

Myroslava Keryk

Topic: Visible invisibility: migrant city in the Ukrainian miners' town.

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

The main problem of this research is in what way belonging to the national state, and closeness to the state border, what means to the transnational flow of capital and people influenced the life strategies and everyday practices of local inhabitants and how it is visualized in the city space of Chervonograd. In the scope of this study are two main spatial-social layers of the town – "miners'," which exists since Soviet times, and which is under process of transformation and "migrant," which appeared at the end of 1980s, and which have different regimes of capital accumulation in the space. In my presentation I will analyze this process on several examples and I will present how labour migration effected the architecture and identity of the city and how it lead to questioning the state ideology and functioning of the Chervonograd as miners' town.

Methodology

In the study of Chervonograd I concentrated on two levels – the first it is the city and its architecture, and the second – its inhabitants. The city is a dynamic place of transformations under influence of its inhabitants activity, state politics, capital, process of globalization, etc. In Chervonograd migration is a key process that puts its impact on architecture and on functioning of the miners' town, and leads to negotiation of the miners' town identity. Thus, the first stage of research and the first source of information is cityscape, in which transformation occurred. The second stage of research was fieldwork in Chervonograd, where are used methods of ethnographic observation of the everyday practices of people, those who live in the town and those who migrated to Warsaw. An important part of the research were semi-structured interviews with Chervonograd inhabitants, and among others with migrants, traders, journalists, state authorities, entrepreneurs, architects, representatives of the construction companies, etc. The anthropological research was made in 2008-09 years.

In my research cityscape is defined as the place of existence of Ann Tsing' "projects," that is, "relatively coherent bundles of ideas and practices as realized at particular times and places." 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, who 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." In case of Chervonograd it will be city multiple and what practices are enacted there. Praxeological approach allows researcher to put attention on different objects and events in order to understand the world.ⁱ

Theoretical part

In my research the space is analysed taking into account concept of Henri Lefebvre that space is not an independent given, but a mutable product of economic, social, cultural, and political processes.ⁱⁱ In conditions of Chervonograd the space was created for one social group – miners, but with capitalistic relations there the system of hegemony of other social groups appear, of entrepreneurs and state bureaucrats and 'non-present' migrants. An example of Chervonograd gives possibility to verify findings of some researchers, who deal with transformations in the post-Soviet region after collapse of communism, and who underline that there is continuity in mode of economic activity, especially in case of trade and entrepreneurship.ⁱⁱⁱ In Chervonograd one can study a possible continuity and transformation of

patterns of “shadow” economic activity from Soviet times during first years of independent Ukraine.

City is the space of activity of 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 to be visible is private housing (construction of houses; purchase or renovation of apartments). In relation to this the study of Thorstein Veblen^{iv} about conspicuous consumption of elites will be applicable in order to analyze such consumption among “nouveau riche” in post-Soviet countries, including Chervonograd.

Since Chervonograd is a border town theoretical findings of Arjun Appadurai^v are important for the research. He analyses the contemporary reality as the 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 to which extent 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 national state’s policy (state and local), what 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. The “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 miners’, but pre-war past and existence of non-miners’ town becomes important. The past which the Soviet authorities were trying to hide, like building school in front of Potocki palace, closing churches and degradation of 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 are buying or building houses. Existence of

Krystynopil, pre-Soviet town becomes an important element in 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 Soviet Union changed the border and replaced a territory near Peremyshl on Krystynopil.^{vi} Construction of mines started in 1950s and continued during 1960s and 1970s. There were constructed twelve mines. The new town Chervonograd was constructed as monocity, where the main industry was mining, and majority of enterprises there supported the main industry or were constructed to give work to women – wives of miners.

Construction of new town started together with mines and began from the territory of Krystynopil and near villages. The town was developing in north-east direction and with each decade the height of houses was bigger and comfort better. As a result there was constructed a Soviet town, with Lenin monument in the center, with standard Soviet buildings, like cinema, copies of which one can find in other towns of USSR. It was the city in which there was no open churches, but there were Soviet monuments and in which Soviet people should live. Number of inhabitants was increasing dynamically, on 10 000 in every decade. In 1959 there was 18,6 thousands people, and in 1970 – 59,4 thousands, 1979 - 71,5 thousands, 1989 – 88,8 thousands, 2002 – 85,4 thousands, and in 2008 – 83,1 thousands.^{vii} People were coming from east and west. They were mainly Ukrainians from nearby vilages and towns or newcomers from the whole USSR. Presently in Chervonograd live people of app. 40 nationalities.^{viii}

Chervonograd in the Soviet times was mainly the place where state and state capital was visible. Becoming a part of the independent Ukraine the crucial changes occurred there and besides the state capital appeared private capital, internal or foreign. At the end of 1980s with economic crisis in all spheres of economy for the people started shortages and delays with payment of salaries. Workers of city enterprises and miners went through stage of being a border trader – “*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. Such pattern reflects the migration pattern in the whole Western Ukraine. At the end of 1990s part of men return to stable life in the city or to mines, part continues to work abroad, and some combine this occupations. Part of women returned to work in budget sphere or to local enterprises, but the rest continues to be occupied with trade or labour migration. Some of them combine the work in Chervonograd with labour migration, and, for instance, use 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 the significant impact on the economic situation in the town and causes development of some industrial specialties in the city, especially when some of miners are 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 miners' town in its symbolism and industry is an male's town, town of male's profession, ethos of which is supported by the state, on local and state level. However, one can trace existence of the migrants' town within the miners' town. This town exists in talks in cafes or homes, in architecture of private houses and apartments, in existence of bazaar, companies and shops with construction materials, whose clients are in majority migrants. In majority of families previously someone worked or presently works in mine and similarly now in majority of families someone had or has experience of border trade or short-term or long-term labour migration.

Female professions due to its miners specialty were secondary and less important in the ideological sense than males' and, thus, less visible. In 1990s these less prestigious occupations, like trade or home work receive a key importance in survival and many inhabitants of Chervonograd became traders and later labour migrants. Women migrate to work in so-called "invisible" professions and they become an invisible carers. They are occupied with domestic work which includes cleaning and care of elderly people and children. Work, which in Ukraine is not paid and is considered as responsibility of woman became in many cases the only source of income for family. It leads to reconsideration of this occupation and to the negotiation of the gender roles in family, and especially when such invisible work brings visible results. Women by work abroad and sustaining their families perceive it as a fulfilling of the woman's role as a mother, daughter or wife, but this experience of being breadwinner of family puts an impact on the women's perception of themselves and their roles in family. Migration becomes one of the solutions of family

problems and remittances are the way in which obligations are fulfilled. This process I will exemplify using case of Luba. She lives and works in Poland since mid 1990s and sustains her family in Ukraine, what includes, relocating her family from Chervonograd to regional center, education for children, sending remittances, building and furnishing house for her husband, son and mother. In Ukraine she fulfills her role as mother, wife and daughter, but in Poland she believes that it is a place of freedom and realization of her desires and the place in which she is not dependent from men and no woman should be. Luba's story will be compared with stories of other women who themselves migrated or their life depended on migration of family members. The stories of women will be confronted with case of Vasyl, who has experience of labour migration, but due to the social capital accumulated during Soviet times and beginning of Ukrainian independence he managed to find well-paid and prestigious job in the local administration and later to become a director of construction company. Still, his business is partially dependent on the migrants remittances, because large group of their clients when it comes to construction materials are migrants or their families.

Conclusions:

The two regimes co-exist and intermingle in Chervonograd. Miners' town exists as a state project, but due to the fact that in majority of families someone worked on mines it became a part of their ethos and lived reality. However, period of transformation in Ukraine, migration and trans-border trade led to undermining this miner's city myth. It caused distrust in state and its institutions (economic activity in shadow zone), gaining importance of private networks (relatives and friends), change in life strategies of urban dwellers, negotiation of gender roles and new configuration of family relations and its diffusion in space. It also led to appearance of new capital and of new industries, which brought also changes in architecture, especially of private housing and to process of gentrification.

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

ⁱⁱ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford 1991, 454 pp.

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

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

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

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

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

^{viii} 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.)