



Public Policy and Institutional Change in the Middle of Conflict Project
Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies (JCRS), Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena
&
Education and Scientific Institute of Public Administration, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National
University

The massive invasion of Russian Military Forces on the territory of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 had a long preparation, which, in particular, testifies the Crimea and Donbas occupation and the Central government's destabilization in Kyiv. That included mass media campaigns with a false interpretation of historical narratives developed 'pseudo-patriotic' and sometimes open neo-fascist movements that were highly spread on the territory of the Russian Federation and its satellite states worldwide. The 'Russia Today Chanel,' The 'Ruskiy Mir Foundation,' are only a few examples of such agents. In addition, the Hybrid, attacks, and troll factories, under the Federal Security Service coverage, prepared the ground for the invasion. This psychological warfare, based on mass media and internet platforms, aimed to erase and distort the national identity by provoking false political and public discourse. Those "concepts" of division significantly affected neglected weak with the weak and corrupted government structures.

Nevertheless, the successes of the Russian Hybrid activities cannot be correlated only to Ukraine. Different pro-Russian organizations are acting openly or hidden worldwide. As a result, the divided society is a hotspot for hybrid intervention and operation of hybrid activities (post-Truth) worldwide and can be used by other non-democratic governments.

The counteraction against such newly combined Hybrid Approaches can be reached through the re-definition/strengthening of national identity, institutionalization, and democratization.

Despite the countermeasures against hybrid threats taken since the beginning of Russian aggression against Ukraine, most of these threats continue to exist and sometimes intensify. Such threats should primarily include:

1. Carrying out constant cyber-attacks against Ukrainian authorities, strategic objects, and critical infrastructure objects; unauthorized access to electronic mailboxes of Ukrainian politicians and civil servants.
2. Insufficient technical and financial support of authorities for prompt and timely response to acts of informational aggression by Russia.
3. Use of Russian social networks by Ukrainian citizens, despite the ban.
4. Low level of coordination of actions of authorities in the information sphere.
5. Lack of state information policy regarding residents of the occupied territories.
6. Russia's constant media campaigns through its foreign media to discriminate against Ukraine as a legal state, a reliable partner, etc.



7. Inciting enmity on language and cultural grounds, manipulating of the historical past of Ukraine, and shaking the national identity of Ukrainians.
8. Use of religious structures as an agent of influence on mass consciousness.

Hybrid threats, as a wide range of coordinated methods and actions used by hostile states and non-state actors to attack vulnerable democratic states and institutions, almost always have the main goal of destabilizing the state mechanism (including in the context of fourth-generation warfare). Accordingly, one of the areas of research within the project is the determination of countermeasures against these hybrid threats.

Intersubjective interaction in conditions of permanent conflicts and reflexive management, which is a promising tool for conflict management and ensuring national security, are worthy of research attention.

Goals:

The purpose of project is Conflict Transformation and Reconciliation Research in Post-Conflict Society, particularly in Russian-Speaking regions of Ukraine affected mainly by war. The project involves Ukrainian and international research groups to develop a Ph.D. program for Ukrainian postgraduates. The program will be an integrated project for Ph.D. at V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University.

The V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University is a leading university in Ukraine, specializing in social and political studies. Currently, the University has 23 faculties and educational and research institutes, more than 16,000 students and trainees, and 301 graduate and doctoral students. Specialists are trained in 115 specialties and specializations, covering the entire spectrum of modern classical university education.

The University was much affected by the aggression of Russia in February 2022. Part of the faculty buildings was destroyed, and many educational and scientific activities were interrupted.

After the Russian invasion, the University, as a leading Ukrainian academic institution, opened up for cooperation in social and political sciences and research. The scientific community sees V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University as an important partner that can contribute to the development of education and reconciliation in Ukraine. Karazin University is located on the eastern border of Ukraine, where a significant number of the Russian-speaking population lives. Thus, it can become the key to the transformation of the ethnic conflict, the building of new bridges between the Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking communities in Ukraine, and future international reconciliation. The project is planned as a bilateral cooperation. The research group core will contain the following organizations:

1. The Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies (Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena).



Represented by its director Prof. Dr. Martin Leiner, and Binyamin Gurstein as an Executive Director (as a post-doctoral project). Prof. Leiner will assist the research and cooperation in the reconciliation and Conflict Transformation field.

2. The Waseda University in Japan, represented by Prof. Dr. Toyomi Asano (Faculty of Political Science and Economics). Prof. Asano will support the research on Conflict Transformation and Institutional Change in Post-Conflict society from the Japanese post-Imperial Experience.
3. Education and Scientific Institute of Public Administration (V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University) represented by its director Prof. Dr. Ludmyla Belova and Dr. Tetiana Kovalova, Executive Director (associate Professor of Law, National Security, and European Integration chair, Institute of Public Administration) and a group of researchers:

Prof. Dr. Dmytro Karamyshev (Full Professor, Doctor of Sciences in Public Administration) will support the research reflexive management of social conflicts in conditions of hybrid threats;

Prof. Dr. Viacheslav Dziundziuk (Full Professor, Doctor of Sciences in Public Administration, head of Public Policy chair, Institute of Public Administration) will support the research the public administration in Ukraine in conditions of hybrid threats.

Ph.D. Mykhailo Bilokon (Associate Professor of the Law, National Security, and European Integration chair, Institute of Public Administration), will support the research the institutional entropy under the action of hybrid threats.

Ph.D. Kotukov Oleksander (Associate Professor of the Public Policy chair, Institute of Public Administration) will support research innovation development as a local conflict resolution tool.

4. Scientific Observers: Dr. Maximilian Schell (The Ruhr University Bochum, Germany); Dr. Fanie Du Toit (The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), South Africa).

Methodology:

The assumption that Media and Propaganda an Elements of Hybrid War (based on the latest research and the Ph.D. thesis of B. Gurstein "Hybrid War & Media Confrontation in Russian-Ukrainian Conflict 2014-2019", 2023). Ways of Reconciliation and Creating a Peaceful Relation). Perception of Norman Fairclough (1992; 2003; 2009), Ruth Wodak (1999; 2018), and Theon Van Dijk (2001; 2000; 2013). Conflict Transformation Approach: Non-violent Transformation of Society in the middle and after a conflict and restoring destroyed relationships - (Model developed by John Paul Lederach (1997; 2004); Lewis, A. Coser (1957). Integration of multi-identities into the main narrative – through democratization and institutional post-soviet change. Peace co-existence and protection against danger Cyber Influence (Presented Lee Cameron McIntyre). Historical perception in Building identity 1991-2022.



The search for countermeasures against hybrid threats is based, in particular, on research of security and asymmetric conflict in international relations (Weissmann, Mikael & Nilsson, Niklas & Palmertz, Björn & Thunholm, Per., 2021); a global inventory of organized social media manipulation (Samantha Bradshaw, Philip N. Howard, 2017); democratic deterrence of hybrid interference (Mikael Wigell, 2019), Stephen M. Walt (The Renaissance of Security Studies, 1991).

A promising tool for managing conflicts and ensuring national security in the context of hybrid threats and permanent armed conflicts is reflexive management, which reflects a general approach to human management using various techniques of hidden influence. In this context, intersubjective interaction is considered a variety of social interaction of independent subjects of social relations at different levels, from the global to the level of an individual; it can be interregional, interdepartmental, inter-organizational, intergroup, interpersonal, partner, or antagonistic. At the same time, each party has its own goals, values, and expectations, its vision of the future and intentions, and also forms its position and independent behavior regarding the ways and means of achieving goals (T. Parsons, P. Sorokin, H. Haken, H. Mintzberg, G. Homans).

Working groups of researchers will work on strengthening national identity and institutional changes in post-conflict society (the eastern territories of Ukraine, affected by Russian aggression), also considering the possibility of using a model of social change and transformation of post-imperial Japanese society.

Degree candidates from V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University named V.N. Karazin will join the project and will be supervised by both Ukrainian researchers and researchers from Germany and Japan.

The main objectives of the program:

1. Development of democracy in the post-Soviet (post-totalitarian) Ukrainian society, institutional changes with the possibility of using different models of successful transformation (post-Imperial Japan, reforms of Poland and the Baltic States).
2. Public policy and public management in conditions of hybrid threats.
3. Social integration of ethnic Russian-speaking Ukrainians, their heritage, memories, and identity into the Ukrainian identity in opposition to Russian and Soviet imperial domination and propaganda.
4. Management of social conflicts.

Proposed plan:

A task plan will present the most relevant tasks to achieve the project objectives. Some of these tasks are already in process, and others will run in parallel. The academic goals are:

1. Developing academic and practical steps of cooperation and project for institutional change in the Ukrainian society toward democratization. Those steps include establishing a research



- journal and academic publications on the inclusion and post-war transformation of Russian-speaking society in the particular war-affected and temporarily occupied territories.
2. Creation of a group of inclusion researchers from Kharkiv National University (postgraduate students) who focus on the ethnic, cultural, and gender diversity of Ukrainian society.
 3. To develop a proposal for the Ukrainian State Institution regarding the development of the program of institutional integration and inclusion in the regions of Ukraine in the post-war period, with the priority of democratization and institutional development.

The practical objectives that the program should achieve after 12 months will include the following:

1. Seminar (planned for January 2023) Presentation of the Academic Council (Jena University, Waseda University, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv, Bochum University).
2. Creation of a website with a detailed explanation of the project and its popularization in the public space and state institutions (March, April 2023).
3. Creation of a scientific student group (4-12 people) (October 2023)
4. Holding an international conference with several participants (December 2023)
5. Implementation of research results in the programs of disciplines taught to students and postgraduates of the specialty "Public Management and Administration". Involvement of project researchers as guest lecturers at V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (during the entire period of project implementation).
6. Conclusion of (minimum) 3 agreements (MoU) on scientific cooperation with researchers in the field of conflict resolution, identity and reconciliation, countering hybrid threats (created by the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena, in the process with the Ruhr University of Bochum, Germany)
7. Creation and support of the program by the Government of Ukraine (in particular, at the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory та ін., Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, etc.).
8. Creation of a doctoral program project on conflict transformation, countering hybrid threats, and formation of national identity at Kharkiv National University with the possibility of conducting research at one of the partner universities. (March 2024).
9. Submission of an application for receiving at least two grants for further development of the program (Financial support during all research periods). Presentation of three-year projects for doctoral studies and grant support of international organizations (DAAD, Erasmus +, etc.).

Expected results and impact:

Development of a program for the study of national identity, social conflict management, mechanisms for countering hybrid threats, democratization, and institutional changes, which can become a pioneering program for developing a post-conflict society. In addition, the program can become a nucleus for strengthening the narratives of national identity and the nation-state as critical



FRIEDRICH-SCHILLER-
UNIVERSITÄT
JENA



factors of national security in the context of globalization and the development of the information society.

The program aims to implement practical measures that combine the support of the Ukrainian scientific community. This is development amid war and support for integration strategies of war-torn regions through narratives of democratization and institutional development.

The Core group:

The Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies (Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena)

Prof. Dr. Martin Leiner

Scientific Director of Post-Doctoral Project,
an expert in the field of Reconciliation and
Conflict transformation

Binyamin Gurstein

Executive Director, Post-Doc Researcher –
Hybrid Warfare Institutional Change

Education and Scientific Institute of Public Administration (V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University)

Prof. Dr. Ludmila Belova

Scientific Director of Project – Director of
the Education and Scientific Institute of
Public Administration

Dr. Tetiana Kovalova

Executive Director, associate Professor
V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University,
Law, National Security and European
Integration chair, Institute of Public
Administration

Waseda University

Prof. Dr. Toyomi Asano

Scientific Director of Project – professor in
the Dept. of Political science and economics
in Waseda University in Tokyo



FRIEDRICH-SCHILLER-
UNIVERSITÄT
JENA



Signed for on Behalf on:

Prof. Dr. Martin Leiner (director)

Martin Leiner

(signature)

Prof. Dr. Ludmyla Belova (director)



(signature)

Binyamin Gurstein (executive director)

Binyamin Gurstein

(Signature)

Dr. Tetiana Kovalova (executive director)

Tetiana Kovalova

(Signature)