Post-War Tourism in Ukraine: Should We Go Dark or Phoenix?

Anastasiia YEZHOVA

The Russian Federation invaded Ukraine on 24 February 2022. Now there are active hostilities, but despite this, the government of Ukraine is already thinking ahead by creating various recovery funds for restoration in the post-war period. This article examines the tourism sector and how it can be adjusted to post-war realities. Moreover, planning in this area is viewed through the prism of city marketing, which is characterised by a clear segmentation of the audience, analysis of the resources available and a study of the target audiences’ needs. This work answers the following question: what are the main tasks of post-war tourism in the framework of city marketing after the war in Ukrainian cities considering visiting motives of the potential tourists? In the process of analysing international and domestic tourism experience in post-conflict and post-disaster territories, we can argue that it is necessary to determine the concept of a touristic campaign (the author recommends the Phoenix Tourism concept), attract volunteers, maintain communication through telegram channels, conserve war-damaged buildings as a touristic site, conduct guides training with an emphasis on their mentor functions, etc. At the end of the article, the author raises questions in the field of post-war city marketing that require further attention from researchers.

Keywords: dark tourism, phoenix tourism, city marketing, Ukraine, war

Introduction

Being in a state of war, the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy has announced the creation of funds for the restoration of the country after the war: “We already understand how we will be restoring our country. We are already forming special funds for the restoration of Ukraine. There are already four of them: Foundation for the Restoration of Destroyed Property and Infrastructure of Ukraine, Fund for Renewal and Transformation of the Economy, Fund for Servicing and Repayment of Public Debt, Small and Medium Business Support Fund.” Referring to the leadership of Ukraine and the importance of

1 University of Public Service, e-mail: yezhova.nastya@gmail.com
long-term planning, the author considers it appropriate to discuss the perspectives of the territorial marketing and tourism activity in Ukraine after the end of the war.

After the war, numerous cities in Ukraine will be held hostage by a dark military past and an unstable blurred future. The devastation that reigns around will shift the focus away from areas such as marketing and tourism. But the author considers this an erroneous approach since it is strategic thinking, analysis of resources and timely response to the analysed requests of target audiences that will drive the country’s recovery by leaps and bounds.

This article aims to answer the following question: What are the main tasks of post-war tourism in the framework of city marketing after the war in Ukrainian cities considering visiting motives of the potential tourists?

Up to the moment, there are no published articles on post-war city marketing and tourism in Ukraine. Therefore, this work is to be considered pioneering.

The article contains various case studies of the post-conflict countries and cities that managed to become popular destinations. Their experience will become a ground for strategic marketing planning in post-war Ukrainian cities.

**War in Ukraine**

The invasion of the territory of Ukraine by the Russian Federation began on 24 February at 5 a.m. Kyiv time. The Russian army began to strike at military infrastructure facilities. In the days that followed, the attacks were not limited to militarised targets. Shelling and bombardments are also being carried out in residential areas of many Ukrainian cities; hundreds of civilians, including children, have been killed. The Russian Government refuses to call it a war, following the lead, all the Russian media name it a ‘military operation’ in Ukraine. The main goals of this ‘operation’ are the demilitarisation and denazification of Ukraine. The first one has the ground considering the Ukrainian army as 22\textsuperscript{nd} in the Global Firepower ranking of the “available active military manpower by country, from highest to lowest”. The second aim is quite questionable, and considering that it negatively affects the Ukrainian image, the author finds it necessary to provide some counterarguments.

Neo-Nazi organisations, followers of Nazi ideology, operate almost everywhere (Figure 1). The reasons for their occurrence can be different: wars or conflicts on the territory of the state (high level of aggression), poverty, the desire to join the “strong” to feel part of the group, etc.

---

5 Global Firepower: 2022 *Military Strength Ranking*. 

Figure 1: Compilation of the paper titles of various online media on the neo-Nazi
Sources: tass.ru, euronews.com, justice.gov, independent.co.uk, interfax.ru

It is also necessary to understand what the term ‘denazification’ is:

*The process of bringing the leaders of the National Socialist regime in Germany to justice and of
purging all elements of Nazism from public life, carried out especially between 1945 and 1948.*

Quantitative data that prove the attitude of people towards this ideology in Ukraine do not
exist, but some data will disprove the “popular support” for ultra-right sentiments in the
country.

In the elections to the Verkhovna Rada (the Ukrainian Parliament) of 2019 2.15% of
the country voted for the political party All Ukrainian Association “Svoboda” (Euro-
sceptic far-right nationalists).

They got one seat in the parliament. At the same time,
the pro-Russian political parties “Opposition Platform – For Life” and “Opposition Bloc”
received the support of 13.05% and 3.03%, respectively (49 seats out of 423 in total). In
the same year, almost all Ukrainian nationalist parties and radical organisations joined
forces and nominated one candidate, Ruslan Koshulytsky, for the presidency of Ukraine;

---

6 Lexico Dictionaries: Denazification.
7 Центральна виборча комісія: Вибори народних депутатів України 2019.
he got 1.62% of the votes. It gives ground to state that Ukraine is being a victim of territory subjugation and intrusion in an attempt to change the political regime and impose a different ideology.

The war has become a catalyst for denoting a single cultural identity for all Ukrainians facing one enemy, which is a very important component of national branding. Before the war, the country was characterised by a split in society between Russian speakers and Ukrainian speakers, considering different languages as an element of division. But the war gave the exact answer to many who had problems with self-identification and rallied the Ukrainian people; the language they speak does not matter anymore. What matters is your position; the Ukrainian society is being on the rise.

In the context of the war, it is impossible not to mention how much partner countries help Ukraine. Numerous funds and initiatives are being created, cities and states allocate funds from their budgets for humanitarian assistance within Ukraine, as well as for the Ukrainian refugees. For example, in Hungary free train trips for refugees are available, in Budapest urban transport is free for Ukrainian passport holders; tents with free food and water were set up at railway stations, volunteers help with finding accommodation and laying a route to another country where refugees are heading in transit through Hungary. Some countries also supply weapons.

According to the UN vote, the world is united in its recognition of Russia as an aggressor country. The UN General Assembly voted by an overwhelming majority of 141 against 5 demanding Russia immediately withdraw its forces from Ukraine and abide by international law.

**City marketing concept**


Foremost, several existing terms relatively project the same idea: “place marketing/branding”, “country marketing/branding” and “city marketing/branding”, the difference is in the scope. If we speak about the first one, it includes not only cities but a variety of

---

8 Центральна виборча комісія: України – «Вибори Президента України 2019».
12 European External Action Service: UN General Assembly Demands Russian Federation Withdraw All Military Forces from the Territory of Ukraine.
territories: from villages to regions. Therefore, it has a broader meaning. The author prefers to work within a narrowed concept which is city marketing. The justification of the choice includes the ability to avoid generalised strategies like country branding strategy considering Ukraine a big country. In the author’s opinion, the optimal scheme to apply place marketing in the country is that the government issues the general marketing and branding directives to follow but the local councils are to adapt the general directives for the specific city taking into account its geographical position, the aftermath of war, logistics, resources, etc., and let the world know about them. Otherwise, tourists will keep choosing the country's capital as their final destination.

The reader can become acquainted with the concept of city marketing in previously published articles. Erik Braun points out that city marketing has a customer-oriented philosophy and all its activities should serve not the city but the customer. While Martin Boisen draws attention to the importance of the competitive advantage and position of the city among competitors which can be improved through strategic initiatives. In this paper, it is necessary to focus on the hybrid definition of the above-mentioned ones:

*City marketing is a long-term strategic activity aimed at the operation and development of the city according to its (potential) market’s demands, stakeholders’ wants and needs, and a competitive environment.*

To this definition, it is worth adding “when taking into account the city resources available”, which can be explained by the limited resources in the post-war territory. Based on the definition, the main initial task of the responsible authority is to create a strategy (up to 3 years in the post-war period) aimed at the development that will have an umbrella effect on all other departments of the city council. By ‘umbrella’ we mean the creation of a system where everyone is responsible for a certain sector of activity and works for the same goal. Before writing a strategy, it is necessary to analyse the financial and human resources they deal with. The strategy should include the approach for the allocation of the resources from the Foundation for the Restoration of Destroyed Property and Infrastructure of Ukraine, Fund for Renewal and Transformation of the Economy, Fund for Servicing and Repayment of Public Debt, Small and Medium Business Support Fund. The necessary documents should be prepared for the central government to prove and rationalise the allocation of the budget for the settlement.

An integral element of city marketing is a target audience. In the case of a post-war city, we consider target audiences residents, internally displaced people (IDP), refugees abroad, business owners, investors and tourists. Where ‘internally displaced people’ and ‘refugees abroad’ are not a part of a usual consumer composition and are therefore highlighted in red colour (Figure 2).

---


---
Communication with target audiences can effectively continue in the post-war period through social networks such as Telegram. A large number of people use it to monitor news, track air warnings and alarms and communicate with close ones. Government channels during this period received a significant number of followers, compared with the pre-war period (Figure 3). For example, more than 32 thousand accounts are subscribed to the Telegram channel of the Sumy Regional Military Administration and almost 800 thousand to the President’s Office channel. People are aware of the spread of fake news, so, according to the rising number of governmental channels followers, users tend to trust official channels of information, such as the Regional Administration, the city council and personal channels of government officials. News channels in English were also created to inform the foreign audience about what is happening in Ukraine. The channel ‘Ukraine NOW’ was created on the 26th of February and up to the 16th of March, it has more than 100 thousand subscribers. It also has its alternates in German, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, French and Spanish languages. In total, these channels have an audience of 152 thousand who are considered potential tourists.

The main task of these channels is not to lose their relevance after these events and continue to inform citizens about the news and generate useful content. It is also possible to conduct surveys among subscribers on various issues. Naturally, they will not be considered official, since the subscribers of a particular channel are not limited to the boundaries of one city, region, or even country, but an approximate public opinion on a particular issue will be possible to obtain. It will be especially important to work through these channels with refugees and IDPs. Broadcasting the normalisation of the situation and the restoration of the city will be a significant reason for those who have moved to return to the city.

It is impossible not to mention the increase in the recognisability of many cities in Ukraine that are under heavy attack by enemy troops: Sumy, Chernihiv, Mykolayiv, Okhtyrka, Bucha, Irpin, etc. The author of this article, having lived in Ukraine for 22 years, can argue that even for many Ukrainians, the geographical position of the city of Sumy before the war was unclear. Some even asked in what part of Ukraine this city is located.
Now, with the active demonstration of military maps and green corridors in the news, the map of Ukraine for internal and external audiences no longer seems to be something unknown, and therefore many settlements have become a household name lately. For example, in Google search as of 16 March, when we enter the query “Sumy Ukraine”, the news tab gives out more than six million mentions including in Reuters, The Guardian, Al Jazeera, CNN, etc.

![Comparison of Telegram publication views](image)

**Figure 3: Comparison of Telegram publication views in the Sumy Regional Military Administration channel on February 16 (from the left) and March 11 (from the right)**

*Source: Telegram*

**Dark tourism vs. Phoenix tourism**

The term ‘dark tourism’ was introduced in 1996 by J. Lennon and M. Foley and it is about “sites and events that are associated with death, disaster, suffering, violence and killing”. Some literature sources also label it as “thanatourism”.

In the work on the post-conflict tourism opportunity spectrum, the authors describe three directions for the development of post-war tourism: phoenix, hybrid and normalisation. The first is characterised by the restoration and the emergence of new tourist magnets, sites, goods and experiences. The stage of hybrid development “adds in ‘regrowth’ of a predominantly past cultural and heritage base”, and normalisation is typical for mature destinations that have not been a territory of conflict for a long time.\(^\text{17}\)

The adjective ‘dark’ has a negative connotation of evil and harm. If the goal is to attract a tourist who, during and after the visit, will be filled with compassion, empathy and admiration for the country that “is rising from the ashes”, then in this case the concept of phoenix tourism is the most appropriate one. Phoenix is a symbol of immortality, resurrection after death through fire (Figure 4). The name “phoenix” originates from the Greek word, which means red (fiery) colour in connection with the legend of its rebirth in a cleansing flame. The Phoenix gained popularity after being featured in J. K. Rowling’s “Harry Potter” series of novels.

\[
\text{Figure 4: An example of a touristic campaign logo for post-war tourism in Ukraine} \\
\text{Note: The blue and yellow colours symbolise the Ukrainian flag, and the red spots represent blood.} \\
\text{Source: Created by the author on canva.com.}
\]

In their work on phoenix tourism, S. Causevic and P. Lynch write about the cathartic experiences that tourists get during their visits to these or other sites accompanied by a guide. The importance of guides cannot be underestimated, as they are like a magnifying glass for the tourist to see the details and read between the lines. Moreover, history knows cases when guides were used as a source of propaganda. For example, starting from 1938, General Franco in Spain had been using tour guides to promote his political ideas when the

country was in turmoil. E. Cohen’s research identifies two types of guides: the pathfinder and the mentor. The first type is more about accompanying and showing the way to unique places, and natural objects (for example, climbing a mountain). But if we talk about mentors, then they provoke a tourist to search for meanings, after their excursions a person leaves with questions and food for thought. This has a longer-lasting effect compared to sightseeing; figuratively, this term can be replaced by “sightfeeling” when it comes to a mentoring tour. The effect of such knowledge of the city will evoke empathy, self-reflection, and discussions in the online and offline environment of the tourist even after they return home. Therefore, one of the tasks of post-war tourism will be the quality training of guides–mentors, who, in addition to foreign language skills and knowledge of history, are eyewitnesses of events. This type of activity can be an excellent part-time job for students of geographical, historical and tourism faculties or for people who lost their jobs due to conflict (professional retraining).

In conclusion, the message for potential visitors could be the following: post-war tourism in Ukraine is about witnessing and helping the revitalisation in every aspect. The desire to live is stronger than death and Ukraine is still alive and welcomes everyone to witness that. Its nation, culture and history are alive and its spirit is unbreakable. Your visit will be a huge gesture of support for the local community that greatly benefits the Ukrainian economy.

Foreign and domestic experiences

There are many examples in the world of how ongoing and post-conflict countries and cities resumed the flow of tourists to their territories (Germany, Egypt, Israel, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda). The domestic example is Ukrainian Chornobyl, where there is still a high radiation background, but this does not stop domestic and foreign tourists from visiting this zone to look at the devastation caused by human error. And this is evidenced by statistical data, which were summed up by the State Enterprise “Center for Organizational, Technical and Information Support of the Exclusion Zone Management”. According to the Enterprise, in 2021 the exclusion zone was visited by 73,086 people; which is twice as many as in 2020 – 36,450 people. Tourist trips to North Korea, a closed state from the outside world, are also possible (koryogroup.com; uritours.com; koreakonsult.com) even though it ranks 30th in the fragile states index for 2021. The flow of tourists continues to the former German Nazi concentration and extermination

---

camps, such as Auschwitz–Birkenau: in 2019 over two million tourists visited their sites. According to Stone, we consider these kinds of places ‘sites of death’, the second type of site is ‘associated with death’.

If we look at the Hungarian capital, Budapest, there are monuments to the genocide associated with the dreadful events: the shoes on the Danube embankment and the monument to the victims of the Nazi occupation. Also, in Budapest, there are tours of the Jewish quarter, where the ghetto was located from November 1944 to January 1945 (site of death), and there is a cemetery on the territory of the large synagogue where the Jews who died during the Holocaust are buried. Now, it is a neighbourhood with many ruin bars, restaurants and nightclubs.

Another European capital that is overflowing with dark tourism sites is Berlin. During any tour of the city centre, you will be taken to the Führerbunker, Checkpoint Charlie and through the Holocaust Memorial. You will also be advised to visit the Topography of Terror, which is an outdoor and indoor history museum located on the site of buildings that were the headquarters of the Gestapo and SS during the Nazi regime from 1933 to 1945. The history of the city is woven into the history of wars, and no story about the capital of Germany can now be told without the Berlin Wall, which memorial is included in the top 10 sights of Berlin.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is at the stage of hybrid tourism since the conflict in the territory of this country took place from 1992 to 1995, which is still a part of the living memory of the population. At this stage, researchers note the importance of separating the image of the country from the conflict and redirecting the attention of a potential tourist from the war to other achievements of the country and its unique characteristics. It can be assumed that the hybrid stage begins 15–20 years after the end of the conflict. A striking example of hybrid tourism is the assortment of souvenir stalls in Sarajevo, where on the same shelf you can find postcards with the main sights of the city, the 1984 Olympics, and ones depicting the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, a meeting of the Bosnian army during the siege or coffins burying. In Sarajevo, you can easily join dark tours, which bring you to thematic places of the war. The main ‘attraction’ on this route is the Tunnel of Hope, now serving as a museum, which was the only connection between the city and the outside world during the siege. It is a symbol of resistance, like the Road of Life through Lake Ladoga to Leningrad during the Second World War.

---

25 Boyd et al. (2021): op. cit.
26 Еврейский музей и центр толерантности: Шенген не нужен. Онлайн-прогулка по еврейскому кварталу в Будапеште от Эстер Халас. YouTube.
Sri Lanka, where the civil war lasted for almost 30 years, reopened to the world in 2009, and the tourism industry has been showing positive results. In the studies about tourism in Sri Lanka, a survey was conducted, where one of the questions was about the acceptance of visiting the military ruins. Most respondents expressed a desire for a post-war experience, which shows an interest of visitors to post-conflict sites. This raises the question of the tourists’ motivation (push factors) to visit such places.

In the bachelor’s work *Tourists’ Motivation for Engaging in Dark Tourism*, in the process of literature review, the author revealed that people are primarily driven by curiosity, fear and acceptance of the fact that death is an integral part of the life cycle. But since it is impossible to go through the death stage and return to the previous one, visitors “touch” death through the prism of other people’s destinies. Also, in the process of her research, the author of the latter work states that people visit such places with an educational function to gain more information and knowledge about the events associated with a particular site; it is not only an interest but also a desire to ascertain the veracity of what happened and to recognise it through one’s presence and experience. Visiting Ukraine, tourists will also be able to get this information directly from the witnesses of the war, each of whom has their personal story, different from the other. These circumstances add emotional depth to the perception of information.

Adding to push factors for coming to dangerous sites, we should mention cinematography. The number of foreign visitors to Chornobyl in 2021 was 33,914. For most of them, according to the survey, the factor which prompted them to come was the release of the series “Chernobyl” on HBO in 2019 which was filmed in Ukraine and Lithuania.

Also, it is important to mention the international movement of volunteers to developing countries and its rising popularity. According to researchers in this field, volunteers choose this path as they are driven by the push factors like the desire to help others, make a difference, live in another country, learn something new, gain experience and save humanity. It is worth mentioning that referring to the Ukrainian Government “20,000 foreign nationals have applied to join the fight against Russia”, which also shows interest and concern among the international community. They filled the applications through the specially created website [ukrforeignlegion.com](http://ukrforeignlegion.com). A platform similar to the latter can be created for volunteers in the period of post-war rehabilitation.

---


33 ДП – Центр організаційно-технічного і інформаційного забезпечення управління зоною відчуження: Чорнобиль – зона, що притягує.


Consequently, the restoration of Ukrainian infrastructure can become a magnet (a pull factor) for the flow of volunteers from other countries, investments in the above-mentioned funds and tourism; people aspire to become a part of history, or at least ‘touch’ it.

Conclusions

The Russian Federation attacked Ukraine and is now in a state of war. The country will need to get out of the crisis and at the same time use all possible resources and tools, including city marketing. The whole world is supporting Ukraine currently, and a similar level of support can be expected after the end of the war. Therefore, the world community will need to be told exactly what the country’s needs are and what kind of assistance it requires.

First of all, it must be considered that the consumer composition of urban marketing has changed and now also includes refugees abroad and internally displaced people. Communication is well established with all categories of target audiences through Telegram channels. The main thing is not to abandon them, but after the hostilities shift the focus of attention from the war to restoration.

In touristic strategies and materials, it is worth abandoning the term dark tourism and giving preference to phoenix tourism. Thus, the mental picture of the consumer will not reflect death and suffering, which depress perception, but rebirth and restoration.

The experience of many countries and cities shows that it is possible to return the flow of tourists to the settlements. Tourists are driven by many factors that need to be “warmed up” by appropriate actions on the part of Ukrainian cities so that the trip takes place, and not just stays as a line on the wish list.

Summing up, we can single out the following motives for tourists to visit Ukraine after the end of the war and the appropriate measures so that motivation turns into action (Table 1).

Table 1: The push factors for visiting post-war Ukrainian cities and their corresponding pull factors for attracting the visitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Push factors to visit</th>
<th>The tasks to create pull factors and attract the visitor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Interest in post-war life and people who survived the hostilities, curiosity to see the destroyed objects. An individual need to feel the risk and danger. | To ensure foreign media coverage with the right messages for potential visitors  
To maintain the Telegram channels activity  
To facilitate movies creation based on these events  
To provide tour guides training  
To conserve the buildings beyond economic repair as a visiting site (temporary or permanently) |
| The manifestation of sympathy and admiration for the people opposing the aggressor.     | To involve the locals in the communication with visitors  
To collect the war diaries (text/audio/video) with personalised stories and prompt their dissemination |
| Desire to participate in the restoration of infrastructure or community support as a volunteer. | To create an online platform with locations where volunteers are needed and the possibility to apply  
To ensure a safe environment |

Source: Compiled by the author.
Anastasiia YEZHOVA: Post-War Tourism in Ukraine: Should We Go Dark or Phoenix?

The author also considers it necessary to list the questions that have been raised in the process of this study and require further attention from scientists of different fields to find answers:

- How to return citizens of Ukraine from foreign countries?
- How to return an investor?
- How to advance domestic tourism?

References


Boisen, Martin: The Strategic Application of City Marketing to Middle-Sized Cities. 2007. Online: https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.35402.67522


Lexico Dictionaries: Denazification. Online: www.lexico.com/definition/denazification


Tripadvisor: *The 15 Best Things to Do in Berlin – 2022*. Online: [www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g187323-Activities-a_allAttractions.true-Berlin.html](http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g187323-Activities-a_allAttractions.true-Berlin.html)

Vuignier, Renaud: *Place Marketing and Place Branding: A Systematic (and Tentatively Exhaustive) Literature Review*. 2016. Online: [https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01340352/document](https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01340352/document)


Yezhova, Anastasiia: *Theoretical Concept and Definition of City Marketing*. *Verejná správa a spoločnosť*, 21, no. 1 (2020). Online: [https://doi.org/10.33542/VSS2020-1-08](https://doi.org/10.33542/VSS2020-1-08)

ДП – Центр організаційно-технічного і інформаційного забезпечення управління зоною відчуження: Чорнобиль – зона, що притягує. Online: [https://cotiz.org.ua/novyny/](https://cotiz.org.ua/novyny/)


