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The Media's Influence on Shaping Public Opinion during Martial Law

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Abstract: This article explores the role of various media in shaping public opinion during martial law in Ukraine. The study aims to evaluate the extent to which media influences public perception, unity, and societal response under the conditions of military conflict. The research methods employed include content analysis of mass media materials, sociological surveys, and graphic and comparative analyses to measure media impact. The study is based on data from sociological surveys and the thematic content of regional media from 2021 to 2023, encompassing key breaking news and regional media narratives. The findings reveal that media play a vital role in disseminating information, promoting national unity, and highlighting critical issues such as support for the armed forces and humanitarian aid. The influence of Internet sources and regional media has notably strengthened, with much of the content focusing on warrelated issues, societal consolidation, volunteerism, and aid for victims. The study also identifies that, during crises, media can shape worldviews, influence political polarization, and mobilize public engagement through patriotic narratives and volunteer campaigns. The research concludes that media, especially regional outlets, significantly contribute to societal cohesion and informed decision-making during martial law. However, challenges such as media bias and potential manipulation remain. The study findings can contribute to understanding the role of the media in the conditions of military conflict and the formation of public opinion.

Keywords: Mass media, Martial Law, Public Opinion Shaping in Ukraine, Regional Media and Crisis Communication, Role of Internet Media in Conflicts, Humanitarian Aid and Media Narratives, Volunteerism and Armed Forces Support, Media Strategies in Military Conflicts

1. Introduction

The contemporary world underscores the pivotal role of information and highlights the growing importance of media in shaping society, particularly during martial law. In this context, national and regional media emerge as predominant sources of information, exerting significant influence on public opinion during such periods. The relevance of this research is further heightened in the context of modern global geopolitics, where information warfare and media influence have become critical components of contemporary conflicts. Ukraine's media landscape during martial law offers unique insights into how democratic societies can balance press freedom while addressing security challenges in times of conflict.

The issue of assessing the extent to which media impacts public perception is multifaceted and has been widely discussed in scholarly literature. For instance, the persistent disregard for *The Sun* newspaper had a measurable impact on the Brexit voting behavior of Merseyside voters (Foos & Bischof, 2022). Another study highlights the situation during election campaigns in Italy, emphasizing the long-term influence of entertainment content on shaping voter views, particularly those aligning with Berlusconi's populist rhetoric (Durante, Pinotti, & Tesei, 2019).

An analysis of the relationship between the media and politicians demonstrates the latter's efforts to influence the agenda to align public perception with their own vision of key events and topics (McNair, 2017). This often results in a blurred information space, particularly during periods of conflicting interests, where coercion from one party onto the other can dominate.

These scenarios illustrate the importance of establishing one's own publication to create a distinct information space and shape news interpretation, ultimately influencing a targeted audience. For example, the acquisition of *The Washington Post* by Amazon founder Jeff Bezos and the purchase of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* by businessman Sheldon Adelson highlight the role of ownership in shaping the media agenda (Soloski, 2019).

Similarly, in Ukraine, the media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion, as citizens are highly politicized. A wide array of media outlets offers information on

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national and regional events while also covering significant international developments. It is noteworthy that changes in public opinion can influence political decision-making processes (Pansanella, Sirbu, Kertész, & Rossetti, 2023). The theory of social influence suggests that the exchange of ideas among individuals can mitigate incongruities in their viewpoints. Public awareness is largely dependent on the media's dissemination of information, which raises awareness of socio-political issues (Gnatyuk, Akhmetova, Sydorenko, Polishchuk, & Petryk, 2019; Huang, Cook, & Xie, 2020).

On the other hand, martial law significantly alters the role of informational periodicals within society. Under these conditions, where press freedoms are often restricted, the media serve as a critical source of information, offering alternative viewpoints that may differ from official narratives and exposing events that might otherwise remain hidden. However, the media's role in shaping public opinion during martial law in Ukraine is a complex issue that requires detailed exploration.

The primary aim of this study is to analyze the role of media in shaping public opinion during martial law in Ukraine.

The study's objectives are as follows:

- 1. Analyze media content, themes during martial law, and prevailing ideological directions.
- 2. Investigate different types of media and their popularity among content consumers.
- 3. Examine the challenges faced by mass media during martial law.
- 4. Assess the media's role in shaping public opinion during martial law.

Addressing these questions will facilitate a deeper understanding of the media's influence on public opinion during martial law.

2. Literature review

Public opinion can be regarded as a collective set of individual perspectives, convictions, and viewpoints pertaining to specific subject matter disseminated by a significant portion of society or a particular group. Various forms of media, including newspapers, television broadcasts, news websites, radio networks, and social media platforms, are essential in validating pre-existing societal views. The media and social networks play an instrumental role in promoting specific perspectives and urging individuals to take relevant actions by communicating the opinions of different community members and providing politicians with a broad audience. This enables the dissemination of public opinion to wider audiences across larger areas.

Society and individuals endeavor to comprehend their surroundings, acquiring information that necessitates reliance on received data and available agendas. However, information is seldom released in its unabridged form. The media often presents its vision of events, effectively "programming" news consumers to change their views on pressing issues. By offering specific viewpoints, the media attempts to shape public opinion based on the reliability of the news and the willingness of target groups to interpret it.

Understanding public opinion in the context of state policy, development, and social programs highlights the media's role as a mediator between the government and society. Raising awareness enables the segmentation of general sentiment toward specific matters, thereby comprehending societal necessities and expectations.

According to George Gerbner's theory, media exerts a long-term impact on content consumers, cultivating a diverse and sometimes inaccurate understanding of the social world based on presented messages and opinions. The media agenda-setting theory (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002) also plays a significant role in shaping public opinion. This theory posits that media manipulates and distorts reality by selectively presenting information. Additionally, by concentrating on specific issues, the media emphasizes them as the sole critical matters requiring public discourse. The agenda-setting approach demonstrates how media influences public priorities by highlighting specific societal issues and shaping the agenda for public discourse.

Cultivation theory explains how media exerts a long-term influence on audiences, creating inaccurate perceptions of the social world and distorting individuals' realities. By manipulating the level and direction of information presentation, media shapes public interpretation of events, impacting societal viewpoints and behavior. The reliance on media as a primary source of information strengthens its influence, especially when individuals lack the means to verify the objectivity or reliability of reported content. Despite efforts to validate agendas, individuals' confidence in reported news often escalates, raising concerns about the lack of critical analysis among audiences and doubts about information reliability.

During martial law, the dynamics of information dissemination and public opinion formation undergo significant transformations. Media outlets are tasked with maintaining their authority, safeguarding citizens' interests, engaging with authorities, and relying on credible facts. Timely dissemination of news and articles online ensures that citizens remain informed about crucial events, enhancing awareness and objectivity. The role of media during martial law or similar crises has been studied in various global contexts. For instance, during the 2016 attempted coup in Turkey, the media played a decisive role in shaping public response, demonstrating how social media can act as a tool for democratic resistance despite government efforts to control information flow (Yavçan, & Ongur, 2016).

In addition to factual reporting, the media provides interpretations of events aligned with their ideological orientations. Professional analysis and commentary influence public understanding of situations and their consequences. This simplifies orientation in ambiguous contexts and fosters public discourse. During martial law, the media's power lies in its ability to create narratives related to the crisis while countering disinformation in the public space.

In sum, the media's role under martial law is multifaceted, encompassing information dissemination, interpretation, and public disclosure. These functions significantly impact public perception and understanding of ongoing events. Acknowledging the media's influence underscores its responsibility to foster informed and critical citizenship during times of heightened uncertainty. Media messages aim to convey key information, elicit reactions, and emphasize community solidarity, credible information dissemination, and civic engagement. Furthermore, the media serves as a tool to counter misinformation and misconceptions.

Analyzing media content during martial law in Ukraine reveals unique aspects of public perception shaped by media narratives. Public reactions—whether positive or critical—can influence subsequent media content, fostering a more responsive and adaptive media environment. Factors such as territorial location, cultural background, and proximity to hostilities contribute to diverse public moods. The public's response to media content reflects a complex interplay of neutrality, approval, or criticism, wherein objective information plays a pivotal role in reinforcing narratives and driving appropriate actions.

3. Methods

This study utilized a qualitative approach to analyze the role of media in shaping public opinion during martial law in Ukraine. The methodology combined quantitative and qualitative techniques, including content analysis, sociological surveys, and graphical and comparative analyses. The research spans the period of 2021–2023, capturing the impact of various media forms, including television, radio, print publications, and online resources, on public perception during a time of conflict (Sheremet, Voluiko, Posmitna, Poda, & Bidzilya, 2021; Putkalets, & Vyshnevska, 2023).

3.1. Research Design

The study followed a structured research design aimed at comprehensively analyzing the role of media in shaping public opinion during wartime. It incorporated multiple stages, including the analysis of media capabilities expansion through internet technologies, the assessment of the necessity for obtaining information from Ukrainian media, and the examination of consumption patterns across various forms of media. Additionally, the criteria for selecting information sources were defined, followed by an evaluation of trust levels in these sources and their evolution over time. Critical issues in the dissemination of information by government entities were identified, and the impact of media on shaping public opinion during wartime was explored. The study relied on sociological survey data collected from global sources (Wike et al., 2022) and Ukrainian contexts, covering the period from 2021 to 2023 (Detector Media, 2023; KMIS, 2023a, 2023b; USAID, 2023). This systematic approach provided a robust framework for understanding the dynamic relationship between media and public opinion during conflict.

3.2. Selection of Media

To ensure representativeness, the study included media outlets from various regions of Ukraine, spanning western to eastern areas, to capture regional differences in event coverage and public opinion formation. Various types of media were analyzed—television, radio, print publications, and online resources—allowing for a comprehensive examination of their influence on public opinion. The selection focused on key events during martial law from 2021 to 2023 (Detector Media, 2023; KMIS, 2023a, 2023b; USAID, 2023), enabling an exploration of shifts in media narratives during different phases of the conflict. Media outlets with significant levels of consumption among the population, as identified by sociological surveys (KMIS, 2023b), were prioritized, ensuring that the analyzed content reflected the main sources of information for broad segments of society.

3.3. Empirical Materials

The content of diverse media types (television, newspapers, online publications, etc.) served as the empirical foundation for this study. Qualitative analyses were conducted on headlines, programs, and messages from various regional publications (Table 1), with attention to the context in which the information was presented.

Table 1: Media Outlets Used for Analyzing Messages and News Content

Type of Media Outlet	Name of Media Outlet
Television	TV company "Orbita" (Pokrovsk), Suspilne Kharkiv, TRC Pershyi Zakhidnyi
	(Lviv), Suspilne Lviv, 1+1, Inter, Ukraine, Channel 7 (Odesa), TRC "Kherson Plus" (Kherson)

Newspapers	Hromada Skhid (Kramatorsk), Sloboda Krai (Kharkiv), High Castle (Lviv), Galician Correspondent (Ivano-Frankivsk), Khreshchatyk (Kyiv), Gazeta po-ukrainsky		
Online Editions	(Kyiv), Odesski Visti, Kherson Herald ATN (Kharkiv), Vchasno (Donbas news), Zaxid.net (Lviv), Vholos (Lviv), Rivnel		
Omme Luttons	(Rivne), Access Point (Kropyvnytskyi), About Everything (Cherkasy), Mykolaiv		
	News (Mykolaiv), Odesa Online (Odesa)		

Source: by the author

4. Results

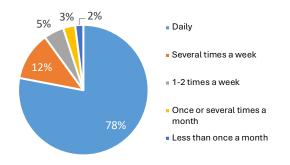
The proliferation of media in the Internet space, combined with the advent of online and social platforms alongside traditional forms, has created a complex dynamic regarding its influence on public opinion. This dynamic can be interpreted through both optimistic and pessimistic lenses. On one hand, the increased information flow and audience reach have heightened awareness of global and local events. On the other hand, these developments have facilitated the manipulation of public perception (Table 2).

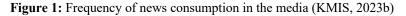
Increased (%)	No change (%)	Decreased (%)
73	14	7
73	14	9
23	27	44
84	10	5
65	26	8
_	73 73 23 84	73 14 73 14 73 27 84 10

Table 2: Results of Expanding Media Capabilities through Internet Technologies

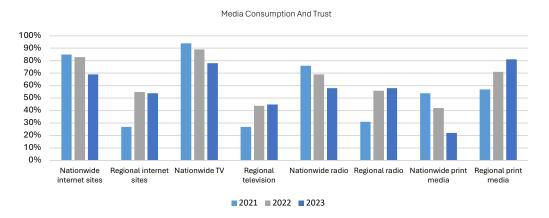
Compiled based on Wike et al. (2022).

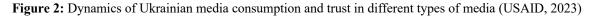
The Russian military aggression in Ukraine has increased the demands on media outlets and their approaches to information coverage, as the war has also unfolded in the information space. Assessing the media's significance in disseminating information reveals the extent of public engagement with current affairs in Ukraine. Data from sociological surveys (KMIS, 2023b) illustrate the frequency of media consumption (Figure 1).





When examining the consumption dynamics of different types of national and regional media (Figure 2), a clear trend has emerged over the past three years. This trend indicates increased consumption of regional media, emphasizing the importance of obtaining information tailored to local contexts. These dynamics extend to online publications, television, radio, and print sources.





The martial law situation has heightened the need for timely and credible information at the national, local, and international levels to objectively analyze events and shape public opinion. Simultaneously, the demand for high-quality, neutral, and relevant sources of information has become urgent (Figure 3).

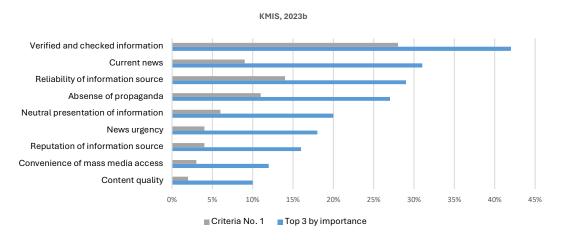


Figure 3. Criteria for selecting sources of information (KMIS, 2023b)

Trust levels in various media sources reflect a preference for more traditional outlets. The assessment, conducted on a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0 indicates no trust and 10 indicates full trust), highlights an interesting trend of high trust in Telegram channels. This indicates a preference for prompt and uncensored news, such as war reportage (Table 3). However, such sources often lack objectivity, given the absence of accountability, leading to risks of manipulation, fragmentation, and polarization of public opinion.

Types of Media	Fully Trusted (9- 10)	Rather Trusted (7- 8)	Average Trust (4-6)	Rather Do Not Trust (2- 3)	Not Trusted at All (0-1)	Hard to Say (%)
Telegram channels	14	36	35	3	5	7
International media	16	31	40	5	3	5
Ukrainian online media	14	31	41	6	5	3
TV marathon, joint broad- casting of Ukrainian TV channels	18	26	32	7	11	6
Radio	13	25	42	5	5	12
TV channels not included in the TV marathon	13	20	45	6	7	9
News & Facebook posts	6	25	48	7	6	7
Viber channels	7	22	47	7	6	12
Newspapers, magazines	7	19	45	7	7	16

Table 3: Trust in Information Sources

Compiled based on KMIS (2023b).

The dynamics of public perception of media from December 2021 to December 2023 indicate a return to prewar trust levels in 2023 (Figure 4) (KMIS, 2023a). This trend suggests an evolution in media coverage and a growing critical perspective among citizens regarding event reporting. The increasing use of alternative information channels such as Telegram, Viber, and Facebook news has contributed significantly to shaping public opinion and influencing trust levels among news consumers.

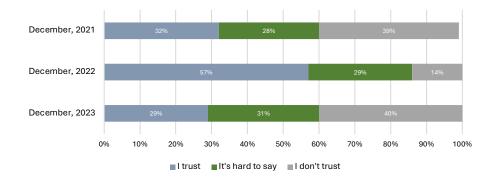


Figure 4: Dynamics of trust in the media, 2021-2023 (KMIS, 2023a)

As shown above, the primary challenges in disseminating information to the population by the authorities highlight the presence of inaccurate information, insufficient attention to public communication, and other related issues (Figure 5). At the same time, 20% of respondents believe that there are no significant issues regarding dissemination.

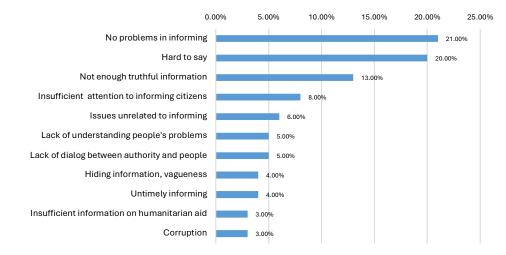


Figure 5: Key issues in providing information to the population by the authorities (KMIS, 2023b)

The influence of media on the Ukrainian audience has evolved significantly since 2022 due to emotionally charged messages about various aspects of the war (Figure 6) (Detector Media, 2023). Additionally, shaping public opinion has gradually shifted toward diminishing the media's role in influencing political preferences and public figures. However, the number of citizens who believe the media does not affect their opinions has decreased, likely reflecting the impact of martial law and the ongoing war.

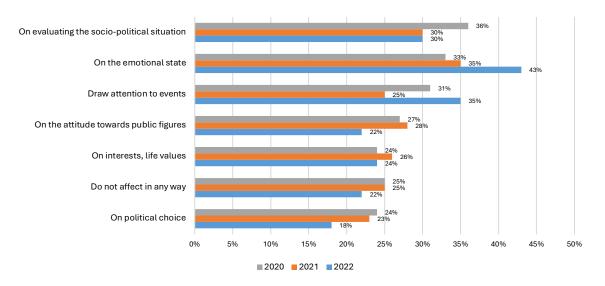


Figure 6: The media's influence on the standpoint and opinions of the audience (Detector Media, 2023).

By analyzing the impact of domestic media (television, print media, online publications), the following results emerge:

During martial law, the media play a significant role in shaping public opinion, acting as a primary source of news for citizens. Online media, due to its efficiency and speed in reporting events, enjoys greater trust among information consumers than print media and television. Regional media agendas influence individuals' awareness by addressing local issues and needs.

The unique focus of contemporary content lies in its emphasis on various aspects of the war, which accounts for over two-thirds of news coverage. This includes humanitarian issues (e.g., volunteering, internally displaced persons), activities by local and central authorities to assist war victims, the functioning of territorial defense, and patriotic content.

Regional disparities in media focus are notable. For instance, media outlets in eastern and southern Ukraine prioritize coverage of settlement protection, territorial defense, and raising awareness about these issues among authorities. Conversely, media in western and central Ukraine focus on assisting internally displaced persons and strengthening public initiatives related to volunteering and supporting the Armed Forces of Ukraine (Table 4).

Table 4: The Media's Impact on Shaping Public Opinion During the War

Region	Key Topics	Influence on Public Opinion
Western	Humanitarian issues, assistance to victims,	Consolidation of society, support for the Armed
Ukraine	defenders' heroism	Forces, volunteering, and mobilization of patri- otism
Central	Humanitarian issues, local authorities, vol-	Society consolidation, support for the Armed
Ukraine	unteering	Forces and victims, mobilization of patriotism
Eastern	Military operations, political issues, dis-	Consolidation in support of the Armed Forces of
Ukraine	placed persons, war consequences	Ukraine, volunteering
Southern	Assistance to the Armed Forces, authorities'	Support for the Armed Forces, assistance to vic-
Ukraine	activities, displaced persons, war conse- quences	tims and displaced persons

As demonstrated in the table, the media's role in shaping public opinion during martial law is substantial, despite regional variations. This contributes to societal unity around key objectives, such as resisting aggression, providing humanitarian aid, and supporting affected populations. The impact of different types of mass media (television, radio, print newspapers, online publications) on public opinion is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5: The Media's Influence Level on Shaping Public Opinion

Type of Media	Influence on Shaping Public Opinion
Television	With its wide reach, it can influence a large audience through news, political debates, com-
	mercials, and thematic programs.
Radio	Accessible in areas lacking Internet or television access, shaping opinions via news, talk
	shows, and patriotic music programs.
Printed News-	Provides in-depth analysis of events and situations through articles, editorials, and advertis-
papers	ing materials.
Online Editions	A powerful influence on public opinion through social media, blogs, and news sites, lever-
	aging the rapid dissemination of information.

Despite the widespread consumption of national television media, Internet sources are emerging as the most influential. Radio plays a crucial role in areas without television or Internet access. However, print media, despite its professionalism and analytical depth, is becoming less popular due to declining circulation and logistical challenges in distributing copies over large areas.

5. Discussion

Establishing the media's role in shaping public opinion during martial law poses a considerable challenge. Scientific literature lacks relevant insights into democratic nations with freedom of expression that have endured prolonged military conflicts. Although significant research has been conducted on the role of media in shaping public opinion during peacetime, little attention has been paid to the specific impact of media during armed conflicts. In particular, there is insufficient study on how local and regional media influence public opinion in situations where society is facing direct armed confrontation. Most existing research focuses on national media and their role in disseminating the state's position and strengthening national unity (Munteanu, 2020). This research fills that gap by analyzing how regional media in different parts of Ukraine help shape public opinion during martial law. Therefore, the results obtained reflect a situation that is difficult to compare with similar studies.

Drawing upon the analysis, several important observations can be made. As evidenced, the media play an essential role in shaping public opinion in Ukraine, particularly under martial law, serving as a necessary source of information for citizens, setting the agenda, and influencing the political process.

This study expands upon previous works concerning the role of media in shaping public opinion during crises and conflicts. While earlier research (Busselle & Van den Bulck, 2019; Husak & Fialka, 2018) focused on the general role of media in crisis situations, our study introduces new aspects by analyzing the specific role of regional media under martial law. The main contribution of this study is its demonstration of how local media can strengthen public solidarity and contribute to the mobilization of patriotic sentiments during wartime. In particular, media in regions directly affected by military actions have a greater influence on public opinion regarding the necessity of supporting the Armed Forces and volunteer activities. This finding differs from the conclusions of previous research, which emphasized national media that mainly disseminate official state positions (Pansanella, Sirbu, Kertész, & Rossetti, 2023). Overall, the findings of this study validate deductions drawn in similar studies regarding the influence of media on public operception. A causal link between media content and shifts in public opinion has been demonstrated. A large-scale study proves causal relationships between the adjustment of information by government agencies and media content aimed at changing public opinion about certain political events (Huang, Cook, & Xie, 2020).

The study confirmed earlier findings posited by researchers (Elejalde, Ferres, & Schifanella, 2019) regarding content selection that aligns with the interests of the majority of the population. Martial law has dramatically changed media rhetoric, transitioning from pre-war entertainment and educational topics to modern patriotic and military rhetoric as well as civic activism.

A key problem identified in the study is the presence of media bias in news coverage, which can lead to negative consequences in shaping public opinion (Park, Kang, Chung, & Song, 2009). Therefore, mass media should function in diverse forms to enable citizens to critically process information.

The impact of martial law on the media in Ukraine, particularly on regional media, is significant. Martial law has affected media content and the ways in which media interact with audiences, with online media dominance becoming more apparent. Remarkably, media influence on public opinion depends on various factors: the content provided, promptness of breaking news, credibility and impartiality, methods of interacting with audiences, and the context in which they operate.

Public trust in regional media is significantly higher in areas where the population has access to direct sources of information about events that directly impact their security and livelihoods. As shown in the study, media in regions directly affected by combat operations focus on military issues and the protection of the population and territories, greatly increasing trust among the populace (KMIS, 2023b). At the same time, international media may be considered less reliable due to potential ignorance of specific regional situations or an emphasis on broader geopolitical narratives (Putkalets & Vyshnevska, 2023).

Mass media during a crisis can play a dual role—they can either reduce political polarization or exacerbate it, depending on how and in what manner information is conveyed. From the perspective of cultivation theory (Busselle & Van den Bulck, 2019), media can shape citizens' worldviews by creating collective perceptions of reality. Media also play an important role in mobilizing the population, raising public awareness through an emphasis on volunteer initiatives and support for the armed forces, as demonstrated by the regional media of Ukraine (Sheremet, Voluiko, Posmitna, Poda, & Bidzilya, 2021).

The research results suggest several practical approaches to reducing media bias while maintaining effective communication during crisis situations: multi-source verification (implementation of standardized fact-checking procedures and cross-referencing international sources), transparent editorial policy (disclosure of editorial positions on sensitive issues and open dialogue with audiences about potential biases), and international cooperation to uphold professional standards. The study reveals several mechanisms through which media coverage influences political decisions during martial law: direct influence (coverage of specific issues often leads to swift political reactions), agenda-setting (media focus on certain problems affects policy prioritization), and public pressure (public opinion shaped by the media creates pressure for specific political actions). Transparent editorial policies and multi-source verification protocols significantly reduce bias while maintaining public trust—a conclusion that extends beyond the specific context of Ukraine.

As for future research directions, it is recommended to conduct an in-depth study of media's impact on shaping public opinion across different regions of Ukraine. Another area of inquiry could involve exploring diverse forms of discourse and their influence on public opinion during martial law.

6. Conclusion

This study examines the extent to which media influence the development of public opinion in Ukraine under martial law. The media's role is not confined to informing the population but extends to setting the agenda and highlighting key topics for societal discussion. Given the efficiency of news dissemination, reduced bias, and wide reach, online media, including social information channels, exert the most significant impact on public opinion. Regional media have also gained prominence in shaping public opinion at the local level due to their ability to capture and reflect unique local nuances, particularly regarding humanitarian aid, military affairs, and government operations during martial law. The study demonstrates that media significantly contribute to societal consolidation, emphasizing the need to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine, strengthen the volunteer movement, and mobilize patriotic sentiments. However, it is important to acknowledge that bias in key news coverage can result in a distorted portrayal of public opinion.

While the Ukrainian context has unique characteristics, the identified strategies for maintaining media integrity and minimizing bias offer valuable insights for other settings. The demonstrated balance between national security requirements and press freedom serves as a potential model for democracies facing similar challenges.

Regional media play a crucial role in shaping public opinion in areas of active combat. These outlets should receive greater attention and support at the state level, including resources for timely and accurate event coverage and measures to improve content quality. Media outlets that demonstrate impartiality and promptly report events

tend to garner higher levels of trust among the population. Adherence to journalistic standards and the avoidance of manipulative practices can further enhance their effectiveness in uniting society around national objectives.

The study acknowledges certain limitations, including potential biases in data collection and the challenge of generalizing its findings on the role of media during martial law in Ukraine to other contexts.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian media have demonstrated their ability to act as a vital communication link between society and the government, even amidst the constraints imposed by martial law. To consolidate Ukrainian society in the face of imminent external threats, the media's informative and motivational functions remain indispensable. The conclusions of this study contribute to a deeper understanding of mass communication's role during martial law and offer actionable insights to enhance the state's information policy.

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