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UKRAINIAN ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN BULGARIA

Анотація / Abstract

Болгарське слово «підприємництво» (*predpriemachestvo*) охоплює процес здійснення господарської діяльності, саму діяльність та результати від неї. Відкриваючи власний етнічний ресторан, магазин, салони краси або інші установи, мігранти стають етнічними підприємцями або підприємницькими мігрантами. Деякі з них розвивають свій бізнес на основі етнічних товарів і предметів (продуктів харчування, сувенірів, творів мистецтва тощо), які часто визначаються як культурні надбання, а інші – на відкритому ринку, звертаючись до широкої аудиторії поза власною етнічною спільнотою.

У цьому тексті увагу приділено українським мігрантам у Болгарії та їхнім підприємницьким структурам, таким, як магазини, ресторани, готелі, нерухомість, салони краси та інші приклади з торгівлі, виробництва та сфери послуг. Більше того, підприємницький простір, з одного боку, відкриває можливість для збереження та популяризації різних елементів традиційної та сучасної української культури. З іншого боку, деякі із цих структур функціонують як центри консолідації, у яких розбудовуються, зміцнюються та розширюються соціальні мережі.

Методологічний набір дослідження включає напівструктуровані інтерв'ю, інтернет-спостереження та аналіз контенту різних типів цифрових публікацій – веб-сайтів, сторінок Facebook, відео YouTube.

Ключові слова: етнічне підприємництво, український бізнес у Болгарії, українська громада за кордоном, етнокультурна спадщина, консолідація українців.

The Bulgarian word for 'entrepreneurship' (*predpriemachestvo*) encompasses the process of executing an economic activity, the activity itself and the results from it. Opening their own ethnic restaurant, shop, beauty salons or other institutions, migrants become ethnic entrepreneurs or entrepreneurial migrants. Some of them develop their business on the basis of ethnic products and objects (food, souvenirs, art works, etc.) identified often as cultural heritage, whilst others serve the open market, addressing the general audience beyond their own ethnic community.

In this text, attention is paid to the Ukrainian migrants in Bulgaria and their entrepreneurial structures such as shops, restaurants, hotel management, real estate, beauty salons and other examples from the trade, production and service sectors. Moreover, the entrepreneurial spaces, on the one hand, open a possibility to preserve and popularize different elements of the traditional and contemporary Ukrainian culture. On the other hand, some of these structures function as consolidation centers in which social networks are built, strengthened and expanded.

The authors' methodological set includes semi-structured interviews, online observations and content analysis of different types of digital publication – websites, Facebook pages, and YouTube videos.

Keywords: ethnic entrepreneurship, Ukrainian business in Bulgaria, Ukrainian community abroad, ethno-cultural heritage, consolidation of Ukrainians.

The usage and the semantics of the term *ethno-business* change its meanings depending on the particular context. However, one of the most frequent and well-understood meanings is the one referring to ethnic minorities. In general, it is used to describe the economic activity of members¹ of a given ethnic community in a foreign ethnic environment, usually the first or second generation's migrants. The core of these activities is the usual entrepreneurship jointed most often with financial support for various initiatives of the community, which could be interesting for the host society, but it is mainly oriented to people of the same ethnic community. Interestingly, in many countries, like Russia and the Czech Republic, exactly the migrant entrepreneurs make a great part of the middle and small business².

The Bulgarian word for 'entrepreneurship' (*predpriemachestvo*) encompasses the process of executing an economic activity, the activity itself and the results from it. Ethnic entrepreneurship studies come into the focus of US-American researches in the 1970s and a decade later – into their European research field³. These new studies open new possibilities, on the one hand, to follow the introduction of ethnic entrepreneurship in the respective economy, and in result – to trace the migrants' and their children's integration in the new society. They are also important for the study of their contribution to the economic development in given sectors of the host societies [21, p. 11]. According to some scholars, ethnic

entrepreneurship is a *form of socio-economic adaptation*, which occurs when new migrants with insufficient local language proficiency and unaccepted professional skills mobilize their inner resources in a new foreign ethnic environment and start to run their own business [10, c. 73]. In other words, if the migrants cannot find a job in firms of the host society – for example, because of insufficient local language proficiency and unaccepted professional skills (thus being marginalized to a certain degree), they start to run their own business based on personal social, financial, professional and other capital⁴. This type of self-employment of migrants is often considered as an economic deadlock because of the long working hours, unsalaried family work, low income, etc., de facto their number grows rather in periods of an economic boom than of economic downturn [21, p. 18]. Opening their own ethnic restaurant, shop, beauty salons or other institutions, migrants become *ethnic entrepreneurs* or *entrepreneurial migrants* whose development is determined by external and internal factors like individual socio-economic adaptation and integration and the specific entrepreneurial activities [10, c. 75]. Some of them develop their business on the basis of ethnic products and objects (souvenirs, artworks, etc.) identified often as cultural heritage, whilst others serve the open market, addressing the general audience beyond their own ethnic community. Sometimes the host society blames them for taking job positions

of the local community, though often they actually work at less prestigious and low paid fields of work, which are avoided by the locals. From another point of view, however, ethnic entrepreneurship is a positive and productive method for migrants to adapt to the foreign ethnic environment and in result to raise their social status and property ⁵.

In this regard, it is important to notice that an ethnic firm itself is maintained as a *social structure* by social networks of the community's participants (owners and clients) because economic transactions happen exactly in these networks, and when all who take part are of the same ethnic origin, interaction appears to be very important for the construction and consolidation of the migrant community in the respective settlement (a town, a quarter, etc.) [see also: 19, pp. 36–39].

In this spirit, the social capital composed of family, kinship, compatriots, and ethnic ties is also an important economic resource [4, c. 36]. It plays a prominent role in the management of many ethnic-family businesses because the informal support from a family, friends, relatives and the formal networks of ethnic institutions define, to a certain degree, their existence. Family members are willing to work long hours, often without pay, and in some families wives work not only without payment but are also business collaborators [13, pp. 239–240]. In other words, the family as a foundation of the community [15] is often the core workforce of small ethnic businesses and the element that effectively connects these business structures with the host-society [13, p. 245].

Thus, if we accept that sometimes 'elements of the cultural heritage' are the basis of social networks, then they could also be seen as a part of the social capital, solidifying the connections between people. This conclusion about the cultural heritage elements directs us to a more detailed discernment into the essence of ethnic entrepreneurship. At the beginning, its sectors could be specified, according to their **characteristics** – owners, personnel and clients with foreign ethnic origin, managers' strategies,

trade with ethnic products, visual presentation of the cultural heritage (interior, exterior, ethnic name, etc.) or a combination of all just mentioned types.

The next possible division encompasses relatively well-structured **types of entrepreneurial activities and their concrete results** materialized in economic subjects. Firstly, the cafés, restaurants, bars, confectioneries and others belong to the catering establishments ⁶. In our case, important are the differing ethnic elements (cuisine, interior, service specificities, etc.) which, on the one hand, through the food and the surrounding atmosphere, "show common and significant signs in the process of maintaining and presenting the symbolic, 'imagined' ethnicity" [5, p. 174], the cultural traditions and other elements of the migrants' cultural heritage in the public space of the host society. On the other hand, these establishments convert into attractive locations, which make it possible to 'find' the migrant communities, to reveal their mechanisms of formation and function, and to investigate their inner structure [2]. In this context, they could also be characterized as 'migrant orientated' establishments, 'for migrants <...>, who make the personnel and the management' [8, p. 188]. Plenty of these ethnic catering establishments also support websites or Facebook pages with pragmatic information (contacts, locality, announcements, menus, etc.), short popular texts about the relevant cuisine and traditions, as well as photos and videos "narrating" about the establishment and its events in the past.

Secondly, clients and their social networks (owners' social capital), as well as the quality of the offered products, the exterior and the interior of a shop (symbolic capital) and the professional skills (personal capital), predetermine the development and the good functioning of each (family's) *ethnic shop*. Thus, both locals and migrants play an important role for the existence and the successful development of the shop. Exactly these characteristics are more significant for ethnic shops and other entrepreneurial structures, maintained by

migrants in the host society. On the one hand, exotic food and products for the natives, which they know from the media or trips abroad (in our case it is Ukraine), can only be provided by entrepreneurs themselves. On the other hand, because of specific gustatory nostalgia, ethnically marked food products are important for members of migrant communities, often forming the highest share of clients (also including sometimes people from geographically or ethnically close communities, consuming similar products). Thus, it becomes clear that both locals and migrants play an important role for the existence and the successful development of the shop.

Generally, ethnic shops, as well as ethnic restaurants, are characteristic spaces in which one can see many different ethno-cultural elements as texts, photos, goods, smells and sounds too. In addition, they function also as a socio-economic network in which is exchanged important and useful information, are organized formal and informal meetings, and proceed conversations about families, community, neighborhood, homeland, etc. [16, pp. 155–180; 17; 20, pp. 75–98].

More different, thirdly, are functions of small family *production structures* usually in the sector of general and luxury food industry, which purposefully emblemize the ethnic with their products, characteristic for the respective food culture and perceived as such in the host country. Normally (but not obligatory) ethnic production firms manage also a shop and / or a catering establishment to which the above mentioned observations could be applied.

Fourthly, *ethnic hotels* as such are buildings for guests and tourists. The hotel's conception is based upon ethnic principles with clearly expressed symbolism like ethnic name, characteristic architecture and interior, restaurant with a menu that corresponds to ethnic traditions, etc. In other words, their essence is to show (at least a part of) traditions, history, and characteristics of the corresponding ethnic group, and thus provide visitors with the opportunity to 'enter' the other ethnic 'world'

together with its visual, music, and gustatory characteristics.

Fifthly, other entrepreneurial structures are the activity diverse firms in the *service sector* – sale of properties, building services and interior design, medical service, transport, hairdressing, cosmetics, massages, etc. The ethnic point of these structures is more or less clear and visible, in conformity with the respective business activities.

Last but not least, *travel agencies* are also characteristic structures, belonging to the studied group of migrant entrepreneurial institutions. On the one hand, cultural heritage elements (monuments, sights, architecture, etc.) of a given destination are usually a part of the touristic cultural program and attractions that travel agencies offer. On the other hand, souvenirs, food and other ethnic products typical of the country of origin and of the people working there are sold or shown on stands and shop-windows in most such travel agencies.

Defining thus the theoretical framework of the research in the following pages, we will focus particularly on the Ukrainian entrepreneurship in Bulgaria and its manifestations concerning the consolidation of the Ukrainian community in Bulgaria and the preservation of the Ukrainian cultural heritage. On the basis of the gathered empirical material, most of all thanks to internet research but also to semi-structured interviews with representatives of the Ukrainian community and to analyzing YouTube-videos ⁷, we present examples from the production and trade sectors, as well as touristic and service ones. Some of them are connected with the identification of Bessarabian Bulgarians but their inclusion is important, as it is clear from a statement of a representative of the Ukrainian elite in Bulgaria: 'It is worth paying attention to them, because people with two lands-mothers are bridges. In Ukraine, they are Ukrainian citizens who love Bulgaria and are of Bulgarian origin, and when they come to live here permanently, and even become Bulgarian citizens, they become Bulgarians but with Ukrainian roots as they were grown in another

culture and there will be always something that they would like to present as different. Their hearts are equally for Bulgaria and for Ukraine'⁸.

Statistical data of the 2011 Population and Housing Census in Bulgaria show that about 3,000 people with Ukrainian citizenship live in Bulgaria and further 1,789 persons see themselves as belonging to the Ukrainian ethnic group. Some of these Ukrainians are predominantly those living in or around Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas, and Varna. According to Ukrainian migrants, their number has doubled or tripled since then.

Ukrainian entrepreneurship sectors in Bulgaria

Production and trade. We start the production sector with hats or Irina Sardareva. Even her products are not directly connected with the Ukrainian ethnic culture; they are often seen in different circles of the public sphere, as they are present in fashion reviews, in the media, on streets. More significant is their consolidating effect of hat-events. On October 19, 2019 for the sixth time since 2017 has been held a 'Hat parade', organized by I. Sardareva, in which took part adult people and children, Bulgarians and Ukrainians. Moreover, she consolidates – now also with her son G. Sardarev – people interested in hat sewing, or through the so-called cocktail or tea party with a hat and make-up. It is also worth mentioning that pupils from a Ukrainian school in Sofia now and then visit Sardareva's Hat-house in the Sofian urban area Vladaya.

Another Ukrainian contributing to popularizing the Ukrainian applied art in Bulgaria is Bogdan Stoyko who works as a master of church plates and accessories, after acquiring his knowledge in Ukraine. Today through his copper and brass artefacts (candelabra, crosses, wedding crowns, ceiling light, etc.) he disseminates Ukrainian traditions in Bulgarian churches (in Sofia and Veliko Tarnovo)⁹.

Here should be mentioned also 'Studio Papir'¹⁰ of the talented designer Anna Demyanchuk who lives in Plovdiv and offers in Bulgaria her impressive products made through the Ukrainian paper cutting art 'vytynanka'¹¹.

She makes gifts for Ukrainians or someone willing to bring joy through a gift with Ukrainian heart. Such a wedding present is for example a picture of a peacock, a bird which is a symbol of marriage in the Ukrainian ethnic culture and is often embroidered on wedding decorations¹². Her master classes turn her studio into a consolidating center that disseminates the Ukrainian cultural heritage in Bulgaria: 'I opened "Studio Papir" in Bulgaria to share this unique art with the people. I am extremely happy when I see how in my master classes, people enjoy the process and forget about time and their everyday happenings'¹³.

As an interesting example, again from the art sector, are the artistic activities of the Ukrainian Yuliya Krasovska who works in Burgas as a computer designer, but is a painter as well. Her 2019 exhibition, presented in the Ukrainian embassy in Sofia, includes aquarelle pictures of the 1950s–1960s Sofian buildings by the Ukrainian sculptor, architect and artist Mykhaylo Parashchuk (1878–1963) and contemporary photos of the same buildings, taken from the same angle as in the pictures¹⁴.

In this context, a specific transition to the food production sector are the sold, on the Bulgarian market since 2015, cast-iron pots for the home and garden by leading Ukrainian manufacturers, which the interethnic family of Alla (Zahoruychenko) and Lachezar Slavovi import and sell. Their wide choice of pans, pots, woks, grills and grill-pans, etc., with or without colorful and black enamel is sought-after not only by Ukrainians but also by Bulgarians¹⁵.

The starting of a firm in the food production sector in a new foreign ethnic environment results sometimes from the migrants' food nostalgia, in particular among those with entrepreneurial experience. With them could be also numbered home bakers and confectioners. Such an example in Sofia since 2015 has been 'Tsukernia Savenko', led by Anna Savenko, impressing clients with its beautiful delicacies. Besides for persons who celebrate birthdays or name days, the confectionery serves – although not always from a Ukrainian recipe – delicious

juices and sweet temptations (cheese cakes, croissants, etc.) to its visitors. However, as the owner shares, these delicacies are ‘memories brought to life by her hands’ about senses from childhood felt at the presence of home-cooked Ukrainian food. According to one of their clients, Anna Savenko sells ‘predominantly cakes from Ukrainian recipes. She makes them exclusively of natural and bio products. <...> For example – she grew up in Lviv – she offers Lviv curd fritters that she makes from cottage cheese because in Bulgaria, there is no that unsalted fresh Ukrainian cheese. However, things work out for her. From honey, she makes *medovyk*. We have ordered several times the Prague cake, which is typical of our confectionaries, even you will not find it in Prague; it is one of the most desired cakes in Kyiv. You can order everything there. She sometimes makes advertisements and special weeks for given cakes’¹⁶.

A publication with pictures of the owner reveals how important can be social networks for the consolidation and togetherness of the social team of a firm, also including critical situations one of which is the state of emergency declared in March 2020 because of the coronavirus pandemic:

‘I am in the middle. On my one side is a young and smiling colleen, who all you, our regular customers, know. It is Nicoleta, she cuts the cake served to you, makes coffee and raspberry-juice, greets everyone and says “good bye”, even when the people coming or going is not doing that!

On my other side is Chrissi, my right hand, confectioner-assistant and everything else. She makes the cake, and is also a mother of Nicoleta. With both these girls, I spent time the whole day, everyday; our holidays were flexible. We all are one family in which, as others, we quarrel, grouch, cry and reconcile. That is the most loyal team, a part of which I have the pleasure to be! And I thank them with all my heart! (Even so they should not forget who is the boss here.)

On the last photo is another member of our Tskuernia team. This is Anabella, who now and then helps us during her free days.

But now we are separated! Because Tsukernia is closed for our clients and there is nobody whom Nicoleta can smile or serve a cake!

For the time being, I just enter the kitchen, because the work is not much, and if needed, Chrissi and me will take turns. We carry out just individual orders that you entrust to us! And I would like to thank you so much that you are with us at this very hard moment!

If you have read this verbiage to the end, I would like to thank you for your patience and ask you not to leave us, so that I could keep this team and we must not part forever! That we could continue to make tasty and beautiful cakes for your holidays, and you, when all that is abated, could enjoy them in our small and cozy Tsukernia!’¹⁷.

In the Bulgarian sea capital is opened the confectionary shop ‘Happy sweets (LOL&POP Bulgaria), whose initiators and realizers are the family Tatyana and Volodomir Dzhivaga, who came to Varna in 2016 and a year later created their ‘lollipop kingdom’¹⁸. Although they have not practiced it in their homeland, their handmade ‘tsukerky’ (sweets) of natural ingredients with words inside, described in comments as ‘differing from those sold in “Berezka”’¹⁹, are favored by people of different ethnic and cultural origin. “These are natural sweets with natural colors – yellow from a carrot, red from a beetroot, green comes from a spinach, black – from coconut shells, violet – from an egg plant. White comes when the caramel is ‘stretched’ on a hook and, as a result, air bubbles get inside’²⁰. Even as a successful entrepreneur, V. Dzhivaga shares: ‘We faced many difficulties. It is a starting business; this is a beginning. And in Bulgaria, everything goes slowly. In Ukraine is different because when there is something new and interesting, people keep coming and

are interested. However, here it happens with a slower tempo. They look once, they look twice. And if a friend tells them that it is good then they will try it too'²¹. For our text, it is significant that this family organizes workshops for children and adults, in which both tourists and Varna citizens of various ethnic origins participate.

Catering establishments. From 'Savenko' and 'LOL&POP' we slide to the catering establishments of Ukrainian entrepreneurs who (also) offer the Ukrainian cuisine. Some restaurants are in the 'visible center' and differ from other trade objects due to visual elements used in the interior or the exterior and, of course, the Ukrainian cuisine with traditional dishes. Such a restaurant in Sofia is (was) 'Nasha hata'. The restaurant opened its doors in 2013 and until late 2018, it had offered to its clients a great variety of dishes that are believed to be Ukrainian, as, for example, *borshch*, *salo* with *gorilka*, etc. On different days, they have, apart from the Ukrainian menu, Bulgarian and Russian ones. Further, representatives of the Ukrainian community in the capital gather(ed) there for their 'Ukrainian evenings'.

Other restaurants, which are not in the city center, do not differ externally from other establishments and rely on a small number of visitors. An example of the Ukrainian entrepreneurship in Bulgaria is the previously called restaurant 'Rendezvous' in Nessebar, which now has a new address and a new name: 'Kanela Bar & Gtill'. It has been opened for two years; the staff hired there is predominantly of Ukrainian origin and cook Russian-Ukrainian dishes made of fresh and healthy products. An interesting method to consolidate Ukrainian and Russian speaking persons is the organization of joint workshops for egg painting for Easter, decoration master classes, wine tasting, doing hairstyles, etc.²²

Ukrainian shops. Due to the wide-spread shops of the holding company 'Berezka' (47 shops in Bulgaria and 8 in Romania)²³, in which are also sold Ukrainian foods and drinks, the maintenance of a Ukrainian food shop would be a successful initiative only for

good entrepreneurs with a serious experience or/and willingness so that they could deal with the completion of the Russian chain shop, as for the Russian store *Matreshka* in Plovdiv. An example for a successful market presence since 2014 is the small shop 'Sweet temptations from Ukraine' in Sofia, which pleases the senses not only of Ukrainians but also Bulgarians. In the shop space small in size yet large in variety of goods, and with an attractive interior, 'smelling of Ukraine', are sold sweet and salty products, a Ukrainian coffee from Lviv, 'patriotic' tea; 'Roshen' cakes are delivered, as well as even Ukrainian newspapers as people ask for them. A Ukrainian owner (although of Bessarabian-Bulgarian origin) has succeeded because she has started 'her business with Ukrainian sweets when no one else sold them in Bulgaria. Now we have "Roshen" in every shop. She started to offer unique things of smaller but more qualitative producers. She remained on the market due to her products being of an exclusive quality'²⁴.

Since 2015, various delicacies have been also sold in Burgas in the shop for Ukrainian goods 'Kiev'. The name of the shop could have been chosen not only because of the owners' Ukrainian origin but also owing to the Ukrainian capital being a twin town of Burgas.

An interesting example is the trade house 'Ukraina' opened in May 2017 in Plovdiv²⁵ whose owner Galina Nenkova, on the one hand, sells various handmade souvenirs of biscuits, marshmallows and chocolate products, including 'Roshen', decorated as compositions with flowers: 'I am a Ukrainian and actually my ideas, I could say, come from the nature of my origin'²⁶. On the other hand, until late 2019, in her online shop, she had imported 'flour, sweets, salt, buckwheat, and sold them to chain stores in Bulgaria'²⁷. Thus, through her activities, as she says 'I accumulate the import from Ukraine'²⁸.

Service sector. Firstly, it is about offered passenger services. Recently, conditions of minibus travels are being improved 'above all for the Eastern region of Bulgaria. For Ukrainians in Burgas and Varna, it is easier to travel to Ukraine than to Sofia if they need to renew their personal

documents. There are special groups in Facebook in which are posted announcements <...>. There are regular microbus carriers two-three times a week. Sometimes they come from Plovdiv or Sofia and travel to Kyiv. There are vans travelling only during a day so that it is not dangerous to drive at night on the roads. <...> Ukrainians offer passenger services most often to other Ukrainians or people interested in these destinations. Sometimes this type of travelling is preferred, although it lasts longer, yet, for example, flights to Odesa are twice a week and you have to wait a lot at airports and you cannot take much luggage²⁹. Respectively, these agencies also offer courier services 'but every order is individual and should be negotiated with a driver'³⁰. Publications in the group 'Bulgaria-Ukraine to and from (България-Україна туди-сюди. България-Україна натам-насам)'³¹ show that most offered, among others, are the routes Sofia–Odesa and Kyiv–Varna. Every person travelling by car to and from cities in Bulgaria and Ukraine posts a news in the group. This group turns out to be especially useful for sharing information related to restrictions enforced due to the Covid-19 pandemic, such as the organized, with the help of the Embassy of Ukraine, transfer of Ukrainian citizens from and to Bulgaria, as well as a delivery of humanitarian consignment to Ukrainian truck drivers quarantined in Turkey, and also the ingenious suggestion for a travel to Ukraine: 'I go to Kharkiv on foot. I can take two travelers with me. Free of charge'³².

Secondly, to this sector belong realtors for the purchase of housing properties in Bulgaria. Online publications show that between 2009 and 2013, Ukrainians buying Bulgarian real estate are on the second place after Russians [6]. After the tragic events in South-Eastern Ukraine and the unstable political and economic situation in the country, the number of Ukrainians thinking over emigration has grown significantly. For example, a 2011 *Research & Branding Group* study shows that every second Ukrainian dreams about living abroad³³. Further researches of the company demonstrate that

in 2018, only 6 % of the respondents travelled abroad to work³⁴, while a year later, 18 % of the Ukrainian population able to work earned their living by working abroad³⁵. Other online information points that in 2013, Ukrainians were the third largest migrant community in Bulgaria and in 2018, at about 80 %, or 6,604 seasonally employed migrants in Bulgaria, had Ukrainian citizenship (their ethnic origin is not specified)³⁶. According to 'Westinvestor', in the last three years, Ukrainians were the ones being the most interested in housings in Bulgaria, not only by the sea but also in cities, among which Plovdiv was the most attractive [1]. New Ukrainian owners use their immobile acquisition as a permanent home, for rent or other profit ensuring in this wise the security of their income and respectively their social well-being.

Property development is far from being the only one in the service sector, attracting interest and attention of Ukrainian ethno-entrepreneurs. 'Plameli finance EOOD' is an accounting office in Sofia in which a client can be consulted by Ukrainians both in Bulgarian and Ukrainian languages. They share on their website: 'We are specialists in the field of accounting and tax legislation and we accompany and represent You in the implementation of Your business ideas through tax advices and accounting services'³⁷.

Ukrainian business presence is found in a 'more prosaic' field of services, that of hairdressing and beauty salons in Sofia, Varna, Plovdiv and other towns. Alexandra Gan is one of those businesspersons, a graduate stylist, who has worked in Sofia for more than a decade. Her salon, or more exactly 'Makeup school'³⁸, can also be considered as a consolidating center as owing to the makeup courses she organizes, the master-class 'Hairstyles' with Ukrainian top-stylists (such as M. Chumak³⁹) as well, she brings together women of Ukrainian, Bulgarian or other ethnic origin 'to make the world more beautiful'. Another example are the services in migloplasty, which Yevgeniya Tsekova offers. In the beauty-lab 'Chic&Charm'⁴⁰ of her

compatriot and manicurist, Hanna Vriadnyk, she lays, lengthens and laminates her clients' eyelashes⁴¹.

Tourist sector. Directly connected with the real estate business are the hotel management and rental housing. Hotels with Ukrainian possessors cannot be categorized as pertaining to 'ethnic hotels' as they do not present certain symbolism, e.g. Ukrainian names, traditional furniture and Ukrainian objects and elements both in the interior and exterior. Perhaps the only example of such a hotel in which Ukrainian symbols are observed is 'Elizabeth dy Boutique' in Nessebar⁴². A part of its interior are souvenir plates hung on walls yet the hotel is explicitly advertised as offering the Bulgarian cuisine, with the menu of the hotel restaurant including Ukrainian dishes as well.

The same difficult is to find hotels, owned or administered by Ukrainians in Bulgaria, as well as examples for *apartments given for rent* by Ukrainians too; nevertheless, it is known that there are some. In most cases, Ukrainians who live in Bulgaria search for lessors in Sofia and by the sea via friends or those acquainted with friends, as well as those coming from Ukraine – by means of online publications.

Conclusions. In conclusion, based on our observations and gathered data, we would generalize that the Ukrainian entrepreneurship in Bulgaria is best developed in production and trade sectors, i.e. the economic enterprise manifests mostly and most often in producing and trading goods, whereas in touristic and service sectors, it is relatively less developed⁴³. The Ukrainian business in Bulgaria will develop in the future, because new people come. All Ukrainians entrepreneurs say that they do not encounter obstacles because it is very easy

to open a firm and the business climate is good. The problems which are faced are how to survive, how to represent oneself, and how to retain the clientele. <...> You have to be unique and tenacious'⁴⁴.

The Ukrainian entrepreneurship in Bulgaria is a form of socio-economic adaptation in a foreign ethnic environment. Most of the analyzed ethnic firms are maintained as social structures by the social network activities, i. e. by contacts of owners of the firms and connections between clients. Although there is no established business network within the Ukrainian small business in Bulgaria due to the 'oral advertising', they learn about each other and exchange flyers, provide discounts for others' clients. Analyzing their Facebook pages reveals their successful realization on the Bulgarian market, as well as their felicitous integration in the Bulgarian society. While some ethno-entrepreneurs decide not to hire Ukrainian personnel as they orientate their products mainly towards the local population, others rely on the staff comprised of compatriots because the latter are 'more hard-working and their attitude towards the work is of higher value'⁴⁵.

Therefore, in the end it could be summarized that in all studied areas (with some exceptions, which are in the sphere of trade), few people make efforts to maintain the Ukrainian traditions and cultural heritage through their activities, then 'it is an organized process and depends on a person'⁴⁶. On the other hand, most of the examined ethno-entrepreneurial structures contribute to the consolidation of Ukrainians in Bulgaria. They also make for the dynamic socio-cultural development of the Bulgarian society thanks to their cumulative life experience and visions.

Notes

¹ An entrepreneur is a man effectively controlling, as an owner or a manager, an economic structure (i. e. a firm) for more than one client for a given period, see also: [18, p. 12, 15–16].

² See: [9].

³ See: [10; 13; 14].

⁴ For further analysis on the economic, cultural and social capital, see: [3; 11].

- ⁵ See also: [22].
- ⁶ As catering industry (Brit. Eng.) and food service (Amer. Eng.) are defined those firms cooking food outside the home. This economic sector includes restaurants, cafés, catering activities and many other business forms.
- ⁷ These are mainly videos from the website *ukraina.ru* presented as series with the name “Ukrainian Bulgaria”. See also: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B2vISJPanv0> (accessed 29 April 2020).
- ⁸ An interview with A. T. recorded by T. Matanova, 2019, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 2.
- ⁹ See: <https://www.ukrpressbg.com/rek-stojko.html>; <http://www.ukrpressbg.com/dia-070726bogdan.html>; <https://www.pravoslavie.bg/България/Нов-храм-ще-бъде-осветен-в-София/> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ¹⁰ The Ukrainian word for paper (‘papier’) emphasizes the Ukrainian roots of the artist.
- ¹¹ *Vytynanka* is a Ukrainian national art that has developed since the 16th century and has decorated the interior of traditional Ukrainian houses in which ornamentally objects of thin paper are cut out. It is an original paper lace in which ‘are present floral, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and thematic fairytale, old and ritual motifs. <...> Today, masters who has kept the tradition alive are actively popularizing this folk art. The contemporary paper products are meant not only as a home décor but are also presented at exhibitions, complement the interior of public buildings, turn into a constituent of the polygraph production, postage stamps and calendar elements, being also an original addition to the décor of theatrical productions, etc.’ (<http://kristinalikova.com/2018/10/16/anna-demyanchuk/> (accessed 29 March 2020)).
- ¹² See: https://web.facebook.com/StudioPapir/?_rdc=1&_rdr (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ¹³ See: <http://kristinalikova.com/2018/10/16/anna-demyanchuk/> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ¹⁴ See, for example: <https://www.diplomaticspectrum.com/bg/българия/култура/1553-разходка-в-миналото-с-художничката-юлия-красовска.html> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ¹⁵ See: <https://web.facebook.com/Чугунени-съдове-1424390941208375/> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ¹⁶ The interview with A. T. recorded by T. Matanova, 2019, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 2.
- ¹⁷ See: <https://web.facebook.com/TsukerniaSavenko/posts/2791802014260333> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ¹⁸ See: <https://dariknews.bg/regioni/varna/ukrainci-syzdadoha-bonboneno-carstvo-vyv-varna-2072738> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ¹⁹ See: <https://grabo.bg/places/magazin-ukrainski-sladki/reviews> (accessed 29 March 2020). *Berezka* is a Russian chain store in Bulgaria.
- ²⁰ See: <https://www.bnr.bg/varna/post/100914295> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ²¹ See: <https://www.bnr.bg/varna/post/100914295> (accessed 29 March 2020, audio).
- ²² See: https://web.facebook.com/KanelaNessebar/?_rdc=1&_rdr.
- ²³ See also: [16].
- ²⁴ The interview with A. T. recorded by T. Matanova, 2019, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 2.
- ²⁵ See: https://www.facebook.com/pg/ukrajna.bg/about/?ref=page_internal (accessed 20 May 2020).
- ²⁶ A Facebook interview with the owner of shop *Ukraina*, 22 May 2020, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 4.
- ²⁷ An interview with M. I. recorded by T. Matanova, 2020, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 3.
- ²⁸ The Facebook interview with the owner of shop *Ukraina*, 22 May 2020, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 4.
- ²⁹ The interview with A. T. recorded by T. Matanova, 2019, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 2.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ See: https://web.facebook.com/groups/1421781614779341/?multi_permaLinks=2394868194137340¬_if_id=1586022903988477¬if_t=group_activity (accessed 05 April 2020).
- ³² See: <https://web.facebook.com/057.ua/photos/a.878941185454705/3435315813150550/?type=3&theater&ifg=1> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ³³ See: <http://rb.com.ua/blog/migracionnyie-nastroieniia-ukraincev/> (accessed 04 April 2020).
- ³⁴ See: <http://rb.com.ua/blog/ukraincy-i-rabota-zagranicej/> (accessed 04 April 2020).
- ³⁵ See: <https://delo.ua/economyandpoliticsinukraine/pochti-kazhdij-5-j-ukrainec-trudosposobnogo-vozh-356127/> (accessed 05 April 2020).
- ³⁶ See: <http://iconomist.bg/13457-Най-ценният-внос> (accessed 04 April 2020).
- ³⁷ See: <https://plameli.com/> (accessed 05 May 2020).
- ³⁸ See: https://web.facebook.com/AlexGanSchool/?ref=timeline_chaining (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ³⁹ For more information about her, see: <https://mve.com.ua/teacher/marina-chumak> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ⁴⁰ See: <https://web.facebook.com/annavyradnik/> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ⁴¹ See: <https://web.facebook.com/lash.brow.bg/> (accessed 9 March 2020).
- ⁴² See: <https://elizabeth-dy-boutique-hotel-nesebar.hotelmix.bg/> (accessed 29 March 2020).
- ⁴³ In comparison to them, Ukrainians in Poland in 2019 started their businesses in service, production and building sectors (<https://delo.ua/business/ukraincy-massovo-otkryvajut-biznes-v-polshe-362362/>) (accessed 04 April 2020).
- ⁴⁴ The interview with A. T. recorded by T. Matanova, 2019, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 2.
- ⁴⁵ See: ‘Ukrainian Bulgaria (Украинская Болгария)’, episode 5. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CPDxk8Hz80c>) (accessed 04 April 2020).
- ⁴⁶ The interview with A. T. recorded by T. Matanova, 2019, archive number: AIF I No 584, a. u. 2.

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