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Transformation of Media Narratives in the Coverage of the Activities of Ukraine's Security and Defense Sector

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This article **aims** to clarify the transformation of media narratives in the coverage of the activities of Ukraine's security and defense sector in the context of Russian aggression. It reviews the historical evolution of defense journalism, beginning with Soviet traditions and the marginal status of military topics in the early decades of independence, leading to the formation of a systemic model of wartime information support following 2014. Particular attention is given to the full-scale invasion of 2022, during which journalism emerged as a key element of the information front. The article identifies the main media narratives in contemporary war journalism: heroization, memory journalism, international solidarity, and the narrative of resilience. It elucidates how these narratives contribute to mobilizing society, shaping historical memory, and securing international support. Furthermore, the article analyzes the principal challenges of the information space, including the spread of disinformation, the balance between freedom of speech and security needs, the influence of digital platforms, and the dangers faced by journalists. The article explores the institutional and legal frameworks that define journalists' cooperation with the security sector, specifically: the Information Security Doctrine (2017), the Cybersecurity Strategy (2021), and the activities of the Center for Countering Disinformation. It shows how the practice of Ukrainian defense journalism is gradually aligning with NATO standards in Strategic Communications (StratCom) and Public Affairs. The article also outlines internal challenges to integrating Ukrainian media into the Euro-Atlantic space, including economic dependence, personnel shortages, and the risk of excessive militarization within journalism. Conversely, it identifies prospects for development, such as deepening cooperation with NATO, building international partnerships, creating educational programs in war journalism, pursuing digital transformation, and updating ethical codes. The article **summarizes** that the transformation of media narratives in the security and defense sector is not only a reflection of wartime challenges, but also an important factor in shaping Ukraine's information policy and its Euro-Atlantic integration.

Keywords: media narrative, defense journalism, strategic communications, NATO, information security, war journalism, disinformation

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Трансформація медіанаративів у висвітленні діяльності сектору безпеки та оборони України

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Мета статті – з’ясувати трансформацію медіанаративів у висвітленні діяльності сектору безпеки та оборони України в умовах російської агресії. Розглянуто історичну еволюцію оборонної журналістики – від радянських традицій і маргінального статусу військової тематики у перші десятиліття незалежності до формування системної моделі інформаційного супроводу війни після 2014 року. Особливу увагу приділено періоду повномасштабного вторгнення у 2022 році, коли журналістика стала ключовим елементом інформаційного фронту. Виявлено основні медіанаративи сучасної воєнної журналістики: героїзації, журналістики пам’яті, міжнародної солідарності та наративу стійкості. З’ясовано їхню роль у мобілізації суспільства, формуванні історичної пам’яті та залученні міжнародної підтримки. Проаналізовано головні виклики інформаційного середовища: поширення дезінформації, баланс між свободою слова і потребами безпеки, вплив цифрових платформ, небезпеку для життя журналістів. Особливо розглянуто інституційно-правові рамки, що визначають співпрацю журналістів із сектором безпеки: Доктрину інформаційної безпеки (2017), Стратегію кібербезпеки (2021), діяльність Центру протидії дезінформації. Показано, що практика української оборонної журналістики поступово наближається до стандартів НАТО у сфері StratCom та Public Affairs. Окреслено внутрішні виклики інтеграції українських медіа у євроатлантичний простір – економічну залежність, кадровий дефіцит, ризик надмірної мілітаризації журналістики. Разом із тим визначено перспективи розвитку: поглиблення співпраці з НАТО, розбудова міжнародних партнерств, створення освітніх програм з воєнної журналістики, цифрова трансформація та оновлення етичних кодексів. **Узагальнено**, що трансформація медіанаративів у сфері безпеки та оборони є не лише відображенням воєнних викликів, а й важливим чинником інформаційної політики та євроатлантичної інтеграції України.

Ключові слова: медіанаратив, оборонна журналістика, стратегічні комунікації, НАТО, інформаційна безпека, воєнна журналістика, дезінформація

Modern armed conflicts have significantly transformed the nature of journalism, particularly the coverage of the activities of the security and defense sector. Since 2014, and especially with the onset of Russia’s full-scale invasion in 2022, Ukraine has entered a scenario in which the information sphere has emerged as one of the crucial fronts of confrontation. In this context, journalism not only performs its traditional informative role but is also transforming into an instrument of strategic communications that shapes public sentiment, secures international support, and forms state resilience. The relevance of this study also lies in the recognition that the transformation of media narratives in covering the security and defense sector is not only a reflection of contemporary wartime challenges, but also a critical component of Ukraine’s European integration process. Consequently, journalism has become not only a means of informing but a strategic tool for shaping national resilience and enhancing the international image of the state.

Review of Scholarly Research

The issue of the transformation of media narratives in the coverage of the security and defense sector exists at the intersection of journalism studies, political science, and information security research.

In the Western academic tradition, considerable emphasis has been placed on the theory of media narratives and their role in shaping public consciousness. In particular, the works of R. Barthes (Barthes, 1972) and W. Fisher (Fisher, 1987) underscore that journalistic texts serve not only to inform but also to construct specific “frames of reality.” In wartime contexts, these frames become instruments for legitimizing political decisions and mobilizing societal support.

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Ukrainian researchers mostly focus on the interrelationship between journalism and information security. A. Antypova (Antypova, 2023) analyzes the role of strategic communications in fostering national resilience, highlighting the need for journalists to engage with state structures.

A separate direction is the study of military and defense journalism. The contributions of Western scholars such as A. Hoskins and B. O'Loughlin (2010) and H. Tumber and F. Webster (2006) illustrate the evolution from "embedded journalism" during the Iraq War to the concept of "networked wars," wherein media become part of the informational space of battle. Following 2014, a distinct model of defense journalism has emerged in Ukraine, combining elements of traditional military reporting with crisis communication practices.

The role of international organizations warrants attention. NATO StratCom COE reports (2016; 2024) systematize methods of Russian disinformation and analyze their impact on public opinion (NATO, 2016; 2024). In its documents (2020; 2022), the European Commission identifies media literacy and transparency as key tools for combating information threats (European Commission, 2020; 2022).

Thus, academic research delineates several key dimensions: theoretical (the concept of media narrative, its structure, and functions); empirical (analysis of specific examples of war journalism in Ukraine and globally); and normative (NATO and EU standards that shape new approaches to media practices). These dimensions provide a foundation for further analysis of the transformation of Ukrainian media narratives within the security and defense sector.

Method

Analyzing the transformation of media narratives, particularly within the sphere of security and defense, requires a set of methods. Content analysis enables the study of the structure of media texts quantitatively and qualitatively, allowing researchers to identify prevailing themes, keywords, and images. In the context of war journalism, these methods serve to assess how often publications feature narratives of heroization, civilian suffering, or international support (Krippendorff, 2018, p. 24). Content analysis provides a framework for tracing changes in information presentation at different stages of the war. Discourse analysis focuses on the study of language structures and communicative strategies. In the reporting of security matters, this involves revealing how journalists, through language, shape interpretive frames that legitimize the actions of state authorities, the military, or international partners. As N. Fairclough notes, "language is always an instrument of power," and therefore a mechanism for shaping political reality (Fairclough, 1995, p. 57).

The comparative-historical method offers insights into how defense journalism in Ukraine has transformed compared with other countries, particularly during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This comparative analysis indicates that while Ukrainian journalism adopts certain aspects of "embedded journalism," it concurrently develops unique practices reflective of the transparency of the volunteer movement and the digital activism of society (Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2010, p. 92).

The case study method, which entails the examination of specific instances such as publications, journalistic investigations, and information campaigns, allows for an exploration of how particular media outlets craft narratives pertaining to the security and defense sector. This is especially important for studying crisis situations, for example, the shelling of civilian facilities, where media reactions directly affect Ukraine's international standing.

The integration of multiple methods ensures a deeper analysis of the transformation of media discourse. These methods allow not only for describing changes in journalism but also for explaining the factors that drive them and their implications for communication security.



Results and Discussion

The term “media narrative” combines the concepts of media and narrative, meaning “a story created in the media space.” The academic literature defines it as a structured form of communication that shapes a certain vision of events, phenomena, or actors in society (Fisher, 1987, p. 59). In his classic work *Mythologies*, R. Barthes noted that any message in mass media inevitably constructs a specific “mythology” that frames how reality is interpreted (Barthes, 1972). This framing acquires particular significance in modern journalism during armed conflicts, when society experiences informational uncertainty.

In the Ukrainian context, the concept of a media narrative is increasingly used to explain how journalism creates the image of war and the security sector. A. Antypova underscores that war narratives do not just describe events; they also become an element of strategic communications, where journalism operates as part of the information front (Antypova, 2023, p. 45).

Research by H. Tumber and F. Webster identifies *three main types of narratives* within modern war journalism:

- **Narrative of heroization:** creating images of heroes who symbolize the struggle;
- **Narrative of victimhood:** highlighting the suffering and losses of the civilian population;
- **Narrative of international solidarity:** emphasizing the support from allies and partners (Tumber & Webster, 2006, p. 41).

In Ukraine, following 2014, these three dominant narratives became the foundation of media information policy. After the onset of full-scale war in 2022, they underwent further transformation: on the one hand, the heroic narrative intensified; on the other, a new *narrative of resilience* emerged, emphasizing the indomitable spirit of the people and the state.

Thus, a media narrative in journalism serves not merely as a way of presenting news but as a communicative strategy that establishes interpretive frames for society and influences political processes. In wartime, its significance multiplies, as the media perform not only informative roles but also mobilizing and protective functions.

However, understanding the development of Ukrainian defense journalism requires consideration of the Soviet legacy. In the Soviet era, military media served a purely propagandistic function, aiming to enhance the army’s authority, create the image of the “defender of the Motherland,” and conceal any weaknesses. Journalists did not have access to real information about military issues, and materials were mostly official reports and “parade” stories.

After independence, Ukraine inherited this model. In the 1990s, coverage of the Armed Forces remained fragmentary and was mostly confined to specialized military publications such as “Narodna Armiiia” and “Viisko Ukrainy”. In national media, army-related topics were sporadic, primarily consisting of official press releases from the Ministry of Defense.

At the same time, journalism began to gain independence. The first military correspondents emerged during Ukrainian peacekeeping missions in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, and Iraq. Their reports demonstrated more freedom in covering service conditions and soldiers’ everyday lives.

Nevertheless, until 2013, military topics remained marginal. The main challenges included:

- Bureaucratic control over journalists’ access to military facilities;
- The absence of a professional school of defense journalism in Ukraine;
- A low level of public interest in the army in peacetime.

In fact, by the time Russian aggression against Ukraine began in 2014, defense journalism in Ukraine had not yet fully developed as a distinct field. It was still largely a remnant of Soviet military propaganda rather than a modern approach to analyzing the security sector.

The onset of Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2014 marked a turning point for defense journalism in Ukraine. If previously the security sector was a peripheral topic, then after the annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of war in Donbas, it became central to the media space.

Citizens needed prompt and reliable information about the progression of hostilities, the situation in the ATO zone, the state of the army, and casualty figures. This demand stimulated the



emergence of specialized military journalists and new media projects. Concurrently, volunteer and civic media initiatives, such as “Censor.NET” and the “Ukrainian Military Portal”) became increasingly active, serving as alternative sources of news. During this period, a practice known as **defense journalism** emerged. This practice included:

- Promptly informing the public about the progression of hostilities;
- Preparing analytical materials on the state of the security sector;
- Creating a patriotic narrative to support the army and the state.

This was especially evident in the coverage of the defense of Donetsk Airport (2014–2015), where journalists teamed up with the military to create and promote the image of the “Cyborgs”—a symbol of resilience and heroism.

However, despite the growing role of the media, journalists working in the ATO zone faced significant limitations: controlled access to the front by the Ministry of Defense; the risk of coming under fire, which resulted in many Ukrainian journalists being killed or wounded. Additionally, the spread of fakes and manipulations in Russian media required that Ukrainian media outlets develop fact-checking mechanisms.

Starting in 2016, cooperation between journalists and the press centers of security agencies became more active. Regular briefings, official social media pages, and information campaigns were introduced, enhancing the integration of journalism into the state’s system of strategic communications.

Thus, from 2014 to 2021, Ukraine’s defense communication journalism evolved from chaotic reporting to a more systematic model of wartime information support. This development laid the groundwork for further transformation of media narratives following the onset of the full-scale invasion in 2022.

Key Themes and Symbols of Contemporary War Journalism

Russia’s full-scale invasion in 2022 fundamentally transformed Ukraine’s media space. Journalism began to operate under conditions of total war, wherein the information front has emerged as critically important; media narratives significantly shape societal perceptions of events and influence the international community’s understanding of the nature and scale of aggression.

1. Narrative of heroization. A principal symbol within Ukrainian journalism is the portrayal of the warrior-defender, personifying the nation’s resilience and courage. The defense efforts of Kyiv, Mariupol, and Azovstal have generated iconic media representations—such as the “Ghost of Kyiv” and the Azov fighters. These narratives serve to bolster morale and have become a powerful instrument of international solidarity.

2. Narrative of victimhood and memory journalism. Materials that document civilian victims of the war occupy a crucial space in the media discourse. Reports about destroyed cities, torture in Bucha, and mass graves in Izyum contribute to what is termed “memory journalism.” This approach records war crimes while simultaneously creating a historical memory of events (NATO, 2024, p. 32).

3. Narrative of international solidarity. From the initial days of the war, Ukrainian journalists actively emphasized the support received from NATO, the European Union, and the United States. Coverage of arms supplies, diplomatic visits, and humanitarian aid has cultivated an image of Ukraine as a part of Western civilization, fighting for shared democratic values and freedom (NATO, 2022, p. 5).

4. Visual journalism. The photographic and video documentation of war crimes has emerged as a leading genre within journalism. Footage of destroyed buildings and injured civilians serves not only as journalistic material but also as critical evidence in international courts, positioning journalism as an essential element of the infrastructure of international justice.



5. Narrative of resilience. A new concept—resilience—reflects the ability of Ukrainian society to adapt and resist aggression. This theme manifests in reports about life under shelling, the continuation of educational processes, and the restoration of infrastructure despite destruction.

Thus, in the aftermath of the 2022 Ukrainian war, journalism has focused on creating multifaceted narratives, encompassing the heroization of military personnel alongside documentation of the aggressor's crimes. These narratives have become both an instrument of internal mobilization and a means of external communication that strengthens international support for Ukraine.

At the same time, within the context of full-scale war, journalism covering the security and defense sector faces a number of new challenges that define contemporary media discourse. These challenges encompass not only the technical aspects of reporting from combat zones but also the global trends of digitalization and information warfare.

1. Fakes and disinformation. One of the main challenges is the massive spread of false information. Russian propaganda actively employs social networks, anonymous Telegram channels, and even fake media outlets to manipulate public opinion within Ukraine and abroad (NATO, 2016, p. 28). This situation imposes a dual pressure on journalists: the need for rapid reporting and rigorous fact-checking. In response, there has been a rise in fact-checking practices and specialized resources, such as “StopFake” and “VoxCheck”.

2. Censorship and the balance between freedom of speech and security. In wartime, the state is forced to restrict access to certain information, such as the locations of strikes and troop movements, which often sparks debates about the limits of free speech. While such restrictions are justified on security grounds, they may also decrease public trust in official sources (Antypova, 2023, p. 49). Achieving a balance between ensuring national security and upholding democratic values becomes a key challenge for both journalists and governmental institutions.

3. Influence of digital platforms and social media. The information space is increasingly shaped by digital platforms. TikTok, Instagram, and Twitter/X have become primary channels for disseminating war-related stories, often outpacing traditional media (Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2010, p. 94). This has given rise to a new style of journalism—fast, visually driven, and emotionally charged—where the lines between professionals and amateurs are blurred.

4. Emotional overload of the audience. Daily consumption of news about shelling, civilian deaths, and destruction causes “war fatigue.” This phenomenon compels journalists to search for new formats, such as survival stories, materials about recovery, and interviews with heroes to maintain interest while reinforcing the narrative of resilience.

5. Risks to journalists. Journalists working in combat zones become targets of deliberate attacks. According to Reporters Without Borders (2023), dozens of Ukrainian and foreign journalists have been killed or wounded since the invasion began. This situation raises concerns not only about professional standards but also about safety as an integral component of journalistic activity.

Therefore, the current information space during wartime is characterized by a complex combination of external information attacks, internal restrictions, and technological change. For Ukrainian journalism, this means the need to adapt, integrate international practices, and constantly balance between professional standards and national security needs.

Institutional and Legal Frameworks

The start of the war against Ukraine highlighted that journalism and information policy could not exist in isolation from the state's security strategy. The system of strategic communications began actively integrating the media as a vital element of the information front.

1. Presidential Decree No. 47/2017 laid the legal foundations for a state information policy. The Information Security Doctrine of Ukraine (2017) defines as key priorities: countering disinformation, strengthening communication between state bodies and society, and ensuring freedom of speech while guaranteeing information security. This became an important signal for journalism, as the media were officially recognized as partners in ensuring national security.



2. The adoption of the Cybersecurity Strategy (Presidential Decree No. 44/2021) meant a transition to a comprehensive approach that considers the information space in conjunction with digital threats (On the Cybersecurity Strategy, 2021). This created new challenges for journalists, who now needed to address not only the informational content but also the technological aspects of disseminating materials, protecting sources, and securing digital communication channels.

3. Established by Presidential Decree No. 106/2021, the Center for Countering Disinformation became a key institutional platform for combating Russian propaganda. Its activities include analyzing and debunking fakes, coordinating efforts between state bodies and the media, and fostering international cooperation with NATO and the EU in the field of information security (On the Establishment of the Center, 2021).

4. Integration of journalism into state communications. Since 2014—and particularly after 2022—the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff created a system of press centers with regular briefings for journalists. This practice aligns with NATO Public Affairs standards, where the priorities are transparency, promptness, and consistency in official information (NATO, 2018, p. 3).

Thus, the state strategy in information policy is gradually forming the institutional framework within which defense journalism operates. This framework determines the relationship between freedom of speech and the requirements of national security while integrating Ukrainian journalism into the broader Euro-Atlantic context. Nevertheless, despite positive changes, the institutional and legal frameworks remain contradictory. On the one hand, coordination between the state and the media is strengthening; on the other, the risks of excessive control and limitations on journalistic independence persist. This situation requires continuous improvement of legislation and its alignment with Euro-Atlantic standards.

In wartime, the interaction between journalists and the security sector acquires strategic significance. Journalists serve not only an informative role but also become integral elements of the state's strategic communication system. Conversely, the security sector gains the ability to communicate its messages to both society and international audiences.

Since 2014, and especially after 2022, the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff have introduced regular briefings for both national and international media. This practice ensures prompt communication with the public regarding the progress of hostilities, a unified stance in covering the situation, and increased trust in official sources.

Ukrainian media are actively engaged in state information campaigns aimed at mobilizing society and supporting the military. Examples include the campaigns "The Army with the People," "Defense Forces—the Shield of Ukraine," and initiatives to drive international aid. These efforts blend journalism with aspects of public diplomacy.

Journalists working at the front line serve as a key link between the military and society. At the same time, their work is regulated by accreditation rules that require compliance with security demands, limitations on disclosing military information, and coordination with press officers. Although these rules limit journalists' freedoms, they are necessary to save the lives of service members (On the Information Security Doctrine, 2017, p. 6).

Crisis communications play a special role in this cooperation. For example, during massive missile strikes or disasters, such as the tragedy in Kramatorsk in April 2022, journalists and official structures worked in sync to avoid panic and ensure the reliability of information (StratCom COE, 2024, p. 41).

Despite these positive developments, challenges in the cooperation between journalists and the security sector remain. Issues such as excessive secrecy of some institutions, the risk for journalism to become a tool of state propaganda, and limited access to independent investigations in wartime persist.



Therefore, cooperation between journalists and the security sector is an integral element of Ukraine's contemporary information policy. It ensures a balance between security needs and freedom of speech and integrates Ukrainian practices into the broader Euro-Atlantic context.

Ukrainian Practices of Integration into Euro-Atlantic Standards

As Ukraine works to align with NATO standards, it is gradually adopting Euro-Atlantic approaches in communications. This shift affects both state policy and journalistic practices:

1. Participation in joint exercises and training. Since 2016, Ukrainian journalists and press officers have been actively involved in trainings organized by the NATO StratCom COE in Riga, as well as in international training programs within the Partnership for Peace framework. During such trainings, participants learn standards of crisis communications, media operations in wartime, and strategies for countering disinformation (NATO, 2016, p. 43).

2. Development of a press officer system. The Armed Forces of Ukraine have created an institute of press officers who function as communications managers. Their roles are becoming increasingly aligned with NATO Public Affairs standards by providing timely commentary, organizing briefings, and ensuring the safety of journalists on the front lines.

3. Implementation of transparency practices. Ukrainian journalism increasingly demands prompt debunking of fakes and providing verified information. This aligns with NATO's principle of "truth–speed–transparency." For example, joint press briefings held by government structures following massive missile and drone attacks have become a practice that combines information dissemination and crisis communications.

4. Cooperation with international media. Ukrainian journalists actively collaborate with foreign correspondents from the BBC, CNN, and Deutsche Welle. This interaction helps integrate the Ukrainian perspective into global information flows, promotes adaptation to international professional standards, and enhances the image of Ukraine as part of the Euro-Atlantic space (European Commission, 2022, p. 10).

Thus, the integration of Ukrainian journalism into the Euro-Atlantic space is gradual. It is reflected in the combination of official reforms in the communications sector and the practical experience of journalists participating in joint programs with NATO. Despite positive shifts, challenges remain: a lack of trained specialists in strategic communications, difficulties in maintaining a balance between freedom of speech and the state interests, the risk of bureaucratizing the work of press officers, limited resources for large-scale information campaigns, economic dependence of media on political or business groups, the influence of polarized information flows—from official state sources to alternative blogs and social networks, and the risk of excessive militarization of journalism.

As Ukraine moves closer to NATO standards in communications, there is a risk that journalism could be viewed as a "continuation of the state's information policy." In this case, there is a danger of undermining the critical potential of the media, which contradicts the democratic principles of independent journalism (European Commission, 2022, p. 147).

Prospects for Development

Despite significant internal challenges, Ukrainian journalism in the field of security and defense has substantial potential for further integration into the Euro-Atlantic space. Development prospects can be delineated along several key lines:

1. Deepening cooperation with NATO. Further participation of Ukrainian journalists in training programs, seminars, and workshops within the NATO StratCom COE will contribute to aligning with professional standards. Participation in joint information operations and international projects will enable Ukraine to consolidate its position within the Alliance's communication architecture (StratCom COE, 2024, p. 6).

2. International partnerships and knowledge exchange. Active cooperation between Ukrainian media and international organizations—including Reporters Without Borders, the



European Broadcasting Union, and the International Federation of Journalists—is essential. Such cooperation ensures access to best practices and strengthens the authority of Ukrainian media worldwide (Reporters, 2023, p. 11).

3. Development of educational programs. Establishing university courses and specializations in war journalism and strategic communications is a necessary advancement. By integrating theoretical training with frontline practical experience, a new generation of journalists will be equipped to work according to Euro-Atlantic standards.

4. New codes of ethics. Presently, journalism needs updated codes of ethics that address the balance between freedom of speech and the needs of national security. These guidelines should align with the NATO principle “truth–speed–transparency,” while guaranteeing the independence of editorial policies (European Commission, 2020, p. 8).

5. Digital transformation. The future of Ukrainian defense journalism is closely linked to digital technologies. The use of big data, AI tools to detect fakes, and interactive multimedia formats will ensure the international competitiveness of Ukrainian media.

Thus, the development prospects of Ukrainian media in the security and defense sector are influenced by both an internal need for reform and an external drive for Euro-Atlantic integration. Implementing these directions will facilitate the emergence of a new form of journalism—responsible, transparent, and resilient to the challenges of information warfare.

Conclusions

The transformation of media narratives in the coverage of the activities of the security and defense sector has become not only a reaction to war, but also a strategic element of state information policy. Ukrainian journalism is progressively aligning with NATO standards while preserving democratic values and professional autonomy. This process is a guarantee of fortifying national resilience and enhancing Ukraine’s international image. The study of the transformation of media narratives in covering the activities of Ukraine’s security and defense sector reveals that journalism in wartime has navigated a complex yet productive path—from the legacy of Soviet propaganda to the gradual integration of NATO standards.

Declaration of generative artificial intelligence and technologies using artificial intelligence in the writing process. The authors did not use artificial intelligence tools in the preparation of this article. The authors of the article bear full responsibility for the correct use and citation of sources.

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