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Tourism, Ecology and War: Neoliberal Aspects and Social Impacts

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Abstract

This study examines the progression of tourism in Ukraine, highlighting the key challenges the industry faces amidst wartime conditions, while also addressing the environmental and social repercussions. Through an evaluation of revenue metrics, promising areas for tourism growth in Ukraine are identified. A shift in consumer tourism preferences has been observed, with increased demand in the central and western regions of the country due to the ongoing conflict. Projections from a forecasting model suggest a growing trend in tourist arrivals, indicating potential for greater tourism activity in the foreseeable future. Additionally, the fluctuation in the average wage in Ukraine is discussed, as it is seen as a key factor influencing tourism demand. The formulated forecast model indicates an upward trajectory, instilling optimism regarding the outlook for tourist consumption. This theory is confirmed by a stabilization of Ukraine's Environmental Performance Index, demonstrating a trend towards improvement. It has been established that neoliberal policies, particularly in a regional context, promote the development of civil society in Ukraine. The comprehensive Human Development Index (HDI) data illustrate that nations transitioning from conflict to peace have made positive progress in this indicator over time. Furthermore, volunteer tourism emerges as a viable avenue to combine environmental and social aspects, offering a means to alleviate the adverse impacts of neoliberal tourism policies.

Keywords

Tourism; Ecology; Tourist regions; War; Neoliberal impact; Social impact

Introduction

The acute social transformations brought about by the neoliberal development paradigm and the war in Ukraine compel us to

reassess and expand the concept of tourism development, particularly in terms of its social and environmental impacts. In the broader global scientific discourse on the future of tourism development, particularly in the post-capitalist (neoliberal) paradigm, it is worth considering the significant polarization between the countries of the global North and the global South, especially about their development level and corresponding strategic priorities. For countries in the North, tourism contributes to economic growth, which in turn requires continual expansion (increasing the number of tourists, areas and attractions). This results in over-tourism, which is a major concern. Even the concept of sustainable tourism is subject to criticism. For these countries, a key issue is de-growth, or the pursuit of 'detouristification' strategies, where tourism is aimed at prioritizing local communities and ecosystems.

Governments and municipalities are trying to address these issues by imposing restrictions on tourist attractions. Gorlach (2024) cites a series of examples: around the Trevi Fountain in Rome, the city authorities plan to close the area around the fountain this spring. Visitors will have to register online and pay 2 euros to access the fountain for 30 minutes; the Pompeii Archaeological Park administration has announced a limit on the number of visitors to protect the World Heritage Site. Previously, restrictions on the number of tourists were introduced in Venice, where the number of a group cannot exceed 25. Additionally, guides are prohibited from using loudspeakers to minimize disruptive noise pollution for locals. In July 2024, Barcelona residents protested against mass tourism and its detrimental impact on the city. They demanded a new economic model to reduce the number of tourists. Protests also took place in tourist centres such as Malaga, Palma de Mallorca, and the Canary Islands during the summer (Gorlach, 2024).

According to the World Tourism Organization, the tourism sector will continue to grow and diversify in the near future, potentially becoming a significant driver of socioeconomic progress. However, the debate surrounding certain provisions, particularly regarding the equality of economic opportunities for citizens, poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, and other negative social and cultural consequences of tourism, requires finding solutions to mitigate or resolve the contradictions of neoliberal development, especially in times of war.

War usually destroys tourism in a war zone: tourist flows collapse due to danger, infrastructure is destroyed, and the country loses its reputation as a "safe place". However, after the end of the war, especially in a neoliberal context, a new phenomenon appears - "post-conflict tourism": this is both "dark tourism" (visiting the sites of tragedies) and the restoration of old resorts to attract investment. International corporations often enter war-torn countries under the guise of "reconstruction" but in reality privatize resources, including the tourism industry. The experience of countries that have gone through the difficult path of war (Croatia, Iraq, and Afghanistan) is convincing that war provides an impetus for the "restart" of tourism on new, neoliberal terms, but real control over tourist facilities is often gained by transnational companies or foreign organizations. An important aspect that complements the issue of tourism research is ecology. Wartime periods present heightened risks of environmental crimes and negative environmental consequences. A significant portion of illicit income is generated in conflict zones through environmental crimes. These include: illegal mining, trade in waste and hazardous substances, wildlife trafficking, illegal logging, and illegal

fishing; harming both human health, the natural environment and negatively affecting tourism activities.

A study of the Gaza war shows that emissions generated during the first two months of the war exceeded the annual carbon footprint of more than 20 of the world's most climate-vulnerable countries. Additionally, Israel's annual baseline military carbon footprint in 2019, excluding the conflict, was nearly 7 million metric tons of CO₂. This is roughly equivalent to the CO₂ emitted by the whole of Cyprus, and 55% more emissions than Palestine as a whole (Lakhani, 2024). Research shows that conflict leads to large numbers of displaced persons, restricted border movement for men, and austere neoliberal policies, which result in radical changes for citizens, negatively affect prospects for social development, including through the means of tourist activities and tourist consumption. According to data from the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2024), as of July 1, 2024, there are 4.7 million internally displaced persons in Ukraine.

The war opens a window for a new major stage of neoliberal restructuring of tourism in Ukraine. But the choice of the reconstruction model depends on whether it will be "tourism for investors" or "tourism for Ukrainian communities". The aim of the article is to supplement the existing research base on the development of neoliberal tourism in the context of the war in Ukraine and to determine its environmental and social impact and potential prospects. The main objectives of the article are:

- 1) analysis of neoliberal tourism development and its consequences in a global context.
- 2) analysis of tourism development in the context of war in Ukraine and study of changes in consumer attitudes towards tourism consumption;
- 3) identification of environmental and social consequences of the impact of war;
- 4) forecast and assessment of economic, environmental and social prospects of tourism in Ukraine during the war period.

Methodology

The research procedure involved several stages, the first of which was to identify the main problems of neoliberal tourism development in the context of environmental, military, and social consequences. The first step involved a literature review in the fields of economics, ecology, and sociology. This initial review allowed us to identify the neoliberal foundations of global tourism policy and to clarify its environmental and social impacts. The search process was carried out using keywords and phrases: "tourism", "neoliberal tourism development", "war", "ecology", "ecological consequences of war", "social impacts", "volunteer tourism". The search was then refined based on the following criteria: relevance (with most sources published within the last 5 years), alignment with the research topic, and reliability of the sources Further analysis of the data added to a sample aimed to assess the relationship between neoliberal tourism development and its environmental and social impacts in the context of the war in Ukraine.

The second stage involved analysis of secondary sources, including reports from the United Nations (UN/UNDP), the Conflict and Environment Observatory, the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, and the State Tourism Development Agency of Ukraine for the period 2015-2024. At this stage, we identified indicators that reflect the

economic, environmental and social impact on the study of the issue of neoliberal tourism development. The economic impact on tourism is manifested through tax revenues. In our study, we took this into account in the form of a local tax - a tourist fee. The impact of environmental policy was analyzed using the Environmental Performance Index. This is an indicator that determines the effectiveness of state environmental policy, which has an impact on the state of tourism development. Social impacts are described on the basis of the Human Development Index, which includes the standard of living, literacy, education and longevity and is one of the factors of tourism demand. Taking into account the average salary in the country in the study is considered as a key factor in determining the effective potential demand for tourism services.

The third stage involved determining prospects and development trends through forecasting key indicators, including the size of the tourist fee, the Environmental Performance Index and the average wage. The forecast included modeling different scenarios of the development of indicators: optimistic, pessimistic and realistic. Realistic corresponds to the most likely state. Pessimistic and optimistic set the lower and upper limits of the dynamics of the development of the indicators identified by the study. This is necessary for the completeness of the analysis. Calculations and graphical interpretations of the results were conducted in EXCEL software. The main stages of forecast development include:

- 1) pre-forecast orientation (the research program was drawn up: scale, object, working hypotheses, analysis methods were selected, etc.);
- 2) data collection for the forecast and sample formation;
- 3) construction of dynamic series of indicators using extrapolation methods;
- 4) construction of a series of hypothetical normative models of forecasted indicators:
- 5) assessment of the probability and accuracy of the forecast;

The final stage of the study involved summarising the results and interpreting them to draw relevant conclusions.

Results and Discussions

Tourism Policy in the Era of Neoliberalism

Due to its global influences, the neoliberal paradigm is closely related to the development of tourism in various countries of the world. The emergence of new tourism was accompanied by the transition of capitalism to a new neoliberal 'disorganized' or 'post-Fordist' framework. This led to the development of 'niche' markets offering travel options tailored to individual tastes, including destinations with specific needs such as war zones, sex, and slums. Neoliberalism, aimed at expanding markets and investing surplus capital, encourages countries to open their markets to foreign companies. As a result, national tourism industries often find themselves under the control of foreign operators (Fletcher, 2023). Bulatova and Dubeniuk (2009) give an example that the peripheral status of Southern European countries will determine their dependence on tour operators and investors from Northern Europe. According to research, about 30% of tourists from the UK make tourist trips to France through tour operators, while the percentage of trips through tour operators to Greece is about 80%. The consequence of

this situation was a decrease in the competitiveness of small local hotel enterprises, which were forced to accept the contractual terms of tour operators in order not to lose their customers.

Tourism policy, in the context of neoliberal doctrine, favours large markets and investors. Furthermore, as large infrastructure projects, they are aimed at strengthening the capitalization of territories, seeking resources to produce wealth, attract investment and promote the country abroad (Cruz and Todesco, 2024; Ilina and Alves, 2024). To avoid a crisis of overproduction, tourism offers outlets for surplus capital and the movement of capital from places that have become overdeveloped to those that have recently begun to develop. The basis for such expansion is the limited availability of natural resources. Neoliberalism views the use of natural resources from the perspective of environmental sustainability but emphasises the formation of market incentives for sustainable management by fixing their monetary value and forming a corresponding market segment (Fletcher, 2023)

In turn, countries or individual tourist centres have significant economic benefits, including employment and income, diversification, attracting unproductive agricultural lands, local product producers, and strengthening economic activity. As a result, positive scenarios of sociocultural benefits are created: the formation of infrastructure, strengthening of cultural heritage, inclusivity, education, and improvement of the standard of living. The inflow of funds allows for investments in the conservation of natural resources or cultural heritage sites (Ivanyshyn et al., 2022; Sosa and Brenner, 2021). Some academic studies have examined neoliberalism from an ecological perspective. For example, Duff (2015) argues that it changes the relationship between human communities and nature and involves extracting economic value from landscapes, animals, and experiences. The main argument is that nature can be preserved or saved through its "market value" by turning it into a commodity. Tucker, Shelton and Bae (2017) emphasise that the neoliberal paradigm in tourism promotes a shift from narratives of destruction and loss to narratives of renewal and hope, emphasising how disasters framed through tourism activities contribute to the development of a tourist destination. In tourism practice, market mechanisms are inherent in regulating the lives of people who provide tourism services. Sometimes, tourism-based product consumers do not realise they are being manipulated through scripts, artefacts, events, etc. (Duško and Mladen, 2017). Research by Gascón and Milano (2024) suggests that despite the positive impact of tourism, a significant part of the population remains excluded from the benefits for various reasons. Griffiths (2024) focuses his research on the controversial and conflictual nature of the issue of responsible tourism between community residents and visitors.

The experience of Mexico is described by Salvatierra and Villarreal (2009). It argues that tourism projects are not always beneficial to rural residents and cause significant damage to their livelihoods. The authors state that the local population are losing land accessibility through various mechanisms. Loss of access to natural and cultural resources results in large populations being forced to migrate to cities and further increases social tension. Local populations who remain have few opportunities for income other than employment in the service of large companies, often receiving meagre incomes. This pattern further interrupts the development of rural areas for local populations. According to Fletcher *et al.*

(2019), for the Global South, tourism as practised today does not benefit people. He elucidates the current unjust global economic structure that perpetuates a reality where the few who control wealth and power dictate the terms. The repercussions of conventional tourism have proven that it exploits people, pollutes the environment, destroys the ecosystem, denigrates culture, deprives people of their traditional values and ways of life, and subjects women and children to the horrific slavery of prostitution. In many ways, tourism mirrors the damage colonialism has caused.

Kiyotani, Costa and da Fonseca (2024) argue that the neoliberal model does not promote social improvement or population inclusion. Economic activity led by business corporations is quite often met with public resistance. Some examples include the resistance movement for the preservation of ancestral territories in Latin America and the unification of networks of public organisations and activists in Brazil. Scherle, Pillmayer and Braun (2020) also describe the contradictory effects of neoliberal infiltration in tourism policy based on the study of Morocco's experiences and the Aqaba Special Economic Zone in Jordan. They argue that neoliberal tourism policies promote the interests of Western industrial countries, and to a lesser extent, residents or local communities.

Studies by Fredriksson and Svensson (2003) examine corruption in the environmental sector. They find that corruption can reduce the negative impact of political instability on the environment by weakening environmental regulations, making them less stringent. Lapointe *et al.* (2021) acknowledge that neoliberal policies offer technological innovation and competitive management of tourist destinations. However, they believe that the solution to the fundamental issues of tourism (excessive touristification, closed access to resources for residents, the destruction of culture, traditionality, and the strengthening of negative social consequences) lies in the shared use of space, on-site, through human interaction. The authors argue that a living laboratory, as a social innovation process, offers a much greater potential for addressing these challenges compared to a business-driven approach.

The idea of collaborative planning also finds support in the research of Sosa and Brenner (2021). In their view, this approach would allow local populations to overcome socioeconomic marginalisation and expand opportunities. The focus of their research is on the effectiveness of tourism in combating poverty in rural areas. In their view, the claim that a general increase in community income improves the quality of life for the majority is debatable. While this income often benefits a minority, it can exacerbate socioeconomic inequality. They also express doubts about neoliberalism supporting the expansion of community participation in decision-making. In reality, the tourism market relies on intermediary agents who impose conditions on society, reinforcing processes of subordination. They argue that tourism is highly vulnerable to crises caused by external factors such as political instability, competition from other destinations, epidemics, and more.).

Tourism Trends During the War: Ukraine's Experience

Neoliberal trends in global development are inherent in Ukrainian society. According to Ivanyshyn (2023), Ukraine entered the war in 2014 as a neocolonial entity led by

cosmopolitan oligarchs oriented towards both Moscow and the West. The role of neoliberalism in this situation is crucial. Neoliberal apologists have convinced Ukrainian society that the restored independence and the post-communist oligarchic regime they established are simply continuations of the old Ukrainian state, rendering any further struggle unnecessary. Moreover, neoliberal ideas were embedded in the foundation of the country's state-building at the onset of its independence (Ivanyshyn, 2023). The neoliberal concept is based on interrelated principles: privatisation, marketisation, deregulation, commodification, the use of "market proxies" in state processes, and involvement of civil society.

In the pre-war period, Ukraine's increasing visibility in European tourism rankings illustrated the country's integration into global tourism markets shaped by neoliberal narratives of competitiveness and place branding (Zagorodnya, 2021). In 2024, Vorokhta in Ivano-Frankivsk region and Urych in Lviv region were included in the list of the best villages to visit by the UN World Tourism Organisation (Chelyak, 2024). After the full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, international and domestic tourism came to a standstill. The main priorities were human safety, evacuation, humanitarian aid, and the transition to a new format of volunteer tourism. However, in the summer of 2022, and especially in 2023, domestic tourism to the western and central regions of Ukraine began to develop. People sought at least a short-term rest and psychological rehabilitation.

The war has led to significant economic losses for Ukrainian communities and the closure of tourist heritage sites and cultural and religious institutions. Between February 24, 2022 and August 25, 2023, 823 cultural heritage sites were damaged or destroyed. Due to the war, 24 nature reserves suspended their activities in Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhia, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Kharkiv, Sumy, Chernihiv, Kyiv regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Much of the infrastructure is now damaged and needs restoration. A number of protected areas are facing pressure due to the influx of refugees. This influx challenges the carrying capacity of protected areas and necessitates a reconfiguration of resource management under crisis-induced population pressures. For instance, the Synevyr National Nature Park, the Carpathian Biosphere Reserve, and other protected areas in western Ukraine have sheltered at least 15,000 internally displaced persons. According to preliminary estimates, the war has already caused damage to cultural tourist sites worth US\$1.1 billion and historical tourist sites worth US\$19.3 billion (Strategic Roadmap, 2024). The analytical data in table 1 include individual indicators before the full-scale invasion (2021) and the performance of tourism entities during the war period (by the amount of tax revenues).

Table 1: Indicators of the tourism sector of Ukraine (SATDU, 2025a)

Indicator	2021	2022	2023	2024	Deviation 2024
					from 2021, %
Amount of tax revenues from	2232	1551	2 049	2 938	132
tourism, million UAH.					
Number of taxpayers, units	21931	18125	16465	17649	80

From the information presented in table 1, it can be concluded that the amount of tax revenues from tourism at the national level during the analysed period increased by 32%,

while the number of taxpayers decreased by 20%. Table 2 considers the regional context of tax revenues in Ukraine.

Table 2: Dynamics of tax revenues by regions of Ukraine (SATDU, 2025b)

Regions		nt of taxes po			Deviation 2024
	2021	2022	2023	2024	from 2021, %
Vinnytsia region	27.4	23.9	29.9	41.3	150.7
Volyn region	13.3	11.8	15.9	24.3	182.7
Dnipropetrovsk region	98.4	69.5	91.8	128.8	131.0
Donetsk region	59.6	18.8	8.8	14.5	24.3
Zhytomyr region	14.1	9.0	14.5	20.8	147.5
Zakarpattia region	59.5	72.4	94.2	130.,4	219.2
Zaporizhia region	98.6	26.2	15.2	25.8	26.2
Ivano-Frankivsk region	132.0	159.7	138.8	248.5	188.2
Kyiv region	125.4	163.9	239.0	284.1	226.6
Kirovohrad region	15.2	10.9	15.8	22.4	147.4
Luhansk region	9.2	1.9	0.5	0.2	2.2
Lviv region	215.4	273.8	345.5	440.0	204.3
Mykolaiv region	45.9	14.3	21.7	25.6	55.8
Odesa region	210.8	87.6	98.8	160.5	76.1
Poltava region	43.5	34.6	45.4	65.1	149.6
Rivne region	16.2	14.1	20.1	31.5	194.4
Sumy region	11.4	7.3	9.8	14.1	123.7
Ternopil region	17.3	15.1	19.6	27.5	158.9
Kharkiv region	104.8	38.9	49.6	47.7	45.5
Kherson region	58.7	10.4	1.7	3.0	5.1
Khmelnytskyi region	21.4	22.6	31.1	41.2	192.5
Cherkasy region	23.0	17.4	20.7	34.2	148.7
Chernivtsi region	18.2	20.7	28.8	39.1	214.8
Chernihiv region	18.6	11.3	10.4	16.2	87.1
Kyiv city	773.9	415.2	499.3	982.0	126.9

As of 2024, the leading regions in terms of taxes paid are: the city of Kyiv (982.0 million UAH), Kyiv region (284.1 million UAH), Lviv region (440.0 million UAH) and Ivano-Frankivsk (248.5 million UAH). There is also a growth in revenue from tourism activities in all western and central regions of Ukraine. In some cases, these figures are double those in 2021. However, regions experiencing active hostilities, such as the Luhansk, Donetsk regions, and Kharkiv, have seen a significant reduction in their tax revenues. Similar reductions are observed in traditionally active tourist regions such as Odessa (160.5 million UAH versus 210.8 million in 2021), Mykolaiv (25.6 million UAH versus 45.9 million), Kherson (3.0 million UAH versus 58.7 million) and Zaporizhia (25.8 million UAH versus 98.6 million). This means that the war forced a change in tourism consumption priorities and identified new leaders in domestic tourism.

Grouping of Ukrainian regions (Strategic Roadmap, 2024) by criteria: tourism priority/risk level will be considered based on table 3:

Table 3: Grou			

Risks associated with military operations	Priority of tourism in economic development (tourist flows + place in the economy)		
	High	Average	Low
High (the territory is occupied, there are active military operations, there is a high probability of missile strikes)	Odesa region, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Zaporizhia and Donetsk regions	Kharkiv region	Luhansk region Sumy region
Medium (the territory is not occupied, but has a common border with the Russian Federation or the Republic of Belarus, there are risks of missile strikes and mining)	Kyiv, Volyn region	Kyiv region, Chernihiv region, Khmelnytskyi region, Vinnytsia region, Poltava region, Dnipropetrovsk region, Zhytomyr region	Rivne region
Low (territory is not occupied, risks are insignificant)	Lviv region Ivano- Frankivsk region Zakarpattia region Chernivtsi region	Ternopil region Cherkasy region	Kirovohrad region

The data in table 3 shows that tourism in Ukraine is suffering irreparable losses due to the war and occupation of territories. Regions that have high tourism priorities are exposed to the risks of military action, occupation, and missile strikes. This reduces their attractiveness for tourist consumption. In contrast, the western and central regions are in a better position in terms of tourist flows. To assess the attitudes of Ukrainians towards tourist travel during wartime, we will use the results of a survey (SATDU, 2023). According to the survey results, more than 45.3% of respondents travelled to Ukraine for tourist purposes. Accordingly, 54.7% have never visited the regions of Ukraine for tourist purposes since the beginning of the Great War. 54% of respondents chose urban tourism and hiking; 28.4% - excursions to historical monuments and museums; 23.1% - beach vacation; 22.8% - event tourism (events, festivals); 21.8% - gastrotourism; 16% - active recreation; 11% - ecotourism; 9% - recreational tourism (Figure 1).

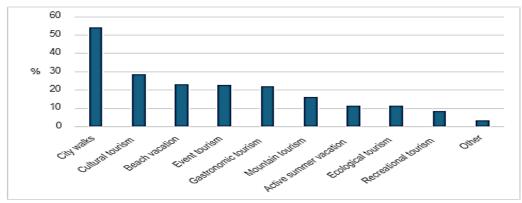


Figure 1: The most attractive types of tourism, %

When choosing a place to travel, the priorities are: nature 51.5%; price and travel budget 45.7%; cultural heritage and historical monuments 35.6%; safety and stability of the region 27.2%; local culture 15.9%; popularity of region15.8%; local cuisine 12.8%; craft production 4.9% (Figure 2).

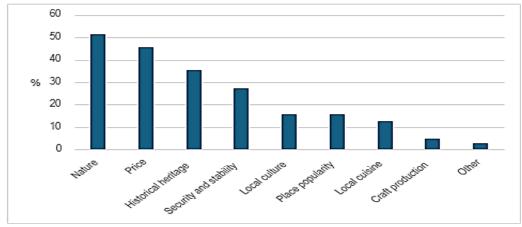


Figure 2: The most attractive places to travel

Obstacles to travel in Ukraine under martial law are: danger 57.4% of respondents; financial costs 42.2%; loss of access to sea resorts 24.4%; logistics of travel 20.9%; lack of information about the functioning of establishments 9.8%; availability and condition of accommodation establishments (tourist camps, hotels, hostels) 9.8%; 5.9% of respondents do not see any obstacles (Figure 3).

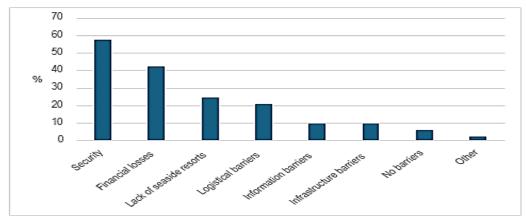


Figure 3: The biggest barriers to travel in Ukraine during the war

Tourist activity has a significant impact on the dynamics of tourist revenue, and, accordingly, on the financial condition of host communities. To understand the prospects for tourism development in Ukraine, based on statistical information from SATDU (2025c), SATDU (2023), Nedostup and Gres (2019), and Kyrychenko (2025), we will conduct a simulation of the size of the tourist tax for the next five years. The initial data is in table 4.

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Table 4: Dynamics of tourist tax, thousand UAH

Indicators	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Tourist tax	37126	4095	70234	90726	196000	130628	244000	178900	222600	273100

Tourist tax is a local tax paid by tourists for accommodation in hotels, hostels, manors, rented apartments and other places of temporary accommodation. All funds go to the community budget and are used for its development. Within the studied period, it is worth noting the positive dynamics of tourist fees. In 2024, compared to 2015, it increased and amounted to 273,100 thousand UAH (6,581 thousand dollars) against 1,573 thousand dollars in 2015. The only exceptions are 2020 and 2022, where there is a decline in indicators. The pandemic and the beginning of a full-scale war were major indicators of that period.

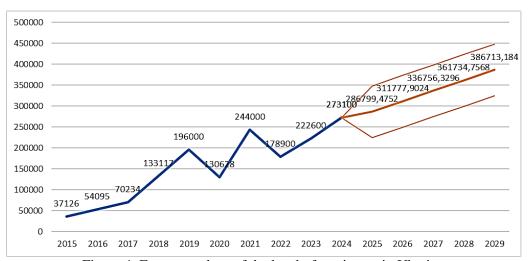


Figure 4: Forecast values of the level of tourist tax in Ukraine

The tourist tax is considered as an opportunity to improve recreation conditions in Ukrainian cities and villages. The forecast value of this indicator (Figure 4) will allow us to determine what part of the funds of Ukrainian communities can be used to improve local tourism infrastructure (repair and modernization; improvement of roads and sidewalks; support for local monuments and cultural initiatives, etc.). Tourist tax revenue forecasting represents a critical governance tool for local communities, enabling the strategic allocation of investments, fostering sustained cooperation with the business sector, and enhancing preparedness for emerging risks. The assessment of tourist tax prospects in Ukraine will draw upon the forecast data presented in table 5

Table 5: Forecast values of the tourist tax level

	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029
Forecast	286799.48	311777.9	336756.33	361734.76	386713.18
Low probability	224908.92	249887.06	274865.00	299842.65	324819.96
High probability	348690.03	373668.74	398647.66	423626.86	448606.40

The forecasted values for tourist fees based on varying degrees of probability indicate a positive growth dynamics over the next five years. However, this forecast does not account for a number of factors and circumstances that may lead to deviations in the results.

Social and Environmental Impacts of War

In the discourse on neoliberal influences on tourism, issues such as wages and social reproduction are significant. Fletcher (2023) and Bhattacharya (2014), citing Marx, provide an example of the contradiction between the capitalist's desire to make a profit and the necessity of paying the workforce enough to maintain its purchasing power, including leisure. If workers receive insufficient wages, they will not be able to consume the goods and services produced, leading to a crisis of overproduction. The employer is interested in social creation. Not only are material benefits important, but also education, healthcare, and recreation, which will determine the quality of labour resources (Bhattacharya, 2017).

Tables 6 and 7 assess the dynamics of wages in Ukraine and forecast its prospects for the next five years based on statistical data (SSSU, 2023).

Table 6: Dynamics of average wages in Ukraine, UAH

Indicator	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Average salary in Ukraine	4195	6475	7114	8865	10497	11591	14014	14847	17442	17487

The average wage in Ukraine shows a trend towards stable growth. At the end of 2024, its amount was 17,487 UAH (\$421), compared to 2015, when it was 4,195 UAH (\$178). In theory, we can perceive this as a likely improvement in consumer sentiment among citizens.

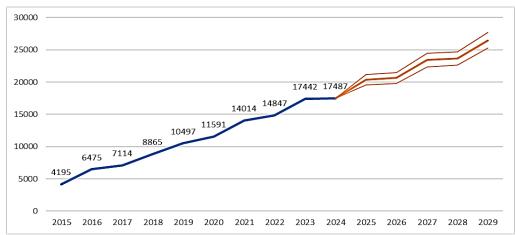


Figure 5: Forecast values of average wages

The forecast of wage dynamics determines the purchasing power of the population, and therefore the pace of economic development. The level of income of citizens determines

the demand for tourism. If the forecast shows positive dynamics, then the result will be the development of tourism and the business environment. Investors are also guided by wage forecasts. High or growing wages mean potential demand and profitability of building new hotels, resorts, eco-camps. Low incomes are a risky environment for investing in tourist facilities.

Table 7. Forecast values of average wages

	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029
Forecast	20363.638	20632.345	23413.081	23681.788	26462.524
Low probability	19536.54	19805.24	22377.21	22645.91	25252.56
High probability	21190.74	21459.45	24448.95	24717.66	27672.49

The above forecast values of the average salary indicate its growth in the next five years. This means a possible improvement in the income level of citizens, which will result in their active involvement in tourism consumption. However, this forecast does not take into account factors of inflation, changes in political and economic situations, etc. The war has caused serious stress on Ukraine's nature. Figure 6 shows the environmental consequences of the war (data as of 2023) (Zoi Environment Network, 2024). From the information provided, it is clear that the most negative impact on the environment is caused directly by the front line, which has covered several regions, including traditionally touristic areas. It is important to note that prior to the war, Ukraine had all the necessary infrastructure for monitoring environmental indicators. However, full monitoring is not currently being conducted, especially in the combat zone.



Figure 6: Environmental consequences of the war (data as of 2023) (Zoi Environment Network, 2024)

A key aspect of studying neoliberal influences during the war for Ukraine is the examination of environmental performance indicators (EPI) and the state of development of civil society (Human Development Index). The EPI (Environmental Performance Index) serves as a summary indicator that assesses the state of sustainable development globally. The EPI ranks countries on climate change performance, environmental health, and ecosystem vitality. The index was created to assess and develop effective measures to reduce the burden on the environment and the rational use of natural resources, as well as to stimulate the viability of ecological systems and sustainable management of natural resources (Environmental Performance Index, 2024). In Table 8, we consider the Environmental Performance Index of Ukraine.

Table 8: Environmental Performance Index (Ukraine)

Indicators	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022	2024
EPI	48.0	74.1	52.8	82.0	49.01	79.39	52.87	49.5	49.6	54.61
Country rating	51	75	87	102	95	44	109	60	52	41

The statistical data in the table indicate an improvement in Ukraine's Environmental Performance Index over the studied period of time. In 2024, Ukraine ranks 41st with an Environmental Performance Index of 54.61. In Figure 6, we can see a graphical interpretation of the forecast EPI for the near term.

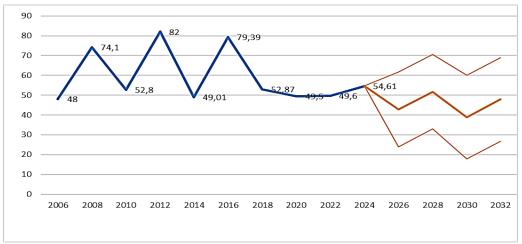


Figure 6: Forecast of EPI of Ukraine

The EPI forecast is an important analytical tool for preventing environmental degradation, improving the quality of life of the population and ensuring the sustainable development of the country. A high EPI forecast for a certain territory signals the cleanliness of the environment, the quality of water, air, and the preservation of natural landscapes. This makes the region attractive for ecotourism, recreational and health recreation. The EPI forecast index becomes its own "ecological passport" of the territory, which determines its attractiveness for tourists, business and strategic development.

The general trend line for the EPI indicator indicates a stabilisation of the growth rate of the Environmental Performance Index in Ukraine. However, there is a high probability of its growth shortly. This forecast shows general trends and does not take into account the numerous factors that can influence changes in the Environmental Performance Index.

Table 9: Forecast values of the Environmental Performance Index for Ukraine

	2026	2028	2030	2032
Forecast	42.85	51.76	38.92	47.84
Low probability	23.99	32.90	17.81	26.72
High probability	61.71	70.62	60.04	68.95

The study of social trends in Ukrainian tourism can be conducted based on Sherry Arnstein's model, 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' (Akimova, 2021) (refere Table 8).

Table 8. Typology of citizen participation in democratic processes

Degree of	Level of	Characteristic signs
participation	involvement	Characteristic signs
	8. Citizen control	Community residents can manage the
Actual power	8. Chizen control	Community residents can manage the
		program, taking responsibility for policy and
		management decisions. State funding goes
		directly to the community organization,
		which will have full control over the
		distribution of funds.
	7. Delegated	Transfer of control, management, decision-
	authority	making, or funding authority to citizens. For
		example, a community is tasked with
		managing a community program, rather than
		simply participating in a program run by the
		city.
	6. Partnership	State and local governments involve citizens
		in the decision-making process and allow
		them to make suggestions, veto, allocate
		funding, or make requests that are partially
		or fully implemented (joint policy
		commissions, planning and conflict
		resolution committees, etc)
Fake power	5. Placement	Limited degree of influence, citizens'
	(inclusion)	participation is symbolic. At the same time,
		citizens can be included in state authorities
		(public council in the field of education,
		police commission or housing and communal
		services department), but the authorities have
		the majority of votes.
	4. Consultation	It can be an important, legitimate step
		towards full citizen participation. However, it
		offers no guarantee that concerns and ideas
		will be taken into account.
	3. Informing	It may be the first step towards legitimate
		citizen participation, however, the emphasis
		is often on a one-way flow of information

Degree of	Level of	Characteristic signs
participation	involvement	
		"from officials to citizens without feedback
		or negotiation.
Lack of power	2. Therapy	It occurs through the creation of pseudo-
		participatory programs that try to convince
		citizens and identify the range of their
		current problems.
	1. Manipulation	State and local government bodies grant
		power to citizens, but in the decision-making
		process, they deprive them of power through
		influence over delegated persons to secure
		the necessary support for themselves.

'Ladder of Civic Participation' is one of the most influential models in the field of democratic civic participation. It is designed for local leaders, organizers, and facilitators and provides an explanation of why state and local governments empower and deny power to citizens. The typology of citizen participation is presented as a metaphorical 'ladder', where each higher rung represents increasing levels of citizen freedom, control, and power (Akimova, 2021). According to Table 8, the highest level of actual power is citizen control, which corresponds to one of the principles of the neoliberal concept of civil society engagement.

The Russian-Ukrainian war of 2014–2024 showed quantitative and qualitative changes in the structure of civil society. The increase in civic activism was due to the need to protect the country, promote democratic ideas, solve the social problems of war victims, increase the number of displaced persons, etc. Civil society in Ukraine is characterised by rapid problem-solving compared to state institutions; active consolidation of people (anti-corruption activities, control over the targeted use of funds, implementation of social, economic, cultural projects, etc.); non-standard approaches; and high trust of people. At the current stage, civil society is the main element of the national resistance in Ukraine (Kotsur and Novorodovskiy, 2024). Any social changes and the state of civil society are closely linked to the Human Development Index, which measures achievements in three dimensions of human development: health and longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living. In this context, the experience of countries that have gone from military conflicts to the restoration of the tourism sector and preserved their social capital is important. In Table 9, we present the dynamics of the Human Development Index in the context of individual tourist-attractive countries in which military conflicts took place (UNDP, 2024).

The analytical data presented shows that countries that have gone through war or armed conflicts have significantly increased their Human Development Index over time. The experience of Israel is important, where tourism is fully adapted to war, and about 6% of the population is employed in this sector. The example of Croatia shows that during the war, tourism in the country was put on hold. However, due to unique geographical factors and an extensive PR campaign, the world became aware of it. Currently, the country is a popular tourist destination, providing roughly 15% of GDP. Georgia has also experienced war. However, in the post-war period, it received significant

investments in the development of its tourism sector, which helped elevate it to a global level. Ukraine's circumstances differ, and pose further complications due to the extensive destruction, human losses and environmental consequences. Therefore, the country's recovery and the resumption of full-scale tourism activities will have their unique characteristics.

Table 9: Dynamics of the Human Development Index

Countries	1990	2000	2010	2015	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Israel	0.787	0.844	0.894	0.919	0.921	0.917	0.917	0.919	0.919	0.915
Albania	0.647	0.677	0.754	0.795	0.806	0.810	0.794	0.796	0.796	0.789
Croatia	-	0.759	0.821	0.843	0.856	0.861	0.855	0.858	0.858	0.878
Georgia	-	0.702	0.759	0.790	0.804	0.810	0.802	0.802	0.802	0.814
Armenia	0.656	0.662	0.746	0.766	0.771	0.778	0.757	0.759	0.759	0.786
Bosnia and	-	0.667	0.725	0.761	0.776	0.783	0.781	0.780	0.780	0.779
Herzegovina										
Azerbaijan	-	0.622	0.727	0.748	0.757	0.761	0.730	0.745	0.745	0.760
Ukraine	0.729	0.700	0.764	0.774	0.783	0.786	0.775	0.773	0.773	0.734

The theory and practice of global tourism offer numerous examples of social neoliberal influences through civic activism that may be relevant for Ukraine. One such example is volunteer tourism, which blends humanitarianism, adventure, and travel and holds significant relevance for academic research. Irimiás and Mitev (2025) describe solidarity tourism based on research and interviews with refugees conducted in a resort town near a war-torn country. They examine how host municipalities influence the process of role change from refugee to tourist. Mostafanezhad (2014) examines the growth of the volunteer tourism industry in the context of ethical consumption, which has become an integral part of a popular humanitarian movement. This movement seeks to address the loss of meaning in life and aims to 'save the world" through a "global recovery economy". Through consumption, volunteer tourism acts as a form of "atonement" for environmental degradation, global economic inequality, and chronic poverty. Woods and Shee (2021) examine the impact of digital technologies on volunteering, focusing on how 'digital voids' and the creation of 'emotional distances' affect the sense of care in the digital world.

Brightsmith, Stronza and Holle (2008) consider volunteer tourism as a branch of ecotourism in the context of a tripartite partnership between a conservation research project (The Tambopata Macaw Project), an ecotourism operator (Rainforest Expeditions) and a non-governmental organization recruiting volunteers. In this case, ecotourism generates revenue from natural attractions, supports protected areas and local communities, and creates a beneficial educational experience for tourists. Volunteering opportunities are being created, marketed as 'tourism with a conscience' or 'conservation holidays'. This helps to attract financial and human capital for conservation research. Nature reserves often collaborate with volunteer tourism companies to attract funds and manpower for field projects and monitoring.

Rickly and Clouser (2019) describe adventure philanthropy and the challenges of longdistance travel as solidarity with those who are 'in need'. The main motivation of adventurous philanthropists is a sense of responsibility, that with their presence, they can make a difference and implore others to do the same. Their activities are accompanied

by entertainment, attracting a wide audience through social networks, real-time broadcasts, etc. Clouser and Rickly (2024) call volunteer tourism "endurance philanthropy" because participants travel long distances in challenging conditions to raise awareness and funds for specific causes. However, the authors argue that volunteer tourism, while emphasizing solidarity and promoting social change, undermines the potential for real change through its spectacle, apoliticality, and individualization. It leads to the reproduction of neoliberal models of self-help (dependency?) and downplays the larger structural problems that perpetuate poverty and inequality.

In the context of Ukraine, social tourism will be highly relevant shortly. According to amendments to the Montreal Declaration of Social Tourism of 2006, Social tourism is seen not only as a means of improving the well-being of tourism workers, but also benefiting local communities and the environment in which tourism takes place. Understanding the factors that hinder citizens' access to tourism services will contribute to the development of targeted programs for different population groups, ultimately, stimulating tourism consumption (Fletcher *et al.*, 2021; Pecheniuk, Pechniuk and Arjjumend, 2022).

Conclusion

The issue of neoliberal influences in tourism is highly debatable. On one hand, tourism diversifies consumption and investment, helping to prevent the crisis of overproduction and contributing to regional development. On the other hand, it exacerbates income inequality among community residents, leads to social marginalisation, worsens environmental issues, and has negative socio-cultural consequences. Ukraine, which has embarked on the path of neoliberal transformations, is acutely feeling the changes brought by the war. These changes are manifested in the destruction of tourist infrastructure, environmental issues, a shift in tourist preferences, and the strengthening of tourist centres in the western and central regions due to tourist fees. Additionally, the war has impacted social capital and its reproduction. The forecast provided in the study indicates a steady trend of growth in the total tourist tax and the average salary in the country in the near term. This suggests the preservation of potential demand for tourism services.

War has a strengthening effect on civil society, which we assess using the Human Development Index. Analysis of statistical data on this indicator among tourist-attractive countries that have experienced military conflicts reveals a Human Development Index, indicating an improvement in the quality of social capital. As a positive consequence of the neoliberal paradigm, despite its debatable social impacts on territories and people, we highlight one indisputable fact: the democratic development of civil society. A prime example of this is volunteer tourism, which blends humanitarianism, ecology, adventure, and travel and holds significant relevance for further scientific inquiry.

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Authors' Declarations and Essential Ethical Compliances

Authors' Contributions (in accordance with ICMJE criteria for authorship)

Contribution	Author 1	Author 2	Author 3	Author 4	Author
					5
Conceived and designed the research or	Yes	No	No	No	No
analysis					
Collected the data	No	Yes	No	No	No
Contributed to data analysis & interpretation	No	No	No	Yes	No
Wrote the article/paper	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Critical revision of the article/paper	No	No	Yes	No	No
Editing of the article/paper	No	No	No	No	Yes
Supervision	No	No	No	No	Yes
Project Administration	Yes	No	No	No	No
Funding Acquisition	No	No	No	No	No
Overall Contribution Proportion (%)	24	19	19	19	19

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Research involving human bodies or organs or tissues (Helsinki Declaration)

The author(s) solemnly declare(s) that this research has not involved any human subject (body or organs) for experimentation. It was not a clinical research. The contexts of human population/participation were only indirectly covered through literature review. Therefore, an Ethical Clearance (from a Committee or Authority) or ethical obligation of Helsinki Declaration does not apply in cases of this study or written work.

Research involving animals (ARRIVE Checklist)

The author(s) solemnly declare(s) that this research has not involved any animal subject (body or organs) for experimentation. The research was not based on laboratory experiment involving any kind animal. The contexts of animals were only indirectly covered through literature review. Therefore, an Ethical Clearance (from a Committee or Authority) or ethical obligation of ARRIVE does not apply in cases of this study or written work.

Research on Indigenous Peoples and/or Traditional Knowledge

The author(s) solemnly declare(s) that this research has not involved Indigenous Peoples as participants or respondents. The contexts of Indigenous Peoples or Indigenous Knowledge were only indirectly covered through literature review. Therefore, an Ethical Clearance (from a Committee or Authority) or prior informed consent (PIC) of the respondents or Self-Declaration in this regard does not apply in cases of this study or written work.

Research involving Plants

The author(s) solemnly declare(s) that this research has not involved the plants for experiment and field studies. Some contexts of plants are also indirectly covered through literature review. Thus, during this research the author(s) obeyed the principles of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on the Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora.

Research Involving Local Community Participants (Non-Indigenous) or Children The author(s) solemnly declare(s) that this research has not directly involved any local community participants or respondents belonging to non-Indigenous peoples. Neither this study involved any child in any form directly. The contexts of different humans, people, populations, men/women/children and ethnic people were only indirectly covered through literature review. Therefore, an Ethical Clearance (from a Committee or Authority) or prior informed consent (PIC) of the respondents or Self-Declaration in this regard does not apply in cases of this study or written work.

PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses)
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