



Perception of Ukraine
and Ukrainian culture abroad

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Research Report
June – December 2021

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ukrainian
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over June-December 2021, experts of the Foreign Policy Council “Ukrainian Prism” conducted research on the perception of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture in the UK, commissioned by the Ukrainian Institute. The goal was to explore attitudes and expectations about Ukraine and Ukrainian culture among the UK audience. The experts conducted 24 in-depth semi-structured interviews with representatives of the selected target audiences, including cultural agents (musicians, directors, photographers, festival organisers, etc.), academics, diplomats, and diaspora.

The main associations of the British audience vary vastly based on the personal experience the interviewees had interacting with representatives of Ukraine, participation in joint projects, and personal visits to Ukraine. The Maidan, Russian aggression, football, Eurovision, Crimea (referenced in the context of the 1853-1856 Crimean War and World War II rather than the Crimean Tatar culture) featured most frequently as associations regardless of the interviewees’ personal experience. The professional community of cultural agents often mentions Soviet associations with Ukraine, including Soviet urban architecture. Contemporary music, literature, and Ukrainian cinema increasingly attract attention as well.

All interviewees highlighted that there is extremely little general awareness of Ukraine. In their opinion, an average UK resident has sporadic knowledge of Ukraine that is mainly driven by the current news. However, a certain understanding of Ukraine’s ‘otherness’, distinctiveness from Russia and of its fight against Russian aggression has already emerged. There is also an overall positive attitude to Ukraine as a European rather than a post-Soviet country, but the one located very far. It is evident that most narratives are not solidified. They depend on the coverage of Ukraine-related developments in the UK media, as well as its domestic and global agenda. Corruption is the only solid narrative about Ukraine.

The particularity of Ukraine’s culture perception in the UK is that the target audience perceives the Ukrainian cultural space as eclectic. This is driven by objective reasons, such as cultural diversity of Ukrainian cultural phenomena and specifics of Ukrainian cultural self-identification, and, on the other hand, by the UK context. For example, Ukrainian cultural identity is often viewed in the UK through the impact of the metropole – the Russian Empire, then the Soviet Union. Audiences in the United Kingdom project their imperial experience onto the Ukrainian situation. They mostly view this experience favourably, therefore they see Russian and/or Soviet impact on Ukraine without negativity. Notably, they tend to identify Ukrainians as Eastern Europeans. At best, this allows Ukraine to claim the status of a “culture at crossroads.” When Ukrainian cultural phenomena have global or European reverberation and visibility, it improves the

culture recognizability. However, even this raises the phenomenon profile but not always results in its association with Ukraine. In many cases, Russian or Soviet attributions pop up. In a positive trend, Ukraine is increasingly recognisable in the context of the fight for democracy, which resonates with people in the UK generally, and in Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales in particular. There is awareness of contemporary Ukrainian music and some authors, whose books were translated into English.

The pandemic had a strong negative impact on the cooperation and promotion of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy in the UK, which was already feeble before. The interviewees often referred to Ukraine's *cultural diplomacy* as activities conducted by the well-known NGOs and academic centres in the UK, such as the London-based Ukrainian Institute and Cambridge Ukrainian Studies, rather than to events or projects promoted by Ukrainian state institutions.

Most interviewees had Ukraine-related personal experience. However, apart from a handful of area experts and diplomats, their contacts were sporadic through engagement in individual projects in Ukraine or the UK. The interviewees did not mention failed cases of cooperation, their experience was mostly positive, although they did note difficulties with the funding and red tape in Ukraine. Public discussions and film screening events remain among the key ways to feature Ukrainian culture in the UK. Cambridge and London are the top hubs for Ukraine-related events in the United Kingdom. First and foremost, this is because the centres that drive and organise various projects and events are located there.

Most interviewees confirmed that they were willing to cooperate with Ukrainian institutions and individual agents in various formats. They noted that the shortage of awareness about Ukraine opens opportunities for promoting cultural diplomacy and seeking new cooperation formats. Overall, the interviewees note that Ukraine-related themes can primarily be attractive to the UK audience, including professional communities, when presented as part of the global or British context (e.g., Lesya Ukrainka can be presented via 19th-century feminism, while the Holodomor can be presented via the story of Gareth Jones).

The interviewees are open to new formats of cooperation. Among those they highlighted texts translations, participation of Ukrainian artists in festivals, music and art collaborations, exchange and fellowship programs in Ukraine, the opportunity to work with Ukrainian sources and in Ukrainian archives, study tours to Ukraine and more. The interviewees believe that the choice of the format of cooperation is secondary to the themes Ukraine wants to communicate in the United Kingdom. They insisted that Ukraine should focus on 3-4 themes at a time for a better concentration of efforts and resources. Although opinions on the preferred themes varied, the interviewees pointed most frequently to episodes of Ukraine's transformation since 2014, contemporary culture, the Holodomor, and links between the UK and Ukraine.

When it comes to sources of information the interviewees use, personal contacts and search on the Internet prevail. Social media, especially Instagram, are increasingly relevant. At the same time, the interviewees would gladly use customised databases and other trustworthy sources.

It is difficult to outline specific regional priorities of Ukraine's cultural diplomacy in various regions of the UK that maybe promoted. All four parts of the UK can share an interest in Ukrainian culture in general and specific themes/projects in particular. Still, all interviewees noted the importance of reaching out beyond London as there are many more cultural centres and major international events outside of the UK capital of the UK.

Some of the key recommendations include

- longer-term planning;
- selection of themes that fit into the contemporary global context;
- avoiding a focus on Ukraine-centered content exclusively;
- choice of mutually interesting themes or those related to historical ties between the two countries;
- focusing less on attempts to overcome the Russian discourses and more on presenting a comprehensive perspective of Ukrainian culture;
- a greater accent on modern Ukraine and its contemporary culture;
- active cooperation with major festivals;
- joining efforts with the business companies that work with UK partners.

Apart from that, the interviewees highlighted:

- the importance of initiating exchange programs;
- working with curators of UK institutions;
- cooperation with translators;
- supporting Ukrainian studies at universities;
- using the possibilities of the UK study programs alumni communities.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. METHODOLOGY

This research aims to explore the attitudes and expectations of Ukraine, Ukrainian culture, and cultural cooperation opportunities among the UK audience.

The following objectives were chosen to meet this goal:

- to explore the current perceptions of Ukraine in the UK, the awareness and perception of Ukrainian culture;
- to study how familiar the target audience is with selected Ukrainian phenomena and how it perceives them;
- to uncover a demand for Ukrainian cultural products in the UK and expectations from Ukraine in the field of cultural diplomacy; to outline potentially interesting formats and vectors of cooperation with Ukraine in culture, education, academia, etc.;
- to identify the current perception of the Ukrainian Institute as an agent of Ukraine's cultural diplomacy and explore what the target audience expects from the Ukrainian Institute in cultural diplomacy;
- to study how the cultural sphere and individual cultural institutions operate in the UK for the purpose of developing bilateral relations in the field.

This research is centred around the perception of Ukraine as an actor of international relations, Ukrainian cultural diplomacy, and Ukrainian culture in the context of developing bilateral relations.

The study analyses knowledge and perception of Ukraine and its culture, by the professional community in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and by other target audiences engaged in cultural diplomacy. Apart from that, the research explores what the professional community expects of Ukraine as an actor of cultural diplomacy, the professional community's interest in Ukrainian culture, its themes, phenomena, major actors, etc.

The work covered preselected target audiences – primarily professional communities, including individual cultural agents, representatives of institutional agents in the field of culture, public authorities, diplomats, and diaspora. The interviewees could choose to feature partially or fully off-record or not to be quoted in this research. The list of the interviewees is available in Annex 1.

The focus of the research was primarily on music, visual arts, cinematography, theatre and other performance arts, literature, education and academic research in

humanities and social sciences, and cultural diplomacy. This determined the choice of the interviewees.

Given the UK's societal and cultural context, interviewees invited for this research represented not only London, but also Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and various cities across England.

This is **qualitative research based on 24 in-depth interviews**. All interviews were conducted in June-August 2021 via Zoom or in-person in the interviewee's preferred language (English or Ukrainian), lasting approximately one hour each. In addition to expressing their personal opinion on the research questions, the interviewees occasionally discussed the perceptions and expectations of the professional community they represented or the overall attitude in their country. The result of this research cannot be overgeneralised or extrapolated to other target audiences. However, the data received as a result of this study can help build hypotheses for further verification.

The interviews were based on the questionnaire toolkit (Annex 2) designed and provided by the Ukrainian Institute. In addition to the main questions, the research explored how well the interviewees knew 32 cultural phenomena (Annex 3). The phenomena provided by the Ukrainian Institute, together with the questionnaire, listed some figures (including writers, artists, sculptors, historical or political figures), historical phenomena, architectural sites, elements of decorative arts, etc. The list included the phenomena usually associated with Ukraine and those often associated with other countries. The assessments described here are not fully representative, yet they reflect trends in the awareness and perception of the phenomena, including whether or not they come up in association with Ukraine.

The COVID-19 pandemic, which restricted possibilities for public events and travelling, was an important factor that affected the interviewees' answers, forcing them to mostly draw on the pre-COVID-19 experience as interaction and various public events have been extremely limited in the past two years.

The data obtained from this research can serve as a foundation for further planning of directions, formats, and content for projects by the Ukrainian Institute, as well as other agents of Ukrainian culture and diplomacy. Also, it can drive further empirical research of the perception of Ukraine abroad.

2. COUNTRY CONTEXT

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is one of Ukraine's key strategic partners and is listed as such in Ukrainian law. This is also reflected in the bilateral Political, Free Trade, and Strategic Partnership Agreement signed in October 2020. Economic, military-technical, and security cooperation between the two states has

been growing in recent years. The UK's exit from the European Union and the ensuing search for a new global role in the world, as well as the similar perception of security threats coming from the Russian Federation, contributed to this, among other factors.

By contrast to intense political and economic cooperation, cultural and educational cooperation has never been in focus of the two countries.

Dichotomy in the perception of cultural phenomena of other countries is an essential feature of the United Kingdom. On the one hand, the UK public is open to new, unconventional, and multicultural things and can at times even get excited about what they perceive as exotic cultures. On the other hand, there is some arrogance¹ about the cultures that are not Western European or post-imperial. Despite the transformations of recent years and the fact that the UK society has become increasingly more open, it still remains quite divided by class, which is especially notable in culture and education.² The issue of language is an essential factor for UK society. It comprises two aspects - using British rather than American spelling, what is a culturally sensitive element, and the prospect of being invited to festivals, conferences, and other public events of primarily those who speak fluent English, so there is no necessity for interpretation.

The UK cultural field is quite developed and supported by the government and private business. Its most notable features include:

- Strong decentralisation. Firstly, there is a regional decentralisation enabled by devolution of cultural processes and management, that includes cultural, social, and educational policies. Secondly, decentralisation envisages autonomy of individual cultural and education institutions, absence of government influence on their program and activities.
- Integration of British culture into the global context and global markets along with priority interest in its own cultural products.
- The impact of colonial history and imperial status. This is reflected in the special status of cultures that used to be part of the British Empire and the perception of the "British culture" as highly developed and exceptional. Self-identification of "Britain as a cultural superpower" comes up frequently.
- Great interest in classical culture, primarily theatre and ballet. At the same time, the audience in the UK is interested in modern and contemporary culture, especially music and visual arts. A mix of the classical and contemporary and understanding of the current context triggers the most interest. Folklore is less attractive.

¹ See for example: Vegard Jarness, Sam Friedman, 'I'm not a snob, but...': class boundaries and the downplaying of difference, London School of Economics Research Online: January 2017, http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/68968/1/Friedman_%20I'm%20not%20a%20snob_2017.pdf

² 'I'm not a snob, but...': Class boundaries and the downplaying of difference. *Poetics*, Volume 61, April 2017, Pages 14-25

- The UK is a country of readers. The interviewees noted that “we are the bookish nation.” This is reflected in numerous book festivals and fairs, developed book publishing, an extensive network of bookstores and libraries, and various book presentations.
- An essential role of universities in driving the cultural agenda across all parts of the UK. It is important to note the role of universities as traditional venues for various public events, from conferences and film screenings to festivals and exhibitions.

The **key challenges and problems that complicate bilateral relations between the UK and Ukraine in the cultural and historical context** include historic Russophilia of the British elite and proactive actions of the Russian state and non-state actors in terms of cultural diplomacy in Britain. Another problem is that people in the UK and often Ukrainians themselves – especially representatives of big business – identify Ukrainians foremost as those representing post-Soviet area as a general/united space. Finally, other important challenges include British regional nationalism, focus on its own system of education and culture, the class context of the British society, etc.

Nationalism, including separatist sentiments in some parts of the UK, is an important factor that affects its economic and political life, as well as cultured and sports. The Brexit referendum reinforced these trends.³ This factor has a number of consequences in the cultural field, including the availability of important and impactful cultural events outside of London, the different regional focuses of cultural interest, and especially sensitive rivalry in sports.

The stance of the British on Ukraine and Russia has been changing gradually since 2014, with a strong tilt towards pro-Ukrainian sentiments after the Salisbury poisoning and the investigation of Russia’s interference with the Brexit referendum. By contrast, there has been no significant evolution in the cultural sphere, and the British elite remains quite Russophile. The term **Russophilia** is used a lot by both media and policymakers in the UK. Among others, Prime Minister Boris Johnson has repeatedly referred to himself as “committed Russophile.”⁴ His close contacts with Russian oligarchs and donors, especially his friendship with the millionaire Yevgeny Lebedev, now a UK citizen, have repeatedly triggered scandals.⁵ There are Russophiles among the supporters of both the Conservative Party and the Labour Party, in the British upper class and the community engaged in cultural activities.

3 See, for example, analysis by ex-Prime Minister Gordon Brown. The United Kingdom is too precious to be lost to narrow nationalism. The Guardian. 18.01.2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/18/united-kingdom-too-precious-to-be-lost-to-narrow-nationalism>

4 E.g., in a press conference in Moscow in 2017. More details at: Johnson on first Moscow visit by UK top diplomat in 5 years? AP, 22.12.2017, <https://apnews.com/article/039ae0985c324671a3c7865ab1b3ce83>

5 Boris Johnson and Evgeny Lebedev: a decade of politics, parties and peerages, 21.10.2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/oct/21/parties-politics-peerages-boris-johnson-evgeny-lebedev-friendship>

It is important to understand, however, that British Russophiles are not always pro-Russian or pro-Putin. Quite on the contrary, they often criticise Russia's current regime and support sanctions against the Kremlin. It would therefore be wrong to label them as pro-Russian forces. Russophilia primarily manifests itself as admiration of Russia as a country, its people, history, and culture. This often involves admiration of the classical culture of the 18th and 19th centuries (theatre, ballet, and literature).

The Russian Federation proactively promotes its cultural and historical narratives in the UK and fosters ties at different levels. Its historical narratives mostly focus on the World War II, ties between royal families, and cultural contacts of the 19th century. Russia's cultural activity in the UK is far more diverse than that of the other countries in terms of the products offered and the actors involved. WWII-related narratives are worth special attention in the analysis of possible Ukrainian cultural activities in the UK. Russia has strongly monopolised this historical period in the related discourse and exploits it in the dialogue with the UK.

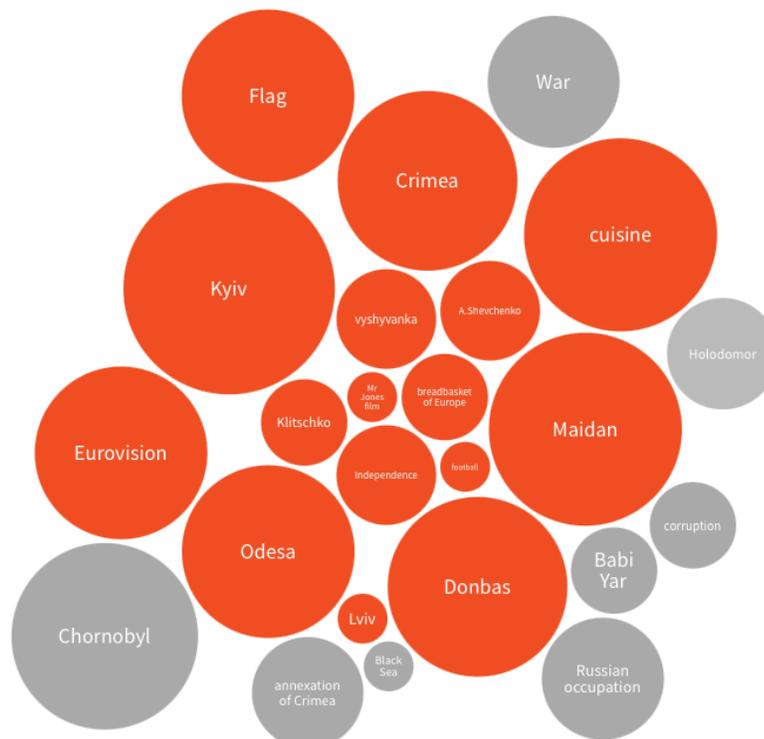
This research shows a considerable **evolution of the perception of Ukraine** as an independent state in the last seven years, singling it out of the Russocentric discourse. In the media, Ukraine still mostly appears in the context of crises. But professional communities increasingly look at available opportunities for exploring Ukraine and establishing cooperation. While they perceive Ukraine as a European country, the British – including those with prior cooperation experience with Ukraine – still have very limited knowledge about the country.

The Ukrainian diaspora in the UK is not sufficiently cohesive. It is represented by two major diaspora waves that are not always interconnected: the "old" wave of post-WWII immigrants and "new" immigrants from independent Ukraine. Both waves have strongly assimilated with British society. The "old" diaspora mainly supports cultural and historical activities and has established Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (UAGB). The "new" diaspora is strongly fragmented, however, the response to the post-2014 political and security developments in Ukraine pushed it to intensify its efforts. Opposing Russia's aggression is a common theme the two waves of diaspora share, but it does not lead to combining efforts of these two waves.

II. PERCEPTION OF UKRAINE IN THE PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY

The analysis of interviews with professional community representatives shows that their perception of Ukraine varies based on their education, experience of interaction with Ukraine and Ukrainians, and professional interests. Global or European events/news covered in the British or international media (where Ukraine is mentioned) significantly influence respondents' perception. However, the perceptions shaped in this manner are sporadic and do not deliver a comprehensive image or established attitude to Ukraine. Still, these sporadic perceptions impact the vision of Ukraine the most, according to the interviewees' answers.

Perception of Ukraine



Spontaneous associations with Ukraine mentioned most frequently include Kyiv (8 times), Maidan (5 times), Ukrainian food (5 times), Chernobyl (4 times), Donbas (3 times), Crimea (3 times), Odesa (2 times), and Lviv, Donetsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Khmelnytsky, Kolomyia, Mariupol, Berdiansk, Ukrainian steppe, mountains in Western Ukraine and slag heaps (1 time each). Two interviewees came up with associations with Ukrainian architecture ("Kyiv churches", "Soviet modernist architecture", "Constructivism"). Two other interviewees mentioned the Ukrainian flag and Eurovision. In addition to this, interviewees mention manifestations of the war with Russia ("conflict", "Russian occupation", "tension in the Black Sea", "conflict with Russia", "annexation of Crimea", "Russian occupation", "war"); Ukrainian sports (football, Andriy Shevchenko, Vitali Klitschko). Particularities of Ukrainian politics are reflected in such associations as "democracy", "political difficulties," and "corruption."

The cities visited by the interviewees and their architectural variety strongly influence the associations with Ukraine coming to respondents' mind. They mention Kyiv most often, possibly because it is the capital and the usual "gate" to Ukraine. The other cities they mention are mostly those they visited. Frequent mentions of the Maidan and Chernobyl may be not only for a result of the media spotlight and the significance of these events for Ukrainian history, but also due to their cultural repercussions in different cultural manifestations - theatre plays, documentaries, films, etc. Ukrainian food is essentially one of Ukraine's tourist attractions.

When it comes to the diaspora, they are naturally the best informed about Ukraine and have an established and sentimental image of their homeland.

The association for Bloom Twins, a vocal duo, is with Ukrainian folklore:

"We have done music with our mom since childhood. We were in ensembles, dressed in Ukrainian costumes, performed at festivals. So, we immediately associate Ukrainian culture with embroidered shirts, choir, wind orchestra."

Tetyana Vovnyanko from British-Ukrainian Aid associates Ukraine with the colours of the flag:

"During the Maidan, many of us had the tradition of putting the flag (in the purse) before going to work because we always organised rallies and protests after work."

The associations that came up occasionally included Babi Yar, the Holodomor, the Black Sea, hope, *Mr Jones* film, rich and interesting history, the breadbasket of Europe, independence, Ukrainian language, Day of the Embroidered Shirt, vyshyvanka (Ukrainian

embroidered shirt), MH17, nostalgia, folklore, choir, wind orchestra, childhood, parents, home, family, work, Lesia Khomenko, Podil, Ukrainian culture, happy childhood, sunflower, interesting literature.

Moving from the interviewees' spontaneous associations to their knowledge and the assessment of how informed the wider UK public is about Ukraine, it is worth mentioning that **audiences in the UK, including representatives of professional communities, have superficial knowledge about Ukraine that is based on stereotypes and misperceptions.** Ukraine is still virtually *terra incognita* in their eyes.

“In general, people in the UK know nothing about Ukraine, and if you stop to ask people in the street, they will look blankly at you,”

– Rosie Whitehouse, *The Judah Edition*.

“If I ask my peer group, they will know zero. They know about British navy ship maybe,⁶”

– Rick Rowbotham, architect.

“My shock 16 years ago, when I moved to the UK, was that nobody knows what borsch is. In Canada, you have a taxi driver, whether they have roots from Ireland, Italy, Brazil or Pakistan, they all know what borsch is. Whereas you get into a cab in London, hardly anyone would have heard of borsch or varenyky... You rarely hear top politicians here engage publicly on Ukraine unless there is a particular conflict moment or a particular crisis,”

– Ola Onuch, *The University of Manchester*.

As the media interest in Ukraine is sporadic, this contributes to the fact that the broader audience in the UK has low awareness about our country.⁷ It is obvious that most narratives are not stable. They depend on the presence of Ukraine-related developments in the UK media and on domestic and global agendas. The outbursts of interest in Ukraine only occur when major developments in Ukraine get into the spotlight of international media or when it concerns the United Kingdom directly. Notably, such developments can be negative or positive, hence the eclectic image of Ukraine.

⁶ The respondent means an incident with HMS Defender.

⁷ Notably, a number of interviewees mentioned The Guardian as a specific outlet where average Brits can learn about Ukraine. Importantly, “a typical Guardian reader” in the UK is seen as being liberal, politically correct, and center-left. Overall, The Guardian has published more on Ukraine than other UK outlets in recent years. See Guardian reader in British English, Collins Dictionary. <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/guardian-reader>

A low priority of Ukraine–UK relations is the second contributor to little awareness about Ukraine. The UK's domestic political context affects the perception of any other culture or anything new. The post-Brexit UK is looking for a new identity, ways to return to the global players' club. Despite the Strategic Partnership Agreement, Ukraine is not yet seen as a state that could contribute.

“We are not seen as a partner in solving global issues. And they [the Brits] are now looking for this approach application [dealing with partners through the prism of solving global issues – Ed.]”

– Vadym Prystaiko, Ukraine's Ambassador to the UK.

The attitude to Ukraine is sometimes shaped by the overall approach to Eastern European countries. As a result, there is a shortage of the attention top policymakers pay to Ukraine or lack of mentions in the UK media, and average UK citizens know little about Ukraine.

“I've noticed prejudices here in Britain towards Ukrainians that are similar to prejudices I've noticed held against other East Europeans. It seems as if not very much is known about modern, contemporary Ukrainian culture here. Do people in the UK know much about Ukraine as a diverse nation with a migrant population, for instance? Do they know about leading figures in arts or music? I don't think so,”

– Kris Nelson, LIFT.

It is hardly surprising in this context that **the notion of Ukraine is simplified**, narrowed down to ideas about local food, Ukrainian football, and anachronistic stereotypes that mostly associate Ukraine with its past as a part of the Soviet Union. Ukrainian food is primarily familiar to those who have visited Ukraine. There is no famous Ukrainian restaurant in London through which Ukrainian cuisine could be popularised.

The media image of Ukraine is partly shaped by mentions of tragedies (such as the downing of Malaysia Airlines MH17 plane by the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation over the territory of Ukraine in 2014 where all passengers were killed); military clashes and incidents, especially when the UK military are involved (such as when Russia's Ministry of Defence claimed that its military vessels tried to prevent the HMS Defender from passing through Ukraine's territorial waters close to Crimea in 2021); corruption scandals, etc.

However, representatives of both the diaspora and the British professional community point out that it is the **entrenched image of a corrupt country**, rather than lack of knowledge or misperceptions, that is the key contributor to the negative

perception of Ukraine. Some corruption cases (e.g., Burisma scandal that involved alleged involvement of Hunter Biden, the son of US President Joseph Biden, or corruption scandals with officials from the Trump Administration) are globally relevant. Such news immediately catches the attention of the UK media and people remember this for a long time. The issue of oligarchs is also widely covered in the UK because many of them have connections with Britain and are public figures. More broadly, a collective image of a corrupt post-Soviet official or oligarch exists, and many of those had ties to UK politicians (the reason it was covered by the local media).

“Unfortunately, they still associate us mainly with political scandals, and this narrative is mostly connected with complaints about great corruption,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine in the UK, 2016-2020.

“Corruption is, unfortunately, [the key association – Ed.] in politics. I think that the first thing people here [in the UK – Ed.] have in mind when they think of Ukrainian politics is corruption, the never-ending scandals linked to American politicians. Unfortunately, this is a secondary role in something that is not very positive”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute London.

“I think, people still tend to associate Ukraine in the wider region with quite a lot of problems, things like oligarchs... people in the UK tend to read about it in the paper, they also hear a lot about corruption issues,”

– Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Advisor to the Government of Ukraine.

“The main coverage of Ukraine has been in relation to accusations of corruption involving Western leaders – most frequently because of Joe Biden’s son and the involvement of Ukrainian officials in reports against the Trump administration”

– Stephen Fingleton, filmmaker.

Some interviewees are sceptical about the prevalence of the corruption theme and see it as manipulation or exaggeration:

“Corruption is one of the most widespread narratives about Ukraine in the UK. I can’t say confidently that this

is orchestrated by someone, but the BBC has recently published a horrible article about a woman who scammed £250,000 from a British citizen in Odesa.⁸ He is a charity worker, the article has lots of inconsistencies, including the high salary of the interpreter, the way to transfer his money they chose, there is a lot that raises questions. The article is presented as an article about corruption in Ukraine. Everything that was not exactly legal that the British side had done in that situation was not mentioned, and corrupt Ukraine comes out as the only culprit. Just a year ago, corruption was mentioned in almost every event or discussion of any level,”

– Tetyana Vovnyanko, British-Ukrainian Aid.

When commenting on the narratives about Ukraine produced in the media, the interviewees note that **Ukraine is viewed with sympathy despite the shortage of information or knowledge about it. The heroic presentation of Ukraine’s Maidan** was the first step towards this neutral and/or positive image. The Revolution of Dignity, peaceful protests, the fight for democracy, and extensive coverage of the Maidan by international media helped the UK public distinguish Ukraine from “post-Soviet countries”, fuelled interest in it, and laid the basis for a positive attitude.

“You will see in the media that all this began after the Revolution of Dignity. From that moment, that year on, Ukraine has been on the media [radar – Ed.]. It’s not just us with Ukrainian roots, but my Scottish and English friends now too, who know that Ukraine is a separate state, not part of the former Soviet Union,”

– Petro Kormylo, Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

“...Maidan was coming as a broadly peaceful example of the protests,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

“Contemporary topics, such as political activism in Ukraine after Maidan, are very interesting to young

⁸ A fake wedding, and a \$250,000 scam, BBC, 22/06/2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-57358241>

students; the changes and transformations ongoing in Ukraine make the country interesting for students,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

This interest has many aspects to it – Scottish attention to overcoming the domination of a big state, English interest in the fight for democratic values, overall interest in political activism and emergence of new media and cultural products (films, books) that appeared as a result of reflections on the Maidan and developments in Eastern Ukraine. Among other things, the British audiences perceived the readiness of Ukrainians to fight for their independence as a sign of the nation’s political maturity and its pro-Western sentiments. The emergence of independent media platforms and the use of social media to mobilise people [to protest – Ed.] was seen as a sign that Ukraine is part of the global context and trends. The emergence of films and books on modern developments was perceived as a capacity to reflect on the changes of recent years in the country through art. The UK public see the Maidan as a symbol of the courage of average Ukrainians, a feature praised in British society.

“Ukraine was subject to what was a very corrupt, authoritarian dictatorship and the way in which people sort of rose up and decided that they wanted to cast that aside and establish a democratic government... instead of being intimidated to go back into their houses, more people came onto the streets. People were willing to give up their lives. I thought that was extraordinarily inspiring, and it was that which made me have huge admiration and affection for Ukraine,”

– John Whittingdale, Minister for Media and Data, 2020-2021.

Still, **the image that emerged after the Maidan lacked details and depth.** The risk was that, once the dramatic events of the Maidan were over, the interest for Ukraine would fade as quickly as it aroused, and the aspirations of Ukrainians would not be fully understood. Contributing to this risk was the intensity of other international developments that enjoyed as much media coverage as the Maidan did, so draining focus out of Ukraine. Nevertheless, this risk never grew to a critical scale as news about Ukraine have been appearing in UK media occasionally. This news attached to the general narrative of the already established Ukraine’s image, which had been formed by the Maidan and the Revolution of Dignity.

The developments that followed the Revolution of Dignity, including Russia’s illegal occupation of Crimea and the unfolding war in Eastern Ukraine, contributed to a greater understanding of Ukraine’s image, aspirations and hopes of Ukrainians, and the barriers that have emerged on Ukraine’s path to state-building. One can say that these

developments have a TV-series effect for the broader public: the interest triggered by one event, the Revolution of Dignity, was further fuelled by the equally dramatic subsequent developments in Crimea and Donbas. British and international media covered those events intensively, as well as later critical moments, therefore, there are these events that most people in the UK have as their first associations with Ukraine. Cultural events cannot beat this trend.

“Recently, it [the key association – Ed.] is definitely war in the East and annexation of Crimea,”

– Rick Rowbotham, architect.

The appearance of Russia as an antagonistic state and an aggressive military power, which could be seen as a series antihero, reinforced the established image of an independent democratic Ukraine. Filmmaker Stephen Fingleton described this well:

“Since spending time in Ukraine, I look at it as a very young country. I associate it with nationalism in a positive sense, a very strong self-identity, patriotism. As David vs Goliath... A sympathetic portrayal of Ukraine’s war with Russia where Ukraine is presented as a small country facing up to a belligerent power and the coverage is sympathetic to Ukraine’s position.”

Alternatively, success stories of Ukrainians in sports (Andriy Shevchenko, Vitali Klitschko) or at Eurovision song contest help shape a positive image of Ukraine in the eyes of average UK residents. Eurovision is very popular in the UK, and many people of different generations and professional backgrounds associate it with Ukraine.

“Football has been a powerful association lately. There is a direct association [with football] as many Ukrainian football players play in English clubs,”

– Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Adviser to Government of Ukraine.

“People were talking about Jamala when she won Eurovision,”

– Bloom Twins duo.

“[My association is] the Eurovision song contest, because you always have good songs. I don’t know, do you especially choose them?”

– Stewart McDonald MP, UK Parliament.

To some extent, Ukraine's success in pop culture contributes to its **image of a tolerant and civilised country**. Moreover, it is not just in the context of culture that people talk about the normal attitude towards the LGBT community.

“A lot of people think that Ukraine is a homophobic country, but I think that it is not that bad as people think. I remember an exhibition about LGBT people who fought in the East. And people were surprised when I talked about it,”

– Stewart McDonald MP, UK Parliament.

Still, **the knowledge of some Ukrainian individuals and high-profile events happening in Ukraine does not contribute to comprehensive images or attitudes**. The wider audience knows little to nothing about Ukraine.

“Those who watch Eurovision know something [about Ukraine]. Those who follow football know something too... An average person may have heard about Chernobyl or that there is a war in Ukraine. Some keep asking though whether the war is ongoing or whether it is over,”

– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

The UK interviewees who have experience of cooperation with Ukraine and Ukrainians, have visited Ukraine and worked with it professionally **are better informed about Ukraine**. To some extent, however, their image of modern Ukraine is intertwined with the image of Soviet Ukraine. Therefore, the best pieces of art or actors of culture of that period are associated with the metropole or its influence. Ukrainian ballet, classical music, even avant-garde movement are therefore seen as Soviet, and Ukrainian architecture is seen as a style shaped under the influence of Soviet architecture.

“Soviet modernist architecture, the constructivist style, some of the famous Soviet art forms, such as ballet, for example, are probably associated with the broader region. Personally, I am interested in the old Soviet-style of architecture, but a lot of Ukrainians understandably do not like these things, as they are a legacy of the Soviet era. I know a lot of buildings have been torn down but, actually, a lot of foreigners have quite a keen interest in that old style,”

– Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Adviser to Government of Ukraine.

“[When some colleagues hear about Ukraine, they think that – Ed.] it’s something linked to the Soviet Union – they had some sort of avant-garde, but it’s common knowledge that all avant-garde was Soviet. [They may have heard – Ed.] that there used to be some Ukrainian avant-garde, but they don’t know who it was. [Still, they know that – Ed.] it’s something that is not Russia, which is probably a very good step forward,”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

In other words, when they frame their notion about Ukraine and Ukrainian cultural space, audiences in the UK partly rely on the images and narratives produced in the Soviet time and aimed at diluting the image of Ukraine, integrating it into the Soviet cultural space and replacing the notion of “Ukrainian” with “Soviet” or “Soviet Ukrainian.” As a result, these images include some misconceptions, exaggerating the cultural influence of the Soviet metropole and essentially overlooking both the individual Ukrainian identity and Ukrainian influence on the metropole, the contribution of Ukrainian historical figures and artists to Soviet culture and art. Ukrainian art, creativity, and cultural trends are partly seen as auxiliary to the Soviet ones rather than as self-sufficient. The notion of “Ukrainian” as something distinct from “Soviet” or “Russian” is currently sporadic.

As a result, the professional community in the UK have a more nuanced yet quite eclectic image of Ukraine. Perceiving Ukraine through the lens of Soviet times or modern Russia occasionally creates fertile ground for misperceptions, even in the environment that works with Ukrainian organisations.

“A number of Jewish organisations raise money to help Jewish communities in Ukraine, but they often have enormous misperceptions about Ukraine,”

– Rosie Whitehouse, The Judah Edition.

Some of these misconceptions emerged under the influence of the Russian narrative or Russian speculations. This is especially true about the perceptions and ideas about the role of Ukraine in WWII. Moreover, Russia has largely monopolised the discourse on WWII and the role of allies in it. Russia’s Embassy organises commemorative events on WWII regularly and engages the British political and academic elite extensively. This adds targeted Russian information interventions on top of the rudimentary impact of Soviet narratives.

“The position that was always presented here [in the UK – Ed.] is that it was Ukraine collaborating with the Nazis,”
– Andy Eagle, Chapter Art Centre.

At the same time, **plunging deeper into the Ukrainian context allows people to have a clearer image of Ukraine and its culture.** In such cases, perception through the lens of eclectic Soviet and post-Soviet images and narratives mixed with authentic Ukrainian ones grows into the view of Ukraine through the lens of its diversity, self-sufficiency, and cultural integrity that are not undermined by external influences or internal regional differences. Overall, the interviewees repeatedly highlighted Ukraine’s diversity in all aspects as a positive thing that can attract foreigners. They repeatedly noted geographic, natural, historical, and cultural diversity and the mix of styles in city architecture as something that impressed them when they visited Ukraine.

“From visual impressions – Donetsk and ‘terricones’, heavy industry, mining, the smell of industry. In Kyiv, it is a completely different story, it is a culture centre. It had areas of outstanding cultural emphasis, very interesting topographical locations – like rivers and their crossings. Kyiv is a charming city in its own way,”

– Rick Rowbotham, architect.

“I travelled to Odesa, the Black Sea as well. I’ve seen that area – it’s quite cosmopolitan in terms of the different cultures that you see there,”

– Cleveland Watkiss, Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance.

“Different parts of Ukraine are very diverse, and that’s an attraction of Ukraine... Ukraine is a rich country culturally,”

– Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Adviser to Government of Ukraine.

Another factor contributing to the growing recognizability of Ukraine is historical comparisons that resonate with the UK society. Thus, the developments around **Crimea**, including the occupation of the Autonomous Republic and the city of Sevastopol by Russia, as well as its unilateral, illegal annexation that neither Ukraine nor the international community has recognised, was an additional trigger for the UK audience. The historical comparison is with the Crimean War of 1853 – 1856 that took place in Crimea, where the British Empire and its allies fought against the Russian Empire. Another

consistent association linked to Crimea is the visit of Prime Minister Churchill to Yalta during WWII to negotiate with the Allies at the end of the war.

“In the UK, obviously Crimea has a huge historical resonance. Because of the Russian occupation and the parallels with the Crimean War,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

We can state that the general **interest in Crimea** is linked exclusively to historical sentiments about the events where the UK was involved or to the current security situation. Even those politicians or researchers who worked on Crimea know at best the history of Crimean Tatars’ deportation and current political issues, e.g., violations of human rights in Crimea. This knowledge **has not converted into an interest in/ awareness of the Crimean Tatar culture**, apart from the general recognition of this ethnic group of the indigenous Muslim people.

“Nobody knows about the Crimean Tatar culture in the UK. Here, people only know Crimea through the Crimean campaign of 1854... But [the Brits – Ed.] have separate associations on Crimea and Crimean Tatars. For them, Crimea is rather about strategic issues of today,”

– Vadym Prystaiko, Ukraine’s Ambassador to the UK.

Jamala’s performance at Eurovision was perhaps the only success story in promoting the Crimean Tatar narrative because both the song and the story behind it interested the wider public who wanted to understand the context better. However, without continuation this success became a lost opportunity.

“... I explained who Crimean Tatars were, that they were displaced, and Jamala was talking about this displacement story. They [Eurovision viewers – Ed.] were really engaged with the story, they didn’t know that. That [Eurovision and the victory of Jamala – Ed.] was a lost opportunity of cultural diplomacy,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

It appears that isolated events, e. g., commemorating the deportation of Crimean Tatars, the screening of films about Mustafa Dzhemilev, and related information campaigns did not create the necessary media response. These events were not systemic and widely attended. They also lacked sufficient involvement of the representatives of the Crimean Tatar community residing in the UK.

Inna Yegorova says that

“...we invited Akhtem Seitablayev, and not just with the Cyborgs. He presented his film, 87 Children, during his first visit to London for the Ukrainian Film Days. The film was about Crimean Tatars who saved Jewish children during the war in Crimea. So, we had these events but with no feedback or continuation, unfortunately... Despite the intent to reach a wide target audience, it was extremely difficult to get the Crimean Tatar community to pay attention to these events – they avoided them.”

Overall, there is a shortage of knowledge about Crimea even in academia, or this knowledge is distorted. Among other things, themes such as the “handover” of Crimea to Ukraine in 1954 feature in the public discourse, which is typical of Russian historiography and does not fully reflect Crimea’s history.

“If I asked my students about Crimea, they would know where it is on the map, that it’s occupied, some might know that there are Crimean Tatars there and not Russians only. Some who took history classes would know that it was quote-unquote ‘given’ to Ukraine at some point in time without understanding any of the reality about this event or that it wasn’t actually ‘given’,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

Finally, human potential and personal contacts – primarily for those with experience of interacting with Ukraine – also matter. Ukrainians generally make positive impression, and this largely adds to the positive narrative on Ukraine.

“People [I worked with in Ukraine – Ed.] were so open and friendly, eager to get information from us. Like an open book. Lots of energy,”

– Rick Rowbotham, architect.

“I’ve got a very positive feeling about the country and the people I’ve met. They have been warm towards me, helpful... I’m looking forward to returning [to Ukraine – Ed.],”

– Tom Skipp, photographer.

Thus, the **perception of Ukraine in the UK is based on several foundations**. While an average British resident knows little to nothing about Ukraine, the professional community perceives Ukraine and Ukrainians based on the knowledge and the narratives spread and entrenched during the Soviet time. This includes the idea of Ukraine being part of the Soviet cultural space and factoring in historical sentiments to certain places, such as Crimea. This visible Soviet trace, according to professional community representatives, it is not normally seen as something negative in the UK. We can assume that reflects the thinking about the UK's own cultural legacy in former colonies, thus leading to the neutral or neutral-positive perception of colonial legacy as such. In this context, the British professional community does not understand the attempts of Ukrainians to walk away from the colonial past. It might be more productive in the context of cooperation with the British to approach this legacy from the perspective of post-colonial studies rather than reject it bluntly.

Still, it makes sense to draw the attention of the British audiences to the fact that cultural phenomena can have as much Ukrainian as Soviet roots. Seen as Soviet in the UK, Ukrainian avant-garde is one example. Such phenomena can be presented as originating from Ukraine and appropriated by the Soviet metropole. However, these narratives should be scrutinised to prevent misinterpretation: for example, to avoid leaving the UK audience with an impression of ungrounded Ukrainocentrism.

There is a notable shift in how the UK public perceives Ukrainian culture at the current stage of Ukraine's history and its new emerging identity. Commitment to democratic values and readiness to fight for them exemplified by the Maidan and the Revolution of Dignity; resistance against a larger and militarily stronger Russia reflecting a clash of values between the two countries; being part of the global cultural processes, including popular mass culture festivals like Eurovision, and the coverage of these processes in British and international media create a good foundation for the audience in the UK to revise the image of Ukraine and Ukraine's identity.

What could prevent Ukraine from exploiting this tool is negative references to real or exaggerated ideas about persistence of corruption and Russian informational operations, for example, labelling Ukrainians as collaborators in WWII. Overall, the basic prerequisites for a positive image, interest in Ukraine among those who have visited Ukraine, and gradual recognition of differences between Ukraine and Russia taken together create positive ground for more intensive professional cooperation.

III. PERCEPTION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE AND ITS PLACE IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

In this chapter **we evaluated how informed the interviewees are about Ukrainian culture**. It was done by analysing their references on different cultural phenomena associated with Ukraine. In addition to that, the interviewees were asked on how they would map Ukrainian culture geographically. Moreover, we explored current and potential demand/interest in Ukrainian cultural phenomena and figures amongst the British audience.

Then, **we evaluated the extent to which the interviewees know a number of Ukrainian cultural phenomena**, and to what extent they are attributed to Ukraine or other cultural environments. After this, the interviewees were offered to add the phenomena that, in their opinion, the British society or they personally would find interesting.

Thus, this section focuses on exploring the difficulties and context of perceiving Ukrainian culture in the UK, demand/interest in Ukrainian culture, awareness and attribution of certain phenomena to Ukrainian culture by the interviewees, and assessment of the list of phenomena provided by the Ukrainian Institute.

3.1. CHALLENGES IN THE PERCEPTION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE AND IDENTITY

Just like with **identifying Ukraine** in general, the professional community struggles to **come up with a comprehensive image of Ukrainian culture**. This problem is rooted in a number of factors:

1. in Ukraine's **cultural diversity** and the fact that Ukrainians themselves take ambiguous positions in the process of establishing their national and cultural self-

identification. At least, such is a perception of the British professional community. It signals that Ukrainian cultural institutions, artists, and cultural actors have not managed to build messages for the foreign audience – primarily British – with comprehensive image of Ukraine and Ukrainian cultural space. Russian propaganda can be one trigger, among others, as it works to describe Ukraine as “a failed state.” Some of the statements featuring in the identification of Ukraine by the professional community are of Ukraine as a Polonized “Little Russia”; a battlefield between East and West; a “divided country.” This identification is rooted in the political idea of Ukraine as a “buffer zone”, a territory or “bridge” between East and West that some Ukrainian politicians have been pushing for a while, among others.

“Ukrainian culture is complex and complicated, especially when we include the history of places like the Carpathians and areas that were once in Poland. Clarifying what we are talking about is vital,”

– Rosie Whitehouse, The Judah Edition.

“I can’t ignore that it is a transition point between East and Western Europe, by which I mean that it [Ukraine – Ed.] has the cultural flavour of an eastern European country running into western Asia. To summarise, when I think about Ukrainian culture, I think about Russian influence, its historical past, its beginnings with the Vikings and the Greeks in the South, and the Asian influence coming across. And now, it [Ukraine – Ed.] is digging deep, trying to find its particular characteristics,”

– Rick Rowbotham, architect.

“Fundamentally, it’s a Slavic people. In terms of the niche, there are two major contrasting cultures between West and East. In the West, you’ll have the Hutstul tradition, the stereotype in the West is that it’s closer to Poland in terms of culture,”

– Stephen Fingleton, filmmaker.

Such a definition of Ukrainian culture also confirms that the interviewees are not ready to fully include Ukrainian culture into the nominal “Western culture,” which is primarily associated with the countries of Western Europe. As described above, it also points to Soviet/Russian influence through the impact of the metropole, as Russian culture was traditionally identified in Europe as influenced by Asia/Orient.

2. in extensive **cultural influences of metropolises**, including the Soviet Union as the most frequent reference. Also, the British audience notes the influence of other neighbouring cultures on Ukraine's culture. One interesting thing is that some interviewees do not see 'post-Soviet' as a negative reference. Instead, they see it as an element of emerging uniqueness. 'Post-Soviet' is seen as being part of the space that has characteristics of the Western culture and Soviet cultural discourse based on socialist realism, constructivism, sometimes with elements of the avant-garde. Audiences in the UK think that Ukraine's new identity is emerging from links to distant past and fragments of Soviet cultural narratives, through gradual separation of Ukrainian and Russian cultural schools and trends. Shared Soviet legacy gives UK audiences reasons to perceive Ukrainian and Russian cultures as related, but not similar, especially amongst the audiences familiar with Ukraine. The distinction between the Russian and Ukrainian cultural space is increasingly notable, even if not fully obvious yet.

"It is still very close to Russia in many ways, you know, things like the difference between the Ukrainian language, Russian language, which is something that I saw my friends in Ukraine care about passionately, but to an outsider is not always obvious... So, there is a struggle to distinguish Ukrainian culture, language, et cetera, from Russia... now they [Ukraine – Ed.] need to establish a distinct identity separate from that of Russia,"

– John Whittingdale, Minister for Media and Data, 2020-2021.

"I would definitely say that this is Europe, not Asia. However, going back to the post-Soviet narrative, [Ukraine – Ed.] is still viewed through the lens of that cultural space. I think that [Ukraine – Ed.] is still perceived as Russia, and people who come to Ukraine are really surprised that it's different,"

– Anonymous.

"I associate it with the post-Soviet area. Especially with what is going on with Russia right now, I think that Ukrainians have realised that they are not close to Russia like they used to be. There is a wake-up. Whereas they probably used to feel close to it [Russia – Ed.] ... I don't think they feel like that anymore. It seems to me that Ukraine has started to own its culture, stepping away from Russia. There was an ingrained idea I felt with

Ukrainians that they were not Europeans — in a good way. So, they've got ideals of strengths in camaraderie with people, whereas the perspective of Western Europeans is that they are quite selfish and consumerist. So, post-soviet is how I would describe it. And, in fact, purely Ukrainian. Foregoing their probably Russian heritage, going beyond post-Soviet, and being just Ukrainian and realising that they can be proud to be that,"

– Tom Skipp, photographer.

3. some misperceptions about Ukrainian cultural space, such as the notions of Ukraine as Western Asia, Caucasus, etc. These result from the fact that Ukraine is on the sidelines of the cultural interests of British society.

"I don't think there is a very good understanding of Ukraine, its history, its population and so on. And for many people in Western Europe, they will put Ukraine into the same box with countries in the wider post-Soviet region, including Russia, Moldova, maybe Georgia, and Kazakhstan. This is due to a general lack of understanding. Things are improving, however, it takes time,"

– Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Adviser to Government of Ukraine.

Overall, the emerging image is of a cultural space at the crossroads of cultures, equidistant from global cultural centres that has been under their cultural domination to various extents and in different modes, which helped it develop its own authentic characteristics.

"It is like Poland, a bit at the crossroads. I associate Western Ukraine as Central European culture and literature, but I see the East in a more Russian and Central Asia context,"

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

"I think Ukraine is a borderland for a reason. It is a gate to Europe and from Europe. I think of Ukraine as a European country and suppose as the UK, not in the EU

but European. It is the Black Sea region, a bit of Central Asia connection,”

– Stewart McDonald MP, UK Parliament.

Some interviewees compare Ukraine to other countries with a postcolonial legacy that they find closer in terms of culture and mentality and project their ideas about these countries on Ukraine.

“Culturally, I would say that it’s very much a country defined by having been within Moscow’s orbit, and it’s now defined by leaving that orbit, similar to Ireland in many ways. Ireland was subject to colonial power, its language was dictated by that colonial power, and yet it found a way of making that language its own and developing its own culture that both fused its historical culture that goes back centuries or thousands of years with the influence of the larger state on its borders, integrated into a modern fusion identity,”

– Stephen Fingleton, filmmaker.

Some interviewees clearly identified Ukrainian culture as profoundly European. However, they were obviously from academia, have dealt with Ukraine in some joint activities, or were from the diaspora, so they were more informed and often more favourable to Ukraine and Ukrainians. They do not represent mainstream thinking or reflect the image of Ukraine in the eyes of an average British resident.

“There is no question that Ukraine is regarded as a European country,”

– Lord Risby, British Ukrainian Society.

“I see Ukraine as European, but I would rather not focus on putting Ukraine in a specific geographical region. I see Ukraine as an integral part of the contemporary global world, to me, Ukraine’s significance is not limited to Europe. Most importantly, I think we should look forward rather than backwards – move away from being defined by the Soviet past. Contemporary Ukraine is not ‘post-Soviet’; it is its own entity,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

In the environment where the efforts of the Ukrainian side focused on developing Ukrainian studies are not sufficient, and the available awareness is often shallow and based on stereotypes, this turns into a distorted perception of Ukraine. For example, Olesya Khromeychuk (Ukrainian Institute in London) notes:

“When I teach a course on the history of Central and Eastern Europe, I give a black and white map to the students and ask them to mark the line where Central and Eastern Europe ends, to describe the frontiers, borders. Very often, students draw the eastern border along the Dnipro – exactly along the Dnipro. They don’t care that it’s one country, Ukraine. It’s still probably an understudied country, not completely understood, but at least it’s there on the mental map.”

According to her, this results from not just the lack of knowledge but sometimes of a superficial attitude to Eastern Europe. In this way, even when Ukraine is recognised as part of Europe, its Easternness is accentuated.

“Even Poland is not thought of as Central-Eastern Europe. It’s East Europeans. I have a theatre here, and we once wrote a play and called it Bloody East Europeans. That’s the ‘bloody migrant workers’ who come here and take our jobs. This is the average opinion about those who people possibly meet or, to be more precise, of whom they hear – those East Europeans. But it’s Europe, yes,”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

Overall, the challenges include communicating information about Ukrainian cultural space and identity and overcoming its perception through the Russian lens.

“In the context of the British information space, a huge amount of work needs to be done to walk away from the Soviet past. The association with Ukraine is still linked to Russia and the Soviet Union. There is no emphasis on the fact that we were at the origins of Slavonic culture and Kyiv Rus, not Russia,”

– Tetyana Vovnyanko, British-Ukrainian Aid.

The description of some items on the website of Sotheby's, the best-known British auction house, is illustrative in this context. The works of the 19th century are mostly labelled there as "Western Russia, Ukraine"⁹ or are placed in the Russian Art section.

Hence the issue of changing this attribution. Both the embassy and diaspora can play a role in this. However, the diaspora cannot be relied on significantly as it is fragmented and not as influential as in Canada, for example. It is also strongly assimilated, especially the segment that emigrated during the years of Ukrainian independence.

An open question is whether this trend can be overcome in the older generation of British citizens or whether efforts should focus on contemporary Ukrainian culture and the younger generation as a target audience for reaching out. With the older generation, work should focus on promoting new narratives and correcting the existing Soviet ones. With the younger generation, work can largely begin from scratch, which potentially requires fewer resources.

"[It is – Ed.] important to find relevance to the generation in the UK. It is not about my generation, but about the younger generation, and how they can be connected. About finding common ground,"

– Rick Rowbotham, architect.

3.2. POTENTIAL DEMAND FOR UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Given the controversial perception of Ukraine, the interviewees' opinions on demand for Ukrainian culture in the UK vary. Some interviewees note clearly that it does not exist or if it does exist, so it only covers niche segments, such as contemporary music or visual arts. Niche demand also implies the professional community with some experience of interaction with Ukrainian artists by contrast to the broader audience that is hardly familiar with Ukrainian culture.

Other interviewees highlight opportunities for the demand that can open if Ukraine promotes its cultural product proactively through books' translation, participation in film festivals and book fairs, etc. The analysis of the interviewees' responses signals that there is no specific bias against Ukrainian culture and demand for it is conditioned by the same factors as demand for the culture of other countries, including promotion, quality, language, competition, understanding of the British audience and market, and the ability to find themes that can be interesting beyond narrow circles professional community.

⁹ See, e.g., A wooden carving of the Crucifixion, Western Russia, Ukraine, 19th century, Sotheby's, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/russian-works-of-art-faberg-and-icons-l11113/lot.639.html>

“My honest answer is that I don’t think so [that there is a demand for Ukrainian culture in the UK – Ed.], primarily because I don’t think there is a high level of awareness about Ukraine, which is what’s needed to drive demand for Ukrainian culture. Maybe, only in niche areas, like music, dance, art,”

– Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Adviser to Government of Ukraine.

“There is still a lack of knowledge about Ukraine. It has so much to offer, for example, in terms of tourism, but there is still a shortage of information about it overseas,”

– Nicholas Thomas, British Council in Ukraine.

The interviewees believe that the quality and language of the product used to promote Ukrainian culture matters greatly. The language is a restricting factor for the mass promotion of Ukrainian products because works by many well-known writers are not translated into English. The same is true for theatre plays. There is often a shortage of promotional products in high-quality English or websites of institutions in English to make the first contact easier.

“If a person has no background or professional interest, there is barely any interest. If the product was of good quality, the audience would be interested regardless of whether it was made in Ukraine or here... We always had English speakers as a third of the audience at the British-Ukrainian Aid events. There were fewer English speakers at events in Ukrainian. This means that the audience with an interest in Ukrainian culture also has a demand,”

– Tetyana Vovnyanko, British-Ukrainian Aid.

The interviewees focus on the quality of the product and on somehow relatively exotic nature of Ukrainian art for the British audience. Since cultural life in the UK is filled with various events, the unconventional approach, authentic performance or unusual presentation will attract UK public regardless of where the product comes from.

“I remember when a [Ukrainian – Ed.] cast came [to perform – Ed.] Macbeth at the Barbican 10, it was a very

10 Macbeth: The Prologue, The Pit, Barbican Centre, London, 2007,
<https://www.ft.com/content/6215b236-b2e7-11db-99ca-0000779e2340>

experimental Macbeth at the London Barbican and DakhaBrakha was involved. It was many years ago, and I cannot remember now who brought them, unfortunately. But I remember that it was sold out every night. It's something interesting, something exotic. Macbeth staged with some Ukrainian folk songs, weird performers on stage. All this triggered a lot of interest. When Mariana Sadovska¹¹ came, or DakhaBrakha performed at Rich Mix, those were sold out too. It's not just Ukrainians, but it's interesting quality music, so people will come to see it. They will definitely come if there is an exhibition of Ukrainian artists,"

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

A number of **cultural spheres are of potential interest to the UK audiences:**

- **Visual arts and architecture.** Expressionism, Neo-Primitivism, Abstract art, and Cubo-Futurism would possibly attract their audience in the UK. The exhibition of such works by Ukrainian artists in London in 1973¹² fuelled interest in these styles, although they were presented at the time as Russian. Well-known British auction houses used to sell works by contemporary Ukrainian artists, including Oleksandr Roitburd,¹³ Victor Sydorenko,¹⁴ Vassily Tsagolov,¹⁵ Anatoly Kryvolap,¹⁶ Oleg Tistol,¹⁷ and others.¹⁸ In 2007, The Telegraph included Ivan Marchuk in its list of 100 living geniuses.¹⁹ Apart from that, landscape paintings by

11 Mariana Sadovska and Abraham Brody, 2017, <https://www.ukrainianlondon.co.uk/event/mariana-sadovska-abraham-brody/>

12 Ukrainian Art Gallery, <https://www.ukrainianart.com/>

13 Alexander Roitburd, Phillips Auctioneers, <https://www.phillips.com/artist/2236/alexander-roitburd>

14 Victor Sydorenko, Phillips Auctioneers, <https://www.phillips.com/artist/8997/victor-sydorenko>

15 Vassily Tsagolov, Bunny (from the Ukrainian X-files series), 2009, Sotheby's, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/russian-contemporary-sale-109670/lot.138.html>

16 Anatoly Kryvolap, Phillips Auctioneers, <https://www.phillips.com/artist/10441/anatoly-kryvolap>

17 Oleg Tistol, Phillips Auctioneers, <https://www.phillips.com/artist/1017/oleg-tistol>

18 See for more examples <https://artslooker.com/top-12-naydorozhchih-auktsionnih-prodazhiv-ukrayinskogo-suchasnogo-mistetstva-2016-roku/>

19 Top 100 living geniuses, The Telegraph, 30.10.2007, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1567544/Top-100-living-geniuses.html>

Ukrainian artists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries²⁰ could potentially be interesting and introduce British audiences to Ukrainian art and the diversity of Ukrainian landscape.

“In respect of Ukrainian culture, we start from a very low base because there has been limited activity, which is why you and I are having this conversation. I want to change that. For example, there is Bogomazov, who is an international artist of great distinction, but frankly, there is very limited knowledge of him [in the UK – Ed.]. That is something we want to change. There are a whole number of threads to this -- Ukrainian culture, painting, the artistic tradition, its magnificent landscape... they are insufficiently known,”

– Lord Risby, British-Ukrainian Society.

“Visual arts are very strong in Ukraine. Whether people visit Kharkiv and see fabulous murals by an incognito artist or whether they are just hanging out in Zoloti Vorota, Podil, they get the vibe. It’s like Berlin before it became too cool. It’s authentic. And it comes from both younger and older generations of contemporary visual artists that interact with each other,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

- **Music.** The interviewees’ responses indicate that Ukrainian rock, folk-rock, and electronic folk could be popular. In the UK, they can be presented as world music that mixes popular Western musical trends and folk elements.

“Yes, there is demand for music. I was surprised to see our colleagues, diplomats from the Foreign Office, at the Okean Elzy show. So, they [the British – Ed.] do know Okean Elzy, and there is demand for this,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

“Music is always a thing. I do not think promoting Ukrainian music is a problem. When Shum (Go-A – Ed.)

20 E.g., Oleksandr Kiseliiov’s painting sold at Sotheby’s for GBP 25,000 <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/russian-paintings-l13112/lot.132.html>; the painting by Mykola Bodarevsky for GBP 181,000; <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/russian-art-evening-l08116/lot.3.html>; several paintings by Ivan Pokhitonov for over GBP 220,000 <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2021/russian-pictures/the-hunters>

became one of the top listened songs from Spotify, that got some international press. These things matter when it comes to engaging with different cultural contexts,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

- **Modern literature**, such as books by Serhiy Zhadan that introduce the public to contemporary Ukraine through fictional characters and contain references to Futurism and Avant-Garde of the early 20th century²¹; books by Oksana Zabuzhko, Yury Andrukhovych, young writers.

“In literature, for example, Serhiy Zhadan [could be interesting – Ed.] who talks about social, economic problems, and war, but he does so in a way that it is not the main focus and purpose of his work. The main focus and purpose are to convey human experiences, everyday life, love and loss... Children’s books that talk about Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar topics, fairy tales like Rukavychka or like the books from ABABAHALAMAHA... I still think that visual arts, creative industries and literature are important,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

The need to combine the past and the future and to focus on the modern is an important aspect, noted by a number of respondents. The contemporary art which reflects upon the world around us is the most interesting for the UK audiences.

“Ukrainian culture can be interesting. It is a mixture of old (classic) and modern. There is a lot of talent in Ukraine, writers, performers, artists. It is a huge amount of energy that is not allowed to develop because of lack of opportunity, I was always interested in it,”

– Rick Rowbotham, architect.

Ukraine’s Ambassador to the UK, Vadym Prystaiko, also suggests combining the past and the present while focusing on the present. References to the past, folk style mixed with modern trends in art, promotion of the clubbing culture and presentation of Ukrainian cities as clubbing hubs could potentially be a path to success:

²¹ Oleh Kotsarev, Hopeless Faith and Love by Serhiy Zhadan, 08.04.2011, <http://litakcent.com/2011/04/08/beznadijni-vira-i-ljubov-serhija-zhadana/>

“Cossacks and the whole military history around them is what could seriously interest people in the UK. Geographic richness, orthodoxy, church. But you need to add the modern, what modern Ukraine can offer – electronic music, strange folk singing, present-day classical ballet,”

– Vadym Prystaiko, Ukraine’s Ambassador to the UK.

In order to make Ukrainian culture promotion successful, including commercially, efforts should be **tailored to the British context**. Each segment calls for its own marketing research or analysis of prior efforts to promote Ukrainian products or art.

“There is an annual fair for things from various countries at Olympia London²², and one Ukrainian company KozaDereza often comes there. As far as I know, it attends the fair annually for 6-7 years in a row. They [company representatives – Ed.] told me that they first came to the UK with one collection, then realised it would not be interesting until their products were adjusted to what people prefer in the UK. So, Ukrainian producers have to conduct marketing research to make sure that the goods meet the expectations of UK audiences and are attractive to people there. For example, the company replaced sparrows with foxes because foxes are more popular in the UK,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

In addition to adjusting to the tastes of UK audiences, the interviewees recommended working with platforms in London as well as other parts of the UK that could potentially be more open to cultural interaction.

“Scotland is wide open for cultural engagement... Striving for independence can resonate with Scotland. I think there are potentially strong cultural connections – agriculture, mountains, independent Church... Another place where Ukraine should be all around is Northern Ireland. They have a lot of experience in conflict transformation,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

²² Olympia London, <https://olympia.london/>

“Of course, you should get to Scotland, Wales, Ireland. Telling the historical stories about some events. I am still amazed by how many people don’t know about the Holodomor despite the film Mr Jones and the book of Applebaum. But you also have incredible young designers, artists, photographers. You have first-class people working in cyber and digital... And food, you can never get wrong with food,”

– Stewart McDonald MP, UK Parliament.

Overall, our analysis points to the conclusion that Ukrainian culture can be promoted in three ways. The first is to make Ukrainian cultural phenomena recognisable on the global or at least regional scales. This would require a financial investment. For example, participating in Eurovision, let alone winning it, requires professional promo campaigns, advertisements, etc., in addition to talent. Also, this niche is highly competitive and has a high threshold for new entries.

Secondly, efforts can focus on niche audiences that can be offered exotic cultural products. This requires resources to study the preferences of these audiences, target cultural products respectively, explore triggers that can work and study regional contexts. Such cultural interventions will be tactical, not extensive, and they will call for individual approaches. For example, what is interesting in Scotland will not necessarily resonate in Northern Ireland, and vice versa. In sum, this approach may turn out to require as many resources as the first approach.

Working with the phenomena and cultural products that are already known to a greater or a lesser extent to promote Ukraine as a whole seems to be the most reasonable approach. The key aspect of it is to spotlight the link between the phenomenon and its country of origin. Importantly, while this may not be especially challenging with modern phenomena, the ones from a period before Ukraine’s independence may be more problematic. Efforts would be needed to prove that they belong to the Ukrainian cultural space and deconstruct the narratives about them as part of the Soviet or Russian cultural space. To some extent, this could be done by mixing phenomena of the past and present and explaining the impact of the past phenomena on the establishment of the modern Ukrainian identity and their connection to Ukraine.

3.3. PERCEPTION AND ATTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL PHENOMENA

The interviewees' associations with Ukrainian culture are naturally rooted in an ambiguous perception of Ukrainian cultural space. They are partly dissonant with the list of themes and areas that the interviewees say could be interesting to the British public. These audiences are first and foremost **interested in the themes that resonate globally and are linked to the UK** or the countries that used to be part of the British Empire. By contrast, Ukraine-related themes look more niche, exotic. At the same time, Ukrainian cultural products or Ukraine-related themes have better chances to succeed and resonate when they are well-targeted and adapted for UK audiences.

In a domain of history, the interviewees mention **the Holodomor** as a significant tragic event. This theme resonated beyond the small community of those who work on Ukraine professionally. *Mr Jones*, a film, introduced it to a wider audience. The portrayal of the tragic developments in Ukraine, as well as the fact that a Welsh journalist was part of the story, helped attract public attention to the film.

“Famine [comes to my mind – Ed.] because of my academic background. I taught about the Holodomor and Holocaust comparative, when I taught at the University,”

– Brian Brivati, *Beyond Borders Scotland*.

“Another association: Mr Jones film. We had the world premiere with its director Agnieszka Holland attending. It’s not a great film, but a good film. And a very interesting piece of history,”

– Andy Eagle, *Chapter Art Centre*.

“I would like to point out that sometimes one film with a certain segment about a certain historical development in Ukraine can have a strong impact on the awareness of the UK community, cultural establishment. Mr Jones did this... I was shocked that people were surprised about the Holodomor in Ukraine. They had no idea that our history has such horrible fragments. I mean, the middle class didn’t know. I was once in a situation where I was looking for the filmmakers to co-organise the premiere in the UK and met the head of the London Office of the Welsh

Government at one event. I talked to her about Mr Jones, the film, and her compatriot Gareth Jones. It is incredible, but people in Cardiff did not know about this person, or that one of their countrymen was a hero by Ukraine's standards as he tried to tell the world the truth, even though he [Gareth Jones – Ed.] was born there... I was impressed by the media coverage of the film in the UK, it was getting reviews even in publications like Good Housekeeping. For us, it was important that Ukraine and that narrative about the Holodomor were voiced through this film as another reminder to the world that it's important to recognise the Holodomor as a genocide of the Ukrainian people,"

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

The interviewees mentioned Taras Shevchenko as one of the **well-known historical figures, artists, and phenomena**. He is interesting as a landmark figure to those who are interested in the core of Ukrainian identity. Similarly, people and phenomena that contributed to the Ukrainian cultural identity but were killed or crushed by Moscow, their names and work silenced under the Soviet rule, are interesting in the context of how Ukrainian identity was shaped. These include representatives of Avant-Garde, Executed Renaissance, dissidents.

"More recently, I became aware of the figure of Taras Shevchenko and his critical importance to Ukrainian identity. Simply because there are continual statues, streets, places named after him – to the point that I had to find out who this person was. That's how I discovered Kobzar. And Taras' story was very instructive for me for seeing how Ukrainians saw themselves. Because Taras obviously also wrote in Russian. And so, he's a classic threshold figure for Ukrainian culture, similar to how Jesus was Jewish but also the first Christian in many ways,"

– Stephen Fingleton, filmmaker.

"Of course, I appreciate the Ukrainian avant-garde, including such artists as Boychuk; I also am interested in Ukrainian Soviet artistic production, such as the work of

dissident artist Alla Hors'ka, but my true love is Ukrainian baroque culture of the early modern period,"
 – Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

To some extent, the interviewees know some historical figures or artists but do not associate them with Ukraine. This is especially illustrative in cases where the artist or the figure is known internationally. This is possibly because Ukraine did not exist as a state when these phenomena or historical figures became famous and won recognition, so there was no Ukrainian state to associate them with at that point. As a result, they are associated with Russia or the Soviet Union as a metropole or listed as global cultural phenomena (e.g., Malevich). Some associate with the countries where artists lived at the peak of their fame.

"When we speak about Dovzhenko, he can be seen as a Soviet, even Russian artist – he's still described as that in galleries, cinema or exhibitions, but not necessarily Ukrainian. Dziga Vertov – nobody will speak of his link to Ukraine. Everyone knows Man with a Movie Camera [1929 – Ed.], so people know his work, but they don't know that it's someone linked to Ukraine,"

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

"I was approached by a filmmaker in Britain who wants to make a film about Prokofiev. I genuinely did not know that Prokofiev was Ukrainian... I have known him as a Russian composer, and he is always identified in the public mind as a Russian composer. Obviously, at the time he lived, it was Russia. So, to that extent, it is not inaccurate. But the fact that I think he came from Donetsk [a village in Donetsk region – Ed.], the fact that it is part of what is now Ukraine and he grew up in his heritage, so he is therefore Ukrainian, something which I don't think anybody knows,"

– John Whittingdale, Minister for Media and Data, 2020-2021.

Overall, Ukrainian art, culture, and landmark figures are best known to the diaspora and professional community that works on Ukraine. Contemporary phenomena and cultural actors are known somewhat better. According to the interviewees, this is due to translations of their books or trips of artists to the UK.

Andriy Kurkov seems to be the best known out of recognisable contemporary figures. Other contemporary Ukrainian writers, playwrights, and musicians that are also known include Marina Lewycka, Serhiy Zhadan, Natalia Vorozhbyt, Kyrylo Karabyts, Dmytro Dobrovolsky.

“...I wouldn’t want to limit it down to Kurkov, but he is probably the only one whom an average reader interested in literature could name and know that it’s Ukraine,”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

“Unfortunately, people mostly still just know Andriy Kurkov. Why him? Because whatever big bookstore with translated authors you walk into, you can buy his books there. Other authors have been translated, but those were by small publishers in the US or Canada, so only people who are really interested will know about these translations. And if you just walk into a bookstore looking for one, you will find Andriy Kurkov. Before that, you had Marina Lewycka, who made a lot of noise with A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian. She wrote it in English about Ukraine, about her Ukrainian father. This book was then read on the radio for 15 minutes every day... People may know more about Serhiy Zhadan now. We even had an event with him at the British Library, but it was still well-read people [who attended it – Ed.],”

– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

“The first person coming to my mind is a writer, Natasha Vorozhbyt. I have known her for a while, and the Royal Court has a long relationship with her,”

– Sam Pritchard, Royal Court Theatre.

“It’s music, of course. For example, Kyrylo Karabyts conducted an orchestra several days ago, and they played Taras Bulba by [Mykola – Ed.] Lysenko for the first time at Albert Hall. So, music is very important. But it’s very difficult to break through in it because people already have an established taste. Our Ukrainian artists came here quite often in the 1990s and exhibited their

works at different galleries. So Ukrainian artists contributed a little for those who are interested in art,”
– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

Political activism in Ukraine and the image of a state fighting for democratic values shape interest in Ukrainian civic activists, politicians, and the Maidan:

“I think of independent journalism of Natalia Gumenyuk and others – so the spirit of independent journalism and creation of journalism in times of oligarchs,”
– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

“I was struck by the amazing Canadian / Ukrainian project Counting Sheep. I saw it in Ireland, London, the original production in Toronto. That piece is an absolutely phenomenal immersion for the audience into the protests on the Maidan. Such a powerful way of conveying what happened there for Ukrainians,”

– Kris Nelson, LIFT.

“We also looked at a few episodes of ‘Sluga Narodu’. Our students begin their study of Slavonic languages from Russian in their first year; they are able to study Ukrainian only in their second year. ‘Sluga Narodu’ is filmed in Russian, it allows students to see how Ukrainian culture, language, politics and social realities are parodied. In other words, we look at this sitcom very, very critically and dissect the reasons for its broad appeal,”
– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

The Embassy of Ukraine in the UK is trying to promote the modern image of Ukraine as a “country of opportunities” in addition to promoting mass culture and historical or cultural figures of the past. Ambassador Vadym Prystaiko notes that the Embassy is trying to

“walk away from being perceived as horilka and borshch and focuses on IT, fintech and so on. This brings results. Ukraine was named the best outsourcing destination in the UK last year. We are trying to walk away from being perceived exclusively as the breadbasket of Europe and move to the modern high-tech sphere.”

Such approach has had its positive results already.

The overall impression is that, even when people are informed about a Ukrainian cultural product, and it has a niche audience, it still lacks attribution to Ukraine. This may be because in the eyes of the UK audiences, in the Soviet era, Ukraine lost not only statehood, but also its cultural agency.

3.4. KNOWLEDGE OF PHENOMENA FROM THE LIST PROVIDED BY THE UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE

After the interviewers discussed Ukrainian cultural identity and explored associations with Ukrainian cultural space, they were offered **a list of phenomena of interest to the Ukrainian Institute²³ (see Annex 3)**. Overall, the interviewees are poorly informed about the proposed phenomena, and most are unknown even to cultural agents. Some interviewees recalled the phenomena when the interviewer described them, but the name did not trigger immediate associations. Examples include Petrykivka decorations, Scythians, etc.

The interviews revealed that, out of the listed phenomena, the interviewees are the most familiar with **Ukrainian avant-garde** (17 said they knew about it or knew it well). We can assume that this is the result of overall interest in the avant-garde movement. Sometimes, however, this phenomenon is viewed through the lens of the Russian or Soviet avant-garde movement.

Shchedryk is the second most recognised phenomenon, as 15 interviewees mentioned it. Just like with avant-garde, attribution of this melody to the Ukrainian cultural phenomena is not always obvious. Most interviewees did not know anything about its origin or thought that it was an American song. Naturally, the best-known arrangement is the one coming from the West, so are the lyrics in English. It is not

²³ The Ukrainian Institute adjusted the list of phenomena offered to the interviewees after the previous seven researches of perception of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture abroad. The phenomena that were seen as the best known (Nine of the following: St. Sofia Cathedral in Kyiv, Chernobyl disaster, Kozaks (Zaporizhzhia Sich), Maidan, Holodomor, Kyiv Rus, Oleh Sentsov, borshch, Mykola Gogol) were excluded. So were the 35 phenomena that barely any interviewees knew. The UK interviewees looked at the phenomena that interviewees in previous research projects were on average familiar with (see the table in the annex). A shorter list of phenomena allowed interviewers to walk away from the rotation approach, so all interviewees looked at the same list. The eliminated phenomena were expected to come up when interviewees were offered to suggest the phenomena they knew in addition to the list they were looking at.

extremely popular in the UK. The fact that it is well-known there is rather thanks to its popularity in the US and Canada.

The third best-known phenomenon is **Babi Yar** (13 interviewees). Again, it is mainly integrated into the global narrative about the Holocaust and is associated not only with Ukraine and Ukrainians but with Israel and Jews. It is perceived as a tragedy of a global scale. Notably, many interviewees do not know anything about Babi Yar (11 interviewees).

Thirteen interviewees mentioned **Ukrainian baroque**. There are no different interpretations of this phenomenon, it is perceived as essentially Ukrainian. The interviewees are possibly well informed about this phenomenon due to the interest in architecture in the UK and the notable presence of Ukrainian baroque in churches in Ukraine. Most interviewees did not know it by name but immediately recalled and associated it with the churches when the interviewer mentioned them.

Andriy Kurkov was the fifth figure mentioned most frequently. He was also mentioned as spontaneous associations as his books are well presented in the UK market. Still, he is sometimes perceived as a Russian, and the number of interviewees who know nothing about him is the same as the number of interviewees who know him (12 each).

Oleksandr Dovzhenko is as familiar as Andriy Kurkov. His films were screened at the University of Cambridge, and those who know cinema are familiar with his legacy. Still, some interviewees only know his name, and an equal number of interviewees know him and know nothing of him.

Composer **Valentyn Sylvestrov** is the least known to the UK audience. Only two interviewees have heard something about him. They do attribute him to Ukraine but have no additional associations about him.

Just four interviewees know of **Ahatanhel Krymsky**. While most interviewees associate him with Ukraine, some link him to Crimean Tatars as well.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the interviewees were poorly informed about specific segments and representatives of Ukrainian avant-garde even though many know of Ukrainian avant-garde. Nineteen interviewees know nothing of **Heorhiy Narbut**, and 18 have never heard of **Boychukism**.

There is little knowledge of **Kira Muratov** and **Serhiy Korolyov**. They are mostly unknown to the broader audience and are associated with the Soviet Union in addition to Ukraine.

Few associate **Sholem Aleichem** or **Kazimir Malevich** with Ukraine. They associate Aleichem with Israel and Malevich with Poland and Russia, in addition to Ukraine.

Proposed phenomena to be added to the list

Spontaneous and non-spontaneous associations, the analysis of attribution of Ukrainian culture and phenomena, and exploration of demand for them offer a good

foundation for finding promising spheres for further work to promote Ukrainian cultural phenomena.

The interviews with the British interviewees showed that phenomena with some degree of recognizability could be added to the list. Among others, the screening of *Mr Jones* should continue. It helps promote Ukrainian narratives about the Holodomor and highlights the connection between Ukraine and the UK. The Holodomor and repressions of that time repeatedly popped up as phenomena suggested by the interviewees as the ones that people could find interesting.

The writing of Andriy Kurkov and Serhiy Zhadan is quite visible in the UK, so keeping it in the spotlight will not require excessive resources. According to Olesya Khromeychuk (Ukrainian Institute in London),

“Zhadan came and spoke at the British Library, it triggered enormous interest. The British Library allocated a pretty small room for the meeting with Zhadan. But the event sold so well that they had to move it to a bigger hall they have, and it was sold out.”

Generally, most interviewees noted that contemporary literature should be promoted more. Yet, these recommendations were hardly backed up by specific names. One of the reasons is the lack of translations of Ukrainian authors.

Music is a very efficient way to promote Ukrainian culture in the UK. The ratings and frequent mentions of Eurovision illustrate this. Combining elements of the past and the modern in music can be a good approach.

“Take ONUKA – it’s very interesting electronic music filled with traditional ethnic Ukrainian motifs performed with bandura, sopilka or trembita and complete with interesting lyrics in beautiful Ukrainian. Add to this a visual image that is discreet yet filled with the elements of traditional clothing. This is what’s unique about Ukraine,”
– Bloom Twins duo.

Scotland can be targeted separately. Petro Kormylo (Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain) points to

“Mykola Lukash. He translated everything from our national poet Robert Burns into Ukrainian” and to the “Scythian narrative.” According to Kormylo, “our [Scottish – Ed.] king Robert the Bruce wrote a letter to the Pope

saying that the Scottish people came from the old Scythia, from the old Scythians.”

Narratives and stories should be explored for Northern Ireland that would be interesting there, factoring in historical elements, including division of the nation or a long-standing conflict. Wales is the closest to England, primarily London, from the perspective of cultural perception of the third countries.

Modern history should not be overlooked. This includes developments after Ukraine gained independence, especially those that point to the pro-Western views of Ukrainians and their integration into the global cultural process (e.g., Maidan and Ukraine’s role in international organisations). This would contribute to a better understanding of Ukrainian identity and the factors that helped build it.

“I would talk more about your democratic tradition since 1991. What changes we see since Maidan, how we are becoming more European and Atlantic minded. How democracy in Ukraine worked. What Ukraine does in the UN, what you did internationally, what footprint Ukraine has internationally - that is interesting for young people,”
– Stewart McDonald MP, UK Parliament.

Interviewees highlight **Ukrainian food** as an element that deserves special attention. Lord Risby notes the potential of culinary diplomacy, which Ukraine has not utilised sufficiently:

“Ukrainians, perhaps more than others that I have come across, like to enjoy their own food culture and musical tradition. This is something which I want to see much expanded. Ukraine is a European nation which is little understood in the United Kingdom.”

Ukraine’s Ambassador to the UK, Vadym Prystaiko, also notes,

“We still have to fight for borshch so we shouldn’t overlook this in the UK”

because it also falls under the influence of the Russian narrative. The debate that began in the US after Yevhen Klopotenko’s film *Borshch. A Secret Ingredient* and an article

in the New York Times²⁴ were not noticed in the UK. Still, there is space for efforts in this area. Stewart McDonald MP notes that

“even Princess Diana had her own recipe of it”.

Theatre, club culture and underground culture are worth mentioning in the contemporary art domain. It can mix exotic approaches, such as original music styles, to accompany theatre plays.

“My guess is that Ukrainian theatre is really strong in directing, acting, writing and could potentially have a market here in the UK. My own interest: I would love to know about Ukrainian contemporary art, music, visual art, photography. I’ve heard about strong club culture in Kyiv, and I’d wager the underground music scene could have a connection,”

– Kris Nelson, LIFT.

To summarise, a number of phenomena offered to the interviewees were familiar to them as such but partly beyond the Ukrainian context (e.g., Shchedryk or the Holodomor). Ukrainian avant-garde is an interesting case: apart from a few exceptions, the interviewees had a deductive perception of it. They know of avant-garde movements in the Soviet Union of the early 20th century. Since Ukraine was in the Soviet Union, they assume that Ukrainian avant-garde exists. Yet, they know little anything specific from Ukrainian avant-garde. Another illustrative point is that the interviewees insist on including contemporary art into the list of phenomena and suggest linking them to the phenomena of the past. This confirms that phenomena of the past should be mixed with phenomena of the present, and their role in establishing Ukraine’s identity, their connection to Ukraine, should be explained. Since Ukrainian phenomena are little known, it would take a lot of resources to promote Ukrainian cultural products.

²⁴ A New Front Opens in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict: Borscht, The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/world/europe/russia-ukraine-borscht.html>, 4 November 2020



Phenomena with the highest level of awareness



Ukrainian avant-garde
1910-1920



Shchedryk/
Carol of the Bells



Babyn (Babi) Yar



Ukrainian Baroque



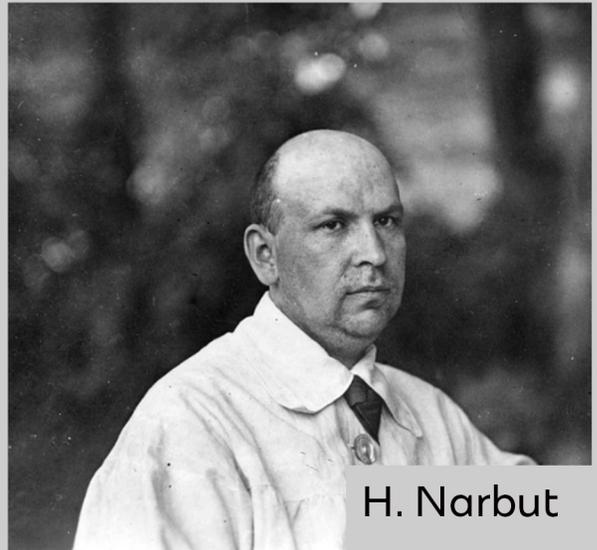
Phenomena with the lowest level of awareness



S. Korolyov



K. Muratova



H. Narbut



S. Krushelnytska



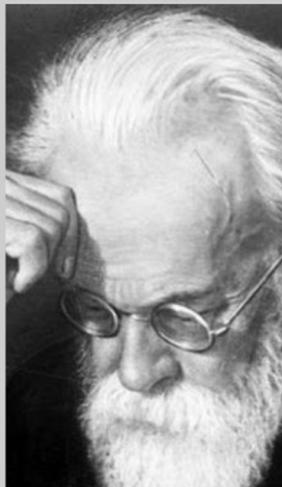
V. Sylvestrov



A. Krymsky



Chersonesus



V. Vernadsky



Boychukism

IV. CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH UKRAINE: EXPERIENCE AND PROSPECTS

4.1. EXPERIENCE OF COOPERATION

Most interviewees had personal experience related to Ukraine. Other than a handful of niche experts and diplomats, all had just sporadic contacts, were involved in some projects in Ukraine or the UK, and do not see their experience as fully representative but rather as a subjective viewpoint based on specific cases of cooperation.

The interviewees who work with Ukraine in their professional life, for instance, politicians, diplomats, diaspora, academics, and researchers, have the most **cooperation experience**. **In contrast**, all UK-based artists tend to have done single projects with Ukrainian artists and institutions.

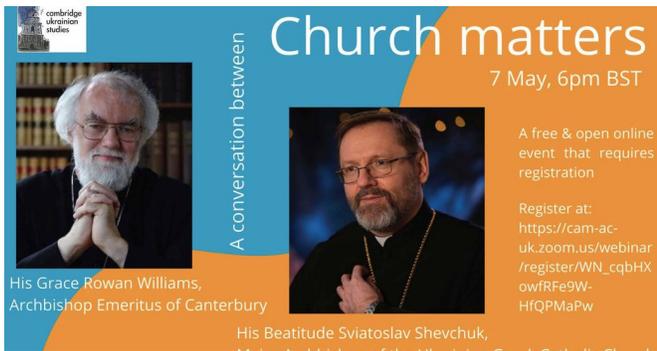
It is impossible to state clearly, who usually **initiates cooperation** as both UK and Ukrainian experts were the drivers behind some projects. In Great Britain, Ukraine-themed organisations, such as the Ukrainian Institute in London or Cambridge Ukrainian Studies, initiated projects more often. UK cultural institutions or individual artists mostly joined Ukrainian projects or were invited to cooperate.

The interviewees consider the following **criteria for success** of their projects: public interest, the number of visits or views, the interest of the British audience, not just the Ukrainian diaspora.

“Lecture ‘Church matters’²⁵ when Sviatoslav Shevchuk spoke with the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was the most popular, 13 000 views of that interview. You never know what can be popular,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

²⁵ Church Matters, A conversation between His Grace Rowan Williams, Archbishop Emeritus of Canterbury and His Beatitude Sviatoslav Shevchuk, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, 13.05.2021, <https://www.facebook.com/CambridgeUkrainianStudies/videos/167281071966667>



Lecture 'Church matters'

Most projects mentioned by the interviewees **took place before the pandemic**. It restricted any public events in the UK as it went into a strict lockdown. The institutions that could partly switch to operating online remained active. As a result, **discussions with artists and researchers, film screenings and lectures remained the key tools for promoting Ukraine-related issues in the past two years.**

Public discussions and film screenings remain some of the key ways to present Ukrainian culture in the UK. They require interaction between the UK and Ukrainian institutions. At the same time, this type of events is not necessarily a full-fledged cooperation as it is often just about inviting Ukrainians as speakers or helping them organise meetings with British audiences.

"The British Library hosts its traditional European Literature Night in May. I always invited all Ukrainians to come and see it. Rosie [Goldsmith – Ed.] interviewed Oksana Zabuzhko.²⁶ I think it came out great. Maybe meetings at the British Library and European Literature Nights will resume someday in the future. Maybe Oksana Zabuzhko will come and be one of the invited authors because they try to have 5-6 authors from different countries of Europe and do short interviews with them. Authors and translators then read fragments of their work. [This can be in] different formats but this European Literature Night is a very nice traditional meeting."

– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

"In 2014, we invited JST fellows [Andriy Shevchenko, Inna Sovsun, Ostap Kryvdyk, Hanna Shelest – Ed.] to speak at the Beyond Borders Festival of Literature and Thought²⁷ about Maidan,"

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

²⁶ An Evening with Oksana Zabuzhko and Rosie Goldsmith, 2020, <https://networks.h-net.org/node/4555727/discussions/6154069/evening-oksana-zabuzhko-and-rosie-goldsmith>

²⁷ Beyond Borders – Ukraine: Dispatches from the Barricades – BBIF 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_JMfrV43nk



UK-Ukraine: An Ambassadorial Conversation.
28 October 2020.

the audience used to come from across England before COVID-19. They did not slow down even during the pandemic when most of their work switched online. CUS Director Olenka Pevny listed the following events over the past 18 months: *The Early Rus Jewry*, a joint lecture with the Hebrew University²⁸; a conversation with two ambassadors of Ukraine to the UK and of the UK to Ukraine²⁹; discussions with writer Yury Andrukhovych³⁰ and performer Alyona Alyona³¹; a video conversation with Anton



Ukrainian film Festival

Cambridge and London remain the biggest hubs of Ukrainian events in the UK. This is primarily because these cities host centres that drive and organise projects and events.

Cambridge Ukrainian Studies (CUS) is renowned for its public events well beyond the university. In addition to academic cooperation and teaching Ukrainian courses at the university, it proactively promotes Ukrainian writers and films and invites well-known people for public talks where

Lapov³², an artist from Donetsk; a lecture on information war with researcher Nina Jankowicz.³³ CUS also hosts seminars on Crimean Tatar culture for students. Meetings with well-known lecturers take place regularly as part of the Stasiuk Lectures program. The program planned to host Ivan Dziuba this year, but COVID-19 prevented this, so his lecture was recorded online. Another online event this year was

28 'Early Rus Jewry: Byzantine Connections': lecture-webinar with Prof Alexander Kulik, <https://www.facebook.com/events/361460838222628/>

29 UK-Ukraine: An Ambassadorial Conversation, <https://www.facebook.com/events/3257215237728838/>

30 Conversation with Yuri Andrukhovych – Ukraine's leading postmodernist author, <https://www.facebook.com/events/321011295860861/>

31 Rap session with alyona alyona – Ukraine's foremost rapper, <https://www.facebook.com/events/808099123134390/>

32 Anton Lapov, 'East-Ukraine Complex: Donbas Media Art, 1990-2020', <https://www.facebook.com/events/1024166778106802/>

33 Conversation with Nina Jankowicz, author of 'How to Lose the Information War', https://www.facebook.com/events/465398091085541/?active_tab=about

the film festival³⁴ organised by the university. It included conversations with some film directors, and the program featured *Gateway*³⁵ and *Train: Kyiv-War*.³⁶

There are efforts to organise similar projects at the **University of Manchester**, where there is no standalone Ukrainian Studies programme, but representatives of Ukrainian diaspora work at the university and they are interested in researching and promoting Ukraine-related topics. Because the university does not have Ukrainian Studies, such projects are less active and frequent, mostly relying on individual initiative.

“We were able to get money every year to do an event on Ukraine. This does little to me professionally, but I wanted to bring Ukraine into a discussion in Manchester... We had Serhiy Leshchenko, Natalya Gumenyuk, Ukrainian Institute in London, a former minister, several ambassadors to the UK – a small but quite an event. But nobody from the Ukrainian Embassy could show up, and that was a bad signal,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

There is an intense competition of events on Eastern Europe-related themes in UK universities as they are hosted mainly by one centre. Therefore, events on Ukraine-related themes depend largely on initiatives of one employee with a professional interest in the topic.

The Ukrainian Institute in London has been proactive during the pandemic. In addition to regular discussions, meetings with well-known people, Ukrainian celebrations and film screenings, the Ukrainian Institute in London launched some innovative projects. For example, it launched *10 Things Everyone Should Know About Ukraine*, a joint project with the state-managed Ukrainian Institute³⁷. Another project was aimed to demonstrate the ethnic diversity of Ukraine.

*“We have launched the season of events titled **Many Faces of Ukraine** where we talk about non-ethnic Ukrainians. By the way, Aleichem will be one. Paul Celan was one of them last year. We had a conversation about Debora Vogel, Bruno Schulz... This is about people who are connected to Ukraine in its current territory. Even if*

³⁴ Ukrainian Film Festival 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/events/274613330655919>

³⁵ Q&A with Volodymyr Tykhyy, Director of 'The Gateway' (2017), <https://www.facebook.com/events/1452159344991178/>

³⁶ Q&A with Korniy Hrytsiuk, Director of 'Train: Kyiv-War' (2020), <https://www.facebook.com/events/399565844418793/>

³⁷ «10 things everyone should know about Ukraine», <https://ukrainianinstitute.org.uk/10-things-everyone-should-know-about-ukraine/>

they are not necessarily connected to Ukrainian culture, they are part of our [Ukrainian – Ed.] legacy. So, I think that all these people are potentially interesting, we just need to explain why they are interesting and how they are connected to Ukraine,”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

The organisations listed above have existed for a long time and have been working for decades to promote Ukrainian culture in the UK. **British-Ukrainian Aid**³⁸ was established as a result of Russia’s aggression against Ukraine. Its initial task was to help the military and their families. Gradually, they added a cultural element to their work, aiming at attracting the attention of the UK establishment and society to the war in Ukraine.

“I often have an impression that charity organisations are embarrassed to tackle the theme of war and are not willing to help the military. They want to ‘stay out of politics’ and mostly do culture,”

– Tetyana Vovnyanko, British-Ukrainian Aid.

In recent years, British-Ukrainian Aid hosted screenings of Ukrainian films with actress Rymma Ziubina attendance (2018)³⁹, film *Bitter Harvest*⁴⁰; films to support Oleh Sentsov⁴¹; documentaries about Ukrainian history and present days; presented books by Andreas Umland, Mykola Riabchuk⁴², and organised photo exhibitions, charity events, and more. The latest events included the visit of Olha Volynska to present *The Unbroken*, a documentary,⁴³ and a meeting with Amnesty International. In addition to that, British-Ukrainian Aid helped organise meetings of the ‘Invisible Battalion’ project’s

38 British-Ukrainian Aid, <https://british-ukrainianaid.org/>

39 Film Screening & Informal Talk with Rymma Zyubina, 22.04.2018, <https://british-ukrainianaid.org/film-screening-informal-talk-with-rymma-zyubina-sunday-22-april-2018-ukrclub-400-630-pm-free/>

40 *Bitter Harvest* Screening in Honour of Holodomor Remembrance Day in Association with British-Ukrainian Aid, Cinemas Across the UK – Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, Leicester, Edinburgh And London, 25.11.2017, <https://british-ukrainianaid.org/bitter-harvest-screening-in-honour-of-holodomor-remembrance-day-in-association-with-british-ukrainian-aid-cinemas-across-the-uk-leeds-manchester-nottingham-leicester-edinburgh-and-london-25-n/>

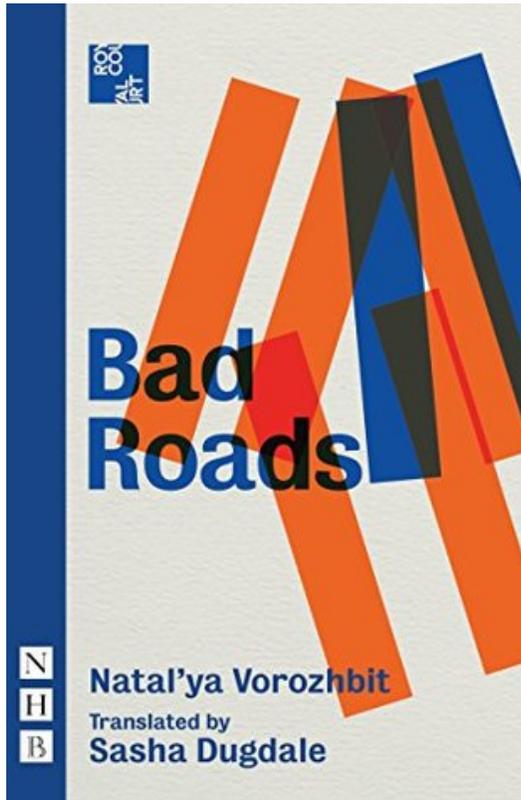
41 A Film Screening in Support of Oleg Sentsov. The Documentary “The Trial. Oleg Sentsov Vs Russian State”, 14.07.2018, <https://british-ukrainianaid.org/a-film-screening-in-support-of-oleg-sentsov-the-documentary-the-trial-oleg-sentsov-vs-russian-state-will-be-screened-on-14-july-at-1200-pm/>

42 At the Fence of Metternich’s Garden, 20.04.2021, <https://british-ukrainianaid.org/at-the-fence-of-metternichs-garden/>

43 “The Unbroken Women UK Tour” Film Screening: Sunday, 3.11.2019, <https://british-ukrainianaid.org/the-unbreakable-sunday-3rd-november-2019-ukrclub/>

representatives⁴⁴ with British MPs in the UK Parliament, in the Welsh Parliament, with the Ukrainian diaspora in Scotland, and at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

Some organisations that do not have Ukraine as their priority area of expertise or work also had long-standing cooperation with Ukraine. One is the **Royal Court Theatre in London**. They co-directed the *Bad Roads* play in 2017⁴⁵ and worked with Ukrainian playwrights.



Bad Roads play (2017)

“As an organisation, we have a history of engaging Ukrainian writers through workshop projects or participation in our residency programme. Maksym Kurochkin, Anna Yablonskaya, Natasha Vorozhbyt. and several more Ukrainian writers have worked with the theatre in the last 20 years⁴⁶. We have also run projects with the British Council engaging Ukrainian and Georgian writers together,”

– Sam Pritchard, Royal Court Theatre.

This is not an example of sustainable institutional cooperation. Instead, it illustrates the British initiative of involving Ukrainian artists in programs in the UK that are rather international and not focused exclusively on Ukraine. Still, the case of various projects implemented at the Royal Court Theatre over the past 20 years signals that consistent cooperation is possible. Interviewees

highlighted both the positive experience of working with Ukrainian artists, their abilities to interest British audiences in their stories, and the importance of introducing Ukrainian artists in the global context.

Other performance arts were presented at well-known festivals, such as the London-based **LIFT**. With 40 years of history, LIFT presents theatre for several weeks every two years, inviting groups from all over the world (more than 60 countries over 40 years). It covers different audiences through traditional and experimental theatre.

44 Invisible Battalion UK Tour – 7-15 November 2018, <https://british-ukrainianaid.org/invisible-battalion-uk-tour-7-15-november-2018-london-cardiff-edinburgh-oxford-cambridge/>

45 Bad Roads, Royal Courts Theatre, 2017, <https://royalcourttheatre.com/whats-on/bad-roads/>

46 For example, Royal Court Theatre, <https://royalcourttheatre.com/international/international-residencies/>

“[LIFT cooperated – Ed.] with the Ukrainian Institute in Kyiv and the Ukrainian Institute in London. They were funding us to premiere a project called The Argonauts⁴⁷⁴⁸ with a British dance company (Candoco Dance Company)⁴⁹ and Ben Duke at our festival last year. Ben worked with disabled dancers from Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Ukraine. My experience of working with them was incredible. It was clear that both the Ukrainian Institute in London and Ukraine were knowledgeable and dynamic organisations encouraging Ukrainian artists’ presence abroad,”

– Kris Nelson, LIFT.

Ukrainian artists based in the UK are doing collaborations with international artists, primarily in ballet and music. Based on their own experience and that of other colleagues, the interviewees highlighted that they often want to include ‘Ukrainian’ elements in universal cultural collaboration, spreading the knowledge about classical or folklore Ukrainian legacy. These cultural agents can be the guides for further cooperation with UK-based artists.

“I spoke to my friends from Pet Shop Boys in 2005. I saw their Battleship Potemkin at Trafalgar Square with an orchestra of 70 musicians. It was incredible! They dream of playing that show at the Potemkin Square in Odesa. Also, I offered them to work together. I organised everything, and The Most Incredible Thing, a fairy tale by Andersen, premiered in 2011,⁵⁰”

– Ivan Putrov, Ukrainian Ballet Gala.

In addition to projects in the UK, the interviewees mentioned their experience of cooperation in Ukraine that ranged from many years of cooperation or residence stays at *Izolyatsia*⁵¹ to participation in music festivals, collaborations with Ukrainian musicians (e.g., Zlata Ognevich), co-writing screenplays, cooperation with NGOs, lectures, etc.

47 The Argonauts, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IrHgpA-KShA>

48 LIFT Festival, <https://www.liftfestival.com/events/the-argonauts/>

49 Candoco Dance Company, <https://candoco.co.uk/>

50 Pet Shop Boys – The Most Incredible Thing, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=27jyGvHjz7Q>

51 Izolyatsia project <https://izolyatsia.org/ua/>

“I have spoken three or four times at the UCU Centre in Kyiv with Ostap [Kryvdyk – Ed.] and his team. I had a wonderful experience. I did both physical and online lectures for faculty and students... [I was – Ed.] involved with different NGOs where JST alumni work, especially after Crimea annexation... I worked with Natalia Gumenyuk and her TV station, very interesting,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

In addition to this, the interviewees mentioned curatorship at *Izoliatsiya*, an art space (Rick Rowbotham), art residence there (Tom Skipp), co-writing screenplays (Stephen Fingleton), performance in a music festival (Cleveland Watkiss), etc.

The interviewees did not mention failed examples of cooperation. Their experience has mostly been positive. But they did speak of the barriers they faced in working with Ukrainian institutions. They generally focused on **four problems in cooperation** with Ukraine, including confusing bureaucracy, the lack of funding, impossibility of long-term planning, and sometimes the lack of proper promotion.

The **problem of funding** consists of several elements. The first element is the cost of UK services and professional organisation for any event. The cost of organising any exhibition or tour is often unaffordable for a Ukrainian budgeting. Still, the interviewees insisted that entering the UK cultural market without help from professional curators, organisers, etc., undermines the quality and efficiency of any event.

On the other hand, when it comes to university events or any joint projects, the British tradition is to share costs between the participants, whereas the Ukrainian side often expects the partners to shoulder all the costs. This problem is reflected in the fact that Ukraine is not ready to plan the budget for several years ahead, something well-known institutions do in their event planning. The lack of proper funding is especially visible in contrast to Russia’s significant funding of cultural and public events in the United Kingdom.

“Russia spent enormous [money – Ed.] on cultural diplomacy. So, it managed to keep a monoculture view at the post-Soviet space,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

Excessive bureaucracy in cooperation with public institutions in Ukraine is another problem. Ukraine does not use the concept of grant aid or sponsorship, typical for the work of academic and cultural communities in the UK. Differences in laws, tax rules, and delays in signing documents coupled with very short periods between competition announcement and the need to spend all funding are seen negatively by partners in the UK, forcing them to ponder engagement in such cooperation every time.

“The Ukrainian government always asks to sign contracts that complicates the issue. For them to give us money, we need to receive money as paid for services, not co-sponsorship. And it is a complicated, long process. I tried to do an event with the Ukrainian Institute in Kyiv, I tried to pass it through our financial department [at the University of Cambridge – Ed.], and it was very complicated,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

“[When it comes to a negative experience – Ed.], the bureaucratic challenge of working with the Ukrainian Institute comes to mind immediately. They are aware of it. It is not easy. Even once we have won the grant, the funding can be delayed. When we think about whether we should apply for the next round of funding, we think twice about whether we can afford it despite the super positive experience of working with people in the team,”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

On the other hand, Ukrainian diplomats noted that cultural institution management in the UK, their autonomy (even that of state museums) from the Ministry of Culture, sometimes makes project implementation more difficult because **top-level agreements are not necessarily properly implementable at the level of the partners involved.**

“Independence of British institutions, all these entities [museums, theatres, etc. – Ed.] is good on the one hand. On the other hand, it makes our work more difficult. We could not accomplish efficient results as quickly as we wanted. We had to contact every institution individually and wait for their reply,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

Separately, the interviewees mentioned **the problems of positioning of the Ukrainian cultural product.** Ukrainian artists eventually contribute to this problem by exploiting the fact that the British residents have the stereotype of any post-Soviet art as ‘Russian.’ Also, there is little understanding in the UK of the distinction between the two countries, and all art is presented under the ‘Russian art’ umbrella, which is often used to simplify things and attract the attention of consumers. In this context, ‘Russian art’ primarily implies classical art of the Russian Empire era, but not contemporary art.

“Very often we ourselves [Ukrainian groups – Ed.] try to exploit elements of the ‘Russian culture’, say ‘Russian ballet’ even though there are no Russians there [in a group – Ed.]. Our dance groups seek to use this as bait for the audience, and the audience takes it. But we need to walk away from this,”

– Ivan Putrov, Ukrainian Ballet Gala.

“The 1920-1930 art was displayed along with Cubism. The bio said that the painting is from Ukraine, Poland... But all of it was generally presented as Russian. It is good that at least there is a bio where more is said about this art, how it was created and in what political context... But it’s true that more is spoken about Russian art, and it’s referred to as Russian art,”

– Bloom Twins duo.

As a result, Ukrainian cultural products are underrepresented in a range of segments. Ukrainian ballet has never been presented in the UK. The last time the Virsky Ensemble toured the United Kingdom was in the 1960s. There have been some shows at small theatres in the years of independence, but they often did not present themselves as Ukrainian art.

To summarise, most interviewees had direct experience working with Ukrainian institutions or individual cultural agents, but the pandemic changed this. Therefore, most mentioned collaborations date from before 2020. Despite the pandemic, though, the organisations focused primarily on Ukraine-related themes remained active. These include Cambridge Ukrainian Studies, Ukrainian Institute in London, and British-Ukrainian Aid. Public talks, conversations with artists, film screenings, and participation in festivals remain the most popular cooperation formats. Collaborations have taken place both in the UK and in Ukraine.

The interviewees flagged some difficulties, including specific bureaucracy that UK-based institutions do not always understand, the lack of funding for joint projects and exchange programs, competition for attention with other Eastern European countries, and misleading presentation of Ukrainian cultural products as the product coming from other cultures.

4.2. PROSPECTS OF COOPERATION

Most interviewees **confirmed that they were ready to work with Ukrainian institutions** and individual agents in various formats. They highlighted that the shortage of information about Ukraine essentially opens up opportunities for promoting cultural

diplomacy and looking for new cooperation formats. Still, the interviews left an impression that most of them were ready to engage in such cooperation, provided that the initiative comes from the Ukrainian side.

The analysis of answers shows two opposing trends in the UK. One is openness to any culture and new things.

“Despite the politics of Brexit, British society embraces different cultures, and British people are open to new experiences. Promoting Ukrainian culture, considering how little British people know about Ukraine, is a big opportunity,”

– Rosie Whitehouse, *The Judah Edition*.

The other trend is self-centring, focusing on the domestic agenda, especially during Brexit and the pandemic.

“The UK is just focused on our own stuff, especially with Brexit, the pandemic. We are not looking much beyond that with a lot of problems, changes happening here,”

– Tom Skipp, *photographer*.

The interviewees highlight the importance of **integrating Ukrainian products into the global or British context**.

In terms of the global context, the interviewees highlighted the issues of gender, environment, presentation of Chernobyl through the lens of global challenges, etc. Some interviewees noted the importance and relevance of feminist elements in modern culture. They said that the British audience could be reached through gender and feminism studies, promoting Ukrainian feminist writers of the 19th century and new female artists. This could resonate with modern British artistic and academic communities.

“I spoke with the Ukrainian Institute about a possible conference on Lesya Ukrainka. I think that if you want to honour Lesya by sharing her legacy with audiences outside of Ukraine, you must do so in a broader framework that will resonate with global audiences; that is in the framework of a conference on feminism, on gender issues in the late nineteenth - early twentieth century. You must also invite prominent speakers in gender studies or feminism to set the tone of such a conference,”

– Olenka Pevny, *Cambridge Ukrainian Studies*.



Ukrainian Ballet Gala at Sadler's Wells

“Our ballet⁵² will also be at the top level. There is modern choreography that portrays Ukraine as a modern state, just like all others, that lives with the same problems. And there is a classical part where we show Ukraine as a country with great traditions in art – ballet in this case. I am inviting well-known Ukrainians from abroad. We are showing the culture of Ukraine that influences the whole ballet world. We are not forcing anyone, just showing a good product, and that’s it,”

– Ivan Putrov, Ukrainian Ballet Gala.

A search for connections between Ukraine and the UK is another important task. These can be historical themes that could trigger sentimental connections but are most likely unknown. The interviewees listed plenty of topics that they

personally find interesting to work on or they see as good for promoting joint projects in the UK. These topics include the Holodomor and Holocaust, Russia-Ukraine war, Churchill and Crimea, etc. The connection may not necessarily be direct; however, it should trigger a sentimental response. The interviewees mostly noted that the format is secondary as there are consumers for every format. A theme that is easy to understand and can interest an average British resident is the primary factor.

“In order to be interesting, we should already meet the level of development of this society or make sure that they [the events we initiate – Ed.] resonate with society. For example, the way it worked with Mr Jones [the film – Ed.]. He was their compatriot, and they [Brits – Ed.] were interested in this,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

Donetsk offers a good example of the way to instrumentalise the interest of the British for historical sentiments. Chapter’s Andy Eagle points to

52 The interviewee most likely referred to the Ukrainian Ballet Gala at Sadler’s Wells Theatre, 2021, <https://www.ukrainianlondon.co.uk/ukrainian-ballet-gala/>

“cultural link between Wales and Ukraine: the story of Yuzivka – Donetsk (someone from Wales went there to do mining industry back in the day). Those historical links are interesting to explore.”

In this context, the interviewees mentioned some interesting episodes of shared history that are underexplored and not very well-known in Ukraine or the UK, in addition to the themes and figures that are already known, such as John Hughes or Gareth Jones.

“I really want to develop stories of people coming from the Carpathians in our work in 45 Aid Society.⁵³ I also interviewed a number of child-survivors for my book [The People on the Beach⁵⁴ – Ed.], and one of them related how ‘Banderists’ had hidden him from the Nazis and saved his life. I also described in my book how survivors from Rivne told me that they were driven to flee not by the Nazi massacres and Ukrainian nationalists but by Soviet and Stalinist policies. Many of them wanted to return home after 1945, but they could not,”

– Rosie Whitehouse, The Judah Edition.

“Stefan Terlezki⁵⁵. Interestingly, a man of Ukrainian origin was an advisor to Margaret Thatcher. A respected person who reached a high level in the country’s politics and was respected by Ukrainians in the UK. I know that the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain is very respectful of Terlezki’s memory, keeps unique documents about his life and political career, and owns some of his personal items. The Embassy was willing to help organise an event about him. We were planning an exhibition with the State Archive Service in Kyiv. Unfortunately, all this slowed down because of the pandemic, but they haven’t quit the idea,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

⁵³ 45 Aid Society, <https://45aid.org/>

⁵⁴ Rosie Whitehouse, The People on the Beach, <https://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/the-people-on-the-beach/>

⁵⁵ Stefan Terlezki, Encyclopedia of History of Ukraine, http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Terletsykyj_Stefan

Since British society is poorly informed about Ukrainian or Crimean Tatar cultures, especially beyond London, the interviewees focused on the potential of events, when collaborations with local artists are happening, and the importance of **dialogue** to present any theme.

“It has to be a dialogue. There is a famous jazz festival in Montreal – so you send famous Ukrainian jazz musicians there to engage. If the country’s known for its culinary culture, you do collaborations between Ukrainian restaurateurs and others. It’s important when things come into a dialogue, where you can present these similarities and differences,”

– Anonymous.

“The British like dialogue. They find it interesting to talk and learn more about everything, from war to the topic of love... Think-tanks in the UK like discussions too. I think any event should be arranged in that way: presentation – dialogue – feedback,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

For precise areas where cooperation could occur, the interviewees spoke about the specific segments where they work and the projects they would like to work on. They mentioned other possible forms of cooperation in addition to general formats, such as joint exhibitions, film production, screenwriting, concerts, festivals, panel discussions, conferences, etc.

In **visual arts**, the interviewees noted interest in studying Soviet architecture and urbanism and doing joint projects by young designers and art schools.

“We have the Glasgow School of Art⁵⁶, one of the best in the world. If you can look to make an exhibition with an equivalent school or design forums in Ukraine. So, you can catch attention,”

– Stewart McDonald MP, UK Parliament.

“Everything on Soviet architecture. We also have awful architecture. But there is real interest, why Soviet cities were built like this, their environment. So many people can like this,”

– Stewart McDonald MP, UK Parliament.

⁵⁶ The Glasgow School of Art, <https://www.gsa.ac.uk/>

In **theatre and cinema**, the interviewees mentioned exchange programs and joint production, from screenwriting to shooting in Ukraine, as priority formats.

“We would love to find a way to plan an in-depth exchange among playwrights. We have been following with interest the establishing of Theatre of Playwrights in Kyiv,”

– Sam Pritchard, Royal Court Theatre.

“Firstly, Ukraine as a place for shooting, production. High-quality crew and lower production costs. That would be an immediate interest... particularly for advertising... Ukraine will appear in discourse as a cheaper alternative to Russia for shooting. Everyone speaks very highly of the quality of the crew you can get in Ukraine... I would be interested in institutions that provide financing for films. The State Film Agency would be one... In terms of cultural individuals, there are filmmakers I admire..., like Myroslav [Myroslav Slaboshpytsky, director of The Tribe – Ed.]. If there was a way to work together – maybe writing for him or vice versa. There is a great young filmmaker that I have met: Roman Perfilev, who made a film about Taras Shevchenko as a samurai [the respondent refers to the film The Inglorious Serfs – Ed.]. He is a brilliant filmmaker. With someone like him, it’s more of a case where I might help him with contacts in London or LA for attracting financing from elsewhere,”

– Stephen Fingleton, filmmaker.

In **music**, the interviewees mentioned interest in cooperating with ONUKA, Jamala, and ARTBAT. Generally, there seems to be more interest in contemporary Ukrainian music, including electronic music that the British audience finds interesting and that is of European quality while often incorporating folk elements that make it original.

“We would like to hear more talk about young artists who make great music, have a new creative vision, sing in their native language and English adding various elements from their culture. We would like to see no borders for art

and see an opportunity and a platform for discovering new artists,”

– Bloom Twins duo.

The interviewees also spoke about big **festival events** that could attract more audience. They mentioned both participation of Ukraine and Ukrainian performers in various festivals (such as Edinburgh Festival, LIFT, Celtic Connections, AYE Writey in Glasgow, and Wigtown Book Festival, Shakespeare theatre festivals and more), and organisation of an exclusively Ukrainian event to present various aspects of Ukrainian culture and to host discussions.

“Then you’ve got the cultural cooperation, and I do think that a celebration of Ukrainian culture and an attempt to show people why Ukraine is an independent, sovereign nation on its own and not just a sort of Russian satellite is valuable,”

– John Whittingdale, Minister for Media and Data, 2020-2021.

“We proposed a Festival of Ukraine, a cultural festival with a strong conflict element. To do it around Beyond Borders Festival⁵⁷, so to show a diversity of Ukrainian culture and debate on how we can overcome conflict elements. The Festival of Ukraine Idea can be brought to London, Edinburgh, and Dublin – to start conversations about what happened in the recent past but also what expects Ukrainian future,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

The interviewees see **sports** as a good field for promoting cultural diplomacy and Ukraine’s positive image. These are primarily football and boxing, both very popular in the UK. Sport is an important part of British culture. While regional nationalism exists in this field – different teams represent different parts of the UK in many popular kinds of sports – sport is a universal language and an opportunity to reach out to some British communities through well-known Ukrainian athletes or teams that could become ambassadors for cultural projects. Average Brits know Andriy Shevchenko and Vitali Klitschko; these names were mentioned the most frequently.

“I once had lunch in parliament [in the UK – Ed.] with Vitali Klitschko, and nobody had any idea of the

⁵⁷ Beyond Borders International Festival, <https://www.beyondbordersscotland.com/events/current-events/beyond-borders-international-festival-2021/>

Ukrainian politician, but all the waiters did instantly recognise him and, of course, wanted to be photographed with him not knowing he is a mayor,”

– John Whittingdale, Minister for Media and Data, 2020-2021.

Literature is a problematic field, yet it offers space for the promotion of Ukrainian culture. The UK interviewees repeatedly noted that their nation reads a lot. The problem is that Ukrainian books are not translated into English sufficiently or presented in major bookstores. Book fairs and literature events are important for promoting Ukrainian authors. The biggest are in England and Scotland, and at universities, such as the University of Cambridge.

“An idea I have is to organise an exhibition of the publications A-BA-BA-HA-LA-MA-HA (Ivan Malkovych’s publishing house), which are all wonderfully illustrated. Some of the published books are already available in English translation. I envision an exhibition of the actual illustrations to the books in conjunction with a few literary evenings with Ivan Malkovych reading his own poetry and some of the stories he has published alongside a translator. Some of these evenings can be targeted at adult audiences, others at children. We can also sell the books at the exhibition venue. In this way, we can introduce the audience to Ukrainian poetry, storytelling, and book illustration. We can also reach a young audience – children who will know about Ukraine before coming to college and therefore might opt to take Ukrainian language and culture as subjects of study at the University of Cambridge,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

“One of my key tasks in recent years was working on European Studies, a blog for the British Library... I was chasing different academics, authors and asking them to write a blog for the British Library. We have interesting blogs about Ukraine, Ukrainian culture there. People do read this blog. We also have something about Crimean Tatars there,”

– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

“Andrukhovych was going to translate King Lear [It is already translated⁵⁸ – Ed.]. We have Shakespeare festival⁵⁹ in Cambridge, why not bring him and his translation,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

Representatives of the **academic community** noted the underexploited potential of cultural connections of the regional scale and academic contacts. Petro Kormylo (AUGB) mentions that

“cultural diplomacy exists between different cities [of Ukraine and the UK – Ed.]. In Edinburgh, for example, it started before Ukraine declared independence. [This is] twin-towning, Edinburgh – Kyiv... Initially, cooperation was real, proactive, then it waned. But I believe that work [efforts – Ed.] can help resume it. Universities here in Scotland have connections with three universities in Kyiv – Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and Vasyl Karazin National University in Kharkiv”.

“I think it would be good to highlight the intellectual institutions. For example, much work is done to support the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. It is very well supported from the United Kingdom,”

– Lord Risby, British-Ukrainian Society.

It is extremely important for researchers to have academic Ukrainian literature and primary sources translated into English and have them accessible for researchers and students alike.

“Lack of good English language translations of primary sources and of the scholarship of leading Ukrainian scholars. One of the problems of teaching topics such as the Cossack period of Ukrainian history is the lack of English language scholarship. It would be helpful to have both primary sources of the period and the publications

⁵⁸ Король Лір, Видавництво «А-БА-БА-ГА-ЛА-МА-ГА» [King Lear, A-BA-BA-GA-LA-MA-GA Publishing House], <https://store.ababahalamaha.com.ua/index.php/korol-lir.html>

⁵⁹ The Cambridge Shakespeare Festival, <https://cambridgeshakespeare.com/>

of leading modern and contemporary Ukrainian scholars available in English translation so that such works can be assigned to students for study and analysis. There are many wonderful 16th-17th century literary and historical sources on Ukraine and the development of Ukrainian identity, but they are largely untranslated,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

Representatives of the Parliament are open to working in groups of friendship and in parliamentary assemblies of international organisations, as well as to promoting information about Ukraine, Russia’s aggression and its consequences. Joint conferences and panel discussions, especially through think tanks, are promising and important areas to work on.

“I would like to see the education institutions, the art institutions, etc., more known and active. Ukraine has a strong and long-standing intellectual tradition. It would be interesting to have a discussion about the perspectives of living in a country which is a European country that is uniquely occupied, and those people’s perspectives on the world,”

– Lord Risby, British-Ukrainian Society.

While there are many friends of Ukraine in Parliament and public entities in the UK, British experts note that Ukraine should keep Russia’s shadow in mind. What they mean by this encompasses historic Russophilia in the UK elite, proactive contacts that Russia tries to keep, and the fact that the people who deal with Ukraine professionally also cover the whole post-Soviet space and often keep Moscow-oriented views on the region. This is especially true for the older generation. As a result, they are not always sensitive to the history of independent Ukraine or its relations with Russia. This means that Ukrainian institutions should focus more efforts on explanatory work.

“There was a problem that those people who are friendly to Ukraine in the UK parliament are the same people that are friendly to Russia. And it is a failure of Ukrainian top communication.... Pro-Russian people dominate political space. So, you need to project a post-Soviet story of Ukraine,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

As a summary, the interviewees note opportunities for cooperation in each of their professional spheres. Cooperation most likely depends on a number of factors, including initiative, funding, the quality of the cultural product and the option of incorporating it into the UK context, language, etc. Public talks and an emphasis on dialogue with the audience remain effective tools for promoting Ukrainian events and phenomena. The interviewees repeatedly highlighted the need for exchange programs and more Ukrainian studies at universities to enable long-standing and sustainable cooperation for fuelling interest in Ukraine in the future.

4.3. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The key sources of information used by the British target audiences include personal contacts and internet search engines. The interviewees noted that they trust personal contacts first and foremost. It looks like personal contacts and the opportunity to see the works of potential partners are the key factors. In this context, study tours would have added value.

“For me, connecting to an international scene is most helpful via personal contacts. A live event is still the best place where we can see people present, pitch, talk about their work, it is still the best way to make these connections... Organising trips and bringing groups of delegates [representatives of creative industries – Ed.] to places could be useful,”

– Kris Nelson, LIFT.

“... if you are going to set up a meaningful cultural relationship, you have to visit the country and individuals there — whether that’s Ukraine’s artists coming to Cardiff or vice versa. It’s not necessarily a lot of travel, but you need a bit of it to form relations,”

– Andy Eagle, Chapter Art Centre.

When it comes to looking for information, the interviewees point to Instagram in addition to the more conventional search engines. It is a popular tool for promoting culinary and decoration products. Some interviewees mentioned that the products from other Eastern European countries became famous through Instagram. *Pelagonia*⁶⁰, a

⁶⁰ Pelagonia, <https://pelagonia.co.uk/>

Macedonian sauce and canned food producer, is one example as it has become popular in the UK. People are interested in looking for traditional yet different food from what they usually taste.

The interviewees mention the Embassy of Ukraine in the UK, the Ukrainian Institute in London and the British Council as the institutions that could help look for information and contacts. Still, they rely more on their personal contacts, including those built through fellowships of Ukrainian artists or activists at various programs in the UK. John Smith Trust⁶¹, for example, has created many personal contacts through its fellowship programme. For politicians, these contacts usually come through groups of friendship or parliamentary assemblies of international organisations.

A user-friendly interface and language are extremely important if a dedicated source were created (database, presentational resource, thematic one, etc.).

“A website might be useful. But that relies on translation a lot, and sometimes translation wasn’t great at the websites I saw. I do not speak Ukrainian, so it was really difficult to work things out. The most useful thing would be an English-language portal, including on Instagram — with social media interface. It could be something like a cultural/historic Ukrainian Instagram account, which could point you to a more in-depth website where you could find out things. We have something called Historic England⁶² in the UK,”

– Tom Skipp, photographer.

“The website needs to be in English and have very clear instructions on how to approach this. My favourite thing would be to have a phone number that I can call someone who speaks in English and ask how it works [cooperation with the Ukrainian Institute, for example – Ed.]”

– Stephen Fingleton, filmmaker.

Part of the respondents relies on available non-specialised Ukrainian sources in English, such as *KyivPost*, *EuromaidanPress*, and *StopFake*. This is because they are available free or with a subscription, offer good quality English, and have a reputation for reliable information sources. The reputation of the source’s authors and owners is extremely important.

⁶¹ The John Smith Trust, <https://johnsmithtrust.org/>

⁶² Historic England, <https://historicengland.org.uk/>

“If databases were available (maybe they are, but I don’t know about them), I think it would be great. I know that databases of experts are created. Again, if this comes from an organisation I trust, I will certainly go to that database. So, reputation is important here,”
– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

Ola Onuch from the University of Manchester adds that institutional reputation matters too, in addition to the personal reputation of authors:

“The institutionalisation of these centres, institutes, museums, is truly important.”

In other words, part of the UK audience would prefer to work with institutions. However, Ukraine has few reputable institutions that could ensure proper communication. As a result, interviewees have to rely on their personal contacts.

V. AWARENESS OF UKRAINE'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

5.1. CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF UKRAINE

The term 'cultural diplomacy' is not always associated in Britain with the work of state institutions, such as the Embassy of Ukraine in London or the state institution 'Ukrainian Institute.' The interviewees interpreted this term more often as the work of Ukrainian institutions or projects in the United Kingdom or Ukraine, which were aimed at foreigners. One example is the work of the Ukrainian Crisis Media Centre, especially in 2014. However, London-based interviewees mentioned primarily public events by the Embassy of Ukraine in the UK. Because of the extended lockdown, the interviewees were not always able to remember specific events.

"Ukraine's official cultural diplomacy exists, but it's often very passive and hardly noticeable. In the Ukrainian diaspora, a lot of initiatives came from the grassroots level. We are grateful to the Ukrainian Embassy for supporting some projects that were a success,"

– Tetyana Vovnyanko, British-Ukrainian Aid.

"I can't say that we had enormous accomplishments in cultural diplomacy. But the 2019 London Book Fair⁶³ was truly a major challenge for Ukraine when we managed to bring our publishers. It was the first time we presented ourselves there. I think it was an accomplishment of cultural diplomacy because we worked with the British Council in London and Ukraine, with the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Book Institute. So, this was an image-building cultural project initiated by the

⁶³ For the first time, Ukraine presents the national stand at London Book Fair, 2019, <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/news/ukrayina-vpershe-vidkrye-nacionalnij-stend-na-londonskomu-knizhkovomu-yarmarku>

Embassy that laid the foundation for our country to be invited to this important platform in the future,”

– Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom, 2016-2020.

“When I think about organized, institutionally structured cultural diplomacy, I can’t think of anything immediately. We don’t have Ukraine festivals that would take place here [in the UK – Ed.]”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

The interviewees struggled to recall major public events over recent years. Most recalled the Days of Ukrainian culture in London organized by the Firtash Foundation in 2013.⁶⁴ That three-day event presented a show by Ukrainian designers, concerts with performers, a 10-day exhibition of Ukrainian contemporary art, and Ukrainian food and traditional art festival at Trafalgar Square.

In the early 2010s, many cases of Ukraine’s cultural/public diplomacy in London were associated with Dmytro Firtash and his foundation. Donations for the University of Cambridge (the total of GBP 6mn since 2010)⁶⁵, collaboration with the Saatchi Gallery to award young Ukrainian and British artists⁶⁶, and the Days of Ukraine in the UK in 2013, etc., caught media attention.

Due to the lack of Ukraine’s strategy of public diplomacy or proper funding, for a long time, there were big business initiatives or small civic initiatives that characterized Ukrainian cultural diplomacy in the UK. This was not always positive for Ukraine’s image. Aware of the reputation of some businesspeople, an element of corruption in their assets, and the fact that their key goal was to improve their own image rather than the image of Ukraine, the interviewees are critical about those prior initiatives and prefer to not mention their participation in, for example, the 2013 project. Meanwhile, a vacuum has emerged in the past seven years as big businesses are not seen doing a lot of public activity, and the Ukrainian state has not yet managed to take over this niche. One important reason is the shortage of funding for large projects in public and cultural diplomacy.

British politicians noted various official events, public talks, and commemoration/celebration of important dates.

64 The Days of Ukraine to be held in London for the first time, 2013, <https://day.kyiv.ua/en/article/day-after-day/days-ukraine-be-held-london-first-time>

65 University accepted over £6 million from wanted Ukrainian oligarch, 2017, <https://www.varsity.co.uk/news/12328>

66 Saatchi Gallery and Firtash Foundation launch competition for young British and Ukrainian artists, 2015, <https://www.calvertjournal.com/articles/show/4673/saatchi-gallery-and-firtash-foundation-launch-competition-for-young-artists>

“We have highlighted the tragedy of the Holodomor at a number of commemorations.⁶⁷ At two such events in our parliament, we had the Foreign Secretary present. In 2018, there was a religious service commemorating the Holodomor in Westminster Abbey, which was filled by members of the Ukrainian community.⁶⁸ These are some of the activities, which did resonate because the Holodomor is a significant tragedy in the history of Ukraine, which frames the overall relationship of Ukraine with Europe and its powerful neighbour,”

– Lord Risby, British-Ukrainian Society.

The interviewees mentioned the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain⁶⁹, the Ukrainian Institute in London,⁷⁰ and Cambridge Ukrainian Studies (University of Cambridge)⁷¹ as the key promoters of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy in the United Kingdom.

“Ukrainian Institute in London is very good, but talking insular – the film festival⁷² was very introvert, it was not presented widely to the community,”

– Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland.

“There are Ukrainian clubs in many cities. The Ukrainian Club in London hosted meetings with Ukrainian writers, authors. But it’s mostly Ukrainians who come to meetings in Ukrainian,”

– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

67 Ukrainian Holodomor, Debate Pack, 2017, <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CDP-2017-0213/CDP-2017-0213.pdf>

68 Prayers at Westminster Abbey For Holodomor Victims, 2018, <https://www.augb.co.uk/prayers-at-wesminster-abbey-for-holodomor-victims.php>

69 The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB), <https://www.augb.co.uk/>

70 The Ukrainian Institute London, <https://ukrainianinstitute.org.uk/>

71 Cambridge Ukrainian Studies, <https://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/ukrainian>

72 The interviewee most likely refers to the festival organized jointly by Cambridge Ukrainian Studies and the Ukrainian Institute in London in 2020, <https://ukrainianinstitute.org.uk/ukrainian-film-festival-2020-films-beyond-borders/>

Several interviewees mentioned *Ukrainian Events in London*⁷³, a non-profitable project that promotes Ukraine in the UK. They referred to it as a tool of non-government cultural diplomacy of sorts.

Also, the interviewees mentioned events by the Ukrainian-British City Club⁷⁴. However, they stressed that these events were primarily aimed at Ukrainians working in London rather than the wider UK audience.

The state institution 'Ukrainian Institute' barely came up in conversations as a case or a tool of cultural diplomacy because most interviewees did not know that it existed (see the next subsection). The following quote illustrates the challenge of being a newly-established institution that the Ukrainian Institute and other organizations that support Ukraine's cultural diplomacy are facing.

“When I think of major cultural institutions in Ukraine, I think of institutions like the Ukrainian Institute and a few others. I think they are trying to do certain things regarding developing a form of cultural diplomacy in Ukraine, being cultural ambassadors on different levels. I do not think they are succeeding yet for a variety of reasons. It is very evident to me that these institutions have not yet entered into the discourse in Poland, the UK or elsewhere as serious cultural partners in the way that people think of the Polish Institute, etc. That’s understandable because they are new institutions,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

A number of the interviewees familiar with modern Ukrainian literature or cinematography highlighted that it is extremely important to make sure these products are available in English in order to promote cultural products abroad. They often stated that the government should initially support such translations and promotion. One example mentioned by an interviewee was books by Yury Andrukhovych that have been translated into Polish and Russian, but not English. By contrast, Serhiy Zhadan's books are available in English but are not presented in big bookstores.

Apart from translations, the interviewees said that Ukrainian events were not sufficiently promoted even in London. The events hosted by well-known institutions were more popular, but this was thanks to the reputation of these institutions rather than Ukrainian cultural products.

⁷³ Ukrainian Events in London, <https://www.ukrainianlondon.co.uk/>

⁷⁴ Ukrainian-British City Club, <https://ubcc.co.uk/>

The interviewees often referred to cinematography – festivals and film screenings – as elements of cultural diplomacy that fuelled interest in the topics of political importance for Ukraine, such as the Holodomor or the occupation of Crimea. The interviewees said that they learned about the tragedy of the Holodomor and British-Ukrainian connections thanks to *Mr Jones*, a film about a British journalist.

The diaspora had positive feedback about Ukraine's consulate in Edinburgh, including its events on important dates.

“We work with the consulate on the most important days in the Ukrainian calendar, such as the Independence Day or the Constitution Day, every year. We have meetings at the consulate and our cultural centre. When there are important events, they always invite us, and we always invite them,”

– Petro Kormylo, Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

Despite the important place of Scotland in British politics, a complex prospect of its strive for independence, active academic and cultural life (Edinburgh Festival Fringe alone has up to half a million visitors and ranks as the biggest festival in the world⁷⁵), and organized diaspora, Ukraine's consulate in Edinburgh, already small, was cut down to one employee, a consular agent. As a result, it essentially has zero capacity to promote Ukrainian interests in culture. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian Community Centre in Edinburgh⁷⁶, founded by the first generation of the post-war diaspora, is the main hub for cultural events in Scotland.

The interviewees highlighted the importance of education as one area of cultural diplomacy. On the one hand, this delivers long-term strategic influence through awareness about Ukraine, its culture and politics, which will further influence the state-level dialogue and the perception of Ukraine in the UK. On the other hand, this is about working with education institutions in Britain, which mostly also double as cultural and public centres for the communities where they are based, so they host events for students and staff, as well as the community.

“Education is also part of cultural diplomacy, promotion of knowledge about Ukraine. This is not a matter of entertainment. It's not a whim. Knowledge about a country is a matter of security. Because when there are experts during the war who can say at the House of Lords

⁷⁵ Edinburgh Fringe claims record box office again, 2019, https://www.chortle.co.uk/news/2019/08/26/44194/edinburgh_fringe_claims_record_box_office_again

⁷⁶ Ukrainian Community Centre (AUGB Edinburgh), <http://scottishukrainians.co.uk/edinburgh-branch/>

what's really going on, this has an impact on everything: investment, business development, etc. If we don't prepare students, we won't have experts... Ukrainian studies only exist at Cambridge. It's just literature and partly culture studies. There is one place in London at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies where people can do a Ukrainian Degree [Ukrainian and Eastern European Studies BA⁷⁷ – Ed.]. This is a BA in Ukrainian Studies, but there is no department of Ukrainian Studies. At Oxford, they have Russian and East-European Studies, which covers Eastern Europe, and no expert teaching about Ukraine,”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

5.2. AWARENESS ABOUT THE WORK OF THE UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE

Most interviewees think primarily of the Ukrainian Institute in London⁷⁸ when they hear the name ‘Ukrainian Institute’. The London-based UI is a non-government institution founded in 1979 and affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic University. Having identical names is problematic for the identification in the UK of the Kyiv-based state institute ‘Ukrainian Institute’ because the London-based UI has a long-standing history, established reputation and is proactive. On the other hand, the positive image of the Ukrainian Institute in London does not create reputational problems for the public institution.

“How do you plan to present the Ukrainian Institute in the UK – because you have an association with the Ukrainian Institute in London that’s affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic University and already has some accomplishments and its audience? It will be hard to explain the difference to an average visitor,”

– Tetyana Vovnyanko, British-Ukrainian Aid.

⁷⁷ Ukrainian and East European Studies BA, University College London School of Slavonic and East European Studies, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/ssees/prospective-students/undergraduate/ukrainian-east-european-studies-ba>

⁷⁸ Ukrainian Institute London, <https://ukrainianinstitute.org.uk>

Restrictions caused by the pandemic did not help make the Ukrainian Institute (state institution) more recognizable. They restricted interactions for two years out of three that the Ukrainian Institute has existed. Also, the interviewees noted that it was difficult to compete with political news about Ukraine in the UK with cultural topics.

“It’s very difficult to launch a cultural diplomacy organization from zero, from scratch. In contrast, the British Council has been around for nearly 56 years. I think it is challenging, difficult work to promote a more modern, contemporary face of Ukraine... the team have done an impressive job with what they’ve done so far, especially when overseas media tend to focus on the conflict, Ukraine’s military, reforms, etc. – so it’s very difficult to find time to put the spotlight on culture when people abroad are mostly focusing on military and political issues,”

– Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Adviser to Government of Ukraine.

Most interviewees have never heard about the Ukrainian Institute. Those, who have heard, did not have a clear idea of its work, opportunities, or purpose. Employees of the Department for Culture who have quite intense contacts with Ukraine do not know that the Ukrainian Institute exists. They recalled contacts with MPs, Ukraine’s Ministry of Culture, and representatives of universities.

“I’ve researched and care about cultural diplomacy, yet I do actually know very little about the Ukrainian Institute. And as a Ukrainian living in the UK, being a professor studying Ukrainian politics, there is no engagement with us. And academics are a very easy ‘in’,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

Comparisons with the British Council in the interviews served as a boost for further conversation about possible projects with the Ukrainian side and a better understanding of what the Ukrainian Institute can do in public diplomacy and bilateral cultural relations.

Still, there have been cases of cooperation between the Ukrainian Institute and British institutions, and the interviewees express interest in possible cooperation as soon as the pandemic allows it. Those who have interacted with the Ukrainian Institute clearly understand the limitations, yet they also see the potential of its work. The overall impression of the Ukrainian Institute is positive. However, more detailed questions

showed that this positive impression was mostly based on the experience of cooperation with specific people rather than the institution. There is fear about the sustainability of the institution and positive experience if the team changes. Currently, the image of the Ukrainian Institute is a subjective impression from interaction with its employees that has not yet converted into a positive image for the Ukrainian Institute.

“I have not completed a full project cycle yet, but I was greatly impressed by what I’ve seen. I like their strategy, it’s really pragmatic and creative about ways to increase recognizability and change the perception of Ukraine. I think that they [the Ukrainian Institute – Ed.] should be given more money so that they could do more,”

– Anonymous.

“I’m aware of the efforts being made by the Ukrainian Institute to strategically make connections and have a profile that benefits Ukrainian artists,”

– Kris Nelson, LIFT.

“I like the fact that the Ukrainian Institute focuses on contemporary Ukraine, not only the past. This is important, and there is a lot to interest and excite people,”

– Nicholas Thomas, British Council in Ukraine.

Despite little awareness about the Ukrainian Institute, which affects the clarity of expectations from it, the interviewees welcomed the fact that such an organization existed and expressed hope that it would develop properly following the trajectory of the British Council or Institut français. They clearly understand the shortage of funding; therefore, they highlighted the need to prioritize between the branding of the state or cultural diplomacy, especially in the core strategy.

“Sometimes, I think that the priorities of the people that lead these institutions are misguided. They are more focused on branding than actual cultural promotion and diplomacy. That doesn’t mean that sometimes the British Council doesn’t also focus on branding, but they can afford to focus on branding because the core of their programs is so much stronger on different levels,”

– Ola Onuch, The University of Manchester.

“I may want a lot – funding for our [Ukrainian – Ed.] writers to travel to different countries or financial support for events. But I don’t know what your opportunities are... In a nutshell, tell us what you can offer first, then people will want you to organize something, bring an exhibition of Ukrainian artists, etc.,”

– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

The five **most expected focal points in the work of the Ukrainian Institute**, as highlighted by virtually all interviewees, include information about events and opportunities, help with contacts, support for study and professional exchange, promotion of Ukrainian cultural products, and support of translations and learning of the Ukrainian language. Below are more details on each point.

1. Information about events and projects, possible partnerships, and grants. This is an expectation across all categories of target groups interviewed for this research. It covers assistance with access to original sources, visual databases, online catalogues, and online libraries to help people work with Ukraine-related themes. Such resources should be created with different target audiences in mind, from the wider audience (for example, content on YouTube) to niche researchers. The role of the Ukrainian Institute is seen as an initiator for such database/catalogues, and a guide in communication between foreigners and Ukrainians that could help with available archives and catalogues that have no online versions or online resources that do not have a proper version in English, and help with establishing contacts with archives.

“First of all, for us, it will be interesting to work with archivists, especially in small towns, so we can trace people and what has happened to the Jewish community. A lot of people centre Holocaust studies on Poland, and the work of explaining that it was a wider event is very important... Educational programs need to reflect this,”

– Rosie Whitehouse, The Judah Edition.

“Online sources with photographs of all great monuments, not only St. Sofia but all great baroque churches. It will attract interest to these places,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

“[It is important to have – Ed.] access to information about institutions within Ukraine to do residence/ collaborations with. Informative things about projects going on in the country, exposing existing collaborations

that they are doing. Examples of projects the Ukrainian Institute engages with. Facilitating ways of collaborating, explaining how collaborations are possible, why you would engage with them. Explaining why Ukraine is culturally rich and worth doing collaborations with,”
 – Tom Skipp, photographer.

2. Help with setting up contacts, presentation of Ukrainian artists and institutions. This work is somewhat different from overall informational support. Simply placing information on a website does not necessarily help set up contacts, launch the collaboration, or build trust – that often requires personal or professional recommendations. In this segment, people expect the Ukrainian Institute to take over the role of presenting Ukrainian artists and experts of the cultural domain to foreign partners.

“As a musician, I would be interested in music institutions – music universities, colleges, even choirs, working with voices. Exploring the art of using your voice and improvisation, songs that we could possibly collaborate on. Find new ways of expression through songs and sound... I would ask contacts, go and see some events. Listen to some traditional music or do a workshop. I do a lot of education work in the UK at one of the conservatories in London and it’s through that entity that you can really see and hear a lot of the up and coming talent, young artists,”
 – Cleveland Watkiss, Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance.

“I expect the Ukrainian Institute to have knowledge about local artists, facilitate their travel, help them move their work abroad, or build a partnership – so that their work can travel without them travelling. At LIFT, we’ve been doing this – devising ways where artists’ work and ideas travel while they don’t,”
 – Kris Nelson, LIFT.

3. Promotion of Ukraine and proactive establishment of contacts. The interviewees realize that the initiative for promoting Ukrainian cultural products should come from the Ukrainian side, and the role of the state is important at the stage of shaping the respective image of Ukraine and at the stage of establishing institutional contacts, access to major events that call for serious coordination of efforts and are not purely commercial projects.

“Getting in touch with people. If you want Ukraine to be more visible, you cannot expect people to come to you. You have to go looking for links and relationships yourself. So, being proactive. But also, being clear about what you want to prioritize as regards Ukraine as a profile. It can be contemporary artists, visual artists, classical musicians. And focus on one section every two years,”

– Andy Eagle, Chapter Art Centre.

4. Support of professional and study exchanges. The interviewees see professional and student exchanges, invitations for *en plein air* sessions, or studying and fellowships in Ukraine as an important element the Ukrainian Institute could shoulder based on the example of similar institutions in other countries. All cultural agents interviewed for this research highlighted the importance of personal experience for a better understanding of Ukraine, its history and culture, and debunking stereotypes about the country and its people after personal experience of working or travelling to Ukraine. They pointed to the need to launch programs of exchange and fellowships supported by the Ukrainian government.

“[It is important] to travel to Ukraine with support from the Ukrainian Institute when possible and meet people, get a sense of people there; I’d love to see some at work. Organizing trips and bringing groups of delegates [representatives of creative industries – Ed.] to places could be useful,”

– Kris Nelson, LIFT.

“University of Cambridge students become very interested in Ukraine, after taking just one course. They are eager to travel to Ukraine. A single visit to Ukraine can change the University and career trajectory of a student. Cambridge Ukrainian Studies is trying to establish a travel-and-study award for the best essay on Ukrainian culture and/or the best translation of a literary work from Ukrainian into English that would allow Cambridge students to travel to Ukraine for the summer to study the Ukrainian language,”

– Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies.

5. Support for learning Ukrainian and translations into English. Previous sections of this research show that learning Ukrainian language and supporting Ukrainian studies are seen as an important element for the long-term representation of Ukraine and preparation of experts on Ukraine in the UK. Apart from that, reaching out to the British audience of viewers or readers requires having enough good-quality translations of Ukrainian literature, both contemporary literary and primary historical sources, into English. This will help reach the most professionals, including those who do not necessarily deal with Ukraine, or the broader audience in the case of popular literature translations.

“Preferably, more people would learn Ukrainian. You need translators if you want to have Ukrainian literature translated,”

– Olga Kerziuk, ex-Curator, The British Library, 2015-2019.

“We are interested in a translation of plays between both languages. To get to know the work of each other’s writers... In theatre, this process can take a long time and it [translation of plays – Ed.] often isn’t as publicly accessible as published literature,”

– Sam Pritchard, Royal Court Theatre.

Interviewees from Scotland note that it is important for the Ukrainian Institute to establish relations locally, not just with representatives of the government in London. As a public institution, the Ukrainian Institute should be sensitive to the domestic political discourse about Scotland’s aspiration for independence. It should stick to a neutral position that would not counter the state position of the UK.

“I would like your Institute to start corresponding with our government in Scotland [and with] the Scottish Parliament. You probably know that most people in Scotland want independence, and a large part [of people in Scotland – Ed.] was against Brexit. If Scotland becomes independent, I would like it to have stronger ties with Ukraine because they [the Scots – Ed.] know about Ukraine. I think your Institute should start thinking about connections with our Parliament or our Administration because we have a minister of culture and I would like to start cultural diplomacy [start intensifying Scottish-Ukrainian ties between ministers of culture – Ed.],”

– Petro Kormylo, Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

Some interviewees insisted that the efficient promotion of Ukraine in the United Kingdom calls for extensive surveys on public opinion, sentiments, awareness about Ukraine, etc., in addition to interviews with experts conducted for this research. They suggest that the Ukrainian Institute could do this.

The interviewees **recommended keeping in mind the following events and locations** when planning the promotion of Ukrainian culture in the UK:

1. Dundee, Southern Scotland, where a big Ukrainian community lives and poet Robert Burns was born.
2. Edinburgh Festival Fringe⁷⁹, the biggest festival where different segments of culture are presented and hundreds of thousands of viewers, gather every year.
3. AYE Write⁸⁰, a book festival in Glasgow, where writers come to present their books and politicians come for public talks.
4. Wigtown, a small village that hosts a book festival⁸¹ where people come from all over the world. A single square in this village hosts 15 bookstores that engage some top authors.
5. Celtic Connections⁸², a festival for Celtic music and the biggest music festival in Glasgow. Some Ukrainian bands play Celtic music or use its elements, they could be presented there.
6. Beyond Borders Festival of Literature and Thought⁸³, a festival that hosts literature discussions, as well as debates on political and social issues. It takes place in the one-time home of Queen Mary Stuart, the oldest building in Scotland. Organized by her descendants, it attracts many visitors. The festival hosted a panel on Ukraine in 2014.
7. Universities in Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Cambridge, Oxford, Manchester. These are the most prominent universities with East European Studies. They could be interested in hosting Ukraine-related events.
8. London International Festival of Theatre (LIFT)⁸⁴, a biannual theatre festival with an accent on experimental theatre that invites many foreign groups. It is very well-known in the British theatre community.

79 Edinburgh Festival Fringe, <https://www.edfringe.com/>

80 AYE Write, <https://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/arts-music-and-cultural-venues/aye-write>

81 Wigtown Book Festival, <https://www.wigtownbookfestival.com/>

82 Celtic Connections, <https://www.celticconnections.com/>

83 Beyond Borders Festival of Literature and Thought, <https://www.beyondbordersscotland.com/events/current-events/beyond-borders-international-festival-2021/>

84 London International Festival of Theater (LIFT), <https://www.liftfestival.com/>

9. Chapter Art Centre (Cardiff, Wales)⁸⁵, a cultural space in Cardiff that has been working with all segments of art, organizing events and festivals, exhibitions, supporting the creation and promotion of art for 50 years.
10. Experimentica⁸⁶, a festival of live art in Cardiff that welcomes experimental performance and interaction between artists and audience. It focuses on interdisciplinary projects and provides a platform for interaction between British and foreign artists.
11. Artes Mundi⁸⁷, a Wales-based biennial award for visual arts from an art organization that promotes art focused on the present.
12. Cambridge Ukrainian Society⁸⁸, the only specialized program in the UK focused exclusively on Ukrainian studies. It is known for its public events in various formats beyond just university life.
13. The British Library⁸⁹ has experience in hosting public events and exhibitions, talks with writers and researchers. It has an established audience and reputation. It has invited Ukrainian authors before.
14. Chatham House⁹⁰, an influential think-tank that runs the Ukraine Forum project in recent years. Ukraine Forum promotes Ukraine-related research and public events.
15. The Ukrainian Institute in London⁹¹, the key platform for Ukrainian cultural events in London.
16. Royal Court Theatre⁹², a well-known contemporary art theatre that works a lot with foreign playwrights and has worked with Ukrainian artists for 20 years.

85 Chapter Art Center, <https://www.chapter.org/>

86 Experimentica live art festival, <https://www.chapter.org/news/details/experimentica-presents-call-out-for-artists>

87 Artes Mundi, National Museum Cardiff, <https://artesmundi.org/>

88 Cambridge Ukrainian Society, <https://www.cambridgesu.co.uk/organisation/10311/>

89 British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/>

90 Chatham House, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/>

91 Ukrainian Institute in London, <https://ukrainianinstitute.org.uk/>

92 Royal Court Theater, <https://royalcourttheatre.com/>

British interviewees insisted that opportunities for cooperation included, in addition to traditional formats, support for exchanges and collaborations between artists and researchers, support for learning Ukrainian and translations. This can have a long-lasting effect on the recognisability and promotion of Ukrainian culture. Unfortunately, the interviewees are not sufficiently informed about the current work and opportunities of the Ukrainian Institute. Therefore, they have no clear expectations or plans for cooperation.

When it comes to Ukrainian cultural and public diplomacy, the interviewees associate it with the Embassy of Ukraine in London and with the work of well-known Ukraine-related hubs, such as Cambridge Ukrainian Studies and Ukrainian Institute in London. This points to the space and importance of cooperation with these institutions as they have built reputation and recognizability. This can make reaching specific audiences in the future easier.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“Ukraine is an undiscovered story. It’s a box with interesting stories that you really want to show and tell everyone, that they haven’t seen this box yet – take a look inside.”

– Olesya Khromeychuk, Ukrainian Institute in London.

In the political domain, Ukraine has emerged on the UK’s agenda, evidence of what are numerous contacts and agreements made in recent years. In the domain of culture, Ukraine has hardly shifted from being a *terra incognita* for UK society. Political news leaves little space for the coverage of cultural projects, which mostly remain the priority of cultural institutions and niche audiences. Brexit and COVID-19 pandemic had a negative impact on the promotion of cultural products, especially from abroad, as British society has primarily focused on the domestic agenda. Restrictions of any public events and travelling contributed to this.

When they described their associations or the attitude of UK society, the majority of interviewees highlighted that the perception of Ukraine is strongly politicized as the crisis, war, and corruption often overpower any other topics. The Maidan remains the most notable reference to Ukraine as an example of the victory of democracy and power of the people. This resonates with different groups of society in the UK. Commitment to democratic values and readiness to fight for them, resistance against Russia, integration into global cultural processes (such as Eurovision), and success in sports (football and boxing) create a favourable ground for reassessing the image of Ukraine in the United Kingdom.

At the same time, negative references about Ukraine are present in the UK. Sometimes they are exaggerated, but they resonate and stay in memory for a long time due to their lingering presence in the media and Russia’s efforts to promote such narratives. These negative references primarily include corruption, oligarchs, and historical narratives exemplified by the image of Ukrainians as collaborators with the Nazis in WWII.

Most British interviewees attribute Ukrainian culture to the family of European cultures, mainly with an accent on East Europeanness and a mix of European and Asian cultural elements. A trace of the post-Soviet lingers in the perception of Ukrainian culture. It is not seen as something absolutely negative in the UK. Instead, it is rather seen as part of the country’s history and a certain impact of the metropole. At the same time, the

interviewees highlighted the fact that Ukraine was walking away from this interpretation as it looked for its own identity and uniqueness. Most interviewees did not want to fit Ukrainian culture into one narrow civilizational framework, noting instead that it is unique and multi-layered due to Ukraine's history and geographic location. Still, most UK audiences have a problem with clearly distinguishing Ukrainian culture from Russian, which they associate both with the Soviet and the imperial eras. The legacy line of the Russian Empire – the Soviet Union – the Russian Federation comes up often, and it is all united under the umbrella of the "Russian culture" without distinguishing other cultures. In promoting cultural products and events, this can be seen in the way Ukrainian artists are presented in the Russian section at auction houses. Unfortunately, representatives of Ukrainian business and culture contribute to this at times by choosing this way of what they see as easier presentation of their product in the British market.

The analysis of perceptions by the professional community, especially academics or cultural agents, who have visited Ukraine or worked with Ukrainian institutions, shows that involvement in the Ukrainian context helps shape a clearer image of Ukraine and its culture. Still, perceptions remain somewhat eclectic, mixing Soviet images and narratives with Ukrainian ones. One of the most frequent associations is the notion of cultural and geographical diversity that emerged under external influence, among other things, but contributed to Ukrainian cultural self-sufficiency and integrity. Having their own experience of regional diversity, the Brits do not see this as a problem or something negative. They speak about this as pieces of a puzzle that make up the whole image of Ukraine and as something that is worth communicating to foreigners.

The problem is that some cultural phenomena, even if familiar, are not attributed to Ukraine. The fact that there is little knowledge about the phenomena means that it will take a lot of resources to promote Ukrainian products. In this case, Ukraine will have to simultaneously present its cultural product explicitly and proactively and overcome the challenge of cultural expropriation of these phenomena by Russian cultural institutions. The exhibition on Scythian culture at the British Museum by Russia offers one example. In this context, it is extremely important to establish the connection between a phenomenon and a country of its origin and highlight this connection while planning future work in the United Kingdom.

British cultural agents are not familiar with the Crimean Tatar culture. Associations with Crimea are currently exclusively political, covering attempted annexation, Black Sea security and human rights on the one hand, and historical references to the 1945 Yalta Conference and the 1853-1856 Crimean War on the other. Jamala's victory in Eurovision song contest sparked some interest in the theme. Nevertheless, there were no efforts to build on that development, so its effect was very short-lived. The fact that the Crimean Tatar diaspora is well assimilated in the UK does not help promote Crimean Tatar culture there or draw attention to developments in Crimea.

Dichotomy in the perception of cultural phenomena from other countries is an important element of perception in the UK. It is manifested in openness to the new,

unconventional, and multicultural, and somewhat arrogant attitude towards other cultures that are not Western European or post-imperial. In this aspect, it is important to look for links between Ukrainian and British contexts through historical figures, events, and narratives. At the same time, this situation results in competition for attention from other Eastern European countries. Language is of key importance for British society. Having a chance to be invited to speak there for any artist or expert often depends on the knowledge of English and readiness to speak English fluently with an audience. The shortage of translated academic literature, fiction, screenplays, plays, etc., undermines the knowledge of Ukrainian culture.

A cultural sphere in the UK is highly developed and supported by the government and private businesses alike. It has a number of important features:

- strong decentralization, regional particularities of all four parts of the United Kingdom, and independence of cultural institutions;
- integration of British culture into the global context and the resulting interest in the themes that reflect the current situation in the world, reflection on contemporary problems and challenges;
- the influence of the colonial past and status of an empire that impacts both the perception of the Russian Federation and preferential interest in the cultures that used to be part of the British Empire;
- strong interest in classical arts, primarily theatre and ballet, and admiration of modern and contemporary art.

Ukraine's cultural diplomacy has had little visibility, and harsh lockdown in the UK made it worse as it ruled out noticeable public events. Most interviewees and their communities associate cultural diplomacy and promotion of Ukraine with the events initiated and hosted by British NGOs and educational facilities, primarily the Ukrainian Institute in London and Cambridge Ukrainian Studies, rather than with the work of the Ukrainian state. The reason is that Ukraine did not have a strategy for promotion and had limited resources for public diplomacy. In this context, small NGOs and big businesses took over the initiative. Businesses used cultural projects to improve their own reputation.

Public talks, discussions with artists, film screenings, and participation in festivals remain the most popular forms of cooperation. Public talks and a focus on dialogue with the audience are conventional yet effective tools for promoting Ukrainian cultural events and phenomena. The prospects of cooperation mostly depend on initiative, funding, quality of the cultural product, and chances to fit into the British context rather than on a specific topic. Performance arts, literature, sport, and participation or organization of festivals are often mentioned as areas that can yield results. However, success can also rely on solving the problems flagged by the interviewees, including red tape that British institutions often find confusing, the shortage of funding for joint projects and exchange programs, intense competition for attention with other Eastern European countries, and misleading presentation of Ukrainian cultural products.

While being poorly informed about the Ukrainian Institute, which affects the clarity of expectations from it, the interviewees welcomed the existence of such an institution and expressed hope that it would develop properly, following suit of the British Council or Institut français. Five most expected activities of the Ukrainian Institute include:

- informing about events and projects, possible partnerships and grants;
- help in setting contacts, presenting Ukrainian artists and institutions;
- promotion of Ukraine and a proactive approach in establishing contacts;
- support for professional and study exchanges;
- support for the learning of Ukrainian and translations into English.

All interviewees concluded that the shortage of knowledge about Ukraine could serve as a good ground for promoting a specifically Ukrainian agenda. However, it also complicates the promotion of Ukrainian culture because this means that, first, demand for it should be created in a society that is highly focused on its domestic agenda. Therefore, it is important to present Ukraine-related themes through relevant global or British issues, such as feminism, for example.

Below are the top recommendations based on this research:

1. Go beyond London to present Ukrainian culture and organize joint events. It is mandatory to consider regional contexts and specifics. This is first and foremost true for Scotland and Northern Ireland. Festivals, such as the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, attract a huge audience that is as good as the audience of any London event.
2. Search the topics that fit into the modern global context rather than focus on an exclusively Ukrainocentric context. For example, speak about issues that young people are concerned about while also demonstrating Ukrainian experience. These could include climate change, feminism, post-colonialism, Holocaust, etc. These issues could be used to present contemporary Ukrainian artists who work on them and historical figures or events.
3. Find common themes that can be of interest, historical ties between the two countries. Examples include Gareth Jones and the Holodomor, John Hughes and the development of Donbas, Stefan Terlezki, advisor to Prime Minister Thatcher, the 1853-1856 Crimean War, the visit of Winston Churchill to the Yalta Conference in Crimea, rehabilitation for children who suffered Chornobyl disaster in Scotland, etc.
4. Find the aspects that the Brits are more or less familiar with or understand to conceptualize new ideas and phenomena. For example, Crimean Tatar culture can be conceptualized through the current political and security situation in Crimea. Even superficial knowledge of a phenomenon can work as a hook for adding more

continuity narratives, using current developments to explain their connections and roots in the past, explaining their connection to Ukrainian national and cultural identity.

5. Ukraine must focus its public diplomacy on presenting its own comprehensive vision of Ukrainian culture rather than attempting to overcome the Russian discourse. This vision should be shaped with two opposite trends. One is a presentation of the antique cultures, archaeological and cultural findings, and classical arts. The other trend is to present modern Ukraine and its culture that fits into global trends and context. The success of DakhaBrakha or ONUKA at British festivals, light shows, and contemporary art – including the pieces sold repeatedly at the biggest auctions in the UK – offer the proof.

6. Archaeological and historical exhibitions should be clearly positioned and connected to modern Ukraine. This is important to break Russia's monopoly/expropriation of some discourses and cultural phenomena. Apart from that, this will help present contemporary Ukraine not only as a young state, but also as a territory/people/state with an old and developed culture that dates back a thousand years.

7. Place a greater accent on modern Ukraine, contemporary music and art, on what is interesting for the wider audience. This is a niche where Ukraine has things to show. Moreover, it can help engage younger Brits, thus shaping a long-term effect of positive perception of Ukraine. While the UK was very conservative and demanding 20-30 years ago, it is different now, shifting towards multiculturalism and a focus on the interests of the youth. Young audience should be defined as key target audience.

8. Join efforts with Ukrainian businesses that work with British companies or seek to enter the British market and consider the need for targeting or adaptation of products to fit British tastes and priorities. Such cooperation can help solve the problem of limited funding. The reputation of the business is an essential factor that should be considered.

9. Establish a sponsorship department based on the British model at the Ukrainian Institute or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Experts in such departments look for partners, evaluate risks and challenges that come with any sponsorship of a state project, which purpose and objectives they know well. This serves to ensure transparent funding.

10. Plan work several years ahead, especially when it comes to major festivals or museums. Planning should span three years on average and one year at the very least.

11. Advertising is not the key factor in promoting events. UK audiences are willing to go to tried and tested institutions and art centres. Therefore, it is important to work with institutions and specific curators who know the British society and its

interests and can act as drivers in promoting a project. Inviting curators of British museums to visit Ukraine can be a starting point for establishing interesting joint events or exhibitions in the UK. They should be supported in learning more about possibilities in/with Ukraine.

12. The Ukrainian Institute should support residences for translators from other countries who are studying Ukrainian. They should be able to improve their knowledge and translate Ukrainian literature in the future. Overall, the idea of residences is relevant for cultural agents. The Ukrainian Institute's projects of this format that exist already should be promoted better in the UK.
13. British artists could be interested in coming to Ukraine for *en plein air* sessions and similar events for collaboration. Moreover, such trips often serve to establish personal and institutional connections and learn about the work of potential partners. All this can eventually transform into a sustainable strategic cooperation.
14. Promote 'couch tourism' and online lectures that have become extremely popular in the UK. There could be demand for videos of tours around Kyiv, Odesa, or Lviv and lectures on Ukrainian architecture, including the architecture of churches. Potentially interesting themes include Ukrainian cultural phenomena, such as Cossacks baroque and Ukrainian cultural avant-garde, as well as Soviet influence in architecture.
15. Support for Ukrainian or pro-Ukrainian communities at universities is an important element. British universities have a strong influence on shaping discourses, including in culture and politics. They are a platform for debate and a place where the views of future elites are shaped. It is extremely important to work with academics who deal with Ukraine-related topics, organize joint events through Ukrainian studies programmes, and with universities where there isn't a programme but where individual experts work. It is reasonable to strengthen connections among universities that are already established.
16. Use the potential of contacts between twin towns in Ukraine and the UK as British cities have a strong cultural component in their operation and can be more open to horizontal cooperation.
17. Use the potential of alumni networks of British education programs, such as Chevening or John Smith Fellowship, or associations of alumni from British universities that exist in Ukraine and could be a link to British counteragents. These alumni include many influential academics, experts in think-tanks, MPs, and businesspeople who have access to their British peers through their communities and can be Ukraine's guides in the United Kingdom. Moreover, such alumni are often referenced as sources of information.

The interviewees also offered some recommendations that could be interesting.

1. Launching a special visa-type for artists (similar to the O-1 type visa program for visiting Los Angeles) could be one area of work. This would allow British artists to stay longer than three months in Ukraine. Moreover, this would encourage British cultural agents to stay in Ukraine longer for residences, joint projects, or film shooting.
2. Use the opportunities of air companies that fly to the UK. For example, paint an airplane respectively to attract the attention of people and media. Putting Petrykivka or embroidery patterns on an airplane could be the starting point to attract attention to some elements of Ukrainian culture. Attempts to promote Belarus by putting an image from the World of Tanks, a video game developed by Belarusians, on a Belavia airline offers one example.
3. Look at options for designing an individual program for promoting Ukrainian culture in Scotland that is more open to cultural engagement as it seeks to shape its own foreign policy and build cultural links to EU member-states and neighbours in the context of new trends (more intense actions to press for the second referendum on independence).
4. The experience of conflict transformation can serve as a point of contact with Northern Ireland. Modern films, books, etc., on conflict and current politics, can be promoted through these issues. It is important to be cautious with exploiting this theme as Russia can use it too – with attempts to cultivate a sentimental connection between Irish insurgents and Russian proxies in Eastern Ukraine.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWS, WHO AGREED THEIR NAMES AND AFFILIATIONS TO BE PUBLISHED

| № | Name and affiliation |
|----|---|
| 1 | Bloom Twins (Anna and Sonia Kuprienko), vocal duo, London |
| 2 | Dr Brian Brivati, Beyond Borders Scotland - a not-for profit organisation dedicated to facilitating international dialogue and cultural exchange between nations, Academic director, London/Edinburgh |
| 3 | Andy Eagle, Chapter Arts Centre, CEO, Cardiff |
| 4 | Stephen Fingleton, film director, Dublin |
| 5 | Stewart Malcolm McDonald MP, Shadow SNP Spokesperson (Defence), Glasgow |
| 6 | Kris Nelson, London International Festival of Theatre (LIFT Festival), Artistic director, London. |
| 7 | Dr Olesya Khromeychuk, The Ukrainian Institute London, Director, London/ Cambridge |
| 8 | Dr Petro Kormylo, Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Edinburgh |
| 9 | Olga Kerziuk, The British Library, ex-Curator, East& South-East European Collections, (2015-2019), London |
| 10 | Dr Olga Onuch, Manchester University, Senior Lecturer in Politics, Manchester |
| 11 | Ivan Putrov, former Principal at The Royal Ballet, producer of Ukrainian Ballet Gala, London |
| 12 | H.E. Vadym Prystaiko, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United Kingdom of the Great Britain and Northern Ireland, London |
| 13 | Dr Olenka Pevny, Cambridge Ukrainian Studies, Director, Cambridge |
| 14 | Sam Pritchard, Royal Court Theatre, Associate Director / International, London |
| 15 | Rick Rowbotham, Architect, London |
| 16 | Richard John Grenville Spring, Baron Risby (Lord Risby), British-Ukrainian Society, Chairman, London |

| | |
|----|--|
| 17 | Tom Skipp, Photographer, London |
| 18 | Matthew Sinclair, UK Strategic Communications Adviser to Government of Ukraine (based at MFA), London/Kyiv |
| 19 | Nicholas Thomas, British Council Country Director, London/Kyiv |
| 20 | Dr Tetyana Vovnyanko, British-Ukrainian Aid, Co-founder, Managing Director, London |
| 21 | Rosie Whitehouse, The Judah Edition, writer, editor, London |
| 22 | Cleveland Watkiss MBE, Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance, Professorial Staff – Jazz Voice, London |
| 23 | Rt Hon John Whittingdale OBE MP, Minister of State (Minister for Media and Data), Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport (2020-2021), Chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Groups for Ukraine (2017-2019), London |
| 24 | Inna Yegorova, Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom of the Great Britain and Northern Ireland, First Secretary, (2016-2020), Kyiv |

ANNEX 2: EXPERT INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Perception of Ukraine in the professional community abroad

Introduction

1. Could you please share a few details about you: you **work...** (*list workplace to confirm relevance of data in the database*)? What do you currently do, what topics and issues do you work with/cover?

Associations and perceptions

2. What associations/images come to mind when you hear the word **Ukraine**?
Why?

3. Based on your observations, **in relation to/as part of what developments or phenomena does the press or public debate in your country mention Ukraine most often?** What important themes or contexts are lacking? Do you come across any cultural phenomena in these mentions?

4. What **cultural/geographic/civilizational area (habitat)** do you refer Ukrainian culture to? Why?

5. What **cultural events, figures, phenomena** do you primarily associate with **Ukrainian culture**? What Ukrainian artists/composers/theater artists/researchers/art schools do you know?

6. What phenomena of the **Crimean Tatar culture** do you know?

7. How would you describe **demand for/interest in Ukrainian culture in your country** now? What sectors, phenomena, figures from Ukrainian culture trigger/can trigger interest in you/your professional environment? Why them?

8. I will read a **list of figures and phenomena (cultural phenomena)**. Could you please tell me briefly how familiar you are with these phenomena? You can choose one of four options: 1) I've never heard of this. 2) I've heard of it but I don't know any details. 3) I know something about this. 4) I know this pretty well.

What **country/countries** do you **associate** this phenomenon with?

9. If we talk about **cultural phenomena** you are familiar with, which ones could be **interesting for you and your environment**? Why them? What would you be interested in learning, seeing about them?

10. What other **phenomena** do you think should be **added to the list**? Why them?

Experience and prospects of cooperation

11. Have you ever had **any cooperation** with Ukrainian cultural actors/institutions, representatives of Ukraine's cultural diplomacy?

11 a) IF SO, COULD YOU PLEASE PROVIDE COMMENTS:

- The title of **project/event**? Who did **initiate/organize** the collaboration? Who did **support** the collaboration financially, organizationally, with communication? How successful was your collaboration? What **failed/didn't work any why**? Did it result in any **expanded/continued cooperation**? How? If you had a chance, would you be willing to **continue** this cooperation? Why?

12. If you had an opportunity, **what** representatives of Ukrainian culture you would like to work with: individual professionals or organizations/institutions? **Why** do you find these **people/institutions** interesting for you? What **formats** of collaboration would you/your professional community would be interested in? What **expectations/concerns** do you have about such collaboration?

Sources of information

13. If you would like to have a project in Ukraine, **how would you look for information, potential partners**, etc.? Why so? What format would you prefer this information to be in for you to find it user-friendly and helpful?

Perceptions of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy and the Ukrainian Institute

14. What examples of **Ukraine's cultural diplomacy** do you remember in your country? What **institutions or agents** have been the most proactive in your opinion? What key **problems and flaws** can you list? What **expectations of Ukraine's cultural diplomacy** do you/your professional community have?

15. Have you come across any information about the **Ukrainian Institute**? How would you describe the institution and its activities? What **projects** initiated by the Ukrainian Institute have you heard of/participated in? What **sources** did you learn about the Ukrainian Institute from? What do you **expect** of the Ukrainian Institute as an institution that develops cultural diplomacy?

Final questions

16. What would you **like to add** to conclude our interview? Do you have any questions for us?

17. **Do you give your consent to your name and affiliation being mentioned in the list of respondents for this research?**

18. **Do you give your consent to your quotes being included in the report** (provided that the quotes are authorized by you)?

ANNEX 3. LIST OF PHENOMENA

| No | Phenomenon |
|----|---|
| 1 | Kazymyr Malevych |
| 2 | Babyn (Babi) Yar |
| 3 | Shchedryk/ Carol of the Bells |
| 4 | Bakhchysaray Palace |
| 5 | Scythians |
| 6 | Petrykivka painting |
| 7 | Lesya Ukrainka |
| 8 | Kobzar tradition |
| 9 | Ivan Mazepa |
| 10 | Serhiy Zhadan |
| 11 | Ukrainian Baroque (Cossack Baroque/ Mazepa Baroque) |
| 12 | Hryhorii Skovoroda |
| 13 | Ukrainian avant-garde 1910-1920 (visual arts, cinema, literature) |
| 14 | Sholem Aleichem |
| 15 | Chersonesus |
| 16 | Serhiy Parajanov |
| 17 | Oleksandr Dovzhenko |
| 18 | Volodymyr Vernadsky |
| 19 | Serhiy Korolyov |
| 20 | Volodymyr Horowitz |
| 21 | Andriy Kurkov |
| 22 | Les Kurbas and Berezil Theatre |
| 23 | Oksana Zabuzhko |
| 24 | Solomiya Krushelnytska |
| 25 | Kira Muratova |

| | |
|----|----------------------------|
| 26 | Maria Prymachenko |
| 27 | "The Executed Renaissance" |
| 28 | Boychukism |
| 29 | Vasyl Stus |
| 30 | Valentyn Sylvestrov |
| 31 | Heorhiy Narbut |
| 32 | Ahatanhel Krymsky |

ANNEX 4: INTERVIEWEES' CONSOLIDATED RESPONSES REGARDING THEIR LEVEL OF AWARENESS ON CULTURAL PHENOMENA PROPOSED BY THE UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE

| No | Phenomenon | I know this pretty well | I know something about this | I've never heard of this |
|----|---|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Babyn (Babi) Yar | 9 | 4 | 11 |
| 2 | Shchedryk/ Carol of the Bells | 6 | 9 | 9 |
| 3 | Ukrainian avant-garde 1910-1920 (visual arts, cinema, literature) | 5 | 12 | 7 |
| 4 | Oleksandr Dovzhenko | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| 5 | Petrykivka painting | 5 | 6 | 13 |
| 6 | Maria Prymachenko | 5 | 6 | 13 |
| 7 | Scythians | 5 | 5 | 14 |
| 8 | Ivan Mazepa | 5 | 5 | 14 |
| 9 | Serhiy Zhadan | 5 | 5 | 14 |
| 10 | Oksana Zabuzhko | 5 | 5 | 14 |
| 11 | Lesya Ukrainka | 5 | 4 | 15 |
| 12 | Kobzar tradition | 5 | 4 | 15 |
| 13 | Hryhorii Skovoroda | 5 | 4 | 15 |
| 14 | "The Executed Renaissance" | 5 | 4 | 15 |
| 15 | Les Kurbas and Berezil Theatre | 5 | 3 | 16 |
| 16 | Vasyl Stus | 5 | 3 | 16 |
| 17 | Chersonesus | 5 | 2 | 17 |
| 18 | Ukrainian Baroque (Cossack Baroque/ Mazepa Baroque) | 4 | 9 | 11 |
| 19 | Andriy Kurkov | 4 | 8 | 12 |

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------|---|---|----|
| 20 | Kazymyr Malevych | 4 | 6 | 14 |
| 21 | Volodymyr Vernadsky | 4 | 3 | 17 |
| 22 | Solomiya Krushelnytska | 4 | 3 | 17 |
| 23 | Sholem Aleichem | 3 | 7 | 14 |
| 24 | Bakhchysaray Palace | 3 | 6 | 15 |
| 25 | Serhiy Parajanov | 3 | 5 | 16 |
| 26 | Serhiy Korolyov | 3 | 3 | 18 |
| 27 | Kira Muratova | 3 | 3 | 18 |
| 28 | Boychukism | 3 | 3 | 18 |
| 29 | Heorhiy Narbut | 2 | 3 | 19 |
| 30 | Ahatanhel Krymsky | 2 | 2 | 20 |
| 31 | Volodymyr Horowitz | 1 | 9 | 14 |
| 32 | Valentyn Sylvestrov | 0 | 2 | 22 |