

What Have We Learned about Ethnonational Identities in Ukraine?

Volodymyr Kulyk 

Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
Email: v_kulyk@hotmail.com

Abstract

Among various features of Ukrainian society that the world has started paying more attention to since the beginning of Russia's full-blown invasion in February 2022, many commentators have pointed to a surprisingly strong and encompassing national identity. However, scholars of Ukrainian language and identity matters had for years demonstrated an increased civic attachment of Ukrainian citizens, including Russian speakers, and its greater salience compared with ethnic, linguistic, and regional identifications. This article seeks to highlight the main accomplishments and challenges of research on Ukrainian ethnic and national identity. It focuses on a gradual shift from the essentialist understanding of ethnicity as embodied in bounded groups to the interest in individuals' contextually determined identifications by categories with a changing meaning. Another prominent part of the analysis is the relationship between Ukrainian ethnic and national identity and the amalgamation of these two apparently distinct phenomena into what I propose to call ethnonational identity.

Keywords: Ukraine; ethnic identity; national identity; identity change; nation building

Among various features of Ukrainian society that the world has started paying more attention to since the beginning of Russia's full-blown invasion in February 2022, many commentators have pointed to a surprisingly strong and encompassing national identity. The successful resistance to invaders became possible due to millions of Ukrainian citizens' attachment to their country, which for many was so strong that it urged them to take up arms and risk their lives. Even more surprising to most foreign observers was the fact that many of the people fighting against Russia on the battlefield or supporting the resistance by other means were people of Russian descent and/or speaking primarily Russian in everyday life. Scholars of Ukrainian language and identity matters were not much surprised, however, as they had for years demonstrated an increased civic attachment of Ukrainian citizens, including Russian speakers, and its greater salience compared with ethnic, linguistic, and regional identifications. The war-induced interest in Ukraine and its people is a good occasion to highlight the main accomplishments and challenges of research on Ukrainian ethnic and national identity and summarize what scholars have for three decades of Ukraine's independence learned about its ethnonational identities.

Seeking to tell a story of *learning*, I will structure the presentation of major research work on this broad topic chronologically while also grouping publications thematically in accordance with the authors' approaches and preoccupations at certain periods. Needless to say, I cannot discuss all relevant publications; thus, I will prioritize those that I consider novel in either research questions or methods employed to address them. I will focus on a gradual shift, however uneven and incomplete, from the essentialist understanding of ethnicity as embodied in bounded groups to the interest in

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