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**Crossroads of Chervonograd: the city in the context of the global flow of people and capital.
Spatial dimension of social transformations of the miners' town after collapse of the USSR.**

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The Ukrainian town Chervonograd is a place where the physical (political) border meets transborder mobility and a global weakening of borders as the result of flows of capital and modern technologies. In other words, it is the place where globalization and de-territorialization cross with the territorial reality of the national state and thus, it is the main object of research as a dynamic space of transformations that come as the result of this intersection. On the one hand, Chervonograd is a miners' town, where the state invests capital in the unprofitable miner industry and supports the "miners'" identity (miners' day, monuments of miners). On the other hand, one can note the mutation of territoriality of the national state of the city with the opening of borders after the collapse of the USSR and the activation of international capital, especially in shadow economy connected with the migrant economy. In the city space, the causes for the creation of a hybrid identity of the town become visible, especially in architecture and the character of public and private constructions, monuments, interiors of private houses, local and foreign goods and commodities, the intersection (tension) of global capital, and the territorial policy of the state.

The main problem examined by this research is the way in which belonging to the national state, closeness to the state border, and the means to the transnational flow of capital and people have influenced the life strategies and everyday practices of local inhabitants, and how this is visualized in the city space of Chervonograd. In the scope of this study are two main spatial-social layers of the town : "miners," a group that has existed since Soviet times, and that is under a process of transformation, and "migrant," a group which appeared at the end of 1980s, and which has different regimes of capital accumulation in this space.

Methodology

In the study of Chervonograd I concentrated on two levels – the first is the city and its architecture, and the second, its inhabitants. The city is a dynamic place of transformations under the influence of inhabitant activity, state politics, capital, processes of globalization, etc. In Chervonograd migration is a key process that impacts architecture and the functioning of the miners' town, and leads to the negotiation of the miners' town identity. Thus, the first stage of research and the first source of information is the cityscape where the transformation occurred. The second stage of research was fieldwork in Chervonograd, where methods of ethnographic observation are employed in the context of the everyday practices of people, those who live in the town and those who migrated to Warsaw. An important part of the research was semi-structured interviews with Chervonograd inhabitants, including migrants, traders, journalists, state authorities, entrepreneurs,

architects, representatives of the construction companies, etc. The anthropological research was conducted in 2008-09.

In my research, the cityscape is defined as the place of existence of Ann Tsing's "projects," that is, "relatively coherent bundles of ideas and practices as realized at particular times and places."ⁱ For studying the transformation of the cityscape it is crucial to trace what "projects" are important for the city and which exist in parallel or compete with each other. Moreover, the approach of Annemarie Mol, in her study of atherosclerosis, underlined that "a study of the enactment of reality in practice makes it possible to ethnographically explore the body multiple and its diseases in all their fleshiness."ⁱⁱ In the case of Chervonograd it will be the city multiple, and it is important to see not only objects, but also to follow these "objects while they are being enacted in practice." A praxeological approach allows the researcher to pay attention to different objects and events in order to understand the world.ⁱⁱⁱ The method of ethnographic observation allows for the tracing of what realities are enacted in Chervonograd and which elements of national and international capital influence the practice (or vice versa) or were reflected in the architecture and interior of houses, clothes, practices, etc, of people in the city, and also how they are conceptualized by them.

Theoretical part

In my research the space is analysed by taking into account the concept of Henri Lefebvre that space is not an independent given, but a mutable product of economic, social, cultural, and political processes.^{iv} In conditions of Chervonograd, the space was created for one social group: miners. But due to capitalistic relations, the system of hegemony of other social groups appears, of entrepreneurs and state bureaucrats and 'non-present' migrants. An example of Chervonograd provides the opportunity to verify findings of some researchers who deal with transformations in the post-Soviet region after the collapse of communism, and who underline that there is continuity in modes of economic activity, especially in cases of trade and entrepreneurship.^v In Chervonograd, one can study a possible continuity and transformation of patterns of "shadow" economic activity from Soviet times during the first years of independent Ukraine.

The city is the space of activity of the state and capital; "shadow" and "white." An important part of the "shadow" capital in the town is a "migrant capital" which appeared in Chervonograd with labour migration of its inhabitants eastward and westward. The main spheres where this capital became visible was in private housing (construction of houses; purchase or renovation of apartments). In relation to this, the study of Thorstein Veblen^{vi} about conspicuous consumption of elites will be applicable in order to analyze such consumption among the "nouveau riche" in post-Soviet countries, including Chervonograd.

Since Chervonograd is a border town, theoretical findings of Arjun Appadurai^{vii} are important for the research. He analyzes the contemporary reality as a world without borders and of crisis of national states, due to the migration of people and mobility of capital and development of modern technologies. For this research it will be important to analyse the extent to which one can apply his theory to the place on the border and how it correlates with the visible existence (physical border) of the national state.

The key terms for this research are "state," "capital," and "territoriality." "State" means spatial effects of a national state's policy (state and local), which leads to the socio-spatial configurations of the miners' town. "Capital" means private entrepreneurs, who are included in international "white" and "shadow" flows, which are in the town and which are connected to the global flow of capital, people and goods. "Territoriality" means border, which is defined by national states, including state administration and national Ukrainian or local capital.

Chervonograd – historical overview

«Знакомый с детства нам и дорог, и удивительно красив, Червоноград – родной наш город, больших надежд и перспектив... В целом мире лучше города нет» these are words from the song 1980s. And «Де б не був додому повертаюсь я назад, у найкраще в світі місто – мій Червоноград» or «Червоноград-Кристинопіль, місто над Бугом твоє і моє» - these are words from contemporary song. These songs indicate that the town is still the miners', but the pre-war past and the existence of a non-miners' town becomes important. The past which the Soviet authorities were trying to hide, including the building of a school in front of Potocki palace, closing churches and the degradation of the old town as a center of the city presently becomes important. In the old town one can note the process of gentrification. There, entrepreneurs, state officials, bureaucrats and migrants buy or build houses. The existence of Krystynopil, the pre-Soviet town, becomes an important element in the formation of the contemporary identity of Chervonograd.

Krystynopil after the WWII became a part of Poland and in 1951 part of the USSR. The coal was found there before the war, and it was the reason why the Soviet Union changed the border and replaced a territory near Peremyshl on Krystynopil.^{viii} Construction of mines started in the 1950s and continued during 1960s and 1970s. In total, twelve mines were constructed. The new town Chervonograd was constructed as a monocity, where the main industry was mining, and the majority of enterprises supported the main industry or were constructed to give work to women – wives of miners.

Construction of the new town started together with mines and began from the territory of Krystynopil and nearby villages. The town was developing in a north-east direction and with each decade, the height of houses was bigger and comfort better. As a result, a Soviet town was constructed with a Lenin monument in the center, and with standard Soviet buildings, like a cinema, copies of which one can find in other towns of the USSR. It was a city in which there were no open churches, but there were Soviet monuments and in which Soviet people would live. The number of inhabitants was increasing dynamically, by 10 000 every decade. In 1959 there were 18 600 people, in 1970, 59 400 people, in 1979, 71 500 people, in 1989, 88 800 people, in 2002, 85 400 people, and in 2008, 83 100 people.^{ix} People were coming from east and west. They were mainly Ukrainians from nearby villages and towns or newcomers from elsewhere in the USSR. Currently, Chervonograd contains approximately 40 nationalities.^x

Chervonograd in the Soviet times was mainly the place where state and state capital was visible. In becoming a part of the independent Ukraine, crucial changes occurred, and in addition to state capital, private capital appeared, both internal and foreign. At the end of the 1980s with economic crises in all spheres of the economy, shortages and delays in the payment of salaries started. Workers of city enterprises and miners went through a stage of being border traders – “*chovnyk*” or labour migrant - “*zarobitchanyn*”. Women started to migrate to the West – Italy, Poland, Portugal, Greece or Spain and men went to the East – Moscow and Kyiv. This pattern reflects migration patterns in the whole of Western Ukraine. At the end of the 1990s some men returned to stable life in the city or to the mines, some continued to work abroad, and some combined these occupations. Some women returned to work in the budget sphere or to local enterprises, but the rest continued to be occupied with trade or labour migration. Some of them combined the work in Chervonograd with labour migration, and, for instance, used their vacation break to go for seasonal work to Poland. Labour migration abroad remains an important source of income for many families and became a crucial life strategy for Chervonograd people. Migrant capital has a significant impact on the economic situation in the town and has caused the development of some industrial specialties in the city, especially when some mines have closed or will be closed.

Main industry – mining. If there will be no ideas about perspectives of the city – it will be dead. In 10-20 years the town will be dead. Mines are closing, their exploitation is ending, there were 2 mines already closed in the city, and 3 are on the edge to be closed... If mines are working - the city is alive, but when they will be closed I do not know what will happen. It will be like in Donbas, where mines were closed and settlements are dead... (Representative of town authorities)

Visible invisibility: migrant town in miners' Chervonograd

In my presentation I will concentrate on the impact of labour migration on the cityscape of Chervonograd and, especially how it effected the Soviet architecture of the town and rearranged the centers of gravity there. The city as a miners' town in its symbolism and industry is a male's town, a town that places import on male professions, the ethos of which is supported by the state, on the local and state level. However, one can trace the existence of the migrants' town within the miners' town. This town exists within talks in cafes or homes, in architecture of private houses and apartments, in the existence of a bazaar, in companies and shops with construction materials, whose clients are in majority migrants. The majority of families contain someone who previously worked or presently works in a mine. Likewise, the majority of families contain someone who has experience of border trade or short-term or long-term labour migration.

Due to the emphasis on mining, female professions were secondary and less important in the ideological sense to males' and, thus, less visible. In the 1990s these less prestigious occupations, such as trade or in-home work were key to survival, and many inhabitants of Chervonograd became traders, and later, labour migrants. Women migrate to work in so-called "invisible" professions and they become invisible carers. They are occupied with domestic work, which includes cleaning and the care of elderly people and children.¹ Work, which in Ukraine is not paid and is considered as women's responsibility, became in many cases the only source of income for family. It leads to the reconsideration of this occupation and of gender roles in the family, especially when such invisible work brings visible results. In my presentation, I will analyze this process using several examples and I will present how labour migration has effected the architecture and identity of the city and how it has led to a questioning of state ideology and the functioning of Chervonograd as a miners' town.

¹Peterson, Elin (2007). The Invisible Carers: Framing Domestic Work(ers) in Gender Equality Policies in Spain. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 2007; 14; 265-280; Kindler, Marta (2008b). „Niewidoczna” Praca Ukraińskie Migrantki Pracujące w Charakterze Pomocy Domowych w Polsce. In: Slany, Krystyna (ed.) (2008) *Migracje Kobiet. Perspektywa Wielowymiarowa*. Krakow, 200-220.

ⁱ Tsing, 2000, 347.

ⁱⁱ Annemarie Mol, *The Body Multiple. Ontology in Medical Practice*. 2005, IX.

ⁱⁱⁱ Annemarie Mol, *The Body Multiple. Ontology in Medical Practice*. 2005, 158.

^{iv} Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford 1991, 454 pp.

^v C.H. Hann, ed., *Socialism: Ideal, Ideologies, and Local Practices*. London-New York: Routledge 1993, 5-10.

^{vi} Thorstein Veblen, *Teoria Klasy Próżniaczej*. Warszawa 2008.

^{vii} Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press 1996. 224 pp.

^{viii} Іван Бриль, Місто «чорного золота» і червоної породи. Червоноград 2001, 17; С. Рабонець, С.Слука, Червоноград-Кристинопіль. Львов 1994, 19.

^{ix} Статистичний щорічник 2007, Львов 2008, Частина 2, 196.

^x Согласно Общеукраинской переписи населения в 2001 году в городе (без подчиненных местностей) было 92,2% украинцев (64 900 чел.), 6,4% русских (4 500 чел.), 0,4% белорусов (400 чел) и 0,1% поляков (100 чел.). (Всеукраїнський перепис населення 2001 р. Державний комітет статистики України. Доступно на странице: <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/lviv/#mitka>, пересмотр 10.10.2009 г.)