA, Germany, Israel, Canada, France, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, Spain and some other countries became the key countries of emigrant resettlement from Russia. Secondly, it is the demise of the USSR which immediately increased the number of the Russians, living outside their home by some million people. First of all, the matter concerns Post-Soviet countries. The largest Russian-speaking communities (about 25 million people) remained in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Baltic States, Transcaucasia and Central Asia. This quite unique form of formation of an expat community makes impact on features of its activity of Russian communities in post-Soviet countries (Dzutsati, Siroky & Dzutsev, 2016). However, the number of the Russians in the CIS countries was gradually reduced due to return migration to Russia and also integration processes and the natural population decline. Thirdly, it is the natural population growth due to the birth rate in Russian-speaking communities which live abroad. There were already some generations of descendants of Russian migrants, who did not live in Russia but keep commitment to the Russian language and culture, born abroad. For example, over a period of several generations such Russian groups of the population as the Harbinese, Old Believers, and others, living in Australia, the USA, Canada, Brazil, Argentina surprisingly kept their Russian identity. Fourthly, it is ethnolinguistic self-identification of the population having the Russian heritage. Many people of Russian descent already in the first generation have achieved quite successful integration in host countries, and in the second and third generations have already lost their Russian identity. Usually, to the third generation of Russian migrants there was the Russian language decay, namely, grandsons of migrants almost stopped speaking Russian (Aksenov & Lebedeva, 2016).

Outside the former USSR the largest most populous Russian-speaking communities are concentrated in the USA. Russian emigrants were interested in the USA became as an attractive country for resettlement, business, education, work and activity. During population censuses the USA use three methods of identification of the Russians: an ethnocultural approach (in 2010 3.2 million people were called the Russians), an ethnolinguistic approach (in 2010 about 850 thousand Americans mostly spoke Russian at home), an ethnogeographical approach (in 2014 390 thousand people referred themselves to the Russians). Now, the Russian language is included into the first ten most widespread languages of the USA (of course, exclusive of the English language). It means that the Russian-speaking audience is quite vast and is a large segment in the US economy. In this regard, the USA present a quite interesting example for research of a new social phenomenon of the Russian-language economy which takes the important place in formation of Russian-speaking communities and includes the system of institutes, the infrastructure and economic ties between their representatives based on use and domination of the Russian language.

2. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

As its targets the present research has analyzed migrants from Russia who have been living in the USA for about 1 year regardless of the current migratory status and nationality, and also institutes and infrastructure of Russian-speaking economy in various cities and regions of the USA. The subject of research is the integration process of migrants from Russia to the USA by means of interaction with institutes and infrastructure of Russian-speaking economy, including with the labor market, the real property market, employers, companies, firms, mass media and so forth.

The paper has used the method of comparative analysis of the Russian statistics about emigration and the American statistics about immigrants from Russia. On this basis the paper has determined the scales and channels of migration, the socio-demographic structure of the migratory stream from Russia to the USA. The Russian Federation used data on emigration for permanent residence in the USA (The Russian Office for National Statistics), data on temporary labor emigration to the USA (Federal Migration Service of Russia), data on the number of Russian citizens living in the USA (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation). The USA used data of immigration boundary statistics (US Department of Home Security and Bureau of Consular Affairs, United States Department of State) and the national population census (Census Bureau, Department of Commerce). It allowed to estimate the number of migrants from Russia in the territory of the USA, including able-bodied migrants having access to market.

On the basis of the review of scientific literature and statistics the paper has presented characteristics and described the structure of Russian-speaking communities in some regions and cities of the USA is described. The concepts are specified and statistical estimates of the number of some Russian-speaking communities in the USA are made: the Americans who were born in Russia; the Americans speaking Russian; the ethnic Russians; migrants keeping the Russian nationality. On the basis of analysis of historical data of national population censuses of the USA in 1990, 2000, 2010 the paper has estimated a role of three key factors (immigration, reproductivity, change of the ethnic identity) in formation of Russian-speaking communities in the USA.

On the basis of an observation method, statistics, expert evaluation the paper has described the scales, structure and tendencies of development of Russian-speaking economy in the USA. The forms are revealed and the typology of Russian business in the USA, its branch priority, orientation and dependence on workers and consumers among Russian migrants is offered. The geography of research covered different regions of the USA: District of Columbia (Washington), the State of New York (New York), the State of California (Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, Sacramento, Davis), the State of Miami (Miami, St. Petersburg), the State of Washington (Seattle), the State of Oregon (Portland), the State of Texas and so on. The paper has conducted content analysis of Russian-speaking periodicals and newspapers which are issued in the largest cities of the USA in Russian. Analysis of the contents of advertisements of vacancies offered by employers and requirements to workers is conducted there. A share of advertisements focused on the search of Russian-speaking employees is fixed. It allowed to establish accurate priorities of Russian business and its high dependence on Russian-speaking workers in the USA. Newspapers and magazines have also analyzed advertisements on services and goods offered by consumers. It was revealed that a considerable share of advertisements in Russian-speaking editions is exactly focused on Russian-speaking consumers (Gusev, Polovova & Karnaukh, 2016).

On the basis of the statistics the paper has revealed the specifics of employment of Russian migrants in the American labor market. It concerns the branches of economy, activity areas, geography on states and cities. On the basis of a sociological poll of migrants the paper has also determined the features of moving to the USA, the existence of qualification, the features of job search, the channels of employment, working conditions, the existence of an official contract, a rate of wages and other questions. A survey was conducted by a method of narrative interviews (personal stories of migrants). A sociological survey is conducted in view of key migrant groups in relation to the labor market: (1) unqualified wage workers (services industry and production); (2) hired highly skilled labor migrants (scientists, highly qualified specialists, teachers,

doctors); (3) owners of own business; (4) students and graduate students having additional earnings. It was done 10-15 narrative interviews in each of four groups of migrants in different states and cities of the USA, and the total number of interviewee was 56. On the basis of supervision and narrative interviews to migrants problems of process of integration of four groups of migrants of Russia into the USA are revealed. Special attention will be paid to the issue concerning mastery of English, a nature of resettlement, the nationality or a green card, localization on communication only with Russian-speaking people. On the basis of narrative interviews characteristics will be given to contacts of Russian migrants with their home, their frequency, forms of these contacts. Assessment of a degree of satisfaction of migrants from Russia with life in the American society, their migratory priorities for the near future, including a desire to move back to Russia was an important fragment of research (Weber, 2016).

3. RESULTS

The Russians were always interested in the United States as a country for immigration, sometimes it was even a mythologem in consciousness of some emigrants. The Jewish emigration from the USSR which began in the 1970-1980s became the first large-scale wave in the contemporary history. It had a mix of economic and political reasons and had a limited character. Then, emigration took place in an active form after the collapse of the USSR. In January 1993 a new law on an order of an entry into and departure from Russia which guaranteed international law observance in the field of migration, so, a free entry and departure from the country came into force. In point of fact, the Iron Curtain that existed throughout the Soviet period of history was failed. Russian citizens moved to the USA even more actively. Besides, emigration was stimulated by the adverse economic situation in the Russian-language economy in the 1990s.

According to official figures of the Russian statistics, over the period from 1991 to 2015 more than 5 million people left Russia for permanent residence and for temporary job abroad. A considerable part of them moved to the USA that attracted Russian citizens with great opportunities to work, career and business, with the possibility of investments and real property purchase, socio-economic and political freedom.

During the 1990s emigration from Russia for permanent residence was steadily increased in the USA. For example, over the period from 1992 to 1996 the scales of emigration were more than 70 thousand people. In 1997 the USA was a host country for about 19 thousand people from Russia. In the 1990s children and students present the greatest share among Russian immigrants in the USA, adults who arrived according to the program of family joining present the second category, and the third group was presented by labor migrants and highly qualified specialists. About a third among immigrants was university-educated emigrants. At this time migrants from Russia searched job in the sphere of professional services, education, health care, industrial development, trade. But the USA did not see immigration from Russia at the leading positions in the general inflow of immigrants. In the context of people of European, Asian and Latin American the number of Russian immigrants was insignificant. For example, according to immigration services of the USA in 2014 about 9 thousand people who were born in Russia obtained the lawful status of a permanent resident of the country. It was only 0.9% of all immigrants in the USA (in 2014 the host country for more than 1 million immigrants).

In the 2000s tendencies changed significantly. First of all, the absolute scales of migration for permanent residence were decreased. If according to the Russian statistics it is less noticeable as it fixed only removed people from the register, according to the American statistics this tendency was more obvious. If in 2005

18.1 thousand immigrants came from Russia for permanent residence to the USA, and it was half as much that was only than 9 thousand people in 2014. Despite considerable exceedence of the American data over the Russian the migration scales were less in comparison with the 1990s by almost 5-7 times. As the U.S. authorities ceased to consider people of Russian descent as compelled migrants, the requirements to issue of the American visas were toughened. And in Russia the emigratory potential was decreased for a number of reasons, including because of stabilization of a socio-economic situation. As a result, emigration in the USA became more professional with increased share of people of dual and higher education. Many American universities got job for a large number of Russian professors, a large number of programmers moved to hi-tech companies of the USA (Seattle, the Silicon Valley, New York). Representatives of this wave of emigrants from Russia adapted into the accepting society enough quickly and effectively, found job and, if necessary, learned a language.

Now the outflow of brainpower from Russia to the USA takes place: about 35% of Russian emigrants in the USA are university-educated. Since the beginning of 1990 the USA accepted more than 32 thousand university-educated Russians. Experts in the sphere of space technologies, applied and theoretical physics, computer and fine chemical technologies, biochemistry and microbiology, geneticists and mathematics will emigrate from Russia abroad. According to approximate data, emigration of one high quality expert abroad causes losses for the country for about 300 thousand dollars. In recent years Russian programmers and experts in the sphere of computer technologies are actively involved in emigration. The USA discuss the ideas of increased quotas for foreign qualified specialists.

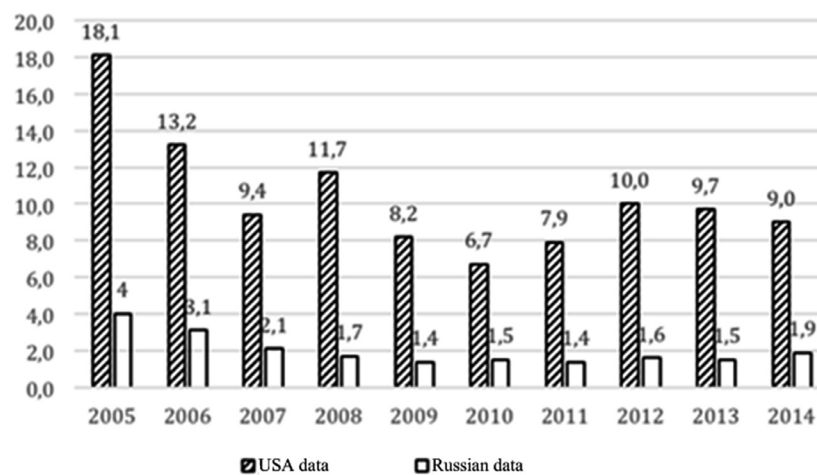


Figure 1: Migratory streams from Russia to the USA in 2005-2014 (the Russian data are compared with the American data), one thousand people

Temporary labor emigration from Russia to the USA also represents a significant stream. After the collapse of the USSR about 1.5 million people left the country for permanent residence and temporary job abroad. Russia became a large exporter of labor to labor markets of foreign countries - 45-70 thousand people leave for work only under the contract annually. A considerable part of Russian temporary labor emigrants goes to America and Europe. The USA are among the main countries of employment of the Russians. The Russians with dual (professional) education are the most demanded that is about 40-50% of all people who left under the contract abroad. University-educated Russian workers make about a third of the migratory stream abroad. In the international labor market the Russians having working specialties

that is about a half of the labor migratory stream, first of all, connected with navigation and fishery are the most demanded. About a half of all working specialties refers to them. About a quarter of all employed under the contract abroad are experts in the technical sphere and area of art and culture. At last, the sixth part of the flow of labor migrants is presented by the heads. Analysis of the Russian statistics data shows that 64% of labor emigrants worked in the transport branch in Russia, 65% of labor emigrants kept their specialization and worked in transport in host countries also. In the majority they are seamen and technical staff of admiralty.

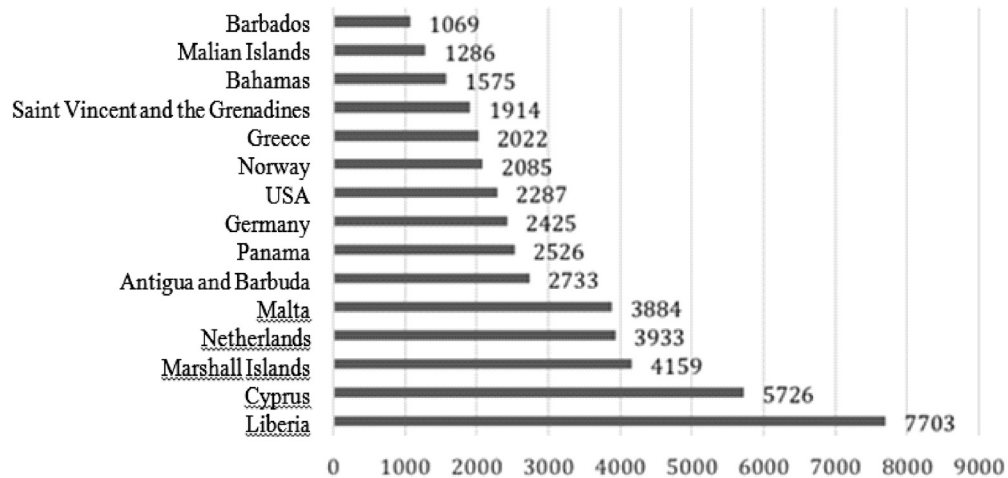


Figure 2: Labor emigration from Russia in 2015 abroad (according to the Federal Migration Service), people

At the same time it is necessary to recognize that there were also new, emigration forms from Russia to the USA veiled for the statistics. For example, many Russian citizens bought real property and opened business, received a green card in the USA, but they did not lose the Russian nationality. But they live in two countries. The rich Russians buy apartments and houses in Miami, come here for some months in a year, but thus come back to Russia where they have employment and business. Also the forms and channels of emigration which are opened by people with a desire to go to the USA. For example, after the beginning of an armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine, some Ukrainian citizens living at this moment in Russia began to move to the USA actively and to search there a political asylum. Recently, representatives of sexual minorities from Russia and countries of the former USSR also began to move to the USA, requesting a shelter on the basis of oppressions and impairment of their rights in countries.

4. DISCUSSION

In 2010 3.2 million people of Russian descent lived in the USA, and the majority of them were successfully integrated into the American society and the labor market. About 40% of Russian-speaking Americans live in the northeast of the country. The largest community is concentrated in New York. A unique area of compact accommodation of people of Russian descent is Brighton Beach in Manhattan (though compact residence in other countries is not peculiar to Russian migrants). About the fourth part of people of Russian descent lives on the western coast (San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle and other cities). A special area of concentration of the highly skilled former Russians is the Silicon Valley in California. About 20% of people of Russian descent live in the south of the USA (mainly, in Miami). Many people of Russian descent live in Detroit, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Houston.

The term Russian-speaking communities is more applicable to the Russians in the USA, than the term Russian expat community for three reasons. Firstly, the Russians cannot be referred to the traditional concept expat community as they are poorly consolidated and often have weak orientation to their home. Secondly, the Russian language is one of the few factors that economically unite diverse groups of migrants from Russia and the former Soviet Union having different ethnicity, religion, country of origin. Thirdly, the USA national statistics (the data of population censuses) possesses information on usage of a language in a family. A language strongly influences economic behavior, including in the labor market and in the sphere of consumption. It is a good statistical base for delimitation of a target of research that is Russian-speaking communities. In 2010 the USA population census has revealed that about the fourth part of people of Russian descent (about 850 thousand people) speaks Russian at home. Russian-speaking communities include people of different ethnic groups, not only the Russians, but also the Jewish people, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks and so forth. More often migrants and their environment called all who are somehow connected with Russia (who was born there, came from, whose parents or primogenitors are the Russians by origin and speak Russian and so forth) the Russians (Kolesnikov & Darmilova, 2016).

There are double ties between migration and Russian-speaking communities in the USA. On one hand, incoming immigrants from Russia and countries of the former USSR are integrated into American society, gaining the first experience of work and life in new conditions most often through shops, restaurants, auto repair shops, lawyer bureaus, hairdressing salons, medical offices created by Russian migrants earlier. It is some kind of a socio-economic springboard for Russian-speaking migrants in America. On the other hand, Russian-speaking communities are expanded and flourished thanks to immigration of not only new workers, but also commodity buyers and service consumers from Russia. And sometimes development of ethnic economy mixed with other factors becomes an incentive for new immigration.

Most of modern Russian migrants are nonpolitical. They are not interested in happening political processes in Russia, they do not want to protect the interests of their historical home in the country of residence. Besides, there is still a tendency on adaptation and even assimilation in the accepting society. Despite the increasing number of Russian schools and other cultural institutions, organized in foreign countries, emigrants of the second generation often badly speak Russian and badly know the history and culture of Russia.

Interviews show that the more a person is good in the labor market, the more he is nonpolitical. It is connected with the fact that a worker has much time to do his own business, he is completely engaged and an employer notices it and promotes him. The matter is about adaptation in the labor market that it should not be confused to the process of full integration into the new society. In course of time, when a person achieves a certain level of material welfare, he can be interested in the policy again. From the point of view of life priorities Russian-speaking migrants are more interested in their involvement in the economy than in the policy in America.

If those who could built their career, found well paid job, and those who have not achieved anything in this sphere for various reasons will be compared, there is an answer to the question why people who speak Russian badly adapt. So, first of all, successful people are characterized by the general high education level. Thus, they try to study further, especially paying much attention to English. They, as a rule, they had the significant social status in their home and they try to regain their positions. Thus, it is quite interesting that possessing good prerequisites to adaptation in the new cultural environment, nevertheless they, as a rule,

they try to be successful in the economy of a Russian-speaking community. Unsuccessful people do not want to be educated and do not learn English, therefore they become victims of the language environment and lose the incentives for their personal growth. Disintegration of their marriages is an illustration of contrast of the life of successful and unsuccessful people. If in a family someone is successful and someone is not, a divorce took place often, and a new marriage, as a rule, is contracted with a representative of the close social environment, namely, a member of the former partners in a matrimony who was more successful finds somebody successful and vice versa.

The extract from the interview with an employee of the bank in Davis (the State of California), an ethnic Russian woman from Moldova has the American nationality: At first I lived in the Russian area, but then I moved from there. But my ex-husband, he is also from Moldova, lives there. He is happy with it. But he does not want to learn English. And I did not support him. I wanted to build my career and I was additionally educated (banking), learned English. Also I am very glad of escaping from this area.

A phenomenon of immigration from Russia in many parameters shows an example of the most successful integration of immigrants into the new society with many people, and in most cases in the first generation.

Research has showed that the Russian-language economy and emigration are interconnected and interdependent phenomena. On one hand, incoming Russian-speaking migrants who often do not speak the language of the host country well, primarily find job and adapt through mechanisms of the Russian-language economy. For example, in Brighton Beach it is possible to find ethnic (Russian-speaking) employment bureaus. And the existence of a Russian segment of the labor market allows the Russian Americans to begin the process of integration into the American society. Russian-speaking migrants are successfully integrated into the American society, mostly starting through institutes of the Russian-language economy, being supported, getting jobs, life experience, and professional skills. But success of the process will depend on many factors, including the opportunity to escape from a circle of the Russian-language economy in time and to become national (non-ethnic) segments of the labor market (Kuznetsov, 2016).

On the other hand, development of the Russian-language economy demands the inflow of labor force with the Russian language and the Russian mentality. Therefore, the Russian-language economy stimulates new migratory waves from Russia to some extent and other countries of the former USSR. The brightest example is the inflow of Russian businessmen, representatives of a middle class for permanent residence and work to countries of new emigration (for example, Spain, Bulgaria, Thailand, Cambodia and so forth). A bright example is the offshore island state Cyprus that before its entry into the structure of the European Union became a place of the inflow of investments from Russia, then stimulated Russian business development (banks, restaurants, shops, schools and so forth), and then labor force migrations from Russia for development also. It can be said that the Russian-language economy is a driver of emigration of a part of the population from modern Russia.

The Russian-language economy includes the system of institutes, the infrastructure and economic ties between representatives of Russian-speaking communities based on usage and domination of the Russian language. The structure of the Russian-language economy is presented by several elements. Firstly, by companies, firms and organizations which are founded and developed by people of Russian descent or

their descendants; secondly, by a Russian-speaking segment of the labor market where Russian-speaking employees are mostly demanded; thirdly, financial streams coming from Russia and (or) serving the Russian-language economy; fourthly, social services and sector of the services focused on consumers, mostly speaking Russian; fifthly, by mass media, existing for the Russian-speaking audience. It can be said that an ethnolinguistic approach is the cornerstone of identification of the Russian-language economy. Often the Russian-language economy is based on close economic ties with Russia or Russian-speaking communities in neighboring countries. Despite the considerable scales the research of the Russian-language economy is not widespread in the Russian and foreign science. The previous researches were devoted to the issues concerning formation, resettlement and adaptation of Russian-speaking migrants of different waves to the life in host countries. However, mechanisms of their economic activity, consequences of economic activity, economic ties with Russia remained a phenomenon difficult for researchers. And though the exact scales of the Russian-language economy are not known and almost cannot be estimated, it is quite possible that they are comparable to the GDP of the Russian Federation.

Being dispersive, the Russian-language economy in the American cities is mostly presented by located objects (shops, restaurants, clubs, firms, agencies and so forth) which, as a rule, scattered territorially. Their owners and personnel live among the local population without a desire to territorial and ethnic consolidation in host countries and being dispersed. But there are some exceptions. For example, from the 1970s in Brighton Beach that is one of the districts of New York, a Russian-language enclave under the name Small Odessa (Small Russia) started being formed. Originally, it was formed by Jewish immigrants from the USSR. Then here natives of the USSR began to lodge. But only some of them were engaged. They were successful immigrants who speak English bad and have slim chances to successful adaptation in the American labor market. Highly educated experts who speak English quite well, despite the difficulties, sought to be resettled outside a Russian-language enclave, deliberately separating from it. It is the extract from the interview of an emigrant from Russia, who is a dentist in New York: I was always surprised by Brighton Beach. People are strange there. They are seemed to speak Russian, but they are quite peculiar. Of course, I can go there to eat at a restaurant, but I then I am psychologically ill. I do not know why. And, of course, I could not live there, in no case.

Russian areas in other American cities are less brightly expressed. The extract from the interview to the employee of the bank in Davis (the State of California), ethnic Russian from Moldova, has the American nationality: In Sacramento there is a so-called Russian area, many natives of the former USSR live there. But mostly they are those who are supported by social benefits, arrived and cannot find good job, know English bad and do not want to learn it. As a rule, they refer to the senior generation. Earlier, I lived there, but then I left.

Representatives Russian-speaking communities, highly educated, professionally trained and mastered in various branches of the American economy. For example, in high technologies and programming in the USA there are about 130 thousand people of Russian descent, including about 50 thousand Russian-speaking highly qualified experts work in companies in the Silicon Valley (the State of California). Also people of Russian descent among highly qualified experts are engaged in education, medicine, biology, business, mass media, biology and other spheres of economic activity. The extract from the interview to Maya, the judicial translator (Los Angeles, California): I came to the USA with my husband in the 1970s. I started being a manicurist in America. It was difficult. I did not know English at all, started studying from

scratch. I learned it and became the main translator from Russian into English in court. Now I conduct translator's examination in all USA (Nikeryasova & Voskanyan, 2016).

In the Russian-language economy the significant role belongs to Russian-language press, television channels, Internet resources. In the USA there are many Russian-speaking media concerns. The situation on the East coast of the USA is quite interesting. The extract from the interview to Sergey, the businessman (Sacramento, California): I came to the USA from Uzbekistan. I started all from scratch. Now I have publishing business. We publish the reference book of the Russian business in Sacramento. There are a lot of advertising projects. We are beyond the Russian community long ago. We organize children's festivals which are quite popular among the Americans. For example, organizers invited all potential employers, and not only representatives of the Russian-language economy to an exposition of business and career. Representatives of the Russian business were beyond narrow understanding of a community as they organized this event for the whole local community. It means that they understand a social mission that represents an example of citizenship and successful integration of Russian immigrants into the USA.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The USA became the key country receiving Russian emigrants and a territory of concentration of the most populous Russian-speaking communities outside the former USSR. Nowadays, the Russian language is included into the first ten most widespread languages of the USA (of course, exclusive of the English language). It means that the Russian-speaking audience is quite vast and is a large segment in the US economy. In this regard, the USA present a quite interesting example for research of a new social phenomenon of the Russian-language economy which takes the important place in formation of Russian-speaking communities and includes the system of institutes, the infrastructure and economic ties between their representatives based on use and domination of the Russian language.

There are double ties between migration and Russian-speaking communities in the USA. On the one hand, again arriving immigrants from Russia and the countries of the former USSR are integrated into the American society, gaining the first experience and lives in new conditions most often through the shops, restaurants, auto repair shops, lawyer bureaus, hairdressing salons, medical offices created by Russian migrants earlier. It is some kind of a socio-economic springboard for Russian-speaking migrants in America. On the other hand, Russian-speaking communities are expanded and flourished thanks to immigration of not only new workers, but also commodity buyers and service consumers from Russia. And sometimes development of ethnic economy mixed with other factors becomes an incentive for new immigration.

Important applied aspects of research (socio-economic and political) are presented by the conclusions that the Russian-language economy and Russian-speaking communities represent a considerable resource for socio-economic development of Russia and fence-mending with foreign countries. Now, however, the Russian authorities do not have such strategic understanding do not use it in the compatriot policy.

Acknowledgement

Research is funded by the Russian Science Foundation grant (project No. 16-18-10435 Emigration from Russia and formation of Russian-speaking communities: new tendencies, socio-demographic and economic consequences).

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