

Where responsibilities end: Migrant labour and CSR in a Russian supply chain

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Abstract

Multinational corporations enforce their CSR-policies upon workers in their supply chain. These policies should protect the workers from issues arising from interaction with the corporation, however the impact and purview of CSR is limited. A group of workers particularly vulnerable when CSR fails to tackle social issues are migrant workers. Hence, the aim of this study is to find out whether the CSR-policy of a multinational corporation addresses the problems experienced by migrants employed in its supply chain – with particular attention to problems arising in the migration process. This was carried out as a case study of one multinational corporation with suppliers operating in Moscow. Here interviews were conducted with migrant workers and supplier managers to uncover the prominent migrant trajectories, how migration is facilitated and which problems the migrants experience – combined, these areas constitute the process of migration. The data was then compared to the multinational corporations' CSR-policy. The results indicate that the initial move to Moscow is relatively unproblematic but that migrants remain in a process of migration after arrival in Moscow. The problems expressed by migrants therefore occur after arrival, the most prominent of which are prolonged *division from family*, *inability to return*, and *inadequate pay*. These problems remain inadequately or unaddressed by CSR-policies while problems relating to *working conditions* and *fraud in the recruitment process* appear fully addressed and solved. The study concludes by discussing the limitations of CSR in addressing social issues that arise in the shadow of corporate activity.

Keywords: Corporate Social Responsibility, migration trajectories, facilitation, social issues, Moscow.

Prologue

In the course of this thesis I have been fortunate to receive help of a range of competent people whom I wish to thank. Firstly, I wish to thank my supervisor Dr. Robin Biddulph for his advice and assistance throughout the research and writing process. Secondly, I would like to thank all the people at the Company who made this study possible. Particularly I want to thank my Company supervisor for organizing the research and getting the project off the ground. In Russia, I wish to thank my three translators and organizers who not only made the interviews possible, but also educated me on the art of interviewing and motivated me throughout the process.

Without your help this thesis would not have been accomplished!

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1. Introduction

Labour migration is a growing phenomenon and already encompasses an estimated 150 million people (ILO, 2016). Many of these people originate in developing countries and, because of their migrant and economic status, are vulnerable to exploitation. Migrants are particularly likely to be taken advantage of as migration has become commercialized with numerous profit driven migration agencies available to facilitate migration and recruitment (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Nyberg Sørensen, 2013; Hernández-León, 2013, p. 27).

While labour migration has increased, so has the employment of migrants in multinational corporations' supply chains. Due to this increase in the use of migrant labour and the risk of exploitation involved, the need to assess how corporations handle migrant labour has emerged. The corporate management of social issues has commonly been conceptualized as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). This concept therefore provides a lens through which to explore corporate responses to social issues.

Both CSR and migration are themes where the local context matters. CSR-policies are only valid if they address the actual problems experienced in the locality they are implemented in. With corporations applying universal CSR-standards, attention to these localities may be lacking (De Neve, 2014, p. 187). Likewise, migration unfolds in various ways depending on the place of origin, destination, journey in between and how it is facilitated (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Nyberg Sørensen, 2013, pp. 66-70). Therefore an investigation on migration and CSR can gain a lot from in depth case studies.

Exploitation in the migration process of labour migrants has been researched by numerous academics. However, most of this work has been focused on migration in East Asia by scholars such as Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg Sørensen (2013), Lindquist (2010) and Kaur (2010). Some work has been done on migration to Russia (Bisson, 2015; Laruelle, 2007; Mihaylova, 2016; Tyuryukanova, 2005) but with a rapidly changing economic, demographic and legal context, a need for fresh empirical research is evident.

Likewise, scholars have studied CSR for decades, and a focus on effectiveness of CSR has been applied before. However, a focus on CSR's effectiveness in addressing social issues in the migration process is left virtually untouched. Additionally, the translation of CSR into real world solutions, in a Russian context, is also an under researched area.

This study will address these gaps, adding to the understanding of the effectiveness of CSR in addressing social issues experienced by international migrants in the process of migration in a Russian context. This challenge will be approached by investigating the migration process of migrants employed in the supply chain of a multinational corporation¹, with suppliers situated in and around Moscow. The migration process will be researched through the concepts *migration trajectory* and *facilitation of migration*. Once described, the migration process will be analysed through the lens of the CSR-policies implemented by the Company to find areas of vulnerability and check for CSR-compliance. Finally, the problems experienced by migrants will be compared to the CSR-policies enforced by the Company to evaluate whether the policies address the problems expressed by migrants.

1.1. Aim

The aim of this study is to assess if CSR-policy addresses the problems experienced by migrant workers employed in Russia. This will be realized through a case study of migrants employed in Russia in the supply chain of a multinational corporation where migrants' experiences will be compared to the policies of the Company.

¹ The multinational corporation is presented anonymously in this study and will be referred to as the Company. The Company is a retailer selling own-brand products and has its headquarters in Europe. The majority of production is through external companies in a global supply chain. These external companies will be referred to as suppliers as they supply the products sold by the Company.

1.2. Research questions

- What are the migration trajectories of migrant workers employed at the suppliers?
- How is the migration of migrant workers employed at the suppliers facilitated?
- Does the process of migration comply with the Company's CSR-policy?
- Does the CSR-policy address the problems and concerns experienced by migrants?

2. Literature review

This study investigates the relationship between CSR and migration. These are two fields that independently have been well researched providing an abundance of theoretical and empirical work. However, the relationship between them has not been developed. Following is an account of the theoretical work done on CSR and migration, as well as an empirical account on the two fields with attention to Russia.

2.1. Corporate Social Responsibility

The CSR concept has long been used with varying definitions in both the academic and the corporate world (Dahlsrud, 2008, p. 1). The most frequently cited version is from the Commission of European Communities (Dahlsrud, 2008, p. 7):

CSR is a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in the interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis (Communities, 2002).

Worth noting here is the ‘voluntary basis’ on which CSR is implemented. Arguably, there are cases where CSR *must* be implemented to avoid severe damage to brand reputation, but individual companies largely determine the purview and content of CSR-policies themselves. What this indicates is that CSR operates in addition to law and, especially in developing countries, aims to ensure social and environmental standards where the legal system fails.

CSR has also been defined more simply as ‘*ways in which a business seeks to align its values and behaviour with those of its various stakeholders*’ (Mallin, 2009, p. 1). According to this definition, companies embrace CSR for economic gains and security rather than for intrinsic moral concerns. These definitions indicate different motivations for enforcing CSR and it can indeed result in different policies and outcomes on the ground (Lawrence, 2007, p. 174). However, regardless of the motivation behind CSR, social and environmental concerns in business operations remain at the core of the

concept. In this study, the EU's definition of CSR will be applied and the concept will primarily be referred to as a set of policies implemented by the Company.

2.1.1. Theories and conceptualization of CSR

The scope of CSR, as well as its intended beneficiaries, varies depending on the theoretical foundation applied. Three of the more prominent theories will be referred to in this study and are briefly presented below.

Shareholder Value Theory holds that the only responsibility of a company is to create profit for its shareholders (Ritch, 2011, p. 55). This means that any social initiatives that are not motivated by economic gain for the company are unjustified. The only aim is utility maximization and any deviance from this must be justified by legal restrictions (Ritch, 2011, p. 55).

Stakeholder Theory instead holds that not only shareholders but also any individual or group with a stake in the company's activities should be accounted for in CSR (Ritch, 2011, p. 62). This includes individuals or groups harmed by or benefitting from corporate activities (Ritch, 2011, p. 62). Exactly who qualifies as a stakeholder and therefore a beneficiary of CSR is disputed.

Corporate Social Performance Theory holds that corporations have responsibility not only for wealth creation (as in Shareholder Theory), but also for social problems caused by business activity (Ritch, 2011, p. 49). This includes the stakeholders of the company such as employees, but also other individuals or groups who may be harmed by the activities of the company. The theory also encourages philanthropic actions to be carried out by corporations (Ritch, 2011, p. 49).

In addition to these theories, Carroll's conceptual models can be applied in the study of CSR. In 1991 Carroll published the conceptual model of CSR as seen in figure 1 (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003, p. 504). This model graphically depicts the components of CSR, organised into four separate categories of economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibility. In reality the categories overlap, but they are nevertheless useful in analysing CSR-policies (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003, p. 505). Consequently, the model has

been widely used to conceptualize CSR both in academia and in business (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003, p. 504). Noteworthy is that the categories in the pyramid are referred to as either required, expected or desired areas of responsibility as this reflects the expectations placed on corporations (see figure 1).

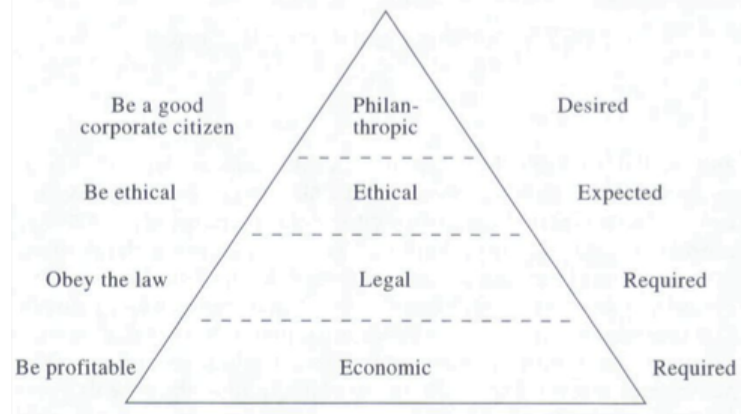


Figure 1 - Pyramid of Corporate Social Responsibility (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003, p. 504)

In 2003 Carroll published a new conceptual framework – the three-domain model, as seen in figure 2 (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003, p. 598). This model builds on the same categories as the pyramid but merges the ethical and the philanthropic category into one. The new model has two advantages over the pyramid. Firstly, it better visualizes the overlapping nature of the categories. Secondly, it changes the hierarchical organization of responsibilities. Instead each sphere has equal value and the most desirable corporate activities overlap all three spheres and fit into the central category (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003, p. 508).

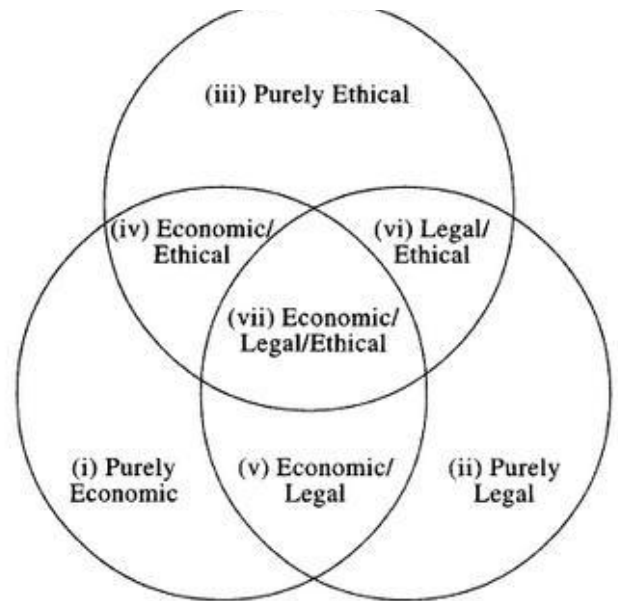


Figure 2 - Three-Domain Model of Corporate Social Responsibility (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003, p. 509)

2.1.2. Supply Chain Management

Another important concept closely related to CSR is ‘supply chain management’. The International Organization for Standardization (ISO) defines supply chain as ‘*a sequence of activities or parties that provides products and services to the organization*’ (Mares, 2010, p. 3). In other words, it refers to the chain of suppliers and sub-suppliers that a

company purchases products or services from. One aspect of supply chain management is assuring compliance with CSR-policy throughout the tiers of production (Mares, 2010, p. 1). Therefore, the two concepts are closely related (Mares, 2010). The supply chain concept also provides a way of assessing the scope of responsibility. Generally companies take less responsibility further down the supply chain – i.e. the same CSR-policies may not apply to both suppliers and sub-suppliers. However, where responsibilities end is a topic of debate (Mares, 2010, p. 5).

2.1.3. CSR and neoliberalism

CSR can be seen as an outcome of neoliberalism as it represents a shift of regulation and control from the state to the corporation (Sadler & Lloyd, 2009, p. 615). The concept therefore represents much more than just the relationship between corporations, consumers and employees. Within the neoliberal ideology, the market is regarded a superior regulator of the prices of goods and services, and to assure efficiency, the state should therefore minimize its interference with the economy. Along the same lines, neoliberalism encourages minimal state regulation in regard to social equity and sustainability. The idea is that the invisible hand of the market will more effectively reach these goals. The underlying argument is that demand for goods and services will be diminished by poor conduct of corporations and conversely increased by philanthropic actions. Hence, corporations should be motivated to show good citizenship without regulations from the state. Additionally, it is argued that states are ineffective in accomplishing sustainability and social justice, as they are prone to corruption and inefficiency.

The counter arguments are that consumers are not able to respond effectively to unethical corporate conduct. Also under consumer driven corporate responsibility, corporations will tend to pursue CSR policies that satisfy the current demand, which may not align with the real world issues in their supply chains (a prominent theme in this study). It has even been argued that CSR is '*a completely inadequate response to the sometimes devastating impact that multinational companies can have in an ever-more globalized world – and it is actually used to mask that impact*' (Sadler & Lloyd, 2009, p.

620). Blindly trusting markets as a regulative force on social issues is therefore highly criticized. Not least amongst NGOs, which have become divided over whether CSR will contribute to long-term development goals (Sadler & Lloyd, 2009, p. 621).

It has also been argued that CSR is not only an outcome, but also a reinforcing factor of neoliberalism (Sadler & Lloyd, 2009, p. 615). Through the increase of CSR, the norm regarding forms of market and state intervention is being re-shaped (Sadler & Lloyd, 2009, p. 621). The result being that more responsibility has been taken from the state and given to corporations (Sadler & Lloyd, 2009, p. 615). Given this trend and the critique to corporations' ability to deliver on goals of sustainability and social justice, it is therefore increasingly important to evaluate the efforts and achievements of CSR in various contexts.

2.1.4. CSR and geography

There is no homogenized CSR agenda as CSR policies take form according to the political geography they are formulated and implemented in (Lawrence, 2007, p. 168). This justifies the study of CSR within the discipline of geography as it is a concept where place and space matters. Geographers have therefore dealt with the subject in various ways. Some have extended the focus of CSR studies beyond the corporation by looking into the broader impacts of CSR-policies and their translation on the ground (T. Hamilton, 2011, p. 710). An example is Hilson's work on the challenges of reaching the lowest tiers of the supply chain in the gold mining industry through the fair trade model (Hilson, 2008). Similarly, geographers Hughes, Buttle and Wrigley have applied a geographical perspective to CSR studies and show how national-institutional contexts shape CSR policies (Hughes, Buttle, & Wrigley, 2007). A final example is De Neve's work that depicts local responses to superimposed neoliberal labour regimes in an Indian context (De Neve, 2014). Here he shows the importance of (and often lacking) understanding of the conditions in the places CSR policies are being implemented.

These contributions have been important because despite much theoretical work done on CSR, the empirical data has been lagging behind, (Jamali & Mirshak, 2006, p.

260) and researchers have been ignorant of conditions on the ground, especially those prevailing in developing countries (Jamali & Mirshak, 2006, p. 260). This study draws inspiration from these geographers as it investigates CSR and migration in a Russian context.

2.1.5. CSR and Russia

The CSR concept became widespread in Russia after the domestic industry stabilized from the turmoil of its sudden transition from planned to open markets in the mid-1980s and 1990s (Mallin, 2009, pp. 83-85). The liberalization of the economy meant that production and services were increasingly in private hands and with that the environmental and social responsibilities that follow. The government provided some encouragement for corporations to live up to these responsibilities and this resulted in an internal push towards CSR development (Mallin, 2009, p. 86). However, much of the shift towards CSR came from foreign investment and the supply chain management that followed (Mallin, 2009, p. 88), reflecting the neoliberal shift discussed earlier. Today, Russian firms are expected to live up to CSR levels seen in other industrial countries and foreign investment continues to influence domestic CSR-policy (Mallin, 2009, p. 95). Arguably, the shift in responsibility is increasingly moving from shareholder theory to stakeholder theory as foreign corporations encourage the inclusion of workers and other vulnerable stakeholders in its CSR-policies.

The case of CSR development in Russia shows the ripple effects inherent to CSR implementation. Foreign led CSR implementations seem to pressure domestic firms to follow. Along the same lines, expectations for companies to take responsibility grow as leading companies clarify and expand on their CSR-policies (Mares, 2010, p. 42).

2.2. Migration

Migration has long been a field of interest for geographers as well as other scholars and as a result, a range of theory and empirical work has been composed. This work has

attempted to explain the *how* and *why* of migration on various levels and has also questioned how migration ought to be studied and conceptualized.

2.2.1. Conceptualization of migration

Migration has traditionally been studied as a static phenomena (Grillo, 2007, p. 200). The focus has been on the decision making process before migrating and the adaptation and integration after arrival, while the journey in between has been largely neglected (Schapendonk, 2009, p. 293). More recently scholars have deviated from this traditional approach and advocated a different conceptualization of migration. Here migration is studied as a dynamic phenomena and attention is paid to the journey in addition to just origin and destination. Accordingly, scholars such as Spaan and Hillmann (2013, p. 68) , Grillo (2007, p. 200) , Schapendonk (2009, p. 295), Ho (2011, p. 117) and G. G. Hamilton (1985, p. 405) have all advocated looking at migration as a process rather than a step.

In the same vein, Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg Sørensen (2013, pp. 68-69) and Schapendonk (2009, p. 295) have provided empirical work that has depicted migration as a complicated phenomena with its own dynamic. In these empirical cases migrants are shown to be involved in transactions with various actors at origin, destination and the journey in between (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Nyberg Sørensen, 2013, pp. 66-70).

Studies have also shown that what happens during the migration process largely influences the outcome of the migration project – what happens during the journey is therefore important in understanding migration (Schapendonk, 2009, p. 295). Out of this new perspective on migration arose the idea of ‘migration trajectories’, which is applied in this study.

A concise definition of a migration trajectory is the geographical movement of a migrant from home country to destination and beyond. Additionally, the concept encompasses the processes that unfold along the trajectory which enable its continuation.

In other words, a migration trajectory is the physical journey and the important events that take place during migration.

2.2.2. Migration theory

The origin of migration theory goes back as far as Ravenstein's 'laws' of migration in 1885 and today there is no shortage of explanatory models in the toolbox of the migration researcher (Samers, 2010, p. 54). Although they may belong in the same toolbox, they do offer rather different perspectives on migration. Two theories are mentioned here as they provide a useful context for the results of this study and offer two different explanations to the phenomena of migration.

Network theory explains migration flows through interpersonal ties connecting migrants, former migrants and non-migrants (Massey et al., 1993, p. 448). These ties function as social capital that migrants can draw upon to gain employment abroad and they lower the risk associated with migration and increase the expected net returns (Massey et al., 1993, p. 448). As more migrants make the journey it becomes easier and less risky for relatives and people in their network to follow (Massey et al., 1993, p. 449). Since many families look to diversify risk through migration this becomes an attractive and increasingly attainable option (Massey et al., 1993, p. 449). Over time, the development of networks may even overrule the initial cause of migration (Massey et al., 1993, p. 449).

Institutional theory explains the role of institutions and organisations in migration (Massey et al., 1993, p. 449). These institutions develop after the initialization of migration. The high number of migrants creates a demand for services that drives an industry around migration (Massey et al., 1993, p. 449). Supplying these services can be profit driven companies, operating legally or illegally, but also non-profit groups such as humanitarian organisations promoting human rights (Massey et al., 1993, p. 449). The infrastructure that develops around these institutions becomes a perpetuating factor for migration (Massey et al., 1993, p. 450).

2.2.3. Migration in Russia

Russia has a large demand for foreign labour (Ioffe & Zayonchkovskaya, 2010, p. 104). The demand is partly driven by the challenge of a shrinking domestic workforce due to high emigration rates and an aging population (Ioffe & Zayonchkovskaya, 2010, p. 104). This decline in working age population is as high as one million per year (Ioffe & Zayonchkovskaya, 2010, p. 123). With these statistics it is predicted that “*Labour will become the most deficient resource in Russia, and the country’s demand for immigrants will increase.*” (Ioffe & Zayonchkovskaya, 2010, p. 123). For multinational companies this indicates a higher proportion of migrants employed in their supply chains and possibly a higher risk of deviance from CSR in the migration process, unless management improves parallel to the increased employment of migrants.

The necessary supply of foreign labour is coming largely from countries in the former soviet union (Ioffe & Zayonchkovskaya, 2010, p. 104) with 80% of all migrant workers originating from 9 countries - Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan (Buchanan, 2009, p. 8). The largest senders being Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan – the last two amongst the poorest countries in the world (Buchanan, 2009, p. 8). The origin of migrants might be clear but the exact number of migrants present in Russia is unknown. In 2005, the World Bank estimated it to be 12 million workers while Russian academics provided much lower estimates (Buchanan, 2009, p. 8). Many of these workers seek work upon arrival (Buchanan, 2009, p. 8) and an estimated half of the workers are unofficially employed (Ioffe & Zayonchkovskaya, 2010, p. 121).

2.2.4. Migration policy in Russia

Russian migration policy has been subject to many changes in the last two decades. These changes have caused Russia to fluctuate between a liberal and a conservative approach to migration control – opening and closing the door to migrants within a few years. Under the current policy, migrants need a work permit and a residency registration to qualify as legal workers. The work patent is paid for by the migrant and is issued after

passing a language, history and civics exam as well as a medical examination (Bisson, 2015, p. 9; Congress, 2015; Mihaylova, 2016, p. 8). The cost of the patent is 20000 RUB (approx. 2630 SEK) paid when applying, as well as a monthly fee of 4000-5000 RUB (approx. 530-660 SEK) for the duration of the work period.

In the past the work permit system caused a number of problems for migrants. Firstly, despite an official waiting time of ten days, the work permits were often delayed and issued after over a month of waiting time – a period where the workers could not legally work (Buchanan, 2009, p. 23). Secondly, workers found it extremely difficult to secure a place to live and to be able to submit the residency registration in the allocated time period of three days after entering Russia (Buchanan, 2009, pp. 18-19). The effect of these shortcomings was large numbers of illegal workers who worked without work permits and resided in Russia without residency registration (Buchanan, 2009, p. 19). Another outcome was that to secure these needed documents, middlemen were often used which resulted in fraud and high costs for the migrants.

The migration policy presented here is valid for all countries in the visa free regime except Belarus and Kazakhstan in which residents hold the same right to employment in Russia as native Russians (Congress, 2015). Countries in the visa free (but not work permit free) regime include Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

With the concept of CSR explained, and the empirical and theoretical foundation of migration presented, the following methodology will now go on to explain how CSR and migration were integrated to achieve the aim of the study.

3. Methodology

The study was conducted as a qualitative case study. One multinational corporation (the Company) and five of its suppliers were chosen as the case for the investigation. The case study approach was appropriate here as a detailed description of the migration process was necessary to reveal potential exploitation and deviance from the CSR-framework, as well as identifying the problems experienced by migrants. However, generalizable or transferable results were also desired. Here the challenge arises of reaching analytical breadth with a case study (DeLyser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, & McDowell, 2010, p. 72). I assume the epistemological standpoint that case studies can provide results that have validity outside the researched context. Choosing the right case is important to achieve this (DeLyser et al., 2010, p. 79). Here Herbert's representational strategy was applied which entails choosing a case with significant characteristics in common with other cases so that generalisations about one can be extended to another (DeLyser et al., 2010, pp. 75-76). The Company represents a multinational corporation with a global supply chain and a necessity to enforce CSR for brand protection. Additionally, the Company holds a leading role in CSR implementation and enforcement and any shortcomings in its policies (or compliance to its policies) are likely to be reoccurring in other corporations that pay equal or less attention to CSR.

In regard to the representativeness of the context chosen, Moscow is appropriate for a number of reasons. Most importantly, it provides a setting where CSR often exceeds national legislation, i.e. corporations take responsibility where no legal requirements force them to do so. Therefore, it may be seen as an example of a neoliberal approach to responsibility. Secondly, as explained earlier, migrant labour takes up an increasing proportion of the work force in Russian industry. Therefore, Moscow also represents a case where the demand for foreign labour is high, which may have consequences in the migration process.

3.1. Sampling

The Company chose the suppliers investigated in this study. The criteria for selection were their geographical location (in or close to Moscow) and their employment of migrant workers. The Company therefore sampled purposively, but given my lack of influence on the choice of suppliers, convenience sampling better describes the sampling strategy. Nevertheless, five suppliers were selected within three industries. Supplier 1 and 5 are factories supplying commercial goods to the Company, Supplier 2 and 4 are service providers supplying services (such as cleaning and trolley collection) in the Company stores, and supplier 3 is a transportation company doing home delivery of Company products to consumers.

Table 1 - Sampling table showing the quantity of respondents at each supplier in categories based on origin. Numbers in brackets represent quantity of women. Numbers outside brackets represent total quantity of respondents (men and women).

Supplier ID	Business	Date	Migrants total	Origin: Kyrgyzstan	Origin: Uzbekistan	Origin: Tajikistan	Origin: Other/unknown
1	Production	05/05/16 - 06/05/16	20 (11)	2 (2)	5 (0)	6 (5)	7 (4)
2	Cleaning	10/05/16	22 (12)	6 (4)	9 (3)	7 (5)	0
3	Transportation	12/05/16 - 13/05/16	9 (0)	9 (0)	0	0	0
4	Cleaning	16/05/16 - 17/05/16	12 (7)	12 (7)	0	0	0
5	Production	18/05/16	12 (3)	1 (1)	10 (2)	0	1 (0)
5 suppliers	3 lines of business	8 days of interviews	75 (33)	30 (14)	24 (5)	13 (10)	8 (4)

Once suppliers were selected, I had full freedom to sample from workers and managers, only limited to people being available at the time of the interviews. I therefore selected one or two managers at every supplier and either all migrants working the shift on the day of interviews or at least the majority. In total 82 interviews were conducted with 75 migrants, five managers and two factory owners. The distribution of the interviews between the suppliers can be seen in table 1.

3.2. Data collection

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews with migrant workers and managers at the suppliers. This open interview approach enabled the respondents to provide unanticipated information, which would otherwise have been omitted if a more structured approach had been applied. This was especially useful as very little was known about the migrants and their areas of vulnerability prior to the interviews.

Despite the open interview approach, the choice of interview questions was still very important to the study for two reasons. Firstly, they operationalized the research questions by deconstructing concepts into concrete units. This was particularly the case for the first two research questions that deal with trajectories and facilitation – concepts that require deconstruction to be analysed. Secondly, they largely determined which information was produced and hence what the study ultimately depicted. This was especially the case because respondents rarely (but sometimes) elaborated into areas relevant for the study without being prompted by a question. Hence, without the right interview questions, much information would have been lost. The questions were based on the CSR-framework and the literature on migration presented in the literature review.

Some interviews were recorded and later transcribed and while others were documented through real time transcriptions and notes. Real time notes and transcription obviously reduces the accuracy of the interview data as some words and formulations will inevitably be lost, but this was deemed necessary to attain answers to sensitive questions, as the respondents were often very nervous. The analysis of these unrecorded interviews was done with caution to avoid drawing false conclusions. Audio-recorded quotes are marked in the result section as ‘transcribed from audio recordings’, while quotes written down during the interview are marked as ‘real time transcription’.

During the interviews, efforts were made to mimic a natural conversation to reduce the feeling of interrogation and ultimately mitigate the apprehension of the respondents. This meant deviating from the structure and topic of the interview questions at times, as well as choosing to focus on certain themes in each interview instead of forcing out answers to every question. This proved an effective and necessary means to attaining answers, but also resulted in many questions being purposefully omitted in

some interviews. Therefore, not all questions were asked to all respondents (but all questions were asked to some respondents). In the result section, data will therefore be presented quantitatively as X respondents out of X answering respondents (for example 20 out of 30 respondents hold a particular opinion), as opposed to X respondents out of 75 (the total number of migrants interviewed).

Interpreters were used for the interviews since the respondents did not speak English. This led to a number of issues. Firstly, the necessary translation obstructed the flow of the conversation making it difficult to mimic a natural conversation (and reduce the nervousness of respondents). Secondly, the translator's level of English was below that of a native English speaker, hence increasing the risk of misinterpretations and leaving linguistic errors in the data. These errors have not been edited and therefore remain in the quotes. Finally, translation varied between first and third person narrative. Therefore some quotes are in third person when the respondents are actually talking about themselves or their own experiences. This was not a problem during the interviews as the context in which the anecdotes were told was clear. To avoid confusion in the result section, quotes translated into a third person narrative, when they should have been in a first person narrative, are marked as 'third person translation'.

3.3. Data analysis

As the migration process was largely unknown before the study, many new questions emerged during and between the interview sessions. Analysis of the data was therefore carried out parallel to data collection – much along the lines of grounded theory (Bryman, 2012, pp. 567-573). The obvious benefit being that the study could evolve around the empirical data as opposed to being conformed to a predefined set of questions. However, to fully embrace grounded theory, a thorough analysis of the data should have been conducted during the fieldwork to assess the direction of the study. The scope did not allow for that, so the study was still largely confined to the preconceived notions of the migration process.

Once the data had been fully gathered, a complete analysis was carried out to answer the three research questions separately. The data was organized qualitatively through a process of coding and quantitatively by placing the data in a table. The following is an outline of the analysis process for each research question.

Question 1 - What are the migration trajectories of migrant workers employed at the supplier?

This research question was operationalized through the following themes prior to the interviews: Migrant backgrounds, Origin, Duration of stay in Russia, Duration of stay at supplier, Mode of transportation, Domestic movement, Return journeys and Expected duration. Once collected, the data was presented in tables and charts to describe the migration trajectories.

Question 2 - How is the migration of migrant workers employed at the suppliers facilitated?

Different types of facilitation emerged and were presented and discussed. The result was then compared to applicable theories and placed in relation to the results from question one.

Question 3: Does the process of migration comply with the Company's CSR-policy?

The migration trajectories and facilitation of migration presented in the two first research questions were used to define and explain the process of migration. This process of migration was then juxtaposed with the Company's CSR-policy. Only relevant policies were presented in a paraphrased form as the entire CSR-framework would have been too extensive, and may have compromised the anonymity of the Company.

Question 4 - Does the CSR-policy address the problems and concerns experienced by migrants in the migration process?

For this final question, the problems and concerns expressed by migrants were presented and then compared to the CSR-policy from question three. Finally, the results were compared with current literature on CSR and migration to position the study in a larger empirical and theoretical context.

3.4. Further Limitations

Suppliers were accessed through the Company and migrant workers were accessed through the Company and its suppliers. These gatekeepers provided access to respondents that would otherwise have been difficult to attain, but they also placed constraints on the research. Coming through these gates, I would be seen as representing the Company and to some extent the suppliers and therefore could not be perceived as just a student. Making matters worse, Company employees (not supplier employees) functioned as interpreters during the interviews, hence providing a constant reminder of the presence of the Company.

To mitigate this problem the supplier managers were informed that the information provided would not be used by the Company as a foundation for any decision-making, except for further questioning if appropriate, i.e. suppliers could not be penalized solely based on the information provided at the interviews. The migrants were promised full anonymity and that the information gathered at the suppliers would not be shared with their managers.

Despite these efforts, the managers were cautious and the migrants often noticeably nervous. Therefore the foundation of trust necessary to attain reliable answers was often lacking and so were the skills necessary to handle these situations. The risk of inaccurate representations in the data is therefore high. Particularly on areas relating to employment at the supplier as this was a very sensitive topic.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Company CSR-policy

The Company's CSR-policy includes policies on a wide range of topics such as use of chemicals, business ethics and emergency procedures. Presented here are only the policies that directly relate to the migration of workers, e.g. 'Recruitment' and 'Forced labour', as well as some policies that must be presented since they are directly related to migrants' problems and complaints. All policies have been paraphrased to protect the anonymity of the Company.

Policies directly related to the process of migration and recruitment:

Recruitment

- Agencies used by the supplier for the recruitment of workers must have a legal licence for their activities.
- The process of recruitment must be transparent and presented to the company upon request.
- Workers may not be charged any fees in the recruitment and employment process without being reimbursed by the supplier.

Forced labour

- Workers must have the legal right to work in the country of employment.
- Workers must be able to terminate their contracts without penalties.
- Personal documents may not be withheld.
- Wage advances or loans that indebt the worker and force them to employment may not be issued.
- No workers may be engaged in forced, prison, bonded or involuntary labour. Bonded and forced labour have overlapping definitions but both concepts (as defined by the Company) are encompassed in the International Labour Organizations definition of forced labour: *Forced labour refers to situations in which persons are coerced to work through the use of violence or intimidation, or by more subtle means such as accumulated debt, retention of identity papers or*

threats of denunciation to immigration authorities (ILO, 2014). In other words, work a person has not engaged in voluntarily or is forced to carry out due to any threat of punishment.

Legal compliance

- Suppliers must act in compliance with local laws.

Policies related to employment of migrants:

Wages

- Wages are paid at regular times on a monthly basis.
- No deposits are paid to the employer.
- The wage is no lower than the legal minimum wage.

Discrimination

- Workers are not discriminated against on any grounds during recruitment and employment.

Working hours

- Workers may work a maximum of 60 hours per week at the supplier.

Finally it must be mentioned that these policies are the minimum requirement place upon suppliers. The Company's CSR-agenda encompasses a broader range of social and environmental initiatives that surpass these policies. However, in this study, only the policies presented here, i.e. the policies used in conduct with the suppliers will be referred to. Now, with the CSR-policies in mind, the four research questions can be analysed.

4.2. What are the migration trajectories of migrant workers employed at the suppliers?

The findings of this study begin with the trajectories of migrants. The purpose is here to outline the geographical journey, which constitutes the first part of the process of migration. Also by applying the migration trajectory concept it is possible to investigate the journey in between origin and destination as advocated by Schapendonk (2009, p. 293) and provide a look into which stages of the migration process the migrants might be involved in transactions with various actors (that may be linked to CSR and migrant vulnerabilities) as exemplified by Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg Sørensen (2013, pp. 66-70).

4.2.1. Migrant backgrounds

Before dwelling on migration trajectories it may be helpful to mention some background information to better understand the people behind the migration trajectories. Central here is the migrant's family situation. 27 out of 31 migrants were married while 33 out of 37 migrants reported having children. Out of the group of migrants with children, the majority had three children or more. The age of the children ranged between infants and adults while the age of the migrants ranged between late teens and late 50's. Young children always lived in their home countries, separated from their migrant parents, whilst adult sons and daughters sometimes accompanied their parents in Russia. Out of the married migrants, many were accompanied in Russia by their spouse.

Also important is migrant's financial situation. All migrants who were asked reported money being the main reason for migrating and many emphasised that it was the only reason for them being in Russia. The wage they came for varies depending on the lines of business and the position held. In production and cleaning, migrants reported earning a monthly wage (net income) of 20000-23000 RUB (approx. 2650-3050 SEK) while migrants employed in transportation reported earning 27000-45000 RUB (approx. 3680-5960 SEK). However, wages get even lower as the manager at supplier 4 (cleaning company) reported that wages start at 15000 RUB (approx. 1990 SEK). With an annual

accumulated cost of 75000 RUB (approx. 9930 SEK) in work permit fees and flight costs for obligatory yearly travels out of Russia, the potential for saving is severely limited. Despite this, financial gains are possible as salaries in migrants' home countries were reported to be half of those in Moscow.

4.2.2. Origin

Out of 72 answers, seven nationalities were identified amongst the respondents. Out of these the overwhelming majority originate from three central Asian countries – Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. If we exclude the first supplier, all respondents originate from these three countries. The location of the three largest sending countries in relation to Moscow is seen in figure 3 and the distribution of migrant origins is presented in table 1.

Table 2 – Migrant origins

Country	Respondents
Kyrgyzstan	29
Uzbekistan	24
Tajikistan	14
Ukraine	2
Belarus	1
Armenia	1
Moldovia	1
Unknown	3
Number respondents of	75

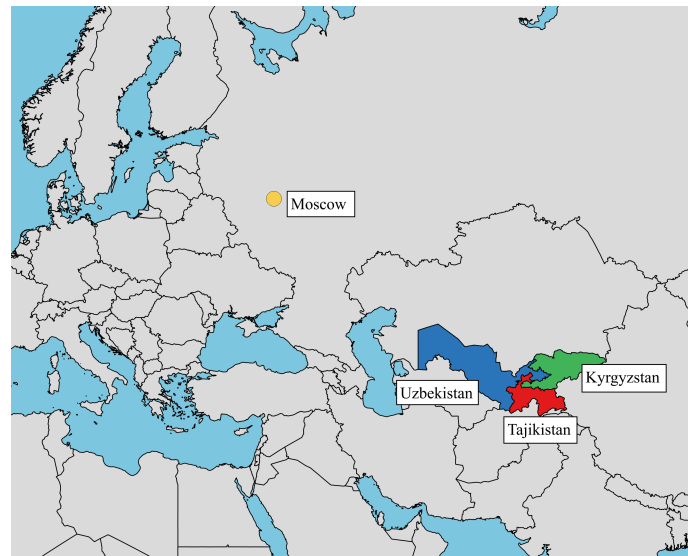


Figure 3 – Map of central Eurasia

The statistics in table 1 are supported by the supplier managers who also claim that a majority of workers originate from these countries:

Manager, Supplier 2. Real time transcription:

In retail, 100% (of staff) are migrant workers. 99% of the workers are from Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

4.2.3. Duration of stay in Russia

The duration of the migrants' stay in Russia ranged between 2 weeks and 34 years. The distribution of answers within this range is visualized in figure 4. A summary of the data reveals that around 2/3 had stayed for less than 5 years, while 1/3 had stayed for five years or more. Additionally around 1/3 had stayed for one year or less.



Figure 4 – Duration of stay in Russia

A slight difference in duration was observed between the sexes. As indicated by table X, half of the 40 male respondents had stayed longer than five years, while only a quarter of the women had stayed for more than five years:

Table 3 - Difference in duration of stay between men and women

Years	Men	Women
≥ 5	20	8
< 5	20	23
Number of respondents	40	31

The data from figure 4 and table 2 can be expressed more simply as an average of 5.4 years. However, a few migrants had stayed in Russia for much longer than the rest, which distorts the average. Another representation of the duration of stay is three years, which is the statistical median and also the mode calculated from the data. (It must be pointed out that these numbers indicate the duration of stay at the time the interviews were conducted, so they do not represent the migrant's total duration of stay when leaving Russia.)

4.2.4. Duration of stay at supplier

Most migrants had been employed at the supplier for one year or less despite a duration of stay in Russia of multiple years. Along the same lines, the majority of respondents, 38 out of 43 respondents, had been employed at the supplier for less than 5 years. Another finding was that out of 21 respondents, 12 reported the supplier being their first employer in Russia, while 9 had been employed elsewhere. The duration of stay at the supplier is presented in more detail in figure 4.

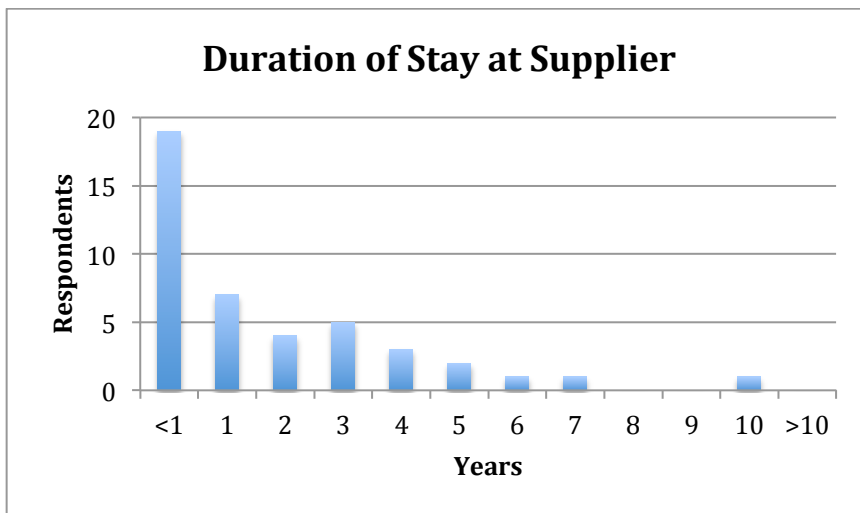


Figure 5 – Duration of stay at supplier

4.2.5. Transportation

Out of 23 respondents, 17 travelled to and from Russia by plane, making this the dominant mode of transport. The plane was chosen as the train took 4-5 days, which was considered too long by the migrants.

Table 4 – Mode of transportation

Mode of transportation	Respondents
Plane	17
Train	4
Bus	1
Car	1
Number of respondents	23

4.2.6. Domestic movement

Most of the migrants interviewed had come straight to Moscow from their home countries with little or no domestic movement in Russia. Once arriving in Moscow, they would settle into an area in the city (often an area dominated by a migrant community) and remain, seemingly with no plans of relocating before the return journey to their home country. Deviating from this pattern were some migrants who had resided in other cities in Russia prior to arriving on Moscow and had decided to relocate due to higher expected income. Migrant 43 exemplifies this:

Migrant 43, male, supplier 3. Real time transcription, third person translation:

First he spend 12 years in north eastern city 7000 km from Moscow – Irkutsk. His wife accompanied him... ...His job stopped in the city (Irkutsk) and he came here (Moscow).

This account stands out as an anomaly as most migrants had come straight to Moscow.

4.2.7. Return journeys

Out of 31 respondents, 22 reported traveling to their home countries yearly or planning to do so (the migrants planning on returning home yearly had not yet stayed for a full year). The duration of these home visits varied from one month to four months, usually during the summer but in some cases during winter. The most frequently stated duration of a home visit was one month. The remaining 9 of 31 had longer intervals between their home visits or had never returned. In case migrants did not return to their home countries on a yearly basis, they would do a visa run to Ukraine to extend their stay. Hence, all

migrants who were questioned on the topic left the country, if only for a day, at least once per year. Only a few migrants reported having migrated back to their home country to stay for a number of years and then returning to Russia for a second time. Put another way, most migrants had done only one period of work in Russia (broken up with yearly visits to their home country).

4.2.8. Expected duration

Out of 43 respondents, 33 reported having plans on returning to their home country while 10 reported not having such plans. If we exclude the first supplier the number of 'no's goes from 10 out of 43 to 3 out of 35, so most of the respondents who reported not planning on returning home were employed at the first supplier.

Supporting this claim further is the response given by the migrants when questioned on the matter. Returning home was so obvious to them that the question seemed odd, as exemplified below:

Migrant 33, supplier 2, male. Real time transcription. Third person translation:

Hopes to stay in Russia for 2 more years, then return home. He states it is obvious that he wants to return home as he has house and land at home.

Migrant 41, supplier 2, female. Real time transcription. Third person translation:

Of course I will return one day. If you come from there how can you not return? I plan to stay for 3-4 years here.

Noteworthy is that both these migrants have clear expectations on the duration of their stay. In fact most of the 33 migrants who planned on returning home had specific time periods during which they intended to stay in Russia. These time periods ranged between 6 months and 5 years, with the most frequent answer being 2-3 years.

The group of migrants wanting to return home, and having specific departure dates in mind, was far from homogenous. This is well exemplified by the differences between migrant 33 and 41 cited above. Migrant 33 is a male from Kyrgyzstan, is married and the father of four children. Two children are adult and two are in their late

teens. By contrast, Migrant 41 is a young female from Tajikistan, working and living in Russia with her husband. She has no children and no plans of having children in the near future. Despite being at different stages of their lives, their planned trajectories are strikingly similar. Emphasizing this point further, it appeared that this group (migrant intending to return and having specific dates in mind) included people from all three central Asian countries, both sexes, all three industries, married or not, children or no children, a stay in Russia from 2 months to 16 years, and even included at least two migrants who had earned Russian citizenships.

The planned dates of departure were closely connected to migrants fulfilling specific goals. Once achieved, the migrants planned on returning. The dominant goals shared by many migrants included building a house in their home country, paying for their children's university degrees, buying a car and saving up for a wedding. Additionally, two cases were documented where young migrants were taking online university degrees parallel to employment in Russia; again planning on returning once the goal was accomplished.

4.3. Discussion

The data presented above shows that migrants follow similar migration trajectories. The migration is circular and starts in the migrant's home country - usually in Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan or Tajikistan (hence, the origins align with Ioffe & Zayonchkovskaya results presented in the literature review). The migrant then undertakes the journey to Moscow, (usually by plane) finds work and settles. After approximately 11 months of employment and residence in Moscow, the migrant travels back to his/her home country for a short stay before returning to Moscow for another season of work on a new work permit. This continues until the migrant relocates back to his/her home country. The exact duration of the entire migration process is unknown, but based on the migrants' current duration of stay (mode of 3 years), and their expected date of return (most frequently expressed as 2-3 years), it can be estimated to be 5 or 6 years on average (assuming migrants stick approximately to their plan).

This result indicates that the trajectories are complex. As predicted by Schapendonk (2009) and Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg Sørensen (2013), the migrants do not simply leave their place of origin and settle down in Moscow. Instead the migrants are engaging in yearly cycles of movement and live as temporary residents while they complete a period of work lasting years or even a decade. During this temporary migration they keep a close tie to their place of origin. This is evident as they undertake yearly journeys to their home place, often have children there and plan on returning.

Schapendonk also emphasises the importance of the journey to the outcome of migration trajectories. However, the initial journey from home country to Moscow is relatively uncomplicated as it is usually undertaken by plane in a matter of hours and only few migrants travel elsewhere in Russia before settling down in Moscow. In this case the journey to the destination is therefore unlikely to be of great influence to the outcome of the migration - challenging Schapendonk on the importance of the journey. Nor is it likely to be a source of problems for the migrants or an area with high risk of CSR deviance. This final point will be explored further in the following sections.

4.4. How is the migration of migrant workers employed at the suppliers facilitated?

4.4.1. Networks

Out of 50 respondents, 45 reported that their migration was facilitated through members of pre-existing networks in Russia. This could be close family members, friends or distant contacts living and working in Russia:

Migrant 1, female, supplier 1. Real time transcription:

My husband works here, he paid for the plane ticket.

Migrant 18, male, supplier 1. Real time transcription:

An uncle was here when I came. He helped me with everything in the beginning.

Additionally, it was continuously reported that it would be difficult or even impossible to migrate without receiving help from a local network:

Migrant 41, female, supplier 2. Real time transcription:

I wouldn't have come alone as it is dangerous alone, especially for a woman.

Migrant 45, male, supplier 3. Real time transcription:

One can come alone, but it is very hard. You need someone who can pick you up at the airport and find you accommodation.

From these statements it is apparent that social networks are important in facilitating migration through various informal services. The services include providing information, accommodation, jobs, food, money and loans. Many migrants reported helping others migrate by these means as exemplified below:

Migrant 67, male, supplier 5. Transcription from audio recording:

There is a situation when many relatives work here and if somebody is in Uzbekistan, has lost their job or need a job, they just call them and invite them here to the factory.

Migrant 12, male, supplier 1. Real time transcription:

I support people regularly to come here. Often loan money to them. Many want to come.

It is however possible to migrate unsupported as one young migrant explained:

Migrant 59, male, supplier 4. Transcription from audio recording:

I just bought a ticket and just flew here to Moscow. Next I call a taxi. Taxi coming. I see taxi. I drive with the taxi. I ask the taxi driver, where is there a close town to Moscow? Such a town was close to the airport. He suggested me. It is about 30 km from here. I came here by taxi. For one day I stayed in a hostel. I took a newspaper and start to call. Call call call.

This migrant had known about the possibility of earning money in Moscow and decided to come despite lacking local contacts. Upon arrival he secured accommodation and a

job. However, this case stands out as an exception as the majority relied on help from a social network established prior to migrating.

4.4.2. Community

Migrants also benefit from the large migrant community around Moscow. The interviews revealed many cases of assistance provided to, and received from, members of the migrant community. This help within the migrant community is usually for finding jobs and accommodation, as well as providing general information.

Migrant 73, male, supplier 5. Real time transcription:

It is normal that if someone walks along the street, migrants will recognize each other on faces, they will say hello and ask do you have a job? Or can I help you get a job? Phone numbers are exchanged and they can help each other. One will get help without even knowing somebody here.

Migrant 58, female, supplier 4. Real time transcription:

Many Kyrgyzstanis live in this area. The territory is well known for Kyrgyzstanis. One can walk in and get help (in this area). This is ordinary.

Migrant 67, male, supplier 5. Transcriptions from audio recording:

I just came to this guy and asked him 'where are you working' and he answered me 'on this factory' and then I asked 'do you think the factory has a job place for me' he said 'just ask our HR-department'.

In more extreme cases the migrant community will collect money and assist families in financial trouble. Two cases exemplify this well:

Migrant 32, female, supplier 2. Real time transcription:

Example. Two guys came to her. Had lost their jobs at a construction project. They collected money from other workers, 100-200 RUB (approx. 13-26 SEK) each. Called apartment owner and asked for help with accommodation. The worker had come with

nothing. And it was winter. After one month they found jobs. No need to pay back the money, it was seen as a gift.

Migrant 69, female, supplier 5. Real time transcription:

Sometimes somebody needs to go to their home country. The group can then loan or give money to them. This is very seldom needed though. Another example is if someone is ill. They will then give that person attention/care for them. If somebody dies, the community collects money. This was the case for a person where the whole Moscow region collected money to help send home the body.

Migrant 69 mentions a deceased migrant whose body was sent home with the help of money collected by migrants. This particular story was repeated at every supplier visited and was well known by migrants. The migrant was an Uzbekistani and his family had wished to bury him in his home country but had been financially unable. Money was then collected all around Moscow from the migrant community. This clearly shows the migrants' willingness to help each other out in difficult times.

4.4.3. Recruitment agencies

Only two cases of migrants coming to Russia through a recruitment agency were documented. In both cases the use of recruitment agencies was unrelated to their current employer and in both cases the recruitment was a scam. Following is the description of the first case of fraud experienced by a young women and her husband:

Migrant 39, female, supplier 2. Real time transcription (third person translation):

They were contacted by a Russian in Tajikistan who offered a deal. Working on the farm. Free food and accommodation plus 1000 RUB (approx. 130 SEK) per day of work. They did get food and accommodation but no pay was ever given. The employer also confiscated their passports so they couldn't leave. Only after 3 months did they get their passports back and could leave. Her sister then came and picked her up from the farm. They want to go to court, but its too expensive for them now. They eventually had to take

a loan of 3000 RUB (approx. 400 SEK) in the bank. For the first year they couldn't send back any money because all money went to food and bank loan.

In the second case of fraud, no job was available once the migrant (after paying the agency) had arrived at the work site in Russia. Based on these cases recruitment agencies appear neither common nor effective means for migrants to facilitate their migration.

Some migrants reported not knowing about such agencies at all, while others did know of them. Again they were usually associated with fraud as exemplified by migrant 32:

Migrant 32, female, supplier 2. Real time transcriptions (third person translation):

She knows of cases where someone goes and fetches people in Kyrgyzstan. Collects a shift of 20 workers. Collects their documents. No pay is given to the workers and eventually the conman calls the police and reports the migrants to the police and asks for them to be evicted from the site.

One exception to this negative perception of recruitment agencies stands out below. However, the interviews revealed no cases of anyone actually using it.

Migrant 67, male, supplier 5. Transcribed from audio recording:

We have a special job centre (in Uzbekistan) and if somebody would like to find a job they go to this place and apply, have a study, and it depends on which country they would like to come. Most of them come to Russia; others could also go to Korea or Germany. They could send you anywhere (doesn't know exactly which destinations).

From these findings it appears that recruitment agencies are not part of the migration process of the migrant workers employed at the Company suppliers. The managers of all five suppliers also supported this claim as none of them used agencies for the recruitment of their workers. Two suppliers reported having used agencies in the past but no longer did due to agencies being expensive and migrant workers being available locally.

4.4.4. Suppliers

The recruitment practice was the same for all five suppliers. Workers were recruited locally (e.g. in and around Moscow) and were reached through advertisement, word of mouth and employee referrals. Employee referrals were common and constituted a large part of their recruitment:

Manager, Supplier 1. Real time transcription:

Currently 50% of migrant workers are here through recommendation from previous or existing workers.

Manager, Supplier 3. Real time transcription:

Migrants come in groups with friends. Then they find the jobs through their networks. People come and ask for work directly.

Employee referrals were used to attract migrants already living in Moscow but also potential migrants still residing in their home country (e.g. family or friends of employees that have not yet migrated). However this is the only recruitment practice that reaches beyond the local pool of workers in Moscow.

Through these types of recruitment the supplier has little influence over the facilitation of migration and the individual trajectories before the migrant is recruited in Moscow. Migrants simply move to Moscow and apply for work on arrival. Sometimes knowing of the possibility of work, sometimes not. However, once employed, the supplier sometimes lend money for migrants to pay their work permits and flight tickets:

Migrant 32, female, supplier 2. Real time transcription:

If someone is a cleaning specialist the company (supplier 2) can sometimes pay for their work permits. Then they repay it during 3-4 months of work. The company has helped 30 workers this way. They don't do this anymore however since there is too high a risk of loss of money for the company.

Manager, supplier 3: Real time transcription. Third person translation:

The company (supplier 3) sometimes gives them advances on payment to help them pay for their work permits and tickets. Sometimes they pay for workers permits and then they come here to repay with work.

Generally it was practiced when a migrant returned from a visit to their home country and was unable pay for the renewal of their work permit. Without the work permit the migration would be fruitless (unless the migrant turns to illegal employment). Therefore loaning money for the work permit (or flight tickets) is a practice that can facilitate migration.

4.4.5. Embassies

Embassies were mentioned a few times as places migrants could turn to with problems. Only migrants from Kyrgyzstan mentioned this as an option for problem solving and no migrants had actually used the services available. So embassies may be a tool for some migrants with specific problems, but did not appear to be an important institution for facilitating migration in general.

4.4.6. Other services

A number of other services related to the facilitation of migration were used. Firstly, a ‘taxi service’ was available for migrant to undertake the visa run to Ukraine. A shuttle bus would go from Moscow to the border and back in one day, specifically for migrants to be able to renew their work permits without flying to their home countries. This service was well known amongst the migrants. Secondly, bank services were used to send remittance to the family. Since as many as 26 out of 27 migrants reported supporting family at home the ability to send remittances is of great importance. Finally, internet services such as Skype, email and WhatsApp were used to remain in contact with family and friends in both Moscow and the migrants’ home country.

4.5. Discussion

It appears that migrants rely heavily on personal networks to facilitate their journeys and are greatly supported by the migrant community in general. Many even claim that without personal networks their migration would not have been possible. No one made any claims about how migration would be in the absence of a migrant community, but it is clear that many rely on it for jobs, accommodation and other services. Networks and the migrant community are therefore key facilitators of migration.

The importance of network and migrant community is supported by network theory presented in the literature review. It appears that, much like the theory predicts, migration has reached a stage where the tools needed for migration are largely provided by migrants themselves. The scale of migration is large enough to be somewhat self-supported with very little need for private enterprises to interfere as facilitating agents.

The private enterprises still in use are reduced to transportation and communication services as well as the occasional ineffective and deceitful recruitment agency. Migration is therefore not facilitated through institutions as predicted in institutional theory. It may be that institutional theory would better explain the migration process of the past, before the scale of migration grew to be self-facilitated.

The implications of network facilitated migration, in regard this study, is that the migration process may take place largely outside the influence of CSR-policies. This would leave the Company with no means of ensuring secure migration. However, network facilitated migration may also suggest a process of migration with a reduced risks for the migrant as there are fewer opportunities for exploitation. The relationship between CSR and the migration process will be further explored in the following section.

4.6. Does the process of migration comply with the Company's CSR-policy?

The migration trajectory and the facilitation of migration has now been presented and analysed. Together they compose the process of migration as they explain where, why

and how migration has take place. In this section, areas of the migration process that risk deviating from the Company's CSR-policy will be presented.

4.6.1. Loans

As exemplified by Migrant 32 and the manager at supplier 3 (see page 36), two suppliers have previously provided loans to assist migrants in paying for their work permits and flight tickets. The exact details of these agreements are unknown, but it could potentially force the migrant into a situation of bonded labour. According to migrant 32 the practice has stopped and none of the migrants at any supplier reported received loans. Therefore this study offers no current examples of such cases. All that can be said is that the practice sometimes takes place and that it may impose a risk of CSR-deviance and place migrants in a vulnerable situation.

This was the only case of CSR deviance that relates directly to migration. Two other risk areas were identified that are not directly linked to the trajectories or facilitation of migration, but nevertheless are related the migrant experience:

4.6.2. Discrimination

One migrant employed by a cleaning company (supplier 4) experienced discrimination from the public at his work place. His primary task was cleaning and collecting trolleys in a Company store, a job where he was working amongst the customers.

Migrant 57, male, supplier 4: Real time transcription:

People (Russian costumers) don't like us (migrant workers). When working with baskets at the store, sometimes people look and give bad attention, sometimes say bad words to me. This often happens.

This particular type of discrimination only occurred between the public and the workers and it therefore seems to be a problem rooted in racism and xenophobia in society in general. However, it is occurring at the work place and should therefore fall within the scope of the CSR-policy, even if solving it proves difficult.

4.6.3. Delays in salary

One migrant reported delays in salary payment:

Migrant 60, female, supplier 4. Real time transcription. Third person translation:

Salary not paid in time. Then she must find money elsewhere. It is difficult. According to Russian law, companies must pay before holidays (national holidays) if the holidays are on salary day. However, this company (supplier 4) always pays after the holidays.

The exact length of the delays is unknown, but based on her description, it may be no longer than the duration of the national holidays. As the local regulation and the Company permit occasional delays of this manner, it is not enough to be overstepping the CSR-policy. However, it is an area of concern as migrants often lack savings (at least upon arrival in Moscow) and often have a family who depends on remittances.

4.7. Discussion

Except for the points mentioned above, the interviews revealed no evidence of deviance from the Company's CSR-policies. The data therefore indicates that the process of migration is in compliance with the policies. However, this research question cannot be answered with adequate evidence due to the sensitivity of the issue. Questions relating directly to the migrants current employment were met with suspicion, short answers and efforts to emphasize how 'everything is fine'. The interviews were simply not successful in establishing the trust needed to discuss these issues. Therefore, it is likely that a lot of information is lacking regarding this research question.

Nevertheless, the results that did emerge can be summarized in two findings. Firstly, it shows that policies that aim to reduce exploitation in the migration process exist. These policies directly target exploitation in the recruitment process of migrant workers by requesting a transparent process, allowing no fees and only licensed recruitment agencies. The policies also target migrants working conditions in Moscow (e.g. after the recruitment process is completed) through its intolerance of forced or bonded labour. The second finding is that the CSR policies appear to be complied with. Only weak evidence was found to suggest CSR-deviance and only few risk areas could

be identified. Although, as mentioned earlier these particular finding needs more research to be confirmed.

4.8. Does the CSR-policy address the problems experienced by migrants?

Now the effectiveness of the Company in assuring compliance to its CSR policies has been presented and analyzed. What remains to be revealed is whether the purview of these CSR policies actually extends to the real problems experienced by the migrants. This final question will be tackled now.

The findings of this section can be summaries very concisely - the interviews revealed that most of the problems that the migrants currently face exist outside the purview of the CSR policies. Some of these problems are directly related to employment at the supplier whilst other problems are not. Before presenting these problems in detail, it may be helpful to introduce them with an example:

Migrant 40 experienced many of the key problems faced by the migrants. She is a Kyrgyzstani mother of three young children, the youngest of her children only eight months old. She migrated to Russia two months prior to the interview, only five months after the birth of her child, and was now expecting to stay for '*a minimum of five years*' (Migrant 40, Supplier 2). She felt compelled to migrate to increasing earnings, as her youngest child needed costly medical care. Also, her husband had worked in Russia until recently but as his passport expired he was forced to return. Now the Kyrgyzstani mother provided for her family, saved up for her child's medical care, and saved up for her husband's ticket back to Russia – so he too could resume work and provide financial support for their children. Whilst doing this she resides in a one-bedroom apartment, shared with 9 other people.

4.8.1. Divided families

The Kyrgyzstani mother shared her story with grief and was on the verge of tears as she mentioned her children and the long separation ahead. Such stories, with similar

emotional reactions, were frequent amongst the respondents and migrants repeatedly stated that separation from their families was the biggest challenge of the migrant experience.

Particularly difficult was the separation between parents and children, which, as seen in the migration trajectory, often lasted many years. All but one of the migrants had brought their children with them to Russia (except for cases where the children were now adults). The main reason given for this was a lack of money and time. Migrants explained that it is more affordable to support them in their home country where food and accommodation is cheaper. Also, migrants work long days and have few days off – leaving little time for the care taking of a child. In the migrants' home country the children's grandparents are available to assume the role of the children's primary caregiver during their years away.

4.8.2. Inability to return

Closely connected to the migrant's family situation is the issue of migrants being unable to return. Migrants are often the primary financial provider of their families. Without job prospects in their home country they have little choice but to stay in Russia and continue sending remittances, as is the case with Migrant 40 who clearly would have returned to her children if it had been possible.

4.8.3. Financial problems

Financial problems were mentioned by many migrants as being a large concern parallel to the separation from family. A number of specific payments that migrants struggled with were identified which will be listed below in order of frequency:

Firstly, the monthly work permit payment of 4000-5000 RUB (approx. 525-655 SEK) was for many a large burden. This constitutes a large proportion of their salary and an inability to pay would mean losing the legal right to work.

Migrant 28, male, supplier 2. Real time transcription:

Permit (is) the most expensive part of moving here.

This issue was not applicable to migrants from Kyrgyzstan who had it significantly easier as no work permit was needed.

Secondly, the plane tickets to and from the home country were a financial worry. Both regarding the tickets used for the initial move to Russia and for the yearly home visits. In some cases migrants even had to loan money in order to undertake the journey:

Migrant 4, female, supplier 1. Real time transcription. Third person translation:

(Her) family took a local loan when initially moving. This they later paid off. But later took a new loan to go visit family (in Kyrgyzstan). This they expect to pay of in August.

Thirdly, loans taken in migrant's home country or in Russia due to periods with no income, were a on-going financial burden:

Migrant 36, female, supplier 2. Real time transcription.

Family has had to take a loan do to period without money. Loan was taken in a bank in Tajikistan.

Migrant 39, female, supplier 2. Real time translation. Third person translation:
They eventually had to take a loan of 3000 RUB (approx. 400 SEK) in the bank. For the first year they couldn't send back any money because all money went to food and bank loan.

Underlying these financial issues is the low salary earned by migrants, which was also mentioned by many migrants as being a large problem (or rather the source of problems). As described in detail earlier, the salary is low, and making ends meet with only one full time job is hard. Therefore many migrants resort to working two jobs as exemplified by migrant 73:

Migrant 73, male, supplier 5. Real time transcription:

Works a second job in the market as a loader and salesman of carpets. Almost all migrants here have two jobs. Because if they have health and free time they would like to earn money... ..If he had only one job, it would only be enough for food.

As seen here, working two jobs is both a necessity if one needs to provide for a family, as well as a chance to maximize profits during their stay in Russia.

4.8.4. Accommodation

The account given by Migrant 40 in the introduction of this section depicts the living conditions of migrants as crowded and uncomfortable, and her account was not unusual. 7 people in a one-bedroom apartment or 12 people in a three-bedroom apartment were common. One young woman (Migrant 53, supplier 4) even explained how she and her husband used the balcony of a two bedroom apartment as their bedroom – the rest of the apartment being occupied by two other families. Despite these tough living conditions, accommodation rarely was a source of complaints, perhaps because little time is spent at home due to long working hours, as some migrants suggested.

4.8.5. Fraud

Another source of problems and concern for migrants is fraud. Fraud takes various shapes and happens both in the migration to Moscow as well as during employment in Russia. During the migration to Moscow, fraud is in the shape of deceitful recruitment agents as exemplified earlier by Migrant 32 and 39. Fraud during employment in Moscow, was most frequently reported as employers not paying the agreed upon salaries. Migrant 73 and 9 experienced this, though not during their employment at the Company's suppliers:

Migrant 73, male, supplier 5. Real time transcription:

At construction jobs, sometimes no wages are paid and workers have to leave.

Migrant 9, male, supplier 1. Real time transcription:

Salaries are not always paid. Experienced this at previous company. Working three months, paid for two. This happens to many migrants because they often don't have labour contracts. Russians have labour contracts more often.

Another example of fraud experienced in Moscow is fake recruitment companies:

Migrant 43, male, supplier 3. Real time transcription. Third person translation:

(He) found Internet advertisement for work in security business. Went to their office, they requested 2000 RUB (approx. 260 SEK) for him to pay, then gave him address to the work site. He went to the address but there was nothing there. Many security people were there so he had no chance to get back to the office to reclaim his money.

4.8.6. Discrimination and harassment

Migrants also experience discrimination and harassment from the police, Federal Migration Service (FMS) officers and the public. Few migrants reported personally experienced these problems but many said that they knew somebody who had. The frequency of discrimination and harassment differed largely between migrant accounts – from very common to almost never occurring. However, most migrants would agree that discrimination and harassment does occur. One example of harassment from the FMS officials happened to Migrant 60, a Kyrgyzstani woman, at her first job in Russia (prior to employment at supplier 4):

Migrant 60, female, supplier 4. Real time transcriptions. Third person translation:

FMS guys came into the work place, took the workers and brought them into a building. She spend three days there. All their documents were good but FMS people wanted to take money from them anyway. They took 1000 RUB (approx. 130 SEK) from them. They were locked in the building, couldn't leave...All necessary documents were ok.

Unsure about her rights and how to proceed she did not complain about the incident. This reflects the vulnerability of migrants. The story shows how the FMS at times treats migrants poorly and subsequently become a source of concern and problems for

migrants, despite their paperwork being in order. However, as this was the only example of such treatment that emerged from the interviews it is perhaps an unusual incident.

In regard to the police, the harassment is in the form of ID-checking on the streets. In such cases, the police will occasionally bring the migrants to the police station for questioning. At these interrogations the police might push the migrants for bribes. ID-checks were common according to many migrants, but bribes and harassment was unusual unless the migrant lacked the required documentation (residency registration, work permit and passport):

Migrant 32, female, supplier 2. Real time transcription:

Police can hold you for a maximum of 2-3 hours in the police station. Many police ask for registration papers. This is normal. If documents are ok no fee/bribe is to be paid. Some police push the migrants for money though. However this is not common.

4.8.7. Working conditions

Migrants also complained about tough working conditions experienced at previous employers. Specifically they mentioned long working hours, physically demanding work and poor working equipment. None of these cases were linked to the migrant's current employers, i.e. the Company's suppliers.

4.8.8. Inability to find jobs that match qualifications

Finally there were complaints about the lack of opportunity to find work in fields that match the migrant's qualifications. Like other people they too wish to work in a field they enjoy and have expertise within. However, as expressed by the respondents, qualified work is difficult to attain due to their migrant status, despite sometimes having the skills and knowledge required.

4.8.9. Comparing CSR-policy to migrant’s problems

A comparison between the CSR-policy presented in the beginning of the result section, and migrant’s problems presented here, reveals which problems are addressed and which problems remain unaddressed by CSR. In other words, it outlines the purview of the Company’s CSR-policy. The comparison is summarized below:

Table 5 - Problems reported by migrants and CSR responses

	Addressed by CSR	Unaddressed by CSR
Occurring at suppliers	Salary delays Level of pay	Divided families Inability to return Financial problems Inability to find jobs that match qualifications Discrimination and harassment from officials and the public Accommodation (private)
Not occurring at suppliers (but elsewhere)	Recruitment fraud Working conditions Discrimination by employers	No data

4.9. Discussion

It appears that the problems addressed by CSR-policies are all closely related to recruitment and employment at the supplier while the unaddressed problems are less related. Out of the problems addressed by the CSR-policies, *fraud*, *discrimination by employers* and *working conditions* were only reported to occur unrelated to the suppliers. If this were true, it would indicate that adequate CSR-policies are in place and are complied with on these issues (however, the reliability of the data on CSR-deviance at the suppliers is too low to draw such a conclusion). In addition to these three problems, *salary delays* and *level of pay* were also reported as problems *and* are also addressed by CSR-policy. However, unlike the first three problems they *do* occur at the suppliers and

may therefore indicate inadequate CSR-policies or noncompliance. In other words, they may be addressed, but according to the migrants themselves, they are not solved.

The problems unaddressed by CSR-policies include *divided families*, *inability to return* and *financial problems* – the most frequently expressed areas of concern for the migrants. Problems like *divided families* and *inability to return* may not be due to any unethical conduct of the suppliers or the Company in the employment or recruitment process, but they are however issues closely related to their activities. In the same vein, *financial problems* experienced by migrants could be mitigated through higher wages and are therefore also related to the Company and its suppliers business.

These findings provide an insight into which theories that best explain the Company's CSR-policies. It is apparent that employees in the supply chain are taken into account in the configuration of the Company's business. This consideration for employees is evident as there are policies in place to address a range of issues (many more than are dealt with in this study). Such a consideration would indicate a CSR-framework that has surpassed the goals of Shareholder Theory of only being concerned for the interests of shareholders in a corporation. Instead the consideration for other parties (in this case migrant employees) indicates an approach along the lines of Stakeholder Theory. However, as the purview of the policies does not extend to the social problems created by the Company activities (for example the division of family and inadequate levels of pay), the CSR-policy does not live up to the more philanthropic goals of Corporate Social Performance Theory. Stakeholder Theory therefore best explains the CSR-policy implemented by the Company.

The CSR-policy can be further explored by applying Carroll's conceptual models of CSR. It is clear that the problems not yet addressed by CSR-policies fit in amongst the higher categories in Carroll's pyramid. That is, if they were to be addressed, they could be conceptualized as either ethically or philanthropically motivated. Likewise, when applying Carroll's newer three-domain model, CSR-policies that address the remaining issues would likely fall within the ethical sphere, more so than the economic or legal sphere. This indicates that the current CSR-policy implemented by the Company, despite its evident limitations, is situated in the upper end of moral responsibility measured

against the prominent concepts and theories on CSR (Carroll's models, Shareholder Theory, Stakeholder Theory and Corporate Social Performance Theory).

This is interesting as it shows how a company that assumes a relatively high level of responsibility and manages to secure compliance with its policies, still fails to address common social issues closely tied to its business. Ultimately this may question the effectiveness of CSR as a means for achieving social equity as argued by (De Neve, 2014) and Sadler and Lloyd (2009, p. 620). Likewise, it may criticise the neoliberal trends of moving responsibility and control from the state to the corporation. If a corporation at the leading edge of CSR fails to adequately solve social issues that arise from their business conduct, perhaps state interference is needed. However, the results also show problems arising from the states institutions such as corruption and harassment from FMS officials and the police, which would speak in favour of the current neoliberal shift of responsibility.

A market driven approach to responsibility will ultimately reflect the demands of the consumers. Migrant workers living in crowded rooms, working two jobs, earning wages close to the existential minimum (but well above the local minimum wage) while missing out on large periods of their children's growth are issues that will not be addressed in a neoliberal economy, unless the market demands it.

Moving on to the migrants, the results indicate that problems faced by migrants are not experienced during the move from home country to Moscow, but are instead experienced after arrival. This reflects the findings from the previous research questions. The trajectories revealed short journeys to Moscow, the migration was heavily dependent on networks as opposed to migration agencies and no significant areas of vulnerability or CSR-deviance were identified that were directly linked to the initial move. The results from all four research questions therefore indicate that the initial move offers a low risk of exploitation and constitutes a small proportion of migrants' problems and concern. However, this does not mean that the problems experienced are unrelated to migration. On the contrary, the most frequently stated problems and concerns for migrants were division from family and an inability to return – problems closely tied to migration. Likewise, the cases of discrimination reported are directly linked to the workers' migrant

status. The problems faced by migrants must therefore still be understood in the context of migration.

5. Conclusion

In this study, the migration process of migrant workers and the CSR-policies projected on their employment and recruitment have been presented and analysed. The key findings drawn from the migrant *trajectories* include that migrants originate in Central Asia, undertake short journeys to Moscow, reside in Russia temporarily, and that migrants continue to be constrained to a migrant status as their residency and labour contracts remain temporary and because they continued moving in and out of Russia. The central findings regarding *facilitation* revealed that migration is largely network and community facilitated whilst commercial agencies are uncommon. Furthermore, suppliers are disconnected from the facilitation of migration as they recruit locally.

Combined, the migration trajectories and the facilitation of migration depict a migration process that was compared to the Company's CSR-policy. This comparison indicated that the migration process is in compliance with CSR, with a few risk areas identified. This result is weak as the data on CSR-compliance was of too low reliability to rule out CSR-deviance. However, as the result on trajectories and facilitation indicates, the key areas of concern in the CSR-policy regarding migration – recruitment, bonded and forced labour – may be less likely to arise as migration is network and community facilitated, suppliers recruit directly into a local pool of labour, and the journeys undertaken are quick and uncomplicated. The findings from the first two research questions therefore support this result despite the interviews being of too low reliability to draw a strong conclusion.

Finally, the CSR-policy was compared to the problems and concerns expressed by migrants. This revealed that most problems directly related to employment and recruitment were addressed. Out of these some problems were sufficiently addressed, as they did not occur at the supplier, whilst other problems were addressed but still reported to be areas of concern for the migrants. The other set of problems; those indirectly related to employment at the supplier were not addressed. This included the most frequently stated problems: *divided families*, *inability to return* and *financial problems*.

Also evident from the result is that the problems experienced by migrants do not occur during the initial move to Moscow. Instead they occur during the time of

employment. The smooth migration to Moscow is presumably due to the established community and networks as explained in Network Theory.

Finally, the CSR-policies were measured against prominent theories on corporate responsibility and were positioned in the higher end of the spectrum of responsibility. Despite this, as the study shows, some social issues that arise as a consequence of corporate activity are not addressed by CSR-policies. These issues include the most frequently reported areas of concern as expressed by the migrants. The purview of CSR-policies, even when being of an extensive character, therefore is unable to fully account for social issues caused by corporate activity.

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7. Appendix

Table 5 - Background information for migrants quoted in the study.

Migrant ID	Supplier ID	Industry	Date of interview	Audio recording	Origin	Sex	Stay in Russia	Employment at supplier	Married	Children
1	1	Production	5th of May	No	Tajikistan	Female	1 year	<1 year	Yes	Yes, one child
9	1	Production	5th of May	No	Tajikistan	Male	8 years	<1 year		
12	1	Production	5th of May	No		Male	12 years	6 months		
18	1	Production	6th of May	No	Uzbekistan	Male	10 years	2 months		
28	2	Cleaning	10th of May	No	Uzbekistan	Male	6 months			
32	2	Cleaning	10th of May	Yes	Kyrgyzstan	Female		5 years		Yes
39	2	Cleaning	10th of May	No	Tajikistan	Female	1 year		Yes	
40	2	Cleaning	10th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Female	2 months	2 weeks	Yes	Yes, 3 children
41	2	Cleaning	10th of May	No	Tajikistan	Female	9 months		Yes	No
43	3	Transportation	12th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Male	14 years	1 years	Yes	Yes
45	3	Transportation	12th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Male	20 years	3 years	Yes	Yes, 3 children
53	4	Cleaning	16th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Female	2 months	10 days	Yes	
57	4	Cleaning	16th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Male	8 months	8 months		Yes
58	4	Cleaning	17th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Female	2 years	2 years		
59	4	Cleaning	17th of May	Yes	Kyrgyzstan	Male	2 months		No	No
60	4	Cleaning	17th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Female	3 years	1 year	No	
67	5	Production	18th of May	Yes	Uzbekistan	Male	11 years	10 years	Yes	No
69	5	Production	18th of May	No	Kyrgyzstan	Female	10 years			Yes
73	5	Production	18th of May	No	Uzbekistan	Male	7 years	7 years		Yes, 3 children