First published in 2015 by
Berghahn Books
www.berghahnbooks.com

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Narrating the city : histories, space, and the everyday / edited by Wladimir Fischer-Nebmaier, Matthew P. Berg, and Anastasia Christou.
pages cm. — (Space and place ; volume 15)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-78238-775-6 (hardback : acid-free paper) —
ISBN 978-1-78238-776-3 (ebook)
1. City and town life—Historiography. 2. City and town life in literature. 3. City and town life in motion pictures. 4. Working class—Historiography. 5. Middle class—Historiography. 6. Public spaces—Historiography. 7. Community life—Historiography. 8. Narration (Rhetoric) 9. Discourse analysis, Narrative. I. Fischer-Nebmaier, Wladimir. II. Berg, Matthew Paul, 1961– III. Christou, Anastasia.
HT113.N36 2015
307.76—dc23

2015003123

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Printed on acid-free paper

ISBN: 978-1-78238-775-6 (hardback)
ISBN: 978-1-78238-776-3 (ebook)

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Chapter 1

The Case of Ossification

Contemporary Narratives about Everyday Life in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century L'viv

ANDRIY ZAYARNYUK

Since the 1980s the study of everyday life has turned into a kind of academic industry. This burgeoning research field attracts the attention of researchers across disciplines and has entered university curricula. Such popularity has its costs, however. The logic of developments in contemporary academia is often economic; universities and research institutions try to capitalize on new fields of inquiry, turning them into profit-making enterprises.[1] Besides the logic of capitalist economy, the logic of tradition is also at work in such cases, insofar as the university is among the oldest and least mutable institutions in the Western world. The interaction between universities and society more broadly compels the former to assimilate new fields of study into the existing disciplinary structures and divisions if they are to remain viable, and academics try to accommodate new phenomena into existing knowledge frameworks and often apply to them familiar theories and assessment tools.

This chapter is a case study in the history of everyday life with a focus on L'viv, the largest urban center of western Ukraine, a city that was part of the Soviet Union, of interwar Poland, and of the Habsburg monarchy. L'viv has also been known (at times) as Lvov, Lwów, and Lemberg. The chapter explores stories about the past, tracing connections between narratives constructed by academic historians, journalists, and both memoir and fiction writers invested in representations of the city's past. I explore how the everyday is located in these representations, how it is singled out as a separate field of human experience, and how it correlates with the larger picture of city life and history. These areas of inquiry allow us to gain understanding of the relationship between narratives treating the everyday and larger fields of politics and ideology in the post-Soviet city.

The story told in this chapter comes from Ukraine, but similar tendencies can be discerned in other East European and post-Communist countries; in many such cases, the study of the everyday developed on the ruins of the rigid structure of social sciences and humanities centered on a dogmatic interpretation of Marxism codified by Stalin himself and known as dialectical materialism. Since dialectical materialism was the leitmotif for all fields in the social sciences and humanities, much of the present analysis can be applied across disciplinary boundaries to post-Soviet sociology and anthropology as well.

The collapse of the Soviet Union ushered in not only an ideological, but also a methodological vacuum.[2] Historians perceived no particular problem with long-established research methods relying on documentary critique and factual verification. Two fundamental problems persisted, though. The first of these involved the nature of the epistemological foundations of historical knowledge. The second stemmed from divisions in the way explanation structures our understanding of social phenomena and historical change, and the effect these divisions have on our ability to establish causal connections and present a coherent story about the past.

Throughout the 1990s the phenomena of nationalism, national movements, national revival, and nation building became the foci that structured historical research in Ukraine.[3] Thematically, historical research during this decade—especially work pertaining to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—almost entirely concentrated on political events and prominent figures.[4] The riches of the recently opened archives, the abundance of blank spots considered taboo in Soviet historiography, were conducive to this tendency in historical scholarship. They also compensated for the lack of engagement with epistemology and theory, which was in fact sanctioned by this kind of positivist or Rankean history.[5]

The inadequacy of these historical approaches and the lack of engagement with theory could no longer be denied by the end of the first postindependence decade. After clumsy attempts at theoretical reflection, in which nation-centrism was combined with the old-fashioned search for the meaning of history in the guise of historiosophy,[6] the persistent lack of serious engagement with theory characterized as methodological pluralism allegedly demonstrated the openness and maturity of Ukrainian historiography.[7] In the context of this pluralism, a number of articles appeared in various subfields of historical inquiry and in genres of history writing pursued by Western European and North American historians. These articles combined surveys of Western historiography with discussion of its possible application to Ukrainian themes.

The historiography of everyday life was among the trends that were discussed most extensively.[8] One of the outcomes of this discussion was the legitimization of its status in the writing and teaching of Ukrainian history; the appearance of the first textbook concentrating on the everyday experiences of ordinary people is evidence of this acceptance.[9] The history of everyday life in this context was conceptualized as a subfield within the discipline, first and foremost as an alternative to traditional political history concentrating on the achievements of a select few. It also claimed to uncover aspects of the past unmapped by the more established political, socioeconomic, and cultural subfields of historical inquiry.

The story of this subfield's origin is a familiar one; it tends to draw from such currents in Western social history as microhistory, *Alltagsgeschichte* (history of everyday life), and oral history. However, theoretical foundations of histories of everyday life have rarely been discussed. When they are, the symbolic interactionism of Herbert Blumer and the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schütz, Thomas Luckmann, and Peter L. Berger are cited as main points of reference in the realm of social theory.[10] Nonetheless, while these theories are mentioned in passing as part of attempts to map the subfield, there is a striking absence of any references to them in the actual histories of everyday life.

In short, historical approaches to everyday life in contemporary Ukrainian historiography are explicitly antitheoretical.[11] The commonsensical approach to the history of the everyday is to treat it as a history of mundane experiences and objects that add density and color to the historical reconstruction of what Bakhtin would have referred to as particular chronotopes, thus enriching our understanding of certain places and historical periods, and making past lives more vivid and palpable. Such an understanding of the everyday relates it to well-established practices in ethnography and equates the everyday with the so-called *pobut* in Ukrainian (*byt* in Russian), or way of life. Ethnographic description remains the dominant mode of narration in histories of everyday life, and the only difference between the ethnography and the history of everyday life is the setting for this description. While the more traditional ethnography focused on villages and peasants, emerging popular and academic incarnations of the history of everyday life focus on cities.[12]

Everyday Histories of the City

The synthesis of 750 years of L'viv's history, published in 2007, has introduced the rubric everyday life in addition to population, culture and art,

science, and politics and political parties.[13] This three-volume publication, envisioned as the definitive survey of the city's history, was prepared by a sizable team of professional historians at Ivan Kyp'iakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the L'viv-based social sciences and humanities research institute that functions as a unit of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. This suggests that the history of everyday life in the Ukrainian historiography has become a legitimate field of historical enquiry. Such a legitimization works by assigning the everyday to a particular territory; it becomes a tangible societal feature that historians can grasp and map.

Academic historians focusing on L'viv have been relatively slow to engage with the everyday. More popular representations of everydayness from L'viv's recent past had developed into a prosperous and fashionable publishing trend by the late 1990s. While academic historiography, just like its previous Soviet manifestation, has continued to be preoccupied with the "significant" in history, the "insignificances" became the focus of popular writers and amateurs.[14] The "little" people and trivial occurrences, particularly local stories and in some cases distinctly local notables, have received considerable attention. Besides popular histories and semifiction, memoirs have been published, reprinted, and translated. More often than not these texts deal with people's daily lives; it is these daily routines that attract attention, and are evident also in recollections of prominent people.[15] Since popular representations of the history of everyday life are oriented toward the general reader, such volumes are more widely printed than those of works by scholarly historians and they therefore influence readers' perceptions to a greater extent.

There are important differences between approaches to the everyday in academic historiography and in popular history, of course. The former emphasize the importance of historical accuracy and strive to provide objective investigations, whereas the latter are not constrained by the conventions of academic discipline and acknowledge that flights of imagination frequently spice up their narratives.[16] The majority of memoirs fit somewhere in between. On the one hand, they are based on actual recollections; on the other, memory frequently plays tricks on authors, or authors' sentiments are not grounded very much in the past they reconstruct but remain inseparable from the moment of writing.

Taking into account these differences between various genres of historical representation, the similarity in the modes they employ to describe the everyday is nonetheless remarkable. All of them describe the everyday as a matrix manifesting itself in the city and through things and people, determining but not being determined.[17] This matrix can be seen in material things—for example, performance of daily chores—but also within the physical parameters of apartments and parks, or other

spaces that shape routes or time spent. While academic historians usually try to shed light on elements and structure of this matrix, popular writers and those reminiscing about bygone days concentrate on unique atmospheres: they describe objects and encounters, and compose lists of antiquarian curiosities helping to convey the otherness of an otherwise irretrievable past.[18] In both cases there is a unity and wholeness in representations of the everyday.

The picture we get from these memoirs, popular literature, and historiography is not one of uniformity in everyday urban life. Differences are manifested in narrations. It is taken for granted that people do not sit in the same cafés and do not wear the same kind of clothes, and that they interact with circumstances differently. Differences and inequalities are never emphasized in popular histories, nor are they discussed at length when acknowledged. Instead, popular histories—and, particularly, memoirs—prefer to represent images of a tranquility forever lost. This can be explained, in part, by the fact that for much of the second half of the twentieth century memoirs about L'viv were written almost exclusively by its former Polish inhabitants. These people were forcibly resettled to Poland after 1945, and the sense of loss so central to their memoirs is not a function of the passage of time—it is manifested in the recollection of expulsion, the forcible seizure and remolding of something that once belonged to them. The peaceful, quiet, and comfortable city they depict is implicitly written against the frenzied and traumatic changes that came with the Second World War.[19] But the memoirs and popular histories published from the 1990s onward have largely been written by Ukrainians, usually by people who lived in L'viv after the Second World War and who therefore experienced a different social matrix.

Most telling in this respect is the codification of everyday life in L'viv through the multivolume work on city history referred to above, since it was prepared by scholars who came of age professionally during the 1990s. Academic historians do not have either the liberties or excuses of amateur historians, fiction writers, and memoirists; rather, they strive to reveal particular aspects of city life, to emphasize change instead of idyllic images frozen in time. For example, Ostap Sereda, a specialist on the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia, starts his account of city's everyday life in the second half of the nineteenth century with the "new technologies" that "not only changed the mode of transportation and information exchange, but also caused standardization of social habits and accelerated the rhythm of life."[20] One noteworthy consequence of these new technologies is the ostensible creation of a singular, organic urban space with well-integrated and balanced elements.[21] Divisions into public and private spheres and the presence of widespread poverty

are mentioned, but the author discusses them with the help of spatial metaphors; they are presented as qualities of a particular urban space, as markers of the urban inhabitants' lives.

Characteristically, these spatial metaphors figure prominently in an essay on everyday life in L'viv during the 1920s and 1930s by another promising historian of the same generation, Roman Holyk. Set in interwar L'viv, when the city became a home of increasingly radicalized nationalisms, the account begins with Ukrainian and Polish images of the city and national signification of the city space. Both national narratives and actual signs established in public spaces by the national communities quite often confronted each other with inverse meanings. At the same time, "an image was formed of the city as of a single urban organism that served as a common home to all city and suburban dwellers."[22] Linguistic differences, differences of social status, and gender differences are interpreted simultaneously as differentiators and as sources of common identity. The author concludes his description with the metaphor of the city as mosaic. This is not accidental: Smaller pieces in a mosaic are subordinated to a larger design. The everyday is represented as a united, organic space that influences people. There are slips of the tongue that obliterate differences between representation of the city and the actual city of the 1920s and 1930s, as the following example demonstrates: "On the one hand, the city becomes an embodiment of technological progress and dynamism—on the other, the place in which humans lose their individuality."[23] On a different level, the authors commit a similar slippage by inscribing the preconceived image of what they believe is a modern city into the space of the historical city they represent in terms of the everyday.

Not accidentally, the legitimacy of the everyday is never questioned in these narratives. Its existence is postulated and described. The everyday is defined through a distinction to and in separation from politics, economics, and high culture. This operation corresponds to "claiming everyday life as self-evident and readily accessible," which, Ben Highmore argues, "becomes an operation for asserting the dominance of specific cultures and for a particular understanding of such cultures."[24] In the remainder of this chapter I shall show which particular understanding of urban culture is upheld by this mode of narrating the everyday.

Indifferent Everyday

The significant, diachronic differences in representations of the history of everyday in L'viv referred to above deserve particular attention. The

nineteenth-century and interwar periods seem to be the privileged foci in histories of the everyday. In the discussion of Soviet L'viv, there is only a short subchapter on *pobut* and Soviet social policies. There is no separately defined space of everyday life as represented in accounts of the nineteenth century and the interwar period. Chapters dealing with the First World War or the Ukrainian-Polish and Polish-Bolshevik wars following it also contain no specific treatment of everyday life. The section on the Second World War includes a very short chapter on everyday life under Nazi occupation that concentrates on the hardships of daily experience, but it is remarkably depopulated and avoids any mention of violence, killings, and military confrontation. Indeed, there are separate chapters on the Holocaust and the Resistance. There are also separate chapters on culture, art, and intellectual life, and cross-references to them are abundant in the specific chapter on everyday life.

This is part of the larger tendency in the recently published historical works on L'viv. "Despite all the divisions and contradictions with which 'Lemberg' lived at the turn of the century," Holyk maintains that "in the consciousness of future generations the image of a city 'pleasant from all the aspects' had become attached to it."[25] Holyk informs us that L'viv cultivated a certain sense of common identity, even in interwar Poland.[26] The everyday becomes embedded on some deeper level, allegedly not disturbed by the waves on the political surface.

Holyk's *Misto i mif* (City and Myth) also embraces the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but omits both world wars and other instances of armed conflict, ethnic cleansing, and brutal violence.[27] Yet other histories of L'viv focusing on the twentieth century do recount political and military developments and include treatments of politicians and military commanders, but are indifferent to everyday life experience. The events that dramatically affected experience for city inhabitants are mentioned in passing, but not explored in-and-of themselves; they are approached in the context of larger political changes and conflicts between clearly defined antagonists. This is even more surprising if we take into account the fact that excellent works on everyday life in Ukraine during the Second World War have been written, and that there are works on everyday life of other Ukrainian cities under the Nazi occupation.[28]

There is a striking avoidance of confrontation and physical contestation (not just symbolic) in the accounts of everyday life in L'viv by both academic historians and other writers.[29] The very popular authors who express nostalgia for the little pleasures of homes lost in their treatments of contemporary developments or in historical narratives do focus on national, ethnic, or other conflicts, however. They tend to understand these experiences as rooted in essential, underlying cultural differences.[30]

On the level of organized social life, institutions, and political parties we encounter the stories of familiar ethnic divisions and national antagonisms. Stories of social and political change are told within the parameters of cultural differences that are mobilized and exploited.

While minimization of social difference is consistent with contemporary descriptions of everyday life in L'viv, the discussion of ethnic difference is conducted in a different register and the narratives dealing with this problem depart from the level of the everyday altogether. This new register consists of portrayals of creative people who write texts, deliver speeches, and perform in public; historians pay particular attention to organized movements and activism. Their explanations involve strategies, consciousness, and identification. People are described as actors; calculation and choice are implied. These narratives are full of human agency, they are eventful, they focus on temporal change.

The tone of the narration dealing with ethnic conflict, and the explanations that account for it, contrast sharply with those deployed to narrate everyday life. One might conclude that they refer to different cities and different people, even though they deal with the same city during the same period. Difficulties in describing national tensions and conflict at the level of everyday life can help us account for the differences between these two modes of historical narration. On the other hand, it might be that their particular understandings of the everyday prevent these historians from employing such tropes as domination, resistance, and struggle in their descriptions. In the end, these particular narrative strategies leave no place for understanding ideology and power. A longing for the comfortable and peaceful city are evident in both scholarly and popular histories; certainly in the latter the sentiments of memoir writers, anecdotal events referenced in newspapers accounts, and subjects of antiquarian interest help to create a serene picture of "a very pleasant city."[31] This has led to a problematic obscuring of the significance that ideology and power dynamics have played in histories of the everyday.

While human figures do appear in memoirs and histories focusing on everyday L'viv, they are very often objectified as shallow and one-dimensional. They are either abstract, average figures like some unidentified Lychakiv inhabitant,[32] or real people summed up in a single line: for example, "This was the doctor known by the whole of L'viv."[33] Even when it comes to people with whom memoirists had an intense emotional relationship, and with whom they were in close contact for a longer period of time, we have only silhouettes of these people expressed in standard, formulaic terms.[34] In such representations the relations between people are provided schematically. Their momentary interactions are torn from the context of social relations and networks and inserted in the description of a café or park. For example, in the history of L'viv restaurants, the so-called trial of the St. George communists from 1922 is mentioned because of the restaurants that the defendants frequented "magnificently dressed," impregnating waitresses, and "throwing away tips of 10,000–15,000 marks."[35] Such a perspective identifies with the experience of those who dominated the city and leaves the opposition voiceless, even discredited. For the contemporary reader, such texts present L'viv as a consumer paradise, enjoyed even by those responsible for its eventual destruction. It elides the sufferings and aspirations of others who lived in the city and whose lives were affected by such personalities.

In these representations of the everyday, the chronotope devours people. This happens not only because of institutional inertia when the subfield of everyday is assimilated into *pobut*. It is also the result of a strategy designed to create a particular image of the city. Concentrating on specific objects and leaving out certain categories of people, these narratives construct an everyday that serves as the backbone of a city imagined as a unified, coherent entity—the complete opposite of the fragmented, contested, and negotiated modern city.[36] Such an everyday helps to appropriate the city without laying particular claims in the name of a national community, to establish continuities that cover contingencies. An acceptable, nonproblematic identity of the city is established through the de-ideologization of the city's everyday experience, through an emphasis on unity and shared culture to which present-day inhabitants are encouraged to relate their experiences. But such an understanding of the everyday severs our knowledge and confines our imagination—and thus obstructs critical judgment agency vis-à-vis current city's residents.

Life at the Extremes

Counterexamples to the story that has been told here do exist and warrant acknowledgement, however. Some memoirs narrate everyday life in L'viv differently: they focus not on a unitary space, but on coalescing planes; they describe human social networks and interactions rather than objects or landmarks. Two recently published memoirs that describe the city during the Second World War and focus on the Holocaust are written by David Kahane, a rabbi, and Ievhen Nakonechnyi, a Ukrainian Christian librarian who spent his childhood and youth in the Jewish area of the city.[37] These memoirs show that everyday life does not stop during times of political and social upheaval, violence, or mass murder. For some time historians have claimed that the way people make sense of the atrocities under which they suffer (or that they themselves

commit), or of the motivation behind their actions during wartime, relate in meaningful ways to their everyday experience of normal times.[38] The two memoirs in question demonstrate this, too. Both provide vivid descriptions of an everyday that is not static, but rather is alive and dramatic. Moreover, the changing matrix of everyday life in the L'viv they describe is produced not by objective changes propelled by invisible forces, but by people themselves. People's behavior signifies dramatic change, despite the fact that many significant everyday elements from their previous life remain constant.

Social networks and human interaction are of utmost importance for these two memoirs. They are the key to survival. They constitute everyday life in the very fundamental sense and allow everyday life to reproduce itself. Interaction between people is described in a completely different tone; gestures turn into something other than internalized ritual: "[In order] not to traumatize her mother, Ida has agreed to wear an armband, but every time he had to be tearfully persuaded [by mother] to do so."[39] Silence becomes more telling than words: "I shook his hand and greeted with a warm *shalom aleichem*. We did not say anything to each other."[40] These are examples not of frozen but of very dramatic interaction, not of repetitive routine but of difficult decisions taken. Human agency issues forth from these stories, paradoxically during a period when that agency was most severely constrained.

The richness and dynamism of these memoirs contrasts with how artificial and selective depictions of the everyday have been in Ukrainian historical narratives over the past two decades. The logic of forgetting is at work in the dominant representations of the past in L'viv's everyday life. Constructed anew, the city's collective self is protected from the encounter with trauma. That is why lived experiences during the Second World War are not reflected on or worked through either in popular or in scholarly histories of L'viv. Severing the links between pleasant everyday experiences and the experience of violence and brutality that sometimes is the essence of everyday, a cozy urban bourgeois space is imagined and projected. The everyday is not explicitly claimed by a chauvinistic or nationalist project, but it is in this sterilized space that such projects have opportunities to flourish.

If a break with this tradition is to occur, another approach to the everyday is required, one based on a different conceptualization. At its inception during the 1920s and 1930s, recognition of the significance of the everyday was part and parcel of revolutionary transformation. The everyday was the site of praxis, the space where change could take place, where the silenced could find their voices. As John Roberts argues in his genealogy of the concept, the everyday is not the same as the everydayness to which it is frequently reduced in the social science: "If everydayness designates the homogeneity and repetitiveness of daily life, the 'everyday' represents the space and agency of its transformation and critique."[41] Far from being a space distinct and delimited from the political, social, and cultural, the everyday is the ground on which political, social, and cultural are defined, contested, and negotiated. Only such a reconceptualization of the everyday will prevent an ossification of the everyday we have observed in the case of L'viv, and will contribute to a richer and ultimately more vital range of narratives of life in the city.

In summary, this chapter examines a narrative that dominates historical representations of everyday life in L'viv. The narrative not only emerges in a number of contemporary texts ranging from academic publications to popular semifiction, but also works through the selective actualization of certain texts and images from the city's past. In this larger discourse, the word "everyday" is used as a powerful tool because of its alleged neutrality and illusory promise of immediate access to the chronotope of the world we have lost. Finally, although this observation exceeds the scope of this chapter and deserves a separate, dedicated study, the narrative thread analyzed here has been embraced by local authorities and entrepreneurs to help shape the urban space of present-day L'viv. Through new monuments, conversions of existing buildings, pseudo-historical décor, and advertising, the historical imagery produced by this narrative becomes materially embodied and structures everyday life of the contemporary city.

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Notes

1. On how the corporate university has changed the structure of the production of academic knowledge, see John Biggs, "Corporatized Universities:

An Educational and Cultural Disaster," in *The Subversion of Australian Universities,* ed. John Biggs and Richard Davis (Wollongong, Australia, 2002), 184–222.

2. See also Yaroslav Hrytsak, "On Sails and Gales, and Ships Sailing in Various Directions," *Ab Imperio,* 2004, no.1, 229–54; R.W. Davies, *Soviet History in the Yeltsin Era* (Basingstoke, 1997), passim.
3. This trend can be discerned in the national historical journal; *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal.* The preoccupation with a national focus has been commented on by several scholars, including Georgii Kasianov, "Rewriting and Rethinking Contemporary Historiography and Nation Building in Ukraine," in *Dilemmas of State-Led Nation-Building in Ukraine,* eds. Taras Kuzio and Paul D'Anieri (Westport, CT, 2002), 29–46; and Iaroslav Hrytsak, "Ukrainian Historiography, 1991–2001: Decade of Transformation," *Ab Imperio,* 2003, no.2, 427–54.
4. The first Ukrainian social history journal (*Sotsium: al'manakh sotsial'noi istorii*) appeared in 2002, but it focuses exclusively on the medieval and early modern periods.
5. Both positivism and Leopold von Ranke, the founder of history as modern academic discipline, are associated with the history that concentrates on the sphere of formal politics and documentary evidence, although there are some doubts whether this kind of history is in the spirit of positivist philosophy—or if, indeed, Ranke would have approved of it.
6. V.A. Potul'nytsky, "Ukrains'ka ta svitova istorychna nauka: Refleksiï na mezhi stolit'," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal,* 2000, no.1, 3–20; No.2, 27–47; no.3, 20–37; no.4, 20–37.
7. The term "methodological pluralism" is used in Heorhii Kas'ianov, "Shche ne vmerla ukraïns'ka istoriohrafiia," *Krytyka,* No.4, 2002, http://krytyka.kiev.ua/articles/s6-4-2002.html
8. O.A. Koliastruk, "Predmet istoriï povsiakdennosti: istoriohrafichnyi ohliad ioho stanovlennia u zarubizhnii ta vitchyznianii istorychnii nautsi," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal,* 2007, no.1, 174–84; O. Udod, "Istoriia povsiakdennosti: pytannia metodolohiï, istoriohrafiï ta dzhereloznavstva," in *Aktual'ni problemy vitchyznianoi istorii XX st. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' akad. NAN Ukraïny Iuriia Iuriiovycha Kondufora,* 2 (Kiev, 2004), 286–313; Oleksandra Kunovs'ka, "Quo vadis 'istoriie povsiakdennia'?" *Istoriohrafichni doslidzhennia v Ukraïni* 18, 2008, 21–31.
9. Iurii Komarov et al., *Istoriia epokhy ochyma liudyny. Ukraina ta Ievropa 1900–1939* (Kiev, 2004).
10. Koliastruk, "Predmet istoriï povsiakdennosti," 178–79.
11. By "antitheoretical" I mean history that not only fails to reflect on the epistemological foundation and social location of historical knowledge, but that also rejects the need for such reflection and claims special authority derived directly from evidence.
12. While this chapter focuses on L'viv, this tendency is also observable in the case of other Ukrainian cities. There are memoirs, such as Valerii Shevchuk, *Na berezi chasu, mii Kyïv, vkhodyny: avtobiohrafichna opovid'-ese* (Kiev, 2002); D.V. Malakov, *Oti dva roky: U Kyievi pry nimtsiakh* (Kiev, 2002); professional histories, such as Mykhailo Rybakov, *Nevidomi ta malovidomi storinky istoriï Kyieva* (Kiev, 1997); all kinds of popular histories, such as Aleksandr Anisimov, *Moi Kiev. Portret v inter'ierie vechnosti* (Kiev, 2007); Anatolii Makarov, *Malaia entsyklopediia kievskoi stariny* (Kiev, 2005); and albums of old postcards and photographs, such as Ashot Arutiunian, ed., *Kiev na pochtovoi otkrytke kontsa XIX—nachala XX veka* (Kiev, 2005).
13. Iaroslav Isaievych, Mykola Lytvyn, Feodosii Steblii, eds., *Istoriia L'vova. U triokh tomakh,* vols. 1–3 (L'viv, 2007).
14. Multiple works by Iurii Vynnychuk must be mentioned here, e.g., Iurii Vynnychuk, *Knaipy L'vova* (L'viv, 2000); idem, *Taiemnytsi l'vivs'koï kavy* (L'viv, 2001); idem, *Taiemnytsi l'vivs'koï horilky* (L'viv, 2006). See also Aleksandra Matiukhina, *W Sowieckiem Lwowie. Życie codzienne misata w latach 1944–1990* (Cracow, 2000); and Il'ko Lemko, *L'viv ponad use* (L'viv, 2003).
15. Consider, for example, the memoir of one of Ukraine's underground nationalist leaders work in an advertising agency during the Second World War, B. Chaikivsky, *"Fama." Reklamna firma Romana Shukhevycha* (L'viv, 2005).
16. Compare, for example, the work of Iurii Vynnychuk with that of Iaroslav Isaievych, Lytvyn, and Steblii, *Istoriia L'vova.*
17. Individual perception is seen as the hostage of popular stereotypes and myths that flourish in everyday life: Matiukhina, *W Sowieckiem Lwowie,* 9.
18. In this respect the memoirs discussed here differ from memoirs concerned with the construction of self, and fit well with nonautobiographical popular literature treating L'viv's past. The tendency is not a new one—it has been seen already in Ukrainian émigré memoirs or in Polish memoirs concerning L'viv that appeared after the Second World War and were written by exiles from L'viv. For a Ukrainian example, see Zenon Tarnavs'kyi, *Doroha na Vysokyi zamok* (Toronto, 1964). As a Polish example, consider the rather impersonal memoirs of historian Marian Tyrowicz, *Wspomnienia o życiu kulturalnym i obyczjowym Lwowa 1918–1939* (Wrocław, Poland, 1991).
19. As an example we can take the memoirs of the famous science fiction writer: Stanisław Lem, *Wysoki zamek* (Cracow, 2006).
20. Ostap Sereda, "Shchodenne zhyttia," in *Istoriia L'vova. U triokh tomakh,* edited by Iaroslav Isaievych, Mykola Lytvyn, and Feodosii Steblii vol. 2 (L'viv, 2007), 318.
21. Ibid., 322.
22. Roman Holyk, "Misto Leva" i "sertse batiara": obraz mista i shchodenne zhyttia l'viv'ian mizh dvoma svitovymy viinamy," in *Istoriia L'vova. U triokh tomakh,* ed. by Iaroslav Isaievych, Mykola Lytvyn, and Feodosii Steblii vol. 1 (L'viv, 2007), 150.
23. Holyk, "Misto Leva", 161.
24. Ben Highmore, "Introduction: Questioning Everyday Life," in *The Everyday Life Reader,* ed. Ben Highmore (London, 2002), 1.

25. Roman Holyk, *L'viv: Misto i mif* (L'viv, 2005), 22.
26. Ibid., 38–39.
27. Ibid.
28. In the former case, consider Mykola Lytvyn, Kim Naumenko, *L'viv mizh Hitlerom i Stalinom* (L'viv, 2005); and Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, 2004). As an example of the latter instance, see Anatolii Skorobohatov, *Kharkiv u chasy nimets'koï okupatsiï* (Kharkiv, Ukraine, 2004).
29. Even when the national conflict is mentioned, it is downplayed and treated lightly, as in Ivan Kernytsky, *Heroi peredmistia* (L'viv, 2003).
30. For example, Il'ko Lemko, "Zapakh sechi viie zi Skhodu," http://www.zaxid.net/article/1751/; idem, "L'viv rosiis'kyi," http://www.zaxid.net/article/3693/; or idem, "Usi krychat', shcho L'viv—Ievropa. Deshcho z istoriï," http://www.zaxid.net/article/8142/
31. I allude to Stanisław Wasylewski, *Bardzo przyjemne miasto* (Katowice, Poland, 1990).
32. Lychakiv is one of L'viv suburbs. Oleksandr Nadraha, *Sered l'vivs'kykh parkiv* (L'viv, 2004), 167.
33. Ibid., 171.
34. Ibid.
35. Iurii Vynnychuk, *Knaipy L'vova* (L'viv, 2000), 16.
36. For just such a conceptualization of the modern city, see James Donald, *Imagining the Modern City* (London, 1999).
37. Davyd Kakhane, *Shchodennyk l'vivs'koho hetto* (Kiev, 2003); Ievhen Nakonechnyi, *"Shoah" u L'vovi. Spohady* (L'viv, 2004).
38. A masterful example of this approach is Alf Lüdtke, "The Appeal of Exterminating 'Others': German Workers and the Limits of Resistance," *Journal of Modern History*, 64, *Supplement: Resistance Against the Third Reich*, 1992, 46–67; and Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven, CT, 2003), 154–78.
39. Nakonechnyi *"Shoah" u L'vovi*, 152.
40. Kakhane, *Shchodennyk l'vivs'koho hetto*, 148.
41. John Roberts, *Philosophizing the Everyday: Revolutionary Praxis and the Fate of Cultural Theory* (London, 2006), 67.

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Chapter 2

The *Masa*'s Odysseys through Bourgeois Caracas

The Testimony of Novels, 1920s–1970s

ARTURO ALMANDOZ

The Urban Explosion of Venezuela's Crucible

Venezuela underwent one of the world's fastest urbanizations during the twentieth century.[1] An urban population that comprised 15 percent of the country's total in 1926 jumped to 53.3 percent in 1950 and to 76.7 percent in 1971—three significant stages of a growth that, comparatively speaking, took more than a century in countries like Great Britain, Germany, or the United States. With a level of urbanization that reached between 84 and 90 percent by 1990 (according to the National Census and the United Nations, respectively), since the 1970s Venezuela has ranked among the most urbanized countries of Latin America and anywhere in the world.[2] The rise of urbanization was mainly due to the abandonment of an agricultural economy based on colonial staples such as coffee and cocoa, which were replaced by the exploitation of petroleum from the 1920s onward. By the 1930s Venezuela claimed to be the world's first exporter and second producer of black gold—a fortune that had mixed effects on the structures of a country that, up to that point, had possessed one of Latin America's most sluggish economies.

With an estimated 92,212 residents by 1920, the Caracas of the first part of Juan Vicente Gómez's dictatorship (1908–1935) lagged far behind the major Latin American capitals whose populations had, on average, surpassed 100,000 inhabitants by the turn of the twentieth century. However, partly as a consequence of the sanitation and communication programs initiated by the Gómez administration, Caracas soon started to evince a demographic recovery. To wit: the population jumped to