

Transcript

00:00:00 Speaker 1

But it's great pleasure today to introduce.

00:00:02 Speaker 1

Doctor Marni Howlett.

00:00:03 Speaker 1

Who is right here? Department Electro DPR? That's one of our own and she holds a pH.

00:00:09 Speaker 1

D In international relations from the NRC and her research focuses on the intersection of cartography, nationalism and geopolitics in the former Soviet Union, particularly Ukraine.

00:00:19 Speaker 1

Our interests also include research ethics and the use of visual and spatial methods for political science research. She's volunteered extensively in Canada and Ukraine with the non government non governmental organisation. Help us help the children which works with Ukrainian orphans and families.

00:00:35 Speaker 1

Doctor Howard has also.

00:00:36 Speaker 1

Served as an international electoral advisor on three missions.

00:00:40 Speaker 1

Canadem during Ukraine's presidential and parliamentary elections in 2019, and she's currently.

00:00:45 Speaker 1

Working on a.

00:00:46 Speaker 1

Book monograph imagines Borderlands, which explores the intersection and overlap of imagined and territorial cartographies to better explain nationalism and politics.

00:00:55 Speaker 1

In Ukraine, and this is going to.

00:00:56 Speaker 1

Be the focus of today's talk overview.

00:00:58 Speaker 1

Thank you coming up.

00:00:59 Speaker 2

Thank you very much well.

00:01:01 Speaker 2

Thank you very much everyone for having me today. I'm really excited to be here, although I wish it was within a different context.

00:01:10 Speaker 2

I'm prior to February 2022, I wouldn't afraid myself as a war scholar, a conflict scholar, as our spelling will.

00:01:16 Speaker 2

Our walk over here, however now and for the rest of my career, it will likely be framed in this way.

00:01:22 Speaker 2

And so the.

00:01:23 Speaker 2

Talk that I'm giving today on stems from the research I've been doing over the last five years.

00:01:27 Speaker 2

I'm working, I'm trying to work into building into the book that I had started writing prior to the war, so.

00:01:34 Speaker 2

With the discussion today, we can explore some of these themes, see how they resonate, and perhaps if you have any ideas, I would love to hear more on that front.

00:01:42 Speaker 2

But I want to start my talk by saying that on the 23rd of February 2022, I was at a high table at Nuffield with a few economists, one of which is in this room today talking about the war and the potential for Ukraine to be invaded by Russia. At the time, this is a question that many people had been asking me because I'm.

00:02:01 Speaker 2

Ethnographer and I've spent a significant amount of my time of my life in the country about one year.

00:02:08 Speaker 2

In Ukraine at the time, people didn't believe or couldn't understand why I thought that Russia would invade Ukraine.

00:02:15 Speaker 2

As you go today, I'll show you why this was the case. Based on my research, but for the Economist in the room and the political scientists for them, the models couldn't explain or couldn't predict that a

war would happen, but beyond that, the intelligence we saw in Europe in the US and the UK suggested that this was not the case, however.

00:02:34 Speaker 2

24 hours later, this was the case and this is where the invasion was approximately 6:00 PM on the 24th of February. But yet this invasion happened about 12 hours after I had the conversation at Nuffield.

00:02:47 Speaker 2

For me this was not a significant surprise. There were certain surprises which I'll go through this presentation, but this was a surprise for the international community.

00:02:55 Speaker 2

That was because we didn't foresee or we didn't expect the build up on the border with in different places but along Russia's borders. Well around Belarus we didn't expect without actually lead to an invasion.

00:03:06 Speaker 2

Still, in the last few months, this is also proven to be a surprise for the international community.

00:03:11 Speaker 2

And what this map shows it says present here the present is actually the 15th of May. When I I grabbed this.

00:03:18 Speaker 2

This has been a surprise. The resistance of the Ukrainian people and to push Russia back in their state, we see more as conflicts continues around Kawhi when he pool has been in the news today, as we've seen, as of kind of.

00:03:33 Speaker 2

Being in different places at the current moment, but nevertheless is changing. But what is most attractive community?

00:03:38 Speaker 2

For for policymakers, students, and academics has been the fact that Ukrainians.

00:03:44 Speaker 2

Have been have so strongly resisted the Russia invasion, so this then leads us to the question, how can we understand Russia's invasion into Ukraine and how can we understand the Ukrainian response to Russia?

00:03:55 Speaker 2

These are questions we continue.

00:03:56 Speaker 2

To ask ourselves as scholars.

00:03:58 Speaker 2

But the question that I'm going to push forward and the question that is sort of motivated or my research is motivated by, is more that how do territorial and imagined cartographies interact in the Ukrainian case?

00:04:09 Speaker 2

And this is something that we need to talk about in order to understand both the Russian invasion as well as Ukrainian response.

00:04:16 Speaker 2

And this is.

00:04:16 Speaker 2

What I'm going to go through today.

00:04:19 Speaker 2

So I started studying you, crying seven years ago following at the Euro Maidan.

00:04:24 Speaker 2

My family originally comes from Ukraine, and so I was already familiar with the language and the culture, but that's not this is the reason why I chose to study the country.

00:04:31 Speaker 2

I'm more specific precisely, I post said in Ukraine because it is a borderland or it's often conceptualised to be a.

00:04:38 Speaker 2

This is, it can be understood, I guess, as a borderline between the East and the West. So whether we conceptualise the East to be the former Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc, or even just Russia and Belarus countries is jewel.

00:04:52 Speaker 2

Beside them as well as Europe or the West. Again, however, we understand these to.

00:04:57 Speaker 2

Be the European Union.

00:04:58 Speaker 2

Or even just for European countries located there.

00:05:04 Speaker 2

With this, though, and this is, I mean this has been this conceptualization of Ukraine for quite a long time.

00:05:09 Speaker 2

Come from the international community in a more of a geopolitical lens, but also we need to understand that Ukraine as a word, could I in that means border or edge so it actually is a place.

00:05:20 Speaker 2

Being understood as a place that is located at the edge or in between these spaces, so sort of on a macro level, but at the micro level 2 Ukrainian politics has often been approached at sort of this East West Division within the country, pre Euro Maidan specifically, or the revolution of dignity. For those of you who might not be familiar with it that occurred in 2013.

00:05:40 Speaker 2

2014, and then eventually we saw the annexation of Crimea and then the ongoing war in Donbass.

00:05:45 Speaker 2

So this has been a way that.

00:05:47 Speaker 2

Scholars have approached.

00:05:48 Speaker 2

Much of Ukrainian politics and nationalism and identity and and with this we often saw the West to be more Ukrainian, more nationalistic, often more pro European pro democratisation. And that's often how the western side of the country has been understood.

00:06:06 Speaker 2

Where it stood, in contrast to the east and the east, was seen to.

00:06:09 Speaker 2

Be more russified.

00:06:10 Speaker 2

In their language, their culture identity, more perhaps pro supportive of Communism or the legacies from the Soviet period, et cetera.

00:06:20 Speaker 2

We often saw this graphically as well and use the Guinea pig or then you put a river running outside of cave as being the sort of that division or that boundary line.

00:06:30 Speaker 2

This has been challenged extensively and there's much literature on this since the.

00:06:33 Speaker 2

Am I done? Some scholars argue that this border or boundary has actually moved from the new pro eastward to actually include more of the country in what we think is.

00:06:43 Speaker 2

Best were other scholars and.

00:06:45 Speaker 2

Just this idea completely and said this is not a way that we can understand Ukrainian politics.

00:06:49 Speaker 2

But we still do know that there is something there that influences how politics, nationalism voting patterns happen at the local level.

00:06:57 Speaker 2

Because of this, I was motivated to approach Ukraine from a different way and to kind of challenge this idea, but being so simplistic, this East versus West, and to say that there's actually a lot more going on in Ukraine that we haven't really been looking at. So during my doctoral research I decided to pick regions of the country that aren't studied as often.

00:07:17 Speaker 2

So at the macro level, if we take Ukraine as borderlines, I pick people, which is a region located in the centre of the country.

00:07:18

Dig it.

00:07:25 Speaker 2

It is geographically the centre of the country, therefore the centre of a borderland, where we could see the influences, or at least I thought between the East and the West.

00:07:33 Speaker 2

In addition, I selected the region of primitive. You've probably heard about this region. It's been in the news quite a lot as the invasions come in through journey.

00:07:42 Speaker 2

And on the way to.

00:07:42 Speaker 2

Pay it.

00:07:43 Speaker 2

Looks right there.

00:07:44 Speaker 2

Geneva is not only on the border of sort of the east, so to say of ordering two countries, but.

00:07:50 Speaker 2

It is also on the.

00:07:51 Speaker 2

Borderlands of Ukraine. So it is sort of a.

00:07:54 Speaker 2

Borderlands of a borderland in that sense.

00:07:57 Speaker 2

Similarly, Psychopathia Transcarpathia, the region located down here, it borders 4 European Union countries like training. If it is on the Borderlands of Ukraine, the Borderlands of Borderlands, but it is also it stands in contrast and that is on the border lines of what we.

00:08:12 Speaker 2

The West or the European Union.

00:08:15 Speaker 2

So in contrast to much political science in our research, I also took a different methodological approach, so I spent 16 weeks in Ukraine between 2018 and 2020, which was moved online at the very end. When I left the field in March 2020 due to the.

00:08:31 Speaker 2

Endemic at this time, I volunteered in various capacities. I taught English. I helped in different community groups I painted.

00:08:39 Speaker 2

I lived with the people that I studied with or that I was studying, but I also conducted 27 focus groups and 61 elite interviews with academics, politicians and people of high social standing.

00:08:51 Speaker 2

In the three regions.

00:08:53 Speaker 2

More importantly, and what I want to go through today, is I also created my own mapping exercise, drawing on psychological and geographical literatures.

00:09:02 Speaker 2

It's a cognitive mapping exercise to better understand the ways that people see themselves or understand themselves within space. It was my understanding and my hope that by.

00:09:13 Speaker 2

Showing or giving people maps. We could understand how they see themselves Visa V other countries and then that would open up a larger conversation about identity, nationalism and different attachments.

00:09:23 Speaker 2

So I wanted to show this the exercise I created. So in a focus group I would give individuals this blank map which this is Ukraine.

00:09:33 Speaker 2

But I did not tell them that I just gave them a map and the instructions say please mark on the map where you're from. Feel free to draw or erase any borders you see fits. Once you mark the map.

00:09:43 Speaker 2

Explain where you are located and why you marked yourself the way that you have these instructions, or Ukrainian, Russian and English. And yeah, so when I presented these maps, I hope you guys can see them in the back.

00:09:57 Speaker 2

These when I presented these maps in people hub, so the central region. This is what I saw most often than not.

00:10:04 Speaker 2

Individuals located their precise city or their village on the map, sometimes in English, but more often was in Ukrainian and or Russian or electrical touristic, which is a mix of both.

00:10:16 Speaker 2

We see that there we.

00:10:17 Speaker 2

Often salt positive connotation. Sometimes people would put.

00:10:19 Speaker 2

Hearts or flowers

00:10:21 Speaker 2

Sometimes a star, suggesting that they have a positive. You know association with that place that they marked.

00:10:26 Speaker 2

On occasion, people like highlighted their old blasts or their province, but in people who added that was not as common as people just putting their precise place.

00:10:36 Speaker 2

Interestingly, very few people highlighted the country of Ukraine, but instead just that local level.

00:10:43 Speaker 2

In Chernihiv we saw something very similar and many, many people again puts the individual place, although they more often also highlighted their province.

00:10:53 Speaker 2

As you

00:10:54 Speaker 2

See here and they often wrote in English or Ukrainian. Russian is also quite common and more common here, which isn't surprising given where the region is located.

00:11:03 Speaker 2

And finally, in in some capacity of the region in the West again we saw specific places, but more often than the other two people identified their region.

00:11:14 Speaker 2

They really highlighted that the region and I'll show you in a moment or suggested that it's actually it's separate from Ukraine and they don't feel specific attachments. I'll go into that.

00:11:24 Speaker 2

In a bit, but what I wanted to show here is that this really emphasises the local attachments that people.

00:11:29 Speaker 2

Field and this came up quite substantially, and also the qualitative work in the focus groups. So these are three key quotes that have come up in each place, but it talks about their importance that they've put on the local village or the city that they live in.

00:11:43 Speaker 2

So one in quad we have a proverb, the place where you were born. You are needed most of all in trinium.

00:11:49 Speaker 2

I can say the following. Every person has their surroundings and these surroundings influence a person. Persons views of life and finally in sucker punch it no matter what the government is, this is still our motherland in referencing the region of sucker punch and not their specific village or city.

00:12:05 Speaker 2

This influences a certain way in a certain way. People mentality or attitude towards this or that country.

00:12:11 Speaker 2

So with this, when thinking back to the questions I proposed earlier, one thing I want to emphasise here is a strength of local attachments in Ukraine.

00:12:18 Speaker 2

So when we think about the invasion and we think about the the resistance of the Ukrainian people, something that we didn't recognise was how strongly people feel attached to their country. I will go over to why this is the case, but this is something to keep in mind.

00:12:28

I did.

00:12:31 Speaker 2

Through this presentation is something that wasn't recognised when using top down approaches or even some of the other modelling we have is really understanding how people feel to their feel about their land and the places that they live.

00:12:44 Speaker 2

Yet when I also gave the map, this often came up. So this.

00:12:47 Speaker 2

Is a key vault at the centre of the country.

00:12:49 Speaker 2

So rather than.

00:12:50 Speaker 2

Highlighting the borders of the country. What we

00:12:52 Speaker 2

See in people.

00:12:53 Speaker 2

Who it is. People very much personal.

00:12:56 Speaker 2

Emphasise the border with the EU, suggesting joining the EU to erase the border with EU, again erasing it here.

00:13:03 Speaker 2

Creating some sort of it says Eastern European Union. I'm noticing Russia cut out here. We have a strengthened border and incorporation in this area.

00:13:12 Speaker 2

This area actually used to be Ukraine.

00:13:14

Right?

00:13:14 Speaker 2

's ironically adult. This is Paul coupon and I'll talk about it in the moment. Similarly here coupon is included and we see this strength in at.

00:13:21 Speaker 2

The territory of Ukraine.

00:13:23 Speaker 2

I mean, this is quite fascinating for me, fine, but yet I also found it interesting it in a different way.

00:13:27 Speaker 2

We turning at least get strengthened border where Russia is highlighting of Crimea again circular, where is but notably here is like Apache is kind of cut out.

00:13:38 Speaker 2

I don't know if.

00:13:38 Speaker 2

That's intentional, but it is.

00:13:40 Speaker 2

I'm here. Interestingly, we actually have an inclusion of additional territory, so not only a little bit of coupon, but these old or sorry, this bit of Russia, which I'll explain what that is in a moment.

00:13:51 Speaker 2

And so again, this is quite interesting to me because this shows not only people saying that they're attached to Ukraine, they're saying we're attached to a specific idea of Ukraine.

00:14:00 Speaker 2

That is the territory from 1991 with a reinforced force border with Crimea included or even historical understandings of what was Ukraine.

00:14:10 Speaker 2

With this is, uh, capacha showed a very different picture is like a project. As you can see here, highlighted their region and suggested that they are not part of Ukraine. They would. This is hungry right here.

00:14:21 Speaker 2

This makes sense because there's a very high percentage of people who are ethnically Hungarian who live there. But again, we see it opening up the border with Europe in a very similar way specific to the region.

00:14:31 Speaker 2

And inclusion with.

00:14:33 Speaker 2

Slovakia and Hungary, and again we see.

00:14:35 Speaker 2

Very clearly hungry.

00:14:37 Speaker 2

This is again I very much tie to the fact that these ethnic minorities live in.

00:14:42 Speaker 2

But also a mountain range separates them that the Transportation mountains separates them from the rest of Ukraine, so this can explain.

00:14:50 Speaker 2

In addition, and I'll talk with our moments. They were one of the last, the second last region to join the Ukrainian SSR.

00:14:57 Speaker 2

So in the 1950s, so they really haven't been part of what is sort of Ukrainian lands, so to say.

00:15:02 Speaker 2

For as long as the other.

00:15:04 Speaker 2

Regions nevertheless, what these taken together show us is that they were under recognised pro EU and anti Russian sentiments at the local level.

00:15:14 Speaker 2

So we know this to be the case in western Ukraine, 'cause many academics have surveyed this in.

00:15:18 Speaker 2

To this, but we often thought that these anti Russian sentiments were quite strong in the West and not so much in.

00:15:26 Speaker 2

As we can see here, they did exist at this central parts of Ukraine as well as places that were on the border with Russia.

00:15:33 Speaker 2

Even though were my.

00:15:34 Speaker 2

Lived in Chernihiv they speak Russian they identify as ethnic Russians. They are against Russia. I mean we can see this in the example in Geneva because of our location.

00:15:45 Speaker 2

We are like in a dead end we have Russia, the enemy and Belarus which feels OK about Russia.

00:15:51 Speaker 2

In key value the centre and they again they speak about these competing influences, but we still see them in.

00:15:57 Speaker 2

When you're in the middle, everyone is trying to influence you or trying to refer to you like everyone is trying to influence you.

00:16:02 Speaker 2

And finally, if I could pop you, which makes complete sense from what we just saw, we are very.

00:16:06 Speaker 2

Attached to Europe and.

00:16:07 Speaker 2

Ukraine since we are located at the edge.

00:16:10 Speaker 2

Interesting here, if we look and unpack this a little bit, they're not saying that they are in Ukraine, they're saying that they are attached to Ukraine and they're attached to Europe, as though those are two separate entities, which is a really interesting observation because they, which makes sense, 'cause they also feel like their region should be their own country, but.

00:16:25 Speaker 2

That's a different discussion.

00:16:26 Speaker 2

So this is the second interesting finding when I try to understand the war.

00:16:31 Speaker 2

But what I really get excited about is this is when we look at these. These are three overlaid maps.

00:16:37 Speaker 2

I showed this to some of my.

00:16:38 Speaker 2

Students before, so these are.

00:16:39 Speaker 2

3 overlaid maps from the.

00:16:41 Speaker 2

Ones that I just showed you.

00:16:42 Speaker 2

I I wish it could be darker, but I didn't want to draw over.

00:16:45 Speaker 2

The lines because.

00:16:46 Speaker 2

These are the.

00:16:47 Speaker 2

The originals and I just get applications problem, but as you can see we have coupon. As I mentioned we have some older other areas of here added and if you can kind of see we see this.

00:16:59 Speaker 2

Sort of, the separation of like a project we understand.

00:17:02 Speaker 2

Now if we look at this, this is a historical map.

00:17:05 Speaker 2

Of what was?

00:17:06 Speaker 2

Ukraine we have this Soviet empire. Here we have the option Hungarian empire.

00:17:10 Speaker 2

So if you look when you compare these two, I'm quite interesting, specially at the.

00:17:14 Speaker 2

Is what I want to emphasise. We see these old areas, these old geographies or photographs are very much replicated by the participants.

00:17:22 Speaker 2

In addition, we have this map. We have coupon, so this is 1914 MAP which includes one and for those of you who don't read Ukrainian, this is essentially the blue is essentially the border.

00:17:34 Speaker 2

Of ethnic Ukrainians. So the blue is where the ethnic Ukrainians were located in space. As you can see it is outside is actually in that.

00:17:41 Speaker 2

Space, which then makes sense.

00:17:43 Speaker 2

When we see this area.

00:17:46 Speaker 2

The most important thing to know though about these maps, so I just replicated basically that so you could understand kind of where the borders are.

00:17:53 Speaker 2

So we had combined here on the vector spaces up here. And then there's a map. These maps, all three of them were drawn by individuals.

00:18:01 Speaker 2

Under the age of 30 years old.

00:18:03 Speaker 2

Hold this means that they've only lived in independent Ukraine with its current territory until the annexation of Crimea and US, but they understand that has been the state that they've lived in yet when asked to draw, they've reproduced these 100 year old maps.

00:18:18 Speaker 2

Why is this happening? What does this mean?

00:18:20 Speaker 2

What does this?

00:18:21 Speaker 2

Tell us the interesting thing is this perpetuation of these spatial imaginaries of where, where are what are Ukrainian lands have been reproduced, however they've been reproduced. It could be through discourses being narratives. It could be through textbooks, and this is something I haven't.

00:18:36 Speaker 2

Explored yet, but this shows that through generations these ideas of what is Ukrainian or what are Ukrainian lands have been reproduced up until the current day. Yet interestingly, it's not Ukrainians have been invading another country, it is instead the opposite, so that that.

00:18:50 Speaker 2

Sort of leads us to other questions.

00:18:54 Speaker 2

This is another example of what my.

00:18:55 Speaker 2

Participants drew when trying to explain this to me with saying that this is Ukraine in the mid.

00:19:02 Speaker 2

This is a territory that they have had since 91, but yet this has only been where Ukraine is.

00:19:07 Speaker 2

It has been constant and yet everything has changed what the individual also wanted stressed was that these changes have not come from this side.

00:19:15 Speaker 2

The changes have always come from this side, and I'm going to let you guys interpret that on your own, but it wasn't very interesting.

00:19:22 Speaker 2

Another explanation as to you know.

00:19:24 Speaker 2

What is it happening in Ukraine?

00:19:26 Speaker 2

So then this at least helps us understand a little bit better why we see Ukrainians resistance so strongly in.

00:19:32 Speaker 2

The last three months.

00:19:34 Speaker 2

OK, so we understand why we we know they're very much attached their space or there's sorry their particular places and we understand these pro EU and anti Russian sentiments.

00:19:42 Speaker 2

And then we understand also that these spatial imaginaries have been reproduced, and that they're.

00:19:46 Speaker 2

Willing to fight for their land.

00:19:49 Speaker 2

But how do these?

00:19:50 Speaker 2

How these imagining territorial cartographies intersect is beyond just the Ukrainian idea, though it also has to involve Russia, right?

00:19:58 Speaker 2

And so when thinking about this then I mean noticeably, these are all along Russia's border. So this very much speaks to Russia's imaginary. Whether this be Putin or the Russian regime or the state or the people I.

00:20:11 Speaker 2

Hats and most of us cannot do the research to understand this right now. This is a really interesting understand or I guess an interesting approach is.

00:20:18 Speaker 2

If we understand Ukrainian spatial imaginary to extend beyond what is the territory of Ukraine, we can assume that Russia spatial imaginary expands beyond what is the borders of Russia can temporarily?

00:20:29 Speaker 2

Which makes sense. We look at again, going back to these old maps. This was the Ukrainian SSR so far.

00:20:36 Speaker 2

Contemporary Russia already has what was or what used to be these Ukrainian lands. This is already part of Russia's territory.

00:20:41 Speaker 2

So now what is essentially doing is working its.

00:20:44 Speaker 2

Way through to include.

00:20:45 Speaker 2

What was the?

00:20:46 Speaker 2

Former SSR into its own territory make it.

00:20:50 Speaker 2

Uhm yeah, just leave it.

00:20:52 Speaker 2

There, in addition to kind of reinforcing this idea of what is Russia, Russia spatial?

00:20:57 Speaker 2

Is the fact, like I mentioned earlier, crying that means border or edge? But how we talk about it and you print it in Russian varies and this emphasises the differences in language.

00:21:06 Speaker 2

Or do you say in Ukraine? In Ukrainian we say rainy, this translates to land at the edge in or at the edge.

00:21:14 Speaker 2

Or what kind of using strangely?

00:21:16 Speaker 2

But in Russian we say.

00:21:17 Speaker 2

No coding yet, which means, like all onto the edge, and if you think about at the edge versus on the edge, there is a different connotation. Phonetic Lee.

00:21:26 Speaker 2

Definitely this again shows how we understand Russia is imaginary and where Ukrainians place sort of within that.

00:21:34 Speaker 2

So the question that remains is where do we go here? I mean I wish I had more answers.

00:21:39 Speaker 2

I guess if anything this.

00:21:41 Speaker 2

Does show us this is? I think this is the map, one of the most latest maps I forget, which shows were significant. Fighting has been in the last 24 hours.

00:21:49 Speaker 2

You know this wasn't what I would have expected, would have happened on February 24th rather than a full invasion.

00:21:55 Speaker 2

I think anyone who's familiar with the Ukrainian context we would have seen increased tensions in Donbas, and perhaps standing that way, I'm coming.

00:22:02 Speaker 2

In from the.

00:22:02 Speaker 2

Other regions was not was a surprise.

00:22:07 Speaker 2

However, I can tell you that in Germany have in the time that I've spent there, those individuals have been preparing since 2014 for such an invasion.

00:22:15 Speaker 2

So I don't have the roads in here, but one of the this is always totally their most direct route. Tokyo is from Russia is.

00:22:22 Speaker 2

Richard you.

00:22:23 Speaker 2

So these individuals in 2014 had a blockade of tanks around their city for a year, protecting their city.

00:22:29 Speaker 2

Assuming that that would be where K was going to be attacked through, but when the invasion happened in twenty 24th of February, these individuals were ready. They had many, possibly illegal material that had been taken.

00:22:43 Speaker 2

Brompton boss, over the years and had been stored in the region so this is not a surprise for them that this were when it would happen but they were not unprepared if that's so to say. So not only were there attachments there.

00:22:55 Speaker 2

Military wise, at least the volunteer battalions were very much prepared.

00:23:00 Speaker 2

For such a battle.

00:23:03 Speaker 2

So moving forward, we need to realise most importantly is that these changing cartographies in Ukraine and all those borders border changes.

00:23:10 Speaker 2

I've showed you this had left Ukrainians with a relatively weak attachment to their state. That is why they felt very much attached their local level because the borders around them continued to change. And yet the only places that remain constant.

00:23:22 Speaker 2

Were their villages or their cities?

00:23:23 Speaker 2

That they lived in.

00:23:25 Speaker 2

These local ties have remained important at the grassroots and this is a challenge to study up in any other way except from at the grassroots to understand what is happening there.

00:23:34 Speaker 2

In some places we do see a weakness of the state. Specifically in Soccerproject they did feel attached. They understand that they hold the Ukrainian passport.

00:23:42 Speaker 2

They do not identify with the Ukrainian state. In very few instances because many of these people work and live most of their lives in the European Union and only come back to live in Ukraine, crossing the border every day because it's a lot cheaper.

00:23:54 Speaker 2

Live in Ukraine.

00:23:56 Speaker 2

Pre war there was also underlying sentiment not only of separatists or separatist feelings, but also this idea that nations many nations existing independently within Ukraine and not a sort of cohesive understanding. So these are things to think about going forward is what will happen kind of into the future.

00:24:13 Speaker 2

But most importantly, we need to think about the fact that Russia, Russia, spatial, imaginary continues and will continue to play a significant role in Ukrainian affairs. So we saw this politically following 1991 where they were part of Ukrainian politics.

00:24:27 Speaker 2

Uhm most no.

00:24:28 Speaker 2

I mean, there's another way to say it, but now we see over time Ukrainians have become more and more pro. EU, uh, pro NATO and sort of moving westward if you will.

00:24:38 Speaker 2

Have these sentiments towards Russia change, then through the where have they become stronger? Is a question that currently needs to be asked and and.

00:24:47 Speaker 2

There have been some surveys.

00:24:48 Speaker 2

Suggesting this and and so.

00:24:50 Speaker 2

She's sort of just finished up I want.

00:24:52 Speaker 2

To just kind of.

00:24:53 Speaker 2

That before the war. So in December 2021, as 68% of Ukrainians blamed Russia for the aggression.

00:25:00 Speaker 2

At 20% believed it was possible to achieve achieve peace in bloodbath, which is not significant percent and 43% of Ukrainians were ready to defend if an invasion would happen yet.

00:25:11 Speaker 2

At that time, 22% did not believe it.

00:25:13 Speaker 2

To happen.

00:25:15 Speaker 2

In February, we see.

00:25:18 Speaker 2

Some changes and we believed there was an increase in realising this invasion was going to happen. We sell at 49% in particularly western Ukraine, whereas less in the East believe the threat was possible but still 43% were against any concession to Russia that is increased from 20%. So already people feel less willing to, you know, maintain some sort of peaceful ties with Russia.

00:25:38 Speaker 2

And finally we see an increase of 5% of people at that time willing to join the Ukrainian forces they said asked us is a project that I've just just finished two days ago as a survey.

00:25:48 Speaker 2

We've just run a public opinion survey in Ukraine to understand how now going forward Ukrainians see their country.

00:25:53 Speaker 2

And this is being has been run in these regions, so I don't have any preliminary data yet. But this will tell us hopefully where Ukrainians now at this time.

00:26:02 Speaker 2

It's the war, how they feel about Russia and how.

00:26:04 Speaker 2

They feel about.

00:26:05 Speaker 2

The EU so particular questions or more.

00:26:07 Speaker 2

What should integration look like? Where should it go? What would be options? In your opinion, the best security?

00:26:14 Speaker 2

Measures for Ukraine.

00:26:15 Speaker 2

What steps of the authorities would you support in exchange for peace? In your opinion, what are the largest allies of Ukraine? What are the best security options? And finally, who do you think is responsible for ending the war?

00:26:29 Speaker 2

So I've given you lots of information, so for this we have lots of things to think about and.

00:26:33 Speaker 2

Hopefully talk about.

00:26:34 Speaker 2

But what I really want to stress is the importance of moving away from the top down approaches, and that when we use bottom up approaches as you can see, we understand Ukraine.

00:26:41 Speaker 2

As well as.

00:26:42 Speaker 2

Any state in a very different way.

00:26:44 Speaker 2

And this is also like we'll mention my interest in visual methods as we can see using spatial analysis.

00:26:49 Speaker 2

Really it can help us understand a different aspects of politics that we don't often.

00:26:53 Speaker 2

See and finally, this is important for understanding borders, separatism, and conflict. I would not have told you this conflict in particular had you asked me about a year ago.

00:27:03 Speaker 2

Separatism, yes. I guess they are connected, but I would not have said a full scale invasion. However, here we are. And then finally the question remains, is.

00:27:12 Speaker 2

Yeah, what is this unifying the nation? Where do we go from? I would argue that we need to recognise Ukraine as an independent state and a nation that is located between the east and the West.

00:27:22 Speaker 2

It is not a manifestation of the east and the West, and I think we can most prominently see this as of last week we saw that we saw the strength of the Ukrainian nation coming together.

00:27:33 Speaker 2

This is also a photo and show this is from Trinity, have a bomb shelter in.

00:27:36 Speaker 2

Journey of photos.

00:27:37 Speaker 2

Drawn by children.

00:27:39 Speaker 2

Pre war, if you looked at surveys.

00:27:42 Speaker 2

The national identification or Ukrainian identification Intrinio was not quite high or not seen to be very high or very supportive.

00:27:50 Speaker 2

However, I think is very much shows us that children are very much feeling attached their nation going forward and there is very much a desire. So when we look.

00:27:59 Speaker 2

And some of the quotes my individuals or my participants had suggest before we identically dreamed to identify ourselves as Ukrainian.

00:28:05 Speaker 2

Many wrote Russian in their passport during the Russian Empire and Soviet Union because they were scared to the Ukrainian and there is a local joke.

00:28:12 Speaker 2

There were three sons in the family, one Hungarian, one is checking, the other is Ukrainian. However, neither has travelled abroad. I think this.

00:28:19 Speaker 2

Very much sums up. You know what's the complexity of the country? The complexity of identities, and perhaps in a way that we haven't really considered within the context of the war. So with that, I'm going to end that there, and I thank you.

00:28:36 Speaker 1

Marty, thank you so much. That was really fascinating.

00:28:39 Speaker 1

Thing it's gonna be interesting to see.

00:28:40 Speaker 1

The results of that survey that you're doing now.

00:28:42 Speaker 1

Actually it's the.

00:28:43 Speaker 1

Final public seminar. She studied this term.

00:28:46 Speaker 1

And I said I try and summarise years.

00:28:47 Speaker 1

With her, that's.

00:28:48 Speaker 1

We covered quite a range of things this term for this year, rather from new developments in both domains such as space and cyber, as well as new technologies. The strategic implications of AI as well as social media.

00:29:00 Speaker 1

Yeah, we've been assessing the UK's 2021 integrated review. We've also cast the right towards international law and put in a historical perspective, both in terms of the right preemptive strike and humanitarian intervention.

00:29:14 Speaker 1

Today, as we've been doing quite a lot this term, we've been looking at European security and particularly through.

00:29:18 Speaker 1

A historical lens, whether that's.

00:29:21 Speaker 1

The 1807 British bombardment of Copenhagen or the NATO enlargement debates in the 1990s, and then, of course, CW's second parts.

00:29:29 Speaker 1

So you strapped in statecraft. We look a lot at grand strategy, maritime strategy and the strategy of small states.

00:29:35 Speaker 1

And finally, there's been a great focus, obviously on great powers. Specifically, the US, China, India, and of course Russia.

00:29:43 Speaker 1

Which brings us to today, I think at a time of so many hot takes that you see about the intensification of the the war in Ukraine.

00:29:51 Speaker 1

It's really quite important to find more considered analysis, and we've really heard that today so morning. Thank you so much for sharing your research with us.

00:29:59

Thank you.