Jewish heritage in the historical memory of East-European city dwellers: the case of Lviv in comparative context

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Abstract

I analyze post-Communist politics of memory towards Jewish heritage and the way it is perceived by the residents of Lviv, Ukraine. Like many other cities in East-Central Europe, it has undergone dramatic changes in the structure of population due to the tragic historical events of the 20th century. Disinherited Jewish *lieux de memoire* became the space of contestation between different narratives, promoted by various actors and interest groups. I argue that despite the evidences of incorporation of multicultural narrative, the post-socialist decolonization of memory in Lviv has selective character with preference for commemoration of the Jews' extermination rather than their long history in Galicia. Due to the lack of alternative sources of memory, this vision, widely shared and accepted by city residents, leads to ignorant and excluding attitudes towards Jewish heritage as "gone forever". I investigate these problems through a triangulate approach with the use of different research methods.

(Key words: Jewish heritage, politics of memory, lieux de memoire, urban voids, contested narratives)

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1. Introduction

Once the physical evidence of Jewish history was destroyed, who was to say that history

really existed?

Ruth Ellen Gruber (2002)

While reading about Jewish monuments and memory in East-Central Europe, we often come across the terms "voids" or "blank spaces". The physical destruction of Jewish monuments and synagogues, the extermination of significant part of Jewish population created a vacuum and emptiness in urban and social spaces, causing the formation of voids in peoples' memory. While the attitude towards Jewish monuments in Europe was characterized by "ruin, neglect and transformation" throughout the history of this community (Gruber 2002:35), the Second World War became a tragic experience of mass deliberate extermination of the direct heirs of Jewish legacy. Due to the dramatic historical events of the 20th century, the structure of population in East-Central Europe has changed from multicultural to homogeneous, and rich legacy of Jewish culture was inherited by other national groups, often becoming "dissonant" or "uncomfortable" in terms of official ideology.

Two post-Communist decades were marked by the processes of revitalization of Jewish past. This problem became an agenda of public policy, especially in the realm of tourism management. If we consider the examples of the majority of central-European countries (Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland), we often observe more or less successful attempts of discovering, manufacturing and reproducing Jewish heritage. Growing number of Jewish museums, research institutions, Jewish studies' educational centers imply an attempt to fill in the blanks of memory. Very often international organizations, Jews from Israel, the USA and growing amount of tourists interested in experiencing "life in Jewish

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shtetls" become the accelerators of these processes. At the same time, as Ruth Gruber (2002) argues, the existing Jewish communities are not numerous and Jewish past is often being reconstructed by non-Jews with the expression of longing for the intangibles that characterized the society before Jews "went away". In this sense, according to the author, Jews and their physical traces became talismans that connect the present world to a "truer worlds" that existed before the catastrophe – communism and Nazi times. For the images of many cities in East-Central Europe, Jewish past became a sort of symbol of "old golden days" and "mitterleuropean ideal" with mythologized harmonious relations and intellectual coffee-house discussions. That is why the virtual Jewish world became the realm based on desire rather than on memory or inherited traditions, often turning contemporary Jewish life into accessible exotica (Gruber 2002).

Lviv (Lwów, Lemberg, Lvov) is an East European city, located on borderland territory. Its history and cultural heritage is an interesting source for studying the cross-cultural influences and identity contests, politics of memory, processes of nationalization of urban space and its symbolic marking. During the medieval period, Lviv was developing as a multicultural, multireligious and multiethnic space inhabited by various nations (Armenians, Germans, Jews, Poles, Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and others. All of them left their traces on the city's landscape creating many places of memory. At the same time, their co-habitation meant a constant struggle of symbolic representations and markers of urban space (Sereda 2009). The history of Galician Jews dates back over more than a thousand years. Jewish community was an integral part of the local world and Lviv was considered to be an important center of Jewish cultural and religious life, with approximately 60 operating synagogues and praying houses (Gelston 2007). In modern times under the Habsburg rule (1772-1918) and in the interwar Polish period (1919-1939), the ethnic structure of Lviv evolved in a stable tripartite division among Poles (50-55%), Jews (30-35%) and Ukrainians (15-20%) (Hrytsak and Susak

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2003). At the start of World War II, the city had a population of 350000 (from which approximately tierce was Jewish) and only 3400 Jews survived German occupation between 1941 and 1944 (Lviv: sites of Jewish memory 2007). Furthermore, Jewish monuments and sacral buildings became a target for deliberate destruction during the war: while generally central historical part of the city was preserved, most of the synagogues, prayer houses and the old Jewish cemetery were undermined and ruined. On this tragic background the assimilative Soviet policy, which often disregarded cultural heritage, continued their destruction and elimination from urban space.

The monuments of the formerly vibrant Jewish world of Lviv appeared to become "disinherited legacy", since in terms of population city underwent significant changes. Thus, as Hrytsak and Susak (2003) argue, only 2-3% of Jewish population survived, while the Soviet regime deported Poles, repressed pre-1939 Ukrainian elites or made them leave the city and brought in Soviet ethnic groups (Russians, Soviet Ukrainians, Soviet Jews and others). Lviv, therefore, became a predominantly eastern Slavic city of Ukrainians and Russians (79% and 16% in 1989). Only a minority of Lviv's current population is related to the families that resided in Lviv before WWII, let alone WWI (Hrytsak and Susak 2003). According to the majoity of estimations, Lviv lost about 80 percent of its population during WWII and in its immediate aftermath. However, in the postwar period, a massive migration to the city from other parts of the Soviet Union replaced this loss. About 60 percent of the immigrants came from the neighboring rural areas of Western Ukraine. Thus, the remnant tiny minority of Lviv's prewar residents that survived, found themselves in a "new" city after the war (Hrytsak and Susak 2003). The process of ruination of Jewish heritage was continued in Soviet times, and mostly disregarded and ignored in independent Ukraine. That is why the traces of Jewish past are called by some scholars "the most forgotten lieux de memoire in Europe" (Bartov 2007:4). On the other hand, during the last 3-5 years, we can observe

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reanimation in the debates on this problem, especially in academic, touristic and NGO sectors. In this paper I will consider Jewish heritage as a field of contested interests and narratives and address the following research questions:

- To what extent can we speak about decolonization of memory in the case of Lviv, especially in the context of policy towards Jewish heritage and its inclusion into urban space?

- What kind of memory discourses are attached to Jewish heritage by city governors as well as by other groups and what conflicts and tensions exist between these discourses? Considering the role of main actors and social groups that are involved in the reconstruction of Jewish memory, I will also address the question of interactions between them.

- To what extent and in which contexts can we regard Jewish heritage in Lviv as dissonant and/or simulated and in what way is it used for tourist purposes?

- How do city residents perceive Jewish heritage, what is the level of their awareness of it, and to which extent their perception is internalized from hegemonic memory discourse?

The paper consists of 6 main parts: introduction, literature review, methodological part, the investigation on politics of memory towards Jewish heritage in Lviv, analysis of the research results. In the literature review, I will address the concepts of historical and collective memory, lieux de memoire, cultural capital, heritage and its different dimensions, nostalgia, the problems of dissonant heritage and contested narratives as well as a scale approach to heritage. In the methodological part I will describe the general scheme of my research and main methods I apply – statistical survey, deep interviews, focus-group discussion and content-analysis regarding the importance of using triangulation approach. In the fourth chapter I will provide a short historical background of Jewish heritage in Lviv, addressing the question of politics of memory that lead to its current dissonant and neglected

state and posing the question of ideological decolonization of memory. In the analysis of research findings I will consider and critically compare the results of two main researches - statistical survey "Jewish heritage in Lviv: awareness and attitudes of city inhabitants" (September 2008, N=800) and the control focus-group discussion "The influence of different cultures on the image of Lviv", conducted in April 2009. While the future of Jewish heritage in Lviv is nowadays a widely debatable issue, in the last part I will draw conclusions of my research and outline possible directions for the management of Jewish heritage in the future.

2. Literature review:

2.1. Theoretical framework: heritage, power and historical memory

The concepts of heritage and historical memory are closely related and overlap in many ways. In this part I will consider heritage as a cultural and economic capital, which is one of the main tools for establishing and legitimizing the dominant memory discourse, becoming at the same time the area of interest for different actors as well as the arena of contested meanings and alternative readings.

Studies of collective memory as a phenomenon in social sciences has roots in Durkheim's sociology and was elaborated by his disciple Maurice Halbwachs. He wrote about social frameworks of memory and argued for total dependence of memory on society, where it is recalled, recognized and localized, thus being socially constructed. At the same time, the author opposed collective and historical memory, arguing that for living collective memory the transfer of narratives from generation to generation appears to be crucial. Yet, he also indicated that historical memory can be integrated into individual and collective ones through reading and "discovering the islands of past", at the same time becoming a wider framework for both of these memories (Halbwachs 1992). I will argue that in our case the lack of intergenerational transmission of narratives makes the memory about annihilated community and its heritage precisely historical, that is largerly acquired from exterior sources, such as education, urban space, power and expert discourses, and leaving small space for countermemory.

Famous theoretician of social memory Pierre Nora (1996) regarded the opposition between memory and history in a more radical way, arguing that "real memories" have been captured by "real historical accounts" of the past events, and we need the urge to talk about memory because we do not have much of it left. He introduced important concept of lieux de

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memoire – sites where memory crystallizes and secrets itself (Nora 1989). As this author argues, *lieux de memoire* are created by an interplay of memory and history, the interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal determination. The starting point for creation of such sites is the will to remember, and the aim is to capture maximim of meanings in the fewest of signs (Nora 1989). To my mind, the concept of heritage is quite close to the notion of lieux de memoire, although it should be regarded in a wider context. Heritage is understood by many scholars as a complex of tangible artifacts (buildings, historical places, archaeological objects, museum exhibits, etc.) and intangible attributes (values, traditions, meanings), inherited from past generations and used for present needs (Arshwoth, Graham, Tunbridge 2000). Heritage is usually seen as a product of modernity, defined in political terms by nationalism. Thus, as Kevin Walsh (1992) argues, along with the institutionalization of museums as repositories and manifestations of national identity and cultural achievement, many European nations also turned their attention to the conservation and management of non-portable antiquities and historic buildings. Many scholars also emphasized the crucial impact of traumatic experiences (such as industrialization, world wars, genocides or economic crisis) on the occurrence and persistence of preservation discourse, which "swept away in hurricane gust a set of traditions, landscapes, trades and customs" (Nora 2005, see also Walsh 1992, Smith 2006, Barthel 1996).

As Pierre Nora (2005) argues, the phenomenon that is called "national memory" is in fact, flooding the main historical memory with the memories of separate groups that are changing it. Therefore, heritage can be understood as a cultural capital, which, according to Bourdieu (1986), acts as a social relation within a system of exchanges that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge, conferring power and status. As he asserts, upon assuming power each governmental regime must capture this capital including heritage, through political structures, education, social and media representation (Bourdieu, 1986). Hence,

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heritage is one of the main political tools for transferring certain values and memory discourses to wider public. At the same time, it would be too simple to understand heritage in terms of dominant ideologies legitimizing themselves through the capture of cultural capital and imposing this on the passive consumers. It is usually the user or their groups who define and choose the interpretations of heritage, which can differ significantly from the official discourse. Heritage should rather be understood as one of the mechanisms by which meanings are produced and reproduced through the "signifying practice" (Arshworth, Tunbridge, Graham 2000). Such conceptualization of heritage defines it as a field of social conflicts and tensions, simultaneously carrying differing and incompatible meanings, often making the heritage site a manipulable "battlefield of memory" (Kapralski 2001). One of the main questions in my research is what kind of memory discourses are attached to Jewish heritage by power structures (such as local and national governments as well asinternational structures) and by some other groups (not only national, but also professional – like academics or tourist managers) and what conflicts and tensions exist between these discourses.

As we can see, contestation is regarded as initial characteristics of heritage. In the literature we often meet the term "dissonant heritage", which is relevant to our topic. Thus, Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) distinguish between four types of heritage dissonance:

1.   Disinherited heritage (or heritage without inheritors) – occurs where migration, relocation of borders, ethnic cleansing or other tragic historical events force a given ethnic or religious group to depart from its native territory, leaving behind its cultural heritage built up over centuries. Promotion of homogenous national heritage often eliminates the legacy of absent ethnic or religious minorities. This can impoverish the heritage of a given area.

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2.   Non-conforming heritage, which is not compatible with currently advocated norms and ideologies and does not reflect the approved symbolism of a historic area.

3.   Distasteful heritage – attempts to show the positive aspects of heritage, underlying achievements and events in which pride can be taken and to conceal or play down the significance of distasteful heritage or heritage of atrocity (related to wars, ethnic cleansing or other tragic events in the past).

4.   Distorted heritage – caused by selectivity with regard to the objects that have survived and to the selection of objects which are made available to the wider public. For example, complex values and meanings might be simplified, stereotyped and made easier for digestiont by the mass audience of tourists and visitors to heritage sites.

To my mind, this is one of the crucial points that makes the concept of heritage different from the notion of lieux de memoire. While the latter, according to Nora (1989), makes sense and exists as long as there is the intension to remember, heritage also covers the unwanted or uncomfortable sites, which can consequently become neglected and forgotten. It is quite clear that we can describe Jewish heritage in East-Central Europe as not inherited directly (in most cases, and particularly in Lviv, the authentic communities were eliminated). However, its dissonance is, in my opinion, questionable. By the example of many cities in East-Central Europe, we can observe how Jewish heritage is embraced by non-Jews and incorporated as a part of local culture and city branding. This also leads us to the question of using the heritage as commodity and economic capital, usually for tourist purposes, which implies a danger of virtualization and commercialization of the past, largely criticized by many scholars (Gruber 2004, Murzyn 2006). As Dramowicz (2006) argues, though the simulation of cultural heritage can have positive effects, such as perpetuating cultural forms, disseminating regional oral traditions and ritual practice, and the inevitable cross-pollination of cultures, we must be

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aware that an unreflective experience of this simulation can have negative effects on the collective memory, historical identity, and intercultural progress of people. Commercialized use of heritage is strongly connected to the phenomenon of ersatz nostalgia (Appadurai 1996) or pseudonostalgia for the stereotypical past (Gruber 2002). Thus, according to Appadurai, in the age of consumerism and rule of fashion, nostalgia does not principally involve the evocation of a sentiment, to which consumers who really have lost something can respond. Now the viewer needs only to bring the faculty of nostalgia to the n image that will supply the memory of a loss he or she has never suffered. Thus, he emphasizes the role of imagination in the contemporary world, asserting its importance for the feeling of nostalgia that has become divorced from memory and involves new forms of labor. This labor is not principally targeted at the production of commodities but is directed at producing the conditions of consciousness in which *buying* can occur. Therefore, one of the main questions in my research is to what extent and in which contexts we can regard Jewish heritage in Lviv as dissonant and/or simulated and in what way it is used for tourist purposes.

As we can see, heritage should be regarded as a multi-used cultural and economic resource. Another important dimension is scale approach to heritage, in frames of which we can distinguish local, regional, national, continental, and global levels. Thus, narratives attached to heritage can be contested not only on a horizontal level (between different local groups), but also on the vertical one – (between regional and national, local and global, etc.) There are two main viewpoints concerning the role of international organizations that aim to protect heritage: they are seen either as guardians of national heritages or as "Trojan horses" of hegemonic Western discourse of heritage. Thus, as Laurajane Smith (2006) asserts, there is a self-referential "authorized heritage discourse", whose authority rests in part on its ability to "speak to" and make sense of the aesthetic experiences of its parishioners and policy makers by the fact of its institutionalization within a range of national and international organizations

and codes of practice. Author critically emphasized that this discourse is Euro-centric, expert-oriented and concentrated on tangible dimension. Therefore, one of the tasks of my research is to consider the role of experts and international organizations, especially Jewish ones.

As we could see, heritage appears to be a field of contestation between different actors imposing various meanings. In case of disinherited legacy, this conflict appears to be even sharper. In the following part I will consider the main lines of tensions and contested meanings that Jewish heritage in East-Central Europe evokes – namely the tension between authenticity and virtuality, national and munticultural narratives and between atrocities and self-victimization.

2.2. The problem of dissonance and contested narratives by the example of Jewish heritage in East-Central Europe

One of the special characteristics of disinherited Jewish legacy in East-Central Europe is that Jewish past is often being revitalized by non-Jews, who create their imagined equivalent of real Jewish space. While some attempts to reintegrate what has been lost, destroyed or forgotten are quite sincere and successful, we often also face "superficiality, slogans, lip-service and show" (Gruber 2002). This creates one of the major tensions – between authenticity and virtuality in the processes of recreating Jewish past. These problems are widely addressed by Ruth Ellen Gruber. She is one of the best known specialists in Jewish heritage in Europe and has published two important books, resulting from her journeys to places, once inhabited by Jewish communities. She mainly focuses on tourism related issues; her first book was edited just after the fall of the Communist regime and aimed to ring up the curtain on often forgotten and neglected Jewish sites. (Gruber 1999). Historical information and contemporary facts related to specific communities and places of Jewish interest, including Holocaust-related sites were provided there, however author did not mention the situation in post-Communist Ukraine – neither in this work, nor in her major

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book *Virtually Jewish: reinventing Jewish culture in Europe* (2002). In this latter work the author investigated the issues surrounding "virtual Jewish world",that emerged in post-Communist Europe in three specific areas: the renovation of the built heritage, such as synagogues, cemeteries, former ghettos and Jewish quarters; the representation of Jewish culture through tourism and museums; and the role of klezmer and Yiddish music as typical "Jewish cultural products." (Gruber 2002)

Bartosz Dramowicz (2006) describes these tendencies by the example of the Jewish quarter in Krakow, asserting that in light of the growing importance of cultural tourism and emerging heritage industry, the appropriation and uses of disinherited cultural legacy can be seen to have unintended effects on collective memory and identity and often lead to the mythologisation of minority. As a result, these processes can serve to idealize, trivialize and de-historicize aspects of a disinherited culture, when its legacy is being constructed and consumed by another group.

The commodification tendencies also concern Holocaust-related issues. As Gruber notes, Holocaust became an easy way to manipulate people's emotions. Tim Cole (1999) regards the problem of mythologization and commodification of Holocaust as the processes that began in 1960s in certain political and ideological context and reached its culmination at the beginning of XXI ct. Nowadays, even Shoah as a myth, has became the product that can be "bought, packaged and sold" (Cole 1999:3). As Cole argues, the myth of Holocaust has derived from this tragic event, but now exists separately from it in the wide international context.

At the same time, virtuality can be understood in different ways and in certain senses it can be very inspiring and relevant. In my opinion, the Jewish Museum in Vienna is a bright and constructive example of using virtuality sensu stricto. There visitors see ghostly holograms – 3-dimensional images of ritual artifacts, paintings, photos, documents and

architectural models rather than the real things. Each hologram represents a specific stage, object or theme associated with Austrian Jewish history and the relations between Jews and Austrian society. Unless the panels are approached, the room looks empty. Seemingly three-dimensional images that exist but do not exist, create a "real virtual Jewish world". Holograms are attempted to show the imprecise nature of memory and the role played by imagination and interpretation in viewing and presenting the past (Gruber 2002).

Speaking about the world triumph of memory, Nora (2005) argues that we experience worldwide decolonization of memory on different levels – global (in post-colonial societies), interior (affects ethnic, social, religious, sexual, and regional minorities, mainly in classical western societies) and ideological. The latter, according to Nora, is typical of the countries that were liberated from the oppression of totalitarian regimes of the 20th century (communism, fascism or just dictatorship). As Nora asserts, they appeal to their ancient traditional memory, which was destroyed or distorted by the regime (in Russia, Eastern Europe, Balkans, Latin America and Africa). These processes also contribute to the occurrence of different forms of minorities' memories, for whom reconquering of their own memory becomes an important component of establishing their own identity. On the other hand, we should ask if the replacement of one ideology by another, even more relevant, is a real decolonization? The representatives of marginalized discourses usually do not have equal access to memory policy, frequently being excluded from the process of decision-making. As Arshworth (2007) argues, it often happens that society has become and is becoming more diverse, pluralistic and polyvocal, while public heritage for various reasons remains largely monolithic, inert and univocal. As a result, this causes a significant gap. Considering the example of East-Central Europe, we often can observe the opposite tendency, when in formerly multicultural societies the disinherited legacy of minorities becomes suppressed by the dominant discourse of a leading nation. Therefore, another tension occurs between

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national discourse and multicultural past. In this context Polish sociologist Slawomir Kapralski (2001) introduced an important term – landscape as a "battlefield of memory", regarding the example of Polish-Jewish relations in a historical perspective. As he argued, landscape becomes a battlefield of memory as a place in which groups compete for the fullest possible representation of their identities, trying to structure it and fill with the meaning appropriate to respect of their identities. Landscape becomes an arena of both remembering and forgetting, but it usually represents only the memory of the surviving group. It preserves what the group wants to remember; while what the group wants to forget is destroyed, neglected, or preserved in a distorted way. In this sense landscapes can be manipulated (Kapralski 2001). He considered several examples of Polish cities (Lancut, Zolynia and Jedwabne), asserting that they represent the mixture of the destructive influences of the passing time. He discusses different factors of influence and makes an argument about the stubborn resistance of the material object of the Jewish culture and several manipulative attempts, which are deposited on each other and co-influence the sites of memory:

1. The tendency to present the landscape as genuinely and homogeneously Polish

2. The Communist manipulations of landscape in order to legitimize their vision of history and their claim to power,

3. The post-Communist tendency to reclaim the place for the representation of the Jewish aspect of the history of Poland as well as to withdraw the Polish history from Communist misinterpretation.

4. The process of heroization of the death and equating the suffering of Poles and Jews during the WWII.

According to scholars who investigated the case of memory politics in post-Communist Lviv, we observe similar tendencies here. Thus, Hrytsak and Susak (2003) argue that, as a city with a long history, Lviv offers rich material for the construction of several national

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myths. They consider the politics of renaming streets by different regimes – Habsburgs, Poles, Soviets, Nazi and Ukrainians and conclude that post-Communist changes in Lviv present the illustration to the Mykhailo Hrushevsky's[1] scheme of Ukrainian national history, which perceives the Ukrainian past more in an ethnic than in a territorial sense and represents a relatively coherent narrative of a national history that has a powerful appeal to Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians. These authors also show that, in historical terms, the post-Soviet renaming of Lviv streets has clear parallels with some general patterns of the Polish renaming. In both cases the ethnic concept of a nation prevails, and the central part of the city became covered by an intense network of national and historical names. Therefore, as the authors conclude, Ukrainian and Polish projects represent similar mental structures while dealing with the past. It is hard to judge whether, in the Ukrainian case, they borrowed and inherited intellectual schemes of Polish nationalism or whether the similarity between the two projects reflects a common sense of any nationalizing scheme. In order to legitimate national and political projects, elements of Lviv's rich past were carefully selected and transformed to create a coherent historical picture (Hrytsak and Susak 2003).

Viktoriya Sereda in her article *Politics of Memory and Urban Landscape: the Case of Lviv after World War II* (2009) continues this debate and provides the analysis of politics of memory in a post-Communist city – namely considering changes in the symbolic landscape of Lviv, concentrating on monuments, memorial plaques and street names as the most important markers of urban space. As this author argues, all three markers are mutually reinforcing symbolic means of codification of urban space. She describes the contest between national and multicultural narratives in terms of tension between modern national and postmodern multiple models. According to her, the multicultural city project in opposition to Ukrainian

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[1] Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934) - was a Ukrainian historian and statesman, one of the most important figures of the Ukrainian national revival of the early 20th century. He was the country's greatest modern historian, foremost organizer of scholarship, leader of the pre-revolution Ukrainian national movements, head of the Central Rada (Ukraine's 1917-1918 revolutionary parliament), and a leading cultural figure in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s.

can be described as an attempt to symbolically "inscribe" the city back into a larger European historical past (or – to my mind – rather the into Central-European post-Habsburg discourse). The outside factor of tourism also plays an important role, as visitors are definitely more interested in the diversity and multicultural discourse than in a homogeneously Ukrainian one (Sereda 2009).

Another very problematic tension, connected to nationalist discourse, is the heritage of atrocities (in our case – pogroms and Holocaust). Newly established states create certain national narratives where the processes of "heroization", self-glorification and at the same time self-victimization is definitely contradivtive to the facts of collaboration with Nazi during WWII or local population's responsibility for Holocaust. Other countries in East-Central Europe faced this problem, and the publications with testimonies of local's guilt appeared to be very resonant and shocking for society, provoking wide discussions on different levels. One of the brightest examples was the book by American historian Jan Gross *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. This author described the massacre of Polish Jews in Jedwabne (village in Poland), accomplished by Poles and not by Nazi occupiers, as it was previously asserted. Wide discussions of the book involved religious and state leaders, prominent historians and journalists, becoming "the most serious test Poles had to confront in the last decades" (Zimmerman 2003:12).

One of the first books on this problematic subject was published by a well-known Ukrainian historian Zhanna Kovba. The main attention in her work *Humanity in the Pit of Hell* (1998) is drawn to the conduct of the local population during the so-called "final solution of the Jewish question". She particularly emphasized the cases of Jews being saved by Ukrainians, listing the names of Ukrainian Righteous among nations. The book evoked debates in scientific circles, the discussion in "Krytyka" journal being one of most resonant, when Sofia Grachova criticized Kovba's monograph as well as Hrytsak's chapter on

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collaboration in his book *Essays on the history of Ukraine*. Both of them, according to Grachova, "marginalize" pogroms and have "a store of unrealized directives to make facts more comfortable and problems – less painful" (Grachova 2005). Generally agreeing with Grachova's critique, Hrytsak points out that his aim was to show complex relations, as Eastern-Europeans are often seen as anti-Semitic on default from the Western perspective (Hrytsak 2005).

In his response, Hrytsak also points that the discussions on formerly suppressed topics in Polish historical memory were stimulated by external agents and factors – such as above-mentioned book by Jan Gross. Ukraine seems to have also gotten its "bitter pill" from the outside, embodied in the book *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine*, which was published by Omer Bartov (2007) (interestingly enough, he is a professor from the same institution as Jan Gross – Princeton University). The author presents his bitter travelogue, where he describes the erasure of the Jews and their removal from public memory as an act of forgetting done to pleasen Ukrainian nationalism. He thus deconstructs the myth of the peaceful pre-war world, calling Galicia "the land of memory and oblivion, coexistence and erasure, high hopes and dashed illusions" (Bartov 2007:13) and strongly criticizing local and national government for poverty of memory and selective marginalization of the past. According to this researcher, on the background of radical post-war demographic changes, the politics of memory in the post-Communist times was addressing local Ukrainian population as the main victim of totalitarianism, prejudice and violence since the time immemorial and especially under Nazism and communism. In this memory, as the author asserts, there is no room for any other victims let alone the victims of Ukrainian nationalists (Bartov 2007).

Recognizing the importance of Bartov's book, I have to admit that the author allows himself to use evaluative pejorative statements – for example, describing Ukraine as "clearly located on the periphery of Europe and in another historical time" (Bartov 2007:23).

Moreover, the book provides some doubtful facts, which author uses to prove his accusations. For example, the monument to Lviv Ghetto Victims (1941-1943) erected in 1992 (authors – Luisa Sternstein and Yuriy Schmukler) was – according to Bartov – "financed solely by the Jewish community in Lviv without any public assistance" (Bartov 2007:29), whereas one of my interviewees – professor Rudolf Mirsky, Director of the Regional Study Golodomor and Holocaust Center emphasized during our conversation that "the monument was established very rapidly because of the financial support from the city government".

While Bartov's book can be criticized for prosecutor's accusative style, the lack of a complex approach to the problems of the Communist legacy of "enforced forgetting" and ignorance towards the successful attempts to reconstruct Jewish memory, it shows a way for problematic discussions and rethinking. The book was not yet widely discussed in media, but its upcoming Ukrainian version will hopefully provoke wide public debates. In the following empirical part I will consider the contested meanings and tensions that appear in a symbolic space of Lviv as well as in the perception of city residents in context of Jewish legacy.

3. Methodology

In this paper I consider the issues of memory politics that have led to the current state of Jewish heritage in Lviv, also addressing the problem of main actors and social groups that are involved in the (re)construction of Jewish memory, and the interactions between them. At the same time, I will address the understudied question about resident' perception of Jewish heritage as well as the place it occupies in their historical memory. These questions require both macro- and micro- approaches. According to Sereda (2009), the symbolic structure of discourses about the past and places of memory should be analyzed including three levels of inquiry:

1. City as a social text – marking space and projecting an "identity" on the city, which includes:

- Monuments, memorial plates
- Street names
- Other (cemeteries, museums, interiors of shops and restaurants, etc.)

2. Texts about the city: constructing a city image

- Media
- Guidebooks
- Other (dairies, memoirs, fiction, films, paintings, etc.)

3. City reflected in dweller's identities

- Internalization
- Strategies of resistance

Since this research scheme is relevant to our tasks; the use of different methods is needed for the complex analysis of the studied problem. Due to time-restrictions, I will primarily focus on the first and the third levels. At the first level I am going to explore how Jewish identity is recreated/erased in the symbolic space of contemporary Lviv by the examples of two Jewish quarters. My analysis of a changing symbolic Jewish landscape of post-Soviet Lviv will be limited to monuments, memorial plaques and street names (as the

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most important markers of urban space) as well as Jewish places of memory. For this purpose I will use the technique of content-analysis. On the third level I will address the question of resident's perception of Jewish heritage and their attitudes towards it, using the data of the statistical survey "Jewish heritage: awareness and attitudes", conducted by the Center for Urban History in East-Central Europe in September, 2008 (see Appenix L for the questionnaire) and the results of focus-group discussion "The influence of different cultures on the formation of city image" (conducted by author in April, 2009. For the list of participants – see appendix J, for the plan of discussion – see appendix K). The received quantitative and qualitative data will be critically compared.

At the same time, the above-mentioned scheme presents a kind of a top-down approach, lacking the incorporation of agency of different actors and groups that have significant impact on the discourse of heritage "in between" residents and city government (such as architects and museum workers, NGOs, in our case – Jewish communities, cultural and educational institutions) and the interaction between them. To study this question in the context of Jewish heritage in Lviv I will use the technology of deep-interviews with experts. The database which I compiled included over 30 names of different professionals, dealing with Jewish heritage on various levels. Due to the lack of time and unavailability of some persons, I conducted only 5 interviews (see Appendix H for the list of interviewees and their occupation). I was mainly interested in experts' understanding of the notion of Jewish heritage, their general evaluation of post-Communist memory politics as well as in the projects on Jewish heritage in Lviv they have been elaborating. I also addressed the questions of their cooperation with local and international organizations (both Jewish and non-Jewish) as well as with the city Council. Furthermore, I was interested in difficulties, problems and conflicts they experienced during their work with Jewish heritage as well as in their vision of the perspectives of its revitalization in the future (for the complete list of questions – see

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appendix I). My last interviewee (Mr. Menachem S., who emigrated from Lviv to Mainz 10 years ago) was not an expert in classical understanding, yet during his short stay in Lviv he shared with me his impressions on visiting the newly-opened Galician Jewish Cafe "Under the Golden Rose" and his feelings about using Jewish tradition and "Jewish brand" there (the case of this cafe will be discussed below). All the interviews were semi-structured and recorded on the dictaphone.

The triangulation of different methods allows us to regard the studied problem from different perspectives, in a complex and critical way.

4. Jewish heritage in Lviv: history, politics and contemporary use.

Jewish districts in East-Central Europe have undergone significant changes in urban and social aspects as well as in their historical and ethno-cultural appreciation since the democratic transition (Gruber 2002). Yet, if Krakow's Kazimierz or Prague's Jozefov are celebrated, constructed and consumed as the Jewish quarters nowadays, not many urban markers remind us about the areas of former residence of Jewish community in Lviv. The renaissance of Jewish quarters in East-Central Europe is explained by some scholars as a result of religious revival after 1989 and high potential for gentrification due to central location and old historical resources (Bodnar 2001). To my mind, the process of revitalization particularly depends on the remains of material sites of Jewish heritage – such as buildings of synagogues, praying houses, theaters and cemeteries, which become cultural capital and are perceived as "survivors" themselves. For example, the cynical politics of Nazi in the Czech Republic – to create the Central Jewish Museum in the Jewish quarter of Jozefov – was one of the first dedicated to displaying the relics of murdered people and had triumphal rather than commemorative aim (Gruber 2002). As a result, nowadays the Jewish museum in Prague has one of the richest Judaica collections in Europe and the Jewish quarter is one of the main tourist destinations in the city. In Lviv the situation was completely opposite – Nazi aimed to delete Jewishness totally, therefore the vast majority of sacral buildings were blown up and destroyed. Destructions were continued in the Soviet time and mostly ignored in independent Ukraine; therefore, the basic state of Jewish heritage is quite neglected nowadays. At the same time, the decision on commemorative revitalization of a certain site – from a memorial table to complete rebuilding – depends on national and local politics of memory as well as on the activity of different groups and influence of external factors (such as tourism and international

organizations). The examples of post-war reconstructions in Warsaw or Dresden clearly show this.

One of the special characteristics of Jewish Lviv was, that unlike many other European cities, there were two main Jewish districts – Midtown and Suburban. In the following subchapter I will consider how former Jewish identity of these two quarters is incorporated into the urban space nowadays, what aspects of Jewish heritage are seen as dissonant, and what narratives are being constructed and contested in Lviv Jewish city space.

## *Two Jewish districts: history and changing meanings in urban space*

As a well-known historian Volodymyr Melamed (1994) states, the first Jewish settlements appeared in Eastern Galicia in the 10-11th centuries. In the case of Lviv he considers the Jewish community as autochthonic, as they lived here since the time of the city establishment. Galician Jews are assumed to be the descendants of people coming from Chazar Kahanat or Ukraine-Rus as well as emigrants from Western Europe.

We find detailed descriptions of two Jewish quarters in the prominent book *Jews of Lvov (Lemberg) on the eve of 17th century* (1916) by Meir Balaban[2], which is important lieu de memoire of Galician Jewish Community. According to Balaban, the historical dualism of Lviv Jewish community was strongly related to the way city developed. Ancient Ruthenian Lviv was situated not far from the Castle Hill with the center on the Old Market Square. Already in the 13th it was inhabited by Jews, Armenians and Ruthenians according to their national quarters. This part was not preserved because of a big fire in 1350, after which the city was relocated, receiving soon the Magdeburg right (1356). Most of the inhabitants including influential Jews who were allowed to inhabit the southern-eastern part of a newly

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[2] Meir Balaban was born in Lviv in 1877 and died tragically in Warsaw Ghetto in 1942. He was one of the most outstanding historians of Polish and Galician Jews, and the founder of Polish Jewish historiography. The first translation of several parts of Balaban's work into Ukrainian appeared in 2008 in the cultural studies magazine "Ji", issue 51.

established city, moved to a new settlement. Acts testify the existence of a Jewish street as
the center of Ghetto in Lviv since 1387. Each district had its own life, separate rights and
institutions – synagogues, mikhvas, kahal, court houses, schools and shops. These conditions,
according to Balaban, caused the formation of two separate types of local patriots. In 1789 an
important document – the Patent of Tolerance for the Jews of Galicia – was issued by
Emperor Joseph II, which, on the one hand, endowed Jews with wider rights, while, on the
other, promoted Germanization and assimilation. Nevertheless, as Balaban states, even when
the walls and differences were eliminated in the 18th century, orthodox Jews would never
move from city to suburbs and vice versa. The members of two communities, as he argues,
treated each other contemptuously – "those from suburbs think the townsmen are infirm, and
the others call suburbans neglectful and slobs" (Balaban 1909). Nevertheless, according to
Balaban, in tragic moments the two communities acted together and helped each other. Most
of the synagogues, mikvahs, schools and other traditional Jewish buildings, as well as the old
cemetery were situated within these two quarters (Gelston 2007). In this chapter I will analyze
the existing markers of Jewish identity within these two quarters. Their borders are designated
on the following map.

Figure 1. Two Jewish districts
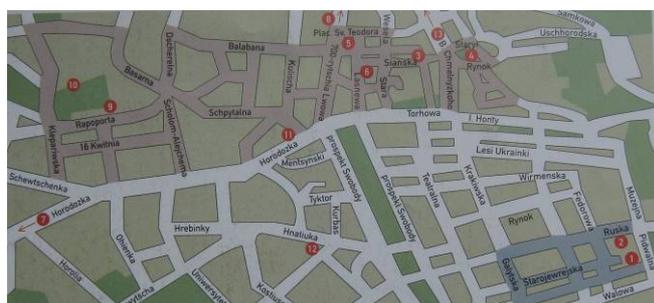
Beige – Krakow suburb (further – KS)
Grey – Midtown quarter (further – MQ)
(Lviv – Jewish Sites of Memory 2007)

My analysis of a changing symbolical landscape of Jewish Lviv will be limited to
monuments, memorial plaques and street names as they are the most important markers of
urban space that are mutually reinforcing and become a material embodiment of memories

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expressed in the landscape, producing a system of meanings to legitimize a particular vision of historical past (Sereda 2009). First, I will address the politics of the renaming of streets, which, according to Hrytsak and Susak (2003), plays a crucial role in the nationalization of urban masses as a tool for the construction of the image of a national city. Street names, according to these authors, can be read as a text or even as a popular sort of a textbook that focuses on the most glorious and tragic periods of national history. I will consider the politics of renaming the streets in post-socialist Lviv as compared to renaming during the Polish and Soviet regimes within two Jewish quarters (see appendixes A and B and table 1).

Thus, the first special characteristics is the prevalence of neutral names (such as Hospital, Sunny, Spring, Happy streets) especially in Krakow suburb, which generally is a legacy of the Austrian urban tradition (Hrytsak and Susak 2003). Yet, if the very central part of the city between two quarters has been subjected to active renaming politics by every new regime, Jewish quarters were characterized by quite stable percentage of featureless and neutral street names.

Table 1.Classification of street names in Jewish quarters

Type of street name:	Ukraine		USSR		Poland (till 1939)	
	KS	MQ	KS	MQ	KS	MQ
Polish	0	0	0	0	1	2
Jewish	4	1	0	0	7	0
Ukrainian	4	2	2	2	0	0
Ruthenian	4	1	3	0	1	0
Soviet	0	0	5	2	0	0
Neutral	16	1	17	1	17	3

Speaking about Polish national project, Hrytsak and Susak (2003) note that after the victory in the Polish-Ukrainian war in 1919 the government attempted to draw more intensified Polish image of the city. The percentage of names related to the victory was the highest. Ethnic minorities were strongly underrepresented, despite constituting a significant part of population (Ukrainians – 15%, Jews – 35%). As we can see from Table 1, seven

streets carried Jewish names although memory politics was very selective – these streets were found only in Krakow suburb and not in the Midtown part. Moreover, most of the streets were named only after assimilated Jews (Sereda 2009). The number of Ukrainian names (beyond the boundaries of Jewish quarters) was slightly higher and, therefore, such policy clearly indicated the status of Ukrainians and Jews as subordinated national minorities (Hrytsak, Susak 2003).

As a result of Nazi occupation and during the Soviet time, both districts totally lost their former Jewish identity. One of the most ironic renaming was that of Diamand street,which became Diamant. Regardless of the fact that Hermann Diamand was one of the leaders of socialist movement in Lviv, the street was renamed based on the similarity of his surname to the Ukrainian word "diamant" which means "diamond" and, therefore, bears a totally neutral meaning. As a majorityof historians indicate, there was undercover prohibition to address or research Jewish-related subjects in the Soviet Union (Melamed 1994, Hrytsak and Susak 2003). Generally, the politics towards Jews was assimilative and oppressive, as one of my interviewees – prominent activist of the community in Lviv Meilakh Sheykhet stated:

> When Soviets came to "liberate" Lvov, one wise Jew said: "They came to liberate from everything that was good"… For Jews Soviet power was the second Holocaust – cultural. But it is even worse, because Jews are the people of religion.

Another direction of policy in the Soviet time was the clear aim to eliminate Polish identity after the forced exchange of population between the Polish Republic and the USSR and symbolically (re)codify contested urban space with Soviet ideological markers (Sereda 2009). As to the situation with two Jewish quarters, the percentage of neutral names mostly remained the same, although three new narratives were introduced – Soviet, Ruthenian and "suitable-Ukrainian". As it was mentioned before, the area of Krakow suburb was also a former location of old Ruthenian Lviv in the time of its formation. Evoking this part of the past was coherent with the Soviet pan-Slavic tradition of presenting Kiev Rus as "the cradle of three fraternal nations – Ukrainians, Russians and Belarusians". Similarly comfortable for

Communist ideology was the figure of Ivan Fedorov ("Ruthenian Gutenberg") as well as several selected activists of Ukrainian movement – such as a writer Lesia Ukrayinka (famous for her socialist ideas) and leaders of Cossack-peasant movements, presented in the context of "fighting against Polish oppression" and commemorated in the names of streets in former Jewish districts. Here one of the most striking dissonance and tensions occurs: the main street in Krakow district was named after Bogdan Khmelnitsky, and the main square in Midtown Quarter acquired the name of Koliyivshchyna movement. Apart from being celebrated in terms of Ukrainian national heroism, they both are notorious for Jewish pogroms in the 17th and 18th centuries. These two latter renamings were left intact by the government of independent Ukraine in spite of being criticized by many historians and members of Jewish community (Rasevych 2008).

Lviv was one of the cities in Ukraine where Soviet project appeared to be the least successful and most dissonant. The post-socialist politics of memory and symbolic marking of space represents a model of historical past that primarily stresses the importance of L'viv and Galicia in modern Ukrainian nation-building (Sereda 2009). Yet it is important to note that, in time of independent Ukraine, the politics of renaming was given into the hands of experts – within the Lviv city council a committee for national and cultural survival was formed and among the first initiatives was the renaming of city streets. Most of the members were professionally trained historians, in many cases their academic careers suffered during the Soviet regime. Suggested names were discussed at regular monthly meetings of the group, and after reaching consensus the names were proposed to the city Council. They worked for seven years and submitted 550 proposals (Hrytsak and Susak 2003). Here we can see how important was the agency of particular experts with a certain background in the development of a new memory discourse. Preferences were made to the names of Ukrainian historical figures that were censored during the Soviet period (Doroshenko, Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko,

Petliura, Bandera etc.). Their names were given to the most densely populated streets. While speaking about the policy of street renaming in the entire city, it should be noted that, together with Soviet discourse, Russian narrative appeared to be dissonant, and the number of Russian street names decreased from 85 to 33. On the other hand, the number of Polish and Jewish street names increased as a result of a limited restoration of some pre-1939 names or as a consequence of giving new names (Polish –from 9 in 1986 to 17 in 1997, and Jewish –from 0 in 1986 to 5 in 1997) (Hrytsak and Susak 2003).

We observe, therefore, a certain level of inclusion of minorities' memories in post-socialist Lviv, and, to a certain extent, we can speak about decolonisation of memory. Yet I would argue that its nature is very selective with an accent on national narrative. Moreover, as Sereda (2009) argues, this visible tendency of inclusion of other nationalities into the process of symbolic codification of the city space should not be attributed exclusively to the politics of city administration. All these commemorative activities, according to this author, rather correspond to a process of interior decolonization of memory and to a large extent result from the cooperative efforts of various national-cultural associations and NGOs though sometimes contested by supporters of the dominant Ukrainian historical discourse. Regarding Jewish memory, we can see that only secular figures are commemorated in the names of the streets of former Jewish districts (writers, historians, entrepreneurs and political activists), therefore the memory of famous rabbis, Talmudists and religious thinkers, who formed rich and diverse nature of religious Jewish life in Galicia is being excluded.

Speaking about the other markers of Jewish identity in the city, we find 5 memory plaques and one monument connected to the Jewish past. Only one of them – the memory plaque of Sholom-Aleikhem (see figure 2) – commemorates a world-famous person of the Jewish origin. It is important to admit that Sholom-Aleikhem is the most celebrated Jewish figure in Lviv – in addition to memory plaque the street and Jewish cultural society bear his

name. The other markers serve to commemorate destroyed synagogues, place where the Yaniv concentration camp was situated, and the victims of Holocaust. Therefore, the other aspect of selectivity of memory decolonization in the context of Jewish heritage in Lviv is the emphasis on the community and its urban markers' annihilation rather then on their 8-centuries history in Galicia – that is on death rather than on life.

Figure 2. Memorial plaque of Sholom-Aleikhem.

The inscription in Ukrainian and Hebrew says: "Sholom-Aleykhem – the classic of Jewish literature – lived in this building in 1906 " (picture taken by the author)

Yet it is important to admit that this was a general tendency in post-Soviet memory politics to establish monuments devoted to the traumatic memories of the Second World War as well as of the Soviet and Nazi totalitarian regimes (Holocaust, Famine, GULAG, NKVD and Gestapo victims). As Bartov (2007) and Sereda (2009) argue, the majority of them address victims in general, without naming any particular group, which, as Bartov argues, aims to "liberate Ukrainian memory from the burden of invoking the mass crimes perpetrated by precisely those freedom fighters now celebrated as national heroes" (Bartov 2009:27). This brings us to the problem of atrocity-victimization tension, which I'm going to discuss further.

It is important to emphasize that the nationalizing project in Lviv with respect to the politics of urban space evoked tensions on all-Ukrainian and international levels. While in

western Ukraine the nationalist figures – such as Stepan Bandera or Roman Shukhevych[3] – are considered central historical symbols of the Ukrainian movement for national independence, in Eastern Ukraine even after 1991 they are treated by many as Nazi collaborators. This also creates a problem in Ukrainian-Jewish relations, as some historians argue that OUN (Organization of Ukrainian nationalists) and Ukrainian battalion "Nachtigall" were responsible for the pogroms that followed immediately on the heels of the German army's entry into the city in 1941, when somewhere between 7000 and 10000 Jews were murdered (Bartov 2007). Therefore, the post-mortem title "The Hero of Ukraine" awarded to Roman Shukhevych in 2007 by President Viktor Yushchenko evoked a protest not only in Ukrainian political circles, but also from Yad Vashem memorial in Israel. The head of Yad Vashem – Yoseph Lapid – stated that they have the evidence about anti-Jewish crimes of Shukhevych. The documents were not presented yet and the subject is still highly debatable, clearly showing how complicated are the tensions between promoted heroizing nationalist discourse and problematic events in Ukrainian-Jewish history, involving many actors on different levels.

4.2. The traces of absence: Jewish memorials as contested spaces

In Appendix C I present a short catalogue of Jewish sites and their contemporary state in Lviv. This is obviously not a full list, but it includes the most significant sites that are usually mentioned in tour guides as well as in special literature. I will consider these places through the classical concept of "lieux de memoire" which, according to Nora, are constructed in three senses – material, symbolical and functional. Viewing these sites as places of precisely Jewish memory, I include three characteristics – presence (material sense), use by contemporary

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[3] Stepan Bandera was the head of the Organization of Ukrainian nationalists (OUN). Roman Shukhevych lead battalion "Nachtigall" – a Ukrainian military force trained by Nazi, who initiated the declaration of the Ukrainian independent state on June 30, 1941. Both of them are commemorated in the names of city streets (in the Railway Station quarter) and memorial plaques; the massive monument to Bandera was also erected in 2008.

Jewish community (functional) and identification as Jewish (symbolical). According to these characteristics, these sites can be classified in a following way:

1. Reanimated sites (present, identified as Jewish and used by Jewish community)

Historians estimate the amount of smaller and bigger synagogues around the 60-s in pre-war Lviv, but only two of them, in fact, survived till nowadays and are used by Jewish community (one is the only operating synagogue, and the other was given to Sholom-Aleykhem society of Jewish culture). These two buildings were preserved only because of being used as a shop and depot during Nazi occupation and as sport hall and storehouse in the Soviet time. Among such type of sites we can also mention Yaniv cemetery (former New Jewish cemetery) that still exists and is used by Jewish community (See Appendix D).

2. Memory voids: (present sites, not identified as formerly Jewish)

Another group of sites constitute preserved buildings, which used to be strongly connected to the life of Jewish community but nowadays not associated with it and existing only in the testimonies of historians and experts. Among them the brightest examples are a typically Jewish in architecture hospital on Rapaport street, former Jewish theater or former Jewish gymnasium. This tendency supports our argument about existing gap in commemorating the life and culture of former Jewish residents of Lviv (see Appendix E).

3. Phenomenological urban voids:

This category is the most numerous in Lviv cityscape and it includes the sites of destroyed Jewish monuments. According to Andrea Rojas (2009), phenomenological urban voids are places which have been characterized by context and history and that now are outside the realm of urban functionality, growth and transformation due to natural disasters,

wars, etc. In our case phenomenological urban voids should be divided in two subcategories – commemorated and forgotten:

3.1.   Commemorated

In such sites the phenomenology is claimed to be built on the level of historical memory by installing commemorative signs – monuments, memory plaques or other markers. Among the examples are the barrens or ruins on the places of three destroyed synagogues, marked by memorial plaques, the site of the Jewish wartime ghetto with the expressive monument of "A Mourning Jew" and the site of Yaniv concentration camp with a memorial table (see Appendix F).

3.2.   Forgotten and/or refunctioned

Sometimes the phenomenology of voids can be constructed only in the memory of certain groups, whereas for vast majority the site remains an empty space or being used for other purposes. In the case of Lviv, this is the situation with numerous destroyed synagogues (see Appendix G). One of the most striking examples is the Old Jewish cemetery, which evoked a long-lasting conflict between the Jewish community, city government and entrepreneurs. The Old cemetery used to be a kind of a pantheon for all Galician Jews – among buried there were famous rabbis, educationists and pogrom victims. The oldest grave was dated 1348. During the epidemic of cholera in 1855 the need for place on cemetery grew, and that is why the old cemetery was closed and the new one was opened in Yaniv suburbs. The old cemetery was destroyed by Nazi, and in 1947 the Krakowski market appeared there, still functioning nowadays (Bartov 2007). After the collapse of the USSR, the question was raised again. The Jewish community demands state protection for the land as a historic site where a Jewish cemetery had been standing for many centuries. The opponents say that the

cemetery is no longer there, nor it is marked on the city plan. According to Meilakh Sheikhet, the Soviet government built the market in violation of the law, and today's Ukrainian officials are only multiplying the violations. The counterargument of entrepreneurs is that actually the cemetery was closed as far back as in Habsburg times; furthermore, the removal of asphalt and concrete from the site of the old cemetery might induce epidemics in Lviv, because the tomb graves were destroyed and people who died of cholera, typhus and other contagious diseases were buried there.

The meeting was held in Lviv in 1996 when the issue of the cemetery was discussed with the participation of the head of the City Executive Committee, representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers and chief rabbis of Lviv and of Ukraine. The participants issued a protocol, recommending the prohibition of reconstruction and building on the territory of the cemetery and suggesting to study the boundaries of the cemetery and to allocate a new site for the marketplace (Religious Freedom Report 2005).

However, no progress has ever been achieved. Several influential scholars and artists of Lviv and of Ukraine had spoken out in support of the demands of the Jewish community, including Patriarch Lubomyr (Husar), Head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, who called for a delicate solution to the problem, considering its religious and cultural aspects (Yurochko 2005).

Another interesting case of phenomenological urban void as a field of contestation – this time between virtuality and authenticity – is the "Golden Rose" – one of the oldest synagogues in Ukraine, situated in the Midtown quarter. The memory plaque tells us a tragic story of this unique building: "Remnants of the old temple called "Di Goldene Royz". Built during 1580-1595 by the Nachmanowitch family in the memory of Rabbi Nachman's wife. The building designed by the Italian architect Pablo Romano, was destroyed by Nazi and burned in summer 1942" (see Appendix F).

In post-Soviet times the archaeological excavations were held here, and, moreover, the northern wall was left and preserved. Nevertheless, the site looked quite desolate, often being attacked by vandals. As Meylakh Sheykhet recalls:

> The Golden Rose looked very neglected – a lot of rubbish, marginal elements gathering… Three years ago we came and said – that's enough – we cleaned the territory, fenced it.

There exist two main concepts of its future development. In the end of 2007 the representatives of the Jewish community announced the initiation of a project of total reconstruction of the synagogue. It was supposed to become the center of renewal of the Jewish quarter of Lviv and the symbol of the renaissance of Jewish life after Holocaust[4]. Yet, due to financial problems, the project is suspended for the moment. Some experts support a conservation approach – for example, Oksana Boyko, one of the leading specialists in Galician Jewish architecture, argued in our interview:

> I think it would be better to develop the program of conservation of synagogues. To preserve as it is – I mean to protect from rain and snow with some roof and to prevent from further destructions. I mean I concede both variants – but if you want to reconstruct it, the sense of authenticity will be lost. It will anyway become a mockup. If we just conserve, the impression will be stronger because the spirit of place will be preserved.

Using the word "authenticity", O. Boyko implied that ruins of the synagogue are the symbol of tragedy of Galician Jews, and therefore its reconstruction will eliminate this meaning. While among experts there is no agreement about the future of the most significant Jewish site in Lviv, recently it became a place of spatial and symbolical conflict. The opening of "Halytska żydivska knajpa "Pid Zolotoju Rozoyu" (Galician Jewish café "Under the Golden Rose") in autumn, 2008, provoked numerous discussions and an ambiguous reaction from Lviv intelligentsia.

There were several points of critique – first of all its symbolical and very physical connection to the synagogue (the summer terrace being situated very close to the memorial plaque and to the ruins of "The Golden Rose"). Another problem was free interpretation and

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[4] http://www.guid.lviv.ua/content/view/113/27/ (retrieved on May 20, 2009)

use of Jewish traditional artifacts – such as menorahs or Hasidic hats with pegged peyyots, which customers can wear "just to make nice photos". Furthermore, the price of dishes is not included in the menu – the customer is supposed to bargain with a waiter – which is assumed to support certain stereotypes and clichés about Jews as merchants and money-lenders. I interviewed Mr. Menachem S., a Jew who emigrated from Lviv to Germany ten years ago and, while visiting the city this year, went to see this well-advertised cafe. He was very disappointed and paid my attention to numerous examples of misusing Jewish traditions (such as everyday treating to clients with matzoth, which in fact should be eaten only during Passover, the availability of pork fat in menu, arrogant behavior of staff during bargain, women wearing hats with peyyots etc.). As he said:

> This is mere kitsch and hidden judophobia. Very circumspect judophobia. Because if we consider all that just mistakes, you have too many of them. The idea is wrong and real Jews have nothing to do with that. (...) All of that is kitsch and the game is made to earn money on judophobia. Anti-Semitism is the next step in this matter. After we ate here I felt as if I was offended.

To my mind, the opening of this cafe is a clear and alarming example of constructing virtual Jewish world for consumers' purposes, not taking into consideration the feelings and interests of community itself. Moreover, as Meylakh Sheykhet mentioned during our interview, many tourists perceive this simulated past as being authentic, thinking that the owners and creators of the restaurants are the representatives of Jewish community. The ersatz nostalgia for "lost paradise" of idealized conflictless pre-war world is being created – for example, we read in the official address to clients of the restaurant that:

> Ruthenians, Poles, Jews, Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Armenians, Gypsies, Greeks and Tatars – had been creating together Galicia – a world without evil... The city was not narrow for people, beliefs and languages. There was enough place for churches, synagogues and Kirches... In the Catastrophe – Shoah – the whole nation was killed. Our city – Lviv, Leopolis, Lemberg, Lwow was demolished. The whole world disappeared. Our common world.

At the same time one of the most problematic subjects is the name of the cafe, or more precisely – the world "żydivska", which has an ambivalent meaning. On the one hand, in pre-war Galicia the word "żyd" was quite common (both in the Polish and Ukrainian languages)

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and meant "a Jew". On the other, during the Soviet time the Russian word "evrei" came into the language, whereas "żyd" acquired a rather pejorative sense, especially for Russian-speaking people (and – correspondingly – for Russian-speaking Jews). Therefore, this emphasized linguistic difference, also used by some part of Galician intelligentsia, results in stigmatizing contemporary Jewish community through "othering" and "distinguishing" them from "native Galician pre-war Jews". Indeed, it is much easier to deal with mythologized pre-war community than with real needs and feelings of contemporary Jews. And while linguists and historians may continue discussing and speculating on which name is more accurate, the vandal pejorative inscriptions that appear on Jewish memorial sites from time to time include precisely the ż-word.

It is important to admit that the realm of tourism becomes the most inclusive for Jewish heritage in the context of promotion of multicultural image of Lviv. Thus, out of 25 tourist agencies enlisted on the web-site of the city Council,[5] 11 propose separate tours to "Jewish Lviv", which is most likely to indicate the growing interest of visitors in this heritage. It is interesting that the heritage of other national groups is selected for separate walking tours much more rarely (Armenian – 3 cases, Ruthenian – 3, Austrian – 2, Greek – 1). There is no single tour named "Polish Lviv," though in this case the remnants of physical heritage are very significant and very popular as a destination for nostalgic Polish tourists, who come to "Lwów" with their own tour guides in most of cases. The question of how tourism shapes the memory of multicultural Lviv is very interesting and important for further investigation, yet I will not seriously consider this issue in my paper. It should be noted that the example of the "Galicia Jewish cafe" is a rather dangerous sign of simulacrisation and creation of "virtual pseudo-Jewish space" as a result of commodification of the Jewish past.

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[5] http://www.city-adm.lviv.ua/content/view/4/33/ (retrieved on May 20, 2009)

4.3. Actors and countervoices in the discussions of Jewish heritage

As we could see, a lot of different actors are involved in the debates on Jewish heritage and its management. Several magazines and internet-journals (such as the culture studies magazine "Ji", "Krytyka" journal, portal zaxid.net) became the platforms of discussions among intellectuals on the future development of Jewish heritage and different aspects of the Ukrainian-Jewish relations. However, it is important to distinguish several non-governmental organizations that are particularly active in the realm of revitalization of the Jewish past and consider the problems and tensions they have encountered.

Among the Jewish communities we should single out the following ones: charity foundation "Hesed Arie", the Ukrainian branch of UCSJ (Union of Councils for Jews from the Former Soviet Union) headed by Meylakh Sheykhet, and the Regional Study Golodomor and Holocaust Center (RSGHC) named after Alexander Schwarz[6] (director – Rudolf Mirsky). Among non-Jewish institutions, the growing importance is being acquired by theCenter for Urban History in East-Central Europe, established in 2004 as a private non-profit organization (director – Harald Binder).

From the interview with professor Mirsky I found out that the "Golodomor" part in the name of their organization appeared "on the all-Ukrainian wave" of commemorating this tragic event several years ago. In the books and journals that the Center publishes, numerous articles are devoted to different aspects of the Ukrainian-Jewish relations and particularly to the facts of cooperation. The West-Ukrainian National Republic (1918-1919) became a historical period that acquired important role in this context. At that time some Jewish groups gave significant support to Ukrainians in conflict with Poles – there even was a Jewish sub-unit in the Ukrainian Galician Army (Finberg 2005). Hence we can observe the attempts to

[6] Alexander Schwarz was one of the survivors of Yaniv concentration camp (existed near Lviv in 1942-1944. Estimated amount of victims – 200000, mainly Jews). Nowadays he lives in Munich and supports the Center financially (from the interview with Rudolf Mirsky).

harmonize the past and emphasize similar problems in Ukrainian and Jewish narratives, both

on local and all-Ukrainian levels – through similarity of sufferings and common struggles.

Generally speaking, both Rudolf Mirsky and Meilakh Sheikhet positively estimated the

politics towards Jewish heritage in post-Soviet Ukraine. They both mentioned the

phenomenon of "Jewish renaissance" after the fall of communism – in Mirsky's

understanding this is "the creation of societies of Jewish culture, recovery of Yiddish

literature, emigration of the part of people to Israel", whereas for Sheykhet it is based on "the

salvation of historical cultural heritage, which should become a cultural capital for

constructing new Jewish identity, to show Jewish-gentiles interpenetrations and Jewish

impact on the development of science and culture in Galicia". On the other hand, they both

mentioned the tensions with nationalistic local politics and ambiguity of state politics towards

heritage, – the rights of minority and protection of heritage are stated in the Constitution in a

very democratic way, but not much is being done on practice. Speaking about the reasons for

such politics, they mentioned economic and cultural crisises, emphasizing also the problem of

low activity in local Jewish communities.

Hesed Arie (local Jewish charity organization, financially supported by the American

Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) has recently been involved in a conflict with a radical

right-wing party of growing popularity "Svoboda" ("Freedom")[7]. The main areas of Hesed's

activity are charity and education, therefore they were showing the film "Two Tangos" in

schools, which describes what happened to Jews in Lviv during the Holocaust. Members of

the "Freedom" party complained about the film, especially because it touched the question of

Ukrainian-Nazi collaboration. In response, the commission of regional legislature banned

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[7] "Freedom" party is headed by Oleg Tyagnybok, a nationalist politician, infamous for his anti-Semitic and anti-Russian statements. The popularity of his radical party grew in times of economic and political crisis, especially in Western Ukraine.

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showing this film in schools, explaining the decision with "harmful scenes of violence", which can be dangerous for children psyche.

The main activities of the above-mentioned Center for Urban History in East-Central Europe concern researching and discussing the history of Lviv as a city of the multi-cultural past and heritage in cooperation with the international scholars as well as city's existing academic institutions. In the context of Jewish heritage, the Center organized two important events – the exhibition "Lviv A World Way" (provided by the "Neue Synagogue – Centrum Judaicum-Berlin and held from September 2008 till March 2009) and the conference "Urban Jewish heritage in East-Central Europe" in October, 2008. As we can read on Center's homepage[8], the exhibition was dedicated to Lviv which, in the words of Leopold Unger, was "a city of three nations – Poles, Ukrainians and Jews (not counting Armenians, Crimean Karaites, Tatars and others), a city of three desires, three philosophies, languages, religions and an endless number of conflicts", the city that does not exist anymore. The exhibition thus combined the histories of various communities, displaying both the forgotten, erased, and unfamiliar as well as well-known places, figures and events. Yet, the narrative of the Jewish past was strongly emphasized. The conference gathered international group of experts – scholars and practitioners and one of the major topics was revitalization of Jewish quarters and the challenges that accompany this process[9]. Both exhibition and conference evoked a lot of discussions on Lviv's former multiculturalism and the future of Jewish heritage. Yet, as the academic Director of the Center Tarik Amar mentioned:

> We had one very negative reaction to the conference. The deputy director of "Ji"[10] Iryna Magdysh wrote a piece... (...) Her thesis is that the conference is driven by German... she identifies us with German which is

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[8] http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/exhibitions/lvivexhib/ (retrieved on May 30, 2009)
[9] The program of conference can be downloaded here: http://www.lvivcenter.org/download.php?downloadid=40 (retrieved on May 30, 2009)
[10] Independent cultural studies magazine, which has been an important actor in Galician cultural field since 2000. The themes brought up by authors focus on inter-ethnic relations, multiculturalism, borderland territories, European identity, Euro-integration and contemporary political discourse. The volumes 48 and 51 (2008) were

not quite correct, but whatever... by German need to shift the blame of the Holocaust onto Eastern-Europeans. It was a very defensive reaction – she didn't really attend the conference at all, but she did think that the conference is some attempt to blame Ukrainians or some sort of the thing... (...) So I wrote a response and that's where it stopped.

The other thing was that the exhibition triggered one very negative response, which came from the member of oblasna (*regional – A.S.*) rada called Novozhenets. For him the problem seemed to be... (...) within this chronology there was... one or two-three sentences about the German occupation and the Holocaust. And in those sentences in our version... they were extremely balanced... (...) that there were extremely complicated relations between Germans and Ukrainian nationalism, which, as we explained, included not only cooperation, but also conflict. Historical reality is really very complex. There is a question about the OUN (*Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – A.S.*) and its attitude towards Jews and towards the Holocaust. (...). And it seems that Novozhenets took this very-very badly and thought it was... I think he took it as some sort of slander on Ukrainians and he initiated some sort of verification which of course we passed. This should be stressed – there was a negative reaction like this but the exhibition was then – as the law requires – verified and that's where it stopped. And the officers that checked the exhibition did not follow his line. This means that this line was not representative.

At the same time, as Mr. Amar asserted, there were numerous very positive comments in the guestbook, and the level of attendance of the exhibition was relatively high – 2000 visitors in 6 months, including school classes. Mr. Amar also emphasized very fruitful cooperation with local experts and willingness for handshaking from the deputy mayor. Together with UCSJ and the Museum of the History of Religion that owns a rich collection of Judaica, the project of the Museum of Galician Jews is being elaborated. The ongoing project "Around an Old Jewish street" is also being conducted by the Center and the aim is to accumulate a database of scholarly elaborations of archival and bibliographical data, live research, as well as visual (videorecordings, photogallery, graphic materials) and verbal (interviews) information on the life of the Midtown Jewish Quarter in Lviv.

As we can see, the politics of memory towards Jewish heritage is very complex and multi-layered, involving many actors and interest groups. Though we cannot speak about total decolonization of memory in our case, minorities' discourse has been partially included into the city space in post-socialist times. However, in the context of Jewish heritage this decolonization has a clearly selective character – preferring national Ukrainian narrative and

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devoted to "Hebrew Universe of Galicia" and "Hebrew Lviv", respectively and their edition was supported by "Hesed Arie".

reflecting the Jewish past mainly in secular terms through the mirror of annihilation. As Ruth Gruber (2002) argued, the codified message of Jewish heritage sites is that this chapter belongs to the past, Jewish culture and development stopped long ago and never revived. In my opinion, such a message is precisely the case of politics of memory in Lviv.

Jewish legacy appears to be dissonant (according to the classification of Arshworth and Tunbridge) in many ways: first of al,l it is disinherited because of significant changes in the structure of population; it can also be called non-conforming and distasteful, because of being connected to atrocities and the problematic pages of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the WWII.

At the same time, "connecting" narratives – such as mutual influences of Ukrainian and Jewish cultures in Galicia, Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation in ZUNR, similarity of the sufferings in Holocaust and Golodomor, honoring of Righteous among Nations – are also widely promoted, mainly by intelligentsia and academics (both Jews and non-Jews).

The inclusion of Jewish legacy in the touristic image of the city is rapidly increasing, at the same time creating the danger of virtualization and simulacrization of the Jewish past. These processes also lead to the idealization of the pre-war community, opposed to contemporary ("Soviet-descendent") Jews. Among two former Jewish quarters the one in Midtown is referred more often in the context of Jewish identity, regardless the fact that in Krakow district the remnants of material Jewish heritage are objectively more significant. On the one hand, this may result in simulation and commoditisation of the central quarter, on the other - in further elimination of Jewish traces in suburban districts. On the current stage of revitalization of Jewish heritage the agency of concrete individuals and (especially) their groups have the most significant influence, often stimulating macro-level strategies. Among the non-governmental organizations it is important to distinguish several Jewish NGOs – the above-mentioned Hesed-Arie, UCSJ and RSGHC) as well as non-Jewish cultural

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organizations (such as the Center for Urban History), supported by international institutions. These organizations often become the agents of implementation of dominant Western discourse on Holocaust and Jewish heritage into Ukrainian cultural space, which is sometimes contested by Ukrainian national narrative.

5. Analysis of the results of research "Jewish heritage in Lviv: awareness and attitudes of city inhabitants" and of control focus-group discussion

In the previous chapter we discussed how Jewish heritage is being (re)constructed mainly by elites – city and national power, international and local organizations, and tourist managers and – to a large extent – intellectuals. Based on the results of our survey, we are going to see how Jewish heritage is perceived by the majority of the city population. The basic hypothesis is that we can speak about high level of internalization of dominant discourse on Jewish heritage due to the lack of alternative sources – such as memory transmitted from generation to generation. In this part I will also discuss the results of focus-group discussion comparing it to the outcomes of survey and considering the dynamism and challenges that occur between quantitative and qualitative types of data.

Characteristics of sample

The survey "Jewish heritage in Lviv: awareness and attitudes of city inhabitants" was conducted in September, 2000 by the Center of Urban History in East-Central Europe in cooperation with the Center of Social Monitoring "Socio-inform" with the participation of the author of thesis. The sample of 800 people is representative for the population of Lviv according to districts of inhabitance, gender, age and education. The sample consisted of 52% women and 48% men, distributed according to age and education in a following way:

Graph 1. Education

Graph 2. Age

Education

Higher /uncomlete higher education	41%
Specialized secondary education	40%
Secondary education	15%
Primary education	4%

0% — 25% — 50%

Age of respondents

60+	21%
50-59	14%
40-49	20%
30-39	22%
20-29	24%

0% — 25% — 50%
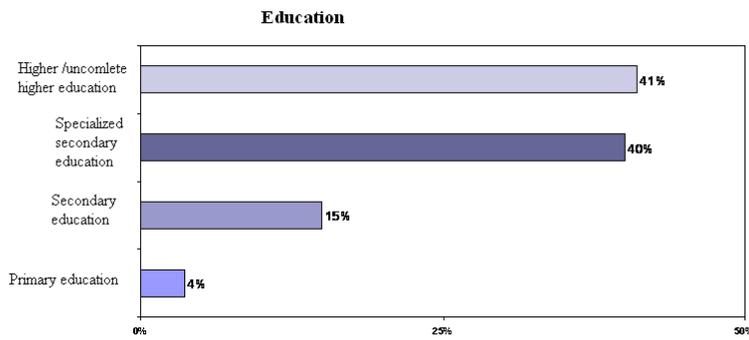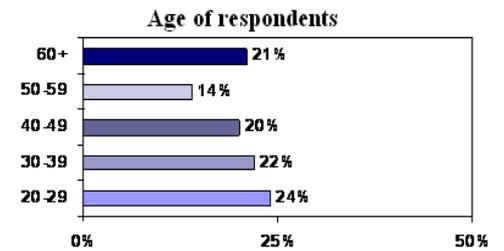
In terms of our research especially interesting is the data on "indigenousity" of city inhabitants that allows transmitting the memory about life in Lviv from generation to generation.

Graph 3. Indigenousity

Have you/your relatives lived in Lviv since birth?

	Yes	No
Grand-grand mother/father	5%	95%
Grandmother/-father	20%	80%
Parents	27%	73%
You personally	43%	58%

0% — 25% — 50% — 75% — 100%
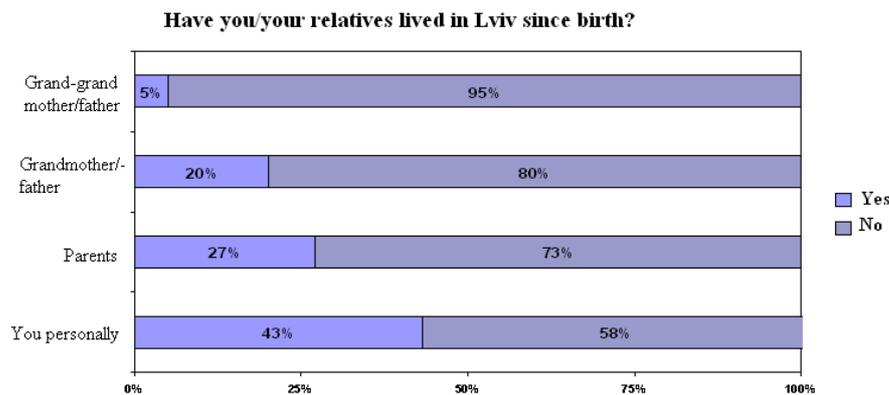
From Graph 3 we again receive evidence on mainly external-origin nature of city population. Thus, almost 60% of residents were not born in the city. The highest (70,8%) percent is among the residents aged more then 60 – those who could be live bearers of the memory about pre-war Lviv and its inhabitants. The amount of second and third-generation Lvivians doesn't exceed 30%. We will further consider the influence of this characteristics on people's awareness and attitudes towards Jewish heritage.

When we speak about residents' identity, the picture is quite homogeneous – while people could choose several variants, the most popular was national identity (Ukrainian –

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75%) and civic identity (the citizen of Ukraine – 31%). The second popular identity is local and regional (Lvivian – 31%, Galician – 11% and the inhabitant of Western Ukraine – 9%). The population is mainly Ukrainian-speaking (91%) and the level of declared religiousness is quite high – less than 1% of respondents claimed to be atheists, whereas the most popular religious denominations are Greek-Catholic (57,5%) and Orthodox (Kyiv patriarchate) – 24,5%. Other denominations got less then 5%.

Therefore, the structure and identification of nowadays Lviv population by the example of our sample appears to be quite homogeneous and very far from former multiculturalism. We will now consider how this group perceives and remembers the heritage of community that once was influential and vibrant.

5.1. Influence of different cultures on the development of Lviv: residents' attitudes
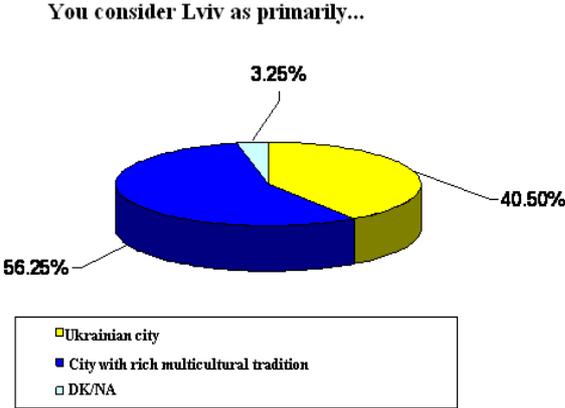
Graph 4. View on Lviv
Graph 5. View on influence of cultural traditions
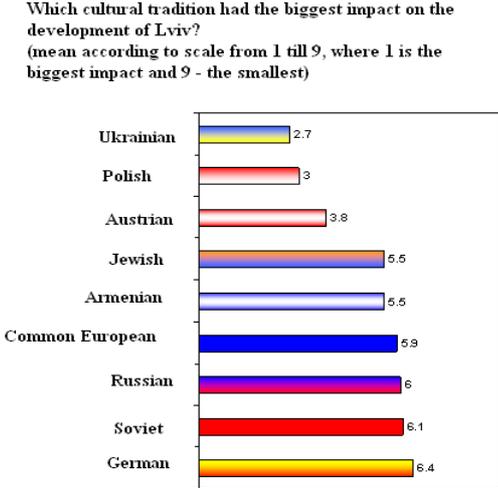
Most of the city inhabitants tend to describe the city as multicultural (56,2%), however around 40% see it as Ukrainian. While defining the most influential cultures, Lvivians

emphasize the role of Ukrainian, Polish and Austrian traditions. Jewish and Armenian traditions are also in the first group of five, whereas Russian and Soviet traditions are considered to be the least influential, despite the fact of significant urban growth of the city in times of the USSR. To my mind, this result is a reaction to the process of decolonization of memory, when the legacy of former dominant culture is being radically rejected. It is important to admit that, in Lviv's case, Russian and Soviet narratives are very often converged in popular perception, – Soviet times are seen as a period of domination and imposing of Russian culture. I also think these results signify a quite high level of internalization of dominant memory discourse by inhabitants. Thus, as it was mentioned before, in post-socialist period both Soviet and Russian discourses became radically dissonant and often excluded from urban space, whereas Ukrainian national discourse acquired significant dominance, together with partial recreation of multicultural past. While Jewish cultural tradition is seen as quasi influential, its impact is mostly evaluated as rather positive (37%) or neutral (33%), whereas about 20% of respondents confess that they do not know almost anything on this question.

5.2. General awareness of Jewish heritage and sources of appropriate information .

The position of the majority of residents towards Jewish heritage can be described as ignorant and indifferent. Thus, almost 40% of respondents claimed they are not interested in getting any information about the past and present life of Jewish community in Lviv (see graph 6). Mass-media (especially television) have leading role as a source of information about the past and present life of Jewish community in Lviv. Fiction and scientific literature also play important role as well as the information received from family members and friends. Cultural and local historical organizations are expected to give more information about Jewish heritage than they actually do.

Graph 6. Sources of information

From which sources do you get/ would you like to get the information about history and life of Jewish community in Lviv?

Source		
I'm not interested in that	24,5%	37,90%
Nowhere	6,9%	0,5%
Lviv Jewish community	1,0%	4,8%
Cultural organizations	1,3%	5,5%
Speeches of officials	3,6%	3,1%
Touristic materials	3,9%	6,40%
Excursions, museums	5,8%	6,50%
School program	6,9%	2,0%
Other members of family	9,9%	
Radio	12,4%	10,3%
Fiction	14,3%	6,60%
Scientific literature	14,2%	11,4%
Coleagues/friends	22,0%	
Newspapers	25,1%	21,3%
Television	33,0%	29,9%

There was a block of questions concerning reflection of the history of Jewish community in people's memory. About 40% of people found it difficult to say when Jews first appeared in Lviv, while about 37% are close to the correct answer to this question, seeing Jewish tradition as deeply rooted in the history of Galicia and Lviv.

Graph 7 . Awareness of history of Jewish community

When do you think Jews appeared in Lviv for the first time? (in%)

Period	Percentage
9-11 ct.	11.60%
12-13 ct.	27.00%
14-16 ct	15.00%
17-18 ct.	7.00%
19-20 ct.	2.90%
DK/NA	37%

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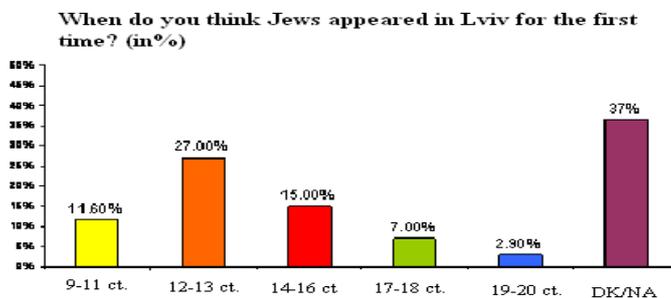
As to construction of the Jewish district in people's perception, we can also see the preference for the Midtown quarter and oblivion of the suburban Krakow district[11].

Graph 8. Awareness of Jewish districts

Where in Lviv there used to be a Jewish district(s)?
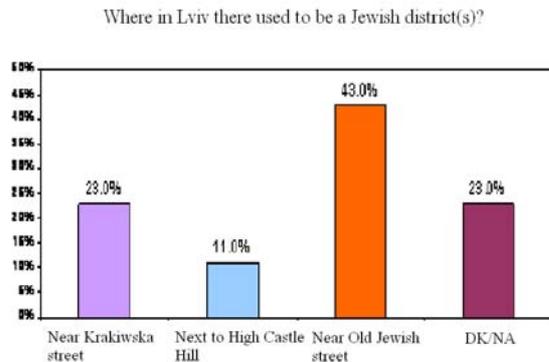
Speaking about the sites people connect to the Jewish past, the majority (53%) found it difficult to name any of them without a hint. The most known for Lvivians are the ruins of "The Golden Rose". People are also quite familiar with the existence of the operating synagogue as well as with the Monument to Holocaust victims – the sites which are been most actively used now. At the same time, the biggest gap between hinted and spontaneously named sites can be observed in two cases – the former Jewish theater and former Jewish hospital. As it was mentioned before, both still exist but nothing reminds us of their Jewish past. Very few people know anything about the Judaica collection in the Museum of History of Religion.

Graph 9. Awareness of Jewish cultural-historical monuments in Lviv

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[11] The answer "Krakiwska street" is actually wrong, because it is situated in the central part of the city between two Jewish districts, closer to a former Armenian quarter.

Which cultural-historical monuments of Jewish community in Lviv can you name?

■ With a hint   ■ Spontaneously
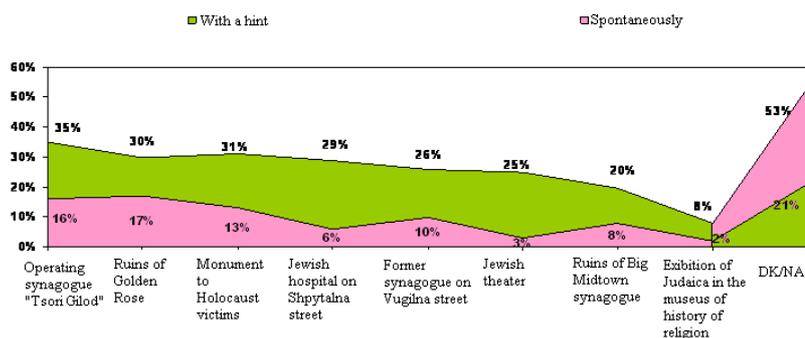
The question about famous Jews whose fate was connected to Lviv was also difficult for most of the respondents (55%), though the most known appeared to be those commemorated in the names of streets – especially Sholom-Aleykhem, whose works are also included in school programs world literature.

Graph 11. Awareness of prominent Jewish figures from Lviv

Whom of the famous Jewish activists from Lviv you can recall?

■ With a hint   ■ Spontaneously
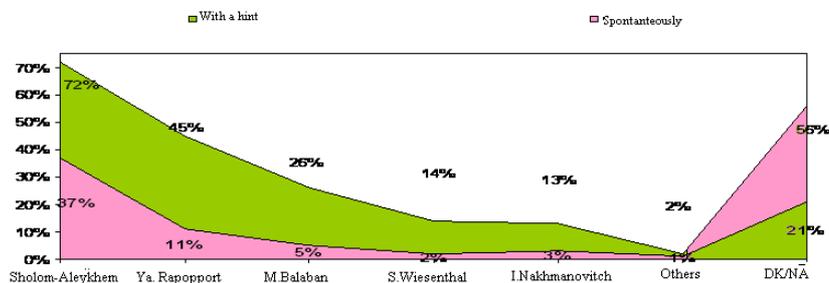
As we can see, the results on dwellers' general awareness of Jewish heritage in Lviv to a large extent reflect the representation of the Jewish past in the city landscape and therefore the politics of memory. I would argue that the main and probably the only source of creation of historical memory about the Jewish community in Lviv for most of inhabitants is the "city as a text" itself.

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Considering answers to the question about the professions attributable to Jews in Lviv, we can observe two tendencies: either references to higher professional groups – doctors, lawyers and professors or to specific economic activities (such as merchants and money-lenders). This is quite close to the historical picture – as V.Melamed (1994) states, the highest percentage of Jews in interwar time was in such spheres as education, medicine, industry, trade and commerce. Thus, as this author states, such a high position of Jews in social structure was often the reason for conflicts with other national groups. The economic state of the Jewish community compared to others is usually estimated as much better (72%) or at least of the same level (19%)

Graph 10. View of typical occupations of Jews

Which professions, do you think, were the most common for Jews in pre-war Lviv?
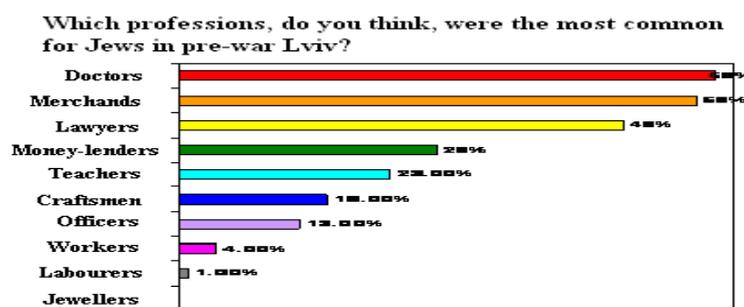
5.3. Heritage of atrocities: awareness of pogroms and Holocaust in Lviv.

One of the most striking results is that almost a half of respondents (48%) think that pogroms did not take place in Lviv in the 20th century. Those who know about the fact of their happening name mainly the pogrom of 1941 (66,4%). The main source of getting information about pogroms for people were personal contacts (family) and interests (literature), only 30% of the respondents obtained such information from educational institutions and 19% - from media. Most of people (47%) think that this information should

be covered in popular science literature, whereas 13% think it does not have to be spoken about at all and 6% state that it is too early to speak about this (see graphs 12,13).

The situation with awareness of the existence of Jewish Ghetto in Lviv is much better – 83% have at least heard something about that (see graph 14). People also tend to underestimate the percentage of Jewish population in pre-war times (average 26,48% comparing to official 34,7%) and significantly overestimate the percentage of Jews living in Lviv after the war and nowadays (see table 2).

Graph 12. Awareness of the years of pogroms   *Graph 13. View of necessity of discussion*
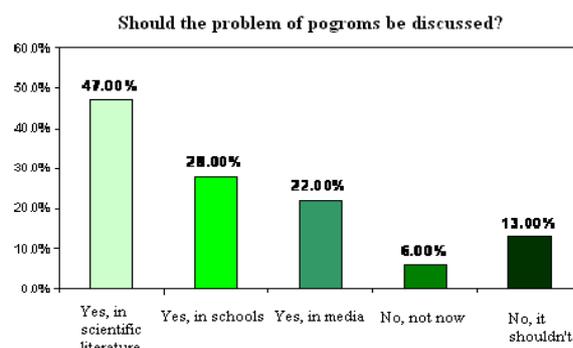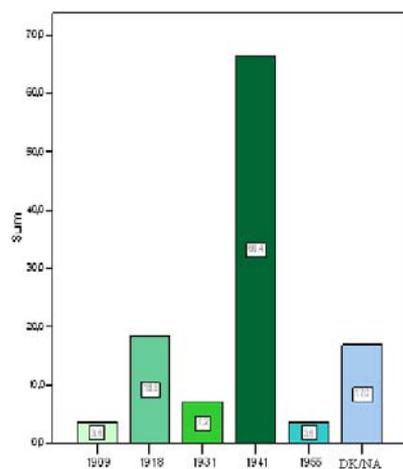
Graph 14. Awareness of existence of Ghetto

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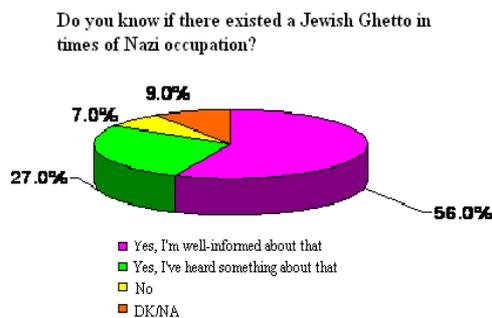
Table 2. View on the percentage of Jewish population in comparison to official statistics

What was the percentage of Jewish population in Lviv...?	Mean according to survey	Official socio-demographical data (Finberg 2005:310)
Before WWII?	26,48%	34,7% (1941 p.)
After WWII?	9,04%	0,9% (1944 p.)
Nowadays?	18,67%	0,2% (1999 p.)

5.4. Lvivians' view on future perspectives of Jewish heritage

Graph 15. The benefit for city and residents

How the popularization of Jewish heritage could be beneficial for the city and dwellers?

- For increase of touristic attractiveness — 53%
- As a revival of the part of city history — 46%
- For the increase of dwellers' incomes — 35%
- For the improvement of the image of the city — 32%
- For the "europeaness" of Lviv — 17%
- For the increase of tolerance among inhabitants — 16%
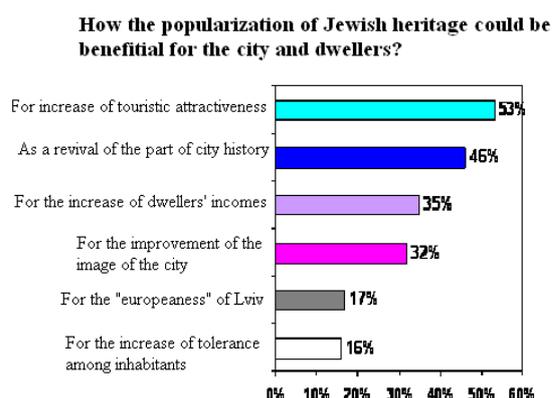
A majority of residents generally support the ideas of revitalizing Jewish heritage and consider it to be useful for the city (60,12%), but rather in material sense. Thus, people tend to think that the most important impact would be the increase of touristic attractiveness of the city. Just 15% of Lvivians think the revival of Jewish heritage will contribute to the increase of tolerance among residents, while 45% think it could be the source of income for city inhabitants. It is interesting that the age-factor appeared to be influential with regard for the level of support of the idea to revitalize Jewish legacy. Thus, young people (20-29 years) as

well as residents aged 50-59 have shown the highest level of support for the idea of

revitalization (64,4% and 68,5% respectively), whereas among elder people (aged 60 and

more) this percentage is the lowest (50,6%).

Graph 16. Financial support to revitalizing actions

Who should support financially the realization of the following ideas (in brackets – the percetage of Lvivians who support the idea per se, %)

	Private	Common	Budget

	Establishment of monuments and memorial plaques in honour of famous Lviv Jews (42%)	Reconstruction of synagogues and other monuments of Jewish architecture (50%)	Conduction of Jewish festivals and cultural events (49%)	Establishment of the museum of Galician Jews (48%)	Establishment of the museum of Holocaust (57%)	Publishing of the books on Jewish history and culture (55%)	Conduction of temporary exhibitions on Jewish culture (61%)
Budget	11.00%	8.00%	4.00%	10.00%	15.00%	9.00%	15.00%
Common	25%	34.00%	20.00%	27.00%	33.00%	19.00%	22.00%
Private	64.0%	59.0%	76.0%	63.0%	52.00%	72.0%	63.0%

As for the future perspectives of the development of Jewish heritage, most of the

inhabitants supported the museum path. Thus more than 60% of respondents were in favor of

the exhibitions on Jewish history and traditions. The most supported was the idea of

Holocaust museum (57%), which is quite coherent with general city politics of

commemorating rather annihilation than history of Jews in Galicia. A bit less popular is the

idea of the creation of the museum of Galician Jewry (48%). On the other hand, dwellers are

quite excluding when it comes to possibility of integration of the Jewish references into urban

space– thus the installing of memory plaques support 41,9% of respondents, and just 20%

think it would be reasonable to rename the streets in honor of famous Jewish activists. The

financial responsibility for these actions is mostly supposed to be put on the private investors

and institutions, mainly Jewish ones.

Bi-variate analysis has shown that generally those who live in the city from their birth

show better awareness on different aspects of the history of Jewish community as well as

higher level of support for popularization of Jewish heritage (yet the highest this percent is

among 4th generation dwellers). Besides, second and third generation lvivians are more likely

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to consider Lviv being the city with multicultural European tradition then the other groups.

Therefore our hypothesis about high influence of the factor of "indigeneosity" has been

proven.

5.5. Focus-group discussion "Impact of different cultures on the development of Lviv"

Now we will compare these results with the outcomes of focus-group discussion "The

impact of different cultures on the development of Lviv", conducted in April, 2009. We

should keep in mind that the discussion was control and non-representative in strict sense.

Though it consisted of 8 people of different age and gender, it was the group of

"intelligentsia", because all of the participants had higher education, in 4 cases – in the sphere

of humanities. Nevertheless the outcomes are very interesting and show the gaps that

structured statistical questionnaire omit.

The discussion aimed to investigate how people perceive the influence of different

culture on the contemporary image of Lviv. Therefore, the first advantage of this method was

the possibility to regard people's perception of Jewish heritage in context and in comparison

to other cultures. Thus, as it came out, the respondents agreed on Lviv being a city on

crossroads of cultures. Yet its nowadays Ukrainian identity they legitimize and trace through

the reference to Ancient Rus tradition in times of Galicia-Volynia Kingdom (1199–1392)

when the city was established. Among three most influential cultures they named Ukrainian-

Ruthenian, Polish and Jewish. It is important to admit that respondents had problems while

discussing the influence of Ukrainian-Ruthenian culture as one, tending to separate their

impact.

What came out during the discussion on Jewish influence, not being really included into

the questionnaire, was the intangible dimension of Jewish heritage and cultural tradition.

Thus, the participants had problems with recollecting other architectural sites besides "Golden Rose", making the point that Jewish culture didn't really influence the architectural face of city and to my mind this is also the result of "invisibility" of Jewish traces in contemporary cityscape of Lviv. Referring to Jewish quarter respondents mentioned only midtown district, which supports our hypothesis about general tendency of vanishing memory about existence of Krakow suburban Jewish quarter.

Though some of the discussants mentioned the isolating and closed character of Jewish community -"stewing in their own juice" (Valentina, 65), as well as their lack of influence and political rights, almost all of them admitted significant impact of Jewish dwellers on the city development, especially in economic sphere. Thus according to respondents: "they had inner culture, but did a lot for general trade and development" (Markiyan, age 30), "they were merchants and travelers, so they brought knowledge and experience from other cultures – new energy and new information" (Ira, age 29), "they were first bankers and money-lenders" (Oleksandr, age 20). Among the characteristics of members of Jewish community respondents mentioned both positive and negative ones – such as adaptability, "another habit of mind" (Valentina 65), friendliness, assiduity, mutual support, loyalty and professionalism as well as slyness and "will to rule the world". Therefore focus-group discussion appears to be an effective method to see what stereotypes people associate with Jews. I think they are mostly internalized from media and literature, due to the lack of contact with Jews of small existing city community, yet this complex question needs further investigations. There was also a short argument on the problem of victimization between two discussants. Thus Valentina (age 62) mentioned the sufferings and annihilation of Jews during the war, whereas Zenoviya (age 65) contradicted saying that "everybody suffered, especially Ukrainians". Speaking about the future of Jewish heritage, respondents agreed that it is important to let Jewish community manage it themselves, creating favorable condition. Thus according to

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Iryna (age 40) "we (*Ukrainians – A.S.*) don't have money for our own culture, not to mention the other ones, so we have just let them do whatever they want with their culture". Generally respondents agreed on the importance of "preserving what we have now in our beautiful city" (Markiyan, age 35). Oleksandr (age 21) also mentioned the responsibility of entrepreneurs for the preservation of historical heritage.

As we can conclude from both survey and focus group discussion, dwellers know very little about material legacy of Galician Jews and treat it rather indifferently. The voids in city space have lead to creation of voids in people's historical memory and this is the result of a high level of internalization of the selective discourses, promoted by city politics. I would also assume that such situation is an aftermath of underrepresentation of Jewish narrative in other sources – such as school manuals, Ukrainian-language fiction and popular media (the latter also appeared to be the most desirable and significant source of information for people). Of course, very influential is the factor of mainly post-war coming character of city population which implies the lack of intergenerational transmission of collective memory on city past. Both survey and focus-group discussion have shown the tendency of stereotypic yet traditional view of Jewish community as merchants and money-lenders living in their own isolated world. At the same time, focus-group discussion gave us more complex and multi-layered material for analysis. If statistical data base is a good source when we speak about general awareness on studied problem, focus-group discussion appears to be important source to study stereotypes, debatable subjects and generally unexpected issues, which could not be taken into account while designing the questionnaire. Besides, it stimulates verbalizing memories, ideas and experiences in multivocal environment, creating small temporary milieux of collective memory, where narratives are also often contested. Yet for focus-group discussion the problem of representativeness remains actual, as well as the possibility of

mutual influence and giving the answers to support general tendency (often articulated by one

or two the most active participants). That's why the combination and comparison of different

methods in investigation of this question plays really important role.

6. Conclusions

Post-Communist transformations brought wide opportunities to revitalize memories and legacy that used to be succumbed by soviet politics of organized forgetting. These processes were called "decolonization of memory" by Pierre Nora (2005) and were celebrated all around East-Central Europe. Together with the memory of dominant nations, the discourse of heritage of minorities and annihilated communities was also brought, being shaped both by inner and wider political forces, as well as new factors – such as globalization and development of tourism. In many Central-European cities these processes catalyzed (re)construction of Jewish quarters and revitalization of Jewish heritage, which often acquired the characteristics of virtuality and simulacrisation, becoming popular destination for tourists. The situation in Lviv appeared to be very specific due to several reasons. Like lots of cities in East-Central Europe it used be the home for different cultures and nations for centuries, yet the shift in the structure of population became incomparably dramatic in the second half of XX century as an aftermath of WWII as well as national and urbanization politics of USSR. Heritage of annihilated Jewish community has undergone multiple destructions under two totalitarian regimes and was contested by nationalist project in post-soviet Lviv. Jewish sites in Lviv usually lack several or even all the characteristics of *lieu de memoire* (material, functional and symbolical), and a lot of traces are being erased. Yet it is important to admit, that memory of national communities, that once constituted multicultural space of the city was partly introduced into the urban space, largely due to the support of NGOs and international influence. At the same time our research shows that the general process of decolonization of memory in Lviv had selective character – with almost absolute marginalization and stigmatization of Soviet discourse, clear preference to Ukrainian narrative, lack of sensitivity towards minorities' memory and picking up just certain aspects

of multicultural past. That's why in case of Lviv it is more relevant to speak about selective decolonization.

Basing on our analysis we can conclude that in the context of Jewish heritage in Lviv there exist two main commemorative projects, which use different narratives – multicultural and traumatic. These narratives are not homogeneous themselves and are clashing and coexisting in symbolical space, being supported and promoted by different actors. Thus traumatic narrative of Holocaust and annihilation of Jewish community appears to be selected by city politics on a wave of general tendency to commemorate atrocities of totalitarian regimes (both Communist and Nazi). Yet, when it comes to the problematic questions of Jewish-Ukrainian relations during WWII, the narrative enters into dissonance with the heroic national Ukrainian project. Debates on guilt and collaboration during Holocaust are provoked by local intelligentsia (who do not really find consensus between themselves) as well as by several Jewish NGOs, although external influence (especially from America and Israel) plays an important, sometimes "accusative" role, which can evoke defensive reaction. At the same time, these discussions are still held in quite narrow circles of intellectuals, and it is now difficult to say if Ukraine will follow Polish scenario of mass discussions and "test of conscience" on these problematic issues.

Another narrative is aimed to commemorate a former multicultural character of Lviv and Galicia, where Jewish community played significant role (as well as Polish, Armenian, German, etc.). Local and international intelligentsia, aiming to commemorate multivocal yet contentious past, unique customs and traditions of each community and their mutual influence, is again the main "promoter" of this discourse. In spite of being a rival of the national Ukrainian project, it is also partly supported by the city government and is being increasingly used by tourist managers. This narrative inscribes Lviv into a wider Central-European cultural framework, which makes the city more vibrant and attractive for visitors.

Yet in commoditized touristic version it appears to acquire the characteristics of ersatz nostalgia, idealization and pastiche, creating a tension between authenticity and virtuality and is being criticized by intellectuals. Furthermore, idealization of pre-war Jews becomes the reference point for "othering" and "stereotyping" of contemporary community.

The prevalent politics to emphasize "traumatic" experience of the extermination of multicultural past, especially in the Jewish case, appears to be widely internalized by city inhabitants who acquire the message of "a world that is lost forever". Pierre Nora (1989) describes such a type of memory as historicized, arguing that it comes from outside because it is no longer a social practice and we interiorize it as an individual constraint. This politics yields widespread ignorant or indifferent attitudes of Lvivians towards Jewish heritage, despite the fact that they are inclined to recognize the influence of different cultures on the image of the city. The high level of internalization of dominant memory discourse is, to my mind, primarily the result of discontinuity of the city population and therefore the low possibility of intergenerational transmission of collective memory about pre-war life in Lviv.

Recognizing the importance of commemorating atrocities and their victims, I argue that a considerable vacuum both in the urban space of Lviv and in the memory of its residents is created by the lack of narrative about people who once inhabited Jewish quarters, their lifestyle, customs and traditions as well as their relations with Ukrainian and Polish population.

At the same time, as many scholars argue, heritage cannot be understand as something stable and unchangeable, being always the arena of signifying practices. As we can see, tourism becomes an inevitably influential factor and if used with certain control, can bring very good results. The existing project – creation of the Jewish museum – would have, to my mind, a positive impact on current situation; futhermore, the idea is supported by city dwellers. Yet, I would argue that the main discourse in such a museum should be built on

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images, videos, photographs and artifacts, showing the life of Jewish residents of Lviv – both in the past and present. The latter narrative is particularly important for contemporary community, as it is often being opposed to idealized pre-war "native Jews". Here I totally support Ruth Gruber's argument that "one cannot make Jewish culture without the Jews. Involving Jewish community is difficult and means a lot of discussions, but there is no other way." (Gruber 2002:256). The advantage of Lviv situation, I believe, is that the experience of other cities in East-Central Europe in management of Jewish heritage can be critically taken into account, with due regard for both positive and negative outcomes.

Appendix A. Names of the streets in the Suburban district

Contemporary name	Soviet name	Polish name[12]
Balabana Meira	Lazo Serhei	Berka Jozelewicza
Bazarna Shpytalna	Bazarna	Szpitalna (Hospital street)
Bohdana Khmelnytskogo	Bogdana Khmelnyckogo	Zołkiewska
Browarna (Beer street)	Browarna	Rabbi Meisels
Det'ka	Det'ka	Misionarska
Diamanda	Diamantova	Diamanda
Dzherelna	Dzherelna	Zrodlana (Spring)
Horodotska	Horodotska	Kazimirowska
Kleparivska	Kuzniecova	Kleparowska
Kulisha	Botvina	Słoneczna (Sunny)
Lazneva	Lazenna (Bath)	Lazniowa (Bath)
Lesi Ukrayinky	Lesi Ukrayinky	Skarbkowska
Muliarska	Muliarska (Bricklayer)	Zakątna (Round the corner)
Osmomysla square	Torhova (Trade) square	Krakow square
Ovocheva	Ovocheva (Vegetable)	Owocowa (Vegetable)
Pidmurna	Pidmurna (Under wall)	Smocza (Dragon)
Chornovola Avenue	Avenue of 700-anniversary of Lviv	Pełtewna (Poltva river street)
Rappoporta	Dzhambul	Rappoporta
Rizni ploshcha (The square of slaughter)	Rizni ploshcha	Pl. Rzeźni (The square of slaughter)
Sholom-Aleikhema	Furmanova	Bernstein
Sianska	Sanska (Sian Street)	Bożnicza (Synagogue street)
Stara	Stara (Old)	Cebulna (Onion)
Staryi Rynok (Old Market Square)	Staryi Rynok	Stary Rynek
Udatnoho Mstyslava	Udaloho st.	Starozakonna (Orthodox)
St.Theodor	Central Square	Sw.Teodora
Vesela	Vesela (Happy)	Wesoła (Happy)
Vuhilna	Vuhilna (Coal)	-

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[12] Old names of Lviv streets are taken from http://lviv.ridne.net/oldstreet (retrieved on 20.05.2009)

Appendix B. Names of the streets in the Midtown Quarter

Contemporary name	Soviet name	Polish name
Starojevreiska (Old Jewish street)	Frunze	Boimów
Brativ Rohatyntsiv	Komsomolska	Sobieskogo
Pl.Koliyivshchyny	Pl.Koliyivshchyny	pl. Zydowski pl. Weksliarski
Fedorova	Fedorova	Zydowska (till 1871) Bliaharska
Arsenalna	Arsenalna	Za zbrojivneju

Appendix C. Catalogue of Jewish sites in contemporary Lviv

| Site	Contemporary state and use	Presence	Identification as Jewish (sign, memorial plaque)	Use by contemporary Jewish community
Midtown quarter				
Golden Rose Synagogue	Ruins. Jewish NGO "Golden Rose" operating nearby	-	+	+
Beth Hamidrash	Barren	-	-	-
Big central synagogue	Barren. The lines of fundament marked	-	-	-
Krakow suburb				
Tsori Gilod	Operating Synagogue	+	+	+
Former chassidic synagogue "Jacob Glanzer Schul"	Sholom Aleikhem Society of Jewish culture	+	+	+
Jewish hospital	Maternity hospital	+	-	-
Jewish theater	Youth theater	+	-	-
Jewish gymnasium	School # 52	+	-	-
Tempel synagogue	Barren + memorial sign	-	+	-
Big synagogue of Krakow district	Barren + memorial sign	-	-	-
Chassidic synagogue	Barren	-	-	-
Old Jewish cemetery	Market	-	-	-
New Jewish cemetery	Cemetery for Jews and Muslims, next to Christian one	+	+	+
Holocaust sites				
Site of former Yaniv concentration camp	Memorial table. Penal colony	-	+	-
Ghetto during the war	Monument to the victims of Ghetto	-	+	-

Appendix D. Reanimated Jewish sites

Sholom-Aleykhem Society of Jewish culture (former

Chassidic synagogue). 2009 (photo by Anna Susak)

"Tsori Gilod" – the only still operating synagogue, 2009

(photo by Anna Susak)

Graves in Jewish part of Yaniv cemetery (Gelston 2007)

Appendix E. Memory voids: Jewish sites of the lost former identity

Maternity hospital (former Jewish hospital). 2009

(photo by Anna Susak)

Youth theater (former Jewish theater). 2009 (photo by

Anna Susak)

School #52 (Former Jewish gymnasium). 2009

(photo by Anna Susak)

Appendix F. Phenomenological urban voids: commemorated

Big Synagogue of Krakow suburb (Gelston 2007)

Memorial plaque, 2009 (photo by Anna Susak)

Tempel, the synagogue of reformists (Gelston 2007)

Memorial stone, 2009 (photo by Anna Susak)

"Golden Rose" synagogue (Gelston 2007)

Memorial plaque and cafe, 2009 (photo by Anna Susak)

Memorial to the victims of Lviv Ghetto, 2009 (photo by Anna Susak)

Appendix G. Phenomenological urban voids: forgotten and/or refunctionalized

Chassidic "Schleyen-synagogue" (Gelston 2007)

2009. Barren (photo by Anna Susak)
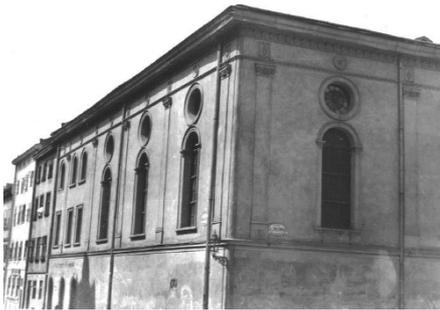
Big Central Synagogue (Gelston 2007)

2009. Square of Koliyivshchyna (photo by Anna Susak)

Old Jewish cemetery (Gelston 2007)

Krakow Market [13]

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[13] Photo from www.lviv.ridne.net (retrieved on May 30, 2009)

Appendix H. List of interviewees (experts)

	Name	Position	Date of Interview	Language of interview	Duration (min)
1.	Tarik Cyril Amar	Academic director of the Center for Urban History in East-Central Europe. The Center organized exhibition on multicultural image of Lviv, conference and project on Jewish heritage, becoming one of the leading non-government actors in the realm of managing Jewish heritage.	21.04.2009	English	40:05
2.	Rudolf Mirsky	Director of the Regional Study Golodomor and Holocaust Center. This is one of the main Jewish organizations in Western Ukraine, working mainly in educational sphere to promote more complex coverage of Holocaust-related topics in Ukrainian schools.	14.04.2009	Russian[14]	30:11
3.	Meylakh Sheykhet	Head of the Ukrainian branch of UCSJ (Union of Councils for Jews from the Former Soviet Union). One of the leading activists of Jewish community in Lviv, the promoter of the reconstruction of the "Golden Rose" Synagogue.	27.04.2009	Russian and Ukrainian	56:46
4.	Oksana Boyko	Leading architect of "Ukrzakhidproject" institute, expert on Jewish sacral architecture, author of the monograph *The synagogues of Lviv*, co-manager of the project "Around an Old-Jewish street" (in cooperation with the Center for Urban History)	26.04.2009	Ukrainian	59:39
5.	Menachem S.	Former Lvivian, immigrated to Mainz 10 years ago, now – member of the board of the Jewish community in Mainz	30.04.2009	Ukrainian	41:50

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[14] Translations from Russian and Ukrainian were made by the author of the thesis.

Appendix I. Basic questionnaire for semi-structured interviews with experts

1. How do you understand the notion of cultural-historical heritage?

2. What do you understand under the category "Jewish heritage" (particularly in the case of Lviv)?

3. How would you evaluate post-Soviet politics towards Jewish heritage in Lviv and Ukraine? Which factors had positive/negative impact?

4. How is your activity connected with the revitalization of Jewish heritage? What projects have you been working on? What are the main purposes and target groups?

5. Where do you get financial support for your projects?

6. Did the local city government support any of your projects? In what way?

7. Do you cooperate with other organizations (local/national/international, Jewish/non-Jewish, academic/civic, etc.)?

8. What major obstacles/problems/ideological opposing did you experience in your work with Jewish heritage? Were there any significant conflicts?

9. How do you see the future development of Jewish heritage? Who and how would benefit from this? Who should bear the primary responsibility?

Appendix J. Focus-group discussion: participants

General duration – 101:54 min, date – 01.05.2009, language - Ukrainian

Participants:

Name	Age	Background
1. Orest	25	Mathematician
2. Ira	26	Librarian
3. Oleksandr	20	Student
4. Markiyan	30	Linguist
5. Iryna	45	Musician
6. Valentina	62	Engineer, retired
7. Zenoviya	65	Retired
8. Ihor	67	Retired

Appendix K. Focus-group discussion: questions

1. In mass-media, reports of the city Council and tourist guidebooks we often meet the term "cultural-historical heritage of Lviv". What is your understanding of this notion?

2. There are two main approaches to Lviv. One says that Lviv is a Ukrainian city; another – that this is a city of many cultures. Tell me, please, what your opinion is and give your arguments.

3. You have a sheet of paper before you. Please draw the historical center of the city like you imagine it in the format of schematic map. Please mark the main objects, streets and frames. You can also make inscriptions on your map.

4. Now please mark on your map the places where different ethnic communities have lived since olden times. Please also mark the objects that remind us that this particular community lived there. You can use color pencils if you wish.

5. Please enumerate the cultural traditions that formed the contemporary image of Lviv (*5 min. for individual preparations*). Please read your list aloud with comments.
The common list is summarized on the board. Then 3 mostly named cultural traditions are chosen for discussion

6. Now let us consider some of the cultural traditions you named. Let us discuss how each of these cultures influenced the contemporary image of the city. You can speak about these cultures both in positive and negative context, as well as in the past or present dimension.

7. Let us now talk more about Jewish cultural heritage in Lviv. What do we understand when we talk about that?

8. How do you think, what actions should be implemented to protect the cultural-historical heritage of Jewish Lviv?

Appendix L. Sociological survey: questionnaire

1. In your opinion, Lviv primarily is...
1. A Ukrainian city
2. A city with multicultural European tradition
3. DK/NA

2. How do you think, which national cultural tradition had the greatest impact on the city?
(rank from 1 to 9, where 1 - is the biggest influence, and 9 - lowest)
1. Austrian
2. Armenian
3. Jewish
4. Polish
5. Soviet
6. Russian
7. Ukrainian
8. German
9. Common European
10. DK/NA

3. What impact did the Jewish tradition have on the city development?
1. Very positive
2. Rather positive
3. Neither positive nor negative
4. Rather negative
5. Negative
6. DK/NA

4. From which sources do you get the information about the history and contemporary life of Lviv Jewish community?
5. From which sources would you be interested to get the information about the Jewish community?
1. Newspapers
2. Television
3. Radio
4. Speeches of officials
5. From the school curriculum
6. From fiction
7. From popular science literature
8. From my family members
9. From my friends
10. From tours and museums
11. From participation in meetings or demonstrations
12. From travel guides and local history books
13. From the information materials of City Council
14. From the information materials of cultural and educational organizations
15. From Lviv Jewish community
16. From other sources. Specify: _____
17. From nowhere

18. I'm not interested in this question

6. How do you think, in which century Jews appeared in Lviv for the first time?
1. 9-11 ct.
2. 12-13 ct.
3. 14-15 ct.
4. 16-17 ct.
5. 18-19 ct.
6. DK/NA

7. Where in Lviv there was a Jewish district?_____

8. Please select from the following list the occupations that you think were immanent for the representatives of the Jewish community of the city?
1. Laborer
3. Workers
4. Merchants
5. Money-lenders
6. Doctors
7. Craftsmen
8. Lawyers
9. University teachers
10. City officials
11. Others _____

9. Do you think the Jewish community of Lviv was ...
1. Richer than other communities
2. The same as other
3. Poorer than other communities
4. The poorest
5. DK/NA

10. Did the Jewish pogroms happen in Lviv in the 20th century?
1. Yes
2. No ---> transition to question 13

11. If yes, in which year?
1. 1909
2. 1918
3. 1931
4. 1941
5. 1955
6. DK/NA

12. Where did you find out about this?
1. Educational institutions
2. Media
3. From family, friends
4. From the literature

13. Should this subject be covered ....?
1. Yes, in popular-scientific literature
2. Yes, in schools
3. Yes, in the media
4. Not now, later
5. No, it should not

14. What percentage do you think did the Jewish population constitute in Lviv on the eve of World War II? In 1989? Nowadays?

15. Do you know anything about the existence of the Jewish ghetto in Lviv during the Nazi occupation?
1. Yes, I am well informed about this
2. Yes, I've heard something about this
3. No
4. DK/NA

16. What historical and cultural monuments of the Jewish community of the city can you recall?

17. Whom of the prominent Jewish figures, born in Lviv/Galicia do you know?

18. Which of the following ideas do you personally support? (multiple choice)
1. Renaming some city streets in honor of famous Jewish figures
2. Establishing the memory plaques in honor of famous Jewish residents of the city
3. Reconstruction of destroyed synagogues and other Jewish monuments
4. Festivals of Jewish culture, music and tradition
5. Establishment of the museum of Galician Jews
6. Establishment of the museum of Holocaust on the site of former Yaniv Concentration Camp
7. Publication of the books and memoires on Jewish history and traditions
8. Temporary exhibitions on Jewish history/traditions

19. For each selected item: What should be the resource of financial support for these ideas?
1. Private investors funds (inc. members of Jewish community)
2. Joint Budget
3. City budget

20.Would the city benefit from the popularization of Jewish heritage?
1. yes
2. no

21. If yes, how exactly? (multiple choice)
1. The image of the city would be improved
2. The tourist attractiveness of the city would grow
3. The incomes of city dwellers would increase
4. As revitalization of the part of the city history
5. The tolerance of dwellers would increase
6. For the Europeanness of the city

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22.Would you like to have with Jews ...?
1. Common business
2. Neighborship
3. Friendly relations
4. Family relationships

23. Age?
24. Gender?
25.What is your education?
26. How would you describe yourself... (you can select multiple options)
1. Ukrainian
2. Russian
3. Representative of another nationality (please specify)_____
4. Lvivian
5. Galician
6. Inhabitant of Western Ukraine
7. Citizen of Ukraine
8. Soviet person
9. European
10. Citizen of the world
11. Other. Specify _____

27. What language do you speak at home? 1. Ukrainian 2. Russian 3. Other_____

28. Have you/your relatives lived in Lviv since birth?
1.   You personally
2.   Your parents
3.   Your grandparents
4.   Your grand-grand parents

29.Your religious denomination?_____

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