Università
Ca'Foscari
Venezia

Corso di Laurea

magistrale

in Sviluppo Interculturale dei Sistemi Turistici

Tesi di Laurea

War as a tourism product

Experiencing tourism through the prism of war

Relatrice/Relatore

Ch. Prof. Damiano De Marchi

Laureando

Oleksii Ivanov

Matricola

893469

Anno Accademico

2023 / 2024

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Motivation, purpose, tourism product.....1

1.1 What is a tourist's motivation?.....1

1.2 Motivation shapes needs.....10

1.3 Tourism Product.....14

1.4 Destination choice based on tourism product.....19

Chapter 2: Dark tourism: history, definitions, motivations, categories. 25

2.1 History of the Definition.....25

2.2 What is a "dark site".....31

2.3 Motivation for Dark Tourism.....33

2.4 Classification of Dark Tourism.....36

Chapter 3 War Tourism.....43

3.1 Hot-war tourism, conflict tourism. Visitors' classification.....48

3.2 Inbound tourism in Ukraine during the war. Overview.....50

3.3 War as tourism product. Ukrainian case.....56

3.4 Moral aspect of war tourism in Ukraine.....64

Conclusions.....76

«I wish it need not have happened in my time»
«And so do all who live to see such times. But that is not for them to decide.
All we have to decide is what to do with the time that is given to us»

J.R.R. Tolkien

Abstract

Nowadays, the phenomenon of dark tourism is always more popular and always more controversial. This work is focused on one of the most sensitive types of dark tourism, hot war tourism. It is a widely spread opinion that visiting places that are going through difficulties and sufferings is not ethical and is a kind of voyeurism. This research appeals that it could be ethical, with potential and actual benefits for the hosting communities. In order to do so, this phenomenon must be studied, and wise marketing strategies must be applied. Once it becomes a market offer, it provides possibilities for people who sympathize with the locals to come there and let them see that they are not abandoned to themselves, to express admiration of their resilience. It helps sensibilize the war going elsewhere in visitors' societies. And last, but not least, inbound tourism is one of the most suffering economic activities in places affected by war, and a country in war always undergoes severe economic crisis, and constant inflow of foreign currency is very important for the economy.

Introduction

Death, suffering, violence, and disasters have been integral to human history and culture, shaping narratives, memories, and even travel experiences. The curiosity to witness and understand such events is a deeply rooted human instinct rather than a mere act of voyeurism. Some individuals choose to satisfy this curiosity through literature, media, or education, while others seek direct encounters by visiting places marked by tragedy and conflict. This phenomenon, known as dark tourism, challenges traditional perceptions of travel by engaging with locations associated with death and suffering.

Despite the ethical debates surrounding dark tourism, avoiding or isolating such experiences in the name of morality can result in a disengaged understanding of history and contemporary global crises. Recognizing and confronting these difficult realities fosters awareness, remembrance, and, in many cases, solidarity with affected communities. Tourism, in this sense, is not solely an act of leisure but a means of education, reflection, and even activism.

This research focuses on one of the most complex and ethically debated forms of dark tourism: war tourism. While battlefield tourism has long been established as a subset of heritage tourism, hot war tourism, where visitors travel to active or recently affected war zones, remains a growing and controversial phenomenon. This work examines how war can become a tourism product, analyzing the motivations, ethical considerations, and potential impacts of such tourism.

The case of Ukraine serves as a central example, where war tourism has gained attention during the ongoing conflict. While critics argue that visiting war-torn areas is exploitative, proponents highlight its role in raising awareness, documenting history, and providing economic and moral support to affected

communities. Understanding why people engage in war tourism and how destinations manage such experiences is crucial in shaping responsible and ethical approaches to this field.

By analyzing tourism motivation theories, the evolution of dark tourism, and the role of war as a tourism product, this research provides a structured framework to examine the complex relationship between war and tourism. It seeks to answer fundamental questions: What drives individuals to visit war-affected areas? How do host communities perceive this phenomenon? What ethical considerations must be addressed in war tourism?

Through theoretical analysis, case studies, and real-world examples, interviews and testimonials from Ukraine this thesis argues that war tourism, when responsibly managed, can serve as more than a controversial spectacle—it can be a tool for historical preservation, education, and global solidarity.

Chapter 1: Motivation, purpose, tourism product

1.1 What is a tourist's motivation

In this chapter we will explore why people travel *in primis*, what drives them to make such a decision, and what their purposes and motivations are. Since the tourism studies highlight different types of tourism, it's crucial to limit our research and determine our field of interest (IRTS, 2008). This work focuses only on cases where the decision is freely taken by individuals and not obliged to undertake the travel under *force majeure* circumstances, such as work, health/family emergencies, or other motives. According to International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics, the type of tourism this work concentrates on is called *personal* and is subdivided into a few different categories such as holidays, leisure and recreation, visiting friends and relatives, shopping, pilgrimage, etc. (IRTS, 2008).

Motivation is considered a critical variable because it is the impelling and compelling force behind all behavior (Berkman & Gilson, 1978). For a better understanding of how our main research subject, war, could be a motivational factor in tourism, it is necessary to explore what is motivation in terms of marketing and particularly in the travel industry. On its web page, UNWTO states that «the main purpose of a tourism trip is defined as the purpose in the absence of which the trip would not have taken place» (IRTS, 2008). Referring specifically to marketing studies for definition of "motive", P. Kottler and K. Keller (2016) offer the following: «*A motive (or drive) is a need that is sufficiently pressing to direct the person to seek satisfaction of the need*» (Kotler, P. & Keller, K. L., 2016). Needs, in turn, are "*states of felt deprivation*" (Kotler, P., & Armstrong, G., 2015) and usually divided into a few groups. The most classic classification of the

groups of needs is Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943), which offers the following classification:

- Physiological needs, vital for surviving of individuals such as food, water, air etc.;
- Security and safety needs, e.g., feeling protected first from physical threats, but in modern society, this group of needs also includes financial security.
- Love and belonging, or group of social needs that includes relations in various social context such as family, romantic relationships, communities, etc.;
- Esteem Needs or need for appreciation and respect, willingness to be recognized for personal achievements.
- Self-Actualization Needs or the highest group of needs in the Maslow's hierarchy, which stands for desire of individuals to realize their own potential and become what they want to be, the need for self-expression (A. H. Maslow, 1943).

Every next group of needs is not relevant for an individual if the previous one is not satisfied, e.g., if a person is starving, it would not be concerned about its financial security. A lot of studies that were taken for references in this work relate the motivation for traveling with Maslow's needs hierarchy framework.

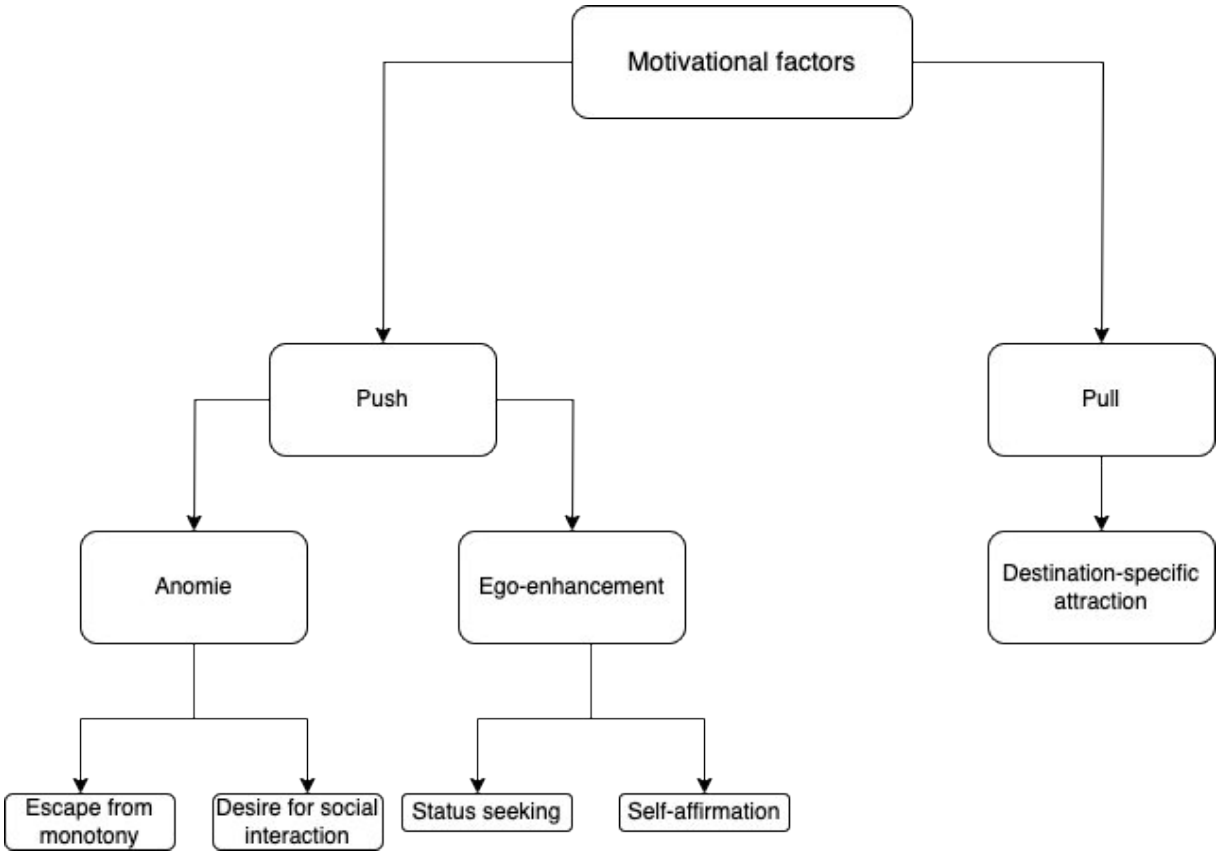
However, a visitor's motivations remain a very uncertain and unidentified factor when it comes to analyzing its behavior. In the course of the last 60 years, a few frameworks and theories were proposed and then modified for systematizing and analyzing the motives that drive people to travel and how these factors affect the choices made by them.

Tourism motivation in scholar literature of the 50s was not considered. Instead, the studies were concentrated on consumer behavior. Before the late 60s and early 70s of the 20th Century, research of visitors' motivation was focused on analyzing how places and locations attract people, but the studies were not considering where does the desire for travel comes from (R. J. Fletcher et al., 2018). The objects of research were *who*, *when*, *where*, and *how* of tourism through social, economic, and culture prisms, but *why* that is the root of visitor's behavior (J. L. Crompton 1979). «While the reasons given for travel and the benefits sought from the travel experience may represent strategies for meeting individual goals and personal needs, it is unlikely that they represent basic travel motivations» (D. Fodness, 1994). In this optic, trying to answer the question "what makes people travel" in the 1977 the "pull and push" theory was offered by G. Dann (1977). Taking one step back, it was attempted to understand why in the first-place people go traveling? What *pushes* them to make them want to travel?

This work is particular of its time because it does not concentrate on visitors' behavior when choosing a place to go, the work moved away from the idea that a certain attraction in a location could be motivational factor. Dann, in his research "Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism", offers to explore social-psychological factors to explain the desire of going elsewhere itself. Looking through that optic, the article highlights that circumstances, private and social, make people want to escape their routine. As the author says, motive «lies in the desire to transcend the feeling of isolation obtained in everyday life, where the tourist simply wishes to "get away from it all"». (G. Dann, 1977).

Two terms were offered: *anomie* and *ego-enhancement*. The author uses the term anomie to describe the condition of an individual when he or she is bored of what is happening in his or her daily routine and difficulties that the

whole society is facing and calls it a “push” factor, something that makes people go to travel from the inside. In terms of this article, ego-enhancement is another push factor that drives people to undertake a travel for self-affirmation in their social circles. Both anomie and ego-enhancement were inserted into a mentioned pull and push framework, where these two terms stand for push factors. Meanwhile, pull factors are those that influence the location choice more, a further phase of travel planning. (Fig. 1)



Visualization of Dann’s *push and pull* framework (Fig. 1)

Dann’s work aims to underline that tourism motivation in the first place lies in psychological and not marketing reasons. However, the article is quite outdated as it does not consider modern social realities, e.g., very young travelers can’t be *pushed* by such a factor as status-seeking as they often are not independent individuals.

Continuing exploring the roots of people's desire to travel, Crompton, in his article "Motivations for pleasure vacation" (1979), goes further with Dann's framework and adds new layers to it. In this work it was suggested that socio-psychological motives could be used for analyzing pull factors as well: «The study explored the contention that socio-psychological motives may be useful not only in explaining the initial arousal, energizing, or "push" to take a vacation, but may also have directive potential to lead the tourist toward a particular place» (J. L. Crompton 1979).

The author offers seven motives obtained as result of his research and applies them to the pull factors. These motives are *escape from a perceived mundane environment*, *exploration and evaluation of self*, *relaxation*, *prestige*, *regression*, *enhancement of kinship relationships*, and *facilitation of social interaction*. Beyond the socio-psychological motives, Crompton's framework identifies two more culturally oriented motives: *novelty* and *education*.

The initial idea of Dann is not questioned. Crompton simply does not highlight the social-psychological origins of the desire to travel, but he explores how these motives, once the decision to travel is made, affect the choice of a place to visit. This work does not try to deepen the initial motivation, but examines how it affects the consequences and further steps in vacation planning. Taking a closer look at the motivational push factor offer by Dann, that is an escape from monotony of daily life, we can assume that the factor "*Escape from a Perceived Mundane Environment*" offered by Crompton (1979) is quite the same in its roots but is seen as a part of "pull" framework. Dann suggests that this factor makes people want to travel, while Crompton claims that it affects the choice of location for visit as it must be different from the place traveler lives normally: «The critical ingredient was only that the pleasure vacation context should be physically and socially different from the

environment in which one normally lives» (J. L. Crompton 1979). However, these motivations are not mutually exclusive but complementary. It could be a cluster of pull and push motivations that drives people not only to come up with an idea of making travel but also to define its genre.

Another framework for studying and analyzing travelers' motivation is *Travel Career Ladder* (TCL), later called *Travel Career Pattern* (TCP) offered by Pierce and partially based on Dann's and Crompton's works. Pierce suggests that motivation has its own hierarchy and evolves as a person gains experience in traveling: «*The core ideas in this line of inquiry were that people's motivation changes with their travel experience*» (P. Pierce & U. I. Lee, 2005). In fact, he explores the attitude of the same person through time, while previous works were considering only one-time decisions.

Pierce uses Maslow's hierarchy of needs and interprets it in travelers' optic: «*TCL describes tourist motivation as consisting of five different levels […] Following Maslow, the needs of travelers were seen as organized into a hierarchy or ladder with the relaxation needs being at the lowest level, followed in order by safety/security needs, relationships needs, self-esteem and development needs, and finally, at the highest level, fulfilment needs*.» (P. Pierce & U. I. Lee, 2005). However, Pierce's structure was criticized for being rigid (C. Ryan, 1998).

The updated research (from TCL to TCP) highlighted 14 motivation factors as *(1) novelty, (2) escape/relax, (3) relationship (strengthen), (4) autonomy, (5) nature, (6) self-development (host-site involvement), (7) stimulation, (8)self-development (personal development), (9) relationship (security), (10) self-actualization, (11) isolation, (12) nostalgia, (13) romance, and (14) recognition*. The new research offered term "pattern" (TCP) instead of "ladder" (TCL), as in *tourism career* it's possible to move towards various directions simultaneously, without necessary passing through "previous" phases, while TCL logic was based

on Maslow's model that requires the previous criteria to be satisfied before the next-step need arise.

The importance of this work lies in a broader logic in comparison with previous works. Pierce moves further the offered "pull and push" theory, he blurs the line between these factors and suggests that it's a variety of them and that lived experience affects a lot on motivational factors and needs of travelers, which was not considered in the previously seen works.

The paper "Measuring tourist motivation" tried to materialize and measure motivations to structure them for marketing purposes. Motivation is seen as a critical variable because it drives tourist behavior, influencing decisions on travel and destination choices (D. Fodness, 1994).

The author uses previously seen articles by Dann, Crompton, Pierce, and others to describe motivation as a concept in tourism, while the purpose of the paper is to present a tool designed to measure tourist motivation. The research is based on the *functional theory of motivation*, building on the work of D. Katz (1960). Fodness assigns various functions to motivation, each representing different psychological needs that drive tourists, and creates a new multidimensional scaling based on four functional dimensions (the first of which is subdivided on "positive" and "negative" polarities):

- *knowledge function* (positive) and *utilitarian function: minimization of punishment* (negative);
- *social adjustive function*;
- *value-expressive function*;
- *utilitarian function: reward maximization* (D. Fodness 1994).

The functional approach offers a structured way to categorize visitors based on these motivational functions, allowing tourism marketers to target

specific segments more accurately. The author notes that motivation-based segmentation provides rich insights into "why" tourists make certain travel decisions, which can be pivotal for designing marketing strategies, such as product offerings and promotional messages, and uses tourist motivations as a basis for market segmentation, allowing destinations to tailor their offerings and marketing strategies more precisely.

Understanding motivation is crucial as it allows us to track how needs are born and expressed. In the analyzed articles, we've seen how various motivations shape different requests in visitors, which in turn drive them to satisfy their needs in certain places. Visitors pick their destinations based on whether its *tourist product* meets their requirements for needs satisfaction. Fondes (1994) said that «from a marketing perspective, tourism products can be designed and marketed as solutions to consumer's needs». Hence, it's fundamental to deepen the concept of tourist products to be able to analyze travelers' behavior and to provide them with adequate offers to meet their requirements.

In the recent study, J. Khalilzadeh et al. (2024) have criticized the mentioned theories, frameworks, and models that are considered classic in tourism literature. In the authors' opinion, they are incomplete and do not mirror a vast number of modern society aspects. The authors highlight four major key points that those theories can't tackle. Thus, those aspects are (1) *visitors' irrational consumption behavior*; (2) *the impact of [seemingly] non-relevant events on travelers' behaviors*; (3) *the interconnectedness between motivation and other relevant concepts; (4) the latent layers of motivation* (J. Khalilzadeh et al. 2024). The authors are convinced that existing motivation theories are not responsive to accommodate the world's trends, events, crises, etc. Meanwhile, such factors have a noticeable influence on travelers' behavior,

affecting both push and pull factors of their motivations. Another weakness of most of these field studies is the individual approach, when travel motivation is very sensitive to a wide spectrum of societal factors such as values, cultural context, and others' opinions (J. Khalilzadeh et al., 2024).

Recent studies revealed interconnectivity between cognitive and motivation process on biological level, which brings us take under consideration this dimension too (F. Kouneiher et al., 2009; L. H. Somerville & B. Casey, 2010) Analyzing the above listed information, J. Khalilzadeh et al. came up with an idea that motivation «*is a product resulting from the interplay among minds*, *bodies*, *societies*, *and our culture and way of life… the nature of tourism motivation is multidimensional*, *dynamic*, *nonlinear*, *and complex*» (J. Khalilzadeh et al., 2024).

The authors argue to adopt a new complex adaptive system that will allow to consider and account for heterogeneous contexts, environments, and other non-constant factors while analyzing motivation mechanisms. The parts of this network are interconnected and dynamic, which means that destinations are linked to reasons for visiting or avoiding them. The framework consists of:

- Inputs (motivations, attitudes, expectations, values, past experiences, costs, and benefits);
- Outputs (motivational force, destination utility);
- Interconnectivity (codependency and correlation between motivations and destinations).

Such an approach closes the gaps the authors formulated within the existing theoretical basis. The new system captures irrational behavior by considering collective decision-making patterns and nonlinear interactions between motivations, attitudes, and values. Moreover, it brings the possibility to track mutations of motivations dynamically and look through various

theoretical perspectives. Complex adaptive system offered a classification for *approach motives* (e.g., cultural attractions, locals) and *avoidance demotives* (e.g., crime, bad weather). As a result, this framework conceptualized tourism motivation as a consequence of cognitive and social systems interaction.

The study promotes the use of *complex adaptive system* in tourism motivation research, offering an adaptable framework that integrates diverse theories and covers longstanding limitations. By modeling tourism motivation as a networked system, it provides valuable insights for both researchers and practitioners in understanding the dynamic, interconnected nature of travel decision-making.

1.2 Motivation shapes needs

The relationship between needs and motivation is cyclical, and different psychological and marketing theories provide slightly varied perspectives. But which comes first motivation or need? Two views on this dilemma:

- Needs Create Motivation (Traditional View):

  This is the most widely accepted view in psychology and consumer behavior studies. According to this perspective, needs represent states of deprivation or imbalance that an individual seeks to resolve. Motivation is the driving force that compels action to satisfy those needs. For example, in mentioned Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943), unmet physiological needs like hunger or thirst create motivation to find food or water. Kotler (2016) stated that a motive is "a need that is sufficiently pressing to direct the person to seek satisfaction." In this view, needs are the root cause of motivation.
- Motivation Shapes or Creates New Needs:

  This perspective suggests that while needs may initially drive motivation, motivation can also shape or create new needs. For example, intrinsic

motivation (e.g., the desire for self-expression or exploration) can create new, more complex needs, such as the desire to learn new skills, engage with different cultures, or pursue unique travel experiences. Pearce's Tourism Career Ladder (2005) illustrates how motivations evolve with travel experience, leading to higher-order needs, such as self-actualization or self-development.

Returning to the initial question: *which comes first*? Basic needs create motivation: in survival contexts (e.g., physiological needs), needs clearly come first. Motivation shapes higher-order needs: in modern contexts, such as leisure and tourism, motivations can lead individuals to identify and pursue new needs, such as unique experiences, social validation, or self-fulfillment. Thus, needs and motivation are interdependent: unmet needs generate motivation, and motivation can lead to the creation of new needs over time.

We have already said that studying motivations is crucial for understanding true and deep desires of consumers. Motivations shape visitors' needs and define their behavior (J. L. Crompton 1979). The previously seen papers have offered frameworks for analysis how different motivations trigger arise certain needs and requests in consumers (J. L. Crompton 1979, G. Dann, 1977; P. L. Pierce & U. I. Lee, 2005; D. Fodness, 1994), later we saw how rigid these theories became over years (J. Khalilzadeh et al., 2024). We tried to answer *why people travel*, which is crucial and the starting point of traveling activity. Now, the question "*what are the needs of people who travel?"* must be explored. It might seem the same question, but it is not, as in the first case, we analyzed the root of the idea of traveling, the "why." Meanwhile, when speaking of needs, we analyze *what* the "why" makes do travelers. In other words, motivation is a consequence of initial needs. In the meantime, more

sophisticated needs arise because the initial needs get reshaped by motivation (B. Jewell & J. C. Crotts, 2001).

Motivation itself does not make people travel, but creates needs that individuals want to satisfy by undertaking travels. Previously, it has been already said that motivation is very different for each person, and even for the same person, it changes over time, from travel to travel (P. L. Pierce & U. I. Lee, 2005). It is obvious that different motives trigger different needs. When this logic applies to traveling, different types of travel experiences are requested. Extremely high relevant concepts in needs creation (in tourism motivation optics) are expectations, attitudes, and values. They are immediate antecedents and consequences of any motivational-cognitive process and have a significant influence on travelers' needs (J. Khalilzadeh et al., 2024). It means that a person planning their trip has certain ideas of how the travel must look like, how long it should last, etc. These variables will influence visitors' specific preferences and determine their choice of destination based on the offerings that best meet their needs. Meanwhile, expectations determine our level of satisfaction received from consumed product (service) and the whole experience (J. Gnoth, 1997). Another important layer of motivation and, consequently, of needs satisfaction are emotions. They could be related to "*relevant concepts*" or "*latent layers*" suggested in complex adaptive system. Emotions serve as a bridge between the subject and their environment: people's perception of the world, positive and negative aspects are based on emotions and are always distorted through this prism, so our judgment about our experience is closely interconnected with the emotions we encountered during the process (M. H. Pestana et al., 2020).

We explored the foundational question of why people travel, examining motivations as the driving forces behind tourism and their relationship with

visitors' needs. The discussion spanned several frameworks, theories, and models starting with Maslow's hierarchy of needs to Dann's push-pull theory, Crompton's socio-psychological motives, and Pearce's Tourism Career Pattern. These approaches illustrate how motivations evolve and influence travel behavior.

Motivation, as a central psychological and sociological concept, reveals that the desire to travel stems from diverse and deeply personal factors, including the need to escape routine, seek self-fulfillment, or strengthen relationships. However, as highlighted, traditional models often fail to account for modern complexities, such as collective decision-making, cultural shifts, and the impact of unpredictable societal events.

Recent advancements, such as Khalilzadeh's Complex Adaptive System (CAS) framework, provide a broader and more dynamic understanding. By treating motivation as a product of interlinked cognitive, cultural, and social systems, the CAS approach acknowledges the multidimensional, nonlinear nature of tourism motivation and integrates both rational and irrational behaviors into its analysis. This represents a significant step forward in addressing the limitations of older theories.

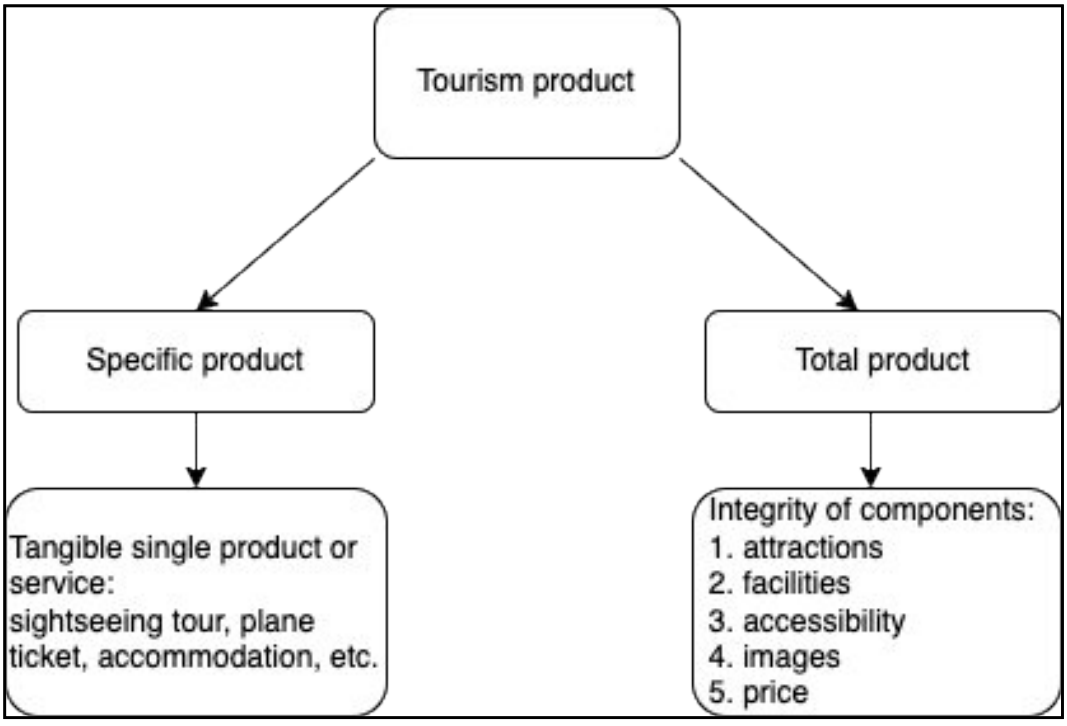
Importantly, motivations do not exist in isolation but manifest as needs: specific requests and expectations that shape tourist behavior and influence destination choice. This underscores the importance of understanding motivations not merely as the "why" behind travel but as precursors to the "what" travelers seek. Expectations, attitudes, and values emerge as pivotal in shaping needs, reinforcing the interdependence between motivations and the tourist product.

In conclusion, understanding tourism motivation requires a nuanced and evolving approach that incorporates both individual and collective perspectives. By examining the psychological, sociological, and systemic dimensions of motivation, we can better comprehend how needs arise and how they guide tourists' decisions. This insight is essential for effectively designing and marketing tourism products that meet the diverse and changing requirements of travelers.

1.3 Tourism Product

In the previous part, we investigated the "why" of tourism and saw how tourism motivation correlates with needs that a person satisfies by travelling. As we've seen before, a lot of variables may affect the choice of destination, including the same factors that urged the need of travel in the first place (J. L. Crompton, 1979). Depending on the roots of motivation and the needs that derive from it, people choose their destinations for leisure vacations based on numbered variables such as socio-economic status, cultural background, previous experiences, and others more dynamic such as political situation, time of year, etc. According to the needs provoked in an individual, he/she will be choosing a destination that would have all the requisites for satisfying those needs. The complex of products and services that satisfy the initial requirement is known in literature as "tourism product". Before starting an overview of this concept, it's fundamental to define a wider notion of product. Kotler (1984) suggested the following definition of product: «*Anything that can be offered to a market for attention*, *acquisition*, *use*, *or consumption that might satisfy a want or need. It includes physical objects*, *services*, *persons*, *places*, *organization*, *and ideas*». This definition emphasized that an immaterial concept as a *service* could be considered a product.

The problem of defining tourism product is common for most service industries in contrast with manufacturing, which entails to difficulties with product development as service industries tend to emphasize the marketing aspects over the development industries (S. Smith, 1994). It happens due to uncertain understanding and definition of tourism product, that over years received more attention of researchers. Middleton and Medlik (1973) suggest that the tourist experience itself (which consists of destination attractions, destination facilities, accessibility, images, and price) represents tourism product (S. Medlik & V. Middleton, 1973). Further Middleton (1989) split tourism product into two dimensions: specific and total. The first one refers to a single product/service offered by a single business, while total is the whole complexity of tourists' experience and includes the components described above. Casarin completes offered definition of total product and includes *imagine of the destination* and *information* as part of the tourism product.



Middelton's "components model" (Fig. 2)

The image is important for tourists as their satisfaction depends on the deviation of the lived reality and the image they had before choosing that specific place for their vacation. Generally, an image has three main functions:

- helps with creating expectations;
- it serves as a filter between perception of experienced service and level of tourists' satisfaction;
- strengthens the motivation of personnel (relevant for service providers).

Available and clear information, as part of tourism product, is essential for tourists to let them experience the destination at best with as many as possible activities and services as it could offer (F. Casarin, 2007).

Jefferson and Lickorish (1988) offer two definitions, one for general product and the other for tourism product. The general definition is very alike to Kotler's one: «*collection of physical and service features together with symbolic associations which are expected to fulfil the wants and needs of the buyer*» (A. Jefferson & L. J. Lickorish, 1988). Just like Kotler, the authors propose that the product could contain an intangible part, in other words, *service*. While more specific description of tourism product is discrete and seems to not consider this type of product as partially tangible: «*is a satisfying activity at a desired destination*».

Three levels of view of product were offered by Lewis and Chambers (1989). They argue that the product consists of "formal product", "core product" and "augmented product". Consumers believes that they buy a formal product when actually they buy a core product, and the supplier provides it with its own additional services, creating an augmented product (R. C. Lewis & R. E. Chambers, 1989). In tourism product optic these three levels might be interpreted with an example of a mountain weekend, that for the consumer

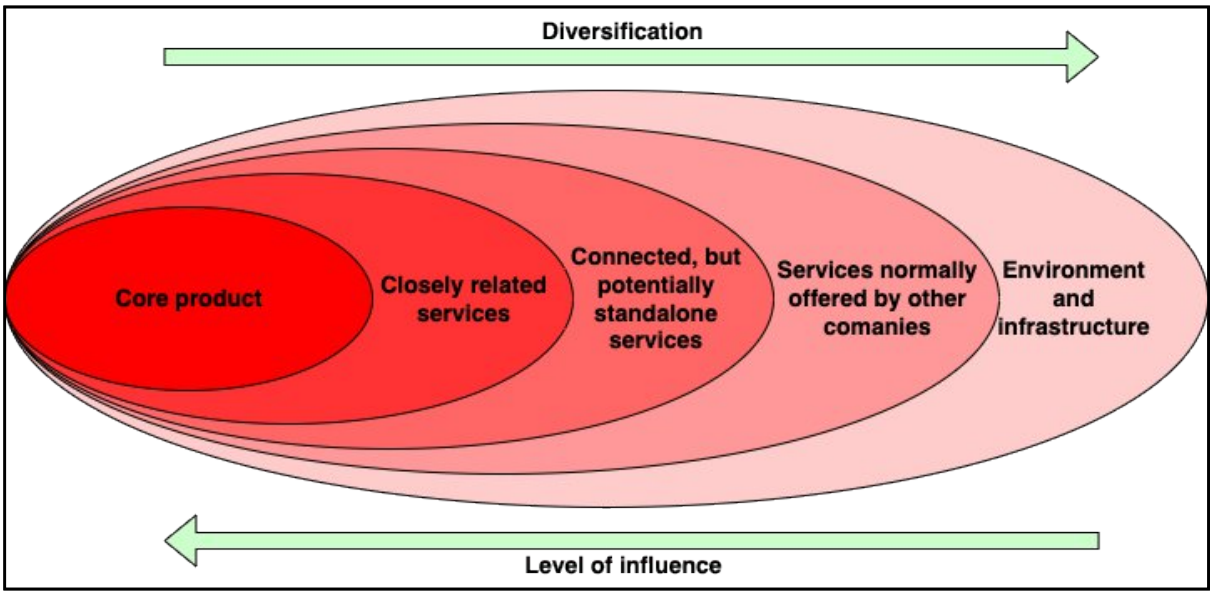
stands for a *formal product*, while the actual or *core* product are transportation, accommodation, ski pass etc. Augmented product in this case might be many, for accommodation it might be included breakfast and room service, for skipass it might be the rent of skies instead of bringing own ones etc. Later, these three product levels were adopted in literature and research papers in the context of general marketing for tourism (S. Smith, 1994).

Yet another dimension of the tourism product remained intact, the dimension of its perception by consumer and supplier. A consumer sees tourism product *horizontally* as a bunch of elements offered by different involved sectors, and from this perspective, it's a unique product despite its complexity of it. A producer of tourism product sees it *vertically* as a hierarchy of different services that a client should be provided with and takes its own place in this system. It allows to assume that the concept of tourism product to which refers a tourist is different from one to which refers producer, yet these concepts are called the same.

Tourism product has a complex nature, and then this complex nature is seen differently depending on the perspective that complicates work for *producers* of the product. They usually represent a specific product and not global, which doesn't allow them to have a bigger picture to be able to see how they can improve their offer. Speaking about *vertical* perception of tourism product, this hierarchy represents level of connection and influence on the services that make global product. Casarin offers an *overlapping* framework, which consists of four levels of the company's control over other services:

- services closely related to the company's main activity;
- connected but potentially autonomously presented on the market;
- services normally offered by other companies;
- environment and infrastructure (F. Casarin, 2007).

These layers *overlap* one on another, thus letting to see the potential of control or collaboration with other operators for improving both specific and global products (Fig.3). But the wider this diversification is, the lesser is the level of influence of specific product on global product.



Casarin's overlapping framework (Fig. 3)

These were the first attempts to shape a notion of tourism product. Since then, an immense number of research has been conducted in the field of service product, the component of which tourism product is. In this work United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) definition is used: «tourism product is a combination of tangible and intangible elements, such as natural, cultural and man-made resources, attractions, facilities, services and activities around a specific center of interest which represents the core of the destination marketing mix and creates an overall visitor experience including emotional aspects for the potential customers. A tourism product is priced and sold through distribution channels and it has a life-cycle» (UN Tourism dictionary). The UNWTO definition is the most complete one and presents in abundance both tangible and intangible parts of this product. Previously in this work we called these elements "pull factors" and defined them as those that

attract travelers and influence on destination choice and aim to satisfy the needs, but not those that provoke the need for travel itself.

1.4 Destination choice based on tourism product

Tourism is a response to emerged needs and established values. The tourism product significantly shapes destination choice by aligning with tourists' motivations, needs, and preferences. It represents the overall experience, services, and attractions that a destination offers, making it a critical factor in decision-making.

Tourism motivation and tourism products are deeply interconnected, with motivations driving the demand for specific products and products tailored to fulfill these motivations. According to already seen Dann's (1977) push-pull theory, *push factors* are internal desires such as the need for relaxation, novelty, or escape serve as the primary triggers for travel. While *pull factors* are external attributes like a destination's scenic beauty, cultural richness, or recreational facilities that determine the selection of a particular destination. These motivations inform the design of tourism products, which include the tangible and intangible services and experiences offered by a destination. For instance, a traveler seeking escape from routine may be attracted to a secluded wellness retreat marketed for relaxation, while someone motivated by cultural enrichment may choose destinations featuring heritage tours and festivals.

Tourism products, therefore, act as the fulfillment mechanism for tourists' needs, as highlighted in Crompton's (1979) socio-psychological framework, which identifies motivations such as novelty, social interaction, and education as key drivers of tourist behavior. Products designed around these needs—such as adventure tourism packages for thrill-seekers or eco-lodges for sustainability enthusiasts—reflect the evolving motivations of travelers. Pearce's (2005) Tourism Career Pattern further underscores that motivations are dynamic,

changing as travelers gain experience. Beginners may prioritize simple relaxation, while seasoned travelers may seek personal development or unique adventures, and it will be a tourist product to satisfy formulated needs and desires.

The relationship between motivations and tourism products extends beyond functional fulfillment to include emotional satisfaction. Pestana et al. (2024) emphasize the critical role of emotions, such as joy, nostalgia, and excitement, in shaping the overall experience and satisfaction of tourists. These emotional connections not only enhance the tourist experience but also build loyalty, influencing repeat visits and destination recommendations. Satisfaction acts as a mediator between motivations and behavioral intentions, with destinations that successfully deliver on both emotional and practical expectations seeing the most success.

Recent advancements by Khalilzadeh et al. (2024) highlight how motivations, emotions, and tourism products exist within a *complex adaptive system*, where interconnections between cognitive, cultural, and environmental factors shape the travel experience. This dynamic framework emphasizes that tourism products must adapt to global trends, such as the rising demand for wellness tourism, eco-tourism, and post-pandemic safety-focused travel options. For instance, after the COVID-19 pandemic, destinations innovated by offering socially distanced accommodations and outdoor wellness experiences, addressing the motivational shifts toward health, safety, and reconnection with nature.

Tourism motivation and tourism products are inextricably linked. Motivations determine the type of tourism products travelers seek, while well-crafted products fulfill these desires and contribute satisfaction, loyalty, and emotional connection. This interplay, as explored in foundational works by Dann

(1977), Crompton (1979), Pearce (2005), and contemporary studies by Pestana et al. (2024) and Khalilzadeh et al. (2024), provides critical insights for destinations aiming to design meaningful and competitive tourism offerings. Understanding this relationship not only enhances the individual travel experience but also contributes to a destination's long-term success.

At the beginning of this chapter, we stated that in the work, we concentrate on *personal* tourism which, according to International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics, includes the following types of tourism:

- *Holidays, leisure and recreation*: activities include sightseeing, visiting attractions, attending cultural or sports events, engaging in recreational sports (such as skiing, hiking, diving), enjoying beaches or entertainment facilities, cruising, gambling, dining, and wellness visits. It also includes fitness activities unrelated to medical care and stays in vacation establishments owned or rented by travelers.

- *Visiting friends and relatives*: this includes trips to visit family or friends, attend family events like weddings or funerals, or provide care for elderly or ill relatives.

- *Education and training*: short-term courses or programs aimed at skill development, such as language or professional training, fall under this category, excluding on-the-job training covered under *business purposes* and not *personal*.

- *Health and medical care*: this involves short-term medical treatments or wellness services at clinics, spas, or health resorts, including cosmetic procedures, but excludes long-term stays exceeding one year.

- *Religion and pilgrimage*: includes attending religious events or undertaking pilgrimages.

- *Shopping*: covers purchasing goods for personal use or as gifts, excluding items for resale or business purposes.

- *Transit*: refers to stopovers made solely as part of travel to another destination.

- *Other*: includes volunteer work, exploratory travel, or temporary activities not specified in other categories (IRTS, 2008).

This classification helps to see structurally that there may be different needs in tourists, meaning that to each of these needs, there must be an adequate tourism product to satisfy those. Though, it worth to say that not all these types might have their specific tourism product, in case of visiting of friends and relatives the place is often does not matter for travelers. But in the case of the holiday tourism type it may include a very wide range of tourism products: cultural, sightseeing, mountains, sea and others.

Now that we've seen how and why needs for travel appear, seen the introduction to tourism product and seen the types of tourism we're focusing on in this work, we can assume that when a need for travel is triggered by a certain motivation, travelers start choosing their vacation destination. Nowadays, the market can offer an immense variety of offers to satisfy each

need. On this step of planning vacation tourists basing their choice on the product a destination offers. For instance, it is very unlikely a person who wants to go to mountains for summer hiking will choose a seaside destination, unless it has mountains in vicinity, this is the easiest example of how destination choice might be based on tourism product.

Tourism motivations and products are deeply interconnected, shaping destination choices and travel experiences. Motivations drive the demand for specific products, while well-designed products fulfill these needs, offering both practical and emotional satisfaction. Frameworks like Dann's push-pull theory and Pearce's Travel Career Pattern highlight how motivations evolve, requiring adaptive tourism products to remain competitive.

Focusing on personal tourism, this work explores established key categories such as holidays, visiting friends and relatives, education, health, religion, shopping, and transit. These types demonstrate how products cater to diverse needs, influencing destination decisions. Ultimately, aligning motivations with tailored tourism products ensures satisfaction, loyalty, and long-term success in a competitive market.

This work focuses on dark tourism and consequently its tourism product. Previously made research in this work needed to explain general initial motivation and following behavior at choosing a certain tourism product. Once these concepts are clarified, it allows us to extrapolate this knowledge on

Understanding tourist motivation, needs, and tourism products is crucial in analyzing why individuals travel and how destinations cater to their expectations. This chapter explored various theoretical frameworks explaining the psychological and sociological forces that drive travel decisions, highlighting the dynamic and evolving nature of motivation. Whether driven by relaxation,

self-development, cultural enrichment, or novelty, these motivations shape the tourism experience and influence destination choice. Importantly, these same principles apply to all forms of tourism, including more complex and ethically debated types, such as dark tourism. Unlike traditional leisure tourism, dark tourism engages with historical memory, curiosity, and often a deep emotional or moral dimension. While some critics view it as voyeuristic, others argue that it fosters awareness, remembrance, and education (D. Lisel, 2016). The same motivational forces discussed in this chapter, such as the need for knowledge, escape, and self-actualization, play a role in why people seek out dark tourism experiences. By transitioning into this discussion, we can further explore how these motivations drive individuals to engage with places of tragedy.

Chapter 2: Dark tourism: history, definitions, motivations, categories.

2.1 History of the definition

One of the most controversial ways to get tourist experience is so-called *dark tourism*, also known as *thanatourism*, *black tourism*, *morbid tourism*, or *grief tourism*. Dark tourism involves visitors engaging with sites associated with death or tragedy that have deeply impacted public awareness. These spaces, whether authentic or reconstructed, showcase events of loss, horror, or atrocity, offering visitors an experience centered on understanding or reflecting upon such calamities (P. Stone, 2013). It's a relatively young term even if the phenomenon existed before, but became widespread and more popular, both in terms of visits to sites and in the context of academic research (R. K. Isaac & E. Çakmak, 2014). The notion "dark tourism" was introduced by Foley and Lennon in their work "JFK and Dark Tourism: a fascination with assassination" and in their original interpretation this phenomenon meant «encompass the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites» (M. Foley & J. Lennon, 1996). In the same 1996, Seaton presented his definition of the phenomenon called "thanatourism": «travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death» (A. V. Seaton, 1996). Duncan Light, in his overview of the first two decades of these phenomena as discipline, makes a distinction between *dark* and *thana-tourism*. According to the author: «Dark tourism tends to be used as an umbrella term for any form of tourism that is somehow related to death, suffering, atrocity, tragedy or crime. As originally formulated, it is a phenomenon rooted in the circumstances of the late twentieth century. Thanatourism is a more specific concept and is about long-standing practices of travel motivated by a specific desire for an encounter with death» (D. Light,

2017). In the present work, the exact definition and furthermore this detailed distinction is of no importance since it is not our subject of study. We will mostly address this phenomenon as “dark tourism,” but usage of any other synonymous will not mean any difference in its interpretation.

Dark tourism, while still only a niche within the wider tourism industry, has attracted considerable interest since its conceptualization in the. It is now acknowledged as an important area of academic inquiry, arising in different fields of study like anthropology, sociology, cultural analysis, ethical considerations, and traveler motivations (M. Benedetto, 2018).

As it was already mentioned, dark tourism is not a new phenomenon. Moreover, some researchers argue that it is one of the most ancient types of tourism that appeared long before the term tourism itself began to spring in its modern understanding (D. Bissell, 2009; A. V. Seaton & J. Lennon, 2004). Macabre entertainments were commonly practiced in the ancient world, violence and death always amazed people, famous amphitheaters in ancient Rome were a kind of dark tourism destination of its time, but of modern time as well (A. V. Seaton, 1996). People still visiting these places (Colosseum of Rome or Arena of Verona), probably considering it more cultural, historical or architectural type of tourism, but considering its origin it could be interpreted as dark tourism. Another example of ancient origin of dark tourism can be seen in pilgrimages, since a large number of pilgrimage sites have traditionally been connected to the suffering or deaths of certain individuals or groups (J. Lennon & M. Foley, 2002; M. Benedetto 2018).

Smith and Croy’s (2005) conceptualization of dark tourism offers a nuanced perspective on how sites associated with tragedy or calamity are curated and presented for tourism purposes. Their approach highlights the delicate interplay between historical accuracy, visitor engagement, and the

commodification of tragic events. In their study of Te Wairoa, the Buried Village in New Zealand, which was destroyed by the 1886 eruption of Mount Tarawera, Smith and Croy demonstrate how such sites are transformed into spaces for reflection and learning while maintaining their commercial viability. One of the central themes in their framework is the *presentation of history and memory*. They emphasize the importance of accurately preserving and presenting historical narratives to ensure that the significance of these sites is not lost. For instance, in Te Wairoa, the narrative focuses on memorializing the eruption's impact while making the story accessible and engaging for visitors. This involves the use of interpretive materials, artifacts, and site design to craft an experience that resonates with tourists while respecting the memory of those affected.

Another key element is the *curation of visitor experiences*, which involves designing the site to evoke specific emotional responses such as empathy, curiosity, or solemnity. Through careful curation, dark tourism sites become spaces that allow visitors to connect emotionally with historical events, making a deeper understanding of their significance.

Smith and Croy also refer to the *ethical considerations* inherent in dark tourism. They highlight the challenges of commodifying sites associated with death and suffering, noting a fine line between education and exploitation. To maintain ethical integrity, they argue that these sites must avoid sensationalism and instead focus on respectful storytelling that honors the memory of those involved.

Furthermore, the authors underscore the *cultural and educational value* of dark tourism sites. When presented responsibly, these locations can serve as spaces for reflection, learning, and cultural exchange. For example, Te Wairoa provides visitors with an opportunity to explore the cultural and historical

context of the eruption while also reflecting on broader themes such as human resilience and the relationship between people and nature.

In summary, Smith and Croy's conceptualization of dark tourism positions it as a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. It is not only about visiting places tied to tragedy but also about creating tourism product full of meaningful experiences that balance remembrance, education, and ethical engagement with commercial interests. This framework provides valuable insights into how dark tourism sites can be responsibly developed to meet the needs of both visitors and the communities they represent (N. Smith & W. G. Croy, 2005).

Today's dark tourism is a phenomenon that attracts millions of visitors annually if we consider it at its wider definition (9/11 memorial, Auschwitz, Pompeii). The phenomenon has its own web page *dark-tourism.com*, which is a kind of personal blog with a very wide range of "dark places" to visit and detailed description of each of them. Moreover, the website offers its definition, conceptualization, categorization, and code of ethics, it studies overlapping of different tourism types with dark tourism and many others. The author, Peter Hohenhaus, believes that dark tourism is a complex phenomenon and is unlikely to be described in a few words (dark-tourism.com). The author states that dark tourism refers to the practice of visiting sites associated with death, tragedy, or calamity. While the term may seem exotic or unusual, it is a much broader and more accessible concept than often perceived, encompassing a wide spectrum of tourist behaviors and attractions. As such, many individuals unknowingly engage in dark tourism to some degree. This form of tourism is not about literal "darkness" but rather a metaphorical engagement with history's more somber chapters, appealing to those interested in events or places tied to suffering, disaster, or mortality.

The author of the website highlights dark tourism's heterogeneity, the sites range from widely recognized destinations such as war museums, memorials like Hiroshima's Peace Park, or New York's 9/11 Memorial, to less known and frequented locations such as volcanic disaster zones in Iceland or Kazakhstan's Polygon nuclear test site. The interest of these destinations often lies in their ability to evoke reflection, curiosity, and emotional engagement with historical contexts. Some sites are directly linked to death and disaster, such as mausoleums or concentration camps, while others require a deeper contextual understanding, like exhibitions on socialist propaganda or ruins of historical tragedies with little physical evidence remaining.

P. Hohenhaus underlines that dark tourism does not operate in isolation from other forms of tourism. Many travelers include visits to dark sites as part of broader itineraries, combining them with cultural, culinary, or leisure activities. For example, a visit to Auschwitz may be paired with sightseeing in Krakow, or a trip to Hiroshima's Peace Memorial could accompany a broader exploration of Japan. Dedicated dark tourists may prioritize destinations for their historical or tragic significance but often balance these experiences with other aspects of travel.

Despite its popularity, defining dark tourism remains complex. It is often easier to articulate what does not qualify as dark tourism, such as traditional leisure activities like beach vacations, cultural performances, sports, or art exhibitions, unless these include a specific focus on death, tragedy, or catastrophe. However, the borders of dark tourism are fluid, as motivations and experiences vary widely among travelers.

Ultimately, the author concludes that dark tourism reflects a human fascination with the macabre and a desire to engage with challenging aspects of history and culture. While the degree of engagement with "dark" themes differs

among individuals, this form of tourism offers a unique lens through which to understand the complexities of human experience, making it an enduring and significant aspect of global travel.

Stone (2006) offered his key factors proving the complexity of dark tourism:

- *Spontaneous vs. Planned Visits*: there is a difference between the immediacy of visiting "sensation" sites linked to contemporary death and suffering and pre-planned trips to structured attractions or exhibitions that focus on both recent or historical events.
- *Purpose-Built vs. Accidental Sites*: some dark tourism sites are intentionally created to interpret or recreate events tied to death or the macabre. Others, like cemeteries, memorials, or disaster locations, become tourist attractions unintentionally because of their connection to tragic events, a certain sort of pilgrimage.
- *Visitor Motivation*: the level of influence of "dark" motives on choosing that specific destination. Visitors may choose a destination that among its attractions contains a dark site too, but if this site wasn't a decision-making factor, it becomes not obvious whether this could be called dark tourism.
- *Purpose Behind the Sites*: Dark tourism sites are created or maintained for various reasons like political agendas, remembrance, education, entertainment, or even economic profit. Each purpose shapes how these sites are presented and perceived.

These factors highlight the layered and multifaceted nature of dark tourism and how it's both experienced and produced. As seen, visitors' motivation also influences the definition of the activity, and this topic will be analyzed more carefully in the next subchapters.

2.2 What is a “dark site”

What makes a touristic site *dark*? When could a place be defined as a dark destination? These are questions that P. Hohenhaus makes in his article on the webpage. There are a few indicators that the author takes into consideration when deciding whether to include the location. He argues that the temporal factor is one of the most evident traces of a “dark site” and states that such sites belong to the 20th century because if too much time has passed, they don’t feel like a macabre anymore. Such as medieval battlefield sites, for instance, those do not qualify as dark tourism destinations. Though he makes exceptions, the eruption of Krakatoa of 1883, over time, the modern media influenced a lot on popularizing this location, especially films and music, and local tourism industry caters for visitors desiring to see the place.

Another example, this time an extreme one of the 20th century rule, the author argues Pompeii. Basically, according to Hohenhaus, there are three motives to include in dark tourism sites. The first one is the technical organization and management of the place, it is purely a touristic destination that offers a lot of additional services except for the access to the site. The second reason is the why visitors are attracted this place, after all it is a place of violent mass death. Most visitors come there to see petrified corpses of the victims of the volcanic disaster. This “morbid attraction”, as the author calls it, form a significant part of Pompeii tourist experience and product. And the third reason to call this place a dark site is Mount Vesuvius, that is still an active volcano. Visits to Pompeii are often combined with a trip to the crater rim of Vesuvius, the reason for the destruction of the site visitors just seen. And knowing that it could erupt again and cause even more severe consequences adds the dim thrill to the visitors’ experience. In all other cases where there is

either some kind of link to the present or they stand out and can thus be seen as representative of the kind of site.

Another difficulty in defining whether the site could be counted as dark is *dislocation*. In the most cases the dark destination is the very same place at which the connection with death and disaster is located, such as volcano eruption sites, nazi's camps etc. There is not any controversial topic on that matter. But what if the site in discussion is displaced from what they are about? Hohenhaus appeals to Holocaust museums in the USA and Israel. Could those be called dark destinations/sites? The Holocaust didn't occur in any of these places, and still, should they be considered as dark? Hohenhaus argues that in these two particular cases, an exception must be made despite their dislocation from the actual Holocaust sites. The exceptions are made because of the quality of the institution in the US case and because of the geographical placement in the Jewish state in the case of Yad Vashem memorial site in Jerusalem. But as said, these cases are an exception, and Hohenhaus highlights that not all the displaced Holocaust museums and monuments should be considered as dark sites. Another not obvious example could be Holodomor memorial in Kyiv. Holodomor, also known as Ukrainian Famine, artificially staged famine by Soviet government in 1932-1933, took lives of millions of Ukrainians (N. Dreyer, 2018). The Holodomor memorial is dislocated from the area where Holodomor raged in Nord-East Ukraine. But since Holodomor was distributed in large territory, it does not have one certain place that would represent it (like Nazi camps), Holodomor memorial is unique place dedicated to this event and probably could be considered as dark site, despite of its geography.

The next step in defining a dark site is commodification, a term proposed by Lennon and Foley's "Dark Tourism" book (J. Lennon & M. Foley 2000). The term refers to how a site's management develops and presents its dark history

to visitors, particularly when operated as a profit-driven business. In such cases, the site's narrative and features become "commodities" marketed to meet visitors' expectations and generate revenue, often through higher admission fees and tailored experiences. Even at less commercialized sites, the way their assets are presented can be critical and sometimes controversial. This is especially true for sensitive locations like concentration camp memorials, where debates about appropriate commodification have been going on for years. Still, there must be something "there", something to be seen/experienced there, in order for a site to be a real dark tourism site. If nothing remained from the past dark events, the place cannot be considered as a dark site, more a commemorative one.

A dark tourism site is defined by its connection to death, tragedy, or disaster, with key factors including temporal proximity, authenticity of location, visitor motivations, tangible remnants of the event, and the way the site is managed and commodified. These elements shape the site's appeal and classify it as a space for reflection, education, or morbid fascination.

Wrapping up this part, the author says that the cases of pure dark tourists and dark tourism as an activity are quite rare, and as mentioned above, these are more a complementary part of complex experiences lived while travelling. So, it never should be studied in isolation from the context of the whole vacation and the persons undertaking such experiences. After all, nearly each traveler in one way or another put this mask on at least once even if they didn’t mean to.

2.3 Motivation for dark tourism

Over years since the birth of dark tourism as a scholar subject, researchers have concentrated on what this type of tourism could offer to its consumers and what places attract visitors the most. But the *why* of this topic always remained secondary discussion, and even in this case, it was quite speculative (D. Light,

2017). In the complex overview of dark tourism D. Light (2017) tried to collect all possible motivations offered by researches since the appearance of studies on this topic*: remembrance, education or entertainment, curiosity about the unusual; a (sometimes voyeuristic) attraction to horror; and a desire for empathy or identification with the victims of atrocity; secular pilgrimage; a desire for inner puri cation; schadenfreude; "ghoulish titillation"; a childlike curiosity about mortality; a search for the otherness of death; an interest in personal genealogy and family history; nostalgia; a search for 'authentic' places in a commodified world; a fascination with evil and a desire to encounter the pure/impure sacred* (D. Light, 2017).

Earlier, at the dawn of these studies, a segmentation in categories of tourist was offered accordingly to their motivation. For instance, the author appeals to Lennon and Foley that offered two types of motivation: those specialist interest or personal connection to a particular site (or the events that took place there), and those (the majority) without such a connection who visit for other reasons (D. Light, 2017), which is another example of how superficial these studies were. Starting from mid-2000s, the interest was in growth, but still motivation for each author was very vague, and there was not any consensus on a unique framework. This fact once again confirms Hohenhaus's theory that demand for dark tourism is highly heterogeneous and that travelers can visit an individual site for a wide range of reasons (D. Light, 2017).

Having studied 30 empirical papers dedicated in one way or another to dark tourism, Light came up with the list of 20 formulated motives that drove people to visit places defined as "dark". The first two most command motives are:

- desire or opportunity for education/ learning/understanding about what happened at the site;

- curiosity.

Both motives are relatively met more often than others. Foley and Lennon (1996) in their work stated that understanding about what really happened at the place of their research (JFK's assassination site) drove most visitors (M. Foley & J. Lennon, 1996). These two motives also seem quite logical in terms of common sense.

Another important finding of this framework is that the motivation factor formulated as "*interest in death/morbid curiosity*" is collocated in the very middle of this hierarchy in 10th place, despite being the closest one to the academic description of the phenomenon. A second similar phenomenon could be collocated at any place from 2 to 7 (of 20) as was mentioned the same amount of time as other 5 factors. It sounds like a "*desire for contact and connection with death/dark events/violence*". Again, it highlights the complexity and wrong perception of both dark tourists and dark tourism and questions its very definition.

What was noticed during this research and analysis of others' studies is that the whole discipline lacks attention to motivational factor before the experience occurs. So, to ask people before they visit a dark site rather than *post-factum*. For example, in the article of the Guardian (2012) dedicated to dark tourism and written by Tim Dowling there is a short comment of a 20-years old student that just visited Chornobyl Exclusion Zone (in the article is stated that he visited Chornobyl's nuclear power station, but it is quite impossible, and we assume the exclusion zone was meant). What he said was: «I felt a sense of gladness that myself and my family haven't had to experience horrors like those in Chornobyl» (Dowling, 2012 for The Guardian). This is a thought that appeared post visiting the place, so this feeling couldn't drive him there (he never knew

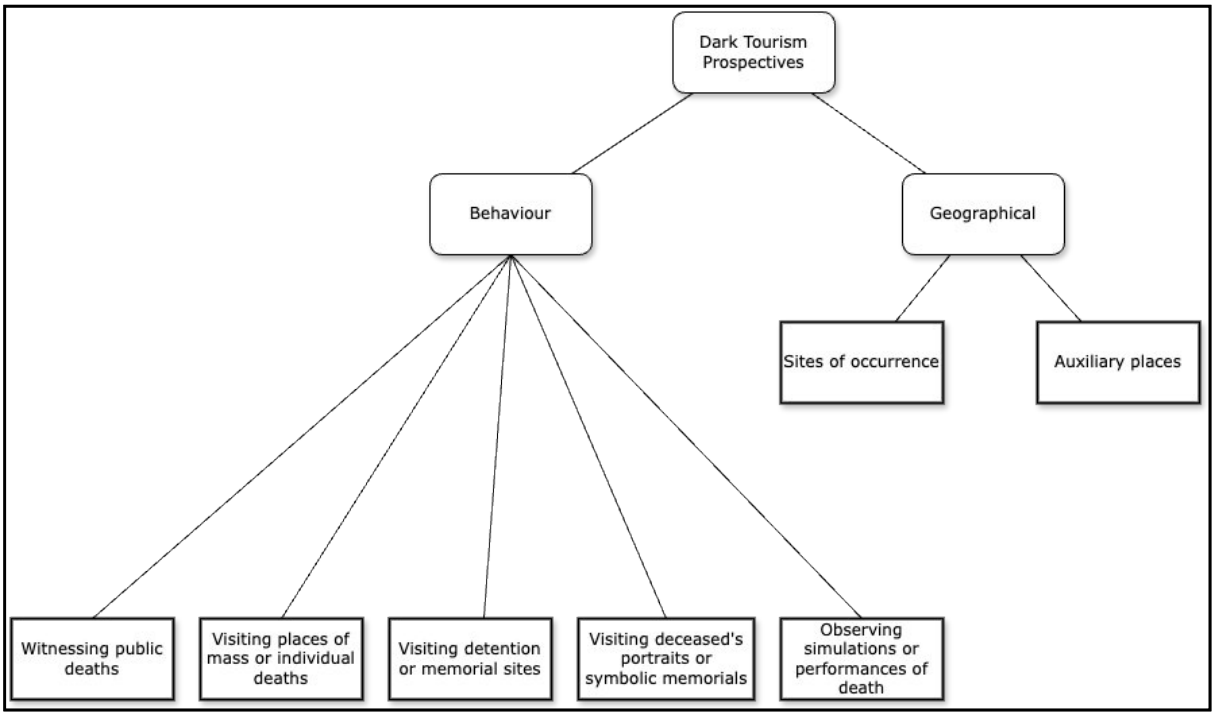
he would come up with this thought) in the first place, it must have been something else that so far has not been studied yet.

Mentioned earlier Hohenhaus states, the motivations for engaging in dark tourism are as diverse as the sites themselves. For many, it is an educational experience aimed at understanding historical tragedies and their implications. Others may be attracted by personal curiosity or a desire to confront disturbing questions about mortality, human resilience, or societal breakdowns (dark-tourism.com). Academic research has also explored the philosophical and emotional dimensions of dark tourism, suggesting that some travelers may use these experiences to fight with existential fears or to seek meaning in tragic historical events.

2.4 Classification of dark tourism

Dark tourism is a very heterogeneous phenomenon, it is an extremely wide notion of travel experiences and places to visit, and consequently it can take very different forms. Thus, dark tourism is often categorized into subcategories. This brings difficulties in classifying a certain activity. Kexin Chen (2023), in her analysis of dark tourism, argues that generally, it is classified from two perspectives: *geographical characteristics* of the sites and the *behavior of visitors* (K. Chen, 2023). Geographical perspective could be divided into two types: actual sites of events (concentration camps) and auxiliary places commemorating the events (monuments or museums dedicated to “dark” events) (Fig.4). Though, According to Hohenhaus, not all such auxiliary places could be considered as a “dark site” in his classification, and it has been mentioned above. From the perspective of tourist behavior, dark tourism can be subdivided into five types offered by Seaton (1996) and enhanced by Lennon and Foley (2000): *1. witnessing public deaths; 2. visiting places of mass or individual deaths; 3. visiting detention or memorial sites; 4. observing*

simulations or performances of death; 5. visiting the deceased's portraits or symbolic memorials (Fig. 4).



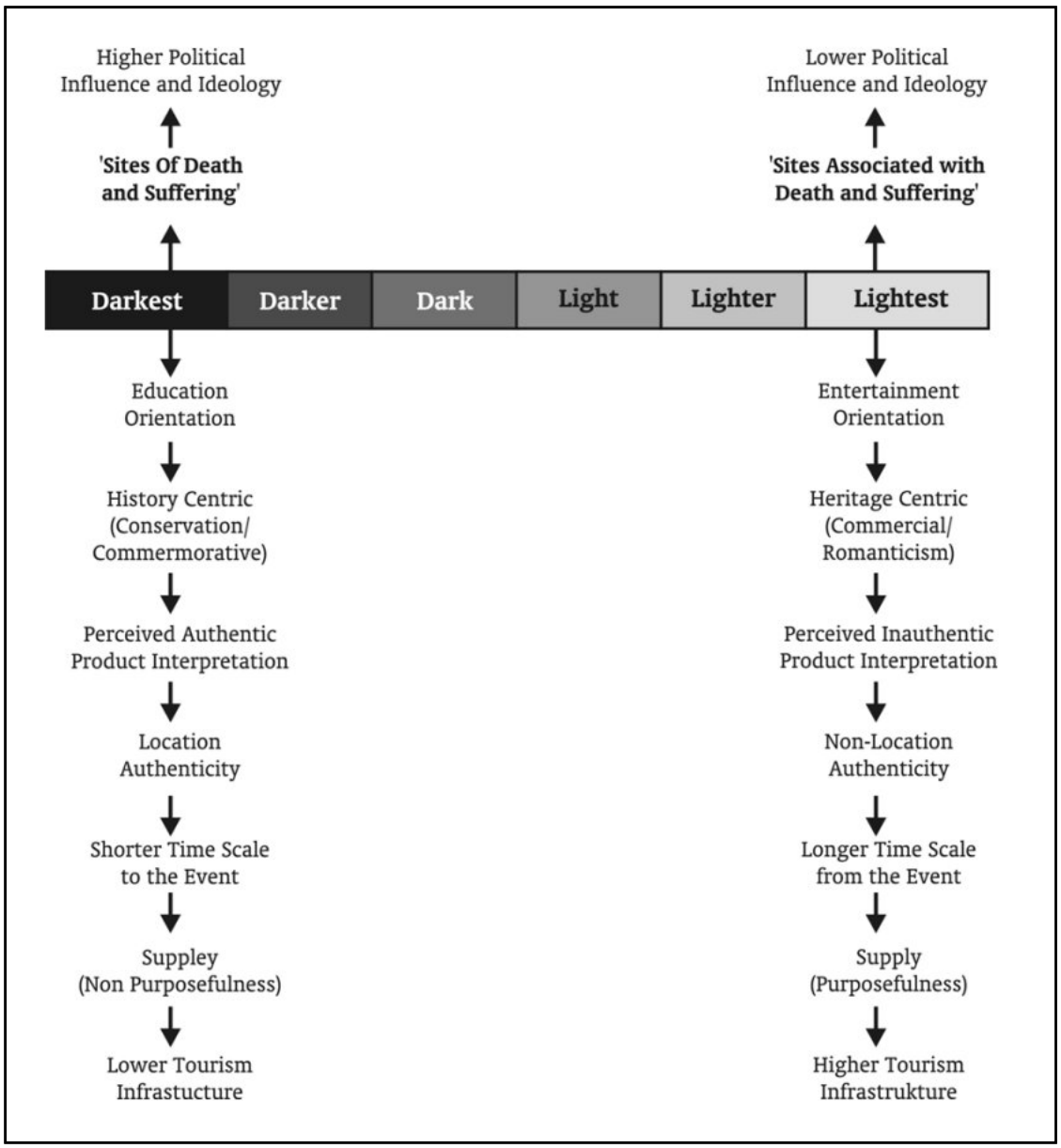
Dark Tourism Perspectives (Fig. 4)

However, until now, there is not an even more or less widely accepted framework categorizing this type of tourism. Mostly probable it is due to the uncertain definition of dark tourism itself, regardless almost 30 years have passed since the term was introduced for the first time. Still considered in this work.

Stone (2006) offered categorization based on the gradation of sites' "darkness". There are various factors that might vary the "shades" of darkness. Various events will give different level of darkness to the sites. For instance, natural disaster and concentration nazi camp are both dark sites, but the second one is seen darker as it was caused intentionally and for other reasons. Another factor is based upon the temporal dimension and spatial affinity with a site, e.g., the sites associated with death and suffering and actual sites of death and

suffering (examples of holocaust museums and holocaust sites). The time frame is very Important for such places: events that occurred from several centuries to ages ago are less sensitive than events that happened within a century or less. Basing on such factors Stone created a *dark tourism spectrum* (Fig. 5). According to this spectrum there are some variables that define the "darknesses" of each site going from "sites of death and suffering", as the "*darkest*" group of sites, to "sites associated with death and suffering" as the "*lightest*" within the *dark tourism spectrum*. The variables that define the shade are political influence and ideology; orientation; authenticity of product interpretation; location authenticity; historic/heritage centricity; time distance; positioning in the market (what the author calls "supply"); tourism infrastructure.

As follows from this framework, Stone highlighted "seven dark suppliers" of dark tourism, or seven categories that go from the lightest to the darkest tourism product, positioning them along a spectrum of intensity from entertainment-focused attractions to solemn sites of remembrance.



Stones Dark Tourism Spectrum (Fig. 5) (Stone, 2006)

The categories of dark tourism suppliers According to Stone are following:

- *Dark fun factories*: these are commercialized, entertainment-driven attractions that present death with dramatized storytelling. Examples include the *London Dungeon* and the proposed *Dracula Park*, which prioritize appearance and emotions over historical accuracy.

- *Dark Exhibitions*: mixing education with tourism, these sites showcase death and suffering in a curated manner. The *Smithsonian's 9/11* exhibit and *Body Worlds* exemplify how exhibitions can provoke reflection while still operating as commercial structures.
- *Dark Dungeons*: former prisons and courthouses that present crime and punishment history through interactive visitor experiences. Robben Island emphasizes political remembrance, and sites like the Galleries of Justice include theatrical elements to engage audience.
- *Dark Resting Places*: cemeteries and grave tourism sites that attract visitors for historical, artistic, or cultural reasons.
- *Dark* Shrines: memorials that emerge at sites of recent tragedies, often initially informal but later formalized. The memorials for Princess Diana and Ground Zero began as spontaneous shrines before evolving into structured remembrance sites.
- *Dark Conflict Sites*: battlefields and war memorials that commemorate historical conflicts. World War I sites like Ypres and the Somme emphasize education and reflection, while some incorporate reenactments, introducing commercial elements.
- *Dark Camps of Genocide*: the darkest category, representing sites of mass atrocity, focused on education and remembrance. Auschwitz-Birkenau and the Killing Fields serve as memorials to human suffering, resisting commercialization.

This framework helps distinguish between tourism that educates and commemorates and that which commercializes and entertains, offering insight into how societies engage with death through tourism. And yet this framework

is almost two decades old and does not represent a universal categorization of dark tourism sites and activities.

The other attempt to structure dark tourism types was undertaken by P. Hohenhaus (dark-tourism.com). He offers a few approaches to categorization of this complex phenomenon. The first one and the easiest one is categorizing dark destinations themselves. There are 47 categories, some of them are very specific, e.g. *Holocaust* sites, *volcanos*. And some of them are rather vague, like *cities*; *wrecks/wreckages*; *ruins* etc. They are vague because cities might include ruins sites inside them. Or *Nazi sites* could include *Holocaust sites* and yet these are different categories. As well as *genocide* sites or *death camps* that are apart categories but could easily mix in certain situations with listed above categories. Then there is *WWII* category, that is a larger one and could include *Holocaust*, *death camps*, *Nazi sites* and many other (dark-tourism.com). So, classification based on site type is not relevant for a universal list.

Author offers two other lists: *basic categories of dark tourism* and *categories of tourism overlapping with dark tourism*. The basic categories are ten and these are: 1. *grave tourism; 2. Holocaust tourism; 3. (other) genocide tourism; 4. prison and persecution site tourism; 5. communism tourism; 6. cult-of-personality tourism; 7. Cold War & Iron Curtain tourism; 8. nuclear tourism; 9. disaster area tourism; 10. icky medical tourism*. Here appears to be the same problematic: these categories repeat each other and often overlap one above other. For instance, the most obvious could be the relations between 5th, 6th and 7th types. They are often the part of the same broader root.

Concerning overlapping categories, Hohenhaus counts fourteen of them: *1. history tourism; 2. roots tourism; 3. heritage tourism; 4. Jewish heritage/roots tourism; 5. war tourism; 6. grief tourism; 7. thanatourism; 8. suicide tourism; 9. modern pilgrimages; 10. murder site tourism; 11. underworld tourism; 12.*

extreme landscapes tourism; 13. urban exploration ('Urbex'); 14. middle-of-nowhere tourism. This classification is also quite confusing as these are not defined by author as pure subcategories of dark tourism, but independent categories of tourism that *may overlap* with dark tourism. Most definitions of dark tourism state that this is an activity related to visiting places of death (not only, but in almost all definitions we citated the word death is present), and yet the author believes that *suicide tourism* is an apart category, even if “suicide” is a certain synonym of “death”. The author argues that in case of suicide tourism the deaths were not against the will of committers, which creates this moral dilemma whether consider these places as dark in comparison to the places of mass murders (terrorist attack places) or atrocious/famous single murders (JFK, John Lennon) where it was against the will of victims. And it is only one of the dilemmas of this classification, it could be extrapolated to nearly each of these fourteen categories, but it is not the purpose of these research to create a clear categorization. This information is fundamental for approaching to the category we are focusing on in this study: *war tourism*.

Chapter 3: War tourism. Classification. Implications

War tourism has been in the spotlight starting with the very beginning of dark tourism studies (V. L. Smith, 1998; A. V. Seaton, 1996). This phenomenon, just like dark tourism itself, has very vague borders and it is very difficult to give one certain definition of war tourism. In this chapter some scholar papers, journals and newspapers articles along with certain adopted politics are presented in order to try to encircle war tourism and eventually see how it could be curb for good.

War tourism has been explored through various academic lenses, including heritage tourism, dark tourism, history tourism, political tourism, and others which makes it very heterogenous phenomenon with different types of experience, moral contexts, interpretations, motivations etc. In scholar literature this phenomenon appears in Seatons's (1996) work "Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis to thanatourism". War tourism appeared there as a part of his concept of thanatourism, without highlight the exact term. He identified «*travel to battlefields*, *to sites of mass or individual deaths*, *to murder sites*, *to graves*, *to prisons*, *to memorials and to exhibitions about death*» as a form of thanatourism through the lens of death-related travel and remembrance tourism. Valene L. Smith's (1998) in the study "War and Tourism: An American Ethnography" formally identified war tourism as the practice of visiting battlefields, war memorials, and military museums, categorizing it as a subfield of heritage tourism, not using "war tourism" as a scholar notion. She emphasized that such sites serve both commemorative and educational functions while also attracting casual tourists (V. L. Smith, 1998). Lloyd (1998) examined how World War I battlefields places transformed from pilgrimage destinations for veterans and their families into structured tourism attractions (D. W. Lloyd, 1998). Lennon and Foley (2000) describe war tourism within their

broader framework of dark tourism (they too do not use “war tourism” term). Lately Debbie Lisle (2016) distinguished a few different types of war tourists based on *when* they visit war zones, basing on Lennon and Foley work:

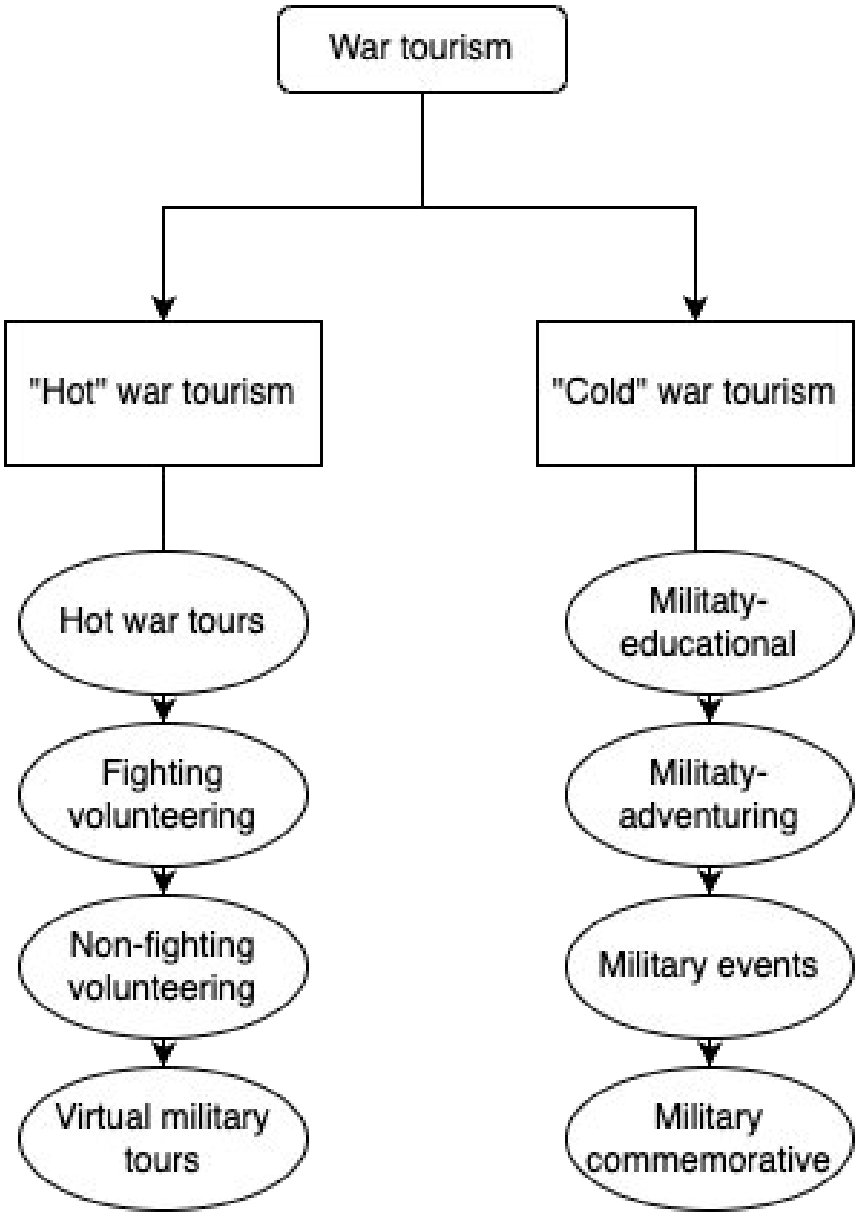
- *hot-war tourists*: these are individuals who arrive during active conflict or immediately after an atrocity, seeking to witness destruction firsthand. They also mention *adrenalin disaster tourists*, who are driven by the same desires, but visiting not war sites, but places of natural, environment and other destructions. However, the authors Lennon and Foley dismiss this category as voyeuristic and morally questionable.
- *Serendipitous tourists*: these tourists encounter war-related sites as part of a broader vacation rather than specifically seeking them out. They arrive well after a conflict, once the infrastructure has been repaired and the site has been formally integrated into the tourism industry.
- *Battlefield tourists*: these visitors seek out historical war sites, such as World War I and II battlefields, where the memory of war has been institutionalized and commemorated in museums, memorials, and guided tours (J. Lennon & M. Foley, 2000; D. Lisle, 2016).

More modern view on war tourism was proposed by Henderson (2000). The author analyzes how sites such as the Cu Chi Tunnels and the War Remnants Museum (legacy of Vietnam War) were transformed into attractions for both domestic and international tourists. Moreover, his study highlighted how war narratives are often politically framed, particularly in post-war societies (J. C. Henderson, 2000). However, most seen studies focuses on war tourism as part of history tourism, almost always referring to World Wars or more recent but

still history events, such as Vietnam War, Corean War, Irish War etc. (A. V. Seaton, 1996; V. L. Smith 1998; D. W. Lloyd, 1998; J. Lennon & M. Foley, 2000; R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone, 2009; C. Winter, 2011, M. G. Bertram, 2018; M. T. Simone-Charteris & S. W. Boyd; T. J. Lee et al, 2012).

Another important dimension of war tourism is political one. Through such places the governments can create narratives for both internal and external publics. Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) introduced the concept of "*dissonant heritage*", examining how war sites are often politically contested spaces. They argued that war tourism is shaped by government narratives, ideological biases, and selective historical memory (J. E. Tunbridge & G. J. Ashworth, 1996). This perspective influenced later studies on how war heritage is curated and commodified in different geopolitical contexts. Later this idea evolved by Stone's Dark Tourism Spectrum, where the darkest places are the most important for government ideology and thus undergo less impact and are less commodified.

The most complete classification of war tourism presented Halyna Shchuka et al. in their work "Ways to create supply in the inbound military tourism market in Ukraine" (2024) (Fig. 5.1).



War tourism categories by H. Shchuka et al (2024) (Fig. 5.1)

The offered classification divides war tourism into two categories: *cold* and *hot* and further divides each of these categories into eight sub-categories as follows:

- "*Hot war tours*": travel to the areas of active hostilities for educational and/or business purposes;
- "*Combat volunteering*": traveling to other countries to participate in a conflict as a volunteer soldier;

- “*Non-combat volunteering*": traveling to provide free medical, psychological and other types of assistance to victims of military conflict;
- “*Virtual military tour*": an online tour for the purpose of learning and/or combat/non-combat digital volunteering;
- “*Military-educational (historical) tourism*": tours for getting acquainted with military heritage and honoring the memory of the fallen in wars;
- “*Military-adventuring tourism*": active recreation that involves the use of military equipment and gear, participation in military exercises and maneuvers, etc;
- “*Military event tourism*": visiting military and historical reenactments, festivals, military parades, etc;
- “*Military commemorative tourism (pilgrimage tourism, memory routes)*": a trip to visit the places of death and/or burial of loved ones or famous people (H. Shchuka et. al, 2024).

Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) argue that many governments and stakeholders use heritage tourism as a means of economic development. Heritage sites are promoted as attractions that generate revenue, jobs, and infrastructural investment and at the same time could translate important narrative for raising awareness towards events that are crucial for the society that is visited (e.g. Zero Ground in NYC, Babyn Yar in Ukraine etc.). So further in this work we are going to explore how hot war tourism could be used as a mean of economic development, but also as a mean of communication with the world community. This communication is crucial as we’re living in the information age, and the fights of the Russian-Ukrainian war extend far beyond battlefields in Ukraine.

3.1 Hot-war tourism, conflict tourism. Visitors' classification

In this research, we are going to concentrate on *ongoing war tourism*, also known as *conflict tourism* or *hot war tourism*. We will use all these terms without offering new definitions or trying to classify the differences between these implications.

At first glance, war and tourism may seem un-coexisting phenomena. And yet visiting places where outrages a war or another type of an armed conflict is constant growth (D. Lisel, 2016; N. Williams et all, 2023; G. Mahrouse, 2016). In the recent study by Williams, Wassler and Fedeli (2023), hot war tourism is described as the type that refers to travel to an unstable environment characterized by the presence of high individual risks and where visitors experience the thrills of war firsthand, consciously assuming the risks (N. Williams et. all, 2023). Elvig (2013) describes conflict tourism as a form of dark tourism (tourism relating to death, disaster, destruction, etc.) where the visitors travel to current conflict areas or areas where conflict has recently occurred. Debbie Lisle (2000, 2016) argues that rather than being separate from war, tourism actively participates in the production, representation, and commodification of conflict. According to her, war tourism is the practice of traveling to sites of past or ongoing conflict, shaped by global security discourses that regulate perceptions of safety and danger. It includes battlefield tourism, post-war commemorative tourism, and the voyeuristic consumption of war zones as exotic, dangerous, or thrilling destinations (Lisle 2000, 2016).

Defining who are *war visitors/tourists* is not easy and is not as obvious as it may appear. War tourism, being a branch of dark tourism, has its own issues with being classified. In modern scholar literature, there is not much research about individuals who are seeking the thrills of active war sites. The motivations of this kind of visitors are not well studied, formalized, and so far, there is not

any framework that would allow to study these behaviors in a structured manner (Williams et all, 2023). Sometimes volunteer tourism or amateur journalism intertwine with war tourism. Recent studies are arguing whether people coming to conflict zones as combatant/noncombatant volunteers, political activists or other categories engaged in someways into warfare can be considered war tourists as well or neither (Williams et. All, 2023; S. Mowat, 2022; Lisle, 2016).

In the present work, the focus is strictly on people visiting war places for personal motives without being actively involved in the warfare.

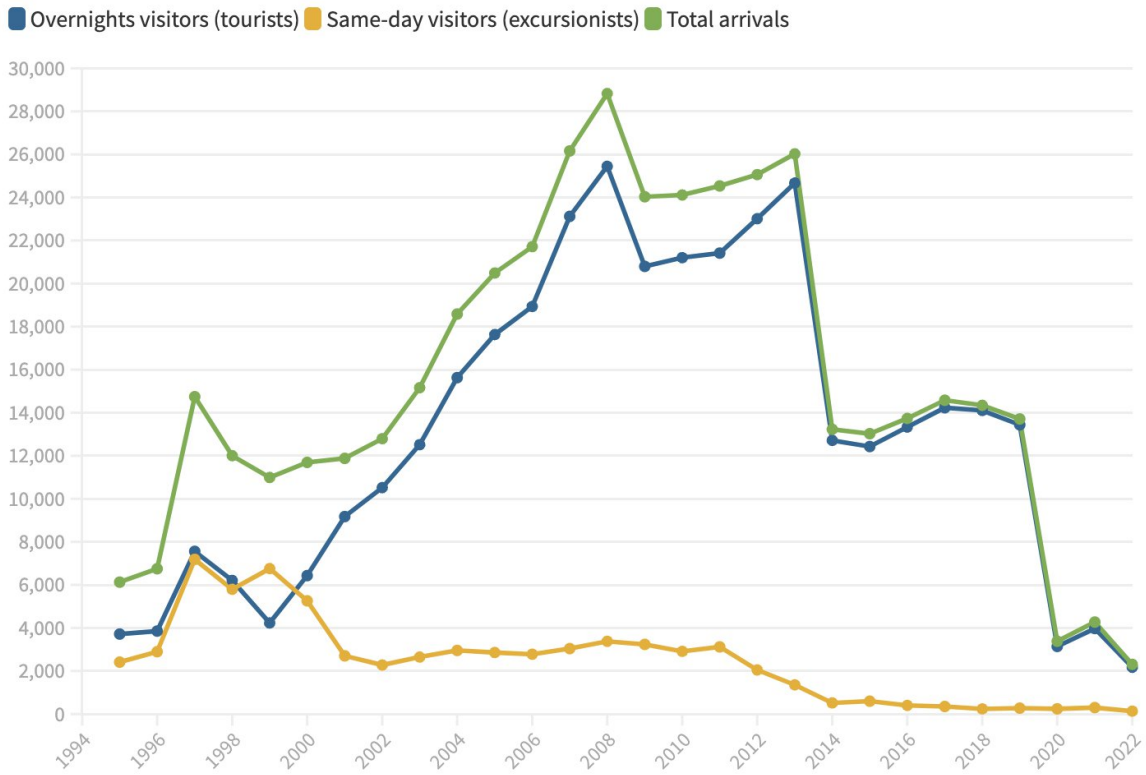
There are not many places in the world that you could visit in terms of war tourism-experience and remain relatively safe. By relatively safe place in this context, the present research means that there are territories in the visiting country that are controlled by legitimate power that can grant you basic state services and rights. There are cases when a visiting state is torn by an internal armed conflict (civil war), where the legitimate power doesn't have control over its territory and can't grant your safety. These examples could be Syria or Sudan, where self-proclaimed militias are present, and in an extreme case it could lead to kidnapping tourists (Washington Post, 2024).

The most obvious and commonly used example of a relatively safe place is Israel (D. Lisle, 2016; S. Krakover, 2013; G. Mahrouse, 2016). The state is surrounded by certain militia organizations that deny Israel's right for existence on official level, which means the state is in a permanent menace, and this idea of menace attracts people. This menace was successfully *commodified* and now is offered as a service with added value (The Atlantics, 2014). However, each conflict is different and provides various range of emotional and physical experience.

3.2 Inbound tourism in Ukraine during war. Overview

Tourism is one of the most suffered industries due to the full-scale Russian invasion that started on February 24th of 2022. Not to mention the COVID-19 pandemic that was raging since 2020 and was still affecting the whole industry at the moment of the invasion (Kyivstar Business Hub, 2023). The airspace was instantly closed for civil aviation, cutting the most convenient way for reaching the country from abroad. Overall losses caused by the pandemic in 2020 were estimated at 74% (comparing with 2019) and at 80% due to the full-scale invasion in 2022 (comparing with 2021). Inbound tourism lost 85-90% of arrivals in 2022, leaving the whole tourism sector without foreign currency in conditions of high inflation caused by the war. In such extreme situation, it is crucial for the state to reinvent certain industries to be able to mitigate, at least partially, economic losses caused by war (N. Chorna, 2023).

Inbound tourism in Ukraine has been suffering since 2014, after the seizure and annexation of the Crimean Peninsula by the Russian Federation and further war in the Eastern regions in Ukraine, started by Russian-backed militias. According to O. Gonta and M. Piguliak's (2023) research, overall losses due to annexation of Crimea represent approximately 30% of touristic-recreational potential for the whole tourism industry in Ukraine. The inbound arrivals due to these events dropped by 48,5% in comparison with 2013 (Fig.6) (O. Gonta & M. Piguliak's, 2023; UNWTO, 2022).

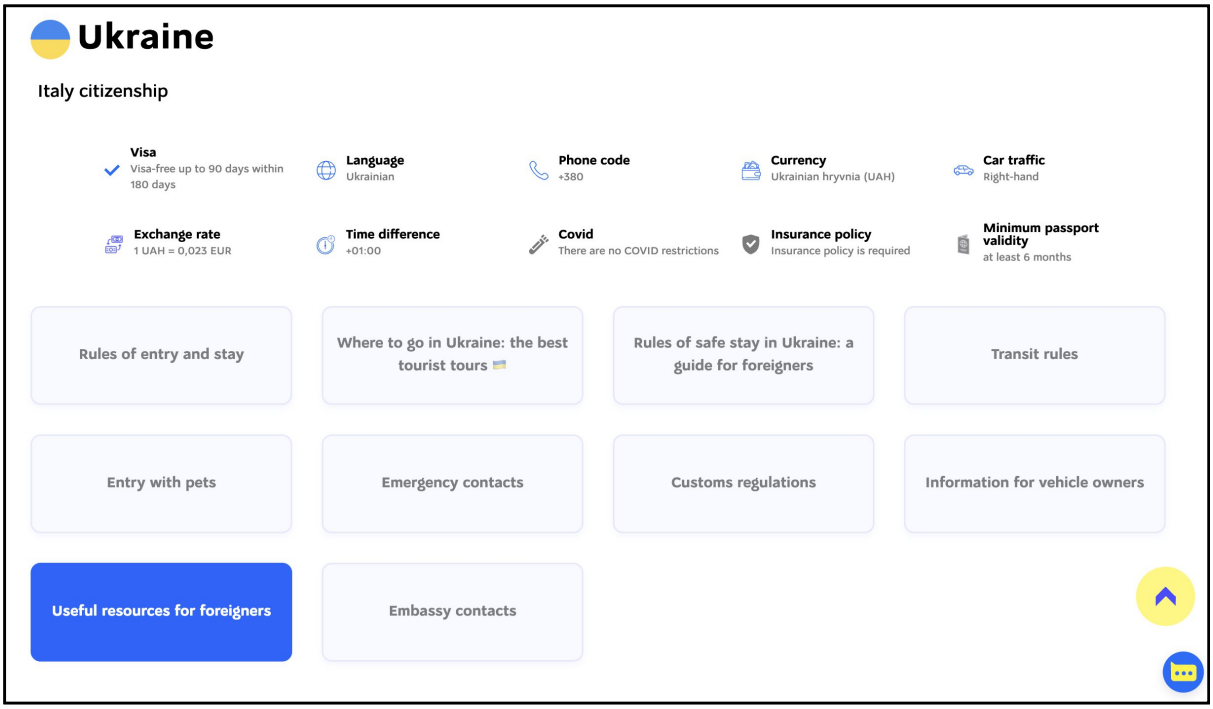


Inbound arrivals in Ukraine, UNWTO statistics (Fig. 6)

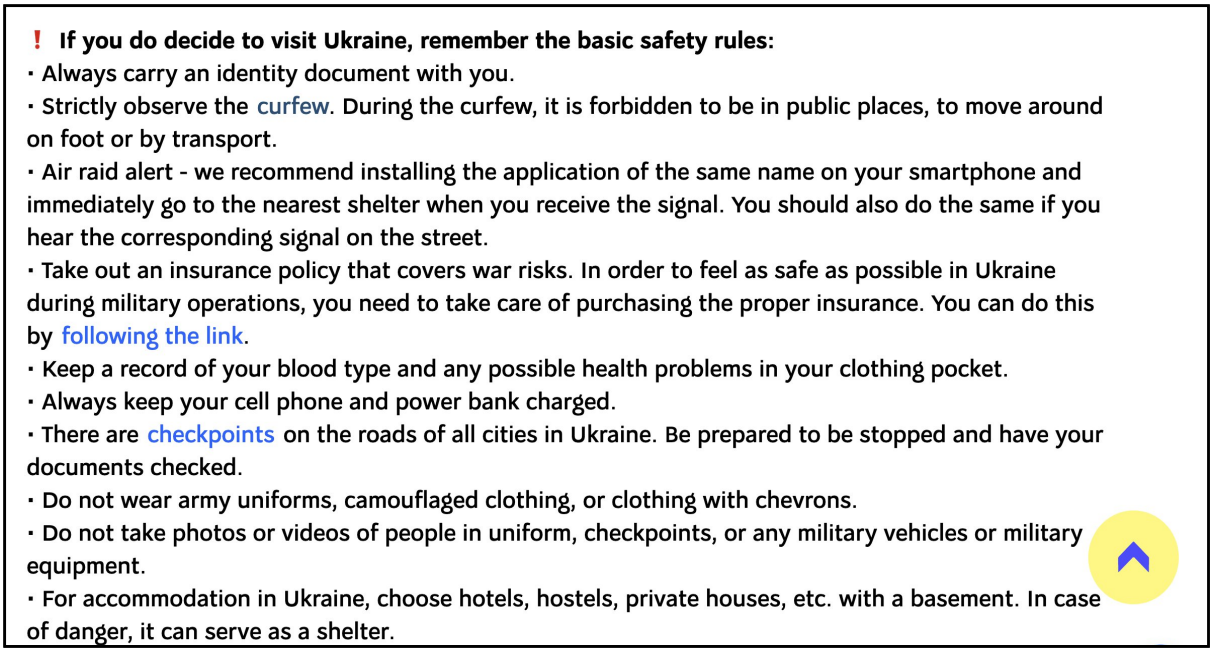
Regardless of all the difficulties, the government has never closed the state borders for visiting. Moreover, the Ukrainian president V. Zelensky, starting from the full-scale invasion, in many formal addresses and interviews, encouraged people to come visit Ukraine to witness the atrocities of the war, thereby trying to raise awareness and sensibilization for Ukrainian tragedy in foreign communities (official social media of the president of Ukraine).

A state source called *Visit Ukraine*, a digital platform for both inbound and outbound visitors that provides all the necessary information for travelers based on their passport and their destination (in case of outbound tourists), is inviting people to travel to Ukraine, highlighting that martial law is in order, that implies some special measurements for personal and state security (Fig. 7). In particularly on the page "*Rules of entry*" an inbound visitor can find among the standard information about requested documents a warning that invites to make an appropriate insurance that "*will cover not only basic medical services*,

diagnostics and treatment, but also the risks associated with a full-scale invasion of Russia", therefore offering service for purchasing an appropriate insurance directly from this page (Visit Ukraine, 2025). The section "*Rules of safe stay in Ukraine: a guide for foreigners*" contains the following warning: «*There are currently no cities in Ukraine that are completely safe. And although the main fighting is concentrated in the eastern and southern parts of Ukraine, the entire country is constantly under rocket fire*» along with the list of other essential rules, such as curfew, checkpoints, air raid alert, having record of blood type and others (Fig.7 Visit Ukraine, 2025).



List of basic information necessary for entry and safety stay in Ukraine, (Fig. 7) (*Visit Ukraine* guide for Italian passport holders, 2025)



Safety rules while visiting Ukraine (Fig. 8), (*Visit Ukraine* guide, 2025)

Another essential section that appeared due to martial law is "*Useful resources for foreigners*" that provides links for several services that provide important information (Fig. 9):

- Resources for tracking traffic: as mentioned, there is not a way to get to Ukraine by aircraft, which means the only way is crossing one of the land borders by train or other vehicle (bus, taxi, personal car). These borders are often busy, and such resources allow to estimate waiting period;
- Online map of air alerts (with 15 sec auto-refreshing) and handbook on how to prepare for life under martial law and other emergencies (fig. 10, 11, 12);
- Resources for psychological support;
- Proven media available in English language and means how to help from abroad.

Queues at the checkpoints to enter Ukraine
Useful resources for tracking traffic

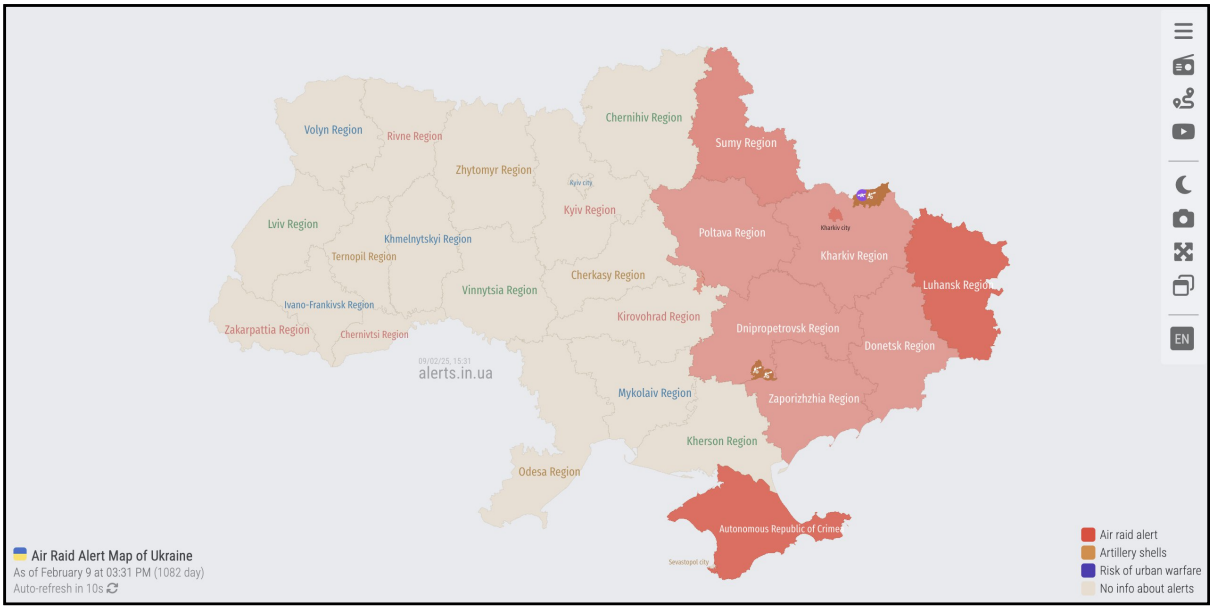
Security
- Map of air alerts in Ukraine: https://alerts.in.ua/en
- Handbook - https://dovidka.info/en/handbook/. This handbook contains practical advice on how to prepare for life under martial law and how to act in emergency situations.

Where to go for psychological support:
- The line of the international humanitarian organization "Person in Need" - 0 800 210 160
(*round the clock, calls are free*)
- IOM emotional support line - 0 800 211 444
(*from 10:00 to 20:00 daily, calls are free*)

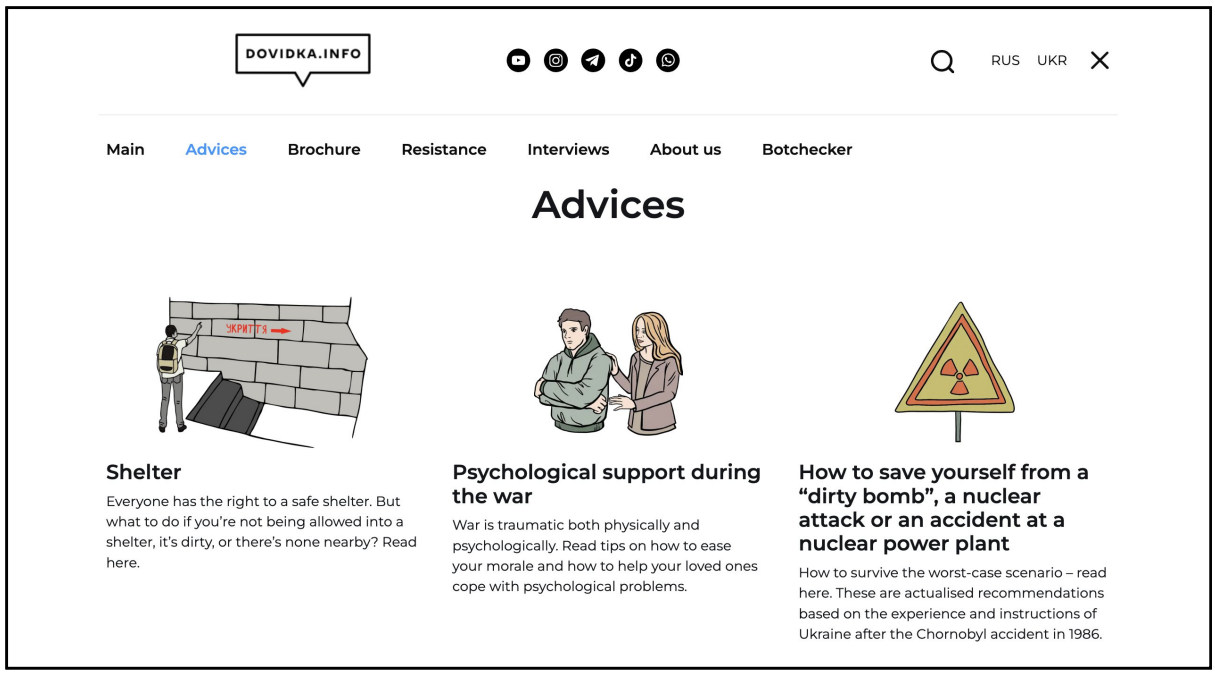
For friends of foreigners
- Trusted media for foreigners, how they can help Ukraine and more
- Join a support action (interactive map of global support for Ukrainians - rallies, flash mobs, protests around the world)

Show more

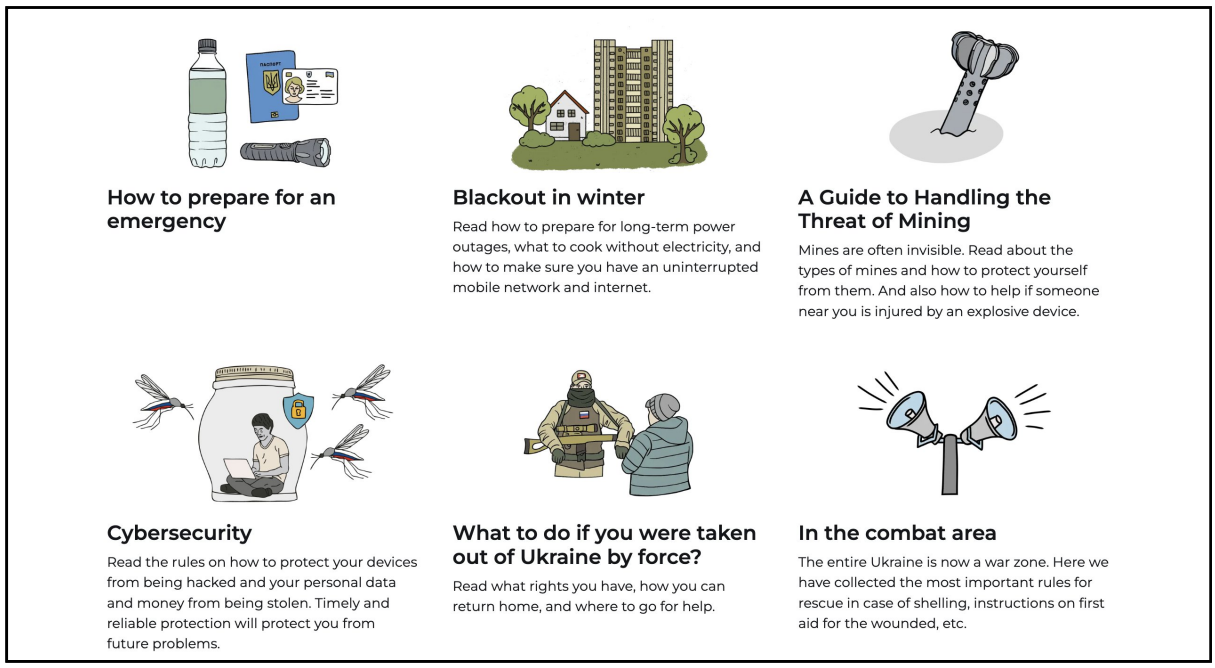
Useful resources for foreigners (Fig. 9), (*Visit Ukraine* guide, 2025)



Online map of air alerts (Fig. 10), (*Visit Ukraine* guide, 2025)



Handbook to martial law and emergencies for foreigners (Fig. 11), (*Visit Ukraine* guide, 2025)



Handbook to martial law and emergencies for foreigners (Fig. 12), (*Visit Ukraine* guide, 2025)

Thus, the state of Ukraine doesn't discourage potential visitors from travelling to Ukraine. Moreover, the state works on its own promotion of

touristic services through the mentioned platform Visit Ukraine, offering all-in-one service, where a visitor can get everything to visit the country (from legal information to booking personal guided tours). Meanwhile, the governments of many western states advise their citizens not to travel to Ukraine due to security risks. The web pages of Canadian, US, UK, Irish, Australian, and Italian governments gave “Do not travel” or “Avoid all travels” status to Ukraine as a destination for traveling (Government official web pages, 2025).

3.3 War as a tourism product. Case of Ukraine

Ukraine was known for dark tourism way before 24th February of 2022. The most known Ukrainian dark tourism site has been Chornobyl Nuclear Power Plant and its surroundings. According to the classification of the mentioned website “dark-tourism.com”, Chornobyl was the best dark site in the world on the author’s rating. Ukrainian territory saw the events of WWII, counting numerous memorials dedicated to this event. Among them, the most notorious are *Babyn Yar* in Kyiv, *residences of Yalta* where the Yalta Conference was held, monument *Mother Ukraine*, etc. Being a post-Soviet country, Ukraine is also popular among dark tourists for its communist architecture heritage and Cold War sites, such as Strategic Missile Base Pervomaisk.

Since the break of the war in Eastern Ukraine in 2014, the hot war tourism phenomenon has joined to already existing dark tourism offers. The tourism opportunists were offering tours to the places where combats between Ukrainian army and Russian-backed militias were taking place, starting with 1000 UAH (approximately 62 EUR in 2014). Some tours included armed guards and flak jackets. Another place of interest was the MH17 crushing site, where a passenger Boeing of Malaysia Airlines was shot down by militias (Daily Mail, 2014). But apparently, tourism to this area after the shocking beginning in 2014 was not popular, as there is no information about it in open sources.

Visiting Ukraine at the moment this research is being made (February 2025) is an act of war tourism. Several studies on war tourism were overviewed for this work, and yet there was not any exact and commonly accepted definition of this phenomenon. Thus, in this study, any visits for tourism purposes to Ukraine since the full-scale Russian invasion are considered as war tourism, although the travelers are not going to purposely visit war-torn sites. Being in Ukraine means being in constant peril due to air raids or mines left in the places where battles took place previously. A visitor will experience all the restrictions of martial law: being stopped in the street for document check, checkpoints, curfew, restricted areas, sirens, destroyed building, war memorials, nationwide minute of silence at 9 AM to honor the memory of those killed because of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation, etc. It makes it impossible to gain tourism experience otherwise than through war prism.

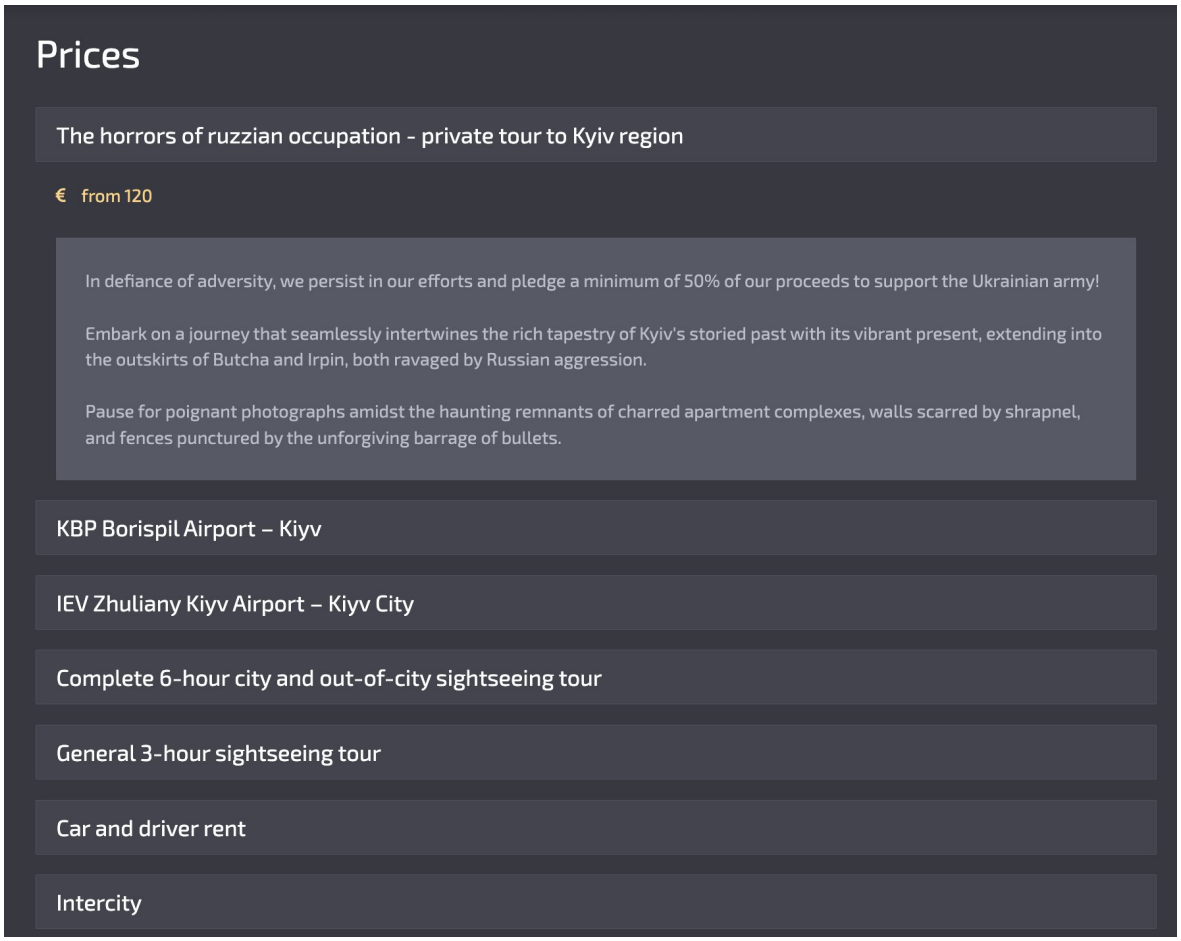
It would be right to mention that in the opinion of Mr. Hohenhaus, a dark tourism practician and the author of the website “dark-tourism.com”, visiting Ukraine now without approaching to frontline regions is not hot war tourism. I personally contacted Mr. Hohenhaus to ask him whether visiting Ukraine now for its “traditional” tourism offer could be considered hot war tourism, and here it is the answer «*…strictly speaking I would limit the term 'war tourism' to travels to go and see actual battle action, including killings. Going to the front lines of, e.g., Donbas, for that purpose would indeed be unethical war tourism. Visiting Kyiv for all its non-war-related splendours I would not call war tourism, even though the country is technically at war, but if that's not the purpose of the tourism then it's not really war tourism*» (H. Hohenhaus in personal email, 2025). He touches very important issue in dark tourism and war tourism paradigm: the initial intention. What was the main motivation for choosing Ukraine as a destination for visiting: the war or the other non-war related attractions? And

would a visitor choose Ukraine as his destination only for non-war related attraction if there was not a war in act? These are more philosophical questions, and I have not found any studies that would research this dilemma. The difficulty of such a study is the different nature of every war and the very complex context of each country at war (as mentioned previously). However, in my opinion, every traveler who chooses Ukraine as a destination during the war is attracted (consciously or subconsciously) by the raging conflict. Even on a logistic level, going to Ukraine is complicated due to the absence of air communication. This means that one who decides to go to Ukraine chooses a very long and stressful (not to mention safety concerns) way over any other much more available destination.

Tour operators are among the industries in which business almost ceased to exist due to the war (RBK, 2022). Some companies have put their operations on hold, while others have closed. There are also those who have reoriented to other markets, opening branches in other countries (RBK, 2022). But there are also some that appeared during the war and are welcoming exclusively customers interested in war tourism.

Capital Tours Kyiv is among examples of reoriented tour companies. As stated in Kyiv Independent, a Ukrainian media making content for global public in English, a worker of Capital Tours «saw an opportunity to utilize his decade-long experience as a guide to inform foreigners about Russia's brutal invasion and raise money for the war effort» (Kyiv Independent, 2024). He developed emotional routes through Bucha, Irpin, Hostomel, and Borodyanka, small cities in the Northern Kyiv Region, that among first saw atrocities of invading army and were one of the first territories liberated by AFU (Armed Forces of Ukraine) in March/April 2022. In these tours, the author combines the history of the recent war and centuries-long history of Ukrainian-Russian relationships, giving

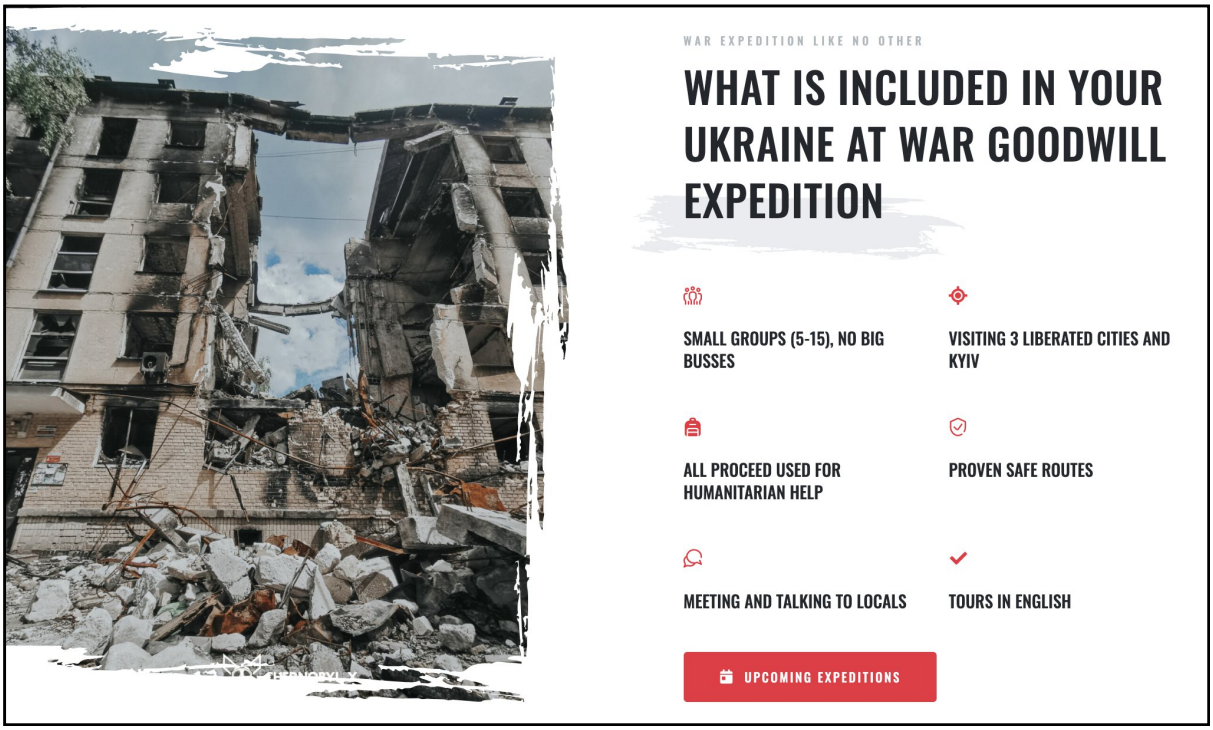
the most complex context to foreign audiences (mostly coming from Northern America and Western Europe). The prices for such tours start from 120 USD and are listed among other services of the tour company (Fig. 13). In the description, the company informs customers that a minimum of 50% of proceeds from these tours are donated to the AFU.



Services offered by “Capital Tours Kyiv” (Fig. 13)

Another example of reoriented tour operator is Chernobyl X tours. As one can imagine, this tour operator is specialized on expeditions to Chornobyl. Or rather *was* specialized, since the beginning of the large-scale invasion Chornobyl exclusion zone became a frontline for several weeks. Since then, the area was de-occupied, but for the most part, only official delegations and military personnel currently have access to the exclusion zone (CNN, 2024). However, the company uses its 15 years experience and organizes online tours to

Chornobyl for curious people in the current circumstances. Now the tour operator offers an expedition to the decoupled cities of Northern Kyiv Region, so pretty much the same roots as Capital Tours offers (Fig. 14). All the proceeds go to humanitarian aid to local destroyed communities. This tour wants the customers to interact with locals to hear their witnesses and distribute humanitarian aid bought for money coming from sales of these tours. This tour is for sensibilization of the tragedy of the visited communities and the organizer warns that this is not a place for "selfies": «… [because of] *meeting local inhabitants, talking to them, bringing them help, this tour is not suitable for sensitive people, but also people who would like to come for selfies, showing off etc. We have the right to refuse such travelers from our tours*» (ChernobylX website).

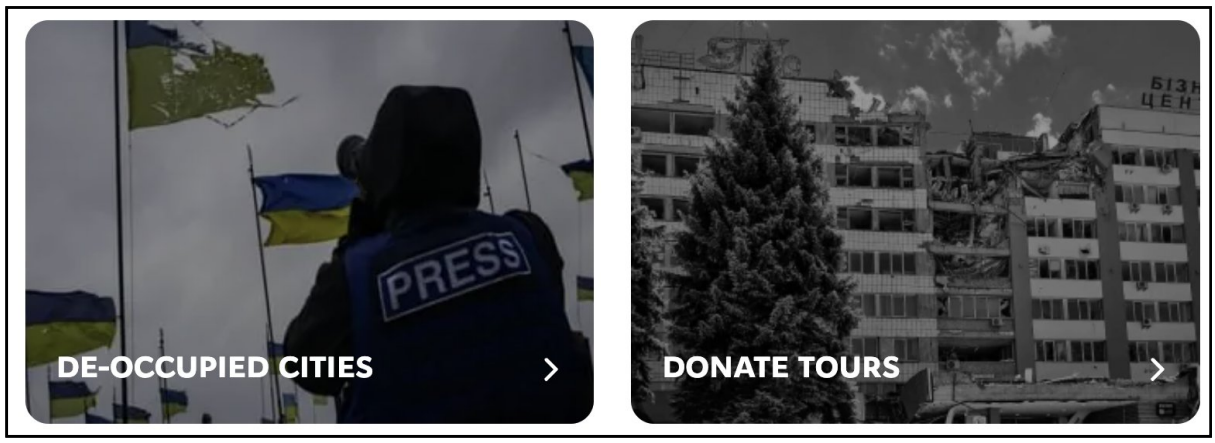


War-related tour offered by Chernobyl X (Fig. 14)

Chernobyl X warns about the perils of war tourists may face in Ukraine, but states that the routes themselves are safe and tested: «*The Ukraine at War Goodwill Expedition is designed around safe routes and trails, sometimes you*

might see bomb shrapnel, destroyed buildings, burned cars etc. There is no active ammunition or threat (mines) around the trails and places you visit […] *The borders are open for you both ways and always will be. By traveling to Ukraine, you are entering a country in an active war conflict (the front line from Kyiv is around 500 km away), which may result in the loss of your health, belongings, and life for which ChernobylX does not bear any responsibility*». (Chernobyl X, 2025).

Previously mentioned web platform Visit Ukraine among other services on its webpage also offers tours, including war-related ones (Fig. 15).

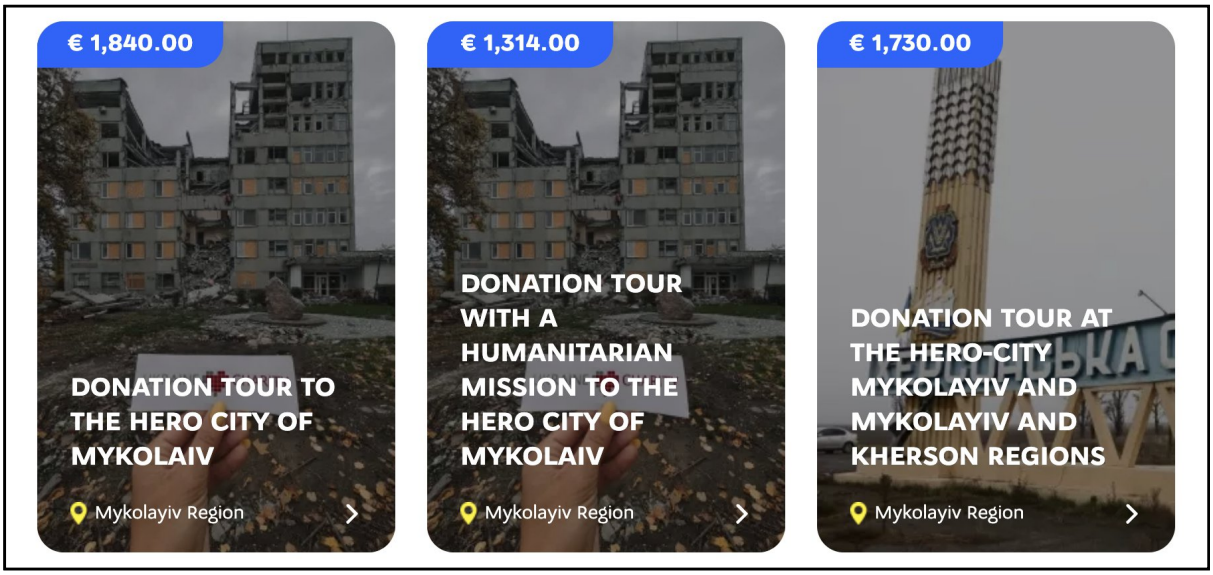


War-related tour categories offered by Visit Ukraine (Fig. 15)

Overall Visit Ukraine offers four different war-related tours on its website. One of them is called “Escort in de-occupied cities” and is pretty much the same as previously seen offers, visit to Northern Kyiv Region cities. This tour costs 404 EUR for two people and includes transfer on an SUV and an English-speaking tour guide. But the other tours, called donation tours, are quite unique. Visit Ukraine describes this type of your as follows: «*Donation Tours is a unique project designed to attract foreign tourists to the territories of Ukraine where military operations have taken place. The project helps to support the country's economy and finance humanitarian missions in the affected regions of southern*

Ukraine, as well as to maximize the dissemination of information about the situation in the country» (Visit Ukraine).

These tours are expensive, and their cost varies from 1.314 EUR to 1.840 EUR (Fig. 16). The tours include a two-day stay in Mykolaiv city, all meals, transfers, guide services, interpreter services, first aid course, photographer, insurance, and other less significant services. Also, the prices include a 500 EUR donation, and the customers are allowed to choose where to donate this money (Fig. 17).

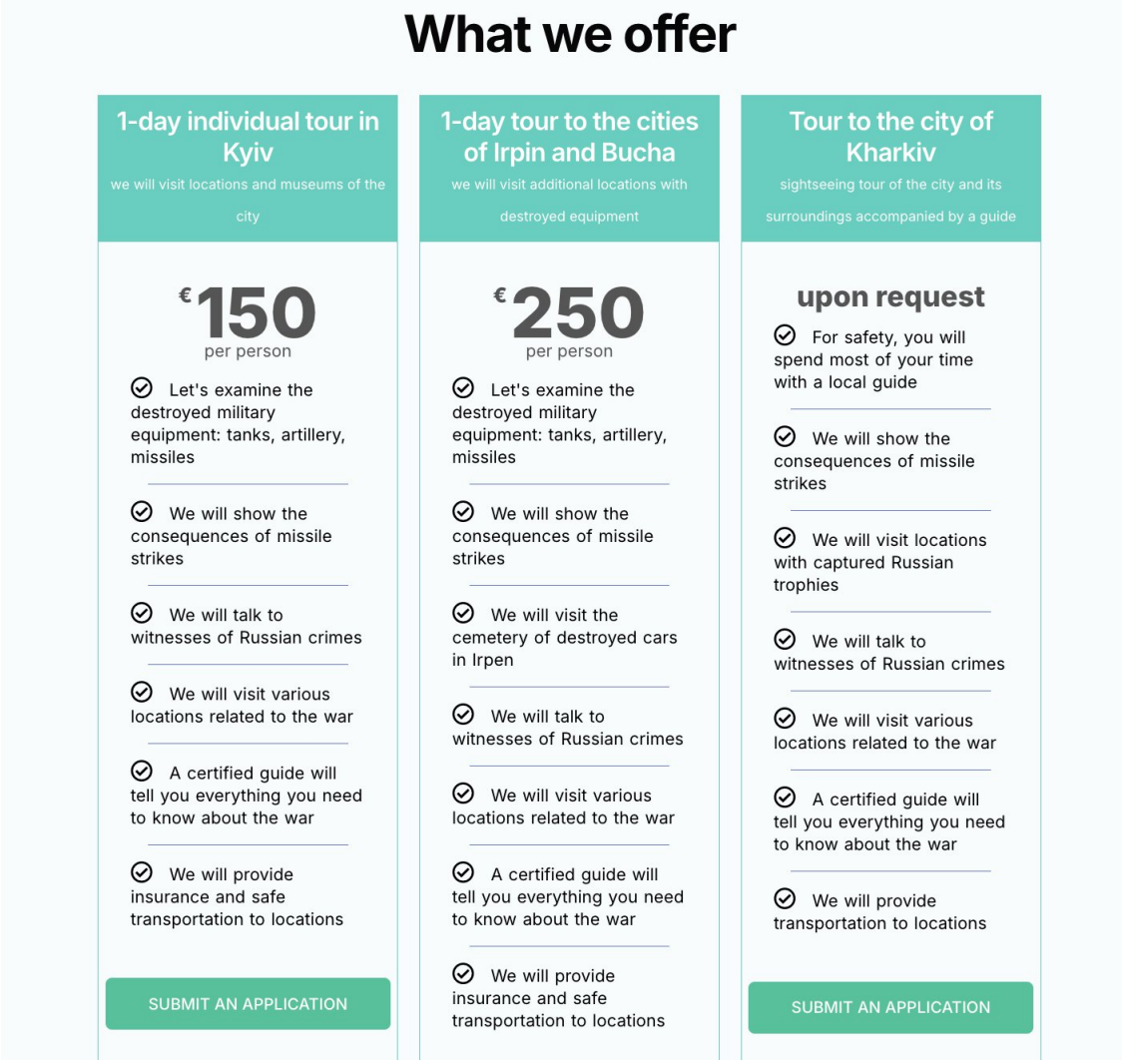


Donation tours from Visit Ukraine (Fig. 16)

You can choose the direction of support for which your donation will go when filling out the booking form:
1. Humanitarian aid in the form of food (formation of food packages for the affected and low-income population)
2. Personal hygiene products for daily use
3. Animal care (food, medicine, sterilization, overstay, etc.)
4. Medicines for civilians (children, adults, elderly)
5. Heating of housing (stoves, stoves, rockets, etc.) donation to production
6. Supporting the work of the volunteer center (fuel for humanitarian aid delivery, car repairs)
7. Help for children. Humanitarian aid for children under 3 years old (diapers, wet wipes, formula, cereals, purees, etc.). Humanitarian aid for children under 10 years old (school supplies, books, etc.)
8. Construction materials to restore the affected houses and apartments.
9. Generators and solar panels
10. ecology

Options for donation (Fig. 17)

Another category of tour operators we mention is the new one, that appeared as consequence of the war and are specializing strictly on war-related tours (meanwhile the previously seen have also non war related offers for tours). An example of such tour operator is with the explicit title “War Tours”. This is a small and young company that provides escorting to foreign visitors during martial law. Their objective is to show the traces of the war and donate part of the funds to the Ukrainian army (wartours.in.ua). There are three options presented on the website (Fig. 18): tour in Kyiv, tour to Bucha and Irpin (de-occupied cities of the Northern Kyiv Region) and tour to Kharkiv (second biggest city of Ukraine, located in the North-East of Ukraine and only 30 km distant from Russian border, which makes it one of the most attacked cities of Ukraine).



Tours offered by War Tours (Fig. 18)

As we could see, there are some offers on the market that can satisfy such a niche demand. However, there are not many offers, they are quite homogeneous, and there is a lack of marketing, as finding this information on the internet is not that easy. A lot of communities that suffered and are suffering from the war are underrepresented in these offers. A major part of the information found on the internet on this topic is dedicated exclusively to Bucha, Hostomel, and Irpin. These cities became symbols of Russian war crimes and Ukrainian resilience as they were the first testimonies of the consequences of this war. The leaders of states visit these places during their official visits to Ukraine, which makes these destination more "famous". However, almost three years have passed since the images of these de-occupied cities shocked the whole world, but the world's attention to this war is still limited by these places. It is a serious problem, and certain politics must be adopted to bring to the spotlight other communities to make this already complex phenomenon fairer and socially sustainable.

War tourism raises very hot debates both in Ukrainian society and in potential visitors' societies. The aspect of morality of such an activity must be considered for creating a sustainable tourism product.

3.4 Moral aspect of war tourism in Ukraine

The phenomenon of war tourism is a very controversial topic from an ethical perspective, just like dark tourism, but in one of its darkest forms. Since in hot war tourism, the macabre event is still present and continues causing suffering, the debates are even more lively than in other types of dark tourism. I can tell that from my own experience: when I happen to tell people that my thesis work is about war tourism in Ukraine, they react mostly negatively, criticizing the idea of such an activity right away. But as it always happens, the topic is much more complex than it appears at first glance.

Some academic studies argue that dark and war tourism are often accused of being an act of voyeurism (D. Lesile, 2016; G. Mahrouse, 2017; P. Stone, 2006). However, the same authors offer an alternative point of view: they argue, that such tourism may have educational and emphatic purposes. People are curious about what is happening in the world, what happens among other humans; and war in turn, unfortunately, one of the most human inventions that has been always present in civilization history. The most significant events we learn about from the past are often wars. Analyzing journal articles and blogs about the current situation with war tourism in Ukraine, we came across some testimonies of the visitors with their explanation *why* they decided to travel to Ukraine. Also, these articles reflect on how ethical war tourism is.

In course of preparing of the present work, I contacted Dmytro Nikiforov, CEO of the tour operator company War Tours. I asked him a couple of questions about types of visitors requesting their services. Being a young company (as mentioned previously, they had started their activity after the beginning of the full-scale invasion) they don't get a lot of visitors, but the numbers are growing over time. In the course of 2024, they provided with their services over 30 foreigner visitors: «*The increased interest [for war tours] caused not only by the increased attention to the war, but also by the fact that more and more people want to see the situation with their own eyes, and not just through the news*», stated Mr. Nikiforov in the private message. Their clients decided to visit Ukraine because they «*want to understand the war and its consequences*» added Mr. Nikiforov, «*Many of them support Ukraine and want to see what is happening in the country, pay tribute to Ukrainians, or make their contribution, for example, through volunteer work*».

On our opinion, the main question for tourism visitors of Ukraine in war time is "*whether would they visit Ukraine if there were not any war*". According

to our conversation with the CEO of War Tours, some of these war visitors would visit Ukraine even if there were not any war, but for the majority the war was a decision-making factor. However, many after the visit note that Ukraine is not only about war, but also about culture, history, and hospitality, and they would like to return in Ukraine in peacetime.

The article of Kyiv Independent (2024) brings testimony of Daniel Hosie, a tourist from Scotland, who had been following the war since the first day of full-scale invasion. He visited destroyed bridge in Irpin that AFU blew up to prevent Russia's advance across the Irpin River. Seeing those places alive and not through screen was striking: «*It was surreal. That bridge is a memorable one for me, because I saw it fall, and I remember thinking that this is crazy. And then I'm there, seeing it*» he commented (Kyiv Independent, 2024).

A visitor from Malaysia, who used services of War Tour, wrote about his experience: «*Such a tour will make you feel all the bitterness, horror, but also the resistance and triumph of all Ukrainians, like never before. It will inspire you to rethink this war, to realize that the victims of this war are not just numbers. That stories are, above all, stories of life and death*».

Another tourist, Nick Tan from the United States, visited Kharkiv in July, located 20 kilometers from the front and under constant Russian shelling. He told reporters that he wanted to see Ukraine during the war because, he said, «*our life in the West is too comfortable and easy*». He said he even wanted to get closer to the front line, but his guide wouldn't let him. (Hromadske, 2024)

According to the information given to us by Mr. Nikiforov and the article of news journal Hromadske (2024), a major part of visitors are males, approximately 80% against 20% of females. Their age range is very wide, from 18 to 70. Visitors coming mostly from EU countries, USA, Canada, Australia and

Japan. The representant of Capital Tours, Mr. Moiseev, says that the majority of clientele are males because such travels are risky, and many of visitors don't tell their friends and relatives that they are going to Ukraine. «*For them* [their friends and relatives], *it's like a death zone on Mount Everest, from which not everyone returns. We can laugh at this, but in the West there is a perception that it is very dangerous here. Not a combat zone, but a constant threat of a missile strike*», explains Mr. Moiseev. (Hromadske, 2024).

However, according to tour guides, these visitors are not drawn by adrenaline but by a deep desire to understand, empathize, and support. Every single traveler arrives with the intention of standing in solidarity with Ukraine, offering moral and financial support, and witnessing the reality of war firsthand. «*They are good, moral, ethical people*», explains a tour guide. «They don't come for excitement, but for understanding. They shake hands with Ukrainians and say, 'We are shocked by what happened. We support you in these dark times. We are honored to breathe the same air as you, to see with our own eyes, and to hear the truth firsthand» (Hromadske, 2024). Some visitors interact directly with locals, asking about their experiences under occupation. They also ask about where and how they can donate.

It is crucial to mention the residents of visited communities, while speaking of travels to the places affected by the war. At first, the locals considered tourism activities on the ground of their mourn was unthinkable (CNN, 2024). Now the areas that saw the worst Russian atrocities during the early days of the war, became stops of tours through the towns in Northern Kyiv that we have explored previously. CNN spoke to Mariana Oleskiv, head of State Agency for Tourism Development of Ukraine: «*We were very much against such tours in the first months of the de-occupation, in the first year of the de-occupation. It was a rather traumatic experience for all the residents. But now*

we are already seeing a significant change. People are ready for the world to know about the heroism of Ukrainians, on the one hand, and the crimes of the Russians, on the other» she said (CNN, 2024). Company Visit Ukraine offered a war tour for the first time in 2022, a few months after the beginning of the big war, and despite official support from the government of this initiative, it was criticized and at that time hat to pause the project. (Catalyst Planet, 2024)

The journal Kyiv Independent also mentions that not all people of the visited communities agree with tourists visiting the places of their suffering: «*Not everyone is excited about showing foreigners the scars of war — some locals balk at the idea of displaying their most vulnerable moments to tourists*» (Kyiv Independent, 2024). News agency Unian spoke to a member of Irpin local council, noting that most locals agree with "black tourism," although there are some opponents. Some residents of visited communities ask the visitors: "Why do you come here? Why do you want to see our sadness?" (Unian, 2024).

Serhii Ahiyev, a resident of Hostomel, one of the places visited during these tours, initially was opposed to the tours in his city: «*Sometimes they bring tourists on purpose to make money from it. Not to talk about what happened*» (Kyiv Independent, 2024). But overtime Serhii changed his mind: «*While he was irritated by the flocks of journalists and visitors in the early days of the liberation, he has since changed his mind and believes people should see the "terrible actions of the Russians," including tourists*» is stated in the Kyiv Independence article (2025).

It seems that the polar opinions on war tourism moral dilemma are whether it is educational or unethical (France 24; Catalyst Planet; Ukraine in focus). Tour operators offering war tours consider this work more as volunteering work rather than profitable business. These tours are made through personal trauma of living in the war zone with empathy and the

informing purpose: «*It's shock therapy for those who forget that the war in Ukraine is still ongoing*» said Mr. Moiseev, the tour guide of Capital Tours, who we have mentioned previously (Kyiv Independent, 2024). He also comments on the reaction of residents, sometimes he meets their unpleasant stares, but says: «*Most people understand that international support comes from knowledge and information. So (locals), for the most part, tolerate the visitors*» (Kyiv Independent, 2024).

We mentioned testimonies of guides from Capital Tours and War Tours agencies that found on numerous new articles, blogs, and in private conversation. How do they see their role? Dmytro Nikiforov from War Tours says that for him, it is a social activity rather than a business. Sviatoslav Moiseev form Capital Tours says that he does not want to see war tourism in post war Ukraine, but as of today he would like «*foreign tourists and their media to pay more attention to the war, because it is a factor in our survival*». Such attention increases the chances of getting aid that Ukraine so desperately needs, believes Sviatoslav. Then he added: «*My deeds are small: I influence the general background, how evaporation from a small lake can affect the level of moisture in the global atmosphere. It's a thousandth of a percent, but it's my contribution, and I'm proud of it*». Mr. Moiseev's philosophy is a perfect reflection of the Tolkien's epigraph at the beginning of this work: he wouldn't like to see it happening, but since it happened, he makes what he can.

For the moment, hot war tourism is Ukraine is still at its early stage, but not initial. It continues to grow and now is gaining the momentum. For the most part, war tourism offer is concentrated in the Northern Kyiv region, as it is the most mentioned location in the media. These de-occupied cities are frequently visited by the State leaders gaining even more "promotion". Another important reason for visiting these places are street arts of Banksy, a very notorious street

artist, who came to Ukraine in November 2022. During his visit, he made overall 7 murals in Kyiv, Irpin, and Borodyanka (Fig. 19-25).



The Gymnast (Fig. 19) (Banksy Explained, 2022)



The Judo Competition (Fig. 20) (Banksy Explained, 2022)



Kid Playing (Fig. 21) (Banksy Explained, 2022)



Oldman taking a bath (Fig. 22) (Banksy Explained, 2022)



Woman with a gas mask (Fig. 23) (Banksy Explained, 2022)


The Missile (Fig. 24) (Banksy Explained, 2022)



The Gymnast (Fig. 25) (Banksy Explained, 2022)

The other parts of Ukraine remain underrepresented among foreign visitors. At the beginning of this chapter, we mentioned that even regular stay in any part of Ukraine comports war tourism experience. However, this aspect was not mentioned in the research or articles we found and is still to be explored. There might be visitors who are willing to come to Ukraine without purposely going on war tours, but they will still be gaining war tourism experience, and such type of tourists must be studied in the future.

While there are voices that war tourism is unethical, there are nations that are living those wars. These nations are facing extreme challenges that put their existence in danger, and the world's duty is to provide help to suffering nations, especially in cases where they become victims of external aggression. Ukraine has been facing an existential threat for many years, since 2014, when the Russian Federation occupied and annexed part of Ukraine's sovereign territory and started a proxy war on another part of Ukrainian territory. In 2022, this threat became even more dangerous, and Ukraine faced unprecedented and unprovoked aggression of a much stronger (military and economic) adversary. So, we live in times when Ukraine needs the world's help. This help can come in many forms and from different sources. It is extremely important to bring sensibilization of the war not only on the level of the State leaders, but in the foreign societies that are not directly affected by the war. In these conditions, Ukraine requires help from every source, big or small.

A nation at war suffers a lot of deprivations, from the basic rights for safety and freedom of movement to economic losses and decreasing level of life. The government of a country at war must spend lots of money of taxpayers on military needs, as one of the main tasks of a State is to provide safety to its citizens. This means that the economic potential of countries at war is decreased. For example, the draft State budget of Ukraine for 2025 is expected

to spend 26,3% of the State's GDP on defense (Suspilne, 2024). In such a situation, the State needs to optimize each economic sector to gain maximum profit even from the industries that, at first glance, can't exist in war times. Tourism is an important sector of the economy for many countries, and loss of this source of income due to foreign invasion can represent a significant economic blow (Catalyst Plane, 2024).

In the course of the work on this research, we have seen examples of inbound hot war tourism in Ukraine. Even if there are no official statistics, the people working in this area are noticing a steady increase in demand. The offers of this type of activity are rather ethical and always highlight that those tours are not made for profits, and in the majority of analyzed cases, the proceedings are donated to both humanitarian and military aid. People who are visiting Ukraine to see the country through the prism of war, say that they want to show their solidarity and help to Ukrainians. So far, we have not come across any article that would raise the problem of voyeuristic tourists in Ukraine. The only opposing opinion derives from the members of visited communities, but even those are in decrease as people start to understand how important is to share their trauma with the world, thus engaging more people to help Ukraine in such a challenging time.

War tourism in Ukraine is rather educational and emphatic than unethical and voyeuristic. What was noticed by the author in private conversations is that the critical point of view on this activity is rather doctrinal than objective. In modern society, war is seen as something unacceptable and should be avoided at any cost. Since this society has not lived any war for generations (which is good, and hopefully this trend persists), there are few who really understand how a war works and that peaceful slogans won't stop it. One should look

broader to understand why such a phenomenon as war tourism exists and how it could be helpful if managed properly.

Unethical is avoiding being informed about the raging war that directly affects (not physically) the society we live in. There is nothing wrong if someone wants to visit the country to express their own support toward the suffering society. As mentioned once in this work, war is a human invention, and there is nothing wrong if a person wants to visit the place where martial law is in action, just out of curiosity. We talked about tourism motivation and concluded that it is never something one that pushes or pulls a person to travel, but a very complex system of very different factors, depending on the background, physical and psychological state, role in the society, etc. So, if a person says that wants to visit Ukraine because he/she is curious to see the war, we may assume that behind this decision there is a myriad of stimulus and interests, and the form we were communicated about this desire does not fully reflect the real depth of the desire.

Conclusions

War tourism, as examined in this thesis, is a complex and evolving phenomenon that challenges conventional perceptions of travel. This research has shown arguments and actual examples to demonstrate that visiting places affected by war is not necessarily an act of voyeurism but can serve as a means of education, solidarity, and historical preservation. While the concept of dark tourism has been widely studied, the discussion around hot war tourism, where travelers visit active or recently liberated war zones, remains controversial and underexplored.

The findings reveal that most war tourists are not thrill-seekers or danger enthusiasts but individuals who feel a strong personal or moral motivation to

witness and understand the realities of war. Their motivations are often rooted in historical interest, personal connections, professional aspirations (e.g., journalists, historians, researchers), or a desire to support affected communities. In this context, war tourism is not purely about consumption but also about engagement and awareness-raising.

The case of Ukraine has provided an insightful example of how war tourism develops during an ongoing conflict. Despite initial skepticism, it has been widely accepted by locals as an important way to keep global attention on the war and provide economic and moral support. Tourists visiting Ukraine during the war are not simply passive observers; many contribute by volunteering, donating to local initiatives, and sharing their experiences to combat misinformation and promote international awareness. Unlike the common critique of dark tourism as exploitative, war tourism in Ukraine has largely been perceived as a form of solidarity rather than morbid curiosity.

At the same time, this type of tourism raises important ethical considerations. The balance between documentation and sensationalism is delicate, and responsible war tourism must be conducted with sensitivity, avoiding the commercialization of suffering. Ethical frameworks should focus on respect for local communities, truthful representation of events, and the avoidance of exploitative or intrusive behavior. The case studies analyzed in this research show that when conducted appropriately, war tourism can play a significant role in preserving historical memory, countering propaganda, and ensuring that atrocities are not forgotten.

War tourism should be adopted as a strategy for communication by the government. State Agency for Tourism Development of Ukraine (SATD), in collaboration with platform Visit Ukraine, launched war tours in 2022. With little time passed since the trauma of full-scale invasion and little research on how to

manage such activities, the initiative has been criticized and paused. In February 2025, SATD launched the course for tour guides and municipalities on how to present in a socially sustainable way the war for inbound tourists, how to create a proper and ethical memorialization of tragic events and victims of the war, how to make it inclusively, and other important aspects. The work on this thesis finishes before the course is over, so it is impossible to evaluate the implications of this initiative. However, it is a step in the right direction.

Beyond Ukraine, war tourism has historically played an important role in shaping narratives of conflict and remembrance. From battlefield tourism at sites of past wars to modern-day visits to active war zones, the phenomenon demonstrates that tourism is not always about leisure—it can also be a tool for advocacy, education, and bearing witness to history in real time. The presence of international visitors in war-affected areas can amplify the voices of those impacted, ensuring their stories are heard beyond national borders.

Ultimately, this research challenges the simplistic notion that war tourism is inherently unethical. Instead, it proposes that when properly managed, it can serve as a powerful tool for global awareness, historical truth-telling, and economic resilience in war-torn regions. The insights from this study suggest that war tourism will continue to evolve, and its implications—both positive and negative—warrant further exploration.

As conflicts continue to shape the geopolitical landscape, the role of tourism in responding to these crises will remain significant. Future research could further investigate the long-term impact of war tourism on post-war recovery, international policy-making, and public memory, providing deeper insights into how this unique form of travel contributes to shaping historical narratives and global consciousness.

Bibliography

Benedetto, M. (2018). *What is dark tourism?* University of Applied Sciences and Arts.

Berkman, H. W.; Gilson, C. C. (1978). *Consumer Behavior: Concepts and Strategies*. Encino, CA: Dickenson Publishing Company.

Bissell, D. (2009). *The role of dark tourism in the development of the tourism industry*. Tourism Management Perspectives, 1(1), 7–16.

Casarin, F. (2007). *Marketing dei prodotti turistici: specificità e varietà*, vol. 1, G. Giappichelli Editore, Torino

Chen, K. (2023). *A computational investigation of cortical motion perception and hippocampal spatial memory*. University of California, Irvine.

Chorna, N. (2023). *The situation and main trends of the development of the tourist industry of Ukraine in the conditions of today's challenges*. Tourism and Hospitality Industry in Central and Eastern Europe, (8), 72-78.

Crompton, J. L. (1979). *Motivations for pleasure vacation*. Annals of Tourism Research, 6(4), 408–424.

Dann, G. M. S. (1977). *Anomie, Ego-Enhancement and Tourism*. Annals of Tourism Research, 4(4), 184–194.

Dreyer, N. (2018). *Genocide, Holodomor and Holocaust Discourse as Echo of Historical Injury and as Rhetorical Radicalization in the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict of 2013–18.* Journal of Genocide Research, vol. 20, 545-564

Elvig, Kenneth (2012) *Encounters of a Conflict Tourist: Concept and a Case Study of Northern Ireland*.Occam's Razor: Vol. 2, Article 2.

Kang, E.-J.; Scott, N.; Lee, T. J.; Ballantyne R. (2012) *Benefits of visiting a 'dark tourism' site: The case of the Jeju April 3rd Peace Part Korea*. Tourism Management, Volume 33, Issue 2, 2012, Pages 257-265

Fletcher, R. J. et al. (2018). *Is habitat fragmentation good for biodiversity*? Biological Conservation, 226, 9–15.

Fodness, D. (1994). *Measuring Tourist Motivation*. Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 555-581, 19

Foley, M.; Lennon, J. (1996). *JFK and dark tourism: A fascination with assassination*. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2(4), 198–211.

Gnoth, J. (1997). *Tourism motivation and expectation formation*. Annals of Tourism Research, 24(2), 283–304.

Gordon, B. M. (2018).*War Tourism: Second World War France from Defeat and Occupation to the Creation of Heritage*. Cornell University Press.

Gonta, Olena & Piguliak, Maria. (2023). *International tourism in Ukraine: reality and prospects of development under martial law*. Problems and prospects of economics and management. 61-70. 10.25140/2411-5215-2023-3(35)-61-70.

Henderson, J. C. (2000). *War as a tourist attraction: the case of Vietnam*. International Journal of Tourism Research, 2(4), 269-280

Isaac, R. K.; Çakmak, E. (2014). *Understanding visitor's motivation at sites of death and disaster: The case of former transit camp Westerbork, the Netherlands*. Current Issues in Tourism, 17(2), 164–179.

Jefferson, A., & Lickorish, L. J. (1988). *Marketing Tourism: A Practical Guide*. Harlow, England: Longman.

Jewell, B.; Crotts, J. C. (2001). *Adding psychological value to heritage tourism experiences*. Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 11(4), 13–28.

Katz, D. (1960). *The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes*. Public Opinion Quarterly 24:163-204.

Khalilzadeh, J.; Kozak, M.; Del Chiappa, G. (2024). *Tourism motivation: A complex adaptive system*. Tourism Review, 79(1), 1–15.

Kotler, P. (1984). *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning and Control*. Prentice-Hall.

Kotler, P., & Armstrong, G. (2015). *Principles of Marketing - Global Edition*. London: Pearson.

Kotler, P.; Keller, K. L. (2016). *Marketing Management. 15th ed*. Boston: Pearson.

Kouneiher, F.; Charron, S.; Koechlin, E. (2009). *Motivation and cognitive control in the human prefrontal cortex*. Nature Neuroscience, 12, 939–945.

Krakover, S. (2013). *Developing tourism alongside threats of wars and atrocities: The case of Israel*. Tourism and War (pp.132-142) Edition: 1m Publisher: Routledge

Lennon, J.; Foley, M. (2000). *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London and New York: Continuum.

Lewis, R. C.; Chambers, R. E. (1989). *Marketing Leadership in Hospitality: Foundations and Practices*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Light, D. (2017). *Progress in dark tourism and thanatourism research: An uneasy relationship with heritage tourism*. Tourism Management, 61, 275–301.

Light, D. (2017). *The Role of Dark Tourism in the Development of the Tourism Industry*. Tourism Management Perspectives, 24, 1–7.

Lisle, D. (2016). *Holidays in the Danger Zone: Entanglements of War and Tourism*

Lisle, D. (2000). *Consuming Danger: Reimagining the War/Tourism Divide*.Alternatives,25(1), 91-116

Lloyd, D. W. (1998). *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*

Mahrouse, G. (2016). *War-Zone Tourism: Thinking Beyond Voyeurism and Danger*.ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies,15(2), 330–345.

Maslow, A. H. (1943). *A Theory of Human Motivation. Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370–396.

Medlik, S.; Middleton, V. T. C. (1973). *Product Formulation in Tourism*. In Tourism and Marketing (Vol. 13). Berne: AIEST.

Middleton, V. T. C. (1983). *Product Marketing - Goods and services compared*. Quarterly Review of Marketing, 8(4), 1-10.

Mowat, S. (2022). *War Tourism: A New Brand of Foreign Fighter*. CMC Senior Theses. 2930

Pearce, P. L.; Lee, U. I. (2005). *Developing the Travel Career Approach to Tourist Motivation*. Journal of Travel Research, 43(3), 226–237.

Pestana, M. H.; Parreira, P.; Silva, J. A. (2020). *Motivations, emotions and satisfaction: The keys to a tourism destination choice*. Tourism & Management Studies, 16(1), 1–10.

Ryan, C. (1988) *The Travel Career Ladder: An Appraisal*. Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 936-957, 1998

Seaton, A. V. (1996). *Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis to thanatourism*. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2(4), 234–244.

Seaton, A. V.; Lennon, J. J. (2004). *Thanatourism in the early 21st century: moral panics, ulterior motives and alterior desires*. In T. V. Singh (Ed.), New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices (pp. 63–82). Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Sharpley, R.; Stone, P. R. (2009). *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*. Aspects of Tourism Series, Channel View Publications: Bristol, UK.

Shchuka, H.; Zhurba, I.; Korobeinykoca, Y. (2024). *Ways to create supply in the inbound military tourism market in Ukraine*. Economy and Society, vol. 64

Simone-Charteris, M. T.; Boyd, S. W. (2011). *The Potential for Northern Ireland to Promote Politico-Religious Tourism: An Industry Perspective*.Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management,20(3–4), 457–483.

Smith, N.; Croy, W. G. (2005). *Presentation of Dark Tourism: Te Wairoa*, *The Buried Village*. In C. Ryan, S. J. Page, & M. Aicken (Eds.), Taking Tourism to the Limits: Issues, Concepts and Managerial Perspectives (pp. 109–128). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Smith, S. L. J. (1994). *The Tourism Product*. Annals of Tourism Research, 21(3), 582–595.

Smith, V. L. (1988). *War and Tourism: An American Ethnography*. Annals of Tourism Research, vol. 25, no. 1, January 1998, pp. 202-27.

Somerville, L. H.; Casey, B. (2010). *Developmental neurobiology of cognitive control and motivational systems*. Current Opinion in Neurobiology, 20(2), 236–241.

Stone, P. (2006). *A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions*. Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal, 54(2), 145–160.

Stone, P. (2013), "*Dark tourism scholarship: a critical review*", Vol. 7 No. 3, pp. 307-318.

Tunbridge, J. E.; Ashworth, G. J. (1996). *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*

UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division (2010). *International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics 2008*. New York: United Nations. Studies in Methods, Series M, No. 83, Rev. 1.

Williams, N. L., Wassler, P., & Fedeli, G. (2023). *Social Representations of War Tourism: A Case of Ukraine*.Journal of Travel Research,62(4), 926-932.

Winter, C. (2011). *Battlefield visitor motivations: Explorations in the Great War town of Ieper, Belgium*. International journal of tourism research, 13(2), 164-176.

Sitography

Dark Tourism, https://dark-tourism.com/

9/11 Memorial Museum, https://www.911memorial.org/connect/blog/911-memorial-museum-welcomes-more-10-million-visitors

Statista, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1115176/attendance-auschwitz-birkenau-memorial/

BBC, https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cjdl1njj1peo

The Guardian, https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2013/oct/31/dark-tourism-murder-sites-disaster-zones

Washington Post, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/02/23/sudan-rsf-kidnapping-ransom-slaves/

The Atlantics, *https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/the-rise-of-dark-tourism/374432/*

Kyivstar Business Hub, *https://hub.kyivstar.ua/articles/turyzm-pid-chas-vijny-yak-galuz-vyzhyvaye-ta-gotuyetsya-do-vidnovlennya*

UNWTO, https://www.unwto.org/tourism-statistics/key-tourism-statistics

UNWTO, https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms

Visit Ukraine: https://visitukraine.today/?srsltid=AfmBOoqhRtB-oNHMjHXeE-d1kWN3bXoHUtbuB97VlUxNYBVvfrEo_5Hn

Government of UK, https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/ukraine

U.S. Department Of State —Bureau Of Consular Affairs, https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/international-travel/International-Travel-Country-Information-Pages/Ukraine.html

Government of Canada, https://travel.gc.ca/destinations/ukraine

Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale, https://www.viaggiaresicuri.it/find-country/country/UKR

Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, https://www.ireland.ie/en/dfa/overseas-travel/advice/ukraine/

Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/ukraine/ukraine-country-brief

Daily Mail, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel_news/article-2711728/Tourism-officials-offer-trips-war-zone-UKRAINE-50-includes-flak-jacket.html

RBK, https://www.rbc.ua/ukr/travel/evakuatsiya-zamorozhennye-scheta-proishodit-1650917336.html

Kyiv Independent, https://kyivindependent.com/war-tourism-in-ukraine-attracts-foreigners-to-see-scars-of-russia-invasion/

ChernobylX Tours, https://chernobylx.com/it/tours/

CNN, https://edition.cnn.com/travel/ukraine-kyiv-tourists-chernobyl-conflict/index.html

Capital Tours, https://capitaltourskiev.com/prices

War Tours, https://wartours.in.ua/en/

Hromadske, https://hromadske.ua/viyna/235459-v-ukrayinu-yidut-voyenni-turysty-khochut-pobachyty-mistsia-rosiysko-ukrayinskoyi-viyny-zmi

Catalyst Planet, https://www.catalystplanet.com/travel-and-social-action-stories/ukraine-war-tourism-educational-or-unethical

News Agency Unian, https://www.unian.ua/tourism/news/chomu-inozemni-turisti-jidut-v-ukrajinu-pid-chas-viyni-ta-chi-etichno-ce-12836772.html

Ukraine in Focus, https://www.poutineplatoon.ca/ethics

France 24, https://www.france24.com/en/video/20241128-dark-tourism-on-the-rise-in-ukraine-is-war-tourism-educational-or-unethical

Banksy Explained, https://banksyexplained.com/banksy-in-ukraine-november-2022/

Sispilne, https://suspilne.media/840017-u-2025-roci-na-oboronu-ukraina-vidilit-ponad-26-vvp/