

**ETHNIC ARTS AS DEVELOPMENT TRAJECTORY  
IN UKRAINE'S HINTERLANDS:  
EXPECTATIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF  
WOMEN ARTISANS**

By

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## **Abstract**

Based on fieldwork in the hinterlands of Ukraine, carried out in April 2012, the main objective of this ethnography is to explore the experiences of women artisans, within the context of tourism and ethnic artifacts industry as a prevalent “development” strategy. With references to and analytical concepts based on recent literature on neoliberalism and development, I construe an exploration of structural processes, changing values and social relations, and differentiations in material property forms and associated relationships formed as part of commoditization of artisans and their work. I argue that “development” - in its neo-liberal form of accumulation and non-redistribution, where global hierarchies of value are adopted in the context of re-traditionalization, and where flexibilization of labor does not lead to a teleological endpoint of modernization as envisaged by “development” discourse - effects fragmentations in society and does not deliver expected modernities of wellbeing and social integration. Thus women artisans experience a disconnect from larger economies and a devaluing of their social status, instead of expected integration. The thesis implies that flexibilization and informalization of labor, as epiphenomena of neoliberally defined development, result in transformation of social fabric: in fragmentations and inequalities, disrupted horizontal solidarities, and non-redistributive processes, where accumulation effects occur in parallel to and in contrast with marginalization processes of displaced by “development” women artisans.

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## Introduction

When I first arrived in Kosiv, a small town in the heart of the Carpathian mountains of West Ukraine, I noted the liveliness of the town, with people celebrating the Easter holiday, bringing baskets covered with embroidered napkins to church -- an environment of celebration and agility filled the town. The Easter holidays, rigorously observed in the hinterlands, were a time reserved for family and social interactions expressed as greeting each other, greeting strangers and wishing each other good holidays. Upon the holiday season, Kosivans went about their daily lives, with groups of men discussing their small concerns and politics, women gossiping, and mini-buses hurrying to other villages. I noted that there were billboards in the central area of town encouraging Kosivans to register their enterprises and pay taxes. There was much construction taking place in the center of town – a new church built near the town’s administration center and a couple of new hotels, where men-builders went leisurely about their work, and sounds of construction contrasted the unmoving stillness of mountains and valleys at distance. During holidays and on Sundays people wore ethnic Hutsul attire. Notably “modern” features of town were a Western-style supermarket and a cafe with Italian pizza and aquarium – there were only a few visitors there, as I was told, it was not yet the tourist season. At the town’s internet café, a young girl-administrator, in her early 20s, routinely hanging outside the café with her friends, noted that soon tourists would arrive and she would have to work hard. Elderly women daily tended their land allotments and domestic animals. Men worked on renovating their houses, and children

ran around on streets; on weekends they roller-bladed on the only well-paved plaza near the town's administration building.

When going into backstreets and villages, I got to know the social life of Kosovans and the daily struggles that they experienced. The backstreets of Kosovo were where I encountered people whose realities differed, in various ways, from the main street's glamour that caters to tourists and elites. The remote corners of villages looked empty and quiet. There were some cars passing by, and sometimes horse-drawn carts. Within this quietness, in the early morning hours, I once participated in the scene of rescuing a car that drove into an uneven patch of the road by the mountainside: an older and a younger woman were looking on, when the elder woman pointed out to the younger woman how she should not go to city and ride a car. Then a horse-drawn carriage passed by, a man was taking his wife to her workplace – they stopped and the man helped with pushing the car out of the ditch.

On a business day, I visited the office buildings of a new tourist agency to meet with my informant, a young woman-lawyer. At the office building of the agency, there was a schedule of rotations for various "enterprises" that worked on alternate days of the week. Two women were at the offices unpacking boxes with the Oriflame products that they intended to distribute in town. By far, the Bazaar, market-place for trade in handicrafts, was the most lively place in town, with hundreds of people buying and selling artifacts and wood-processed products – on Thursdays each week.

Kosovo is peculiar in its association in the national imaginary with the ethnic tradition and revival. National and local administration invested in recreating the locale and its status as unique: a small medieval-type castle was built on top of the mountain in

center of town, that was rarely visited, as a large-scale project of tourist-oriented development unraveled, in part for enhancing the imaginary of ethno-national tradition and also in continuation of the industry of artifacts and tourism that were in place for a long time. Yet the town's sites are not bereft of discontinuities in development, most notable were the unfinished project of the bridge's construction and lacking infrastructure on the margins of town; and, while it appeared that the town was integrated and modern, its people expressed concerns about economic hardships and uncertainty.

This conundrum of refashioned outlook of Kosiv's main streets and facilities, of hotels of "high class" – and abjection in regard to people's lives, particularly realities of women artisans, who recreated the beauty and specificity of this place in their work and were behind the uplift of town as a tourist-led trajectory, is at the core of my ethnography.

I derive concepts and analytical tools for my research from sociological and anthropological literature on critical neo-liberalism and development. In contrast to neo-classical discourse as leading to improved socio-economic wellbeing and welfare, the more recent and critical studies point to structural processes of differentiation, where some fashion a niche in market and its integrative capacities and others do not secure a place in labor markets (McMicheal 2004). I follow Harvey's terminology for describing uneven processes and power dynamics that bring about accumulation for some and dispossession for others (Harvey 2005). Further departure point for my analysis is conceptualization of global hierarchies of value, where previously revered artisans are marginalized within the integration's neo-liberal turn to hegemony's values (Herzfeld 2007). Another theoretical framework that I utilize is Ferguson's (1999) work on

experiences of modernity by copper-belt mine laborers explicating how neo-liberal “development” did not deliver modernity to the industry’s laborers.

Focusing analysis on women artisans as the handicrafts industry’s main laborers, I review structural-historical processes and biographies. I theorize that “development” trajectory in form of tourism and related industries such as handicrafts resulted in marginalization and exclusion of women artists from development. I demonstrate that despite the general uplifting of the area, the outcomes of “development” were not inclusive and did not bring wellbeing for women artisans. My past interactions with women in the locality and knowledge of Ukraine’s hinterlands led me to think of people in far-flung villages of the Carpathian mountains as largely marginalized, generally failing to integrate into larger economies -- with women’s livelihood strategies being commercialization at the micro-scale of body and and reliance on limited welfare. My hinge was that Kosiv experienced a transitory period from economic regress toward “development” neo-classically defined – with tourism and artifacts being a distinct possible trajectory for alternity of development. With a reformulated theoretical framework and empirical evidence, I posed the following research questions: What structural processes are outcomes of a larger economic integration and its local-global processes? What are women’s strategies of forming livelihoods in flexible labor conditions? Do women find a niche in economy and experience a coherent social integration, or is their work precarious and uneven in relation to enclave’s classes? How do women artisans produce and trade in handicrafts, do they control production and distribution/ trade and earn wages at minimum levels of welfare? Are incomes from handicraft trade kept by store owners or distributed? Is women’s status and value of labor



increased or decreased in their occupation? Is women's labor commodified solely in the interest of "development" or it allows for ingenuity? And how do they interpret their modernity?

In the theoretical and conceptual framework chapter, I review sociological and anthropological literature that I follow in interpretation of empirical evidence. Further, I discuss the historical background of Ukraine and hinterlands. In the case study chapter, I provide an expose of ethnography and explore answers to research questions in view of empirical evidence, arguing that current development trajectory resulted in uneven processes, where women artisans were largely discluded from and marginalized by "development".

## Chapter One: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In this chapter I review literature and discuss the neo-classical theories of globalization and development as well as their critique by sociologist and anthropologists. I review literature on neo-liberalism, development, modernities of women in post-socialist societies and on artisans' life and work in neo-liberalization contexts.

### 1.1. *Neo-liberalism*

Neo-liberalism is a discourse associated with the economic liberalization that appeared in late 70s and 80s and has dominated global thinking since the late 90s, shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Neo-liberalism, defined in neo-classical terms, is the freeing of individual capacity, through loosening (political) constraints to free movement of goods, services, and technologies (but not labor). Neo-liberal thinking created and propelled the Washington Consensus (IMF and World Bank), a dominant ideology enacted in policies as well as discourse, spurring global integration of economies and market-led development, where individual decisions determine production and global markets influence multi-directionality of finance and goods flows.

Globalization of the current decade is assessed to be occurring on an “unprecedented scale”, with financial flows leading to an increase in the total value of financial assets that since 80s grew “two and a half times faster than aggregate GPA of all rich industrial countries” (Arrighi 2000). This rapid growth in global financial assets was recognized by many authors as a new aspect of globalization. Arrighi describes how financial global flows and global competitions for investments created conditions in which countries subordinated their development trajectories to the needs of global capital and notes its outcomes – rapid changes in technologization and “unusual instability of economic conditions” (Arrighi 2000: 127), that

occurred in conditions of systemic accumulation of capital and discontinuities of development including state break-downs and indebtedness. When states became increasingly integrated into global economies and finance flows, they deregulated industries to free them for investments and open to global competition. Thus states liberalized industries benefiting from adjoining structural adjustment policies, and economies were subjected to uneven impact of multi-national corporations' functioning (Kalb 2004).

Harvey critiques neo-liberalism as practices and patterns of thought that were dominant and became common sense (Harvey 2007). He notes that neo-liberalism did not achieve its project of revitalization of global capital accumulation. Instead, it contributed to the restoration of class power (Harvey 2005). Harvey coins a term “accumulation by dispossession” to describe the accumulation-generative and largely non-distributive effects of liberalization. The term applies to proliferation of practices that are a continuation to what Marx termed “primitive” or original accumulation, that include: 1) commodification and privatization of land; 2) conversion of forms of property into exclusively private property; 3) decreased rights to commons (land, water); 4) commodification of labor and production to the detriment of “indigenous” forms; and 5) monetization of exchange, among others. Harvey exemplifies how these processes are global, creating enclaves of capital accumulation and enclaves of poverty. In poverty enclaves, capital is absent and cannot generate growth in view of non-redistributive properties of neo-liberalism.

Ferguson (1999) compares data on socio-economic development before and following liberalization in Zambia, with neo-liberalization's association with decreasing wellbeing and increasing child mortality rates, decreased quality and duration of life, and poverty<sup>1</sup> -- that leads him to hypothesize about direct effect of neoliberalism-led “development” on poverty. In his ethnography of copper mine laborers, he discusses the findings of his fieldwork with Zambians,

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<sup>1</sup> Table 2, p. 12, *Expectations of Modernity*

who experienced “staggering” (Ferguson 1999: 139) economic hardships. Ferguson concludes that laborers in wage-earning copper-belt economy experienced a rupture from larger economies, instead of expected integration. The combination of local (depletion of mines) and global conditions (changing terms of trade, debt) combined to contribute to an economic regress, prevalent state of poverty and abjection. In the Zambian case, neo-liberal economic restructuring was directed at revitalizing rural areas (as a reverse dynamic to previous industrialization in cities), yet failed the expectations of laborers for better lifestyle and increased integration, producing experience of abjection and poverty. Ferguson further observes that “development” does not deliver modernity simply with the passage of time. Thus, where the free market economy predicted a connection and confluence within the larger freeing of economic forces, laborers in the copper-belt became disconnected and “abjected” (see Ferguson 1999).

Clarke views neo-liberalism as a contested project in view of the stretched nature and the wide range of applications of the term. In political and policy realms, the relevance of the concept was particular to evaluating the rationales behind “economization of areas of public life” (Clarke 2008), where relations were rationalized and viewed via the neo-economic lens. For Clarke, the logic of economy, associated with neo-liberalism, is at the centre of transformations – this is where, for policy, the application of the concept assumes a relevance. Thus neo-liberalism is defined as a political-cultural enterprise; where a hegemony transcending borders reaches on to reconfigure power dynamics, sovereignty and territoriality. Clarke argues that such construing of relations as “economic” at the level of discourse prevents particular projects of alternatives to development definitions, that, for Clarke, consist in possibilities for widening welfare and compassion in conserving policy from rationalized self-governance – after attaining its purposes, the neo-liberalism as contingent on localized manifested definitions would disappear.

Peck and Brunner (2009) focus their critique of neo-liberalism around manifestations of economic crises that, since 2008, affected countries and people globally and were perceived as one major challenge to neo-liberalism as a discursive project. While current crisis threatens to de-legitimize neo-liberalism, the authors argue that neo-liberalism will, nevertheless, persist. Their major proposition is that we are transitioning to a post-liberalism, its manifestations being pseudo-nationalization, more protective industry policies, and the deflation of Keynesian economics.

Kalb (2011) discusses the structural processes that effected populist forms of nationalism in Eastern-Central and West European states during the past few years. He follows in his analysis propositions by Harvey for critically distinguishing the processes that are rooted in overarching mechanics behind the uneven social processes and further proposes to review the linking mechanisms between the global, neo-liberal processes and their local manifestations that are historically determined. While the trans-national processes are continuously enacted in their locality's making, they impact localities by concrete instances of dispossession. The neoliberal epoch, as evidenced in ethnographic case studies, is not divested of its dispossessed – working class people, who are largely silenced as a class. In its silenced position, the working class is at a “critical juncture” of their respective political entities, manifesting its discontent in anxiety-provoking movements. The urban working classes' reduction back to peasantry in view of their impoverishment amidst a modern city contrasts the cosmopolitan position of class that is integrating coherently. Kalb finds that there is a variation in worker popularism that is nevertheless not correlated with the Left or Right affiliations and national versus regional policy orientations. The variable effecting populism is precisely the trans-national capital and its flows as a neo-liberal, global process that occurs while the populist national voices that signify

disturbing experiences of dispossession are silenced by the hegemonic bricolage as anti-immigrant and anti-communist, associated with imagined others.

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## **1.2. Development**

In my conceptualization of development, I follow anthropological literature on development by McMichael (2004). Development has been redefined in the current era of globalization to constitute processes that are structural outcomes of globalization. Development as an inclusive process depends on individuals securing their fashioned niche in economies and place in labor markets (McMichael 2004). While development as a project has been substituted by globalization as a project, it is a similar dynamic in the sense of political hegemonies' dominance. McMichael notes how development is not a teleological course that predicts a certain outcome in future, but a project of uncertainty and speculation. The author substantiates development's contested nature with case studies of how various world's groups were not able to meaningfully interpret markets with prevalent commercial definitions, adopt technologies and large-scale capital-intensive production methods. With globalizations' push to integrate into world's markets, development created a condition of self-determination in the context of break-down in cultural customs and norms and disrupted social relations that became subordinated to profit. This disruption of social relations and norms is particularly problematic under conditions of fast-paces integration into global markets. But what makes development a contested project, as McMichael argues, is the concomitant decrease in quality human relations and associated physical and spiritual health, as interactions are turned into relations that are "measurable" (McMichael 2004:29) and subject to rationalization.

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McMicheal contends that prevalent conceptualizations of development are based on aggregate indices that obscure the ways in which inequalities and disruptive processes affect people. Another aspect of development is power differences that exist in localities. Class configurations solidify under neo-liberal conditions of development so that enclave classes are integrated into the “the grid of modernity” but not others (Ferguson 1999).

Based on a comprehensive review of theories on development as overly optimistic and overlooking the failures and disruptive effects of development projects of the past, Edelman and Haugerud (2004) conclude that anthropologists need to look at the people not as homogenous market citizens but heterogenous groups. In my conceptualization of development, I follow McMichael (2004) and Edelman and Haugerud (2004) who suggest to look beyond development as economic strategy and look at how people are influenced differentially by “market choices as all the democracy needed” and “market arrogance” of economic opportunity. This necessitates shifting anthropological gaze to the well-being of the poor (Edelman and Haugerud 2004: 52).

Neo-liberal development-effected experiences are conceptualized as a state and content of women artisans’ experiences as lived out in their working (class) activities and interactions, and their beliefs/ myths about modernity and development. I follow the conceptualization of modernity as complex socio-cultural realities, rather than a uni-linear process with a teleological end (Appadurai 1996); as exhibiting “contemporary variants in the art and struggle of living” (Ferguson 1999: 252).

### **1.3. *Neo-liberalism and Artisans***

Herzfeld (2004), in his account of the artisans in a small Greek town conditioned by neo-liberalization, argues that artisans, who were previously revered and constituted the essential class of the society, became marginalized and experienced a devaluing of their status. For Herzfeld, artisans, who represent the very core of tourism industry as key to development in Greece, are conveniently associated with local values of backwardness, which is enhanced by artisans' non-protest and retreat into silence when confronted with hegemony. The focus on the body and embodied politics provides a level for analyzing how the global hierarchies of values operate on local levels. Herzfeld notes artisanal tactics of hostility and cooperation, as they occur between artisans and their apprentices at one level, and artisans and their endangered state on the other level. These tactics, as the author argues, such as operating by stealth, harshness, and masculinity-associated features of stubbornness, define local stereotypes, that also serve to marginalize the town within the state and nation. Herzfeld's concept of "global hierarchies of value" is apt at deciphering the juncture where the global neo-liberal "impolitics" intersect with people, artisans, where the localized continuity in the value of artisanal work is fragmented in the very intersection with the larger polity. The author notes how the transformations of meanings are complex in the modernity of nation-states – so the Cretan artisans are confronted with the dominant idea of "tradition" as a Euro-centric stereotype (Herzfeld 2004: 39), where marginal nations integrate into "modernist" values, while core nations upkeep a distinct idea of uniquely Western tradition.



### **1.4. Liberalization and Women**

The literature on liberalization and class formation in post-socialist societies describes market forces and state policies that formed conditions for differentiation between informal labor and paid occupations. Thus, Szalai attributes the growth in home-based jobs and jobs connected to the second market, where women are increasingly marginalized, to the marketization of skills and expertise, where the formation of economy sectors is devoid of new investments (see Gal 2000: 28). Thus, in the case of the Hungarian economy that faces liberalization and growth in service sectors, women are subjected to social inequalities, as they lose jobs in public employment and are not integrated into new economy's sectors. Szalai finds that women represent small-scale services, part-time labor and manual jobs and further substantiates increasing marginalization by noting how women from former middle classes and integrated social groups moved into groups associated with increasing poverty. Szalai concludes that women's new position in highly differentiating society is outcome of the transformation of the Hungarian economy with its needs to "manage" and control at all levels, including managing and self-fashioning one's occupations, identities and social relations (Gal 2000: 219). The conceptual categories of various types of markets and states, by Szalai, help explain new, different roles and positions of women associated with the historical change in their occupations and lifestyles. Szalai clearly shows the contrast between the pre-liberal and neo-liberal state, and how the marketization under current form of state leads to re-commodification of women's work, that was similar to prior conditions before socialist state, yet different in its new patterns of stratification and economic polarization.

Quite a distinct type of class formation and identification occurs among women, as described by Kovac and Varadi (see Gal 2000: 176), who were previously closely connected to the socialist economy and were more affected by the demise of the state structures of job

provision and support. Kovac and Varadi describe how class identifications and solidarities were formed by the socialist-type state that encouraged socialization and re-integration through various types of solidarity-building mechanisms. Women in the Hungarian new economy found that their course into the new economy and society diverged – in being excluded from securing occupation in similar type of industries, and in being excluded from integrating mechanisms such as after-work socializing gatherings and trainings. Avoidance of social ties across class lines, with strategies of avoidance such as accusations within the protected spaces of economy's privatization, where these women experienced cultural devaluation of their labor and resultant seclusion, was attributed by the authors to economy's disregard for industries that are manual low-value types of jobs. Authors state that in neo-liberal economy, social and cultural production of ideas about gender difference, power, and inequality was altered to the detriment of coherency in social relationships and work. The social relations and marginalization processes occurred in a distinct way under the two types of market and state that legitimized and formed differences and solidarities differently. The clashing moralities of the socialist and liberal states in post-socialist states were studied by other sociologists and anthropologists and were a departure point for explaining unsuccessful transition to market values of liberal economies in the early 90s (Mandel and Humphrey 2002).

My conceptualization of women artisans in the liberalizing hinterlands of Ukraine, where women were artisans for many generations, is linked to their state of transition to neo-liberal development and working class marginalization. Thus I look at women's marginalization not via the lens of gender differentiations, but through the lens of specificity of their experience to their industry's and their own position in society experiencing an integration into the larger economy but not an inclusive growth.



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## Chapter Two: Historical Context: Ukraine and Kosiv

In this chapter I discuss the context of development in Ukraine, its economic potential on the macro-level of economy and the historical and structural processes in the hinterlands that created conditions for the unraveling of development discourse and action. I further give an overview of historical circumstances of development in Kosiv, the locality of my fieldwork, and provide the unemployment statistics that indicate the scale of informalization and flexibilization of labor in Kosiv and surrounding villages.

In the 80s and 90s, Ukraine underwent a dramatic change from an authoritarian regime and a socialist-type society to one fashioned according to the modes of operations of liberal societies of the West. Ukraine has preserved its unitary stance on overcoming various crises throughout critical moments in its history: the adoption of Constitution in 1996, the Orange revolution associated with the coming to power of President Yushchenko, recession of the end of past century, and the new century's economic stalemate (Vollmer 2009). The integration into the global economy and IMF-World Bank's structural adjustment policies have taken a toll on the ability of Ukraine to fashion the wellbeing of its society via local-global processes of modernization, technologization and goods and capital movements. The frictions, complexities, and contradictions of the global economy, and the new economic crises created new cleavages and set-backs of a larger scale, which reverberated on the societal processes and welfare. While in the past there was a surplus in the national budget out of which welfare could be fashioned, the 2000s formed an economy predicated on fluctuations in exports and misbalance in the state's accounts. A new pattern began to emerge, one where relatively stably increasing living and welfare standards, as measured by the human development indicators of UNDP, began to

dwindle under the purge of economic – and subsequently – political cleavages. On the macro-scale of nation, economic success was attributed to the exports in the metal and petro-chemical industries.

Unemployment and disintegrating industries were particularly notable in the hinterland areas of small towns and villages. A new trend throughout Ukraine has been the changing population dynamics in cities and hinterlands, with increasing movement of people to cities from hinterlands, with rural populations becoming increasingly “older” and city populations becoming “younger” (Terets 2009). The economic crises of late 2000s saw the unemployment rate increase to 9.6 percent in 2009 and to 30 percent in select oblasts of Ukraine’s Western hinterlands such as Zakarpattya<sup>2</sup>.

Kosiv is a hinterland’s town with population of 8404 people (2011)<sup>3</sup> located in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast of Ukraine. Kosiv is the historical center of Hutsulshchyna, a region associated with the Hutsul ethnic group. In the Habsburg Austrian-Hungarian period of the town’s history, it was predominantly a Jewish town with thriving small-scale commerce. Its historical industries were salt mining, tourism, and artifacts (wood carving, weaving, and embroidery). Since 1939, Kosiv became part of the then-Soviet Union – its industries were nationalized, including handicraft enterprises, tourist resorts and small shops that were previously owned by Polish and Jewish settlers. On the basis of a previously privately owned weaving enterprise was created an all-national institute for learning and teaching the Hutsul ethnic handicrafts and a factory for handicrafts production. The production of ethnic handicrafts continued under the aegis of socialist regime. The Ukrainian Hutsul economy (where women historically worked in handicraft

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<sup>2</sup> State Statistics Committee of Ukraine (ww.ukrstat.gov.ua, accessed on May 24, 2012)

<sup>3</sup> Kosiv Regional Employment Center, <http://kosiv.info/present/rajon/naseleennya/16-zainiatist-naseleennia.html> (accessed on June 1, 2012)

production industry and men in salt mines) was subjected to a large project of modernization, where women for the first time transitioned from “traditional” household work to factories. Since independence of Ukraine in 1989, previously nationalized industries were dissolved and development in the region was largely defined by Ukraine’s liberalization trajectory. More recently, since early 2000s, the town’s administration adopted an economic strategy predicated on development based on tourism and cultural heritage, with concurrent flexibilization in labor conditions and a regulatory framework for activities by small enterprises. The flexibilization of labor and dissolution of state enterprises led to unemployment, semi-formal and informal work in tourism, artifacts as well as other occupations. Per Kosiv Regional Employment Center data, in 2011, among 8404 Kosivans, 1059 men and 1256 women were officially employed/ registered their economic activities. In 2011, state support in form of one-time assistance provision consisted in fifty financial packages for unemployed and nine financial packages for start-up of tourism enterprises and cooperatives<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Kosiv Regional State Administration, <http://rda.kosiv.info/zainiatist/843-ayonniy-centr-zaynyatosti-informuye-pro.html> (accessed May 1, 2012)

## Chapter Three: Case Study: Expectations and Experiences of Women Artisans

In this chapter I discuss the methods of research, followed by an ethnographical expose and discussion of structural processes and historical conditions that determined “development’s” interface with and effect on women artists’ experiences, with a focus on disjuncture’s between expectations of “development” in its neo-liberal form and associated experiences of women artisans. In view of deciphering in which ways and for whom “development’s” outcomes are divergent, I take into consideration all stories with their heterogeneous trajectories, of success and failure. Within these divergent trajectories, I interpret differentiations in societal structural processes, dissipating horizontal solidarities and changing values, with relevant concepts in sociological and anthropological literature on neo-liberalism and development.

### **3.1. Methodology**

In view of the research focus on divergent experiences of inclusion and marginalization within expected integration into regional and larger economy, as first stage of research, I reviewed indices of unemployment in Kosiv (rather than socio-economic indicators that aggregate data, as per McMichael (2004)). In the next stage of research, I compiled a research plan and contacted Kosiv’s tourism agencies, centers for development and population assistance, and the center for environmental and cultural heritage conservation. The ethnographic part of research consisted in the following: 1) conducting semi-structured interviews and gathering life stories with a focus on critical

turns in biographies and locality's history; 2) participant-observation: observing interactions and deciphering social facts characteristic for the region; 3) coding interviews and identifying patterns, concepts and critical themes; and 4) write-up of ethnography on the basis of field notes, recorded interviews, and reflections on the content and data through the adopted theoretical-conceptual framework.

The main sites of fieldwork were Kosiv and villages' museum-houses, the Bazaar of handicrafts and the Souvenir Row in center of town. Some stories were gathered in remote villages and on the margins of town. Main strategy to ensure validity of data was triangulation, verification of information by structuring interview to decipher content that is repeated at least two to three times. The strength of chosen methodology consisted in ability to record and interpret across-generation and historical facts that surfaced in biographies of women artisans.



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### **3.2. Re-traditionalization and Endpoints of “Development”**

Within hinterlands, *re-traditionalization* occurred alongside tourism as an externally-oriented “development” strategy, where cultural heritage and artifacts preservation was part of an overall revival. This “development” project was possible in conditions of labor flexibilization, where currently the only export-oriented industry in Kosiv was logging and wood-processing -- one could observe dozens of trucks loaded with tree-trunks passing nearby on Kosiv’s highways. Kosivan women artisans largely chose artisanal occupations instead of taking on “heavy” industry work and seasonal jobs in cities and overseas. In this sub-section I interpret development as official ideology of revival via re-traditionalization, with artifacts being an important dimension of tourism and cultural heritage preservation. In reviewing social processes taking place in parallel to development initiatives, I argue that these processes constitute incremental internal complications within the limited range of possibilities of hinterland’s economy – by applying the “involution” concept and theory of ecological involution by Geertz (1963)<sup>5</sup>. In the conditions of Ukraine hinterland’s liberalization and flexibilization of labor, there were only limited pathways of economy’s functioning and internal-to-industry combinations of ways to produce and exchange or trade with more labor and specialization.

Women artisans, particularly younger women who adopted new values of monetization, differentiated between the “dry” attribute of their work that they described as “unworthy” and the more fulfilling aspect of their work to which women aspired but

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<sup>5</sup> In Geertz’ ethnography, the cultural ecology of wet rice production was developing in Indonesia and historically constituted the means of livelihood there. By becoming internally more complicated and absorbing more labor, the wet rice regime did not lead to an evolutionary course of development.

did not achieve. The first aspect was the trade itself and associated business tactics. The second aspect was the making of artifacts, of learning and enacting new design patterns and thus improving as artists and achieving personal life projects of starting new families, purchasing basic necessities for households and/or working in other professions.

I once asked a woman artist in her early 20s how she went about creating her beadwork designs. After observing that she chose the profession of an ethnic artist purposefully and really liked doing beadwork, she said that she did not feel fulfilled in her work, referring to her occupation as “unworthy”. This young woman did not blame unworthiness on the economy as many did, and did not speak about economy’s dictating her artwork’s designs. Yet she observed that she could not innovate, make progress and move up in her occupation: “when I experiment with color and design combinations, I need to keep in mind that my beadwork must be sold.” Other young women artists had earlier expected to progress in their occupation and said they were demeaned. The unworthiness feeling was attributed to the fact that producing and trading artifacts did not lead to an endpoint of wellbeing, or, in other words, an expected modernity. What Kosivan women artisans did was align their strategies with the flexible economy -- where economy favored traditionally-looking artifacts that were re-produced in exact designs for centuries now – largely with manual labor and by relying on traditional designs. Furthermore, women artisans rarely innovated the designs. When they did, they could not authenticate their modifications to traditional designs and other artists repeated new designs once they noticed that they were in demand on the marketplace. Women artisans said other artists “stole” their designs, sometimes repeating their work in detail.

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The opening of the *Souvenir Row* as a private enclave in ethnic handicrafts trade did not change production and strategy patterns by women artisans – it largely displaced women artists to the margins of industry. Those selling artwork to tradesmen and renters of the handicraft shops saw their handicrafts resold at mark-up prices by store owners, *renters*.

In contrast to younger women artisans, elder women were reticent and patient about the hardships within the new economy. Elder women willingly taught their kin and other women how to weave, embroider, and interpret symbolic meanings of designs, rooted in traditional beliefs and stories. Within the span of a generation, worth and dignity in the artisan occupation came to depend on strategies and individual ability to rationally assess what was demanded on the market rather than innovate on own initiative and sell the produced artwork. The problematic aspect was not that the intrinsic value of work of an artist was replaced by valuing money and income. Rather, women artists in this occupation were unable to attain a livelihood that they associated with modernity. Many younger women described their occupation and trade at the Bazaar as a stepping-stone to a more “worthy” occupation, a modern job, to realization of their life projects. Most who intended to continue in this work, expected to earn money, while realizing that their strategies and labor would not lead to a desired endpoint of welfare. Most younger women artists at the Bazaar just started trading there or did it for a year or two (re-emerging themes in our conversations being “not much hope”, “work for money”, “unworthy work”).

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### **3.3. Fragmented Stories and Material Spaces: Souvenir Row and Bazaar**

Work strategies of women artisans trading at the Bazaar, where about forty artisans traded during one day a week, were largely what was described by some artisans as “taking a plunge” or “forging” into new economy while not knowing what to expect. In contrast, the privatized spaces in Kosiv, fifteen private artifact stores, were equated with success and security in the new economy. The *renters* and store owners built and rented these spaces for own wealth accumulation – according to the logic of non-redistribution from the core (of their center of accumulation).

What was described by one woman artist as “a ruined street of post-socialist Kosiv” was transformed into a *Souvenir Row*, a place that many women artists knew allowed private store owners to flourish. The handicrafts traded at the *Row* were bought in remote village markets, at “night” markets, when handicrafts were sold at the lowest prices by largely impoverished artisans. When prompted to advice on where to purchase handicrafts at lower prices, vendors at these shops directed me to village markets outside Kosiv – to the more rural areas, as people there were likely to sell for less. At the same time, the bulk of trade took place on the *Souvenir Row*. While a few *rentiers* benefited from the centrally located “accumulation enclave” of the Souvenir Row’s economy, the majority of women artists were marginalized. Their marginalization occurred as epiphenomenon of “involution” (Geertz 1963) within town’s economy’s increasing “involving” and thus not leading to an endpoint of development, societal good (Kalb 2000).

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A common feature in stories by women artisans was that their stories and biographies were fragmented – by the hinterland’s historical trajectory and particularities of transition to neo-liberal economy. Many elder women artists were apprehensive about prospects for modernity because of past decades of discontinuities in economic and politics: they spoke about politicians’ squabbles and their own disinterest in politics. But younger women artists expected to succeed and intended to find work in another occupation, in expectation of decent incomes and receiving recognition for their work. One woman artist, Mariya, had previously worked in seasonal jobs in Italy and Ukraine’s cities and talked about the difficulties of re-integration back in the hinterlands, that was difficult in view of her limited social relationships and kin. She was re-trained in sawing and that allowed her to do some work for small companies, but for the most part she was unemployed. In Mariya’s story, there was not a time when she was secure about her and her child’s wellbeing. Women artisans like Mariya were in circumstances of flexibility, where they could fashion their works and lives, yet doing so did not bring about what they had expected. I compared their experience to that described in Ferguson’s ethnography (Ferguson 1999), of copper-belt mine laborers. Zambian copper extractive industry was considered to lead to modernization, contribute to development indices as it was associated with foreign direct investments and earning foreign exchange currencies – attributes of neo-classically defined development. Yet the workers did not achieve what they aspired to achieve, after working at the mines for many years, and their modernity became one of difficulties of integration.

Likewise, material properties and spaces in Kosiv were fragmented. People in Kosiv described the town’s main bridge (that was destroyed by a devastating flood in

2009) as being “purposefully unfinished”, saying that the national government provided the funding for building the bridge, but did not make sure it was built, so only the bridge’s foundations were laid. Also, many buildings, past bases for production were left empty, without town administration’s plans to re-invest into or re-build these facilities. These material properties contrasted with the *Souvenir Row* stores and modern hotels.

Younger women artisans described the Presidency of Yushchenko as a most promising time in their lives, in terms of aspirations to a general revival and new modernities. They favored liberalization associated with political democracy and revival that was part of political platform of Yushchenko in 2005 around the time of the Orange Revolution, where mass protests propelled election of Yushchenko as President. Yushchenko offered and delivered a strong national unity campaign along with the financial austerity and economic restructuring reforms. Yet his constituencies associated national revival with an overall make-over of society at political and economic levels. As one younger woman artist observed, ethnic festivals and other cultural projects of the Yushchenko times “provided a space for imagining a better future” at one point of their lives in new Ukraine. Youth gathered there [at ethnic festivals] in the Carpathian Mountains to listen to music, to freely express their ideas in songs and conversations. At these occasions, people dressed in traditional-style attire. She then emphasized how after the end of Yushchenko’s presidency, everything “changed”, and that this revival was over. The subsiding revival and a growing pessimism about political and economic prospects meant an unfavorable environment for trade in ethnic crafts, so the trade was more oriented toward foreign tourists now. One woman artisan noted that people, youth from big cities who come to Kosiv are “crazy about ethnic leather-shoes and embroidered

shirts” and purchased without bargaining. Yet, commenting on most recent economic crisis that reverberated across society, women artists said they felt demeaned.

Re-traditionalization at the time of purported revival structured women artists’ work as dependent on further continuity of ethno-national tradition. It dictated the styles and designs of ethnic artifacts – thus artists produced and sold mainly *Hutsul* ethnic artifacts. Some women artisans came to this occupation by failing to find a job in what they were trained in, in “modern” occupations. Their expectations of modernity were not always to succeed as ethnic artisans, but often to secure jobs associated with progress, recognition, mobility, and modernization – in agronomy and economics, also in modern “high” arts. The conditioning of hinterland’s economy by liberalization allowed these women the flexibility to become re-trained/ self-trained as ethnic artists. At the same time, it hampered their life stories and projects, and the occupation of an artisan did not deliver modern lifestyles and life projects’ realization – rather, it fragmented their life courses in creating flexible conditions for self-fashioning of occupations and no work with prospects. Thus handicraft industry’s work was seen as regressive (involving), temporary, something that women did to earn cash for themselves and their families and later discard. Moreover, proceeds from trade were insufficient. As one woman said, “Everything is expensive and prices for food and other things rise often. It’s not easy to save money to buy things I need.” These concerns reverberated throughout Kosiv.

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### 3.4. Hierarchies, Solidarities and “Endless Accumulation of Capital”<sup>6</sup>

The fragmentations in life courses of women artisans were enhanced by differentiations in material properties and associated classes: the *rentier* class produced and accumulated property, with increasing reliance on traditional interpretations of femininity and masculinity to reinstate societal hierarchies.

*I met with Yaro (Yaroslav), at his workspace located midway between the center of town and the mountains range on the periphery of town. Yaro ran a small ethnic arts and crafts shop catering mostly to visiting buyers, the shop was located literally above the river at the entrance to the bridge, where a dam was built after a devastating flood in 2009. Yaro's shop is a wooden cabin built in the style of traditional Hutsul houses, in the vicinity of one of the most popular hotels. We were discussing the derelict state of Kosiv's factories that did not make it to the “transition” and became abandoned, and how men were better positioned to perform in the new economy's complexities, where dealing with bureaucracy had been very “tough”. Yaro was retelling his biography – his pathway from being a marketer in Kiev, the capital, to relocating from his native oblast' (administrative district) to the periphery of Kosiv so he could capitalize on local “expanding” market and trade in ethnic handicrafts. Just as we about ran out of things to talk about, a woman, apparently a stranger to Yaro, entered the store. The woman brought neatly folded embroidered napkins and asked Yaro to buy these from her (and other ethnic arts objects that she carried in a bag). Yaro looked at the napkins, preserving an indifferent posture, and asked what the woman wanted in exchange for these products. In response, the woman named the prices, that were clearly below market value, her hands shaking as she was showing her work. She looked humble throughout the transaction and did not initiate bargaining, she fell silent, when Yaro, rather harshly, uttered that some items looked worn-out and needed washing so he would not buy them from her. Then Yaro proceeded to the exchange, swiftly selecting the embroideries that were exquisite and quite new and as swiftly returning the remaining items.*

*This staging of a market action was revealing: the woman who came to Kosiv's outskirts to sell her, or perhaps another ethnic artists' hand-made handicrafts, was desperate to sell what she could as if her life hinged on the transaction. Yaro, an experienced vendor and a “marketer”, easily conducted a transaction that favored his terms of sale, by not revealing correct price and, in way, devaluing the labor-value of the artwork, while preserving a harsh composure. After the woman left, Yaro went on to explicate that the exchange occurred not exactly as he foresaw – that he probably would not buy anything from that woman-artist and that he only did it for show, so to say, and in fact because a third person, myself, was present. I inquired about the individuals who work for Yaro, and he complained that it was difficult to find loyal, hardworking artists, and that most women artists only worked when it was convenient for them as during holidays or when they had time or desire to do so. The woman's visit changed the focus*

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<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Arrighi (2000)

*of our conversation from hurdles facing new tradesmen to women artists as laborers, whose income, earned informally, depended on the middlemen like Yaro (24 April 2012 fieldnotes).*

Tradesmen and *rentiers* saw the state as complicating effective market actions by ever-changing regulations, frequent verifications by various agency representatives, seen as dis-encouraging market action and effective economy functioning. Women artisans, on the other hand, were silent about the question of “what poses a challenge?” Also, state officials emphasized tourism and heritage preservations projects as a panacea for hinterland’s “development”<sup>7</sup>. The state largely silenced problematic aspects and discontinuities of “development”.

In social interactions, as in the encounter between woman artisan and tradesman on the periphery of town, the man, who was store-owner, exhibited traits traditionally associated with masculinity such as toughness, stubbornness, and hostility. Woman artisans exhibited “feminine” features such as being docile, accommodating, and patient, accepting what was told her as a truce and not showing signs of resistance. At the Bazaar, women artisans were more willing to converse, discuss and agonize about their condition. Men artisans at the Bazaar, on the other hand, exhibited more reserve and toughness, yet both women and men artisans at the Bazaar appeared subdued when talking about their interactions with the *rentiers*.

The interactions between artisans at the Bazaar indicated continuation of kin and community relations. Men artisans assisted women who recently arrived from some distant village, carrying large bags, where heavy *lizhnyk* covers were packed, and offered

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<sup>7</sup> As evidenced in descriptions on administration’s website and in popular media

women artisans chairs to sit on. These sensibilities of solidarity between artisans as a class were ubiquitous.

Few women artisans established working relationships with store owners to produce on demand that were largely bereft of reciprocities and based on profit logic: women artisans described these interactions as “calculating”. As women who previously worked in other occupations said, they were paid relatively stable wages even in circumstances of economic decline and there was an evenness in interactions across status. This contrasted with the new features associated with *rentiers* – the latter exhibited “traditional” masculine traits and employed “tough” tactics such as not allowing for bargaining when discussing the “wage”. They apparently acted in ways that ensured that the profits they accumulated remained with *rentiers*. I interpreted *rentiers*’ rationalized actions that disrupted solidarities as an aspect of accumulation. Harvey describes this non-redistributive aspect of liberalization as “destructive for dignity of people” and per se an “exploitative contradiction” of modernity (Harvey 2007).

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### 3.4.1. A story of alter-modernity

*Several houses in Kosiv were transformed into museums, where ethnic handicrafts are now exhibited, for sale. When visiting one of these museum-houses of an ethnic artist, Natalya, I was impressed by the Western-style of this two-storey house. There, each storey contained a display of pottery and posters about the artist’s exhibitions. Among pottery were plates with ethnic motives, sculptures, that were original and interpretative rather than representative of the ethnic tradition. In our conversation, the artist, Natalya said that she did not make considerable profit from the trade at the museum-house. Then pointing to a shoe store across the street, she added, “This is our actual business [the shoe store]. I started selling shoes now some ten years ago, imported from Poland, and consequently opened this store. Without this, displaying my art at this place would not be possible ... Others are suspicious of the success ... this is not normal. It took me a long time to build this art store, the builders of the house did not build it right the first time...” (25 April 2012 fieldnotes)*

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Natalya's story contrasted with stories of women artisans at the Bazaar, who were compelled to trade at the market outside of town rather than at material buildings, private shops or other locales for cooperative production. There were about twenty private museums-houses located on various streets of Kosiv, some were located near well-known hotels and had established social ties with their owners: Natalya had a working relationship with the Hutsul hotel that offered tours to museum-houses for viewing and purchase of ethnic artwork.

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### ***3.5. Hierarchies of Values***

I discuss here the cultural and social changes as epiphenomena of prevalent modernity. I discuss these changes by referring to the concept of “global hierarchies of value” (Herzfeld 2004) and theorize that new values were produced and reproduced effecting social status of artisans as well as status of material properties. When comparing modernity of Kosivan women artisans and artisans globally, there are some similarities in their condition, where ethnic handicrafts and their production had been monetized, commercialized and revered as a commodity. Commoditization of tradition was seen important for tourism as an industry. At the same time, artisans' status and wealth did not increase in parallel to returns from tourism-fueled economies. As in the ethnography of Cretan artisans, their former “master” artisan status in society was partly devalued relative to status of other occupations in their state and nation, their apprentices were fewer in number, while economy relied on them to produce replicas of Greek statues of gods and other attributes of “traditional” Greek culture (Herzfeld 2004).

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### 3.5.1. Hierarchy of Values toward Artisans

In Kosov, the overarching new hierarchy of values reverberated in the hinterlands: the handicrafts as a commodity attained a higher status in the society, but not the artisans. This is evidenced in the widespread trend among predominantly urban elites to decorate households with ethnic handicrafts and paintings with traditional motives. These motives are “painted” ethnic people dressed in Hutsul attire and mountain scenes that are characteristic of Kosov. Women artisans observed that their work was “in fashion”. While most women artisans considered that tourism was good for them as it allowed them to sell more handicrafts, they also enacted the low value of artisan work – many younger women artists did not see their occupation as dignified and worthy and aspired to a different occupation.

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### 3.5.2. Hierarchy of Values within Material Spaces

The status of women artisans was to some extent reflected in the material spaces that they occupied at the Bazaar – thus, the most remote corners of the Bazaars, where, in one artisan’s words, “state” did not penetrate by demanding permits to trade<sup>8</sup>, were the spaces of marginalization. In these corners, there was no space to be seated and showcase handicrafts; spaces were not as embellished, with some places being rough, with chunks of unpolished wood, unlike other corners of the Bazaar that were “modern” and appealing to sight. On one visit to the Bazaar, I observed about twenty artisans, mostly women, selling their handicrafts there.

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<sup>8</sup> each stall at the market has a price and associated procedures of purchasing permits

*An elder woman artisan was standing at the furthest corner, at a space that did not look like an allotted space (that is normally purchased). She came to the bazaar with another, younger woman, her neighbor in Yabloniv, a village that is well known for artistic talent. Both women were selling lizhnyks (a bed-cover woven from wool). She said that, in the past, she worked at the factory, and that now she traded at the bazaar during one day every week. When speaking about her past, she noted that she worked at the factory for twelve years and that now she was on pension but continued to do this craft to keep her family from poverty: “I sell lizhnyks here because of my daughter. My daughter works as a bar-woman”. The younger woman, who traded near her and was her neighbour, added, “I have been weaving and making lizhnyks since the age of fifteen ... This is my work, of weaving and trade for one day a week.” (13 April 2012 fieldnotes).*

Women artisans in marginal spaces exhibited beliefs that were considered “backward” (for example, by urbanized youth). The younger woman who was selling lizhnyks, when asked if she would sell one lizhnyk instead of two, replied that she would not<sup>9</sup>. Her cultural values and beliefs were produced as relative to those held by the elderly woman, her neighbour, who also said that she would not sell one lizhnyk instead of two, enacting a belief that went “against” the logic of marketization. The spaces on the margins of the Bazaar, where mostly women artisans from remote villages traded in handicrafts, were associated with lacking modernity, “style”, that is informally referred to as “class” or “classy”.

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### 3.5.3. A story of traditional modernity

*Ivana, a sister of a woman artist from Kosiv, is also an artisan. She makes embroidered cloths, mainly for individuals who commission them. In her 20s, Ivana has three children and provides house-based cares for her children who are toddlers. Ivana said that she receives state support for children, and that many women in the village have more than two children, as the number of children affects the amount of assistance. She added that the support is not sufficient, but that she expects to be making more [money] with the embroidery work. In her house, a one-storey brick and white-washed building with a low ceiling, a traditional house that is about half century old, her two children live in one room while herself and her mother occupies another room. Her husband is gone to*

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<sup>9</sup> One lizhnyk was sold at the price of 100 hryvnia and two – at the price of 200 hryvnia

*work overseas in construction and Ivana adds that, with her husband's earnings, they would expect to expand and renovate the house, build more rooms. "It would not be necessary [to seek more money for investment in house renovations] if the state provided us new accommodation, as in multi-storey flats, but this is not practiced anymore. And there is also a bill for utilities, heating". I noticed that the house had an old-style stove (probably for the times when there is no heating). Childrens' clothes were laid out in a pile on the stove, where also sat a shirt that Ivana had started to embroider. Ivana showed me a page with hand-written instructions for the embroidery pattern, adding that her sister, who lives in Kosiv, is also an ethnic artist and that they learn from each other and help each other, finding information on embroidery designs and recording them (26 April 2012 fieldnotes).*

For the majority of women artisans in the hinterlands, labor flexibilization amounted to being disconnected, where one nexus of disconnect was changing values in regard to women artisans and material properties and spaces. Women artisans like Ivana were largely marginalized by "development" and constituted the working class that was in the conditions of underemployment and precariousness in their recourse to traditionalization.

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## Conclusions

In this thesis, I raised questions and explored answers about the meaning of modernity and development for Kosivan women artisans in the hinterlands of Ukraine. In view of official development discourse on tourism and heritage preservation, there were reasons to believe that women artisans could flexibly fashion their life and work styles and integrate into the larger modernity of liberalizing Ukraine. My first thesis was that “development” provided a flexible platform for fashioning work and lifestyles and lifting women artisans out of precarious social and economic condition. Nevertheless, as the critique of development discourse indicates, liberalization in its localized forms created discontinuities and fragmentations in the lives of people aspiring to modernity globally (Harvey 2005, Ferguson 1999). Moreover, artisans, who were perceived as preservers of tradition, were deprived of their master status in localities that integrated into larger political entities of states and nations (Herzfeld 2000). For many women of post-socialist Kosiv, transition to liberalism signified an exit from secure employment in factories and a need to flexibly fashion new lifestyles. Women artisans were at a critical juncture, where a decade after the demise of socialist forms of labor, they encountered new modes of



modernity, where social mobility, integration and independence from “traditional” values became a question of self-fashioning or securing ties to enclave’s class.

As ethnic handicrafts traditions were preserved for centuries in the hinterlands and constituted “traditional” forms of labor by women, women artists re-fashioned their work lives by producing and trading ethnic artifacts. Other hinterlands’ economy’s new jobs required technical skills and heavy-industry capabilities, as in logging and extractive industries – this is where men were to a large extent employed.

In conditions of informalization, work was expected to -- but did not -- deliver opportunities to fashion occupations and secure minimal wages necessary for a decent living (Standing 2005). As fieldwork’s findings showed, many women artisans stayed locked in poverty and uncertainty. With concepts of accumulation enclaves, working class disenfranchisement, global hierarchies of value, and involution, I interpreted some of the structural processes and social facts that contributed to “development” as failing to attain expected modernity for women artisans. I argued that neoliberal “development” did not only fail to deliver modernity and wellbeing for women artisans, but also marginalized women artists who did not have recourse to private property ownership and social ties for securing reciprocal relationships with handicraft store owners.

Throughout case study discussion, I described how “development” led to the failed project of modernity for women artisans, in conditions of liberalization and flexibilization of labor, and in view of historical determinism of hinterlands. Among the historical and structural processes that created “development” disjuncture or lack of overlap of “development” with expectations for modernities were: 1) commoditization and associated changing values and interpretations of status in regard to artisans, artifacts

and the material properties and spaces; 2) social fragmentations in form of dissipating solidarities between emergent classes of small property *rentiers* and artisans, evidenced in relationships between the two classes and differences in their material properties; and 3) re-traditionalization, that prevented artistic ingenuity and innovation and, compounded by economy's internal specialization with no teleological endpoint, led the hinterland's society to involution. In these circumstances, women artisans abandoned their expectations for modernity, remained unable to build coherent livelihoods, and were unsure about starting new families to reproduce parental households.

These findings have limitations in view of the timeframe during which fieldwork was conducted -- more life stories may have indicated other processes and facts that were significant. Also, I was unable to interview state officials – studying their views would have enhanced the validity of findings. Implications of empirical evidence and research findings are that there are divergent modernities and that modernities of marginalized by “development” women are conditioned by flexibilization and informalization of labor. Studying strategies to form livelihoods and how experiences of modernity change overtime would be a viable way to continue with research. Under what conditions is there an interface between development and successfully-fashioned realities for inclusive development? How are working class experiences' distinct from the class associated with differentiating values and properties? The study of discontinuities and heterogynous experiences contingent on neo-liberalism would necessitate studying not only women, but women and men as a group as informally employed in the conditions of labor flexibilization.

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