

War and the Future of Ukraine

18-19 November 2022

Nissan Institute Lecture Theatre, St Antony's College

Friday 18 November

10:00 COFFEE: Hilda Besse Foyer

11:00-12:45: Panel 1: The War: Its Features and its Course

Chair: Katherine Younger (Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna)

Tetyana Malyarenko (Odesa Academy of Law): *From Hybrid to Conventional War in Ukraine: Why Mediation Failed?*

Tamara Martsenyuk (Kyiv-Mohyla – to participate virtually): *Women's Participation in Defending Ukraine in Russia's War*

Sarah Whitmore (Oxford Brookes) and **Bettina Renz** (Nottingham): *Preparing for War: The Domestic and International Politics of Military Reform in Ukraine*

LUNCH

14:00: East European Politics Lenka Bustikova (Oxford)

14:15-16:00: Panel 2: Ukrainian Politics Before and After the War

Chair: Paul Chaisty (Oxford)

Yuliya Bidenko (Karazin Kharkiv National University), *The Role of Decentralization in the Ukrainian Resistance and the Post-war Recovery*

Olga Tokariuk (Reuters Institute, Oxford), *The Impact of War on Journalism in Ukraine*

Volodymyr Paniotto (Kyiv-Mohyla - to participate virtually), *War and Changes in Ukrainian Public Opinion*

Andrew Wilson: Ukrainian Politics Since February 2022

17:00-18:45: Keynote Lecture

Chair: Roy Allison (Oxford)

Tatiana Zhurzhenko (ZOiS, Berlin): *(De)occupation: Challenges for the Ukrainian state and Society*



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Saturday 19 November

9:00 COFFEE: Hilda Besse Foyer

9:30-11:00 Panel 3: Social and Economic Reconstruction

Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS, Berlin)

Vlad Mykhnenko (Oxford): *Ukraine's Urban and Regional Development: Before and After the Russo-Ukrainian War*

Denys Nizalov (De Montfort), *Compensation of Property Losses and the Restitution of Rights in Post-War Ukraine*

Viktoriya Sereda (Ukrainian Catholic University - to participate virtually): *Power of the Disempowered: Civic Activism and Displacement in Ukraine*

11:30-13:00 Panel 4: Ukraine, Europe and the Future of World Order

Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (Oxford)

Roy Allison (Oxford): *Ukraine at the Frontline of Russia's challenge to International Order*

Jonathan Holslag (Free University of Brussels): *The Ukrainian War and the Balance of Power in Eurasia*

Kateryna Zarembo (New Europe Center, Kyiv – to participate virtually): *Coming of Age: The Reappraisal of EU-Ukraine relations*

Speakers Biographies

Dr Tetyana Malyarenko is a Doctor of Public Administration, Jean Monnet Professor of European Security at the National University 'Odesa Academy of Law', Ukraine. She is currently an Alexander von Humboldt fellow at the University of Regensburg, Germany, and a non-resident research fellow at the George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs, Washington D.C.

Dr Tamara Martsenyuk is an Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. After evacuation from Kyiv, Tamara was hosted by Free University Berlin. She is also a visiting scholar at Leuphana University (Germany). Her research interests relate to gender and social structure, including women's access to the military. Tamara is a member of the International Sociological Association (ISA), the Association for the Study of



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Nationalities (ASN), and other professional bodies. She authored chapters in *Gender, Politics, and Society in Ukraine* (2012), *New Imaginaries: Youthful Reinvention of Ukraine's Cultural Paradigm* (2015), and other books. Her papers have been published in the *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Sexuality & Culture* and others.

Dr Sarah Whitmore is Reader in Politics at Oxford Brookes University. She completed her MA, PhD and ESRC postdoc at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Birmingham, where she is an Honorary Fellow. She is the author of *State-Building in Ukraine: The Ukrainian Parliament* (Routledge) and a number of peer-reviewed journal articles (most recently in *East European Politics* and *Europe-Asia Studies*). She has provided consultancy on Ukrainian domestic politics for the Cabinet Office, FCO/FCDO, DFID and the US Department of State, as well as commentary for a wide range of media. Her current research project (with Professor Bettina Renz) 'What sort of military does Ukraine want and need?' is funded by the British Academy.

Professor Bettina Renz is Professor of International Security at the University of Nottingham's School of Politics and International Relations. She has an MA and MSc in Russian Studies from the University of Edinburgh and a PhD in Russian and East European Studies from the University of Birmingham. Her major area of research is Russian security and defence policy since 1991 and her latest monograph, *Russia's Military Revival*, was published with Polity in 2018. She has been working on a project on Ukrainian defence reforms with Dr Sarah Whitmore since 2019.

Dr Yuliya Bidenko is Associate Professor at Karazin Kharkiv National University in the Political Science Department. She was a Research Fellow at The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM, Wien), the Civil Society Studies Department of Charles University (Prague), the European Humanities University (Vilnius), the post-Soviet Researchers and Teachers Excellence Program at Temple University, the co-facilitator for the International Institute for Civic Studies, Tufts University and the University of Augsburg. Since 2016, Dr Bidenko has worked as an expert for the "Team Europe" Initiative of the European Union's Delegation to Ukraine. In 2021, she was the author of the Ukrainian annual country report for Nations in Transit by Freedom House. She has published academic articles and papers devoted to the problems of civil society, decentralization, ideologies, political regime change, and the establishment of democratic institutions and reforms in Ukraine and in Eastern Europe.

Olga Tokariuk is an independent journalist, fellow at the Reuters Institute for the Studying of Journalism in Oxford and non-resident fellow at CEPA (Center for European Policy Analysis). Her professional interests include international relations and disinformation research. Olga has vast experience working with Ukrainian and international media. Her reports were published and aired by TIME, The Washington Post, The Daily Beast, NPR, New Lines Mag Monocle, EFE (Spain), Il Foglio, ANSA (Italy). She is a former head of the foreign news desk at the independent Ukrainian Hromadske TV. Olga worked on several disinformation research projects and was the lead author of the Mythos Labs' reports on Russian disinformation/propaganda relating to the invasion of Ukraine, which were featured on BBC, Le Monde, Huffington Post, Newsweek and other major outlets. She is a former



scholar of the Digital Sherlocks program at the Atlantic Council's DFR Lab. Olga holds an MA in political science and international relations from the University of Bologna (Italy) and an MA in journalism from the Taras Shevchenko University of Kyiv (Ukraine).

Professor Volodymyr Paniotto is the General Director of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology and Professor of the National University of 'Kyiv-Mohyla Academy'. He is vice-president of the Ukrainian Association of Marketing and a member of the Government Body of the Sociological Association of Ukraine. His principal works concern research methodology (survey methods, exit-poll methodology, data validity and reliability); modeling and simulation of social processes; poverty assessment and dynamics of xenophobia. He has published 12 books and more than 200 articles and chapters.

Professor Andrew Wilson is Professor in Ukrainian Studies at University College London. His latest books include *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (fifth edition, Yale University Press, 2022) and *Belarus: The Last European Dictatorship* (updated second edition, Yale, 2021). Professor Wilson has worked extensively on the comparative politics of the post-Soviet states since 1990. His other books include *Ukraine Crisis: What the West Needs to Know* (2014), and *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World* (2005).

Dr Tatiana Zhurzhenko is a researcher at ZOIS (Centre for East European and International Studies), Berlin. Since 2005, she has been teaching East European Politics at the Department of Political Science, University of Vienna. She graduated in political economy (1989) and philosophy (1993) at the V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Ukraine) where she then taught as Associate Professor. Since 2002, Tatiana has continued her academic career in Austria, where she held research fellowships at the Institute for East European History (Lise Meitner 2002-04) and the Department of Political Science (Elise Richter 2007-11). Her research addresses memory politics, borders and borderland identities, with a focus on Ukrainian-Russian borderlands, as well as gender politics in Ukraine and the post-Soviet space. Her recent publications include 'Fighting Empire, Weaponising Culture. The conflict with Russia and the restrictions on Russian mass culture in post-Maidan Ukraine', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2021, 73:8 and 'Making and Unmaking the Ukrainian-Russian Border since 1991', in: Olena Palko and Constantin Ardeleanu (eds.), *Making Ukraine, Negotiating, Contesting and Drawing the Borders in the XX century*, Montreal: McGill University Press, 2022.

Dr Vlad Mykhnenko is Associate Professor in Sustainable Urban Development and Research Fellow of St. Peter's College, University of Oxford. Originally from Donetsk, Vlad holds a BA and MA in International Relations from the Taras Shevchenko University of Kyiv, an MA in International Relations and European Studies from the Central European University (Budapest), and a PhD in Political Economy from Darwin College, the University of Cambridge. Dr Mykhnenko joined Oxford University over five years ago. Prior to that, he was Lecturer in Human Geography, Urban Adaptation and Resilience at the University of Birmingham; Visiting Professor at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University in Almaty; and has held a series of successive Research Fellowships at the University of Nottingham, University

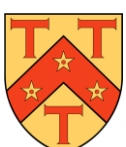


of Glasgow, and at the CEU Centre for Policy Studies in Budapest. Over the past twenty years, he has extensively published on Ukraine's coal and steel industries, on the political economy of post-communism: The Ukrainian Donbas and Polish Upper Silesia in transition, on varieties of capitalism in post-communist countries, and on east European cities and patterns of growth and decline. Vlad's most recent research contributions in this area include papers on 'Causes and consequences of the war in eastern Ukraine: An economic geography perspective' *Europe-Asia Studies*, 72(3): 528-560, and 'Understanding forced internal displacement in Ukraine: insights and lessons for today's crises', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 38(3): 699-716.

Dr Denys Nizalov is a Senior Lecturer at De Montfort University, UK and a Senior Land Governance Adviser for the Prindex Project (www.prindex.net) where he supports research and country engagement in the field of land tenure security. Before taking these current positions, Denys worked as a Program Director for 'Supporting Transparent Land Governance in Ukraine', World Bank where he was involved in the design and implementation of the land reform. Denys has worked in the field of Agricultural/ Rural/ Regional Development and Impact Evaluation for more than 15 years in countries such as Georgia, Ukraine, US, Colombia, India, Nigeria and Croatia. Denys completed a PhD in Agricultural Economics at Michigan State University in 2006 and held a professorship and administrative positions at the Kyiv School of Economics, Ukraine. Currently, Denys is involved with supporting Ukrainian displaced families coming to the UK and is a Chair of the Canterbury for Ukraine charitable association. He is also involved in a policy dialog and rapid need assessment in the land and real estate sector in Ukraine.

Dr Viktoriya Sereda is a sociologist who is currently Senior Fellow and Director of the research group PRISMA UKRAÏNA: War, Migration and Memory at the Forum Transregionale Studien. Prior to this, she was a fellow at the Imre Kertesz Kolleg, University of Jena. She has been a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine since 2020 and a Professor in the department of Sociology at the Ukrainian Catholic University. In the spring semester of 2021, she was also a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Basel. She has either led or participated in over 30 sociological research projects on Ukrainian society and its regional dimensions. From 2011 to 2017, she was the head of the sociological team for the project 'Region, Nation and Beyond: An Interdisciplinary and Transcultural Reconceptualization of Ukraine', organised by the University of St. Gallen in Switzerland. In 2016–2017 and 2019–2020 she was the MAPA Research Fellow at the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, where she developed a digital atlas of social changes in Ukraine after the Euromaidan.

Professor Roy Allison is Professor of Russian and Eurasian International Relations at the School of Global and Area Studies, University of Oxford. He directs the Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies at St. Antony's College. Former positions include Reader in International Relations, London School of Economics (2005-11); Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House (1993-2005). The focus of his recent research has been on Russian military interventions, approaches to international order and international law.



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He has written or co-authored five books, including *Russia, the West and Military Intervention* (Oxford University Press, 2013), and edited or co-edited another five books. His most recent article is 'Ukraine, Russia and state survival through neutrality', *International Affairs*, November 2022.

Professor Jonathan Holslag teaches international politics at the Free University of Brussels. His latest book is: "World Politics since 1989", Polity.

Kateryna Zarembo is a Ukrainian policy analyst, university lecturer, translator and writer. Her area of expertise is foreign and security policy as well as civil society studies, with a focus on Ukraine. She is an Associate Fellow at the New Europe Center (Kyiv, Ukraine). She also teaches at the National University of 'Kyiv-Mohyla Academy'. Since May 2022 she is a guest researcher at the Technical University Darmstadt (Germany).

The Conference is *Co-convened by the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies; St. Antony's College, Oxford (Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre and European Studies Centre); the Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Centre for East European and International Studies, Berlin.*

Let us know your thoughts and experiences by completing this short survey. We would like to hear your feedback so we can gain an understanding of what worked well, and what could be improved for future events:

<https://oxford.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/war-and-the-future-of-ukraine-conference>

This survey should take around 5-10 minutes to complete.

Please note, the survey will close on 30 November 2022.



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