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The Impact of Framing in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict 2022 on the Online Media towards the Image of Russian Tourism

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A B S T R A C T

This study delves into the framing of the 2022 Russia-Ukraine conflict in online media and its ramifications for Russia's tourism image. As political tensions escalated and Russian forces invaded Ukrainian territory, global reactions, such as flight closures and airspace restrictions, ensued. Employing qualitative data analysis techniques, the research scrutinizes how online media frames the conflict and subsequently influences public perceptions, impacting Russia's allure as a tourist destination. Findings reveal the pivotal role of social media in shaping individuals' interpretations, and framing analysis underscores the negative portrayal of events in Ukraine, affecting cognitive, affective, and conative aspects of Russia's image. Recommendations include proactive measures by the Russian government and enhanced promotional efforts by the Federal Tourism Agency, Rostourism, to counteract negative global perceptions and bolster the tourism image.

In conclusion, the study underscores the urgency of understanding how framing in online media shapes perceptions of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and its cascading impact on tourism. The insights garnered offer valuable recommendations for governmental interventions and future research directions, providing a comprehensive understanding of the interplay between media framing, national image, and tourism appeal.

Keywords: *Impact, Framing, Conflict, Online Media , Russian Tourism*

Introduction

On February 24, 2022, political tensions escalated between Russia and Ukraine, with Russian forces invading Ukrainian territory (CNN, 2022). In a televised emergency speech, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced the decision to launch a special military operation, stating the intent to demilitarize and denazify Ukraine. As a consequence of this ongoing conflict, there was a decrease in the number of tourists visiting Russia. Over 30 countries closed flights to Russia, and on March 6, 2022, the Russian Civil Aviation Authority announced the closure of its airspace to airlines from at least 36 countries (Rosaviatsia, 2022). The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has had an impact on Russian tourism.

Furthermore, the dispute between Russia and Ukraine has garnered global attention. Various online media outlets present news from different perspectives, including propaganda and hoaxes. Framing is a method to examine how the media presents news about an event, influencing the construction of reality. Framing analysis is used to observe how the media constructs reality (Eriyanto, 2009). This reporting has an impact on individuals' perceptions of something. The framing of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 in online media influences views on Russia.

Views on the country of Russia will then also influence its tourism image. The destination image serves as an initial reference in determining the attractiveness of a tourist destination and affects decisions about which tourist destinations to visit (Al-Kwifi, 2015). The destination image influences decision-making about tourist destinations (Al-Kwifi, 2015) and has an impact on behavioral intentions (Chen and Tsai, 2007). Individual understanding and perceptions of the destination image will then influence individuals' interest in visiting Russia.

In this study, the researcher will analyze how framing is done in the reporting of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 and its impact on the tourism image of Russia. The urgency of this research lies in its potential to reveal how framing of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 is conducted in online media and how it impacts the tourism image of Russia. The drawback of not conducting this research would be a lack of understanding of how framing of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 is carried out in online media and how it affects the tourism image of Russia.

Methodology

According to Sugiyono (2017), data analysis is the process of systematically searching for and organizing data obtained from interviews, field notes, and documentation. This involves organizing data into categories, breaking them down into units, synthesizing information, identifying patterns, selecting what is important and what will be studied, and drawing conclusions to make it easily understandable for oneself and others. In this study, data analysis

is conducted using qualitative data analysis techniques by Miles and Huberman (1984), as outlined in Sugiyono's (2017) book. The four steps in data analysis are:

1. Data Collection

Data collection is the stage where the researcher gathers data from literature reviews, internet findings, and survey results.

2. Data Reduction

Reducing data involves summarizing or detailing essential aspects that align with the theme and pattern being sought. Data reduction is used to sift through all the findings from literature reviews.

3. Data Display

Miles and Huberman introduce two formats, namely context diagrams and matrices. In this study, the reduced data will be presented in specific chapters and sub-chapters. Data presentation is narrative but not only descriptive; it includes analyses of the research.

4. Conclusion Drawing/Verification

The obtained data is categorized, themes and patterns are identified, and conclusions are drawn. Conclusion drawing is applied to the research findings adjusted to the theme and pattern of the issues in this study and analyzed with the concepts or theories used. The conclusions drawn may answer the formulated research questions from the beginning, but it is also possible that they may not, as problems are essentially temporary and may evolve as the researcher progresses in the study.

Results

Overview

Russia is a transcontinental country, spanning both Europe and Asia. It holds the top rank as the largest country globally, covering approximately 17 million square kilometers with a population of around 147.5 million people (countryreports.org). To the East and North, Russia is bordered by maritime waters, while to the South and West, it shares land borders with Kazakhstan (7598.6 km), China (4209.3 km), Mongolia (3485 km), Ukraine (2245.8 km), Finland (1325.8 km), Belarus (1239 km), Abkhazia (245.0 km), South Ossetia (74.0 km), Georgia (561.0 km excluding Abkhazia and South Ossetia, including them - 879.9 km), Estonia (466.8 km), Azerbaijan (350 km), Lithuania (288.4 km), Latvia (270.5 km), Poland (236.3 km), Norway (219.1 km), North Korea (39.4 km), and has maritime borders with Japan (194.3 km) and the United States (49 km).

Despite being the largest country, a disadvantage is its less strategic location when viewed as a major world sea route. The seat of the Russian government is in its capital, Moscow, located to the west of the Russian mainland. The name Moscow is derived from the city's river, the Moskva River, which translates to "град Москóв" in Russian, meaning the city on the Moskva River.

In accordance with Federal Law No. 132-FZ dated November 24, 1996, "On the Basics of Tourist Activities in the Russian Federation," the control and supervision of the tourism sector in Russia fall under the Federal Agency for Tourism, abbreviated as Rostourism. This federal executive body also oversees the activities of tour operators and tour operator associations in the tourism sector.

The tourism industry significantly contributes to the overall economic development of Russia. In recent years, tourism has strengthened its position as a significant economic activity and has started playing a crucial role in the socio-economic development of regions. According to World Data, Russia is currently ranked 14th as the most popular tourist destination.

In 2019, Russia held the 39th position in the Tourism and Travel Competitiveness Index. This position is determined by indicators such as cleanliness (ranked 6th in the world), price competitiveness (7th in the world), quality and accessibility of cultural resources (18th in the world), and nature (34th in the world). Additionally, the WEF report noted that the quality of Russia's air transportation infrastructure (23rd in the world) contributes significantly to air travel in Eurasia (roscongress.org).

Tourist Attractions in Russia

Russia boasts numerous tourist attractions, and in this article, the author categorizes Russia's tourist attractions into three types: cultural attractions, natural attractions, and artificial attractions (Pitana, 2009).

The outstanding natural tourist attractions in Russia are as follows:

a. Lake Baikal

Russia is home to the world's deepest lake, Lake Baikal. Shaped like a crescent moon, the lake covers an area of 31,722 km². Surrounded by mountains and hills on all sides, Lake Baikal is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Lake Baikal holds 85% of the world's freshwater lake supply and 22% of the world's freshwater reserves. During winter, the surface of Lake Baikal freezes, making it a suitable area for skiing (russia.travel). The lake's water is exceptionally transparent, allowing rocks and various objects at a depth of 40 meters to be visible to the naked eye.

b. Chara Sands

Since 2010, Chara Sands has been part of the seven natural wonders of Trans-Baikal. The attraction is a sand desert located at the base of snow-covered mountains, surrounded by icy fields and frozen blue lakes. Chara Sands is situated in the Trans-Baikal region, specifically in the Kalarsky district, accessible by plane or train. Occasionally, wildlife such as bears, red deer, and polar deer can be spotted in the Chara Sands area. Against the backdrop of snow-covered mountains, this attraction creates a beautiful contrast (vokrugsveta.ru).

c. Mount Elbrus

The western peak of Mount Elbrus has an elevation of 5642m, while the eastern peak is 5621m. Mount Elbrus consists of layers of ash, solidified lava, and porous rocks (culture.ru). This tourist attraction is located in the southern part of Russia, on the border of the republics of Kabardino-Balkaria and Karachay-Cherkessia. Although the mountain has not erupted for almost two thousand years, scientists still consider Mount Elbrus as a dormant volcano.

The outstanding cultural tourist attractions in Russia are as follows:

a. Kremlin

The Kremlin is the most famous landmark in Russia, characterized by Slavic architectural style with red-colored walls. This building holds a magical impression, especially during the Cold War era. Located right in the center of Moscow, it is surrounded by 20 towers that once served as surveillance points in the Kremlin area before becoming a historical tourist attraction. Within the Kremlin complex, there are many other attractions, such as Ivanovskaya Square, which features two historical relics that serve as photography objects: the Tsar Cannon and the Tsar Bell. Borovitskaya Tower houses numerous historical collections from the Russian Empire, including jewelry, royal costumes, and gifts from various friendly countries to Russia. This tower is better known as the Museum of Armory, as it used to be a storage place for weapons (Pitaya, 2017).

b. St. Basil's Cathedral

St. Basil's Cathedral is one of Russia's tourism landmarks. The building looks elegant with walls painted using fresco techniques. The cathedral's domes rest on bricks arranged in a spiral shape and are coated with metal. St. Basil's Cathedral is a national and world monument.

The outstanding artificial tourist attractions in Russia are as follows:

a. The Vodka Museum

The Russian Vodka History Museum is located within the Kremlin complex. Inside the museum, there are over 1000 types of beverages, recipes for 18th-century vodka, advertising posters, photos, and documents from various periods of Russian history. In this museum, visitors can also learn about the technology of vodka preparation and listen to stories about the history of vodka in Russia (vodkamuseum.ru).

b. Moscow Zoo

The Moscow Zoo, located in the heart of the Russian capital, is one of the oldest zoos in Europe. It ranks fourth for the highest number of species in Europe. The zoo preserves and breeds rare animal species, such as the Amur Leopard, Trans-Baikal Pallas's Cat, Sinezaur Crocodile, Zagros Water Skink, and many more (moscowzoo.ru).

International Tourist Arrival Rates

Russia is one of the favorite destinations for the international community, especially from European and Asian countries. Many students from Indonesia pursue education in Russia, often sharing information about the tourist attractions in Russia in the Indonesian language. Consequently, there is a significant amount of information about Russia's tourist attractions available in the Indonesian language.

The political tension between Russia and Ukraine automatically has a substantial impact on tourist visits to Russia. Military emergencies would lead to airports, as the entry points to Russia, becoming more selective and implementing open-close airspace systems for military activities.

Due to the opening of flight borders after the pandemic, tourist visits in January 2022 totaled 782,400 foreign tourist arrivals. The total visits in the following month experienced a decrease of 104,100, placing the total visits in February 2022 at 678,300 foreign tourist arrivals. A drastic decline occurred in March 2022, with a total of 307,100 foreign tourist visits. In the subsequent month, there was an increase of 100 foreign tourist visits, bringing the total to 307,200 visits.

Russian Tourism Tagline

A tagline is a short phrase that captures attention. It can be a specific motto for a company or the main idea that characterizes a particular service. Deputy Prime Minister of Russia - Chairman of the Competition Commission, Dmitry Chernyshenko, together with the Strategic Initiatives Agency (ASI) and with the support of the Federal Agency for Tourism, the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Ecology of the Russian Federation, and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, organized the All-Russia project for the conceptual route design in the Russian Federation titled "открой свою Россию" which translates to "Discover Your Russia" in English. The project aims to support the development of tourism by creating favorable conditions for business, attracting investments, developing rural and natural areas, minimizing

administrative barriers, and supporting entrepreneurial breakthroughs in the tourism sector (Sverdlovsk Ministry of Investment and Regional Development Website, accessed on June 6, 2022, at 19:01 WITA).

This program is a competition to design relevant and competitive tourist routes in Russia. Involving entrepreneurs, the program is implemented on the internet platform https://zagorizont.me/, specifically dedicated to the "Discover Your Russia" program. The program combines ideas from tourism experts to those of local entrepreneurs and forms new tourism product designs. The project then succeeded with the selection of 30 routes as winners. The Federal Agency for Tourism then chose 10 routes to be designated as "National Brand Routes."

"A tourist begins any journey with route planning and discovering new interesting places. I am confident that this project can be the foundation for creating branded and creative routes for Russians and foreign tourists throughout our extraordinary country."

(This is a translated quote from the Head of the Federal Agency for Tourism, Zarina Doguzova).

Promotion of Russian Tourism

In accordance with Federal Law No. 132-FZ dated November 24, 1996, "On the Basics of Tourist Activities in the Russian Federation," Rostourism informs that the implementation of tour operator activities is officially permitted by legal entities with applicable regulations. Tour operators, as non-profit autonomous organizations under "Tourism Development," aim to promote the development and implementation aimed at enhancing competitiveness and promoting Russian tourism products in the domestic and international markets.

Currently, tourism development strategies are crucial for both domestic and international tourism development in the Russian Federation. In 2019, the Government of the Russian Federation approved the Tourism Development Strategy in the Russian Federation for the Period until 2035. This strategy aims to create conditions for the formation and promotion of high-quality and competitive tourism products in the domestic and international tourism markets. Additionally, it aims to strengthen the social role of tourism and improve the availability of tourism, recreation, and health services for the people of the Russian Federation.

Starting January 1, 2021, Russia introduced electronic visas allowing tourists to make short visits of up to 16 days. By simplifying procedures for regular tourist visa issuance, there is an expectation of increased interest from foreign tourists to visit Russia. The Russian government also plans to leverage modern technology by creating high-quality video and gaming content, including the development of a digital tourism platform.

Framing of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict in 2022 in Online Media

Seethaler et al. (2013) in their book "Selling Wars: The Role of The Mass Media in Hostile Conflicts from World War I to the War of Terror" state that public understanding of war depends on the relationship between media coverage and the government. Media has power through framing, packaging facts, depicting events, or selecting perspectives. An event can be perceived positively or negatively, and it is often translated by the public according to how the media reports on it. Therefore, mass media serves as a tool for various elements of society to use their ideologies to achieve their goals in politics, economics, social issues, religion, and culture (Muslim, 2013). Since the outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine conflict on February 24, 2022, there has been varied online media coverage with diverse depictions and perspectives.

Based on the circulated online media reports regarding the conflict between Russia and Ukraine in 2022, the reports selected for framing analysis are as follows:

1. University of Oxford News - March 23, 2022

On the Oxford news website, Dr. Robert Johnson, a director of the Changing Character of War program in the University of Oxford History faculty, published an article titled 'Expert Comment. Ukraine war: Putin's masterclass in delusion, denial and defeat' on March 23, 2022. The article contains Dr. Johnson's opinion on Russia's miscalculation, stating that Russia has become an aggressor scorned in a seemingly unwinnable war, rather than being a smart player in international strategy and diplomacy. Putin evidently disregards public opinion or the large number of civilian casualties, and his original strategy has failed.

2. Euronews Online Media

A report was found on euronews about a pregnant woman and her baby dying after Russian forces shelled a maternity hospital in Mariupol. The article describes how medical workers struggled to keep the mother and her baby alive, and when she learned she would lose her baby, the mother screamed at the medical workers to "kill me now." Furthermore, it is mentioned that Eastern Marin surgeon found the woman's pelvis shattered and detached during the cesarean section, and there were no signs of life for the baby, and the mother did not survive the operation. The report includes a video of the pregnant woman being carried on a stretcher.

3. CNN Online Media

CNN published a report stating that Russia's actions against Ukraine constitute genocide against Ukraine. The report is said to originate from the New Lines Institute for Strategy and Policy based in the United States and the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights based in Canada. The article quotes Azeem Ibrahim from the New Lines Institute, stating that they gathered legal experts worldwide, examined existing evidence, and concluded that the Russian Federation bears responsibility for violations of the Genocide Convention in Ukraine. The report also mentions statements from experts

highlighting Russian President Vladimir Putin's statements about Ukraine not having the right to exist as an independent country and accusing Russian forces of consistent and widespread patterns of atrocities against Ukrainian civilians collectively during the invasion. CNN independently confirms many of the atrocities mentioned in the report.

Analysis of Framing in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict in Online Media

Robert N. Entman divides the framing device into four elements: Define Problems, Diagnose Causes, Make Moral Judgement, and Treatment Recommendation.

1. Define Problems:

Defining the problem in this news focuses on Russia's invasion of Ukraine, considered a failed strategy that has turned into a strategy of destruction. The excerpt from the news states:

"Russia has become the reviled aggressor in a war it seemingly cannot win, rather than the clever player of international strategy and diplomacy it set out to be."

2. Diagnose Causes:

The perceived cause in this news is Russia's invasion of Ukraine, characterized as a failure due to the Russian army's inability to take Kyiv in a blitzkrieg campaign. The excerpt mentions:

"As the world looks on in horror at events in Ukraine, it was clear the Russian army's failure to take Kyiv in a blitzkrieg campaign, the foundation stone on which Putin's strategy rested, has led to a very different war – one of attrition rather than one of decision."

3. Make Moral Judgement:

Moral judgment in this news is directed towards Russia, portraying a lack of concern for civilian casualties. The excerpt mentions:

"The Russian army has shifted to a 'rubblisation strategy': terrrorised civilians would either flee or capitulate, Putin reasoned. Anyone showing fight would be flattened. Despite the evident failures, Putin believes he could still win, simply by grinding on. And most of the Russian public appear to be completely unaware of the details of the conflict, being fed purely a diet of military successes."

4. Treatment Recommendation:

The recommended solution in this news is for Ukraine to hold on and garner as much support from the West as possible. The excerpt states:

"The deterioration of the Russian economy and resupply of Ukrainian resistance has put Putin in a race to reduce the cities, and take Kyiv, before the economic damage at home worsens to the point where potentially it could no longer be stabilised. The Ukrainians need to hold on, and draw as much support as they can from the West, in the hope that the Russians will become exhausted and the attrition of their manpower grinds their army to a halt."

For the next segments:

1. Define Problems (Euronews):

Reporting on a pregnant woman and her baby's death due to Russia's shelling of a maternity hospital in Mariupol. The news states:

"A pregnant woman and her baby have died following Russia's shelling of a maternity hospital in Mariupol, reports the Associated Press news agency."

2. Diagnose Causes (Euronews):

The cause identified is the attack by Russian forces on a maternity hospital in Mariupol, leading to the death of a pregnant woman and her baby.

3. Make Moral Judgement (Euronews):

The moral judgment is focused on Russia, emphasizing the human cost. The excerpt mentions:

"Realising she was losing her baby, medics said, she cried out to them: "Kill me now." Surgeon Timur Marin found the woman's pelvis crushed and hip detached."

4. Treatment Recommendation (Euronews):

While no explicit recommendation is given, the report implies a desire for an end to attacks to prevent further suffering.

The same structure is observed in the segment about the accusation of genocide by Russia, with clear definition, diagnosis, moral judgment, and a call for international action in accordance with the UN Genocide Convention.

Reporting on Hoaxes

Hoax is an attempt to deceive or trick readers/listeners into believing something, while the creator of the false news knows that the news is indeed false. One common example of false reporting is claiming something about an item or event with a name different from the actual item/event. In Indonesian, the term "hoax" is a loanword with the same meaning as fake news (Maulana, 2017).

There is news circulating about the attack on a Russian ship at Zmiinyi Island, located 48 kilometers south of Ukrainian mainland, resulting in the death of 13 Ukrainian soldiers. According to Ukraine, they were killed by air and naval attacks. This was indirectly verified by Ukrainian President, Volodymyr Zelensky, who awarded each soldier the title of 'Hero of Ukraine'. The news originated from an audio recording containing a man's voice saying, 'This is a Russian warship, I suggest you lay down your weapons and surrender to avoid bloodshed and unnecessary casualties. If not, you will be bombed.' Furthermore, in the same audio recording, there is a conversation among Ukrainian soldiers containing curses against Russian forces. It is stated in the news that this audio recording was directly shared by Ukrainian government officials. According to Ukrainian officials, the curses against Russian forces were the last words heard from the island before Russia attacked, causing Kyiv to lose contact with the island (BBC, 2022). This was later contradicted by the official Russian account. Moscow stated that what happened was 82 Ukrainian soldiers on the island voluntarily surrendered to Russian forces, and the attack did not result in casualties.

What actually happened, according to the navy guarding the Ukrainian border, is that the soldiers on the island successfully repelled two attacks by Russian forces but eventually had to surrender due to ammunition shortages. It was also found from the official Russian account that the soldiers from the island arrived in Sevastopol, where they are being held (CNN, 2022).

Reporting on Propaganda

Propaganda is a deliberate effort by individuals or groups to shape, monitor, or alter the attitudes of other groups using mass media. Propaganda is a technique to influence human activities by manipulating their representations (Laswell, 1937). It is solely the control of opinions through symbols that carry meaning or convey concrete and accurate opinions through stories, rumors, reports, images, and other forms that can be used in social communication (Laswell, 1927).

According to the reporting by Dan Cohen in the article titled "Ukraine's Propaganda War: International PR Firms, DC Lobbyists And CIA Cutouts," it discusses the propaganda strategy employed by Ukraine to generate public support and support from Western countries. This campaign is shared by the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and led by one of the founders of the public relations firm 'PR Network' and a public relations consultant with close ties to the UK government. This propaganda is an association of international public relations working with the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to wage an information war.

The Role of Online Media

Media plays an increasingly crucial role in military conflicts. They are often faced with the temptation to construct an alternative narrative about events – a portrayal that may be far from reality. False depictions of the world do not always have to result from consciously planned policies to distort reality. Framing explains the process by which the media decide what people should think and in what manner, even though they do not explicitly tell them what to think. By using frames and popularizing them in the form of social representations, media outlets have a real influence on events, determining what is important and worthy of commentary; they also highlight certain aspects of events and make them more prominent.

In general, media can play three main roles in a conflict. First, they are critical reality observers, objectively and independently reporting on military operations. This assumes a high level of professionalism among journalists who can critically assess content and remain immune to contact with antagonists. The second role is where journalists take a clear stance in their reporting on warfare, either due to their own convictions or to counter propaganda and antagonistic positions. The third role is that the internet and media serve as a space where conflict takes place. It is not about supporting one side or the other but serving as a tool in the conflict. In this sense, media becomes a battleground where classic military actions are employed (NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence, 2016).

As an example of the role of online media in reporting on the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, we can look at the coverage by the University of Oxford News on March 23, 2022, where journalists took a clear stance in their reporting on the war due to their own convictions. Therefore, this coverage falls into the category of opinion news.

Impact of Framing on the Russia-Ukraine Conflict in 2022 on Russian Tourism Image

In the interconnected world of tourism, external events and influences significantly affect destinations, with even small-scale crises having substantial impacts on a location, whether the incidents occur nearby or not (Ritchie, 2004). Conflicts and specific negative events, such as terrorism or acts of war, can be magnified through the media, giving meaning and interpretation to these incidents (Hall, 2002). Particularly, acts of human violence that are intolerable and are reinforced by international media coverage (Sönmez, 1998). Meanwhile, easy internet access gradually allows individuals to become more knowledgeable about a place through exposure to information circulating in online media (Stepchenkova & Morrisson, 2008).

The image of a destination is formed by three multidimensional components consisting of cognitive, affective, and conative (behavioral) dimensions. These multidimensional components shape a hierarchy model of destination image formation (Agapito et al., 2013; Tasci et al., 2007). The explanations are as follows:

1. Cognitive dimension involves knowledge, conception, and interpretation of a specific place. The cognitive destination image is an individual's knowledge and thoughts about an object (Agapito et al., 2013). This explains how the framing of the Russia-Ukraine conflict impacts thinking, interpretation, and evaluation of an object, in this case, Russia.

2. Affective dimension includes impressions, prejudices, imagination, emotional thoughts, beliefs, perceptions, and expectations held by an individual about a specific place. The affective destination image is the feelings an individual has about an object (Agapito et al., 2013). This explains how the thoughts, interpretation, and evaluation by the audience then form impressions, perceptions, and emotional thoughts.

3. Conative dimension involves ideas and attitudes of an individual toward a specific place. The conative destination image is how an individual uses their information in taking action (Agapito et al., 2013). This explains how the impressions, perceptions, and emotional thoughts that an individual already has become considerations in taking action, in this case, the interest in visiting Russia.

Impact of Reporting on the Cognitive Dimension:

To understand the impact of reporting on the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 on the cognitive dimension – the knowledge and interpretation readers have of the circulating news – survey data were used. The percentage data were obtained from the Reuters Institute website uploaded on June 15, 2022, under the title "Perceptions of Media Coverage of the war in Ukraine" by Dr. Kirsten Eddy and Dr. Richard Fletcher. The data represent the percentage from four countries (Germany, Poland, the UK, and the USA) following the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

In Germany, 32% of respondents fairly followed the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, followed by 31% who followed it to some extent, and 18% who followed it very closely. Meanwhile, 5% claimed not to follow the coverage, and 3% were unsure.

In Poland, the majority (47%) fairly followed the coverage, followed by 18% who followed it to some extent, and 7% who followed it very closely. About 2% claimed not to follow the coverage, and 1% were unsure.

In the UK, 44% of respondents fairly followed the coverage, followed by 19% who followed it to some extent, and 7% who followed it very closely. About 6% did not follow the coverage, and 3% were unsure.

In the USA, 34% of respondents fairly followed the coverage, followed by 20% who followed it to some extent, and 15% who followed it very closely. About 7% did not follow the coverage, and 4% were unsure.

The majority of respondents from Germany relied on television as their source of information, while the majority from Poland, the UK, and the USA preferred using online media as their source of information for the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022. This forms the basis for the author to assess how the framing of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 circulating in online media has an impact on the cognitive dimension. This explanation is accompanied by a table summarizing the views of these countries on the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022.

The majority of respondents from all four countries tend to side with Ukraine and expect sanctions against Russia. This is evidenced by 51% of Germans, 64% of Poles, 59% of Britons, and 45% of Americans expressing their opinions to boycott trade and impose trade sanctions on Russia. Additionally, 35% of Germans, 69% of Poles, 59% of Britons, and 42% of Americans believe that the European Union should promptly block trade relations with Russia. Meanwhile, a small percentage supports Russia's actions, with only 2% from Germany, the UK, and the USA, and 1% from Poland.

Impact on the Affective Dimension:

In explaining the affective dimension, this research is supported by psychological reaction data conducted by Benjamin E. Hilbig in a study titled "Citizens' Psychological Reactions following the Russian invasion of Ukraine: A cross-national study." In this study, participants reported levels of anger, empathy, anxiety, and perceived threat due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. These reports were then presented in interval form with 95% accuracy. Through interval data, the explanation is as follows: PL = Poland, DE = Germany, GB = United Kingdom, US = United States.

Anger (e.g., "I feel angry"; based on Spielberger, 1999) and perceived threat (e.g., "I feel safe"; reversed) were assessed with two items each. Anxiety (e.g., "I feel worried"; based on Marteau & Bekker, 1992) and empathy (e.g., "I try to imagine what people in Ukraine are experiencing"; adapted from Ehajić et al., 2009). Participants from Poland reported the highest emotional reactions to the invasion, while participants from the United States had the lowest compared to others. Although the United States had the lowest emotional reactions according to this data, the received reactions from participants indicated that these countries had similar reactions. In conclusion, these countries show a negative emotional impression, prejudice, imagination, and thoughts toward Russia.

Impact on the Conative Dimension:

From the cognitive and affective dimensions, the impact of circulating reports, especially in online media, on the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 is assessed to provide a negative view of Russia as a whole. The country of origin is part of the brand image and influences the value of a brand. Consumers use the country of origin as a benchmark in making purchase decisions (purchase intention) because the brand image of a product tends to be seen from the country of origin of the product (Keegan & Green, 2013). Country image has been proven to affect brand image, meaning the perception of a country will influence the brand image. Therefore, in this study, it is believed that the unfavorable image of Russia affects its tourism image, influencing tourists'

interest in traveling to Russia. Due to the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine in 2022 and the time constraints of the study, the validity of this theory cannot be confirmed, suggesting further research to investigate the correlation between a country's image and tourism image and its impact on travel interest.

Efforts by the Russian Government to Restore Russian Tourism

On February 24, 2022, Government Decision No. 218 of February 19, 2022, was issued, approving rules for providing subsidies from the federal budget to jointly finance regional expenditures for the creation and development of tourism infrastructure in several regions (this regulation complements the state program for tourism development). First, subsidies will be provided for the creation of supporting infrastructure - technical and transportation - for the development of tourism clusters (including the costs of connecting tourism industry facilities to heating, energy, gas supply, water supply, and sanitation networks). The selection of regions eligible for the corresponding subsidies will be carried out by the Ministry of Construction of Russia. This year, 2.4 billion rubles will be allocated from the federal budget for the creation of supporting infrastructure.

Public initiatives from organizations and individual entrepreneurs to create and develop beaches and national tourist routes will also be jointly financed through federal subsidies. Non-modal modular accommodation facilities: camping sites and mobile camping sites. In addition, subsidies will be provided for the purchase of tourist equipment, the organization of year-round swimming pool operations, the development of new tourist routes, the creation of electronic route guides, and the implementation of projects to ensure accessible tourist environments for people with disabilities. The maximum size of the registered subsidies will be determined by Rostourism, which will also conduct a competitive selection of organizations and individual entrepreneurs to receive these subsidies. In 2022-2024, 12.9 billion rubles will be allocated from the federal budget for this purpose.

Tour operators will also be able to receive subsidies from the state to compensate for the costs of exporting tourists from abroad after the closure of Russian airspace for Russian aircraft by several countries. The resolution for this effect was signed by Prime Minister Mikhail Mishustin. With the help of federal funds, tour operators will be able to compensate for the costs related to charter flight payments, repurchasing tickets for regular flights, and paying tourists staying in hotels while waiting for export flights. 6 billion rubles have been allocated to compensate tour operators for the export of tourists from the Government's reserve fund. This decision will help support the tourism industry, which has suffered from unfriendly actions by foreign countries. Remember that at the end of February, several foreign countries closed their airspace to Russian aircraft. Since then, tour operators have organized the export of at least 50,000 people.

In mid-April 2022, Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Chernyshenko, during a meeting on ecotourism development, spoke about the creation of a certification system for guides. The plan involves launching a federal list of tour guides, translator guides, and instructor guides, which, according to the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, will include more than 5 thousand specialists by the end of 2022.

Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that the role of social media in presenting news has an impact on how individuals receive and interpret information. Framing analysis using Robert N. Entman's model indicates that University of Oxford News on March 23, 2022, Euronews on March 14, 2022, and CNN on May 27, 2022 tend to report negative events that occurred in Ukraine during the conflict. Additionally, news presented by Ukraine in the form of misinformation, propaganda posters, and negative portrayals of Russia are observed. Considering the three multidimensional components of cognitive, affective, and conative aspects, it is found that framing in online media has an impact on how the image of the Russian state is formed. A negative state image will also affect its tourism image and tourist interest in visiting.

Suggestions that can be given by the author to the Russian government are to prevent or address global perceptions resulting from news that negatively portrays the image of the Russian state. Another suggestion specifically mentioned for the Russian government is for the Federal Tourism Agency, Rostourism, to be more active in promoting inbound tourism through collaborations with tour organizations working with Rostourism and Rostourism's official press services more globally. As for further research, it is suggested to investigate whether there is a correlation between the country's image and its tourism image and the impact on visitor interest.

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