Bibliography

@oleksiireznikov. (2022, September 4). *Dear #fellas, I'm changing my profile pic,but not switching allegiance. Thanks for inviting me to NAFO! Our joint work continues: #UAarmy fights for the future of Europe; #NAFO donates&destroys russo-propaganda. Let's win together! Thx you to @saintjavelin for T-shirt&cap patch*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/oleksiireznikov/status/1566347144654618624?s=20

@Ukraine. (2018, February 26). *#CrimeaIsUkraine*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/Ukraine/status/968127916730212352?s=20

@Ukraine. (2018, November 26). *We demand immediate release of 23 Ukrainian servicemen who were detained by @Russia in gross violation of international law #RussiaAttacksUkraine*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/Ukraine/status/1066988398362152960

@Ukraine. (2020, May 23). *#FunFact: @Russia can use flower emojis, but won't tag the actual verified @Crimea Why? Because Crimea does not belong to @Russia. Neither on @Twitter nor in reality of international law & common sense. Mic drop. #Crime #VisitTheHague*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/Ukraine/status/1264174986706780161?s=20

@Ukraine. (2020, July 14). *extradite me if you can lol*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/Ukraine/status/1283017554072612868?s=20

@Ukraine. (2020, July 1). *On #CanadaDay2020 we'd like to specifically stress our admiration for Canadian cuisine*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/Ukraine/status/1278342299886501889?s=20

@Ukraine. (2020, June 23). *toxic ex here*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/Ukraine/status/1275391304181125121?s=20

@Ukraine. (2022, February 24). Retrieved from Twitter:
https://twitter.com/Ukraine/status/1496716168920547331?s=20

Acosta, D. (2022). *Are We Informationally Disadvantaged? The Realities of Information War in Ukraine*. Retrieved August 07, 2023, from Small Wars Journal: https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/are-we-informationally-disadvantaged-realities-information-war-ukraine

Agustina, I. R. (2023). Kontra-Hegemoni Ukraina terhadap Rusia melalui Meme pada Akun Twitter @Ukraine. *Sospol: Jurnal Sosial Politik, 9*(1), 140-159. doi:10.22219/jurnalsospol.v9i1.24567

Asmolov, G. (2021). From sofa to frontline: The digital mediation and domestication of warfare. *Media, War & Conflict, 14*(3), 342-365. doi:10.1177/1750635221989568

Beach, D., & Pedersen, R. (2013). *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines* (1 ed.). Michigan: University of Michigan Press. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mpub.10072208

Boyte, K. (2017). An Analysis of the Social-Media Technology, Tactics, and Narratives Used to Control Perception in the Propaganda War Over Ukraine. *Journal of Information Warfare, 16*(1), 88-111. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/26502878

Brantly, A. F. (2021). A Brief History of Fake: Surveying Russian Disinformation from the Russian Empire Through the Cold War and to the Present. In C. Whyte, A. T. Thrall, & B. M. Mazanec, *Information Warfare in the Age of Cyber Conflict* (pp. 27-41). New York: Routledge.

Center for Strategic & International Studies. (2022, October 5). *#NAFO and Winning the Information War: Lessons Learned from Ukraine*. Retrieved from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q8uwjYFZ6jE

Danyliuk, M., Dmytryshyn, M., & Goran, T. (2021). Informatization in Ukraine: Realities, Problems, Prospects. *European Journal of Sustainable Development, 10*(4), 190-202. doi:10.14207/ejsd.2021.v10n4p190

Dawkins, R. (1976). *The Selfish Gene.* New York: Oxford University Press.

dsnews. (2022, October 8). *Кримський міст: Міноборони України та голова "Укрпошти" потролили росіян*. Retrieved from https://www.dsnews.ua/ukr/politics/krymskiy-most-minoborony-ukrainy-i-glava-ukrpochty-potrollili-rossiyan-08102022-467433

Dwyer, C. (2018, September 7). *12 Common Biases That Affect How We Make Everyday Decisions*. Retrieved from Psychology Today: https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/thoughts-on-thinking/201809/12-common-biases-that-affect-how-we-make-everyday-decisions

EUvsDisinfo. (n.d.). *Disinfo: Ukraine is militarised and under external control*. Retrieved from euvsdisinfo.eu: https://euvsdisinfo.eu/report/ukraine-is-militarised-and-under-external-control

EUvsDisinfo. (n.d.). *Disinfo: Ukraine is ruled by a Nazi junta*. Retrieved from euvsdisinfo.eu: https://euvsdisinfo.eu/report/ukraine-is-ruled-by-a-nazi-junta#

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Fleming, B. P. (2011). The Hybrid Threat Concept: Contemporary War, Military Planning and the Advent of Unrestricted Operational Art. *School of Advanced Military Studies*.

Foote, C., Maness, R. C., Jensen, B., & Valeriano, B. (2021). Cyber Conflict at the Intersection of Information Operations. In C. Whyte, A. T. Thrall, & B. M. Mazanec, *Information Warfare in the Age of Cyber Conflict* (pp. 54-69). New York: Routledge.

Garrison, B. (2022). *Zelensky's Choice*. Retrieved from GrrrGraphics:
https://grrrgraphics.com/zelenskys-choice/

Gault, M. (2022, July 12). *Shitposting Shiba Inu Accounts Chased a Russian Diplomat Offline*. Retrieved from Vice:
https://www.vice.com/en/article/y3pd5y/shitposting-shiba-inu-accounts-chased-a-russian-diplomat-offline

Giesea, J. (2015). It's Time to Embrace Memetic Warfare. *Defence Strategic Communications*, 67-75.

Jack, V. (2022, April 22). *Trolling Russia, Ukraine registers Moskva shipwreck as 'underwater cultural heritage'*. Retrieved from Politico:
https://www.politico.eu/article/trolling-russia-ukraine-registers-moskva-shipwreck-underwater-cultural-heritage/

Kelichavyi, B., & Metcalf, K. N. (2019). Is Internet Access a Matter of Freedom of Expression? Some Examples from Ukraine. *TalTech Journal of European Studies, 9*(3), 63-81. doi:https://doi.org/10.1515/bjes-2019-0022

Kemp, S. (2022, February 15). *Digital 2022: Ukraine*. Retrieved from Data Reportal: https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2022-ukraine

Kemp, S. (2022, February 15). *Kepios*. Retrieved August 7, 2023, from DataReportal: https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2022-ukraine

Know Your Meme. (2022, March 10). *Cope Cages*. Retrieved from
https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/cope-cages

Know Your Meme. (2022, October 8). *Russian Blowjob Bombing*. Retrieved from https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/russian-blowjob-bombing

Know Your Meme. (2022, August 26). *What Air Defense Doing?* Retrieved from https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/what-air-defense-doing

Kreps, S., Lushenko, P., & Carter, K. (2023, February 10). *Lessons from the meme war in Ukraine*. Retrieved from Brookings: https://www.brookings.edu/articles/lessons-from-the-meme-war-in-ukraine/

Krever, M., & Chernova, A. (2023, February 14). *Wagner chief admits to founding Russian troll farm sanctioned for meddling in US elections*. Retrieved from CNN: https://edition.cnn.com/2023/02/14/europe/russia-yevgeny-prigozhin-internet-research-agency-intl/index.html

Laruelle, M. (2023). Introduction: Russia and the Symbolic Landscape of Fascism. In M. Laruelle, *Is Russia Fascist?: Unraveling Propaganda East and West* (pp. 1-9). Ithaca: Cornell University Press. doi:https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501754159-002

Lendon, B. (2022, April 15). *Moskva sinking: What really happened to the pride of Russia's fleet?* Retrieved from CNN: https://edition.cnn.com/2022/04/15/europe/russia-guided-missile-cruiser-moskva-sinks-intl-hnk-ml/index.html

Lucas, E., & Pomeranzev, P. (2016). *Winning the Information War: Techniques and Counter-Strategies in Russian Propaganda.* Center for European Policy Analysis. Retrieved April 4, 2023, from https://www.semperfidelis.ro/e107_files/public/1470461530_2186_FT4490_peter_pomerantsev_edward_lucas_-_aug._2016_-_winning_the_information_war_-_the_full_report.pdf

Marson, J. (2009, May 25). *Putin to the West: Hands off Ukraine*. Retrieved from Time: https://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1900838,00.html

Nieubuurt, J. T. (2021). Internet Memes: Leaflet Propaganda of the Digital Age. *Frontiers in Communication, 5*. doi:https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2020.547065

Nimmo, B., François, C., Eib, C. S., Ronzaud, L., Ferreira, R., Hernon, C., & Kostelancik, T. (2020). *Secondary Infektion.* Graphika.

North Atlantic Fella Organization @Official_NAFO. (2023, March 9). *What a wonderful plaque from @U24_gov_ua and President @ZelenskyyUa to all of the NAFO Fellas*. Retrieved from Twitter: https://twitter.com/Official_NAFO/status/1633559128042815488

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2022, November 3). *Disinformation and Russia's war of Aggression Against Ukraine: Threats and Governance Responses.* Retrieved from OECD.org: https://www.oecd.org/ukraine-hub/policy-responses/disinformation-and-russia-s-war-of-aggression-against-ukraine-37186bde/

Patrikarakos, D. (2017). *War in 140 Characters: How Social Media is Reshaping Conflict in the Twenty-First Century.* New York: Basic Books.

Priya, A. (2020). Case Study Methodology of Qualitative Research: Key Attributes and Navigating the Conundrums in Its Application. *Sociological Bulletin, 70*(1), 94-110.

Punton, M., & Welle, K. (2015). Applying Process Tracing in Five Steps. *This CDI Practice Paper Annex*.

Putin, V. (2021, July 12). On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians. Moscow, Russia: Kremlin.

Raghavan, S., Morris, L., Parker, C., & Stern, D. L. (2022, April 6). *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from Right-wing Azov Battalion emerges as a controversial defender of Ukraine: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/06/ukraine-military-right-wing-militias/

Reid, G. (2023, June 17). *Russia, Homophobia and the Battle for 'Traditional Values'*. Retrieved from Human Rights Watch:

https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/05/17/russia-homophobia-and-battle-traditional-values

Reuters. (2014, August 29). *Putin says Russians and Ukrainians 'practically one people'*. Retrieved from Reuters: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-putin-people-idUSKBN0GT14720140829

Rumer, E. (2019, June 5). *The Primakov (Not Gerasimov) Doctrine in Action*. Retrieved from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/06/05/primakov-not-gerasimov-doctrine-in-action-pub-79254

Saint Javelin. (2022, August 15). *WHAT AIR DEFENCE DOING*. Retrieved from twitter.com: https://twitter.com/saintjavelin/status/1558915952078725121

Scott, M. (2022, August 31). *The shit-posting, Twitter-trolling, dog-deploying social media army taking on Putin one meme at a time*. Retrieved from Politico: https://www.politico.eu/article/nafo-doge-shiba-russia-putin-ukraine-twitter-trolling-social-media-meme/

Serafin, T. (2022). Ukraine's President Zelensky Takes the Russia/Ukraine War Viral. *Orbis, 66*(4), 460-476. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2022.08.002

Shifman, L. (2014). *Memes in Digital Culture.* Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Sputnik. (2023, September 23). *Most Americans Fed Up With Biden's Endless Spending in Ukraine: US Congressman*. Retrieved from Sputnik News India: https://sputniknews.in/20230923/most-americans-fed-up-with-bidens-endless-spending-in-ukraine-us-congressman-4399669.html

Stieglitz, S. (2018, June 23). *Memes as News Sources?* Retrieved from American Libraries Magazine: https://americanlibrariesmagazine.org/blogs/the-scoop/memes-news-sources/

The Economist. (2022, March 19). *Russian tanks in Ukraine are sprouting cages*. Retrieved from https://www.economist.com/science-and-technology/russian-tanks-in-ukraine-are-sprouting-cages/21808191

Thomas, M. (2022, October 9). *Crimea bridge: Russia ramps up security after blast*. Retrieved from BBC News: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-63189627

Thrall, T. A., & Armstrong, A. (2021). Bear Market? Grizzly Steppe and the American Marketplace of Ideas. In C. Whyte, T. A. Thrall, & B. M. Mazanec, *Information Warfare in the Age of Cyber Conflict* (pp. 73-85). New York: Routledge.

u/dvdgelman7. (2022, June 8). *The real story behind the Sinking of the Moskva*. Retrieved from Reddit: https://www.reddit.com/r/NonCredibleDefense/comments/v7t97k/the_real_story_behind_the_sinking_of_the_moskva/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3

u/Spaceman_Jalego. (2022, October 8). *Today on Amazing Places*. Retrieved from Reddit: https://www.reddit.com/r/NonCredibleDefense/comments/xyiu5p/today_on_amazing_places/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3

Wahlstrom, A., Revelli, A., Riddell, S., Mainor, D., & Serabian, R. (2022, November 25). *The IO Offensive: Information Operations Surrounding the Russian Invasion of Ukraine*. Retrieved from Mandiant.com: https://www.mandiant.com/resources/blog/information-operations-surrounding-ukraine

Watson, A. (2023, September 25). *Share of adults who use social media as a source of news in selected countries worldwide as of February 2023*. Retrieved from Statista: https://www.statista.com/statistics/718019/social-media-news-source/

Weisman, J. (2023, July 14). *Tucker Carlson Turns a Christian Presidential Forum Into a Putin Showcase*. Retrieved from New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/14/us/politics/republicans-iowa-tucker-carlson-ukraine.html

Wesolowski, K. (2022, January 12). *DW*. Retrieved from Is there any truth to Russia's 'Ukrainian Nazis' propaganda?: https://www.dw.com/en/fact-check-is-there-any-truth-to-russias-ukrainian-nazis-propaganda/a-63970461

Wither, J. K. (2016). Making Sense of Hybrid Warfare. *Connections, 15*(2), 73-87.

Wong, E. (2022, March 10). *U.S. Fights Bioweapons Disinformation Pushed by Russia and China*. Retrieved from nytimes.com: https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/us/politics/russia-ukraine-china-bioweapons.html

Zakem, V., McBride, M. K., & Hammerberg, K. (2018). *Exploring the Utility of Memes for U.S. Government Influence Campaigns.* Arlington: Center for Naval Analyses. Retrieved from https://www.cna.org/reports/2018/04/memes-in-us-government-influence-campaigns