

**1 - Projet**

Titre :	THE EFFECTS OF THE UKRAINIAN WAR ON THE POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING AND STRATEGIC NARRATIVES IN ESTONIA, FRANCE, AND THE EUROPEAN UNION
Domaine :	7 - Sciences de la société
Section :	SCIENCES POLITIQUES

**2 - Partenaires**

	France	Estonie
<b>Chef de projet 1</b>		
Nom :	Mme YATSYK Alexandra	M. MÖLDER Holger
<b>Laboratoire 1</b>		
Nom - Sigle :	Institut de Recherches Historiques du Septentrion (IRHiS)	Department of Law
Adresse :	Site du Pont-de-Bois	Akadeemia tee 3
Code Postal :	59653	12611
Ville :	Villeneuve d'Ascq	Tallinn
Téléphone :	0320416287	3726202430
Télécopie :		
Email :	christine.aubry@univ-lille.fr	holger.molder@taltech.ee
Site Web :	https://irhis.univ-lille.fr	
Numéro de l'école doctorale de rattachement:		
Nom de l'école doctorale de rattachement:	l'École doctorale Sciences de l'Homme et de la Société	
Etablissement de rattachement 1 :	Université Université de Lille (ULille)	Tallinn University of Technology
Adresse :	Site du Pont-de-Bois	
Code Postal :	59653	
Ville :	Villeneuve d'Ascq	
Pays :	France	Estonie
Site Web :	https://irhis.univ-lille.fr	
Etablissement de rattachement 2 :	CNRS - UMR 8529 (SHS)	
Adresse :	43 Avenue Le Corbusier	
Code Postal :	59001	
Ville :	Lille	
Pays :	France	
Site Web :	https://www.cnrs.fr	

**3 - Moyens demandés en 2023****France :**

	Voyages et séjours chercheurs français
Nombre total de personnes	2
Nombre total de voyages	2
Durée total des séjours (en jours)	6

**Estonie :**

	Voyages et séjours chercheurs estoniens
Nombre total de personnes	3
Nombre total de voyages	3
Durée total des séjours (en jours)	9

**4 - Moyens demandés en 2024****France :**

	<b>Voyages et séjours chercheurs français</b>
Nombre total de personnes	3
Nombre total de voyages	3
Durée total des séjours (en jours)	9

**Estonie :**

	<b>Voyages et séjours chercheurs estoniens</b>
Nombre total de personnes	2
Nombre total de voyages	2
Durée total des séjours (en jours)	6

**5 - Récapitulatif des équipes**

Nom/Prénom	Grade/ Fonction	Age	Année soutenance Thèse	Laboratoire / organisme	Rôle dans le projet	% de participation	Concerné par voyage
M. KRAKOVSKY Roman	Chaire d'excellence	45	2012	IRHiS UMR 8529 Lille CNRS	author of publications	30	Oui
M. THÉRON Julien	Adjunct Lecturer	42	2017	Sciences Po - Reims Campus	researcher, author of publications	60	Oui
Mme YATSYK Alexandra	PhD researcher	42	2007	IRHiS UMR 8529 Lille CNRS	Principal researcher and the coordinator of the project	90	Oui
Mme KILYBAYEVA Shugyla	post-doctoral researcher	33	2017	Department of Law	researcher, author of publications	60	Oui
M. MÖLDER Holger	Associate Professor	60	2010	Department of Law	Principal researcher and the coordinator of the project	90	Oui
M. SAZONOV Vladimir	Research-Professor	42	2010	Department for Applied Research	researcher, author of publications	85	Oui

**6 - Autres financements reçus**

Autres financements reçus ou demandés ?	non
Avez vous déjà bénéficié d'un financement pour ce PHC ?	Non
Autres demandes déposées pour 2023 ?	Non

## 7 - Description du projet

### Objectif scientifique et/ou technologique de la collaboration

The goal of the present proposal is to develop sustainable cooperation between Estonian and French researchers in studying the impact of the war in Ukraine on political processes in Estonia and France as well as its larger implications on the global and European security environment. If granted, the project promotes an interdisciplinary French-Estonian cooperation in international relations, history, and political sciences.

Background. Russia's large-scale military invasion against Ukraine, which started on 24 February 2022, drastically changed strategic assessments for the EU and its member states and will affect the future political decision-making in Europe and worldwide. Fundamental changes in the European security environment concerning military strategies and doctrines, options for international crisis management, the future development of EU and NATO, implications of global economic and agricultural crisis, strategic and political impact of the war, crimes against the humanity and violations against international law, and facing war refugees will characterize short-term and long-term influences of the current crisis in Ukraine.

Russia has become more rigid regarding the international crisis management, even compared with the Russo-Georgian war of 2008 and the initial phase of the Ukrainian war of 2014-2015. At the same time, cultural disparities between the European nations have a significant impact on their strategic perceptions. In this respect, Estonia and France represent somewhat opposing political cultures, which already manifested during Russia's military buildup around Ukraine in winter 2022. For historical reasons and its "Russian experience", Estonia adheres to the group of "realists" in Europe when it considers that Russia's imperialist ambitions have to be strictly contained. Paris, alongside Berlin, considers itself as a more "pragmatist power", a vivid advocate of reaching a diplomatic consensus with Russia.

Contrasting political discourses in Estonia and France may easily produce misperceptions and make the European solidarity vulnerable. For example, the role of the French President Emmanuel Macron in crisis management has been often criticized during the war. Therefore, to study the impact of the war on both nations can be of utmost importance to understand possible lacunae and opportunities in mutual cooperation. As a matter of fact, consequences of political reaction may also impact the conduct of conventional war, where propaganda and disinformation can be described as effective tools to achieve some regular warfare goals. The potential side-effects of strategic differences would be efficiently managed by building an academic dialogue through joint activities. Strategic differences between two countries will be more confidently exceeded if it goes beyond the narrow framework of academic discussions. Therefore besides students and academics, we plan to invite a number of non-academic stakeholders (think-tanks, ministries, embassies, agencies, media) of both countries as well to the workshops.

The project tasks. The proposed project will take advantage of the development of the French-Estonian academic network in forms of full-fledged publications, new research proposals, and sharing teaching experience and co-supervising. If granted, the project will contribute to establishing academic relations between Estonian (Tallinn University of Technology and Estonian Military Academy) and French (Sciences Po Reims and Lille) universities. The project will elaborate on three deliverables: 1) to conduct joint workshops and guest lectures by team members in Estonia and France; 2) to promote joint publications and grant applications between Estonian and French scholars; 3) to encourage co-teaching and co-supervising of Estonian and French students.

The planned workshops will promote an open discussion between Estonian and French scholars on issues related to a wide area of direct consequences of the war in Ukraine, including various political, social, economic, cultural, military, legal and strategic aspects of the conflict. In our workshops we will focus (but not limited to) on the following topics: 1) the identification and examination of Russian strategic narratives and their influence in forcing political discourses in both countries and in Europe; 2) the effects on political decision-making process in both countries and their EU and NATO policies during the war in Ukraine; 3) the side-effects of Russia's military activities in other regions (the Baltic Sea region, Syria) to the war in Ukraine; 4) the escalation of an information warfare into a military conflict; 5) political images of France and Estonia and their influence to bilateral relations as well to a larger EU and NATO cooperation; 6) strategic imagination as a prospective method to study the war in Ukraine.

Besides visits, we will have regular online meetings, lectures and workshops. The team members will cooperate in publishing an edited volume with the internationally reputed publisher (e.g., Routledge, Springer) or a special issue in a peer-reviewed journal (e.g., Slavic Military Studies, European Security). Based on the research findings of planned workshops, a report providing policy recommendations for French and Estonian policymakers will be provided.

Academic justification. The current proposal supports the advancement of international security studies and promotes new and innovative approaches characterized by transnational fighting for status and power (Renshon 2017), which go beyond traditional security concepts and strategies. The contemporary security environment is rapidly changing and progressing, which requires constant decipherment of security concepts as new and innovative terms affect our perceptions of security. Behind the scenes of modern hybrid conflict (Wither 2016), the impact of psychological warfare (Shirayev & Mölder 2020, 2021) has grown, that relies on the intentional development of strong emotions (e.g., fear, anger, and honor), myths, and beliefs. As a result, future wars may appear subsumed within wars of narratives able to manipulate with (dis)information (Mölder 2016), influenced by untraditional but influential variables like imagination, creating characters, combining data with fictional narratives, or promoting conceptual thinking about the fact, reality, and truth (Sungju 2014).

The war in Ukraine is a military escalation of Russia's comprehensive information warfare based on warmongering strategic narratives that characterizes a status conflict between the Russian Federation and the West, we have witnessed at least the last fifteen years since President Putin's famous speech of Munich in 2007 and the result of Kremlin's long-term disinformation activities goaled to support their policy goals. Russian strategic culture demonstrates the underestimated importance of imagination in geopolitical forecasting, in its domestic "mental preparation" for a military invasion of Ukraine (Makarychev & Yatsyk 2018). The examination of advanced research methods based on imagination should allow for the development of more advanced strategic forecasts. The method of strategic imagination (Mölder & Shiraev 2021; Mölder 2022) can become a progressive tool in security studies to deconstruct the potential long-term advantages of well-shaped strategic offensives.

Strategic narratives seek to dominate others through their competitive advantages. Narratives can explain the situation, define a problem that changes the initial situation, and then provide a resolution to the problem (Grzywacz & Gawricki 2021). If all narratives in general can be characterized as strategic, functional, and purposeful, a strategic narrative is a consciously developed story to achieve strategic goals of actors, communicate a desired end state and the means of getting there. Therefore, the identification and examination of strategic narratives (i.e. European decline, unpreparedness for an imminent military attack, migration as a cultural and demographic threat) and their influence in forcing political discourses will be a crucial task in this study. As the invasion of Ukraine has shown, the new weapons of choice, usually deployed online from manufactured "news" stories to conspiracy theories, obey a corporate logic, while the intentionality, strategy and endgames also remains an empirical challenge. In the comparative prospective, it will be important to examine how Russia's strategies may vary in the post-Soviet space (i.e. Ukraine) and the European states and to study Russia's impact on these countries by using Russian-speaking consumers of propaganda and alternative political movements in Europe in order to destabilize the security environment. These crossed case studies can bring new scientific innovations about how (dis)information warfare impacts the conduct of armed conflicts, and how European states with different geopolitical situations and scopes of interest adapt their strategic orientation with the focus on political changes, and how conflict will imply those.

Both Estonian and French grant applicants have a record of previous cooperation, including Mölder's and Sazonov's long-term history of publications and research grants on Russia, Ukraine and Middle East. Mölder and Kilbayeva co-supervise a PhD student, who is doing her research about the influence of Russian disinformation and propaganda in Kazakhstan. Théron and Yatsyk contributed to the book on EU-Russian relations . Yatsyk gave a lecture at Théron's class on War and Conflict studies at Sciences Po Reims in April 2022. She also participates at the Horizon 2020 project on study the mediatized discourses on Europeanization as a member of Estonian team lead by Mölder.

#### Liste des fichiers téléchargés par le candidat (cf. annexe)

Application full (Holger Yatsyk PARROT-Application-Form-for-2023-2024.pdf)

#### Programme de travail proposé et calendrier

##### 2023

A series of online meetings concerning management of the project (i.e., publication strategies and timeline, research workshop in Tallinn/Paris and scheduling visiting lectures will be organized during 2023).

Research workshops on Russia's wars narratives with participation of local scholars and stakeholders, convened by the Estonian and French teams will be held in Tallinn/Tartu and Lille (spring and fall 2023).

Guest lectures will be given by Holger Mölder and Vladimir Sazonov, Shugyla Kilybayeva from Estonia and Julien Théron and Alexandra Yatsyk from France to MA and PhD students of the Sciences Po Reims /Lille University and TalTech Universities during the researchers' mutual visits.

By the end of the year and after the second workshop in fall 2024 the first drafts of the edited volume (or a journal special issue) will be submitted.

Joint grant proposals to for international research networks (i.e. COST Action, Jean Monnet module, Horizon Europe) will be drafted and submitted.

##### 2024

Alexandra Yatsyk, Roman Krakovsky (Lille), Julien Théron (Paris), Vladimir Sazonov (Tartu) and Holger Mölder (Tallinn) will visit universities in Estonia and France to continue with two workshops on the War in Ukraine. French team members can attend the Lennart Meri conference in Tallinn and the annual international conference in Russian and Eastern European Studies organized by the University of Tartu in summer 2024.

Julien Théron and Vladimir Sazonov will work on joint publication on Syrian and Ukraine war.

Drafts of joint individual papers or chapters of an edited volume by Estonian-French team members will be submitted by the end of 2024

Policy paper summarizing the Russian war narratives in Ukraine written in Estonian, French and English will be circulated among European, Estonian and French think-tanks

Joint supervision of PhD students on the issues related to the topic of project proposal will be delivered.

Regular online meetings concerning management of the project will continue throughout the period.

### Intérêt de la collaboration et complémentarité des équipes

The members of the proposal have previous some cooperation experience through various projects and publications as well have studied the impact of the Ukrainian conflict through their projects and publications.

The project includes established researchers, postdoc researchers and PhD students. If granted, the project allows to develop interdisciplinary French -Estonian cooperation in international relations, history, and political sciences.

In 2022 Holger Mölder (PI) and Alexandra Yatsyk (research staff) participated in PRG1711 grant application of the Estonian Research Council "Strategic Imagination in Psychological Warfare: New Techniques to Analyse the Impact of Strategic Narratives Produced by Russia, China, and the United States in Estonia". This project has planned to create two positions for PhD students and postdoctoral positions, which can be co-supervised by Estonian and French researchers. These students can be included to the project (if the current application is successful) from 2024.

Vladimir Sazonov is currently leading project 253 (O-014) "Strategic Narrative as a Model for Reshaping the Security Dilemma (8.03.201931.01.2023)", which is a cooperation between the Estonian Military Academy (EMA) and University of Tartu. Holger Mölder is a part of the research staff.

In 2020, Julien Théron participated to the Norwegian Research Council grant application FORSER20 - Researcher Project for Scientific Renewal, with the project "Collective Security Governance in a Changing Europe (SECGOV)".

Alexandra Yatsyk and Roman Krakovsky are currently working on a joint I-Site project on populism, propaganda and modernization in Central and Easter Europe at the University of Lille.

Alexandra Yatsyk and Holger Mölder are a part of TalTech research team for the Horizon2020 project "Mediatized Discourses on Europeanization and Their Representations in Public Perceptions".

### Avantages de la collaboration pour le laboratoire français

The lack of advanced scientific cooperation between Western Europe and Baltic countries would be greatly reduced with high-quality cooperation. It would be in France's interest to open to other approaches of this key strategic issue.

Joint publications would also broadcast new inter-European and inter-disciplinary approaches, which is in the French part's interest.

The participation of PhD students of both parts also builds ties for future cooperative ties in the interest of scientific advance.

## 8 - Présentation des équipes

### Composition des équipes - (\*): personne participante au projet.

France :	M. KRAKOVSKY Roman*, Chaire d'excellence
	M. THÉRON Julien*, Adjunct Lecturer
	Mme YATSYK Alexandra*, PhD researcher
Estonie :	Mme KILYBAYEVA Shugyla*, post-doctoral researcher
	M. MÖLDER Holger*, Associate Professor
	M. SAZONOV Vladimir*, Research-Professor

### Equipement disponibles pour la réalisation du projet

France :	Lille University is one of the largest French universities that possess all facilities for research and study, including high-speed internet access, libraries, and free working spaces located in several campuses of the city of Villeneuve d'Ascq. The hosting IRHiS laboratory can provide well-equipped places for workshops and seminars, that could be held also in a hybrid regime.
Estonie :	Tallinn University of Technology (TalTech) provides all necessary facilities for conducting workshops in Tallinn, including technical support for online and hybrid activities. TalTech is a widely recognized university for conducting research and development projects, which ensures a very efficient and reliable supporting and monitoring system for carrying international projects and workshops. The Department of Law will host French researchers during their visiting Estonia.

### Publications significatives en rapport avec le projet

France :	1.Mandraud, I. and J. Théron (2021). Poutine, la stratégie du désordre, Paris, Tallandier. 2.Yatsyk, A. (2022) Biopolitical Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic in Russia, France, Germany, and the UK: The "Post-Truth" Coverage by RT. Social Sciences 11: 139. <a href="https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11030139">https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11030139</a> 3.Yatsyk, A. (2021) The Pro-Russian Right and Their Allies in France. Ahead of the Presidential Race. The Kremlin's Influence quarterly 4, Free Russia Foundation, 15-25 4.Yatsyk, A. (2018) A Popular Geopolitics of the Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Re-actualization of
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Identity-driven Geopolitical Narratives in Estonia, *Geopolitics* 23(4): 803-822.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1486300>

5. Makarychev, A. and A. Yatsyk, A. (2019) *Critical Biopolitics of the Post-Soviet: From Populations to Nations*. Lexington Books

**Estonie :**

Mölder, H., Sazonov, V., Chochia, A., and T. Kerikmäe (2021). *The Russian Federation in the Global Knowledge Warfare: Influence Operations in Europe and Its Neighborhood*. Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-030-73955-3.

2. Mölder, H. (2021). Culture of Fear: the Decline of Europe in Russian political imagination. In: Krouwel, A.; Önnersfors, A. (Ed.). *A Continent of Conspiracies: Conspiracy Theories in and about Europe* (231252). Abingdon-on-Thames, England, UK: Routledge.

3. Mölder, H., Sazonov, V. (2019). The Impact of Russian Anti-Western Conspiracy Theories on the Status-related Conflict in Ukraine – the Case of Flight MH17. *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, 9 (3), 96115. DOI: 10.1515/bjes-2019-0024.

4. Ventsel, A., Hansson, S., Madisson, M.-L., Sazonov, V. (2021). Discourse of fear in strategic narratives: The case of Russia's Zapad war games. *Media War & Conflict*, 14/1, 2139.

5. Mölder, H.; Sazonov, V. (2018). Information Warfare as the Hobbesian concept of Modern Times – Principles, Techniques and Tools of Russian Information Operations in Donbass. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 31 (3), 308328. DOI: 10.1080/13518046.2018.1487204.

**Appuis demandés et/ou obtenus pour ce projet, en dehors de ce PHC**

**France :**

Along with abovementioned projects at the University of Lille and TalTech, Alexandra Yatsyk participates in the joint project of the University of Leuven and Tartu University entitled the "Contested Heritage: A Multilevel Analysis of the Securitization of Heritage and its Challenges for EU and UN Actorness" (COHERE) ( Bijzonder Onderzoeksfonds /CELSA grant).

**Estonie :**

In 2022 Holger Mölder (PI) and Alexandra Yatsyk (research staff) participated in PRG1711 grant application of the Estonian Research Council "Strategic Imagination in Psychological Warfare: New Techniques to Analyse the Impact of Strategic Narratives Produced by Russia, China, and the United States in Estonia". Vladimir Sazonov and Julien Théron have joined to the proposal as external cooperation partners. The current proposal supports the goals of the PRG application.

Vladimir Sazonov and Holger Mölder participate in the project of Estonian Military Academy 253 (O-014) "Strategic Narrative as a Model for Reshaping the Security Dilemma" (8.03.201931.01.2023); Principal Investigator: Vladimir Sazonov; Estonian Military Academy; Financier: Estonian Defence Forces.

## 9 - Perspectives de la coopération

### Rappel du contexte de la coopération et des relations existantes

The members of the proposal have previous some cooperation experience through various projects and publications as well have studied the impact of the Ukrainian conflict through their projects and publications.

The project includes established researchers, postdoc researchers and PhD students. If granted, the project allows to develop interdisciplinary French -Estonian cooperation in international relations, history, and political sciences.

In 2022 Holger Mölder (PI) and Alexandra Yatsyk (research staff) participated in PRG1711 grant application of the Estonian Research Council "Strategic Imagination in Psychological Warfare: New Techniques to Analyse the Impact of Strategic Narratives Produced by Russia, China, and the United States in Estonia". This project has planned to create two positions for PhD students and postdoctoral positions, which can be co-supervised by Estonian and French researchers. These students can be included to the project (if the current application is successful) from 2024.

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In 2020, Julien Théron participated to the Norwegian Research Council grant application FORSER20 - Researcher Project for Scientific Renewal, with the project "Collective Security Governance in a Changing Europe (SECGOV)".

Alexandra Yatsyk and Roman Krakovsky are currently working on a joint I-Site project on populism, propaganda and modernization in Central and Easter Europe at the University of Lille.

Alexandra Yatsyk and Holger Mölder are a part of TalTech research team for the Horizon2020 project "Mediatized Discourses on Europeanization and Their Representations in Public Perceptions".

### Formation par la recherche

Alexandra Yatsyk is a PhD researcher at the University of Lille, working along with Roman Krakovsky on populism in Central and Eastern Europe, who is he co-supervisor. One PhD student at TalTech university will be involved into the project in 2024.

### Résultats attendus du projet

Four one-day workshops, with guest lectures ( in Tallinn, Tartu, Paris, Lille or hybrid/online)

Special issue / cluster / section of a peer-reviewed academic journal or/and an edited volume with a reputed international publisher (Springer, Routledge, Brill)

policy report on research findings

sustainable cooperation between four universities of Estonia and France (including joint grant applications, updates of teaching courses at the proposal partners universities, co-supervising PhD students by the project's team members).

### Perspectives européennes

VFP20040 "Mediatized Discourses on Europeanization and Their Representations in Public Perceptions" (1.01.202131.12.2024); Financier: Commission of the European Communities (Horizon 2020) (Mölder, and Yatsyk are members of research staff).

Partners: Tallinn University of Technology, Center for Social Sciences (Georgia), Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra, Corvinus University of Budapest, Dublin City University, Nebrija University, European Neighbourhood Council.

### Autres perspectives internationales

The international presence of the new establish Estonian-French cooperation can be developed through the seminars and publications on Ukraine, Russia, security issues, and illiberalism, organized by the PONARS Eurasia network (GWU, Washington, DC, USA), of which Alexandra Yatsyk is a member.

### Perspectives industrielles actuelles ou attendues

Not applicable

**10 - Moyens demandés en 2023****France :**

Nom des chercheurs	Nombre de voyages	Durée totale en jours
M. THÉRON Julien	1	3
Mme YATSYK Alexandra	1	3

**Estonie :**

Nom des chercheurs	Nombre de voyages	Durée totale en jours
M. MÖLDER Holger	1	3
M. SAZONOV Vladimir	1	3
Mme KILYBAYEVA Shugyla	1	3



**11 - Moyens demandés en 2024****France :**

Nom des chercheurs	Nombre de voyages	Durée totale en jours
M. KRAKOVSKY Roman	1	3
M. THÉRON Julien	1	3
Mme YATSYK Alexandra	1	3

**Estonie :**

Nom des chercheurs	Nombre de voyages	Durée totale en jours
M. MÖLDER Holger	1	3
M. SAZONOV Vladimir	1	3

Estonian-French science and technology cooperation program PARROT The application period 2023-2024
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#### 1. Partners

	Estonian	French
<b>Grant Holder</b>		
Name :	Holger MÖLDER	Alexandra YATSYK
Position:	Associate Professor	PhD researcher
<b>Institution</b>		
Name:	Tallinn University of Technology, Department of Law	Université de Lille Institute de Recherches Historiques du Septentrion (IRHiS-UMR 8529, CNRS)
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Phone:	+372 620 2430	+33 658 98 2959
Fax :		
E-mail :		
Head :	Tanel KERIKMÄE	Charles MÉRIAUX

#### 2. Project

Topic: <b>The effects of the Ukrainian war on the political decision-making and strategic narratives in Estonia, France, and the European Union.</b>
Scientific discipline: Political sciences

### 3. Planned visits in year 2023

#### From Estonia to France

Name of the researcher or PhD student (please indicate PhD student with asterisk)	Number of visits	Total duration (in days)
Holger Mölder	1	3
Vladimir Sazonov	1	3
Shugyla Kilybayeva	1	3
TOTAL	3	9

#### From France to Estonia

Name of the researcher or PhD student (please indicate PhD student with asterisk)	Number of visits	Total duration (in days)
Alexandra Yatsyk*	1	3
Julien Théron	1	3
TOTAL	2	6

### 4. Planned visits in year 2024

#### From Estonia to France

Name of the researcher or PhD student (please indicate PhD student with asterisk)	Number of visits	Total duration (in days)
Holger Mölder	1	3
Vladimir Sazonov	1	3
TOTAL	2	6

#### From France to Estonia

Name of the researcher or PhD student (please indicate PhD student with asterisk)	Number of visits	Total duration (in days)
Alexandra Yatsyk*	1	3
Julien Théron	1	3
Roman Krakovsky	1	3
TOTAL	3	9

5. Applicant's earlier funded projects in PARROT' programme

Date of participation in Programme
Research topic/project's name
Cooperation Partner

6. Description of the Project (*maximum 10000 characters*).

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**Background.** Russia's large-scale military invasion against Ukraine, which started on 24 February 2022, drastically changed strategic assessments for the EU and its member states and will affect the future political decision-making in Europe and worldwide. Fundamental changes in the European security environment concerning military strategies and doctrines, options for international crisis management, the future development of EU and NATO, implications of global economic and agricultural crisis, strategic and political impact of the war, crimes against the humanity and violations against international law, and facing war refugees will characterize short-term and long-term influences of the current crisis in Ukraine.

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Contrasting political discourses in Estonia and France may easily produce misperceptions and make the European solidarity vulnerable. For example, the role of the French President Emmanuel Macron in crisis management has been often criticized during the war. Therefore, to study the impact of the war on both nations can be of utmost importance to understand possible lacunae and opportunities in mutual cooperation. As a matter of fact, consequences of political reaction may also impact the conduct of conventional war, where propaganda and disinformation can be described as effective tools to achieve some regular warfare goals. The potential side-effects of strategic differences would be efficiently managed by building an academic dialogue through joint activities. Strategic differences between two countries will be more confidently exceeded if it goes beyond the narrow framework of academic discussions. Therefore besides students and academics, we plan to invite a number of non-academic stakeholders (think-tanks, ministries, embassies, agencies, media) of both countries as well to the workshops.

**The project tasks.** The proposed project will take advantage of the development of the French-Estonian academic network in forms of full-fledged publications, new research proposals, and sharing teaching experience and co-supervising. If granted, the project will contribute to establishing academic relations between Estonian (Tallinn University of Technology and Estonian Military Academy) and French (Sciences Po Reims and Lille) universities. The project will elaborate on three deliverables: 1) to conduct joint workshops and guest lectures by team members in Estonia and France; 2) to promote joint publications and grant applications between Estonian and French scholars; 3) to encourage co-teaching and co-supervising of Estonian and French students.

The planned workshops will promote an open discussion between Estonian and French scholars on issues related to a wide area of direct consequences of the war in Ukraine, including various political, social, economic, cultural, military, legal and strategic aspects of the conflict. In our workshops we will focus (but not limited to) on the following topics: 1) the identification and examination of Russian strategic narratives and their influence in forcing political discourses in both countries and in Europe; 2) the effects on political decision-making process in both countries and their EU and NATO policies during the war in Ukraine; 3) the side-effects of Russia's military activities in other regions (the Baltic Sea region, Syria) to the war in Ukraine; 4) the escalation of an

information warfare into a military conflict; 5) political images of France and Estonia and their influence on bilateral relations as well as to a larger EU and NATO cooperation; 6) strategic imagination as a prospective method to study the war in Ukraine.

Besides visits, we will have regular online meetings, lectures and workshops. The team members will cooperate in publishing an edited volume with the internationally reputed publisher (e.g., Routledge, Springer) or a special issue in a peer-reviewed journal (e.g., *Slavic Military Studies*, *European Security*). Based on the research findings of planned workshops, a report providing policy recommendations for French and Estonian policymakers will be provided.

**Academic justification.** The current proposal supports the advancement of international security studies and promotes new and innovative approaches characterized by transnational fighting for status and power (Renshon 2017), which go beyond traditional security concepts and strategies. The contemporary security environment is rapidly changing and progressing, which requires constant decipherment of security concepts as new and innovative terms affect our perceptions of security. Behind the scenes of modern hybrid conflict (Wither 2016), the impact of psychological warfare (Shirayev & Mölder 2020, 2021) has grown, that relies on the intentional development of strong emotions (e.g., fear, anger, and honor), myths, and beliefs. As a result, future wars may appear subsumed within wars of narratives able to manipulate with (dis)information (Mölder 2016), influenced by untraditional but influential variables like imagination, creating characters, combining data with fictional narratives, or promoting conceptual thinking about the fact, reality, and truth (Sungju 2014).

The war in Ukraine is a military escalation of Russia's comprehensive information warfare based on warmongering strategic narratives that characterizes a status conflict between the Russian Federation and the West, we have witnessed at least the last fifteen years since President Putin's famous speech of Munich in 2007 and the result of Kremlin's long-term disinformation activities goaled to support their policy goals. Russian strategic culture demonstrates the underestimated importance of imagination in geopolitical forecasting, in its domestic "mental preparation" for a military invasion of Ukraine (Makarychev & Yatsyk 2018). The examination of advanced research methods based on imagination should allow for the development of more advanced strategic forecasts. *The method of strategic imagination* (Mölder & Shirayev 2021; Mölder 2022) can become a progressive tool in security studies to deconstruct the potential long-term advantages of well-shaped strategic offensives.

*Strategic narratives* seek to dominate others through their competitive advantages. Narratives can explain the situation, define a problem that changes the initial situation, and then provide a resolution to the problem (Grzywacz & Gawricki 2021). If all narratives in general can be characterized as strategic, functional, and purposeful, a strategic narrative is a consciously developed story to achieve strategic goals of actors, communicate a desired end state and the means of getting there. Therefore, **the identification and examination of strategic narratives** (i.e. European decline, unpreparedness for an imminent military attack, migration as a cultural and demographic threat) **and their influence in forcing political discourses will be a crucial task in this study.** As the invasion of Ukraine has shown, the new weapons of choice, usually deployed online from manufactured "news" stories to conspiracy theories, obey a corporate logic, while the intentionality, strategy and endgames also remains an empirical challenge. In the comparative prospective, it will be important to examine how Russia's strategies may vary in the post-Soviet space (i.e. Ukraine) and the European states and to study Russia's impact on these countries by using Russian-speaking consumers of propaganda and alternative political movements in Europe in order to destabilize the security environment. These crossed case studies can bring new scientific innovations about how (dis)information warfare impacts the conduct of armed conflicts, and how European states with different geopolitical situations and scopes of interest adapt their strategic orientation with the focus on political changes, and how conflict will imply those.

Both Estonian and French grant applicants have a record of previous cooperation, including Mölder's and Sazonov's long-term history of publications and research grants on Russia, Ukraine and Middle East. Mölder and Kilibayeva co-supervise a PhD student, who is doing her research about the influence of Russian disinformation and propaganda in Kazakhstan. Théron and Yatsyk contributed to the book on EU-Russian relations. Yatsyk gave a lecture at Théron's class on War and Conflict studies at Sciences Po Reims in April 2022. She also participates at the Horizon 2020 project on study the mediatized discourses on Europeanization as a member of Estonian team lead by Mölder.

## **Working plan and timetable**

### **2023**

- A series of online meetings concerning management of the project (i.e., publication strategies and timeline, research workshop in Tallinn/Paris and scheduling visiting lectures will be organized during 2023).
- Research workshops on Russia's wars narratives with participation of local scholars and stakeholders, convened by the Estonian and French teams will be held in Tallinn/Tartu and Lille (spring and fall 2023).
- Guest lectures will be given by Holger Mölder and Vladimir Sazonov, Shugyla Kilybayeva from Estonia and Julien Théron and Alexandra Yatsyk from France to MA and PhD students of the Sciences Po Reims /Lille University and TalTech Universities during the researchers' mutual visits.
- By the end of the year and after the second workshop in fall 2024 the first drafts of the edited volume (or a journal special issue) will be submitted.
- Joint grant proposals to for international research networks (i.e. COST Action, Jean Monnet module, Horizon Europe) will be drafted and submitted.

### **2024**

- Alexandra Yatsyk, Roman Krakovsky (Lille), Julien Théron (Paris), Vladimir Sazonov (Tartu) and Holger Mölder (Tallinn) will visit universities in Estonia and France to continue with two workshops on the War in Ukraine. French team members can attend the Lennart Meri conference in Tallinn and the annual international conference in Russian and Eastern European Studies organized by the University of Tartu in summer 2024.
- Julien Théron and Vladimir Sazonov will work on joint publication on Syrian and Ukraine war.
- Drafts of joint individual papers or chapters of an edited volume by Estonian-French team members will be submitted by the end of 2024
- Policy paper summarizing the Russian war narratives in Ukraine written in Estonian, French and English will be circulated among European, Estonian and French think-tanks
- Joint supervision of PhD students on the issues related to the topic of project proposal will be delivered.
- Regular online meetings concerning management of the project will continue throughout the period.

### Cooperation interests and complementarity of working groups

The members of the proposal have previous some cooperation experience through various projects and publications as well have studied the impact of the Ukrainian conflict through their projects and publications. The project includes established researchers, postdoc researchers and PhD students. If granted, the project allows to develop interdisciplinary French -Estonian cooperation in international relations, history, and political sciences.

In 2022 Holger Mölder (PI) and Alexandra Yatsyk (research staff) participated in PRG1711 grant application of the Estonian Research Council "Strategic Imagination in Psychological Warfare: New Techniques to Analyse the Impact of Strategic Narratives Produced by Russia, China, and the United States in Estonia". This project has planned to create two positions for PhD students and postdoctoral positions, which can be co-supervised by Estonian and French researchers. These students can be included to the project (if the current application is successful) from 2024.

Vladimir Sazonov is currently leading project 253 (O-014) "Strategic Narrative as a Model for Reshaping the Security Dilemma (8.03.2019–31.01.2023)", which is a cooperation between the Estonian Military Academy (EMA) and University of Tartu. Holger Mölder is a part of the research staff.

In 2020, Julien Théron participated to the Norwegian Research Council grant application FORSER20 - Researcher Project for Scientific Renewal, with the project "Collective Security Governance in a Changing Europe (SECGOV)".

Alexandra Yatsyk and Roman Krakovsky are currently working on a joint I-Site project on populism, propaganda and modernization in Central and Easter Europe at the University of Lille.

Alexandra Yatsyk and Holger Mölder are a part of TalTech research team for the Horizon2020 project "Mediatized Discourses on Europeanization and Their Representations in Public Perceptions".

### Benefits from cooperation

#### To Estonian part:

The sustainable cooperation will be established between Tallinn University of Technology (TalTech) and Lille Universities as grant holders. Estonian Military Academy and the Sciences Po Reims will be also included in the project.

The proposal supports the PARROT grant applications, existing grants and joint publication.

PhD students and postdoc researchers of TalTech will get additional sources to fund their research in two French Universities.

#### To French part

The lack of advanced scientific cooperation between Western Europe and Baltic countries would be greatly reduced with high-quality cooperation. It would be in France's interest to open to other approaches of this key strategic issue.

Joint publications would also broadcast new inter-European and inter-disciplinary approaches, which is in the French part's interest.

The participation of PhD students of both parts also builds ties for future cooperative ties in the interest of scientific advance.

## 7. Introduction of working groups

**The composition of the working group** (*persons participating in project please indicate in bold, PhD students with asterisk*)

### **Estonia:**

**Holger Mölder**, Associate Professor, Tallinn University of Technology,  
**Vladimir Sazonov**, Research-Professor at EMA/Associate Professor at the University of Tartu  
**Shugyla Kilybayeva**, Marie-Curie Postdoctoral Fellow at the Tallinn University of Technology  
1 PhD student starting from 2024

### **France:**

**Alexandra Yatsyk**, PhD researcher at the University of Lille, I-Site/ Institute de Recherches Historique du Septentrion (IRHiS UMR 8529), CNRS  
**Roman Krakovsky**, Chaire d'excellence in history of the I-Site project at the University of Lille, IRHiS UMR 8529, CNRS  
**Julien Théron**, Adjunct Lecturer, Sciences Po - Reims Campus

## **The apparatus used to carry out the project**

**Estonia:** Tallinn University of Technology (TalTech) provides all necessary facilities for conducting workshops in Tallinn, including technical support for online and hybrid activities. TalTech is a widely recognized university for conducting research and development projects, which ensures a very efficient and reliable supporting and monitoring system for carrying international projects and workshops. The Department of Law will host French researchers during their visiting Estonia.

**France:** Lille University is one of the largest French universities that possess all facilities for research and study, including high-speed internet access, libraries, and free working spaces located in several campuses of the city of Villeneuve d'Ascq. The hosting IRHiS laboratory can provide well-equipped places for workshops and seminars, that could be held also in a hybrid regime.



**The main publications relevant to the project** (maximum 5)

**Estonia:**

1. Mölder, H., Sazonov, V., Chochia, A., and T. Kerikmäe (2021). The Russian Federation in the Global Knowledge Warfare: Influence Operations in Europe and Its Neighborhood. Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-030-73955-3.
2. Mölder, H. (2021). Culture of Fear: the Decline of Europe in Russian political imagination. In: Krouwel, A.; Önnersfors, A. (Ed.). *A Continent of Conspiracies: Conspiracy Theories in and about Europe* (231–252). Abingdon-on-Thames, England, UK: Routledge.
3. Mölder, H., Sazonov, V. (2019). The Impact of Russian Anti-Western Conspiracy Theories on the Status-related Conflict in Ukraine – the Case of Flight MH17. *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, 9 (3), 96–115. DOI: 10.1515/bjes-2019-0024.
4. Ventsel, A., Hansson, S., Madisson, M.-L., Sazonov, V. (2021). Discourse of fear in strategic narratives: The case of Russia's Zapad war games. *Media War & Conflict*, 14/1, 21–39.
5. Mölder, H.; Sazonov, V. (2018). Information Warfare as the Hobbesian concept of Modern Times – Principles, Techniques and Tools of Russian Information Operations in Donbass. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 31 (3), 308–328. DOI: 10.1080/13518046.2018.1487204.

**France:**

1. Mandraud, I. and J. Théron (2021). *Poutine, la stratégie du désordre*, Paris, Tallandier.
2. Yatsyk, A. (2022) Biopolitical Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic in Russia, France, Germany, and the UK: The “Post-Truth” Coverage by RT. *Social Sciences* 11: 139. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11030139>
3. Yatsyk, A. (2021) The Pro-Russian Right and Their Allies in France. Ahead of the Presidential Race. *The Kremlin's Influence quarterly* 4, Free Russia Foundation, 15-25
4. Yatsyk, A. (2018) A Popular Geopolitics of the Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Re-actualization of Identity-driven Geopolitical Narratives in Estonia, *Geopolitics* 23(4): 803-822. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1486300>
5. Makarychev, A. and A. Yatsyk, A. (2019) Critical Biopolitics of the Post-Soviet: From Populations to Nations. Lexington Books

**Applied or received facilities additional to PARROT programme.**

**Estonia:**

In 2022 Holger Mölder (PI) and Alexandra Yatsyk (research staff) participated in PRG1711 grant application of the Estonian Research Council "Strategic Imagination in Psychological Warfare: New Techniques to Analyse the Impact of Strategic Narratives Produced by Russia, China, and the United States in Estonia". Vladimir Sazonov and Julien Théron have joined to the proposal as external cooperation partners. The current proposal supports the goals of the PRG application.

Vladimir Sazonov and Holger Mölder participate in the project of Estonian Military Academy 253 (O-014) "Strategic Narrative as a Model for Reshaping the Security Dilemma" (8.03.2019–31.01.2023); Principal Investigator: Vladimir Sazonov; Estonian Military Academy; Financier: Estonian Defence Forces.

**France:**

Along with abovementioned projects at the University of Lille and TalTech, Alexandra Yatsyk participates in the joint project of the University of Leuven and Tartu University entitled the "Contested Heritage: A Multilevel Analysis of the Securitization of Heritage and its Challenges for EU and UN Actorness" (COHERE) ( Bijzonder Onderzoeksfonds /CELSA grant).

8. Output and perspectives of the cooperation.

**Graduate studies**

(Does the project promote postgraduate training, whether it is planned joint supervisions? If yes please indicate PhD student's or master's candidate's name and topic of research.)

Alexandra Yatsyk is a PhD researcher at the University of Lille, working along with Roman Krakovsky on populism in Central and Eastern Europe, who is her co-supervisor. One PhD student at TalTech university will be involved into the project in 2024.

**Expected results of the project**

(Publications, organization of conferences, workshops, economic or social outcome, patents, etc.)

- Four one-day workshops, with guest lectures ( in Tallinn, Tartu, Paris, Lille or hybrid/online)
- Special issue / cluster / section of a peer-reviewed academic journal or/and an edited volume with a reputed international publisher (Springer, Routledge, Brill)
- policy report on research findings
- sustainable cooperation between four universities of Estonia and France (including joint grant applications, updates of teaching courses at the proposal partners universities, co-supervising PhD students by the project's team members).

**European perspectives**

(Present or planned participation in some European programmes - name the programme and partners.)

VFP20040 "Mediatized Discourses on Europeanization and Their Representations in Public Perceptions" (1.01.2021–31.12.2024); Financier: Commission of the European Communities (Horizon 2020) (Mölder, and Yatsyk are members of research staff). Partners: Tallinn University of Technology, Center for Social Sciences (Georgia), Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra, Corvinus University of Budapest, Dublin City University, Nebrija University, European Neighbourhood Council.

**Other international perspectives**

The international presence of the new establish Estonian-French cooperation can be developed through the seminars and publications on Ukraine, Russia, security issues, and illiberalism, organized by the PONARS Eurasia network (GWU, Washington, DC, USA), of which Alexandra Yatsyk is a member.

Present or expected industrial/innovation perspectives  
(*Partners, expected outcome*)  
Not available

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Name, date and signature of the Estonian grant holder

9. Summary table of the requested funds of the project in 2023

	Researcher's name	Position	Number of visits	Total duration in days	Institution/town of the visit
<b>E s t o n i a</b>	Holger Molder	Associate Professor, TalTech University	1	3	Lille University, Lille
	Vladimir Sazonov	Associate Professor, EMA	1	3	Lille University, Lille
	Shugyla Kilybayeva	post-doc researcher, TalTech University	1	3	Lille University, Lille
	In total for the Estonian team		3	9	€2490
<b>F r a n c e</b>	Julien Theron	Adjunct lecturer, Sciences Po Reims	1	3	TalTech University, Tallinn
	Alexandra Yatsyk	PhD researcher, Lille University/CNRS	1	3	TalTech University, Tallinn
	In total for the French team				€1650
	in total for two teams				€4140

10. Summary table of the requested funds of the project in 2024

	Researcher's name	Position	Number of the visits	Total duration in days	Institution/town of the visits
E S t o n i a	Holger Molder	Associate Professor, TalTech University	1	3	Lille University, Lille
	Vladimir Sazonov	Associate Professor, EMA	1	3	Lille University, Lille
	In total for the Estonian team				€1660
F r a n c e	Roman Krakovsky	Chaire d'excellence, Lille University/CNRS	1	3	TalTech University, Tallinn
	Julien Theron	Adjunct Lecturer, Sciences Po Reims	1	3	TalTech University, Tallinn
	*Alexandra Yatsyk	PhD researcher, Lille University/CNRS	1	3	TalTech University, Tallinn
	in total for the French team				€2475
	In total for two teams				€4135

## Roman KRAKOVSKY

Date de naissance: 1977, Slovaquie

Résidence actuelle : France

**Google Scholar Citations:** 210 (depuis 2017) : 132

**H Index** : 6 (5) **i10 index:** 4 (3)

**Monographies:** 6

**Direction des ouvrages collectifs:** 4

**Articles dans des revues à comité de lecture:** 7

**Chapitres dans des ouvrages collectifs:** 9

### Formation:

2012 Thèse d'histoire – Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (Paris, France)

2004 DEA d'Etudes Eurasiatiques – Inalco (Paris, France)

2002 DESS de Relations internationales – Inalco (Paris)

2000 Licence d'histoire – Université de Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne (Paris)

1996-1998 Licence d'histoire et de français, Université Comenius, Bratislava (Slovaquie)

1995-1996 Licence d'histoire et de français (1<sup>ère</sup> année), Université Šafárik, Prešov (Slovaquie)

### Compétences linguistiques:

Français, Anglais (bilingue), Tchèque et slovaque (langues maternelles), Polonais et russe (lu)

### Positions:

2021-2023 Chaire d'excellence en histoire ,I-Site/IRHiS, Université de Lille (Lille, France)

2014-2017 Chercheur post-doctorant ,LabEx Tepsis, EHESS (Paris, France)

2016 Visiting Research Fellow, Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki (Helsinki, Finlande)

2014-2015 Visiting Research Fellow CERI, Sciences Po (Paris, France)

2014 Research Fellow Polish History Museum (Varsovie, Pologne)

2013 Visegrad Research Scholar, Open Society Archives (Budapest, Hongrie)

2008-2009 Boursier Le Centre français de recherche en sciences sociales (Prague, République tchèque)

1996-1998 Boursier d'Excellence Open Society Fund / Výberový vzdelávací spolok (Bratislava, Slovaquie)

### Enseignements:

Depuis 2019 Geneva Center for Security Policies (Genève, Suisse)

2017-2018 Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (Paris, France)

2017-2018 Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (Paris, France)

Depuis 2016 Sorbonne Université – UFR d'Études slaves et UFR d'Histoire (Paris, France)

Depuis 2013 Université de Genève – Global Studies Institute (Genève, Suisse)

Depuis 2005 Institut d'Etudes Politiques – Collège universitaire (Paris, France)

2006-2007 Université Comenius - MA Etudes européennes (Bratislava, Slovaquie)

2006 Université Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle – MA Etudes européennes (Paris)

### 5 Publications Principales:

**Krakovsky, R.** (à paraître en 2023) Atlas d'Europe centrale et orientale de 1815 à nos jours (dir., en collaboration avec B. Lory, A. Varet-Vitu, C. Bayou, J. Gueslin et L. Lepeltier-Kutashi, CNRS Editions

**Krakovsky, R.** (à paraître en 2024) L'Histoire de l'Europe, 4 vol. (dir. Benjamin Deruelle), Paris, Humensis (). ■ Rédaction, avec trois autres co-auteurs, du vol. 4 : *Europe à l'époque contemporaine, XIXe-XXIe siècles* (dir. du volume : Laurent Colantonio)

**Krakovsky, R.** (2019) Le Populisme en Europe centrale et orientale. Un avertissement pour le monde ?, Paris, Fayard, coll. Histoire, 2019, 342 p.

**Krakovsky, R.** (2021) Europe centrale et orientale de 1918 à la chute du mur de Berlin, Paris, Armand Colin, Collection U, 2017, 312 p. (2<sup>e</sup> édition 2021 et réédition sous format poche en 2023)

**Krakovsky, Roman** (2014) Réinventer le monde. L'espace et le temps en Tchécoslovaquie communiste, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2014, 326 p.

## Julien THÉRON

Date of Birth: 09.12.1979

Current residence: France

[Identifiant IdRef : 098164457](#)

**Identifiant UNIV-DROIT :** <https://univ-droit.fr/universitaires/5153>

**Identifiant VIAF :** <http://viaf.org/viaf/9667470>

**Identifiant ORCID :** [0000-0002-8196-0163](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8196-0163)

**Identifiant ISNI :** [000000005053786X](https://isni.org/000000005053786X)

186 Références liées : 8 rôles

070 Auteur ( 148 )

080 Préfacier, etc. ( 1 )

340 Editeur scientifique ( 1 )

555 Membre du jury ( 7 )

651 Directeur de publication ( 6 )

727 Directeur de thèse ( 12 )

958 Rapporteur de la thèse ( 9 )

999 Fonction non précisée ( 2 )

### Work Experience:

Since 2021 Contributing Researcher, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Berlin  
Since 2017 Adjunct Lecturer in War, Conflict & International Security Studies – Sciences Po Paris  
Since 2013 Non-tenure Lecturer in IR, Hautes Etudes Internationales & Politiques, Paris  
2021 Associate Professor in International Security, Holy Spirit University of Kaslik (USEK), Beirut  
2020 Senior Research Fellow, Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies (IFS), Oslo  
2019 - 2020 Research Associate, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Paris  
2018 - 2019 Research Associate, Ministry of Defense, Paris Middle East Associate  
2017 - 2018 Researcher, Paris Lumières University, Beirut & Erbil  
2017 Auditor, French National research agency (ANR), Paris  
2011 - 2016 Adjunct Lecturer in IR, Versailles University (UVSQ) / Sciences Po SGEL  
2012 Middle East Research Associate in International relations, Terra Nova, Paris  
2011 - 2012 Research Associate in War studies, Institute of Compared Strategy (ISC), Paris  
2009 - 2010 Middle East and North Africa Reporter, European Commission / LOLJ, Beirut  
2009 Adjunct Lecturer in Geopolitics, Saint Joseph University, Beirut  
2008 Researcher Associate in International relations, French Institute of International Relations  
2006 - 2008 Paris Adjunct Lecturer, University of Technology and Economics, Budapest  
2003 - 2006 Research Manager, InUrop, European journal of political and strategic analysis, Paris

### Education:

2018 Certificate in Terrorism & Counterterrorism, Georgetown University  
2017 PhD in Political philosophy, Institute H. Arendt, University of East  
2006 MA, University of East Paris, Pierre Mendès-France University  
2004 Licence in Sciences, Aix-Marseille II University, France

### Language Skills:

French (native), English (fluent), Arabic, German (intermediate), Russian (basic)

### Five recent publications:

Mandraud, I. & Théron, J. (2021). *Poutine, la stratégie du chaos*. Tallandier, 317 p.  
Théron, J. (2021). “*Évolution stratégique de la Turquie en Syrie et en Irak (2008-2018)*”. In Steuer, C. & Valter, S. (Eds.), *Contrasted (R)evolutions*. L’Harmattan.  
Kawakibi, S. & Théron, J. (2021). “La « minorisation politique » dans la structuration et la résolution des conflits au Moyen-Orient”. Standing by publication by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies.  
Théron, J. (2020). “*Les déplacés et réfugiés au Liban et en Iraq, etude des rule makers participant la gouvernance multiscalaire des camps*”. In Beulay, M., Chaumette, A.-L., Dubin, L. & Eudes, M. (Eds.), *Encampés, de quel(s) droit(s) ?* (pp. 235-269). IFJD Institut Louis Joinet / Universités Paris 8, Paris Lumières, Paris Nanterre & Paris 1.  
Théron, J. (2018). “*Russia’s Strategy in Europe: A French Case Study*”. In Makarychev, A. & Hoffmann, T. (Eds.), *Russia and the EU - Spaces of Interaction*. Routledge.



**Alexandra YATSYK**

Date of birth: 10.03.1980, Russia

Current residence: France

Researcher ID: O-1022-2015

ORCID: [0000-0001-5335-226X](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5335-226X)**Education:**

12/2021-p/t: Lille University, France; PhD programme in History, IRHiS-CNRS, I-Site

10/2007 Kazan Federal (State) University, Russia. PhD in Sociology

06/2002 Kazan Federal (State) University, Russia. Specialist in Sociology (BA+MA eqv.)

**Current Employment:**

03/2022-03/2025 University of Lille, CNRS, France, PhD Researcher

10/2021-12/2023 (p/t) University of Tartu, Estonia, Visiting researcher

**Former Work Experience and Academic Positions:**

06/2020-09/2021 University of Tartu, Estonia, Project coordinator/Researcher

07/2019-10/2020 Free Russia Foundation, USA, Research Fellow Affiliate

10/2018-07/2019 Polish Centre of Advanced Studies, Poland, Visiting Senior Researcher

2018, 2016, 2017 IRES, Uppsala University, Sweden, Visiting Post-Doctoral Researcher

08/2017-12/2017 Warsaw University, Poland, Visiting Researcher

01/2017-06/2017 IWM, Vienna, Austria, Visiting Junior Researcher

2016, 2015, 2014, 2013 University of Tartu, Estonia, Visiting Researcher

09/2015-12/2015 IERES, George Washington University, USA, Visiting Researcher

09/2013-08/2016 Centre for Cultural Studies of Post-Socialism, Kazan Federal University, Russia, Director, Associate Professor

02/2009-08/2013 Kazan Federal University, Russia, Assistant Professor

02/2008-03/2009 Kazan State Technical University, Russia, Assistant Professor

07/2003-05/2005 Kazan Federal University, Russia, manager of education projects

**The number of peer-reviewed publications:**

Monographs: 3

Peer-reviewed articles scholarly articles: 28

Articles or chapters in monographs: 23

Editing collections or special issues of research journals 7

**Citations** (according to Google Scholar): **425** (since 2017: 375)**H-index:** 11 (11); **i10-index:** 11 (11)**Field of research:** EU-Russia relations, post-Soviet identity-making, cultural and sports mega-events, biopolitics**Languages:** Russian (native), English (fluent), French, Ukrainian, Polish (intermediate)**Five main publications of recent years:****Yatsyk, A. (2020)** Biopolitical populism in Poland: the case of PiS, *Populism* 3: 148-164 .

DOI:10.1163/25888072-bja10015

**Yatsyk, A. (2018)** A Popular Geopolitics of the Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Re-actualization of Identity-driven Geopolitical Narratives in Estonia, *Geopolitics* 23(4): 803-822.Makarychev, A. & **Yatsyk, A. (2019)** *Critical Biopolitics of the Post-Soviet: From Populations to Nations*. Lexington BooksMakarychev, A. & **Yatsyk, A. (2017)** *Lotman's Cultural Semiotics and the Political*. Rowman & Littlefield InternationalMakarychev, A. & **Yatsyk, A. (eds.) (2018)** *Boris Nemtsov and Russian Politics: Power and Resistance*. Ibidem Verlag & Columbia University Press.

## Shugyla Kilybayeva

**Date and place of birth:** 15/03/1989, Semey, Kazakhstan

**Scopus Author Identifier:** 57194697378, H-index 1, Citations 4

PhD 2019: *Political Participation of Youth of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan: Comparative Analysis*, supervisors: Nassimova Gulnar (Al-Farabi KazNU) and Edward Schatz (University of Toronto), Department of Political Science and Political Technologies, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

2013 MA (*Master of Social Sciences*) in Political Science, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

2012 MA Exchange, Courses: Comparative Politics (4 ECTS), Directed Reading and Research (6 ECTS), Department of Political Science, University of California Santa Barbara, CA, USA

2011 Scholarship from Central Asia 'Centauri' Erasmus Mundus program, Department of Peace and Conflict Research (75 credits), Uppsala University, Sweden

2010 BA in Educational Studies, Ablai Khan University of International Relations and World Languages, Almaty, Kazakhstan

### Employment

2021 - Marie Skłodowska-Curie Postdoctoral Researcher, Department of Law, Tallinn University of Technology, Tallinn, Estonia

2018 – 2021 – Postdoctoral Researcher, Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science and Political Technologies, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

2013 – 2018 – PhD Candidate, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Department of Political Science and Political Technologies, Almaty, Kazakhstan

2013 – 2018 – Political analyst, Kazakhstan Center of Humanitarian and Political Trends, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

2011 – 2012 – Project assistant of Professor Roland Kostic (Director of the Balkan Research Group), Hugo Valentin Centre (Uppsala, Sweden), project "ICTY and its contributions to reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

### The number of peer-reviewed publications

Peer-reviewed articles (Scopus Database) – 3

**Citations:** Scopus – 4 (since 2017), h-index 1

Google scholar – 12 (since 2017), h-index 1, i10-index 1

### Scopus ID:

[https://www.scopus.com/authid/detail.uri?authorId=57194697378&fbclid=IwAR2qxZH15a\\_XcQ-atKHA1mdJJ02Yki0qo3DTK9cEjmc9UlmjofRyOVSxPUU](https://www.scopus.com/authid/detail.uri?authorId=57194697378&fbclid=IwAR2qxZH15a_XcQ-atKHA1mdJJ02Yki0qo3DTK9cEjmc9UlmjofRyOVSxPUU)

**Google Scholar:** <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=4KgJskwAAAAJ&hl=ru>

**Field of research:** youth, political participation, political behavior, democratization, disinformation, Covid-19 conspiracy theories, pandemic politics.

**Languages:** Kazakh (native), Russian (fluent), English (fluent), Turkish (elementary), Swedish (beginner), Estonian (beginner).

### Some main publication (2017-2020):

- Kilybayeva, S., Nurshanov, A. The Impact of Social Media on Kazakhstani Youth's Political Behavior. *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, 2020, 21(3), pp. 46-57
- Nassimova, G., Kilybayeva, S., Smagulov, K., Basygaruyeva, Z. The Youth of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan: Comparative Analysis of Political Activism. *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, 2019, 20(1), pp. 62-75.
- Kilybayeva, S., Nassimova, G., Massalimova, A. The Kazakhstani's Youth Engagement in Politics. *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 2017, 9(1), pp. 53-71.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### Holger Mölder

**Date of birth:** 13.01.1962; Kohtla-Järve (Estonia).

Researcher ID [G-5591-2016](#)

ORCID [0000-0003-2481-2735](#)

#### Academic Degrees:

- 2010 PhD (*Doctor of Philosophy*) in Political Science, University of Tartu.  
Dissertation: “*Cooperative Security Dilemma – Practicing the Hobbesian Security Culture in the Kantian Security Environment*” 29.10.2010.
- 1998 MA (*Master of Arts*) in International Security and Civil-Military Relations, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.  
Dissertation: “*The Security Dilemma in the Baltic Sea Region and Its Impact on the Regional Security and Defense Cooperation*” 17.12.1998.
- 1994 BA in Social Theory. Estonian Institute of the Humanities.  
Thesis: “*Nation-state: theories, typologies and meanings*”. Diploma *cum laude* 20.12.1994.

#### Employment:

- 2015- Associate Professor in International Relations at the Department of Law (previously Department of International Studies), the School of Economics and Governance, Tallinn University of Technology.
- 2015-2016 Research Fellow. Institute of History and Archaeology. University of Tartu
- 2010-2015 Associate Professor in Security Policy and Strategic Studies at the Estonian Military Academy (previously National Defence College).
- 2009-2010 Adjunct Lecturer at the Department of International Studies, the School of Economics and Business Administration, Tallinn University of Technology.
- 1995-2009 Ministry of Defence of Estonia.

**The number of peer-reviewed publications** (according to Estonian Research Information System)

Peer-reviewed articles scholarly articles 42

Scholarly monographs 2

Articles/chapters in books published by the publishers 29

Editing collections or special issues of research journals 8

**Citations** (according to Google Scholar) 398 (since 2017: 327)

h-index 11(10); i10-index 13(10)

#### Major publications:

1. Mölder, H. (2022). The Prospects of Strategic Imagination in Explaining International Security Challenges. Quality & Quantity. DOI: [10.1007/s11135-022-01386-w](#).
2. Mölder, H. (2021). Culture of Fear: the Decline of Europe in Russian political imagination. In: Krouwel, A.; Önnersfors, A. (Ed.). A Continent of Conspiracies: Conspiracy Theories in and about Europe (231–252). Abingdon-on-Thames, England, UK: Routledge.
3. Mölder, H.; Shiraev, E. (2021). Global Knowledge Warfare, Strategic Imagination, Uncertainty and Fear. In: H. Mölder, V. Sazonov, T. Kerikmäe, A. Chochia (Ed.). The Russian Federation in the Global Information Warfare. Influence Operations in Europe and Its Neighbourhood (13–32). Springer Nature. (Contributions to International Relations). DOI: [10.1007/978-3-030-73955-3](#).
4. Mölder, H. (2015). The Culture of Fear in International Politics - a Western-Dominated International System and Its Extremist Challenges. In: E. B. Shiraev; V. M. Zhubok (Ed.). Current Debates in International Relations (270–277). Oxford University Press.
5. Mölder, H. (2011). The Cooperative Security Dilemma in the Baltic Sea Region. Journal of Baltic Studies, 2, 143–168. DOI: [10.1080/01629778.2011.569063](#).

For detailed CV: [https://www.etis.ee/CV/Holger%20M%C3%B6lder/est?tabId=CV\\_ENG](https://www.etis.ee/CV/Holger%20M%C3%B6lder/est?tabId=CV_ENG)

## Curriculum Vitae

Vladimir Sazonov

**Date and place of birth:** 11/12/1979, Tartu, Estonia

**ORCID number** <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9738-1329>

PhD 2010: *Die Königstitel und -epitheta in Assyrien, im Hethiterreich und in Nordsyrien (Ugarit, Emar, Karkemiš) in der mittellassyrischen Zeit: Strukturelle Gemeinsamkeiten, Unterschiede und gegenseitige Beeinflussung*, University of Tartu (History)

PhD 2020: *Aspects of royal ideology and religion in Sumer and Akkad in III millennium BC*, Tallinn University (cultural studies)

2005 MA (*Master of Arts*) in general history, University of Tartu

2003 BA in general history, University of Tartu

### Employment

2022- Estonian Military Academy, Research-Professor (Russian information warfare/hybrid warfare)

2021- University of Tartu, Centre for Oriental Studies, Associate Professor (Middle Eastern studies)

2011-2021 Estonian Military Academy (Associate Professor, later Researcher, and then Senior Researcher)

2019-2022 Estonian Academy of Security Sciences, Researcher (hybrid warfare)

2017–2017 Baltic Defence College, visiting lecturer (still sometimes giving lecture there, last time 21.4.2022)

2016-2017 Baltic Defence College, Lecturer (Russian studies, politics, information warfare)

2013-2020 University of Tartu, Senior Research Fellow in Oriental Studies (Middle East/ANE)

2010-2013 University of Tartu, Research Fellow (Middle East/ANE)

2005/6-2010 adjunct lecturer (University of Tartu/history, religious studies Middle East/ Ancient Near East (ANE))

**The number of peer-reviewed publications** (according to Estonian Research Information System – [www.etis.ee](http://www.etis.ee))

monographs	7
Peer-reviewed articles scholarly articles	126
Articles or chapters in monographs	17
Editing collections or special issues of research journals	18

**Citations** (according to Google Scholar) 352 (since 2017: 284)

H-index 11 (10) i10-index 14 (11)

### Field of research

Russian information warfare, state ideology and hybrid warfare. Modern Middle Eastern and Ancient Near Eastern history (history of ideology, propaganda, religious tendencies) and politics.

**Languages:** Estonian (native), Russian (native), German (fluent), English (good), Spanish (basic), Ukrainian (basic), Middle Eastern and Ancient Near Eastern languages – e.g., Modern Persian, etc)

### Some main publications during last 3-4 years:

- Mölder, H.; Sazonov, V.; Chochia, Archil; Kerikmäe, T. 2021 (eds). *The Russian Federation in the Global Knowledge Warfare: Influence Operations in Europe and Its Neighborhood*. Springer.
- Ventsel, A.; Hansson, S.; Madisson, M.-L.; Sazonov, V. 2021. Discourse of fear in strategic narratives: The case of Russia's Zapad war games. *Media War & Conflict* 14/1, 21–39
- Sazonov, V.; Pakhomenko, S.; Kopõtin, I. 2021. Between History and Propaganda: Estonia and Latvia in Russian Historical Narratives. In: Mölder et al. (Ed.). *The Russian Federation in the Global Information Warfare. Influence Operations in Europe and Its Neighbourhood*. Springer, 397–423
- Makarychev, A.; Sazonov, V. 2019. Populisms, popular geopolitics and the politics of belonging in Estonia. *European Politics and Society* 20/4, 450–469.
- Mölder, H.; Sazonov, V. 2018. Information Warfare as the Hobbesian concept of Modern Times – Principles, Techniques and Tools of Russian Information Operations in Donbass. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 31/3, 308–328

For detailed CV see – [https://www.etis.ee/CV/Vladimir\\_Sazonov/est?tabId=CV\\_ENG](https://www.etis.ee/CV/Vladimir_Sazonov/est?tabId=CV_ENG)