

Entrepreneurship in Russia: A Systematic Overview of Domestic Publications

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Abstract

Over the past three decades, entrepreneurship and related processes and institutions have been widely discussed in Russian academic literature. In order to understand the achievements, thematic gaps, and methodological problems that must be solved in subsequent studies, this article provides a systematic analysis of research papers on the topic of Russian entrepreneurship considering publications from leading Russian academic journals published in the period of 1991–2023. The analysis enabled the identification of the most elaborated topics, revealing the advances in the theoretical understanding

of Russian entrepreneurship, as well as contradictions in research programs and empirical methods within publications on this topic in Russian and international journals. As a result of the analysis, promising scientific research areas for further investigation of entrepreneurship are proposed: (1) the reconceptualization of standard definitions/concepts of the theory of entrepreneurship, considering the Russian context; (2) building new theories and concepts of the middle level based on the investigation of unique phenomena and institutions in the Russian business environment.

Keywords: entrepreneurship; Russia; systematic literature review; structured literature review; reconceptualization; contextualization; twofold mixed embeddedness

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Introduction

In recent decades entrepreneurship has been one of the most popular research areas (Audretsch, 2012; Bosma et al., 2018; Kerr, Mandorff, 2023). Among many things, this was caused by political changes on the international arena at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, when most territories in Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia started to shift from a state-controlled economy to a market economy. Business owners became the new chief social and economic agents in many countries, including Russia, which over time invented and re-invented its own approaches to establishing businesses, novel business practices, forms of interactions with other stakeholders, including the government, and amassed a significant number of scientific publications describing these changes. It is evident from international (Puffer, McCarthy, 2001; Aidis et al., 2008; Szerb, Trumbull, 2018 et al.) and Russian publications that analyzing the development of entrepreneurship and its main actors and strategies helps shape business ecosystems and regulatory mechanisms of small businesses.

The main trends in the international scientific studies of Russian entrepreneurship published during 1991–2021 have been thoroughly reviewed in the article (Shirokova et al., 2023). It concluded that majority of such studies were done by foreign researchers who have insufficient knowledge or understanding of the Russian context, for which they compensate by providing abstract reflections on how the situation must be. Although Russian journals remained outside the scope of that article, they have produced a plethora of works during the last 30 years about various aspects of the establishment and development of entrepreneurship, relevant market and government institutions, and business practices. This compilation of studies has not yet been subjected to a systematic review based on modern bibliometric methods and techniques. This paper attempts to fill this gap.

The following questions are examined: (1) what aspects and approaches were most often reflected in Russian journals when analyzing entrepreneurship in Russia? (2) what foreign ideas and theories that emerged in international research were then developed and improved in Russian journals? (3) what are the major differences in the features of Russian entrepreneurship as reflected by the international and Russian academic literature? (4) what are the theoretical and methodological prospects for studying the Russian business environment? To answer these, the authors performed a systematic review of relevant publications in Russian journals from 1991 to 2023, inclusive, with the help of bibliometric techniques. The five parts of the article include: the introduction; methodology of the research (journal sampling principles and analysis methods); description of the main results; promising areas for fu-

ture research after the discussion; and finally, conclusions and the limitations of this study.

Methodology

To sum up the results of studies on entrepreneurship in Russian literature, a systematic review and bibliometric techniques were applied, which have proven their productivity in research (Wallin, 2012; Urbano et al., 2022). The retrieval and selection of publications were conducted in December 2023 in several stages. At the first stage, we used the eLibrary.Ru database for search queries affiliated with the Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI).

At the second stage, we used the terms “business* OR entrepreneur*” to search through publications, abstracts, and key words. Then, we selected only articles with full texts in leading scientific journals (taken from a list compiled by the HSE University¹) which have been published in 1991–2023 in subject areas related to entrepreneurship: “Economics and management”, “Sociology, demographics, and other social sciences”, “Education”, “Political science, international relations, public and municipal governance and regional studies”, “Psychology and cognitive sciences”, and “Development problems”. The further selection among 108 journals was done based on the five-year RSCI impact factor as of 2022² not lower than 0.5. A lower impact factor means that those publications are cited less than in half of the relevant articles, and the journal itself is infrequently referenced in academia. In the end, 545 articles were selected.

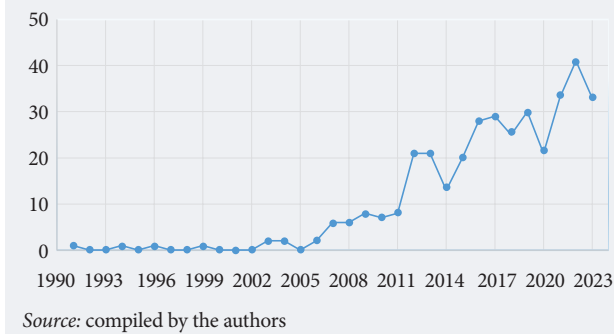
The third stage was the abstract analysis, where 185 papers were manually eliminated since they did not conform to the subject of the study and were, in our opinion, unscientific. After that, 360 articles were left. Figure 1 illustrates the yearly distribution with continuous growth in the number of publications about entrepreneurship in Russian scientific journals. In 2010–2023, 323 articles were published, 10 times more than in the previous decade. The greatest amount of publication activity occurred in 2022 (41 publications), in 2023 and 2021 (33 publications each), and in 2019 (30 publications). Such a dynamic reflects, firstly, the development of private entrepreneurship after its establishment in the 1990s (accumulating experience, practices, etc.), and secondly, the shaping of entrepreneurship analysis into a separate research program for Russian scientists (the accumulation of empirical data and methodological practices).

The conducted analysis helped to identify journals that published articles about entrepreneurship, as well as leading authors and their affiliations (Tables 1 and 2). The pool of authors included 611 Russian researchers, and the average number of publications per researcher was 0.59.

¹ We chose a list of journals by HSE University (https://www.hse.ru/en/science/scifund/an/spiski_all/), since it was compiled using strict academic standards and criteria (double-blind peer review, no publication fee, etc.), and its journals comply with research ethics guidelines.

² Since there are no data for some journals for 2022, a 5-year impact factor for the last available period was used.

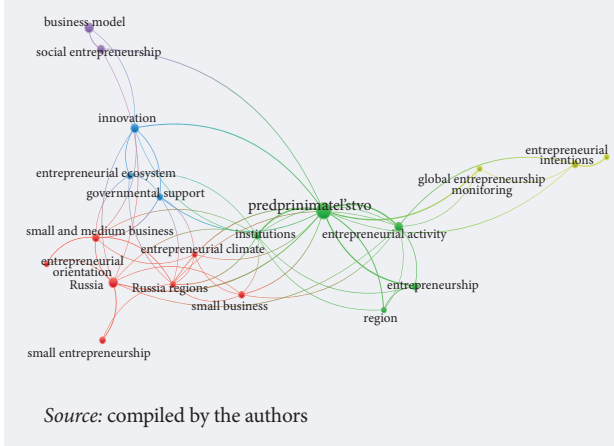
Figure 1. Number of Publications in the Sample by Year



As it was found by bibliometric studies (Anand et al., 2020), the main subjects in the literature can be figured out by key words — they reflect the most widely discussed topics at different times (Pesta et al., 2018). Therefore, we used keywords to systematize, group, and classify the articles and build a keyword co-occurrences map (Walsh, Renaud, 2017) to identify the relevant topics.

The final sample was compiled in two stages. At the first stage, the initial 360 articles were analyzed with quantitative methods. After they were uploaded into the system, the program identified 1,199 keywords. After that, we set the minimum frequency of six citations per term that helped capture all relevant keywords and reflect in the best way their interactions in articles. The threshold value was set at 20 keywords: articles that have none of them were excluded.

Figure 2. Clustering of Publications about Russian Entrepreneurship Features in Leading Scientific Journals



The remaining 143 articles³ were grouped into five clusters (Figure 2) that received the following place-holders according to their main content: 1) institutions and entrepreneurial climate in Russia (42 articles); 2) regional traits of entrepreneurial development (60 articles); 3) entrepreneurial ecosystem and innovation (25 articles); 4) entrepreneurial intentions and their role in shaping entrepreneurial activity (15 articles); and 5) business models in Russian entrepreneurship (26 articles). To identify the main topics and terms (Vrontis et al., 2021), we applied a qualitative text analysis, coded the articles in accordance with the methodology presented in the work (Grégoire et al., 2011), and synthesized them (Snyder et al., 2016; Kumar et al., 2020). Due to that, we eliminated some articles that were thematically irrelevant or not based on empirical data. Theoretical articles were eliminated in favor of better evidentiality and strictness of the research methodology. Some papers were manually redistributed between clusters for a better compliance. In the end, the final sample included 70 articles. Table 3 provides the descriptions of clusters, including keywords and the corresponding articles and topics. Then, we show the results of a qualitative analysis of articles in each cluster.

Analysis Results

Cluster 1. Institutions and entrepreneurial climate in Russia

The first cluster included 20 articles dedicated mostly to crisis response (2008–2009, 2014) strategies of Russian small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), their adaptation to external shocks (2020–2021, 2022), and the role of the government and its agencies in these processes. The authors most often characterize the Russian institutional environment as unfavorable for business development due to such barriers as the complexity and time consumption of administrative procedures, the absence of effective and consistent government support of entrepreneurship, high rent payments, expensive connection to energy infrastructure, corruption, and expensive bank loans (Verkhovskaya, Dorokhina, 2008; Verkhovskaya, Alexandrova, 2017; Zemtsov, 2020; Zemtsov, Baburin, 2019; Solodilova et al., 2016; Stolbov, Mosina, 2015; Cheglakova et al., 2023). To overcome these, it is suggested that administrative pressure be lowered on businesses, property rights protection be strengthened (Barinova et al., 2018), changing patenting mechanisms to promote the entrepreneurs' inventions on export markets (Bogoutdinov, 2016), and stimulating the SMEs' interactions with leaders of the innovation sector and major scientific institutions (Vlasov, 2020).

The results of several studies confirm the beneficial role of institutions for internationalization (Shirokova,

³ Some articles were included in several clusters; the reflected figure does not include cross-references.

Table 1. Publications by Journal and Institution

Publications by journal		Number	%
1.	Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Management	30	8.3
2.	Russian Management Journal	28	7.8
3.	Economy of regions	26	7.2
4.	Foresight and STI Governance	17	4.7
5.	Society and Economics	15	4.2
6.	Voprosy Ekonomiki	12	3.3
7.	Sever i rynek: formirovanie ekonomicheskogo poryadka	11	3.1
8.	Woman in Russian Society	10	2.8
9.	Journal of Applied Economic Research	10	2.8
10.	ECO	10	2.8
Publications by institution		Number	%
1.	HSE University	77	21.4
2.	Saint Petersburg State University	49	13.6
3.	Lomonosov Moscow State University	22	6.1
4.	Ural Federal University	19	5.3
5.	Russian Residential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration	16	4.4
6.	Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences	14	3.9
7.	Institute of Economics of the Ural Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences	13	3.6
8.	Far East Federal University	9	2.5
9.	Moscow State Institute of International Relations	9	2.5
10.	National Research Tomsk State University	9	2.5

Source: compiled by the authors

Zibarev, 2013) and the adoption of entrepreneurial orientation (Shirokova, Sokolova, 2013) by Russian SMEs, which is implemented only in a dynamic external environment (Shirokova et al., 2015). Ineffective institutions and uncertainty are, in turn, encouraging the development of informal entrepreneurship, whose level grows significantly during crises (Chepurensko, 2019). The ratio between entrepreneurs who became businessmen voluntarily and the ones who had to become businessmen due the external shocks is significantly shifting toward the latter due to their sensitivity to changes in the regulatory regime (Alexandrova, Verkhovskaya, 2016). A resilient institutional environment is a necessary condition for entrepreneurial development, especially in times of economic turbulence.

During 2014–2023, a standalone research area shaped itself in the Russian literature. It was dedicated to the crisis management strategies of Russian entrepreneurs brought forth by external shocks, such as the COVID-19 pandemic or foreign sanction pressure. The article (Belyaeva et al., 2017) provides a theoretical and empirical analysis of the connection between strategical orientations and the results of SME activity during the 2014–2016 economic crisis, as well as assessments of access to financial services. The article (Krivosheeva-Medyantseva, 2022) uses in-depth interviews with businessmen to identify major institutional barriers that existed during the COVID-19 pandemic. Two unique studies are based on the data of a longitudinal SME study project of the Public Opinion Fund⁴

Table 2. Top 10 Authors by the Number of Publications

Author	Number of papers	Affiliation in the latest publication
Shirokova G.	21	HSE University (Moscow)
Chepurensko A.	14	HSE University (Moscow)
Malikov R.	11	Ufa State Petroleum Technological University (Ufa)
Bogatyryova K.	10	Saint Petersburg State University (St Petersburg)
Grishin K.	10	Ufa University of Science and Technology (Ufa)
Verkhovskaya O.	8	Saint Petersburg State University (St Petersburg)
Solodilova N.	7	Ufa State Petroleum Technological University (Ufa)
Zemtsov S.	6	Russian Residential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (Moscow)
Aray Yu.	5	Saint Petersburg State University (St Petersburg)
Belyaeva T.	5	Skopai (Saint-Martin-d’Hères, France), KEDGE Business School (Marseille, France)

Source: compiled by the authors

Table 3. Publications by Thematic Cluster

Key words	Literature references
Cluster I. Institutions and entrepreneurial climate in Russia (20 articles)	
“small entrepreneurship”, “small business”, “small and medium-sized business”, “entrepreneurial orientation”, “entrepreneurial climate”, “Russian regions”, “Russia”	Aleksandrova, Verkhovskaya (2016); Barinova et al. (2018); Belyaeva et al. (2017); Bogoutdinov (2016); Verkhovskaya, Aleksandrova (2017); Verkhovskaya, Dorokhina (2008); Vlasov (2020); Egorova, Chepurenko (2022); Zemtsov (2020); Zemtsov, Baburin (2019); Zemtsov, Tsaryova (2018); Krivosheeva-Medyantseva (2022); Solodilova et al. (2016); Stolbov, Mosina (2015); Cheglakova et al. (2023); Chepurenko (2019); Chepurenko et al. (2023); Shirokova et al. (2015); Shirokova, Zibarev (2013); Shirokova, Sokolova (2013)
Cluster II. Regional traits of entrepreneurship development (11 articles)	
“entrepreneurship”, “institutes”, “entrepreneurial activity”, “entrepreneurial management”, “region”	Lu, Ruzhanskaya (2023); Antsygina et al. (2017); Vlasov (2020); Zazdravnykh (2019); Karelina (2015); Kozakov, Glukhikh (2011); Obratsova, Chepurenko (2020); Osipova, Sidorenko (2007); Peshkova (2018); Staroverov (2010); Ushkin (2017).
Cluster III. Entrepreneurial ecosystem and innovation (14 articles)	
“government support”, “innovation”, “entrepreneurial ecosystem”	Albutova (2013); Zemtsov (2020); Zemtsov (2022); Zemtsov, Baburin (2019); Karacharovskiy (2010); Malikov et al. (2022a); Meteleva (2021); Meteleva (2022); Obchinnikova, Zimin (2021); Ruzhanskaya et al. (2022); Saveliev, Turabaeva (2023); Solodilova et al. (2017); Chernysh (2018); Yakimova, Pankova (2023).
Cluster IV. Entrepreneurial intentions and their role in shaping entrepreneurial activity (12 articles)	
“global entrepreneurship monitoring”, “entrepreneurial intentions”, “student entrepreneurship”	Abid (2021); Aleksandrova, Verkhovskaya (2015); Belyaeva et al. (2016); Bogatyryova et al. (2021); Bogatyryova, Shirokova (2017); Butryumova, Golubeva (2018); Butryumova, Slepneva (2016); Verkhovskaya (2009); Verkhovskaya, Dorokhina (2013); Sibirskaya et al. (2018); Shafranskaya (2019); Shirokova et al. (2009).
Cluster V. Business models in Russian entrepreneurship (13 articles)	
“business model”, “social entrepreneurship”	Aray (2018); Aray, Burmistrova (2014); Arif, Kuzminova (2021); Gavrilova et al. (2014); Kapustina et al. (2023); Klimanov, Tretyak (2014); Kusraeva (2017); Makushina et al. (2023); Markova (2023); Popov et al. (2018); Smirnov et al. (2021); Shatalov (2010); Shirokova, Ezhova (2012).
Source: authors.	

(POF): the first is about factors which may affect the companies’ resilience against external shocks (Egorova, Chepurenko, 2022), the second (Chepurenko et al., 2023) identifies their adaptation strategies and factors after the pandemic. This research area seems rather promising, considering how significantly the Russian business environment changed in 2022–2023.

It is evident from the analysis that a significant part of the works in this cluster are not based on the existing methodological and theoretical resources: authors of just five out of 28 of the reviewed sources used conceptual foundations (institutional (Scott, 1995) and resource theory (Barney, 1991) or effectuation theory (Sarasvathy, 2001)) when formulating hypotheses and building models. Although such concepts as entrepreneurial orientation (Covin, Slevin, 1989), resilience (Kantur, Say, 2015), or libertarian paternalism (Thaler, Sunstein, 2003) were used in some works, most papers did not have any sort of theoretical framework, and the results were obtained based on expert arguments, and not on the empirical evaluation of models. On top of that, a significant number of papers are narrative, with only several publications based on econometric data analysis and one — on qualitative data. But at the same time, it is the latter we use to make scientific breakthroughs, unlike qualitative studies that provide the incremental accumulation of knowledge (Edmondson, McManus, 2007).

Cluster 2. Regional traits of entrepreneurial development

This cluster includes 11 articles, most of which were published before 2020 and are based on desk studies. One of the important issues observed in the articles of this group is the spatial heterogeneity of the Russian Federation (Antsygina et al., 2017; Kozakov, Glukhikh, 2011; Obratsova, Chepurenko, 2020), which creates a redress in the levels and configurations of barriers to enter and evolve in the chosen business activity. The regional traits of a considerable part of Russian territories include such factors as unemployment and low income levels for the population (Zazdravnykh, 2019; Kozakov, Glukhikh, 2011). The decisive factor is cultural norms in various regions of the country: the higher proclivity of the population to risk is in direct proportion to the level of entrepreneurial activity. On top of that, the level of SME development may not increase or even decrease as the region’s economy continues to grow (Zazdravnykh, 2019).

Another research area studied by the authors of this cluster is the regional context of political business support mechanisms. Russian regions are categorized based on the existing differences in their institutional conditions and the level of economic development. For example, in regions that have a developed entrepreneurial system, the authorities are implementing “engaging” measures — incentives for SMEs, increased

⁴ <https://fom.ru/>, accessed 22.04.2024 (in Russian).

financing of entrepreneurial universities, and facilitation of maintenance and development of industry-specific high value chains; in regions with low investment activity and socioeconomic welfare, regional and local authorities support micro-financing mechanisms and self-employment or create platforms that deploy small businesses (Obraztsova, Chepureno, 2020). The business environment map of Russia developed in the cluster's articles reflects the main features of territories' business potential to help entrepreneurs make the decision to start a business, and public authorities — to optimize SME support programs (Antsygina et al., 2017). The authors describe the firms' opportunities (depending on the area of their activity, profitability, and the expenditure structure) to forecast the level of the tax burden and choose the taxation system (Osipova, Sidorenko, 2007), assess the prospects of lowering tax rates or receiving incentives (Ushkin, 2017), as well as participate in incentive programs and remuneration mechanisms by way of industrial competitions and professional fora (Vlasov, 2020).

The negative factors standing in the way of the entrepreneurial development in a specific region, include, according to researchers, the administrative barriers and non-effective channels of communications with authorities (Ushkin, 2017), crime rates (Staroverov, 2010), shortages or absence of integrated business structures on the region's territory (Karelina, 2015). The entrepreneurship activity of migrant workers is an independent factor. Kyrgyz workers, for example, show initiative in the largest Moscow agglomeration by exploiting kinship ties or connections in a foreign community (Peshkova, 2018). Other factors are more relevant for Chinese migrant workers: cross-cultural communication, available government support, and regulatory burdens (Lu, Ruzhanskaya, 2023).

An important achievement in studying Russian entrepreneurship was a comprehensive factor analysis of growth points in each region and the development of government support measures and mechanisms for various types of territories. The downside of this cluster's articles is the lack of input from foreign best practices on the heterogenic nature of factors that either stimulate or hinder entrepreneurial development on specific territories (see, ex., Delgado et al., 2010; Müller, 2016; Bosma, Schutjens, 2011) and a comparative analysis of historically defined differences of regional business landscapes (Fritsch, Storey, 2017).

Cluster 3. Entrepreneurial ecosystem and innovation

This cluster contains 14 articles that were published between 2000 and 2023, of which the most interesting are the papers dedicated to a poorly studied subject in the foreign literature (Audretsch et al., 2024): the features and categorization of regional entrepreneurial ecosystems and their input into sustainable entrepreneurship development. The article (Zemtsov, 2020) highlights how important the local conditions are to SMEs, since they have a direct access to local markets in a situation

where local authorities do not have enough resources to support the business. Sociocultural barriers also play a major role: distrust among entrepreneurs, the population, and the government as well as corruption. The acceleration of post-crisis development requires the rehabilitation of the business environment, the digital transformation of businesses and government services, and the maintenance of entrepreneurship and consulting training programs. To further develop these ideas, the article (Zemtsov, Baburin, 2019) suggested splitting Russian regions into three groups based on cluster density. Regions of the first (the most developed ecosystems) and the second (average development) types are recommended to focus on the support of rapidly growing companies, especially in technological sectors; regions of the third type (poor development) need to create cooperation ties between businesses and government agencies and extricate businesses from the informal economy. Finally, based on the econometric analysis (Ovchinnikova, Zimin, 2021), it was found that regions with mature entrepreneurial ecosystems have higher economic development rates.

External shock analysis that evaluates the shocks' effects on the sustainability of regional ecosystems became more relevant in recent years. For example, the article (Ruzhanskaya et al., 2022) used data from the Sverdlovsk Region to demonstrate that the decrease in the SME business activity, caused by the implementation of safety measures against COVID-19, turned out to be significantly lower than the forecasted level. The regional authorities have also been noticed to have different effects on SME activity depending on the entrepreneur's incorporation as a sole proprietor (SPs) or a legal entity: the government's participation in the region's economy turned out to be more important for SPs, and companies demonstrated a more prominent market orientation and strove toward economic freedom. The external shock fast-tracked the change of corporate business models and increased the role of business associations in facilitating cooperation between SMEs and government agencies.

Some articles illustrate the assessment methods that describe the potential of regional entrepreneurial ecosystems (REEs) or the classification (clusterization) of Russian regions by the type and condition of REEs. Thus, the article (Solodilov et al., 2017) introduced the term "institutional configuration of the business environment" and presented its parametric model by the administrative pressure on the entrepreneur criterium. These authors argue that the model helps calculate cooperation scenarios between the government and business structures in Russian regions depending on the business environment configuration. To study this approach further, the article (Malikov et al., 2022) used the data of the Republic of Bashkortostan to propose a method of assessing and forecasting REE productivity, i.e., the speed of reproducing "procreative entrepreneurship" on a specific territory within a specified amount of time. The hypothesis about a positive cor-

relation between REE productivity and the amount of government funding for businesses has been confirmed. Some publications (for example, the article (Meteleva, 2021; 2022) about the Russian regions of the Arctic) describe approaches to managing the formation of entrepreneurial networks based on measuring the human potential of the population and the readiness of large corporations to work as drivers of innovation development. Such an approach somewhat contradicts the established notion about entrepreneurship being a personal initiative in extremely unfavorable and harsh conditions of underpopulated regions.

The topics of several articles in the cluster under review are the establishment of institutions and practices of innovative entrepreneurship and studying the reasons why it is lagging in Russia. In one of the articles this is explained by the unpreparedness of large Russian capital cities for risky investments (Karacharovskiy, 2010). After over 10 years, another author (Zemtsov, 2022) shifted the focus to the role of the business environment: to make technological startups into drivers of diversification, of a growing economy, and employment, one needs to balance environmental factors, including socio-cultural aspects, business agent networks, human capital, and available universities. The impetus to develop entrepreneurship in the last decade was the digitalization of the economy. By analyzing the panel data for Russian regions for 2018–2021, the authors of the work (Yakimova, Pankova, 2023) concluded that the number of rapidly growing companies and startups in the region is influenced by the presence of other gazelle companies, accelerators and incubators, scaled-out projects in areas of end-to-end technologies and investments in IT, a developed ICT sector, and its government support.

The role of several institutions in forming social entrepreneurship practices is reviewed in the article (Albutova, 2013). The author highlights that Russian social entrepreneurship was initially constructed to follow the American model, not European, as a financially stable type of business aimed at solving social issues. The paper (Saveliev, Turabaeva, 2023) shows that market players themselves think of it as a side business motivated by altruistic and image-building aspirations. The article (Chernysh, 2018) stands somewhat apart: it uses a Novosibirsk Region case of setting up a business incubator to analyze the formation of a government support system as a result of coordinating interests and views of various groups of actors.

Several articles in the cluster demonstrated significant progress in understanding the structural differences between entrepreneurial ecosystems of Russian regions, the reasons behind those differences, and their connection to building up the business and innovation potential. Almost all such works are based on the theory of entrepreneurial ecosystems that received wide dissemination in the foreign literature (Acs et al., 2017; Spigel, 2017). For the empirical verification of the hypotheses, some authors used advanced statistical and

econometric data analysis methods or verified qualitative analysis methods. In other articles, task and goal setting is substituted with vague arguing, and the validation of conclusions is either absent or built upon an extremely scarce empirical base.

Cluster IV. Entrepreneurial intentions and their role in shaping entrepreneurial activity

This cluster consists of 12 articles, most of them were published after 2014, when the United States and European Union imposed sanctions on Russia and made the studies of factors influencing entrepreneurs' intentions, the business activity of the population, and their resilience relevant. Many foreign studies showed that external economic pressure serves as a driver of economic growth, increasing new jobs, innovation activity, and market competition (Linan et al., 2011; Herbane, 2010). Among the cluster's articles desk studies and quantitative research based on secondary source data prevail, first of all, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitoring (GEM) and the Russian part of the Global University Entrepreneurial Spirit Students Survey (GUESS). Using this data allowed the authors to define the Russia-specific set of determinants of entrepreneurial intentions.

The cluster's articles demonstrate how specialized education and training (Belyaeva et al., 2016) and other engaging events (Butryumova, Golubeva, 2018; Butryumova, Slepneva, 2016), the positive image of a businessman in the media (Shafranskaya, 2019) and the perception of business from the society in general (Verkhovskaya, 2009), along with a developed institutional environment (Verkhovskaya, Dorokhina, 2013) increase the motivation of amateur entrepreneurs. Personal traits and factors, such as gender identity (Abid, 2021), the traits of the dark triad (Bogatyryova et al., 2021), confidence in one's own knowledge and skills (Aleksandrova, Verkhovskaya, 2015; Sibirskaya et al., 2018), and success (Sibirskaya et al., 2018) stimulate entrepreneurial intentions and ease their transfer into practical activities.

In addition to intentions, there are other factors that influence entrepreneurial activity. To assess them, the cluster's authors use quantitative analysis methods and neural networks. To confirm the results of foreign studies, it was established that getting acquainted with current entrepreneurs has a positive effect on business activity at the stage of creating a firm (Shirokova et al., 2009). The transfer from intention to action is also facilitated if the region's environment is well-developed for a potential launch, however if the amateur businessman has family members who are running a business, this decreases the possibility of him/her implementing business intentions in Russia (Bogatyryova, Shirokova, 2017), which goes against some conclusions by foreign authors (Arenius, Minniti, 2005).

Most of the cluster's papers that study entrepreneurial intentions are based on the planned behavior theory

(Ajzen, 1991). Their authors point out many internal (personal) and external factors of this process, however this subject of transforming intention into action requires further analysis following a number of international studies (Van Gelderen et al., 2015), including with Russian participation (Bogatyeva et al., 2019).

Cluster V. Business models in Russian entrepreneurship

This cluster covers 13 articles, most of which were published after 2010, i.e., when Russian entrepreneurs were speedily adapting to new challenges and limitations under the influence of economic crises and external shocks. The papers reflect the peculiarities of business models developing in Russia that are rooted in the sector of the economy where they operate (Kusraeva, 2017), the size of the company (Makushina et al., 2023), or the level of its involvement in the international business community (Kapustina et al., 2023). Based on the materials of the booming food service industry, various types of such models were identified and a statistically significant correlation between their characteristics and the results of the industry actors' activity has been provided (Shatalov, 2010). A comparative business model analysis was conducted with respect of two leading Russian IT companies that were formed after foreign competitors exited the Russian market (Markova, 2023). There are striking examples of international comparisons: a comparison of the business model features of 100 large Russian and foreign innovative companies (Smirnov et al., 2021); and an analysis of intrapreneurship as a tool of cultivating entrepreneurial initiatives from within an operating company (Shirokova, Ezhova, 2012). Such cases are extremely rare due to the labor-consuming nature of the comparative method that did not spread in entrepreneurship studies.

The papers (Aray, Burmistrova, 2014; Aray, 2018) categorized the business models of social entrepreneurship that have been shaping in Russia since the start of the 2010s. The authors identified three types of motivations behind non-commercial activity (in the interest of the business, to satisfy the personal needs of the entrepreneur, and in the name of corporate social responsibility (Arif, Kuzminova, 2021)), and describe institutional conditions for the development of social entrepreneurship in Russia; in particular, a close connection was established using a correlation analysis of several socioeconomic indices with a level of social entrepreneurial development in different groups of countries (Popov, 2018). In the article (Arif, Kuzminova, 2021), prosumerism is viewed as a specific form of social entrepreneurship. From the point of view of identifying country-specific business models, studying business practices by the size, type of economic and entrepreneurial activity, commercial or social, was proven to be productive. It helped establish a three-stage dynamic statistical approach to business model

analysis — at the level of networks, interaction mechanisms of major network members and firms that create, assign, and distributes value (Klimanov, Tretyak, 2014).

The cluster has mostly desk studies and articles that are based on qualitative methods (interviews, case studies, discourse analysis); a rather small number of papers utilize big data from open sources and only a handful are written with the use of advanced quantitative analysis methods. When formulating research tasks and hypotheses, the authors rarely use intermediate theories described in foreign literature on entrepreneurship, such as an innovative business model of resilient business development (Schaltegger et al., 2012; Jolink, Niesten, 2015) or the social entrepreneurship theory (Santos, 2012).

Discussion

The analysis of Russian publications showed that during the reviewed period, Russian researchers made considerable progress in understanding the national specifics of entrepreneurship. The features of the Russian business context include: (1) instability, fast and often unpredictable changes in external conditions that force entrepreneurs to plan for higher uncertainty and risks in the business strategy; (2) a greater role of the government as the main customer (government procurement, etc.) and its gradual readjustment from funding entrepreneurs to managing their growth, through price and tariffs control mechanisms or by way of private public partnerships and regional ecosystems, where a central role is played by institutes and strategically important commercial banks; (3) considerable qualitative and structural heterogeneity of regional ecosystems that hinders not only the horizontal mobility of businesses, but the development of optimal government policy models with respect to entrepreneurship in different parts of Russia; (4) the advantages of a late launch into the market economy, due to which many infrastructural elements (online banking, e-commerce, etc.) are sometimes developed better than in some advanced countries; (5) comparatively high quality of human capital, favorable for such innovative organizational practices and models, such as intracorporate and social entrepreneurship.

Two topics prevailed in 1991–2023 publications: the regional features of entrepreneurial development and the role of the government and its agencies in forming a favorable environment for SMEs and creating new firms, which is likely to reflect territorial and economic peculiarities and the level of government involvement in the issues under the study. If the government institutions are paid enough significant attention throughout the reviewed period, the designs of regional entrepreneurship ecosystems and the meso-level agencies' roles are significantly less featured in the studies, although the intensity of publications on this topic grows every year. This is where we found a skew with the evolution of foreign studies about Russian

entrepreneurship, where, as evident from the article (Shirokova et al., 2023), initial (in the 1990s) attention was directed not only at the personal features of Russian entrepreneurs (Ageev et al., 1995), but also at the developing business environment (Cook, 1999). In the following decade (the 2000s; the 2008 crisis), other topics moved to the forefront, such as technology transfer (Sedaitis, 2000), corporate resources (Bruton, Rubanik, 2001), entrepreneurial networks (Batjargal, 2006), and the influence of institutes on business activity (Aidis et al., 2008). Finally, in the third decade (the 2010s; the 2014–2016 crisis), researchers were more often than not interested in high-tech entrepreneurship (Lau, Bruton, 2011), the business activity of new elites (Shurchkov, 2012), culture factors of business development (Rauch et al., 2012), the impact of crises (Shirokova et al., 2020), and the non-market strategies of firms (Belitski et al., 2021).

The analysis of Russian journal publications demonstrated that, firstly, as evident from the article distribution by year (Figure 1), data accumulation and scientific reflection do not happen simultaneously, they are time-consuming, and their peak levels coincided with crises and external shocks. In other words, upsurges in Russian publications about entrepreneurship are not proactive, they are reactive and caused by miscellaneous shocks. Secondly, the five clusters identified using machine algorithms intersect several subjects, which may be a sign of the complex nature of the phenomenon itself, or of the lack of depth in some Russian studies when it comes to working with keywords: the article terms do not always adequately reflect its main contents, which breeds considerable overlap in the topic with other publications.

Concepts that have firmly entered the scientific discourse in Russian research include: entrepreneurial orientation (Covin, Slevin, 1989), entrepreneurial ecosystem (Acs et al., 2017), resilience (Kantur, Say, 2015), and effectuation (Sarasvathy, 2001). At the same time, most publications lack theoretic rationale of the chosen models, i.e., there is no theoretical verification of the empirical test results or the assessment of the input in the entrepreneurship research development outside of Russia.

Among the analyzed papers, desk studies and the quantitative data analysis prevail. Qualitative studies are spread out much less, and their main empirical strategies are case studies or interviews, often not based on the existing methods (refer to, for example, Gioia et al., 2013), which diminishes the scientific value of achieved results. On top of that, the majority of papers do not make any attempts to adapt loan terms and concepts to the Russian business context. Even though entrepreneurship is a culturally and institutionally predefined construct, Russian researchers who study it often do not apply a critical approach to adopting theoretical ideas that were formulated using the data of developed economies of the United States and Europe (Filatotchev et al., 2021). These downsides

promise to bring fruitful results in implementing new approaches to studying Russian entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

This study helped uncover the undeniable achievements of Russian researchers in studying the features of Russian entrepreneurship and reveal two systemic issues in this area: (1) insufficient knowledge and understanding of the theories and terms that have long been a part of the foreign mainstream (such as strategic entrepreneurship, dynamic abilities, entrepreneurial mindset (including effectuation), failures of and withdrawal from business, entrepreneurial finance, leadership, business culture and ethics, entrepreneurial networks, ethical entrepreneurship, etc.), and the underestimation of entrepreneurship's heterogeneity (differences between micro- and small businesses, hybrid entrepreneurship, family business, etc.); (2) the adoption of some concepts without appropriate contextualization, for example using the terms “social capital” or “social networks” and not correlating them with the Russian phenomena of “blat” or “administrative resources” rooted in Russian practice (Ledeneva, 1998; Rehn, Taalas, 2004).

At the same time, the Russian context opens great opportunities for the re-conceptualization of foreign theories and concepts (Bamberger, Pratt, 2010). In particular, the combination of high-quality human capital with relatively low business activity and the predominance of non-innovative spheres of business, a considerable imbalance of regional ecosystems and entrepreneurial practices, a low level of trust in the government, the spread of non-productive and even destructive entrepreneurship (Baumol, 1990), and other features that require a wider arsenal of applicable mid-level theories due to several concepts developed by the Russian school of institutional economics. Here, we talk about such ideas as “institutional traps” (Polterovich, 2004), “institutional matrix of economy development” (Bessonova, 2007), “forceful entrepreneurship” (Volkov, 2020), and so on.

On our end, as a methodological key to studying Russian entrepreneurship, we propose leaning on the concept of the “double mixed embeddedness”. It is different from the actively promoted concept of “mixed embeddedness” (Högberg, Mitchell, 2023) in the foreign literature due to the inclusion of contexts at various levels (micro, meso and marco) that exist not only in a particular moment, but in different temporal regimes. Thus, the evolution of Russian entrepreneurship models is impossible to comprehend if we do not take into account their connection to institutes that were formed in previous historical eras (from wrestling for access to deficit resources in the late-Soviet economy to the institutional traps of privatization) and continue to influence the norms, customs, and practices of contemporary Russian entrepreneurship (for an example of implementing this approach, see, for example, the work (Chepurensko et al., 2024)).

The achieved results help outline the following areas for further Russian entrepreneurship studies:

(1) *at the macrolevel*: conduct comparative studies of entrepreneurial development in countries with similar macroeconomic and macrosocial conditions and entrepreneurial development features (for example, BRICS countries), and analyze the consequences of the new socioeconomic model that has been forming in Russia since 2022;

(2) *at the mesolevel*: analyze *intra-sectoral* and regional practices and institutes (competition and competitive cooperation, ecosystems), study how new formats of market presence (platforms, marketplaces) and technologies (online, artificial intelligence) affect them;

(3) *at the microlevel*: study intrapreneurship at large, influential companies and analyze behavior strategies, which affect innovation development and corporate output, adaptability to changing market conditions and innovative behavior;

(4) temporal *contextualization* of entrepreneurship research in Russia: analyze its evolution in light of previous developments and new macroeconomic and political realities;

(5) *re-conceptualization of universal terms/concepts* of entrepreneurial theory: business activity, strategic orientation, proactivity, risk appetite, innovativeness, business models, and so on;

(6) *creation of new theories and mid-level concepts* based on the study of unique terms and institutes (administrative resource, networking, etc.), which play an important role in the Russian entrepreneurial environment.

Re-conceptualization deserves special attention. Its alternative is the quasi-replication method (Bettis et al., 2016), which helps one understand which factor specifically influences a change in the connection between constructs. However, despite the certain efficiency of this approach, it does not fully consider the uniqueness of the context (Tsui, 2004). Sometimes, to measure constructs, scientists use scales that were initially developed for the phenomena and processes in developed countries, but their use for different economic

systems and the validity of such studies' results is questionable (Barkema et al., 2015). Re-conceptualization (Tsui, 2000) is something that helps solve this problem by placing the existing concept in a specific context (Welter, 2011) and the national culture (Hayton et al., 2002) as a system of norms, values, institutes, and so on (Bruton et al., 2018). At the initial stage, the very term of "entrepreneurship" in the Russian context may be studied through the lens of re-conceptualization. Its results are likely to differ from the mainstream definitions (Shane, Venkataraman, 2000) and reflect another level of possibilities that are being opened by entrepreneurship and the ins and outs of putting them into action (Baumol, 1990).

Finally, for the progressive development of entrepreneurship research in Russia, it is necessary to create specific institutional conditions: several high-quality journals, scientific conferences, and large interuniversity projects that promote specialized research communities.

This paper has several limitations. Firstly, the selection process was based on a list of HSE University's journals, and we could miss some that have valuable and relevant studies. Secondly, we used a keyword search method to analyze the articles, which identified clusters based on terminological co-occurrence. Unfortunately, some journals do not use keywords or started doing so only recently. Finally, the text of some articles became unavailable in Russian citation databases, which also limited the opp of analysis.

Despite these limitations, we dare to hope that this study will serve as a stimulus to revise approaches have been applied in the Russian entrepreneurship research for the last 20 years and will bring new innovative works that consider the unique historical context, where this phenomenon occurs.

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