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Chernivtsi: A City with Mysterious Flavour of Tolerance

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Abstract. *The article presents the analytical outline of Chernivtsi, the city with a reach cultural history. The past of the city is traced back as far as the written sources began to mention the settlement in the sources of Moldavian Principality. Austrian, Romanian, Soviet and Ukrainian periods of city evolutions are considered and compared. The main focus has been made on the interethnic communication of key local ethnic groups, their relations and coexistence. The contribution of urban population into formation of prominent Bukovynian tolerance also has been regarded by the author. Current challenges of the local community development are summed up and prospect for its further evolution suggested in Conclusions. It's stressed the importance influence of the borderland position of the city on the whole history and present time of it.*

Key words: *Chernivtsi, ethnic communities, tolerance, cross-cultural dialogue, border city*

Introduction

Ukraine is not so lucky to have a plenty of cities and towns, where historical heritage and traditions survived up to day. Two World Wars and radical political experiments of Soviet regime left behind too many ruins and deep sorrows. But one of the few cities who's core architectural and to extent cultural identity survived throughout those turbulent time is Chernivtsi. It would not be a big mistake or greater exaggeration to suggest that this city attracts attention and curiosity which does not correspond with the real scale of it.

Sure, the fate of the city could not be delineated off the regional history of Bukovyna, where Chernivtsi is the true capital and focal point. It makes a special impact on city evolution since Bukovyna got the status of Duchy in Austrian Empire. That period Chernivtsi is no doubt got the momentum in its history, and reached the highest and richest point of its progressive trajectory both from material and cultural points of view on the local history.

There are some aspects of the city which comprises its uniqueness. First of all, it's a border city now situated not far away from the Ukrainian frontier with Romania. And being on the border is a characteristic feature of the city since its very beginning. Because of that, the city as well as the region in general changed their state belonging several times. Secondly, being borderland centre the city went through the period of obscurity and prosperity, sometimes changing each other rapidly and unpredictably. Thirdly, the most valuable attribute of the city is its poly-ethnic nature, where Jews lived alongside with Ukrainians, Romanians, Poles, Germans, Armenians, and later Russians for a long time. And these communities succeed with creating the very sense of the city, naming it as Chernivtsi, Cernăuți, Czernowitz, Czerniowci etc. Despite of some differences with pronunciation the names mentioned above talks about the same town and later – city. And, finally, despite of all changes and maybe because of them the city survived and seems to be

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more stable and vivid than States and Emperies who hold them in their borders. A key factor making this urban society able to live together is prevailing ethnic and cultural tolerance. Phenomenon of Bukovynian tolerance which is pretty well represented in academic literature and in belletristic sometimes overprized and mystified. But city's burgers did avoid major interethnic and confessional conflicts in the ages, where they happened to be typical for many other areas of Europe. Maybe, this local and regional culture of tolerance is a best contribution made by generations of Chernivtsi community dwellers in their collective history.

If to regard this local model of multiculturalism as the most peculiar and valuable Chernivtsi feature, one has to add that this phenomenon does not remain the same as it existed in XIX – the beginning of XX centuries. Chernivtsi had to face with radical political and socio-economical changes. Political regimes reigning upon the territory there had not always been positive towards local peculiarities and sometimes regarded them as the challenge or a threat. Moreover, dynamic process of migration has been influencing the cultural and social landscape of the city and region dramatically, shifting the composition of leading ethnic groups and reshuffling the very foundations of the local urban life. All of these factors made city different and required setting up new traditions and patterns instead of one's predestined to extinction. Thus, the overall experience of this city is worthy some more research aimed at the cultural heritage of the previous epochs and reflection on some new trends of contemporaneous process.

Golden Age: an appeal of the Lost Paradise

The "prehistory" of Chernivtsi looks lost in a realm of archaeology. There are a lot of tracks of recurrent settlements on both banks of the river Prut since the Stone ages. Some regular settlement which is most probably related to Chernivtsi prehistory is fortress Chern, destroyed by Tatars in the era of Khan Batu invasion. Archaeologists gather a lot of artefacts from the excavations of that fortress remnant and some historians are eager to regard the latter as a direct precursor of what is now Chernivtsi. Even the name of the city is explained as derived from some escapees of destroyed and burnt down fortress of Chern. Interesting to note, that that territory now is close to Chornivka village and situated on the margin of today's municipality borders.

Ukrainian authors are sure that these lands belonged to Kyivan Rus and its successors, mainly Galician Principality, being a kind of military camp against nomads and other rivalries with Old Rus principality. But the real fade of the Chernivtsi predecessor remains unclear. Middle ages brought down to this piece of land and their inhabitants a great period of permanent instability, recurrent military clashes and as a consequence ruining settlements around. Tatars Hordes, Great Duchy of Lithuania, Poland and Hungary, Moldova and Ottomans Empire – these are incomplete list of states pretended to control the territory later named Bukovyna. There are some tracks of recurrent activity in settlements on the territory of nowadays Chernivtsi, as far as they lay on the important route from Lviv to Iasi and beyond. Any attempt to restore a trustworthy picture of those ages is highly speculative because lack of provable knowledge of them regarding the small town or constellations of villages is a kind of hypothesis. What is a fact it's a first written mention about Chernivtsi in the time of Alexander Bun – the Prince of Moldavian Principality. So, since 1409 started a period of written history of Chernivtsi, at that time rather modest suburb of Tsetsyn (Chechun and some other variations of spelling) fortress[2].

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[2] Serhiy Pivovarov, "Arkheolohichni danni pro mynule Chertnivtsiv ta ikh okolyts'" [Archeological data concerning the past of Chernivtsi and its outskirts], in *Chernivtsi: istoriia ta*

While the official birthday of the city is related with the period of Moldavian Principality, there is no doubt about much deeper historical roots of the small town mentioned in the early documents. This period is marked with non-stop invasions, when epidemic diseases and waves of the brutal violence plundered the town and region from any corner. With the currents of time and historical evolutions, having more and more importance as the border defence and customs duty point Chernivtsi grew up and gradually acquired some basic peculiar characteristics.

Firstly, the town got some benefits of situating on the lively trade route, being both an important point of the frontier line and custom duties post. Secondly, along with many servicemen of Moldavian Principality here lived also merchants and craftsmen. And, last but is not the least, the ethnic and confessional composition of locals had been complicated and of mixed nature. Still, Chernivtsi rather looked like a big village, then a European town when epoch of Moldavian Principality and Turkish domination came to the end there.

Since 1775 till the Great War Bukovyna and its capital city had been incorporated into Austrian Empire (Austro-Hungary). This period is usually considered as the Golden Age in the history of city and province. If to overview town and later a city's records of that time, compare them with previous and following periods it might be confirmed as a true opinion. What should be recognised as the major pros of Austrian domination upon the province and its capital? Firstly, incomparable political stability and peace conditions brought about with the might of the Imperial State. Secondly, its evolution from the Absolutism to Constitutional and Dual Monarchy has rewarded Bukovynians and inhabitants of the capital city with more rights and opportunities, if to compare them with their closest neighbours from Russian Empire and Romanian principalities and later of Romanian Kingdom. Reforms and changes, while sometime incomplete and obstructed however paved a way to Europeanisation of the local economy, social and cultural life. Finally, being vitally motivated with security and loyalty of the newly acquired province Wien has been carefully supported local and regional peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups and culture of their interethnic tolerance. Subsequently, locals benefited of that policy too.

Sure, these changes came into forth not for a night, and they become to be considerable only when the territory of Bukovyna had been granted with the status of Duchy, with own Diet and a system of local self-government since 1850 on. And, if the history of Austrian period is imprinted on the 'golden coin', the every coin has two faces. Bukovyna and its capital city had to row with the central government for any considerable improvement. Whether it concerns its political autonomy (namely off the Polish elite run Galicia) or the consent on building up the railway, either the opening of the local University. Some of those initiatives faced with less favourable political will of the Emperor and his Government, some had been postponed for decades or so, the rest never came into existence. The region and city remain the true periphery of the Empire, including the level of well-being and tempo of industrialisation. Finally, the quest for the better health care and education in the mother tongue there had a long history of defeats of locals' appeals and their repeated failures with-a-with Wien bureaucracy. These and some more other hardships and certain superficial neglect of local and regional demands by the central authority should be taken into account when one tries to propose a well-balanced evaluation of the Imperial policy towards the Land and city and sum up the heritage of that period more or less objectively.

suchasnist'. Yuvileine vydannia do 600-richchia pershoi pysmovoii zhadky pro misto [Chernivtsi: the history and present time], ed. Vasyl Botushansky (Chernvisti: Zelena Bukovyna, 2000), 9-22.

But sooner or later, faster or slower the city and its infrastructure evolved from the poor town towards a kind of typical Central European city of those days in the second half of XIX – the beginning of XX centuries[3]. The central part of the city, its downtown advanced the most from the development of building industry, gradual modernisation of transportation, communications and other modern fruits of technological progress. Despite related backwardness of Bukovyna in the Imperial hierarchy of provinces, Chernivtsi got certain popularity and positive perception in a public opinion of Austro-Hungary.

Though peripheral the city gets more beautiful architectural spots, impressive and gorgeous administrative buildings, theatres and other cultural institutes, and cheerfully accepted the modern urban style of life. While the centre authority sometimes hindered industrialisation of the city and province but comparing with the agrarian and patriarchal province of Bukovyna, the city contrasted the latter with a charming appeal of the regional capital. And it performs a capital city role in all aspects of the regional development[4].

As well as Bukovyna itself, the central city has got a real poly-ethnic character. Nonetheless, the city has some distinct peculiarity, opposing the ethnic composition of the surrounding Land. As for the province the largest ethnic groups in accordance with Austrian senses were Ukrainians and Romanians, followed with Germans, Jews, Poles and the rest of minorities. The critical importance as for the provincial interethnic stability has a fact that there weren't the real ethic majority in Bukovyna, just bigger and smaller ethnic communities. It happened to be a key precondition for constructing a special ethic equilibrium in the province rather a ground for trying to monopolize the one by any community (sure, one should not ignore several attempt of claiming Bukovyna a one nation's property, this unilateral "national" perspective, mainly Romanian of that time would not been supported by the leadership of local Romanians unanimously as unrealistic approach). Contrary to the regional ethnic composition, the city of Chernivtsi remained vastly populated with Jews, only then followed with autochthonous Ukrainians (till the begging of XX centuries regarded as Ruthenian's by Austrian authorities) and Romanians, then Germans, Poles etc.

So, while in countryside Ukrainians and Romanians statistically dominated, in the urban landscape they have to agree with the role of minorities. This status correlated with their financial resources, political influence and cultural representation. The opposition of the city towards a province seems to be unusual as for the Eastern European case. While more typical dichotomy of that period for the vast region could be portrayed with model of two regionally confronting cultures: the privilege and ruling Nation in the capital city as the representative of the upper Culture of certain minority, encompassed with rustic, deprived majority of another tongue in the province around (Lviv/Lwow/Lemberg nearby is the closest and no way exceptional case). Indeed, evolving system of the local and regional interethnic and inter-confessional balance has far more complicated and specific outlook and foundations.

Key role as for the shaping the urban culture of Chernivtsi has been played with local Jews. They were not united as far as the Jewish itself community has been divided into traditionalist and modernist. The latter ones tried their best in order to get acceptation into a dominant Austrian-German culture, broking down ties with kahal and previous self-isolation

[3] Gabriel fon Spleni, *Opys Bukovyny* [Description of Bukovyna] (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 1995), 21.

[4] Ihor Zhaloba, *Infrastructurna polityka avstriiskoho uriadu na pivnichnomu skhodi monarchii v ostanniy chverti XVIII – 60-kh rokakh XIX st.)* (na prykladi shliakhiv spolucheniia) [Austrian Government infrastructural policy on the Northern East of the Monarchy (a case study of the transportation communication] (Chernivtsi: Knyhy – XXI, 2004).

of Jews. They try to acquire those days' European culture, education, prestigious jobs, social status etc., for sure in Austrian Imperial context. Being "integrated" even by senses' rules in the group of German tongue, they vehemently supported German culture and policy of Wien, sometime trying to be more 'Germans" then Germans themselves. Still, many of local Jews seemed to hold a kind of dual identity. Due to the origin they have been oriented towards Judaism and defensive form of ethno-national collective survival. However, social values and aspirations at prosperity prompted them vigorously back up Austro-Hungary and the policy of Wien[5]. Austrian government had some good reason of practicing selective support of these trends, and as far as Bukovyna and its capital city are concerned the Jewish enthusiasm for German culture and education made useful service for the State sake, compensating some weakness of the local German community and make the latter, only together with Jews a dominant group in the city and the core element of the regional socio-political process[6]. No wonder that Jewish and Austrian Germans leaders were eager of acting together and sharing some joint attitudes towards local and regional politics' issues quite often[7]. This modus Vivendi of the local Jewish community, being a mixture of both pragmatic and opportunistic motives had behind the scene some external influences too. Tolerance of Habsburg Monarchy in fact contrasted with the real situation with Jews in Russian Empire and Romania. Comparing the privileges and opportunities granted by Emperor in the Dual Monarchy, Jews had a good reason to be thankful towards Wien and imperial authority. And they paid them back with true loyalty and political support.

So, Jewish community and Imperial authority relations look like symbiotic ones. Bukovynian Jews did contribute into the local and regional political and social stability, regarding the existing interethnic model as a guarantee of their personal and collective safety and prosperity. In their turn, local and regional authorities have a lot of reasons to rely on the support and loyalty of this community. Above all, the latter has possessed no irredentist sentiments and therefore would have not threatening Imperial territorial integrity and security system. These pragmatic sentiments of Jews towards Austro-Hungary have been rewarded by the officials of Wien till the outburst of the Great War. After the collapse of Empire many of Jews laid down emotional foundations for pro-Austrian nostalgia. Jews had no other option as to face with less favourable and often more brutal policy of newborn states in the Central and Eastern Europe of the interwar period.

After Austrian Germans and Jews, the city public space and everyday life is being coloured with the presence and activity of Polish and Armenian communities. Poles contributed considerably into administrative, educational and cultural spheres of urban life. Moreover, despite the fact that Poles had not exceeded 4, 5 % of Bukovyna inhabitants, they constituted second after Jews ethnic community in the regional capital city. For instance, the Mayor of Chernivtsi with a high repute and longest period of service Anton Kochanowski is

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[5] Eleonora Lappin, "Chernivets'ka movna konferentsiia (1908 r.) ta superechka pro evreis'ky natsional'nu movu" [Chernivtsi Linguistic Conference (1908) and the debates on Jewish National Language], in *Mini-cosmos Bukovyny. Kul'turni zdobutky rehionu* [Mini-cosmos of Bukovyna. Cultural records of the region], ed. Serhiy Osachuk (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2006), 99.

[6] Serhiy Osachuk, *Nimtsi Bukovyny. Istoriia tovarys'koho rukhu (druha polovyna XIX – pochatok XX st.)* [Germans of Bukovyna. The History of the comradeship movement] (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2002).

[7] Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, *Czernowitzer Gezchichten. Über eine städtische Kultur in Mittel (Ost)-Europa* [Chernivtsi stories. About one urban culture in the Central (East) Europe] (Wien-Koln-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 29-43.

one of the best representative of local Poles in the local history[8]. A tiny ethnic group of local Armenians were active in the local economic and trade, belonging to the urban business elite of those days.

Hereby it would be timely to pay attention to the situation with Ukrainian and Romanian population of Chernivtsi. Vast majority of them occupied mainly suborns of the city and get involved into the agricultural sector of local economy, cattle breeding and crafts. They were important occupations while with low income and lacking social prestige. Despite the remaining important role of the agriculture for many of Chernivtsi inhabitants, modernisation process in the Empire and Duchy of Bukovyna became influencing the economy and society of the city, changing the status and impact of both communities. Limited resources of the local and regional market made the competition there tough and urged ethnic communities got consolidated with regard to the access of Public Administration and Civic services' available positions. Urbanisation and industrialisation process, where Bukovyna has been lagging behind the average level in Austro-Hungary attracted more former peasants to the provincial capital, and the number of Romanians and Ukrainians grew up in the period concerned. Not automatically but these trends had an impact on politicising both ethnic communities; increasing their social and political demands and making them involved both in local and regional policy as active actors. Step by step it laid down some crucial preconditions for the national consolidation of both communities locally and regionally[9].

Unlikely the rest of Austro-Hungarian provinces, national consolidation process in Chernivtsi and Bukovyna had avoided confrontation scenario as it happened for instance in neighbouring Galicia. The local Poles and Ukrainians wade through estrangement and hostility, finally resumed with Ukrainian-Polish War at 1918 – 1919 years. Fortunately for locals, this script does not apply to Bukovyna. Trying to explain this difference, the majority of researches state that the key reason of the principal interethnic conflict absence is a fact of no dominant ethno-national group in the region. True, the poly-ethic mosaic had to be rather typical and no way the exclusive trait of many of Eastern European regions so far. Ukrainians statistically prevailed in Bukovyna but Romanians followed them closely. And both ethnic groups do not reach a majority in the province, while remained minority in the capital city. Under the condition of gradual spreading of the liberal values and constitutionalism in Dual Monarchy no ethnic group has possessed the legitimate right of claiming themselves the major stakeholder of the respected region and city. Sure, that obvious fact has been overcompensated in other ways, e.g. with the usage of symbolic policy of acclaiming exclusive "historical rights" on the Land, mainly from Romanian elite side sometimes followed up with some Ukrainians later as a counteraction. But this attempt of getting a kind of symbolic superiority faced with opposite claims of some other groups. And, all of these pretence and demands have been exploited instrumentally and resumed balanced in the regional and local net of compromises and political intrigues. Thus, all the parties concerned had to come to rational general conclusions that nobody could be hegemonic in the city and region. They admitted peaceful and tolerant interethnic and inter-confessional relations are equally profitable for all despite the quantity of the group and its

[8] Andriy Horuk, *Natsional'no-kul'turnyi rukh poliakiv na Bukovyni (druha polovyna XIX – 1914 r.)* [National-cultural movement of Poles in Bukovyna (the second half of XIX – 1914)] (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2005), 48-52.

[9] Oleksandr Dobrzhansky, *Natsional'nyi rukh ukraintsiv Bukovyny druhoii polovyny XIX – pochatku XX st.* [National movement of Ukrainians in the second half of XIX – the beginning of XX century] (Chernivtsi: Zoloti litavry, 1999), 112-113.

historical enrooting into Bukovyna soil. And this model while sometimes got tested on sustainability, survives till the very end of Habsburgs' rule.

Another reason for keeping up the ethnic and religious tolerance as a part of the local/regional political and everyday culture is the dynamically balanced system of economical and social roles (contributions) made by key ethnic groups. It has been elaborated in evolutional manner and maintained with smooth adjustments in Chernivtsi for a long period of time[10]. So, those favourable combination of positive objective reasons and subjective good will, summed up with rational interests of the local elite had created a true engine of tolerance and mutual complementary recognition, led to softening existing conflicted aspirations and demands of deferent communities in the city.

The importance of the institutional framework of local politics should not be neglected too. While far away of the perfection, with so many shortages and inconsistencies the legal system of regional and local self-government does provide important foundations for a local advancement[11]. The overall evolution of electoral system while insufficient from the point of view of pure democratic standards of suffrage universal, but approaching a bit more progress, relatively open access of local and regional elite to some powerful institutes, and the recognition of certain dialogue with different social groups and ethnic communities, finally, the absence of the dominant ethnic community, all of these pushed local leaders to elaborate peculiar model of the local public policy. On the one hand, it had been grounded onto Austro-Hungarian patriotism and loyalty to the Emperor, but on the other relayed on the regional identity, political moderation and avoidance of radicalism. A strong attachment to the regional super-ethnic Bukovynian identity, which has been nourished with some generation of local politicians, intellectuals and civic activists forged their responsible attitude to manifestation of diverse interests and concerns, predisposition of looking for a compromise and making coalitions, aimed at cooperative approach towards the hot issues of local, regional and imperial politics[12]. It serves to better understanding of other ethnic communities, cultivation of some mutual respect, for instance by means of learning leading regional languages and using them into everyday urban communication. The polyphony of Chernivtsi streets and squares portrayed the best the local specificity and had not been a privilege of the upper class only, spreading even to the low social strata too. This communication comfort contributes into local and regional culture of tolerance and in general got supported with central and regional authorities. They benefited of them also, regarding the Bukovynian tolerance as an important leverage of sustaining the regional stability and effective policy. With the growing tensions all over Europe and getting more endangered relations with Russian Empire remaining loyalty and support of the region and its capital city means a lot for the official Wien sake[13]. Less dangerous but still challenging

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[10] *Nimets'kyi vchenyi Yohan Kol' pro Bukovynu ta Halychynu v seredyni XIX st*. – Chernivtsi [German Scholar Johan Kohl on Bukovyna and Galicia in the second half of XIX century] (Chernivtsi: Zoloti litavry, 2007), 31.

[11] Mykhailo Nykyforiak, *Derzhavny lad i pravo na Bukovyni v 1774 - 1918 rr.* [The State order and Law on Bukovyna in 1774-1918 years] (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2000).

[12] Oleksandr Dobrzhansky, "Ukraino-pol's'ki stosunky na Bukovyni u 80-90-kh XIX stolittia" [Ukrainian – Polish Relations in Bukovyna in 80-90th of XIX century], in *Bukowina. Blaski i cienie «Europe w miniaturze»* [Bukovyna. Lights and shadows of "Europe in the miniature"] (Warszawa: Wyd. Energeia, 1995), 113-120.

[13] Ihor Burkut, "Rozpad Avstro-Uhorshchyny i formuvannia novykh nezaleshnykh derzhav Tsentral'noi ta Skhdnoii Evropy" [The Breakdown of Austro-Hungary and the formation of new States of Central and Eastern Europe], in *Narodne viche Bukovyny, 1918 – 1993* [Peoples' Forum of Bukovyna] (Chernivtsi: Prut, 1994): 29-33.

seemed to be some geopolitical dreams of Bucharest, where co-national Romanian populace in Bukovyna has been regarded as the important resource of Romania's foreign policy strategic goals.

Together with the abovementioned factors the overall tolerant atmosphere in Chernivtsi is being supported with the intertwined confessional identities and loyalties of locals which went beyond ethnic cleavages and sometimes overlapped them to an extend[14]. Overwhelming majority of Romanians and Ukrainians, for instance, belonged to the same Orthodox Church with the Metropolitan Residence in Chernivtsi (now the former Residence of Metropolitan is Chernivtsi Jury Fedkovych National University property and is in the UNESCO list of Cultural Heritage). They have been competing with each other for the role and influence in the confession and as usually Romanians obtained more important positions there till the end of Habsburg rule. However this competition does not break through limits of tolerance and non-aggressive public conduct. Jews and Germans went together in so many political and cultural issues while remained far away religiously. Germans (divided between Catholics and Lutherans) and Poles, as well as Armenians identified themselves with different denominations, as did some other ethnic groups (Russian old believers etc.). So far as boundaries of ethnic and confessional identities does not coincide neither locally, nor regionally it opened up more public space for the culture of on-going dialogue and disgust to any pretence on the kind of hegemonic exclusiveness. And consequently, it does contribute to the more rational articulation then irrational motivation of key interests laid down into the basic of local politics by leaders of the urban communities. By and large the local inhabitants had to be regarded as borrowers of multifaceted and heterogeneous self-conciseness, where ethnic identity seemed to be wreathed with confessional belonging, and social stratification does not comply with political preferences, directing locals to pluralistic, multilayer and diffusive identification and loyalty.

In this context it's worthy to note, that the issue of the impact and contribution made with leading ethnic communities in the city development is debatable. Historiography remains partly biased and dependable on the point of view of the authors, coloured with ethno-national preference as the vintage point of interpreting the local and regional past. And borders of ethno-nationally determined narratives remain the barrier on the way towards all-comprehensive vision on local history till now. Because of that the question on the most valuable contribution made in the Bukovynian phenomenon of interethnic tolerance remains open for further research and discussion. Still, it's clear that this phenomenon should not be monopolised by any community or ascribed to the impact of Austrian authorities only. It's rather a fortunate combination of the state-sponsored regional and local policy and the coincidence of some profound interests and limits of power of leading ethnic and confessional groups, both in the capital city and whole Bukovyna. One more issue deserving further consideration is about the ratio of urban and rustic population influence on the process of Bukovynian tolerance formation. Sure, villagers took a part into founding and supporting regional culture of tolerance to others and without their attitude this phenomenon did not came into very existence or ceased to exist forever. Nevertheless, the reflection on the tolerance as the value and desirable social model, attempts to make it a kind of everyday code of proper and approvable social behaviour, all of these would be correct to attribute with the outcome of Chernivtsi inhabitants long-lasting endeavour. And the primary role has to be recognised for the local elite, e.g. political, business and intellectuals.

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[14] Hanna Skoreiko, "Polikonfesiinist' iak skladova tolerantnosti bukovyns'koho suspil'stva" [Poly-confessional character as a part of Bukovynian Society tolerance], in *Bukowina. Tradycje i wspolczesnosc* [Bukovyna. Tradition and Present time] (Pila-Czerniowce-Suczawa, 2006), 146.

The latter, namely professors of Chernivtsi University, gymnasiums' and schools' teachers, leaders of the local civic society not only replicate this positive practice but transferred and enriched them for the sake of some generations to come.

So, it will not be a false assumption that ethnic and religious tolerance as the prevailing model of social conduct and valued pattern of the everyday behaviour is being opted up by locals as their vital communication strategy, chosen from some available alternatives of the time being. And it was done as the best choice as this strategy complemented to the city and region evolution, preventing major conflict and uniting them in a front of some internal and external challenges. That is why alongside with some economical, industrial and educational progress related to Austrian period of Chernivtsi history, the cultural and ethnopolitical legacy of Habsburgs' epoch might be duly considered as the most formidable and important in the process of constructing city's identity and its heritage. Ideal type of Chernivtsi and its locals does correspond first and foremost with this Golden age of the local past, which had been doomed to be soon converted into a lost paradise. The more distant this epoch is from the present time, the more myths and legends are covered this period to make it shine brighter and mysteriously.

From the balanced plurality to an imposed uniformity: devolution of the local tolerance

After the collapse of Austro-Hungary Bukovyna did not succeed with the idea of its partitioning into Ukrainian and Romanian parts but has been ruled by Romanian Kingdom solely. The overall period after WWI appeared to be unfavourable for the local and regional model of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations. First deformation and tests on the validity of that model comes at Romanian period of the local history (1918-1940, 1941-1944 pp.), where took place a radical change of the regional status, under the aegis of Bucharest. New sovereign of the region seemed to be far distant of the Habsburgs Empire policy and politics patterns. Its size, social and economic potential, cultural traditions and standard of living, all of them get lost in eyes of new subjects. Due to Romanian administrative reforms Bukovyna did not secure its previous autonomy, territorial integrity and even the official name being replaced with a new one of Suceava province. Since 1923 the region did not exercised any remnants of the previous autonomy and legal liberties attributed with them. Local inhabitants had to accommodate themselves to the pretty unstable political system of Romania and its devolution from the moderate liberalism of 20th to radical nationalism and authoritarian regime in the end of 30th. Less of all these changes make happy the ethnic minorities who belongs to all the ethnic groups of the region and city but Romanians. New rulers did not fell themselves sure on the new acquired territories. As far as there Romanians do not constitute majority, this lands were not ethnically homogeneous and the populace fond of the Greater Romanian ideals. Former ideals of the tolerance and inter-ethnic balance got lost under the pressing demands of the national security. The principal answer to threatening diversity has been invented in a framework of the Romanisation policy. Bukovyna and its principal city got captured into a zone of ascending geopolitical turbulence and uncertainty[15].

Despite these turbulent circumstances the city gradually advanced with regard to the infrastructure, local economy and architecture. Sure, this statement should be balanced with

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[15] Vladimir Fisanov, "Problema bezopasnosti v usloviiakh podvizhnykh geopoliticheskikh tochek: sluchai s Bukovinoi" [Security issue under conditions of the moveable geopolitical points: a case with Bukovyna], in *Re Commendationem: Zbirka vybranykh statei* [Reccomended: the Collection of selected articles], ed. Volodymyr Fisanov (Chernivtsi: Zoloti litavry, 2006), 70-71.

realistic approach towards Romania of this period. Still, some improvement of the local transportation, industry and social services has to be recognised too, together with the process of recovering after WWI ruins and damages[16]. When the liberal trends of Romanian politics failed in the end of 1920th, the main accent in the regional and all-national ethnopolitics had been made on forceful implementation of the dominant nation rights and exclusive status. With some minor fluctuations and bureaucratic inconsistency the Romanisation policy led to the violation of traditional balance of interests, the whole structure of the local inter-ethnic relations, and exhaustion of the tolerance resources and cooperation of ethnic communities. All but Romanians from locals had to face with certain discrimination, depending on the fluent domestic or international conjuncture. It's hardly easy to rank and systematised the discrimination they faced with and it need much more research of documents and memoirs. For example, spreading faster over Romania anti-Semitic attitude strongly affected the situation of Bukovynian and local Jews[17]. Romanian-Ukrainian relations in the city and region also entered into turbulent phase. The previous approximate equality of both communities had been replaced with the growing tension and conflict, never seen earlier in Chernivtsi and around. The authority treated Ukrainians with suspicion and certain arrogance, and suppressed any resistance towards denationalising, Romanisation policy of Bucharest and its local agents[18]. Sure one could discover the opposite samples too. For instance, the close alliance of Romania with Poland made the situation with local Poles improving relatively. And with A. Hitler and Nazis coming to power in Berlin and later Bucharest reorientation towards military alliance with the Third Reich the official attitude towards local Germans got much warmer and respectful stance[19]. But the order of Hitler for all Germans from Bukovyna to leave the region out and go to the Fatherland made German community extinct from the land they settled down long before. Until November of 1940, when Chernivtsi has been surrender by Romania to USSR under the ultimatum of Kremlin this process of Germans evacuation ended up completely[20].

As the consequence of WWI it should be noted, that it brought about the massive immigration and exodus from Chernivtsi caused by military actions, mass brutality and

[16] Oleksandr Dobrzhans'ky and Yury Makar, "Etnichni hrupy Bukovyny pid chas triokh rossiiskykh okupatsii kraiu (1914-1917)" [Ethnic groups of Bukovyna under three Russian occupations of the region (1914-1917)], in *Istoryko-politychni problemy suchasnoho svitu: Zbirnyk naukovych statei*, t. 29-30 [Historical-political issues of the contemporary world: collection of articles] (Chernivtsi: Chernivets'ky natsional'nyi universytet, 2015), 122-125.

[17] Eduard Turczynski, "Sztuka konsensusu, czyli o kulutrze politycznej Bukowiny" [Masterpiece of the consensus or on the political culture of Bukovyna], in *Bukowina po stronie dialogu* [Bukovyna on the side of dialogue] (Sejny: Pogranicze, 1999), 23.

[18] Ihor Burkut, "Bukovyna u planakh Velykoii Rumunii" [Bukovyna in the plans of Greater Romania], in *Politychni protsesy: istoriia, mify, real'nist' (pohliad z rehionu)* [Political processes: history, myths, reality: the outlook from the region] (Chernivtsi: Prut, 2005), 32-33.

[19] Serhiy Osachuk, "Sotsial'na dynamika i politychni orientstasii nimtsiv Bukovyny 1918-1940pp" [Social dynamics and political orientations of Bukovynian Germans in 1918-1940 years)], in *Bukovyna 1918-1940 rr.: zovnishni vplyvy ta vnutrishnii rozvytok* [Bukovyna 1918-1940: external influence and domestic evolution], ed. Serhiy Osachuk (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2005), 114-117.

[20] Vasyl Kholodnytsky, "Do pytannia pro pereselennia ta deportatsii zhyteliv Pivnichnoi Bukovyny u 1940-1941 rr.)" [On the issue of resettlement and deportation of Germans from Northern Bukovyna in 1940-1941], in *28 chervnia 1940 roku: pohliad cherez 60 rokiv* [28 June 1940: an outlook through 60 years] (Chernivtsi: Prut, 2000), 12-14.

persecutions and general insecurity for civilians[21]. Russian and Austrian Authority and soldiers left behind themselves a lot of cruelty and sufferings of locals. From this time on the emigration factor, worsened with practices of ethnic cleansing had reformatting ethno-national composition of the local population, and as the collateral damage the very culture and patterns of their interethnic interaction. Interwar period might be evaluated as a movement from bad to worse with regard to the ethnopolicy of Romanian Kingdom. So, relations of key ethnic communities in the city became more tense and distrustful, granting them with new conflicts not only on the streets, but even though unexpectedly in so elite social space as Chernivtsi University (also converted from German to totally Romanian University). The representative of non-Romanians had to witness some problems with entering the University and learning there, that had provoked aggressive clashes of some students' organisations there (based on ethnicity first of all) from some fights up to bloody duals of their members.

Worst of all seemed to be period of Romania Kingdom second coming to Bukovyna in the period of Ion Antonescu dictatorship. Having in mind to get revenge for the humiliating "evacuation" from the Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna (28.06. 1940), Romanian authorities and some radical right organisations launched the policy of ethnic cleansing towards Jewish population, which emptied up Chernivtsi off this important part of its inhabitants. Overall, the ethno-national policy of Bucharest has been filled with chauvinistic and aggressive stance regarding ethnic minorities and political opponents character, for now far away of a tolerance and whatever respectful attitudes to others[22]. Those negative tendencies were not always greeted with locals and of Romanian stock too. They had tried to withstand political deterioration of local cultural climate, preventing the old Chernivtsi and its tolerance as well as some other attributes of them of final collapse.

It seems that best of all these attempts succeeded in émigrés circles and in talking of the older generation remaining in the city, who witnessed that the new time came with the feeling of the losing and missing of their native city colour and flavour. Really, the wholesome picture of the interwar period of Chernivtsi is not black and white. There had to be recognised not only abruption, but also a certain continuity of the local evolution. With all the negative trends Romanian Kingdom had been a part of the European civilisation of those days, while a peripheral one, lagging behind mainstream but in principal aspects compatible and belonging to than time Europe. Moreover the ties of city with Europe and other European states left active and vivid as far as the interwar period is concerned. Romanian period of Chernivtsi history requires much more research and most of all comparative studies. Regarding the approaches of urban studies the city history and this peculiar period remains less researched and need to be revisited anew.

While Romanian time but Antonescu period might be regarded as a complex mixture of deferent trends in the local history, a combination of discontinuity and continuation with regard to the European flavour of Chernivtsi evolution, the Soviet period is rather marked as a clearly disruptive with all of previous times.

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[21] Viktor Demchenko, "Vplyv Pershoii Svitovoii viiny na demohrafichnu sytuatsiiu ta produktyvni syly Pivnichnoii Bukovyny" [The WWI influence on the demographic situation and productive forces of Northern Bukovyna], in *Bukovyna – miy ridny krai. Materialy istoryko-kraeznavchoii konferentsii molodykh doslidnykiv, studentiv ta naukovtsiv* [Bukovyna – my native land. Proceedings of the historical and regional studies of young researches, students and scholars] (Chernivtsi: Prut, 1996), 10.

[22] *Bukovyna v konteksti evropeiskykh mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn (z davnikh chasiv do seredyny XX st.)* [The WWI influence on the demographic situation and productive forces of Northern Bukovyna] (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2005), 650-651.

Superficially, the soviet period in the history of Chernivtsi mean a speedy growth of the city scale, its territory, economy and populace. City embraced the neighbouring Sadgora town, which became to be one of the city districts. A lot of new factories and plants made Chernivtsi landscape look industrial as never before. New institutes of education had been opened, and first of all, Medical Institute (1944) which have contributed a lot into the betterment of the health care system in the city and region. Gradually and steadily grew up the level of education of city inhabitants and their well being started to get improved, especially since 1970th. This list of soviet records might be added with some more facts and stats. Still, the other side of the coin should be regarded adequately also.

Concerning the interethnic relations in city, soviet period has not granted locals with all the benefits, officially declared by new authorities despite the so-called internationalism and all-comprehensive equality promised. Briefly, the picture of the period might be characterised as follows. Firstly, namely this time Ukrainians got the growing majority both in the city and region (Chernivtsi oblast since 1940). Even though, their real status and influence does not mean any kind of privileges (like for Germans in Austrian time or Romanians in the Interwar period). This status in fact has been granted to Russians or Russified representatives of other ethnic groups[23]. Secondly, contrary to their minor share in the demographic structure of the city population (in the best for them time around 5 % of locals), Russians as usually got the most prestigious and powerful posts in the system of local and regional administration[24]. When invasive industrialisation came into existence they had been disproportionally represented amid the general management of state-run factories and plants. As all of western lands of the post-war USSR Northern Bukovyna had to adapt itself towards centrally planned migration of Russians, and Ukrainians from the East of Ukraine as well as representatives of some other Union Republics. It remind a specific while carefully planned and performed type of colonisation, when locals of traditional ethnic communities for both city and region had to move into Russia and Kazakhstan (the campaign of cultivating verging lands, Siberian resources exploit and many other "Socialist Constructions of the Century"), while the most devoted supporters of Soviet regime replaced them at home. And, surprisingly, the last specificity of the period is the lack of ethnic domination upon the city everyday culture. Ukrainians would not have been able to realize their demographic domination by political or cultural means, should they wanted to do so. Russians were lacking strength, and therefore all the ethnic groups remained equalised with the lack of any institutional instruments and political channels of aggregating and articulating of their concerns and interests. It might be compared with Austrian mosaic of cultures, but now all of them limited and narrowed with a Soviet model of ethnicity. That was formal equality of rights but without real access to them.

Thus, all of the ethnic groups lapsed to possess a real self-organisation and adequate representation, being de-facto minorities' vis-à-vis Soviet version of Russian domination all over USSR. The latter explicitly being represented in the discriminative steps of new authorities, including severe repression and forceful resettlement of intellectual and social

[23] Tetiana Dolynian'ska, "Orhany vlady v period vidbudovy ta khrushchovs'koi vidlyhy" [Institutes of Power in the Reconstruction and Khrshuchow's Thaw periods], in *Istoriia rozvytku orhaniv vlady na terrytorii` Chernivets'koi oblasti. Za zah. redaktsieiu Oleksandra Dobrzhan'koho, Anatolia Kruglashova, Mykoly Yarmystoho* [History of power bodies development on the territory of Chernivtsi region], ed. Oleksandr Dobrzhansky et al. (Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 2014), 596-597.

[24] Vasyl Kholodnyts'ky, "Misto v radianskyi period" [The City in the Soviet period], in *Chernivtsi: istoriia ta suchasnist'* [Chernivtsi: the history and present time], ed. Vasyl Botushansky (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2009), 263.

elite of the city, especially in the first years of so-called Sovietisation. It also appeared into systematic and all penetrative propaganda and agitation in favour of the new, namely Soviet style of nation brotherhood. And, after the proclamation of the Communist Party that the national question is resolved in USSR, the inter-ethnic issues had been mentioned primarily in the context of overcoming the heritage of the blamed past, the permanent necessity to fight against the global imperialism's plotting and the vicious activity of alien agents.

Once again the ethno-demographic structure of the city was undergoing further changes and certain distortion. Most impressive are metamorphosis of the local Jewish community, which did not recovered to the same share as in Austrian or Romanian period respectively. Still, they composed around 1/5 of the locals and remained influential part of the city life, economy and management including. Considering the trauma of Holocaust, noteworthy is that many of pre-war Jewish locals did not come back home and their apartments had been occupied with Soviet Jews and other newcomers, who came from other regions of USSR. It means the brake with the previous tradition both for the respected community and city in general. Being unacquainted with the local and regional customs the new settlers have no choice as to accept an existing order and support Soviet-Russian symbolic and cultural domination. Certainly, it reminds somehow a "balance" of the ethnic communities under Austrian Imperial rule, but rather in a caricature shape and accessed from the opposite starting point. All of ethnic communities but Russians had to cooperate with authorities in the framework of mutual agreement to be gradually denationalised and prompted to merge into the fantastic ideological construction, officially named as "the single Soviet people".

In the contrast with the previous historic periods, all the ethnic communities and social strata had been stripped off the right to constitute their legal organisations outside very narrow, totalitarian soviet mass-organisations, restlessly controlled with the Communist party and KGB. They no way would have been able to serve self-organisation tools but only repeatedly encompass soviet citizens into a hierarchy of the political institutionalisation network, from a kindergarten till the end of life.

NGO's and other structures of civic society in the city founded in Austro-Hungary and survived through Romanian Kingdom (till the dictatorship period), Soviet regime totally annihilated, as well as all of ethno-cultural societies. Though Chernivtsi secured basic traits and character of multi-ethnic community, the manifestations of ethnicity had to be placed into Procrustean bed of folklore and ethnography, in order to illustrate Communist party all-comprehensive care about all the nationalities in USSR and their happiness of living in the "most progressive country". Outside of the cultivated image of the USSR as paradise of inter-ethnic harmony and brotherly cooperation, the inter-ethnic communication sometimes appeared on the surface, breaking through of the everyday life total control the by intolerant behaviour, negative stances towards some minorities (Jews and Moldavians mainly), and with some other cases of disrespect and disgust to others.

The key concern of authorities seemed to be fighting against any manifestations of national identity should they be deviating off their official version. The principal target of suppression had been the same – nationalism, which meant whatever deference with the officially approved kind of ethnicity. The official cliché of the ethnicity (nationality) is being grounder on the magic formula, that any soviet national culture is a socialist in content and the national one only in form. Therefore, making an accent on ethnicity could be dangerous for someone. So far, time-by-time KGB orchestrated some kind of a public show aimed at revealing the nests of "the bourgeois nationalists" and their unanimous condemnation by the soviet citizens of all ethnic stocks. Mainly, it concerns Ukrainian, Jewish and to a lesser extent Romanian intelligentsia and students. Since 1970th, when massive immigration of

Jews begun, the Soviet authority all over the country started to exploit anti-Semitism, covered with propaganda of preventing the spread of the global Zionism. Mass media, soviet organisations of every type, had to stand fast against this new invented threat. As a result anti-Semitism and some other symptoms of xenophobia had been growing up, viciously affecting every day relations of the ordinary locals in Chernivtsi. Finally, it led to the new unofficial but actual system of interethnic hierarchy, with the top of them 'crowned' by Russians and Russian-speaking part of the community, lower Ukrainians, Jews, Moldavians, Romanians and finally other minorities. Really, the open hostility amid ethnic community had been expelled and forbidden while hidden jealousy and prejudice waited for a suitable time to swim up to the surface of the public life.

In general, the Soviet period of local history left behind a contradictory legacy. On the one hand, the city grew up and reached its height both of the territory and population. The economy of the city got industrialised with the strong share of the military-industrial complex electronic plants. Urbanisation in the region reached the momentum, and the region of Chernivtsi has been transformed from the agrarian one into the industrial-agrarian, with the domination of urban populace. There had been made several steps forward in educations, science and health care for the period under consideration. Surely, with no major breakthrough but the wealth of ordinary people had been improving, still tending to be a kind of equality of the pretty modest standards and on-going race for the everyday food and staff. A lot of new buildings rose up in the new districts of the city, and they remained architecturally unattractive and missing any aesthetics value. It's hardly possible to recall a principal local outstanding architectural record of the Soviet period. Plus, the reality of Soviet life made locals more and more sympathetic to the West and forged them to reconstruct the growing idealisation of the past, centred on the imagined best life in Austro-Hungary.

Chernivtsi in Ukraine: a gate to Europe or the deadlock of provinciality?

The impact of the Soviet period's heritage affected social and cultural life of the city in the last years of Perestroika and first years of Ukrainian Independence. When state pressure had been lifting up and limits on the freedom of speech gradually implemented it granted the locals with some problems also. Earlier suppressed and forbidden public expressions of negative felling and attitude towards the others, got a good chance to be articulated in a destructive manner of some suspicion and distrust, negative stereotype and prejudice.

Keeping in mind a negative experience of the previous dramatic epochs, Jews from Chernivtsi as well as from the rest of former USSR prefer to flee off the city and country en masse. The rest of ethnic communities had been less predisposed to the massive emigration.

The new period while started with some raising hopes and expectations soon brought about more and more dramatic challenges. The growth of economical and social problems, unemployment, closure of the previously big factories and plants, and new demands of rapidly changing system of values make the background of interethnic relations complicated and tense. In the same period one could find some very positive trends too. First of all, ethnic and religious communities in the city as all around the new State enjoyed the possibility of freedom and tried to restore their traditional for the society societal placing and cultural role. Doing that, they had been primarily oriented to the past samples of institutional building, partly of Romanian period and to a bigger extend of Austrian times. They started public campaign for the restoration of their rights on Peoples' Houses (Jewish, Ukrainian, Romanian, German and Polish), reopened or founded anew socio-cultural societies, educational and other institutes of the civic society. They have been contributing into the process of ethno-national revival of the leading communities and made social

spectrum of the city life more colourful and vivid. But the negative economic and social factors undermined the socio-cultural and political stability in the city, which is attributed with some previous decades or so.

The most sharp and radical transformation underwent Jewish community of Chernivtsi, the total ratio of them had diminished down 0, 4% of all locals, due to the last census of 2001[25]. Thus, from the most populous and certainly influential ethnic group this community now is approaching the minimum level of both number and strength. While it possessed a great importance as for the history and whole culture of Chernivtsi, the emigration of Jews left behind many social and economical lacunas, which are not filling in with other ethnic communities' adequate activity. It concerns commerce, education, health care and some other city's spheres. Less radical changes touched upon local Russians[26]. Some of them moved out of Chernivtsi and Ukraine, but many preferred to stay there. Noteworthy, that some o locals who had dual ethnic identity (one of the parent Russian another Ukrainian, for instance) became favourable to change the identity from Russian to Ukrainian one.

Last decades expose a picture of considerable changes in Romanian and Moldavian communities in the city and region of Chernivtsi. Remaining more or stable statistically in general sum, they evolved in shifting the popularity of Moldavian identity in favour of Romanian[27]. If in the Soviet period authorities unofficially had granted and proliferated some support to Moldavian identity, especially in the earlier years of the new regime rooting into new ground, it changed with Ukrainian Independence. Ukraine has not elaborated a clear identity policy and moreover did not make any attempt to take into account the regional specificity of identification process under new circumstances. In the same period Romania, after Revolution of 1989 had been looking for a new prospect of the development. And while the distinctive European and Euro-Atlantic choice had not been made with Romanian elite and society, they experienced a period of uncertainty and frustration. Post-totalitarian period brought about some nationalistic and revanchists trends into Romanian politics, coloured with the ideal of Greater Romania restoration. It clouded Ukrainian-Romanian relations, both on the interstate level and between neighbouring societies, having poised as a kind of collateral damage interethnic climate in Chernivtsi. Manifestation of pro-Romanian irredentism did not reach dangerous level of conflict not in the province, nor in the city but seeded around suspicious and distrust. Sure, there was a chance of open conflict in the region and a city, and fortunately this scenario had been avoided then. After series of Treaties amidst Ukraine and Romania on interstate border and cooperation had been signed up and ratified, the general situation with interethnic relations in Chernivtsi are steadily been improved and freed off the threaten negativity.

The newest ethno-demographic process in the city could not be accurately researched because the lack of some provable data after last Ukrainian census of 2001. Now they seem to be out-dated in order to make provable analysis and right conclusions. The

[25] *Natsional'nyi sklad naselennia Chernivts'koi oblasti ta ioho movni oznaky (za danymy Vseukrains'koho perepysu naselennia 2001 roku)* [Ethnonational composition of Chernivtsi oblast population and its linguistic attributes], vol. I (Chernivtsi, 2003).

[26] Tamara Yury, "V oblasti stalo bil'she selian i menshe rosian" [The region gets more peasants and less burgers] *Doba*, 14 sichnia [January] 2003, 1, 3.

[27] *Otchet o missii. Severnaiia (Ukrainskaia) Bukovina. Pridnestrovskaia Moldavskaia respublika. Gagauziia (Gagauz-Ery). Moldova* [Report on the Mission. Northern (Ukrainian Bukovyna, Transdnistria Moldavian Republic, Gagauzia)] (Minsk: Rabochaia grupa NPO SNG po predotvrashcheniiiu i urehulirovaniiu konfliktov [Working group NPO SNG in preventing and regulate the conflicts], 2004), 17-23.

problem occurred when V. Janukovych had postponed twice the next census since 2012, and it might be supposed that he did it with vicious calculations of preparing the next stages of Crimea annexation and forgery of "Novorossia", based on Kremlin false assumption of "protecting compatriots abroad". As far as local situation is concerned some trend need more scrutiny and comparative approach. It concerns changes of Moldavian identity also. Romanians are sure that no Moldavian nation and identity exists at all. Nonetheless, many of Moldavian citizens in Republic in Moldova as well as citizens of Ukraine remained loyal right to that kind of identity. Romanian media, education institutes and politicians invested a lot of energy to prove the obscurity of that type of identity in both neighbouring states. Moreover, Romanian post-socialist transformation gained much more results in comparison with Ukraine's and Republic of Moldova's records. So, as for now, Romania has some more appealing social and economic characteristics for Eastern neighbourhood. All of those have contributed into process of making the Romanian identity more prestigious and attractive for the Moldavians in Ukraine and Republic of Moldova. This process looks unfinished but leads towards distinctive flow from Moldavian to Romanian community in Chernivtsi, why their specific weight remains stable locally.

Time by time, Chernivtsi became to be a target for the radical forces, trying to undermine local and regional ethnopolitical stability, and aiming at harvesting some kind of popularity in the period of electoral campaigns[28]. Ethnic factor has been exploited as a sort of electoral technologies prior to the Orange Revolution of 2014, where unknown authors had extensively decorated public places with provocative graffiti's seeding xenophobia and mutual distrust between leading ethnic communities of the city. The provocation did not succeed to spark a fire in the city but no reaction from the then-time authorities demonstrated that this technology has been invented with a certain political support of Kuchma regime. New wave of provoking once again some interethnic tensions, now playing a card with Romanian community and ascribed to them 'willingness' of separating from Ukraine. Fortunately, the origin of those attacks is attributed with activity of pro-Russian, not pro-Romanian local agents of influence.

Post-soviet period also marked with social changes in the city. First of all, the rapid industrialisation of the region came to the end right with the economic crisis of 90th being replaced with the reversal tendencies of de-urbanisation. But the closure of the most important plants and factories does not mean the movement of locals from Chernivtsi to surrounding villages. Quite opposite, villagers continuously left their homes looking for better life in regional centre or far away of their native places. Secondly, arriving at Chernivtsi they became to me culturally marginalised, leaving behind their familiar culture, they need years or decades to get accommodated with new urban life. It's brought about somehow a kind of cultural shock both for new comers themselves and locals who have to deal with these waves of incoming immigrants who are not acquitted and do not respect too much the norms and habits of their new place of residence. Together with ex-villagers from the region the city has to face with immigrants from some part of Ukraine and former USSR republics, like Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan etc. All of the new flow of immigration and emigration add some new colours to city's life. It brings also new troubles, which are not properly set down by the local authorities and community in general.

As far as every historic epoch contributed into cultural landscape of Chernivtsi, the newest phase of city evolution is attributed with bid scale of constructing new private

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[28] Ihor Burkut et al., *Suchasna Bukovyna: 1991-2005 roky v pidsumkakh sotsial'no-ekonomichnoho ta politychnoho rozvytku kraiu* [Contemporary Bukovyna: 1991 – 2005 in the outline of socio-economic and political development of the region] (Chernivtsi: Knyhy – XXI, 2006), 126.

houses, the luxury hardly available in the Soviet period. In the same time a great number of those new houses do not mean any architectural added value to the attractiveness of the city. Many of them are rather stamped with lack of taste and remind about the villages' local preference where the owner came from. Alongside with new constructions many of historical building and their decorations went lost because the epidemic renovations which did not care about the valuable details of facades, ornaments, original gates and doors etc. So, a strange mixture of urban and rustic traditions, European fashion and local incentives are commemorated now in the architecture of last two decades.

In conclusions

Chernivtsi has been travelling throughout centuries, sharing similar destiny with other Central-East European towns and cities. As many of them the city grew up and failed down, had been burnt and captured, changed involuntarily his states' belonging several times only in XX centuries, not to mention previous epochs. It reached the most importance as the capital of Duchy of Bukovyna in Austrian Empire and gradually lost its importance in Romanian Kingdom. In Soviet time and after Ukrainian Independence Chernivtsi remained the central city of the same name region.

Now the city remained enriched with different styles of architecture and monuments, symbols of best and worst times in its history. What makes the city and surrounding region unusual is a certain flavour of mist and legendary community, where Jewish and German, Ukrainian and Romanian, Polish and Armenian, Russian and other cultures intertwined and enriched each other. So, the most precious characteristic of the city was and is it's multicultural and multi-confessional atmosphere, grounded on long-standing tradition of tolerance and mutual recognition.

As far as the Moldavian and Austrian period are concerned it seems that this local ethno-national stability and complimentarily interrelations of leading ethnic community and denominations had a lot of factors influenced them, while being grounded on the absence of dominant and hegemonic ethnic community both in the region and its capital city. Thus, the necessity to accommodate every day social and political process towards diverse and heterogeneous society made a medium line of the city evolution aimed at the cultivation of tolerance and cooperative approaches prevailing upon confrontation and conflicts. This well-balanced system became to crumble down when Chernivtsi and Bukovyna had appeared under Romanian crown since 1918. First time the mono-ethnic culture and growing pressure of politics of Romanisation replaced the previous local trends and values of tolerance locally and regionally. In the same period city had progressed with building urban community and continuing to be in the context of European civilisation, with all pros and cons it did comprise at that days. The sorrows of WWII and tragedy of Holocaust under Antonescu dictatorship finalised the destruction of what still remained of the traditional local culture of ethnic tolerance.

Soviet period started from severe reprisals and radical social experiments of the new authorities aimed at Stalinist version of socialism construction. It left behind the heritage of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation and a lot of social and cultural problems. Chernivtsi had been growing up as well as the potential of the city in local economic, education and culture but under pressure of total Communist party control and with all the contradictions between official promises and real records of the so-called soviet style of life. Interethnic tensions remained actual issue but artificially covered with propaganda and KGB manipulations.

New tendencies are attributed with period of Ukrainian Independence. The ethnic composition of the city tended to simplification and the vast majority of its locals are of

Ukrainian stock. Because of previous waves of migration city lost some historic communities (Germans, Jews, and Poles) and has to adapt some newcomers from the post-soviet space mainly[29].

All the history through Chernivtsi has been placed new near shifting state borders, facing with military threats and geopolitical games. It's a "typical" borderland city. Provincial colour of the city remained both appealing and disappointing, depending on the point of view.

Thou the phenomenon of balanced multiculturalism is getting to be rather a historic fact, than a reality of nowadays, it are worthy to cultivate the memory and value of traditional tolerance for new generations of locals. Unfortunately, if Chernivtsi burgers had been spoken freely on 4 – 5 languages a century ago for now it's hardly possible to meet such a linguistic fluency. Thus, multi-polar system of ethno-cultural relations has been gradually replaced with bipolar model of majority-minorities relations, for now Ukrainians and others, mostly, Romanians and Moldavians. This tending to be dichotomist model is much simpler and in the same time less stable as for the sake of the city further prospect. And it remains an open question as whether the city and its authority is really well-prepared to permanently invest energy, good will and other resources to keep Bukovynian tolerance alive, accepted and reinforced with new generations of locals. Either it's doomed to be a part of the past, however glorified and mystified in literature and collective memories.

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