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## Modernization of Infrastructure and Social Space in Kharkiv: Second Half of the 19th to Early 20th Centuries

**Annotation:** The article considers the role of urban infrastructure in the transformation of the social space of Kharkiv during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The author focuses on a number of key infrastructural components and clarifies the role of various social actors in their development and operation. It is argued that, while the city center was defined as the 'prestige zone', the localization of elements of the municipal infrastructure was gradually expanding, which process became an important aspect of the modernization of Kharkiv's social space. The author concludes that infrastructure development not only reshaped the physical appearance of the city, but also transformed social practices and the symbolic coding of social space.

**Keywords:** urban infrastructure, social space, history of Kharkiv, social history.

### Modernizacja infrastruktury i przestrzeni społecznej Charkowa od drugiej połowy XIX do początków XX w.

**Streszczenie:** W artykule przeanalizowano rolę infrastruktury miejskiej w przemianach przestrzeni społecznej Charkowa na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Autorka skupia się na szeregu kluczowych elementów infrastruktury i wyjaśnia rolę różnych aktorów społecznych w ich rozwoju i funkcjonowaniu. Uzasadnia, że choć centrum miasta określano mianem „strefy prestiżu”, to stopniowo rozszerzała się lokalizacja elementów infrastruktury miejskiej, co stało się ważnym aspektem modernizacji przestrzeni społecznej Charkowa. Autorka dochodzi do wniosku, że rozwój infrastruktury nie tylko zmienił fizyczny wygląd miasta, ale także zmienił praktyki społeczne i symboliczne kodowanie przestrzeni społecznej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** infrastruktura miejska, przestrzeń społeczna, historia Charkowa, historia społeczna.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Kharkiv grew rapidly, taking its place among the large cities of Eastern Europe. This growth, however, exacerbated many of the city's problems. The main challenges to the municipal authorities and the public at that time were unemployment and unsanitary conditions, which led to epidemics, epizootics, vagrancy, and high crime rates. The city government chose infrastructure development as the most effective way to address these urgent issues. The modernization of Kharkiv's infrastructure not only improved the residents' living conditions, but also changed their perception of the urban space. The aim of this article is to explore the impact of infrastructural change on the spatial reconfiguration of Kharkiv as a complex community during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. We will pay particularly close attention to the process of the zoning of Kharkiv's infrastructure during this period, which, in our view, should help illuminate the distinctive features of the modernization of the city's social space.

Our research strategy is rooted in the conception of the social space of the city as a construct of human thought. This approach was developed in the works of Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Georg Simmel, Pitirim Sorokin, and others. Its perhaps most succinct summation belongs to Frithjof Benjamin Schenk: "Spaces do not exist, spaces are created"<sup>1</sup>. In our exploration of the transformative impact of infrastructure on the social space of the city, we will draw in particular on the ideas of the economist Dieter Läßle. According to him, social space consists of four dimensions. The first is the material substrate of social relations – that is, physical space, which includes social objects, such as artifacts of infrastructure. The second dimension is defined by Läßle as the existing rules and norms that bind together the material substrate and social practice. The third is social practice as the activities of actors involved in the production, use, and appropriation of the material substrate. The fourth dimension of social space is the symbolic encoding and perception of space. Innovations in infrastructure change the physical space of the city, rearrange it, which in turn affects the social practices, mobility, and the symbolic encoding of space<sup>2</sup>.

It may also be useful to mention some of the ways researchers approach the organization of the physical space of cities. So, Robert E. Park, a leading figure in the emergence of the Chicago school of sociology, focused on natural areas of cities – spaces that evolve as unplanned 'natural habitats'. Such loci, in his view, are differentiated by the living conditions and by the habits and behavior of their denizens<sup>3</sup>. Anthony Giddens paid great attention to urban space and the circumstances of its zoning into foreground (prestigious) and background areas<sup>4</sup>. Erving Goffman claimed that the characteristics of a social actor are often revealed by the locations of her everyday existence, which serve as the 'decorations' for her

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<sup>1</sup> Ф. Б. Шенк, *Поезд в современность. Мобильность и социальное пространство России в век железных дорог*, Москва 2016, с. 6.

<sup>2</sup> D. Läßle, *Essay über den Raum. Für ein gesellschaftswissenschaftliches Raumkonzept*, H. Häußermann u.a. (Hg.), *Stadt und Raum. Soziologische Analysen*, Pfaffenweiler 1991, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Р. Э. Парк, *Социология, сообщество и общество (фрагменты)*, Социальные и гуманитарные науки. Отечественная и зарубежная литература. Сер. 11, Социология 2000, № 3, с. 169-178.

<sup>4</sup> Э. Гидденс, *Устроение общества: Очерк теории структуриации*, Москва 2003.

daily 'performance'<sup>5</sup>. Kevin Lynch studied the formation of images of city 'districts' and the substance of their symbolic representation<sup>6</sup>.

The problem raised in this article has never been the subject of special study; however, information about the development of individual components of Kharkiv's infrastructure during the late 19th and early 20th centuries can be found in the works of both contemporaries and later historians, such as Dmytro Bahalii and Dmytro Miller<sup>7</sup>, Ivan Ustinov<sup>8</sup>, Oleksiy Husev<sup>9</sup>, Ivan Abramovych<sup>10</sup>, Yulia Sokolovska<sup>11</sup>, Ihor Robak<sup>12</sup>, and others.

In order to better grasp the impact of urban infrastructure on the social space of Kharkiv during this period, we turned to the historical-cartographic method. The locations of such infrastructural components as medical and educational institutions, tram routes, hubs of commerce, and leisure facilities were plotted on a digitized map of Kharkiv in 1914<sup>13</sup>. Of course, Kharkiv's infrastructure at the turn of the 20th century was not limited to these elements – however, we chose those aspects the modernization of which had the greatest effect on the transformation of the city's social space.

Reference publications<sup>14</sup> and guidebooks<sup>15</sup> became the sources for creating maps of the zoning of infrastructural components and tracing the dynamics of their spatial development. Municipal records<sup>16</sup> were used to determine the density of urban communications (street and road network, telephone network, sewerage and water supply) in different areas of the city. Minutes of City Duma meetings<sup>17</sup>, petitions of

<sup>5</sup> И. Гофман, *Представление себя другим в повседневной жизни*, Москва 2000.

<sup>6</sup> К. Линч, *Образ города*, Москва 1982.

<sup>7</sup> Д. И. Багалей, Д. П. Миллер, *История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655 по 1905-й год)*. В 2-х т. Т. 2., Харьков 1912.

<sup>8</sup> И. А. Устинов, *Описание г. Харькова* (репринтное издание 2007 г.), Харьков 1881.

<sup>9</sup> А. Н. Гусев, *Харьков. Его прошлое и настоящее: историко-справочный путеводитель в рисунках и описаниях* (репринтное издание 1902 г.), Харьков 2009.

<sup>10</sup> И. А. Абрамович, *Канализация города Харькова (1912-1980 гг.): опыт проектирования и строительства*, Харьков 1997.

<sup>11</sup> Ю. В. Соколовська, *Допомога дітям у Харкові в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст. у межах Ельберфельдської системи*, Гілея: науковий вісник 2012, вип. 60, с. 40-43.

<sup>12</sup> І. Ю. Робак, *Організація охорони здоров'я в Харкові за імперської доби (початок XVIII ст. – 1916 р.)*, Харків 2007.

<sup>13</sup> *План Харькова 1914 года*, available at: <<https://forum.violity.com/viewtopic.php?t=68222&sid=5460d4d2490d75737f3f5a15f28b6fb1>> (Accessed: 18 April 2021).

<sup>14</sup> *Харьковский календарь на 1894 г., Харьков 1893; Указатель (торгово-промышленный, технический, юридический и медицинский)*, Харьков 1912.

<sup>15</sup> *Харьков: Путеводитель для туристов и экскурсантов*, Харьков 1915; А. Н. Гусев, *Харьков. Его прошлое и настоящее: историко-справочный путеводитель в рисунках и описаниях* (репринтное издание 1902 г.). Харьков 2009.

<sup>16</sup> *Сборник обязательных постановлений для жителей города Харькова (1872-1902 гг.)*, Харьков 1903; *Отчет о деятельности Народного дома в течении 1909 года*. Известия Харьковской городской думы 1910, № 1, с. 118.

<sup>17</sup> Державний архів Харківської області, фонд 45, опис 18, справа 90, аркуш 58; *Доклад по ходатайству Волостного правления о проведении Городского электрического трамвая на Холодную гору, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1915, № 2, с. 9-10.*

Kharkiv residents to the city government<sup>18</sup>, and publications in the local press<sup>19</sup> shed light on the symbolic representation of public infrastructure in the space of the city.

To better understand the specifics of the organization of social space in Kharkiv, we need to briefly touch on the principles of the 'zoning'<sup>20</sup> of the city in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During this period, the administrative and police division of the city into six sectors of unequal size with the focal point at the confluence of the Kharkiv and Lopan rivers was used by law enforcement in monitoring and protecting the population, and by the municipal authorities in collecting statistical information and technical planning. Other forms of zoning could be found as well. In the municipal records from this period, we still come across the outdated division of the city into three parts – Zakharkivska (from 'across the Kharkiv'), Nahirna (from 'hilltop'), and Zalopanska (from 'across the Lopan'). Historical toponyms deriving from the names of former villages or landowners or the ethnicities and occupations of the first settlers were also widely used in the description of neighborhoods and districts<sup>21</sup>.

According to the City Regulation of 1870, municipal services and the development, care, and maintenance of urban infrastructure were entrusted to municipal self-government, represented by the mayor, the *duma* (city council) and the *uprava* (managing authority)<sup>22</sup>. In Kharkiv, these newly-created authorities began the modernization of the city's public infrastructure with the construction of a centralized water supply. In June 1881, the first ten water distribution kiosks went into operation<sup>23</sup>. In 1892, 63 percent of households in the central part of Kharkiv had plumbing. However, for the residents of most of the city's neighborhoods it was still a luxury. Thus, for Moskalivka, a fair distance from the city center, the figure was only 1.5 percent. The same disparity was also evident in the availability of sanitary facilities such as toilets and bathrooms in different districts. For example, 15.2 percent of apartments in the city center boasted water closets, and 5.6 percent had bathtubs. The lowest numbers, again, were found in Moskalivka – 0.72 percent of homes with water closets and 0.32 percent with bathtubs<sup>24</sup>.

The next stage in the utilities 'boom' was the introduction of telephone service (1881) and construction of an electrical power station (1895). The first telephones were installed for police communication with the city's train station<sup>25</sup>. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were 1567 telephone users in Kharkiv<sup>26</sup>. According to customer

<sup>18</sup> *Требование жителей Холодной горы изменить маршрут трамвая с Кладбищенской улицы на Токовую*, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1910, № 11, с. 361.

<sup>19</sup> А. Шишков, *Железно-конная дорога в Харькове*, «Южный край» 1881, 3 марта, с. 2; Юсь, *Харьковские рассказы. Недельные итоги*. «Южный край» 1909, 7 июня, с. 6.

<sup>20</sup> П. Бурдье, *Физическое и социальные пространства: проникновение и присвоение*. Гуманитарные технологии 2009. Аналитический портал, <<https://gtmarket.ru/laboratory/expertize/3053>> (accessed: 9 October 2019).

<sup>21</sup> И. А. Устинов, *Описание г. Харькова (репринтное издание 2007 г.)*, Харьков 1881, с. 36.

<sup>22</sup> *Высочайше утвержденное Городовое положение*, [in]: *Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собрание 3-е*. Т. 12 (1892), Санкт-Петербург 1895, с. 430–435.

<sup>23</sup> *Державний архів Харківської області*, фонд 45, опис 18, справа 90, аркуш 58.

<sup>24</sup> *Харьковский календарь на 1894 г.*, Харьков 1893, с. 464.

<sup>25</sup> *Телефонная связь в Харькове*, «Южный край» 1884, 24 июля, с. 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Города России в 1904 году*. Т. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1906, с. 241 *Города России в 1904 году*. Т. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1906, с. 241

records, 65 percent of the devices were located along the main 'arteries' of the city: Sumska, Nimetska (Pushkinska), Katerynoslavska, and Staro-Moskovska streets and Mykolaivska and Torhiveln squares<sup>27</sup>. The electrification of Kharkiv also began with central streets – Sumska and Nimetska (Pushkinska). The first users of electricity and the telephone service were shops, large shopping spaces, hotels, and wealthy residents.

The year 1882 was marked by the appearance of the first form of public transport in the city – the so-called *konka*, or horse-drawn rail tram. In 1906, the *konka* found a competitor in the newly-introduced electric-powered tram service. Nearly all of the routes of both the *konka* and electric tram converged in the city center, on Torhiveln (Pavlivska) Square, which became Kharkiv's transport hub. The routes fanned out radially from the square, reaching into every part of the city<sup>28</sup>. Modernization of the urban communications network caused changes in the social practices of the residents. The contemporary opinion of the professor of Kharkiv University O. Shymkov illustrates the fact that municipal transport began to be perceived as a public concern: "If a *konka* breaks, it is a public matter, but if a cabbie throws you out onto the pavement, it is a private matter". Shymkov also predicted that the predominance of public over private space would in the future ensure the safety and satisfaction of the needs of all Kharkiv residents<sup>29</sup>.

At the beginning of the 20th century, only the western fringes of the city, the districts of Lysa Hora (Bald Hill) and Kholodna Hora (Cold Hill), were still without tram service. The residents of the 'discriminated' neighborhoods did not want to put up with the lack of convenient public transport in their area and bombarded the City Duma with petitions, demanding a speedy solution to this issue. In 1911, the first electric tram line was opened in Kholodna Hora. Specialists of the city *uprava* planned the route based on the economic feasibility of construction and did not take into account the opinions of the district's residents. This only added to the conflict, which in the end was never resolved due to the difficult military and political situation in the country<sup>30</sup>.

In 1912, construction began on the first section of the municipal sewage system in the city center. The choice of location was justified by technological necessity – most of the buildings in the area had to have central water supply for the sewage system to function. In the central district at that time, 67 percent of households already had plumbing, while for the city as a whole this figure did not exceed 26 percent<sup>31</sup>. In 1914, the work was completed. As of April 1916, a total of 854 households, accounting for approximately 27.8 percent of the city's population, were connected to the network<sup>32</sup>. Most of them were located in the city center.

<sup>27</sup> Д. И. Багалец, Д. П. Миллер, *История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655 по 1905-й год)*. В 2-х т., Т. 2., Харьков 1912, с. 486.

<sup>28</sup> *Сведения по эксплуатации Харьковского трамвая*, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1914, № 3, с. 232-233.

<sup>29</sup> А. Шимков, *Железно-конная дорога в Харькове*, «Южный край» 1881, 3 марта, с. 2

<sup>30</sup> *Требование жителей Холодной горы изменить маршрут трамвая с Кладбищенской улицы на Токовую*, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1910, № 11, с. 361.

<sup>31</sup> *Харьковский календарь на 1894 г.*, Харьков 1893, с. 464.

<sup>32</sup> *Сведения о присоединении к канализации*, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1916, № 3-4, с. 455.

The paving of streets was an important infrastructural problem for Kharkiv in the late 19th century. In the 1870s, the City Duma established a so-called 'pavement commission'. Developments in this sphere created another point of difference between the city's districts. In 1909, the Duma approved a resolution on street maintenance. Kharkiv's streets were divided into four categories depending on the paving materials used. The streets of the city center were assigned to the first two categories and paved with ceramic or stone tile. The materials for the remote urban 'arteries' of the third and fourth categories were sand, gravel, and wood. Despite significant financial investment, 53 percent of Kharkiv's streets were still unpaved when World War I broke out. Exceptions were the city center and parts of Katerinoslavska and Staro-Moskovska streets<sup>33</sup>.

The turn of the 20th century became a time of the rapid development of stationary retail in the city. In 1881, Kharkiv was served by three large markets – Blahovishchensky (Annunciation) Market, Kinny (Horse) Market, and Rybny (Fish) Market – and four shopping malls<sup>34</sup>. Small produce markets appeared during this period in most neighborhoods. Shop trade varied across the city. The industrial outskirts were dominated by small, low-turnover shops (69.8 percent of all retail there). Almost 72 percent of retail businesses in the workers' districts specialized in foodstuffs, and 18.2 percent sold manufactured goods, haberdashery, furniture, fuel, household goods, and more. Most of the city's retail businesses with a substantial annual turnover were found in the central district, where 69 percent of outlets sold foodstuffs and 29.5 percent specialized in other consumer goods. In this part of Kharkiv, 46 percent of non-food retail establishments offered their customers watches, pet supplies, books, cars, and furniture. Luxury trade was thus concentrated in the city center, while the consumer demand of the outlying areas was met by small grocers and fuel merchants<sup>35</sup>.

Spatial segregation was also evident in the public catering and hospitality industries. Restaurants, cafes, and cafeterias were overwhelmingly located in the city center. Cabarets and cafés chantant could be found in parks, public gardens, and 'entertainment malls'<sup>36</sup>. Taverns, pubs, Rens cellars, and taphouses offered their services to residents of the city's fringes. However, around the turn of the century philanthropic associations began opening canteens, tea parlors, and tea-and-reading rooms in working-class neighborhoods. The goal was not only to improve the residents' diet, but also to raise their cultural level and show them the benefits of alcohol-free lifestyle<sup>37</sup>.

Kharkiv's wealthy guests could stay in elegant hotels in the city center – for example, Rossiya or Ruf's<sup>38</sup>. Small-time merchants and officials stayed in furnished

<sup>33</sup> *Об устройстве и содержании в исправности тротуаров в г. Харьков*, [in:] *Сборник обязательных постановлений для жителей города Харькова, составленных Харьковской городской думой 1909-1914 гг.*, Харьков 1915, с. 15.

<sup>34</sup> И. А. Устинов, *Описание г. Харькова (репринтное издание 2007 г.)*, Харьков 1881, с. 101.

<sup>35</sup> Д. М. Чорний, *Торгівля в Харкові на початку ХХ ст.*, Український історичний журнал 2005, вип. 5, с. 53-59.

<sup>36</sup> *Харьков: Путеводитель для туристов и экскурсантов*, Харьков 1915, с. 45-46.

<sup>37</sup> *Отчет о деятельности Народного дома в течении 1909 года*, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1910, № 1, с. 118.

<sup>38</sup> *Две гостиницы Руфа в Харькове*, [in:] *Адрес-календарь и Справочная книга Полтавской губернии на 1893 год*, Полтава 1892, с. 661.

rooms or inns, mostly found near the train station, markets, and shopping malls. The urban poor frequented night shelters in the same busy sections of town<sup>39</sup>. It is noteworthy that City Duma regulations reaffirmed this spatial stratification. At the beginning of the 20th century, opening a hotel in the remote Zaikivka was not an easy task, because establishments of this type had to be connected to the water and power supply networks. For its part, a taphouse or tavern could not operate on the central Rymarska Street, because it was forbidden to sell strong alcoholic beverages in this part of the city<sup>40</sup>.

Doctors, hygienists, and local officials saw the development of public parks and gardens as a salvation from the harmful effects of polluted air on the human body. During the 1870s and 1880s, the parks commission of the *uprava* landscaped with trees and greenery the main streets of Kharkiv: Sumska, Nimetska, Universytetska, and Katerynoslavska. However, the University Garden remained the only significant recreational space in the city. In the 1890s, Duma meetings repeatedly discussed the need to expand the residents' options in this sphere. Unoccupied land at the far end of Pushkinska Street was chosen as the location of the future Mykolaivsky Park. During the 1890s, spaces in various other parts of Kharkiv also became greener. In the vicinity of the Kinny Market, the management of the industrial M. Helferich-Sade Society took the initiative in laying out garden squares near its factory and the People's House. At the turn of the century, the residents of the peripheral neighborhoods of Moskalivka and Honcharivka could relax in the Karpivsky Garden. And while Lysa Hora and Kholodna Hora had no public gardens or parks, there were woods and private gardens nearby<sup>41</sup>.

Kharkiv's healthcare industry saw a truly remarkable expansion during our period. In the early 1850s, the city had one public hospital with an asylum for the mentally ill, plus a surgical and a therapeutic university clinics<sup>42</sup>. In 1904, Kharkiv could boast 32 hospitals (for comparison, around the same time Poltava had 9, Kyiv – 44, and Vilnius – 5<sup>43</sup>). The majority of the hospitals were found in the central part of the city – 52 percent in 1895 and 56.7 percent in 1912<sup>44</sup>. This can be explained by the fact that from the beginning of the 19th century the city center was home to the Faculty of Medicine of Kharkiv University and its clinical, research, and study facilities.

During the later part of the 19th century, the medical care of the residents of the crowded Moskalivka improved significantly with the opening in this neighborhood of an inpatient hospital of the Red Cross Society, an outpatient clinic of the Kharkiv Sisters of Mercy Society, the City Children's and Gynecological Outpatient Clinic, and the Outpatient Children's Clinic. The residents of the remote Kholodna Hora, Lysa Hora,

<sup>39</sup> И. А. Устинов, *Описание г. Харькова (репринтное издание 2007 г.)*, Харьков 1881, с. 296.

<sup>40</sup> *Обязательные постановления о порядке открытия, устройства, содержания гостиниц, мебелированных комнат со столом и без стола, ресторанов столовых, кухмистерских в г. Харьков, «Известия Харьковской городской думы 1916»*, № 1, с. 7-11.

<sup>41</sup> *Современное хозяйство города Харькова (1910-1913)*. Вып. 2, Харьков 1914, с. 23-25. *Современное хозяйство города Харькова (1910-1913)*. Вып. 2, Харьков 1914, с. 23-25.

<sup>42</sup> Д. И. Багалеи, Д. П. Миллер, *История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655 по 1905-й год)*. В 2-х т. Т. 2, Харьков 1912, с. 477.

<sup>43</sup> *Города России в 1904 году*. Т. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1906, с. 214-233.

<sup>44</sup> *Указатель торгово-промышленный, технический, юридический и медицинский*, Харьков 1912, с. 53-55.

and Honcharivka were less provided with medical services than other Kharkivites. However, the establishment of the Association of Emergency Doctors in 1910 improved the situation in these districts. This project can be seen as an act of social responsibility on the part of the Kharkiv community of medical professionals, who worked there for free and ran the society at their own expense<sup>45</sup>. In the same vein, the Elberfeld system was introduced in the city under the patronage of the Kharkiv Charitable Society in 1896. The city was divided into 15 wards, in which anyone who needed help could receive it. The novelty of this system was that it promoted an individual approach to each person in need and continual support during the entire difficult period in her life<sup>46</sup>.

Kharkiv, as one of the major educational hubs of the empire, became the center of a powerful movement of popular enlightenment. Kharkiv educators and philanthropists developed a network of Sunday schools for adults, educational societies, reading rooms, and professional courses for low-income residents<sup>47</sup>. While in 1872 there were 67 educational institutions in the city (including two institutions of higher education and seven secondary and 58 primary schools), by 1902 the total had risen to 127 (including three institutions of higher learning and 13 secondary and 111 primary schools)<sup>48</sup>. That is, in less than half a century, the number of educational institutions almost doubled. It is significant that the densely populated and poor districts of Moskalivka and Zaikivka ranked first in the number of primary schools. However, the vast majority of the city's educational institutions were still concentrated in the central zone. Proximity to Kharkiv University and other institutions of higher education may explain why many societies for the promotion of knowledge were located there as well<sup>49</sup>.

During our period, the Kharkiv Literacy Society, Kharkiv Commission for Popular Reading, and other philanthropic associations helped open public reading rooms in different parts of the city<sup>50</sup>. One such room found home in the Kharkiv People's House, a public-spirited undertaking funded by the entrepreneur Pavlo Kharytonenko. In 1917, 13 workers' clubs were active in different parts of the city, primarily near industrial enterprises, striving to diversify workers' recreation<sup>51</sup>. The leisure activities of Kharkivites included visiting theaters, amusement parks, museums, and clubs, most of which were located in the city center. This zone, in the words of Bahalii and Miller, was "the most suitable for cultural life" part of Kharkiv<sup>52</sup>. It was here that entrepreneurs

<sup>45</sup> І. Ю. Робак, *Організація охорони здоров'я в Харкові за імперської доби (початок XVIII ст. – 1916 р.)*, Харків 2007, с. 239.

<sup>46</sup> Ю. В. Соколовська, *Допомога дітям у Харкові в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст. у межах Ельберфельдської системи*, „Гілея: науковий вісник 2012”, вип. 60, с. 40.

<sup>47</sup> Т. М., Поволоцька, В. О. Селегей, *Діяльність громадських товариств Харківщини у галузі народної освіти у другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст.*, „Збірник наукових праць ХНПУ імені Г. С. Сковороди” 2010. Серія «Історія та географія», вип. 38, с. 116.

<sup>48</sup> *Харьковский календарь на 1912 г.*, Харьков 1911, с. 83-85.

<sup>49</sup> *Отголоски*, «Южный край» 1895, 27 февраля, с. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Д. И. Багалея, Д. П. Миллер, *История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655 по 1905-й год)*. В 2-х т. Т. 2, Харьков 1912, с. 762-765.

<sup>51</sup> В. А. Альков, *Трансформація харківського клубного дозвілля в умовах модернізаційних перетворень другої половини XIX – початку XX ст.*, „Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В. Н. Каразіна 2013” Серія «Історія України. Українознавство: історичні та філософські науки», вип. 17, с. 36.

<sup>52</sup> Д. И. Багалея, Д. П. Миллер, *История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655 по*



launched the first establishments of mass art – cinemas. The most popular *illuzions* of that time were the Empire, Apollo, Modern, and Bommer<sup>53</sup>.

Analysis of the zoning of the city's infrastructure enables us to define the area of the highest concentration of its elements: Katerynoslavska Street (with the cutoff at the city train station) – Klochkovska Street (starting from Richkovy Lane) – University Garden – Veterynarna Street – Sadovo-Kulikovska Street – Staro-Moskovska Street (to Kinna Street). The residents of this central district were provided with municipal services and amenities to a greater extent than all other Kharkivites, which gave it an image of 'prestige'. It can also be classified as an 'introverted space'<sup>54</sup>, which became not only the territorial, but also educational, medical, academic, and cultural center of Kharkiv and the region as a whole. It is interesting that in 1915, petitioning the City Duma for a new tram line, residents of Kholodna Hora characterized the city center as 'European' and 'civilized', in contrast to their own neighborhood, where they were living as 'prehistoric people'. These townfolk from a remote fringe of Kharkiv viewed street lighting, sidewalks, cobbled roads, central water supply, and convenient tram connections as indicators of 'civilization'<sup>55</sup>. They found themselves outside loci with developed infrastructure to which they assigned value, which testifies to the presence in turn-of-the-century Kharkiv of the phenomenon of spatial segregation.

In the local press and petitions to the City Duma, residents of the outlying neighborhoods represented themselves as distinct communities, sometimes with urbanonyms of their own (the people of Kholodna Hora, for instance, referred to themselves as 'Kholodnohortsi'<sup>56</sup>). They often accused the Duma and *uprava* of bias against their districts. In particular, they suspected the Duma of reluctance to do 'anything' for the development of their neighborhoods because the residents of the remote parts of the city did not have electoral rights<sup>57</sup>. They argued that a careless attitude towards sanitary conditions in those areas could cause an epidemic in the city, and the disease would quickly reach the 'culprits of inaction' – the Duma deputies who lived in the heart of Kharkiv<sup>58</sup>. In the pages of local newspapers, speakers for the outskirts voiced their indignation that "gentlemen from the center" spend people's taxes to "decorate the physiognomy of their center", while the outlying districts "fall short of the level of county towns"<sup>59</sup>. For their part, residents of the city center responded to these accusations with sardonic advice on how to do without certain

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1905-й год). В 2-х т. Т. 2, Харьков 1912, с. 769.

<sup>53</sup> Л. Госейко, *История украинского кинематографа. 1896-1995*, Київ 2005, с. 9.

<sup>54</sup> К. Линч, *Образ города*, Москва 1982, с. 36.

<sup>55</sup> Доклад по ходатайству Волостного правления о проведении Городского электрического трамвая на Холодную гору, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1915, № 2, с. 9-10. Доклад по ходатайству Волостного правления о проведении Городского электрического трамвая на Холодную гору, «Известия Харьковской городской думы» 1915, № 2, с. 9-10.

<sup>56</sup> *Откровенный разговор. Город или уезд?*, «Южный край» 1901, 6 июля, с. 3

<sup>57</sup> А. Григоровский, *Сообщение из мест. Харьков*, «Городское дело» 1911, № 13-14, с. 1031.

<sup>58</sup> Доклад Городской управы по вопросу о возбуждении ходатайства перед Противочумной Комиссией об ассигновании на улучшение свалок на Павловской даче, «Известия Харьковской думы» 1916, № 3, с. 163-164.

<sup>59</sup> *Откровенный разговор. Город или уезд?*, «Южный край» 1901, 6 июля, с. 3.

‘benefits of civilization’. For example, Kharkivites living in neighborhoods without tram routes were advised to buy an airship and fly it to work<sup>60</sup>.

In parallel with spatial segregation, turn-of-the-century Kharkiv was also undergoing the process of gentrification. The term was coined in 1964 by the sociologist Ruth Glass to describe the process in which the middle class progressively crowded out the working class from certain areas of London during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Today, the concept of ‘gentrification’ has a much broader meaning. Researchers have long been studying the motives behind this phenomenon (economic and social)<sup>61</sup>, its driving forces (classes, social groups, and power structures)<sup>62</sup>, and approaches to space renovation (settlement of neglected areas, administrative re-planning of the city, or neighborhood development by activist groups)<sup>63</sup>.

In the 1840s and 1850s, the re-planning of the city center was overseen by the Committee for the Improvement of Kharkiv. Residents unable to renovate their homes in keeping with the committee’s requirements were forced to sell their land plots and move to remote neighborhoods<sup>64</sup>. In 1911, 79 out of 80 members of the City Duma lived in the central part of Kharkiv<sup>65</sup>. The city center’s lobbying power in the Duma contributed to its brisk infrastructural development and transformation into a ‘prestigious address’ zone.

At the dawn of the 20th century, Kharkiv witnessed a new wave of gentrification, this time in the outlying districts. The deepening of spatial segregation stimulated the consolidation of distinct communities in those areas. Thus, the residents of Kholodna Hora and Lysa Hora elected a representative to defend their interests – Captain O. Dunin, who eagerly set about tackling the district’s infrastructural problems. He addressed special commissions and the Duma and wrote articles for city newspapers<sup>66</sup>. And indeed, in the early 1900s the life of the population of Kholodna Hora and Lysa Hora somewhat improved – in addition to a tram line, a small market was opened, and work began on paving and lighting the streets. Such infrastructural changes led to an increase in housing prices and produced a predictable effect characteristic of gentrification<sup>67</sup> – the relocation of poorer residents farther away within the district or to other fringe neighborhoods<sup>68</sup>. Elements of gentrification can be observed in different

<sup>60</sup> Юсь, Харьковские рассказы. Недельные итоги, «Южный край» 1909, 7 июня, с. 6.

<sup>61</sup> А. Берсон, *Европейский мегаполис и мультикультурализм: степень совместимости*, Современная Европа 2011, № 1 (45), с. 66. А. Берсон, *Европейский мегаполис и мультикультурализм: степень совместимости*, Современная Европа 2011, № 1 (45), с. 66.

<sup>62</sup> К. Ищенко, *Джентрификация: как рынок вытесняет бедных из городов*, 2018, available at: <<https://knife.media/gentrification/>> (accessed: 18 April 2020).

<sup>63</sup> И. В. Маслова, *Городские смыслы и современная урбанизация*, „Новое прошлое“ 2017, № 3, с. 183.

<sup>64</sup> Д. И. Багалей, Д. П. Миллер, *История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655 по 1905-й год)*. В 2-х т. Т. 2, Харьков 1912, с. 51,53.

<sup>65</sup> А. Григоровский, *Сообщения из мест. Харьков. Первый год работы обновленной городской думы*, «Городское дело» 1911, № 19, с. 1386.

<sup>66</sup> А. Григоровский, *Сообщения из мест. Харьков. Первый год работы обновленной городской думы*, «Городское дело» 1911, № 19, с. 1386-1387.

<sup>67</sup> К. Ищенко, *Джентрификация: как рынок вытесняет бедных из городов*, 2018, available at: <<https://knife.media/gentrification/>> (accessed: 18 April 2020).

<sup>68</sup> А. Григоровский, *Сообщение с мест. Вокруг Харькова. Подгородные поселки*, «Городское дело»

parts of Kharkiv, with its primary agents varying across the city. Far away from the city center (for example, in Moskalivka, Zaikivka, or Zhuravlivka), the main driving force behind infrastructural development was the philanthropic movement, while in commercial and industrial zones (for example, around the Blahovishchensky and Kinny markets) it was private entrepreneurs. However, these developments were still in their early stages when they were interrupted by World War I.

Thus, the period of the late 19th to early 20th centuries saw a modernization and spatial expansion of such components of Kharkiv's infrastructure as public transport, utilities, the network of educational and medical institutions, and retail trade, which led to a remaking of the social space of the city. Changes can be observed in the forms of organization of infrastructural networks, principles governing the provision of municipal services, and strategies of the implementation of publicly significant projects. Social differentiation and an influential lobby in the local self-government privileged the interests of the residents of Kharkiv's central neighborhoods in the authorities' dealing with infrastructural issues, which solidified the status of this part of the city as a 'prestigious address' zone. The beginning of gentrification in the outlying districts represented their inhabitants' reaction to the advance of spatial segregation.

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