'HERSTORY' IN HISTORY:
A PLACE OF WOMEN IN UKRAINIAN URBAN TOPONYMY

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Abstract

The paper addresses the issue of gender equality in urban toponymy – the equal right of women along with men to be commemorated in urban streetscape and thus to be perceived as a full-fledged actor of history. Today, the process of street naming typically reflects masculinist bias resulting in far fewer streets being named in honour of women than men. Despite a growing interest in examining how street naming and related toponymic practices are implicated in the gendering of urban space, toponymic gender inequalities still remain understudied in different cultural and geopolitical contexts. Focusing on the case of Ukraine, geopolitically-divided post-Soviet country with contingent and contradictory memory policy, we show that contemporary toponymic gender disparities in the cities in Ukraine are similar to those observed in other European countries, but the specificity is expressed in a different structure and historical dynamics of female urbanonyms. The study of Ukrainian female street names was carried out on the basis of 41 largest cities covering all administrative regions. A number of indicators were calculated to evaluate the changes in the quantity and share of female urban toponymy in the period after the Soviet Union collapse. The structure of commemorated female personalities by professions and activities was determined as well. Special attention, including in-depth historical overview, was paid to the three cases representing different historical and cultural background – Lviv (west), Kyiv (centre) and Kharkiv (east). Existing regional differences are explained by (geo)political divisions as well as economic and cultural factors. Recent policy of decommunization has had ambiguous effect on the gender proportions of urban toponymy: although a lot of new female names were introduced, Communist female names have disappeared contributing to growing toponymic gender imbalance in some cities.

Key words

Urban toponymy, female urbanonyms, commemoration of women, gender equality, Ukraine.

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men. It provides for the equal valuing by society of the similarities and the differences of men and women, and the roles they play in the home, community

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and society. Gender gap is a disproportionate difference between men and women, particularly as reflected in attainment of development goals, access to resources and levels of participation; a gender gap indicates gender inequality. Gender parity is a numerical concept concerning relative equality in terms of numbers and proportions of men and women (Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, 2009).

This common modern-day approach refers also to the fundamental right of women to be a full-fledged actor of history on an equal footing with men, and be perceived as such, which implies the equal right to be commemorated, including in streetscape. In this way street naming is implicated in the gendering of urban space and reflects perceived roles of men and women in history. The commemorative work that street naming performs not only naturalizes and legitimizes selective visions of the past but is also instrumental in spatializing the social boundaries of belonging and exclusion along various societal axes, including gender (Alderman and Inwood, 2017). More often than not, the street naming process has been dominated by masculinist policy agendas resulting in far fewer streets being named in honour of women than men in cities around the world (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu, 2017), in this manner writing city-text as merely exclusively 'hisstory', but not 'herstory'. Due to the manner in which gender roles were socially constructed, it appears that the social organization empowered men to play the most memorable roles of history, while feminine roles have been long ascribed to the private sphere of life; this explanation could account for the unequal division between men and women in naming streets (Niculescu-Mizil, 2014).

World geographical thought, affected by postmodern discontinuity (Matlovič and Matlovičová, 2020), increasingly tends to consider urban streetscape as a space where different visions of the past collide in the present and competing spatial imaginaries are juxtaposed; streetscapes are scrutinized as contested arenas in which struggles over identity, memory, and place shape the social production of urban space (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu, 2017). However, despite growing interest in examining how street naming and related toponymic practices are implicated in the gendering of urban space, toponymic gender inequalities still remain understudied. In particular, we are referring to the models and factors of gender toponymic policy in different cultural and geopolitical contexts, including postcolonial, post-socialist and geopolitically divided societies. Available data from around the world are still lacking for comprehensive comparative research. The Ukrainian case on which we focus in this paper is still unexamined and yet indicative, as it provides an opportunity to explore and understand gender disparities in the toponymy of the post-Soviet geopolitically divided country (Barrington and Herron, 2004; Rexhepi, 2017) with contingent and contradictory memory policy (Shevel 2011; Portnov 2013). Obviously, the communist concept of woman emancipation should have influenced both approaches to commemoration of women and gender balances in toponymy in post-Soviet countries on the global back-

ground. Simultaneously, accentuated memory policy in Communist era should have induced a distinct ideological bias in female street names. On the other hand, we cannot omit a debatable question whether post-Soviet democratic period, marked with decommunization of streetscape and parallel development of the new memory policy, contributed to the levelling of gender imbalance. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to analyze the visibility of women in the urban toponymy of Ukraine, paying special attention to spatial (regional) patterns of commemorating women in streetscape and existing gender imbalance in view of cultural and (geo) political history of the country.

SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND

Studies of gender disparities in urban toponymy have so far been carried out not so much by professional scholars as by journalists and concerned activists or initiative groups, and the latter are more and more eager to move from theories and empirical facts to practice in order to reduce existing gender gap in urban streetscape.

In 2012, Maria Pia Ercolini and her team examined 16,550 streets in Rome to determine the gender balance. They found that just 3.5% of the city's streets were named after women comparing with 45.7% named after men. To redress the balance, she proposed to name new streets in Rome after women rather than to rename existing streets since the latter approach would be very unpopular. Inspired by the Italian project, a group of women in Spain surveyed Madrid's streets. It fared a bit better than Rome, with nearly 7% of streets named after women, and 27% after men (Bosworth, 2012). However, most of the female commemorations in Spain are those of saints or nuns, while the second largest group consists of queens and the wives of public personages (Tojo, 2015).

An interactive map from Mapbox developer Aruna Sankaranarayanan and her colleagues showed how scarce female streets are in seven major cities around the world. The team tried to filter out all neutral names so they could get a clearer sense of the true gender balance. They found that, on average, only 27.5% of the studied streets had female names (Poon, 2015).

In August 2015, a feminist group in France "Osez le Féminisme!" renamed the streets of Paris after noting that just 2.6 percent are named after notable women, and more than a half of those 166 women have been honoured only because they were wives or daughters of famous men. The group created their own version of the street signs and stuck them over the official names. To do it, the group used a list of French women scientists, artists and politicians that should have a street named after them. The group has asked that by 2019, as many women as men are honoured by having their names given to the streets of Paris (O'Connor, 2015; Jaffe, 2015).

In 2017, on International Women's Day, Geneva's parliament voted in favour of naming more streets in the canton after women, proposing an increased "feminization" of street names. According to the text of the bill, only 31 out of 700 streets that have the name of a famous person are named after women, equating to just one percent of the total 3,263 streets in the canton (The Local, 2017).

Journalists from H-Alter concluded that cities in Croatia still reflect a patriarchal system, based on the idea that women's place is at home. Of 64 cities, included in analysis, only 9 had the percentage of streets named after women equal to or greater than 5%. In almost half of the cities analysed, including some of the biggest cities in the country, less than 2% of streets were named after women, and in 11 cities there was not a single street named after women (Perić and Kuzmanić, 2018).

In Bradford, Great Britain, the council's campaign aims to further improve the gender balance and promote the important role of women in the city's history. That is why more streets and public spaces in Bradford are to be named after women in a move to recognize female achievement. As the councillor said, 'We hope to inspire young women across the district to go on and make their own history' (BBC, 2019).

In December 2019, the European Economic and Social Committee awarded first prize in the sphere of gender equality to the Italian organisation 'Women's Toponymy' for activities aimed at giving women public recognition by raising awareness about their contribution to society and history. Believing that toponymy is a good indicator of the way a society values its members, the organisation is trying to put more notable women on city and town maps. Its recent research into the names of public places in about 90% of Italian municipalities has shown that for every 100 streets named after men and only 7.8 were named after women, of which some 60% referred to religious figures. There are almost no places featuring the names of notable female scientists, entrepreneurs, artists and sportswomen and Women's Toponymy is set to change that (European Economic and Social Committee, 2019).

In Ukraine, the issue of gender proportions in urban toponymy is also increasingly raised in the media riding the wave of increased interest to toponymy in connection with the ongoing decommunization process. Publications in media has criticized the dominant masculinity of streetscape appear address different categories of settlements: from biggest cities like Dnipro (Shrub, 2018), Lviv (Vysokolian, 2016) Ivano-Frankivsk (Bondarev, 2011) or Kropyvnytskyi (Semeniuk, 2017) to medium-sized cities like Kalush (Onyskiv, 2018) or even small townships like Biliaivka (Khalymonyk, 2018). Some contributions, in addition to the review of a single case city, contain elements of a comparative analysis of several cities (Steblyna, 2013). The authors of these and other investigative reports conclude about striking disparities between the number of male and female personal street

names (Khalymonyk, 2018), emphasizing that 'more streets are named after trees and flowers than in honour of women' (Steblyna, 2013; Semeniuk, 2017), as well as the detachment of female names from the local historical and cultural context in most cases (Shrub, 2018). They also tried to explore historical trends of the origin of female street names and explain existing gender disparities (Bondarev, 2011; Semeniuk, 2017). In particular, street names mostly reflect the history of various wars and conquests, so they represent the activities of a predominantly male half of society. However, even among the commemorated cultural figures men predominate as well. Thus, the current situation is a consequence of both historical discrimination and the lack of a real state gender policy (Semeniuk, 2017). It is noted that although the names of female revolutionaries and Communists were erased via decommunization process, the number of female names on the city map increased due to the revival of the memory of prominent women forgotten for various reasons in the XX century, in particular those having relations to the specific city (Vysokolian, 2016; Onyskiv, 2018; Shrub, 2018). However, gender equality in the urban toponymy is still long way off (Shrub, 2018).

Such media reports and acts of resistance notwithstanding, the study of the gender politics of street naming is still a woefully neglected theme in urban studies and critical toponymic scholarship (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu, 2017). However, our investigation feeds upon certain contributions focusing on European cases and dealing with gender inequalities predominantly through the lens of local or national cultural context and paying attention to the urban space axiology as a key to understanding gender disparities in toponymy.

In particular, De Soto (1996) addressed feminist aspects of the controversy over the post-socialist street naming purification policy in East Berlin. Niculescu-Mizil (2014) applied gender sensitive approach investigating (re)naming streets in Bucharest, which revealed an unequal distribution among genders in favor of men. Neaga (2014) came to similar conclusions via the analysis of street names and memorial plaques in Bucharest. Nada (2014), analyzing the street names in Belgrade, points out on distinctive, even though implicitly inherited difference in power distribution and gender based standings in social organization of the space. At the same time, the study showed that the change of female street names expresses the ideological changes and the need of classes and strata which tend to establish their social position by changing the view on history in order to consolidate their own legitimization.

The study of the urban toponymy of the regional cities of Slovakia (Bucher et al. 2013a, 2013b) showed that gender emancipation is a notable phenomenon regarding the names of the streets after personalities, with female street names making up only 5% of the total streets having such names. Almost 75% of commemorated women represent the realm of art and culture. In some cities (Trenčín,

Prešov) female street names were not found at all; however, only historical cores of the cities were taken into consideration.

Novas-Ferradás (2018) studied gender inequality through a study of Santiago de Compostela's urban anthroponymy. She found a substantial gender gap, with the number of celebrated masculine figures being triple the number of feminine ones (9.2% against 27.1%). Moreover, the vast majority of feminine urban toponyms referred to religious figures, mostly saints, virgins, etc. This pattern correlates to the classical female role in a traditionally Catholic state like Spain: a woman must be devout, submissive and passive. On the contrast, masculine figures names primarily refer to men with positions of economic or political power or reputable intellectuals, with a greater variety of occupations than the women represented. Also, the contribution provides a brief comparison of the Compostela case with other major Spanish cities.

Walkowiak (2020) focused on the visibility of women in the names of streets in 12 Polish cities with the highest number of hodonyms. She found that the share of female street names among all personal commemorative names in analyzed cities fluctuated in the range from 5.7% to 13.4%. However, this percentage is raised by the relatively high proportion of names of fictitious female characters, while disregarding the names of saints reveals an even greater gender imbalance. The differences in proportion and composition of commemorated female names among particular cities may be explained in terms of local economy and culture. E.g. traditional Silesian culture that posits men as breadwinners working in coal mines, and women as homemakers, explained relatively masculinised onomastic landscape of Katowice, while Częstochowa, the site of the most famous Catholic shrine in Poland, boasts the highest number of street names devoted to the female saints, etc. In her paper, Walkowiak quotes an investigation by Jędrzejczak (2014), which represents an attempt to make quantitative and qualitative analysis of the toponymic changes in Warsaw since the end of Communism in Poland. Among the other findings, it was revealed that only 14 percent of individual commemorations involved women, even including literary and fairytale characters, while the highest chance for a woman to give her name to a street is to have been active in the army or church structures, which are traditionally very masculine.

The second group of relevant contributions deal with (post)colonial discourse of gender equality in cityscape beyond Europe. Berg and Kearns (1996), discussing the re-instatement of Maori names in Aotearoa (New Zealand) argued that place naming represents a way of 'norming' or legitimating hegemonic power relations, including a number of 'commonsense' notions about gender. Mamvura, Muwati, and Mutasa (2018) pointed out that the nationalist liberation movement in Zimbabwe was generally gender inclusive due to the need for forming a united front against colonialism, but inclusive aspect ceased to exist in the post-inde-

pendence period. Forrest (2018) raises questions around commemorating the role of women in the South African liberation struggle. Zuvalinyenga and Bigon (2020) provided a comparative view on the scope of gender-biased street naming in sub-Saharan Africa's cityscapes and identified its decisive factors.

In Ukraine, gender disparities in regional dimension were first revealed in detail by Mezentseva and Kryvets (2013). Addressing numerous aspects of gender inequality in Ukraine, the authors, however, left the symbolic representation of women in cultural landscape beyond the research scope, although their insights about the existing gender stereotypes in the country are valuable in terms of understanding regional patterns of toponymic gender inequality.

DATA AND METHODS

The study of Ukrainian female street names was carried out on the basis of 41 largest cities representing all administrative regions. The study focused on personal names, i.e. those given in honour of specific individuals. If the same person has been commemorated by more than one object in the same city, commemoration has been counted as double or multiple. All analyzed names, regardless of the object type, hereinafter are treated as 'street names' or 'urbanonyms'.

The following indicators were calculated:

1. Quantity of female street names in 2020.
2. Percentage of female street names from the total number of personal commemorative urbanonyms in 2020.
3. Quantity of female street names that emerged in 1991-2020.
4. Percentage of female street names from the total quantity of personal commemorative urbanonyms that emerged in 1991-2020.
5. Percentage of female street that emerged in 1991-2020 from the total quantity of female urbanonyms in 2020.
6. Ratio of the quantity of female street names in 2020 to 1991.
7. Ratio of the share of female street names from the total number of personal commemorative urbanonyms in 2020 to 1991.
8. Percentage of female street names related to the local or regional cultural and historical context in 2020.

The main dataset about female street names in studied cities for the period of 1991-2020 was taken from the following sources: 1) official printed and online directories of urban hodonymy available on the websites of the municipalities; 2) official documents of local governments related to the naming and renaming of streets. All data gathered was systematized to create a single database allowing tracing all naming and renaming related to the female street names in the specified period. Indicators 1 and 2 were calculated for 41 studied cities, including 5 cities

currently not controlled by the Ukrainian Government. Indicators 3-8 were calculated for 37 studied cities in government-controlled territory. Indicator 2 was additionally taken from Texty.org.ua (Dukach, 2018) for entire administrative regions (data for Donetsk and Luhansk regions are for government-controlled parts only).

Also, the structure of commemorated female personalities by professions and occupations, with certain geopolitical considerations, was determined for 2020. The following classification, taking into account the experience of previous research and Ukrainian specifics (see Stiperski et al., 2011; Bucher et al., 2013a; Bucher et al., 2013b; Gnatiuk, 2018; Gnatiuk and Glybovets, 2020), was applied:

I.   Culture:
    1.1. Literature: writers, poets, journalists.
    1.2. Actors and singers.
    1.3. Music: composers, musicians.
    1.4. Cookery experts.
II. Science and education.
III. Sportswomen.
IV. State and military persons.
V.   Figures from the realm of culture involved into public, political or military activity as well.
VI. Soviet propaganda:
    6.1. Revolutionaries, labour movement figures.
    6.2. Communist resistance fighters.
    6.3. Heroic air pilots, cosmonauts.
    6.4. Shock workers (highly productive, enthusiastic workers in the Soviet Union and other communist countries, used by the Communist Propaganda to promote socialist competition; in the Soviet Union, Shock Worker of Communist Labour was a honorary title).
VII. Benefactors.
VIII. Religious figures.
IX. Stewardesses.
X.   Landowners.

In order to shed more light on the specifics of female commemoration policy in different regions of the country, we analyzed individual cases with an emphasis on the chronology of the emergence and disappearance of female urbanonyms, as well as relevant cultural and political contexts (excluding short period of the Nazi occupation):

1. Lviv is the largest city in Western Ukraine and the eighth most populous city in the country. The city is a core of the historical region of Galicia (Halychyna), with a long history of cultural and political influence of Poland and Austria-Hungary,

as well as one of the key centres of military and political struggle for Ukrainian independence during the XX century.

2. Kyiv is the capital and largest city of the country, located in the north of its central part. The city was the ancient heart of Kievan Rus, an important urban centre of Russian Empire and Soviet Union, and nowadays converted into the arena of the modern geopolitical struggle for the Ukraine's geopolitical future. Both two recent Ukrainian revolutions, Orange Revolution and Revolution of Dignity (Euromaidan) started and had the most important events in Kyiv.

3. Kharkiv is the largest city in Eastern Ukraine and the second most populous city in the country. It was the first capital of Soviet Ukraine (till 1934) and survived relatively early industrialization in the first third of the 20th century, as well as several waves of Russification. Significant share of the local electorate has traditionally supported pro-Russian political forces.

The archival data about female street names for these three case studies were taken from the relevant directories and databases, e.g. 'Kyiv Streets. Official Directory' (Kyiv City State Administration, 2015), 'Directory of Kyiv Streets' (Kudrytskyi, 1995), electronic directory 'Lviv Streets' (Centre for Urban History of Central and Eastern Europe, 2020), as well as from the maps and plans of cities for different years.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. National dimension and regional trends of female street names in 2020

The share of female street names from all personal commemorative names in analyzed Ukrainian cities fluctuates in range from 0% (in Severodonetsk) to 9.2% (in Sumy) with an average value of 6.0%. In this regard, situation in Ukraine is quite similar to the other countries, both from the southern (c.f. Bosworth, 2012; Novas-Ferradás, 2018) and central (c.f. Perić and Kuzmanić, 2018; Walkowiak, 2020) parts of Europe.

Female street names are more common for the western and central parts of Ukraine comparing with the southeast. This is especially noticeable in terms of entire administrative regions. In the west and in the centre, the share of female street names is higher than 5%, with maximum values observed in Western Ukraine (historical regions of Galicia, Volhynia, and Bukovina), as well as on the Left Bank of the Dnieper (Poltava and Sumy regions). At the same time, the share of female street names in the southeast is mostly less than 5%. In terms of individual cities, the situation is more diverse: there are cities in the west with a low share of female urbanonyms (e.g. Ternopil or Kamianets-Podilsky) and cities in the southeast with a high share (e.g. Pavlograd or Ievpatoria). However, six of the eight cities with a very high proportion of female urbanonyms (over 8%) are located in the west and in the centre while only two in the southeast (figure 1).
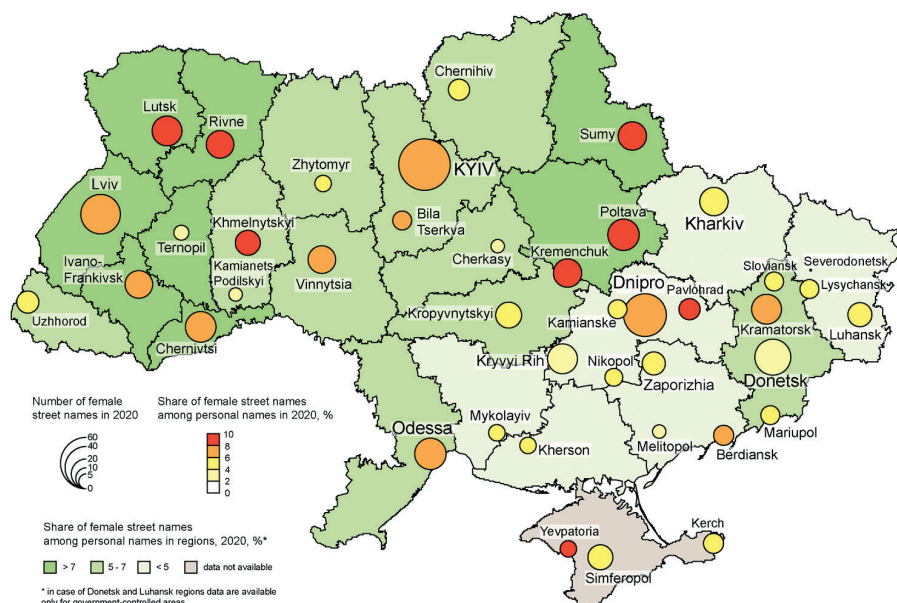
Figure 1
Quantity and share of female urbanonyms in 2020
Source: *elaborated by the authors; data for regions (choropleth map)
taken from Texty.org.ua (Dukach, 2018)*

The largest quantity of female urbanonyms is predictably concentrated in the largest cities with population of over 1 million. However, regional differences mean that a city in the west or centre of the country, on average, has more female street names than a comparable city in the southeast. If large cities with a population of 200,000-300,000 in the centre and west of the country have an average of 20-30 female urbanonyms, the similar cities in the southeast typically have only 5-10 (figure 1).
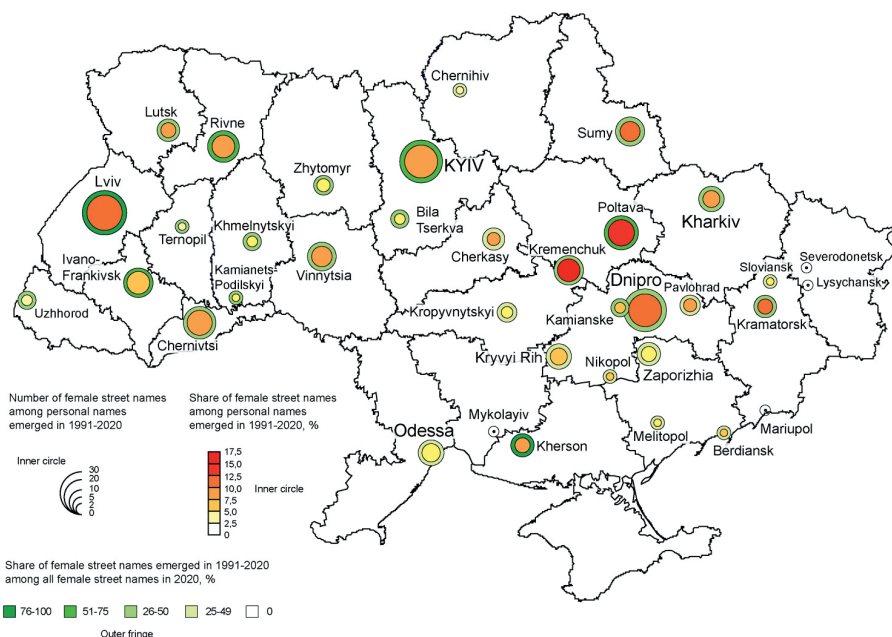
2. Female urbanonyms of the Independence period

The share of female street names from all personal commemorative names in the period after the USSR collapse fluctuates in range from 0% in Severodonetsk to 16.7% in Kremenchuk with an average value of 6.4%. Although the average values are similar, the standard deviation in the Independence period (σ = 0.43) is two times higher than for the total integrity of female names in 2020 (σ = 0.21). This indicates the divergence of trends in individual cities: while some of them experienced tangible growth of female toponymy, the others had the opposite situation. Even geographically close cities may have striking differences in the quantity of

female street names that have emerged since 1991 (figure 2). However, the trend towards a more active appearance of female urbanonyms in the west and centre of the country is noticeable in this case as well. Among the 10 cities where seven or more female urbanonyms appeared during 1991-2020, only one (Dnipro) is located in the southeast. Among the 12 cities, where the share of female urbanonyms exceeds 10%, only two are located in the southeast. In four cities of the southeast (Mykolaiv, Mariupol, Severodonetsk, Lysychansk) new female urbanonyms did not appear at all.

These regional disparities in the recent activity of female urbanonymy are closely related to regional decommunization strategies, as most female urbanonyms of the independence period arose precisely due to decommunization process. While in the west and in the centre of the country the policy of direct commemoration prevailed, which led to the appearance of a large number of personal names (including female once), in the southeast preference was given to politically neutral names, including topographic or figurative (Gnatiuk, 2018), resulting in less share of commemorative urbanonyms, including female. Also, southeast of Ukraine is pronouncedly industrial region, where the role of woman in society is perceived as much more limited to the private sphere of life (Mezentseva and Kryvets, 2013).

Figure 2
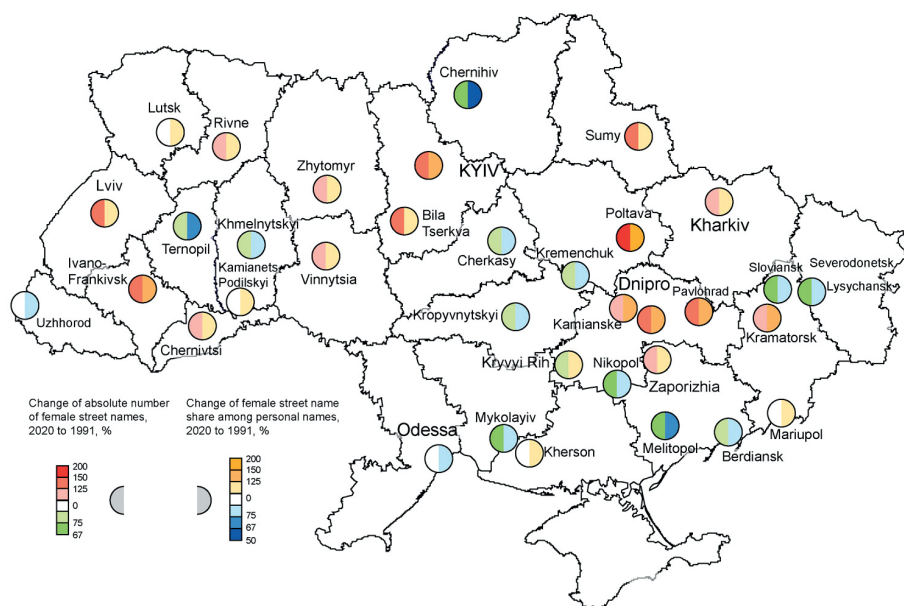Quantity and share of female urbanonyms introduced in 1991-2020
Source: *elaborated by the authors*

The intensive introduction of new female urbanonyms during the period of independence led to the fact that the names of the independence era now make up the majority of all female urbanonyms in such cities as Kyiv, Poltava, Kremenchuk (centre), Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk (west), Kherson (south). Thus, female pantheon of these cities was significantly renewed after the USSR collapse. At the same time, in almost half of the cities analyzed, especially in the southeast, the share of new female urbanonyms is less than 25%, which means that most of current female street names in these cities are inherited from previous historical periods, primarily the Soviet era.

3. Comparison of 2020 to 1991

The quantity of female urbanonyms in 1991-2020 increased in 16 cities (44%), did not change in 6 cities (17%), and decreased in 14 cities (39%). The percentage of female urbanonyms in 1991-2020 increased in 21 cities (58%) and decreased in 15 cities (42%; fugure 3). Thus, while one half of the studied cities show positive dynamics of the number and share of female urbanonyms, and hence came closer to the gender equality, the other half experienced opposite trend of the increased gender disparities. Poltava (absolute increase of 100%, relative increase of 68%)

Figure 3
Change of quantity and share of female urbanonyms in between 1991-2020
Source: *elaborated by the authors*

and Chernihiv (absolute decrease of 63%, relative decrease of 57%) are located at opposite ends of the spectrum.

Geographically close cities may have opposite dynamics. However, cities with positive dynamics are more concentrated in the west and centre (where the streets named after Communist figures were recently renamed, including with introducing new female names), while cities with negative dynamics concentrate in the southeast (where numerous Communist female urbanonyms had to disappear and new ones appeared much less frequently). However, there are clear exceptions to this rule. For example, a group of cities in the Dnipro region (eastern part of the country) are characterized by a strong positive dynamics. On the other hand, two of the three cities with the worst dynamics are located in the northern (Chernihiv) and western (Ternopil) parts of Ukraine. Thus, the resulting trend for each city is shaped by the overlap of regional and individual characteristics.

4. In whose honour? Commemorated women by profession

The most common category of female urbanonyms are those perpetuating prominent cultural figures (figure 4). They are present in all studied cities, except for Kerch (Crimea) and Severodonetsk (Donbas). The share of these urbanonyms has a clear downward trend from the west (almost everywhere more than 50%) to the south and east (25-30% in the largest cities and 10-20% in smaller cities on average). Famous writers and poets, actors and singers predominate among the commemorated cultural figures; street names honouring representatives of the visual arts, music and cuisine are rare and concentrate mostly in the largest cities.

The second most common category of female urbanonyms consists of names honouring the heroic figures of Soviet propaganda. These urbanonyms make up the vast majority of all female street names in the east and south of the country. Especially striking predominance of such street names is seen in the cities not controlled by the Ukrainian government since 2014, i.e. those that have not undergone decommunization. The share of the Soviet propagandist female street names is also quite high in the rest of Donbas, as well as in some cities in Dnipro and Zaporizhia regions, and in Chernihiv (far north). At the same time, in the western part, such urbanonyms are few, in particular, they are completely absent in the cities of Galicia (Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk), as well as in some cities of Volhynia (Rivne) and Podolia (Kamianets-Podilskyi).

The third place is occupied by public, political and military figures. There are two regularities in the regional distribution of these urbanonyms: they are concentrated in the cities of the Western Ukraine, as well as in the largest cities in all parts of the country. Moreover, a specific set of typical commemorated personalities differs in the different regions: if in the western part they are mostly figures of

national liberation movements and Soviet dissidents, in the east and south they are predominantly Russian empresses and Soviet party and state figures.

The fourth largest category includes famous women in the field of science and education. These urbanonyms are relatively evenly distributed throughout the country, concentrating in the largest cities, especially in university centres and cities with strong scientific traditions.

Other categories of female street names (Christian saints, patrons and benefactors, athletes, landowners and stewardesses) are numerically insignificant and do not have clear regional distribution trends.
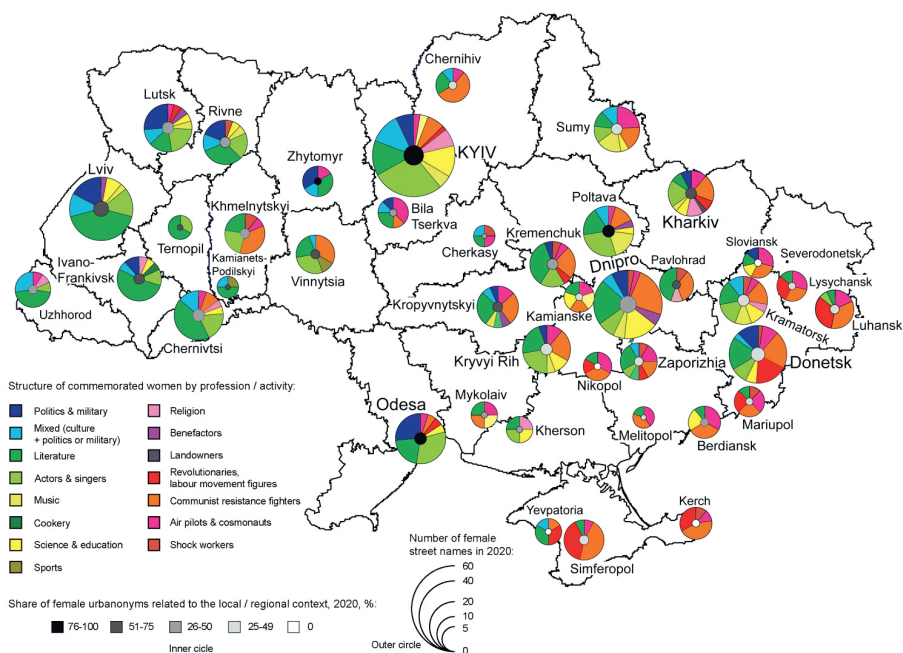
Figure 4
Structure of commemorated women in terms of profession
/ activity and relation to local / regional context
Source: *elaborated by the authors*

The aggregate list of the most common women in Ukrainian toponymy, based on the data from 41 studied cities (Table 1), includes approximately equal number of figures representing arts and culture and figures of Soviet propaganda (heroic pilots and partisans), slightly sprinkled with political figures and scientists. Ukrainians somewhat outnumber Russians; however, 5 of 16 women have nothing common with Ukraine.

Table 1 The most common women in Ukrainian hodonymy, 2020

Name, years of life	Number of toponyms	Profession / activity
Lesya Ukrainka (1871-1913)	42	Ukrainian writer and poetess
Polina Osipenko (1905-1939)	24	Heroic Soviet pilot of Ukrainian origin
Zoya Kosmodemianskaya (1923-1941)	23	Russian Soviet resistance fighter
Liza Chaykina (1918-1941)	22	Russian Soviet resistance fighter
Marko Vovchok (1833-1907)	20	Ukrainian writer
Olha Kobylianska (1863-1942)	16	Ukrainian writer
Sofia Kovalevskaya (1850-1891)	13	Russian mathematician
Solomia Krushelnytska (1872-1952)	13	Ukrainian opera singer
Olena Teliha (1906-1942)	13	Ukrainian poetess and political activist
Maria Zankovetska (1854-1934)	12	Ukrainian actor
Olena Pchilka (1849-1930)	12	Ukrainian writer and poetess
Uliana Gromova (1924-1943)	12	Ukrainian Soviet resistance fighter
Sofia Perovskaya (1852-1881)	12	Russian revolutionary
Marina Raskova (1912-1943)	11	Heroic Soviet pilot of Russian origin
Valentina Gryzodubova (1909-1993)	10	Heroic Soviet pilot of Russian origin
Princess Olga of Kyiv (910-969)	10	Regent of Kievan Rus, Orthodox saint

Source: calculation by the authors

5. Local and regional context of commemoration

The proportion of female urbanonyms related to the local or regional context is higher in western and central parts (on average 30-40%) and smaller in the southeast (on average 15-20%). Among nine cities with a share of 50% and more, only two (Odessa and Kharkiv) are located in the southeast (figure 4). There are two reasons for low shares of locally-rooted female street names in the southeast. First, these regions still have a large proportion of names honouring heroic figures of Soviet propaganda, which were widely commemorated in all Soviet cities regardless of the local context. Secondly, due to preferences for ideologically neutral names, first of all – non-personal, new female urbanonyms appeared there in limited numbers, commemorating primarily well-known national figures, while local female figures had little opportunity to be inscribed on the city map. As a result, female street names in the western and central parts of the country have become more tied to the local historical and cultural context, while in the south-eastern part the situation has changed little compared to Soviet times.

6. Comparative analysis of cases

This section focuses on three cases (cities of Lviv, Kyiv and Kharkiv), presenting comparative analysis of female commemorative toponymy in historical prospective. The following historical periods were found to be applicable for all three cities under review: 1) Imperial period (before the World War I, when Ukrainian territory was divided between two empires – Russia and Austro-Hungary), 2) Inter-war period (between the end of the First World War and the beginning of the Second World War); 3) Post-war period (between the Second World War and Soviet Union collapse); 4) Independence period (after the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence in 1991).

In Lviv, the first recorded female street names appeared even before the XIX century, that means significantly earlier and in significantly greater numbers than in Kyiv and Kharkiv, as will be shown below. Most of such names refer to Christian saints, as well as representatives of Polish and Hungarian royal families. However, at the beginning of the XX century they were joined by representatives of the cultural sphere, including Polish female writers, painters, political figures and member of feminist movement. All of non-fictitious listed personalities were directly related to the Polish context in the absence of Polish statehood at the time. This is a consequence of the strong positions of the Polish national elites in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the absence of a harsh dictate in the field of commemoration by the central government in Vienna.

The inter-war period for Lviv coincides with the Second Polish Republic (1918-1939). That time was marked by further penetration of Polish national historical and cultural narrative in the urban symbolic space with numerous commemorations of Polish female writers, actors, scientists, doctors, as well as a military leader (Emilia Plater). Interestingly, these personages are still well represented among the urban street names of contemporary Poland (Walkowiak, 2020).

The post-war period was marked by the Soviet role with a short break of the Nazi occupation. The mass appearance of Soviet street names in Lviv began immediately after World War II. The evident goal of toponymic policy was the integration of Lviv, as well as other cities of Western Ukraine, into the Soviet ideological and cultural space. Ideologically hostile names in honour of Christian saints and Polish royal family members were eliminated and replaced by urbanonyms typical for the whole USSR, commemorating Soviet stateswomen and party figures, activists of the international labour movement, partisans, pilots and cosmonauts. Also, some streets were named in honour of Russian female figures from culture and science. The process of Sovietization envisages also de-Polonization and Ukrainization of the symbolic space. Most street names given in honour of prominent Poles were eliminated, and Ukrainian writers, actors, opera singers, representatives of fine arts were commemorated instead.

The Independence period started with decommunization and de-Russification of the symbolic space that took place in Lviv at the initiative of local government. Merely all street names honouring Communists, including Soviet state and party figures, were erased and prominent figures (including female) representing Ukrainian history and culture were commemorated instead. The first group of such persons includes political and military figures of the national liberation movement of the XX century, including Ukrainian People's Republic, Western Ukrainian People's Republic, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The second group includes representatives of different realms of Ukrainian national culture (writers, poets, opera singers, teachers), many of whom were repressed by the Soviet authorities or obliged to emigrate. Outstanding natives of Ukraine who distinguished themselves in politics and public administration and became part of the new Ukrainian national myth were not forgotten either: Kievan Rus Princess Olga and Roksolana (Hurrem Sultan). Some female urbanonyms of the Polish period have been restored.

In Kyiv, the first female street names appeared in the middle of the XIX century in honour of Christian saints (deriving from the names of local monasteries and churches), as well as empresses and princesses of Russia and the Kievan Rus. In the inter-war period, with the establishment of Soviet role, new female street names became more frequent, but the criteria for commemoration have changed: the streets were named almost exclusively after revolutionaries, Communist Party figures and outstanding Soviet pilots. Lesya Ukrainka, the most famous Ukrainian writer and poetess, was the only one Ukrainian cultural figure among commemorated women. The names of Russian empresses were replaced with the names of female Communist leaders.

The rapid spatial development of the city in the post-war period forced to urgently invent hundreds of new original street names, including female urbanonyms. The continuously popular names of revolutionaries and Communist leaders were complemented with the names of international labour movement activists and personages of resistance partisan movement, Soviet singers and actors, several writers of the pre-Soviet period sanctioned by the Soviet authorities, scientists, and cosmonauts. The Soviet perestroika was marked by liberalization of naming policy, and several streets named after poetesses disgraced in the Soviet era appeared already in the late 1980s.

The Independence period was marked by commemoration of Ukrainian cultural figures that in the Soviet era were recognized as non-prioritized or ideologically harmful (as they did not follow the generally accepted canon of socialist realism or took part in anti-Soviet social and political activities). The tradition of commemorating actors and singers has been continued as well. Since 2015, new female urbanonyms of Kyiv have emerged in the process of decommunization. In this sub-period,

the status of a victim of the Soviet regime or anti-Soviet activity was among key criteria for the name selection. Consequently, several streets of Ukrainian capital were renamed after female dissidents and human rights activist, politicians, as well as scientists, painters and singers that suffered from the Communist rule.

The development of female street names in Kharkiv during the four specified periods generally corresponds to the process observed in Kyiv. The imperial period was abounded with female street names in honour of Christian saints, rulers of the Russian Empire and Kievan Rus, and local landowners. During the inter-war period female street names began to commemorate revolutionaries, Communist Party activists, and representatives of the labour movement, but some XIX century Ukrainian writers also received their streets. The main accents during the post-war period were done on perpetuating the memory of partisan resistance movement; however, there were also typical Soviet female urbanonyms honouring prominent pilots, singers, actors and Communist party functionaries.

Certain differences from situation in Kyiv started only in the Independence period. The actual appearance of the newest female street names in Kharkiv started only in 2015, after the beginning of the official decommunization process. Women of different professions were commemorated, including painters, actors and singers, ballet dancers, physicians, scientist, fashion designers. At the same time, names of Communist figures were erased. However, the approach to decommunization in Kharkiv was milder than in Kyiv and certainly in Lviv. For example, in Kharkiv a street named after the Russian revolutionary Sofia Perovskaya was pre-
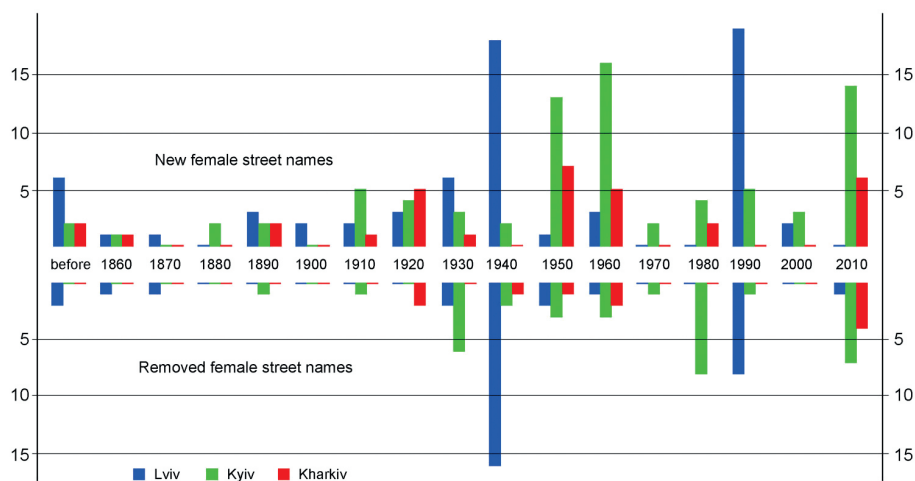
Figure 5
Historical dynamics of female urbanonyms in Lviv, Kyiv and Kharkiv
Source: *elaborated by the authors*

served, while in Kyiv it was renamed. Furthermore, the politics of othering Soviet and Russian did not play a significant role in the choice of new female names in Kharkiv, in contrast to Kyiv and Lviv. E.g., in 2016, a street in Kharkiv has been given back its historical name in honour of the Russian Empress Catherine II – unthinkable situation neither in Kyiv nor in Lviv, but quite typical for southern and eastern parts of Ukraine.

For temporal dynamics of female urbanonyms in three case cities see figure 5.

CONCLUSIONS

Contemporary toponymic gender disparities in the cities in Ukraine are similar to those observed in other European countries. However, the specificity of Ukraine as a post-Soviet country is expressed in a different structure of female urbanonyms. Due to the Soviet policy of secularization and erasing the memory of the 'bourgeois past', the proportion of female Christian saints, landowners, and female relatives of the famous masculine personalities in Ukraine is significantly smaller. That is why really prominent women from the different domains of activity had stronger chance to be commemorated. However, in practice, it became possible only after the USSR collapse, as the memory policy in the Soviet Union was biased towards commemoration of a narrow list of ideologically useful personalities and silencing unwanted figures.

Decommunization, carried out in the modern democratic period, has had ambiguous effect on the gender proportions of urban toponymy. On the one hand, the renaming made it possible to introduce a lot of new female names, substantially diversifying the national female pantheon, opening up new dimensions of women's participation in the national and universal history, and binding the female street names to the local historical and cultural context. On the other hand, communist-coloured female names have disappeared from maps of Ukrainian cities, which together with a trend to maximally avoid new commemorative street names in certain regions and individual cities has even worsened gender imbalance comparing to the Soviet period.

Although the majority of commemorated women had peaceful professions (first of all related to the different realms of culture), activity in the fields of politics or military actions significantly increases the chance for a woman to be commemorated. That was typical all basic ideological time periods: pre-Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet. Thus, ideological preferences for commemoration are changing but not the principle itself. This seems also to confirm the observation that a woman had better die in military service on the front if she wishes to merit a street named after her (Caffarelli, 2012).

Existing regional differences of toponymic gender imbalance are explained by both (geo)political differences, defining preferences for certain category of

toponymy, and economic and cultural factors like proportions of urban and rural population, economic structure, confession structure, etc. However, Ukrainian cities with high levels of toponymic gender disproportions still have great opportunities to change the situation as proven by other cities that have come a long way to the gender parity.

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