

Article

Not peer-reviewed version

---

# Battlefield Tourism as a Catalyst for Rural Development: A Scientific Analysis of Cultural Heritage in Extremadura

---

[Ruiz Guerra Ignacio](#), [Santos Manuel Cavero López](#)<sup>\*</sup>, Rodolfo Arroyo de la Rosa

Posted Date: 10 February 2026

doi: 10.20944/preprints202602.0812.v1

Keywords: battlefield tourism; cultural heritage; extremadura; inland tourism; Military Cultural Tourism (MCT); rural development; socioeconomic sustainability; tourist motivations



Preprints.org is a free multidisciplinary platform providing preprint service that is dedicated to making early versions of research outputs permanently available and citable. Preprints posted at Preprints.org appear in Web of Science, Crossref, Google Scholar, Scilit, Europe PMC.

Copyright: This open access article is published under a [Creative Commons CC BY 4.0 license](#), which permit the free download, distribution, and reuse, provided that the author and preprint are cited in any reuse.

Disclaimer/Publisher's Note: The statements, opinions, and data contained in all publications are solely those of the individual author(s) and contributor(s) and not of MDPI and/or the editor(s). MDPI and/or the editor(s) disclaim responsibility for any injury to people or property resulting from any ideas, methods, instructions, or products referred to in the content.

Article

# Battlefield Tourism as a Catalyst for Rural Development: A Scientific Analysis of Cultural Heritage in Extremadura

Ruiz Guerra Ignacio <sup>1</sup>, Santos Manuel Cavero López <sup>2,\*</sup> and Rodolfo Arroyo de la Rosa <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Business Organization; Complutense University of Madrid (Spain)

<sup>2</sup> Department of Business Organization; Complutense University of Madrid (Spain)

<sup>3</sup> PhD candidate, Complutense University of Madrid (Spain)

\* Correspondence: sacavero@ucm.es

## Abstract

In the 20th century, the legacy of two devastating world wars generated an enormous historical heritage linked to conflict, giving rise to the global phenomenon of war tourism. This prominence stems from the presence of countless vestiges such as streets razed by gunfire, landing beaches, trench lines, and bunkers. Battlefield Tourism (BT) has experienced remarkable growth in Europe, establishing itself as a specialized segment with increasing levels of institutionalization, professionalization, and academic interest. Traditionally, some literature has associated these visits with dark tourism (DT) due to the presence of death, suffering, or historical violence at the sites (Stone, 2006). However, more recent and comprehensive analyses demonstrate that this classification is often insufficient or incorrect. This study argues that BT is closer to cultural tourism (CT) than to dark tourism, aligning with heritage and educational studies that emphasize memory, identity, and the cultural landscape rather than the commercialization of morbid fascination (Foley & Lennon, 2000). The research evaluates the viability of BT as a catalyst for rural development in Extremadura (Spain), a region characterized by its pursuit of socioeconomic sustainability through tourism innovation (Cánoves, 2017). The methodology utilizes a prospective exploratory analysis with an integrated qualitative and quantitative paradigm. Primary data were gathered using a structured instrument deployed via Google Forms to municipal leadership across 388 municipalities in 15 tourist areas. A representative sample of 149 valid responses was secured, yielding a statistical margin of error of  $\pm 5\%$  at a 95% confidence interval. Advanced statistical techniques, including Pearson's Chi-square tests and Cronbach's Alpha, were applied to test research hypotheses concerning the conceptual differentiation between war tourism and dark tourism. The findings indicate that 61.7% of local stakeholders were unfamiliar with the term DT, whereas 70.9% were familiar with WT, largely due to awareness of regional initiatives like battle reenactments. Statistical contrast reveals a significant relationship between prior knowledge of DT and the willingness to exploit sensitive heritage, such as "Slavery Museums" ( $p < 0.001$ ) or "Disaster Museums" ( $p < 0.001$ ). Regarding terminology, 42.6% of respondents prefer "military cultural tourism" and 48.3% favor "historical-cultural tourism," reflecting a clear rejection of the word "war" in Spanish society. The main conclusion is that local councils support the exploitation of war heritage within a cultural framework, viewing it as a strategic opportunity for socioeconomic development in inland rural areas. This approach generates a multiplier effect, diversifying local economies and offering new jobs (Cánoves et al., 2014). By revaluing historical memory (Smith, 2015) and integrating military heritage into sustainable territorial planning, rural regions like Extremadura can enhance their competitive advantages and mitigate depopulation. Ultimately, Military Cultural Tourism (MCT) provides a path to transform historical trauma into a tool for regional advancement and educational enrichment.

**Keywords:** battlefield tourism; cultural heritage; extremadura; inland tourism; Military Cultural Tourism (MCT); rural development; socioeconomic sustainability; tourist motivations

## 1. Introduction

Battlefield Tourism (BT) has experienced a considerable increase over the last 100 years, primarily as a result of the growth and regulation of the tourism sector and the high frequency of armed conflicts occurring during this period. Within the academic and professional discourse regarding tourism in war zones, various terms are utilized, including War Tourism (WT) and Military Tourism (MT).

However, a significant challenge for the development of this segment in Spain is that the term "war" often carries negative connotations among potential tourists, a factor that limits its competitiveness and its integration into strategic tourism plans. This cultural nuance is distinct from other European contexts; as analyzed by Molinero and Ysàs (2018), the fear generated by the Franco dictatorship and a collective desire to avoid repeating a violent past led Spanish society toward a peaceful democratic path characterized by "fear and oblivion," which continues to influence public perception.

The concept of WT has also been considered an emerging typology within Cultural Tourism (CT), which highlights resources of military origin (Hernández Mogollón et al., 2019). It is characterized by its high-quality standards, rigorous content, and specialized expertise (Moreno et al., 2020). This type of tourism involves traveling to former battlefields, which, as has been the case in various locations across Europe, become cultural destinations and a significant source of income for these territories (Bornarel et al., 2021). WT and CT can, in themselves, constitute a tourism typology that revalues historical memory (Smith, 2015), promotes intercultural dialogue, and fosters a reflective understanding of the past through Military Cultural Tourism (MCT).

Despite these terminological barriers, WT is increasingly recognized as an emerging typology within Cultural Tourism (CT) that specifically highlights resources of military origin. This segment is characterized by:

- High-quality standards and rigorous historical content.
- The involvement of specialized expertise in its management and promotion.
- The capacity to transform former battlefields into cultural destinations that serve as significant sources of income for rural territories, as seen in various European locations.

By integrating WT and CT, a new tourism typology emerges: Military Cultural Tourism (MCT). This approach revalues historical memory, promotes intercultural dialogue, and fosters a reflective understanding of the past.

The combination of MCT and Inland Tourism (IT) is a growing trend. While iconic examples of war landscapes exist along European coasts (such as the beaches of Normandy) current projects are increasingly focused on enhancing and promoting these landscapes in inland areas. These initiatives are generally situated in rural zones where BT must coexist and compete with other tourism products.

As detailed in Table 1, rural destinations are diversifying their offerings by integrating traditional products with emerging segments to address modern development challenges:

**Table 1.** Main types of tourism in inland areas. (Own elaboration.).

Traditional products	Imported products from coastal or urban areas	Emerging or developing products
Rural tourism	Business tourism	Health tourism
Ecotourism	Conference tourism	Sustainable tourism
Adventure tourism	Cultural tourism	Dark tourism
Gastronomic tourism	Sports tourism: golf, kayaking	War tourism
Nature Tourism	Historical tourism	Drifter (backpacking)

Traditional products	Imported products from coastal or urban areas	Emerging or developing products
Wine tourism	Trade fair and exhibition tourism	Language tourism
Sports tourism: caving, climbing	Couples' tourism	LGBTQ+ tourism
Wellness tourism	Family tourism	Meetings tourism
Ethnic/anthropological tourism	Residential tourism	Solidarity tourism
Responsible tourism	Responsible tourism	
Weekend tourism		
Astronomical tourism		

War tourism (WT) is fundamentally characterized by travel motivated by interest in military history and heritage. Academic discourse differentiates this practice between a focus on military equipment and infrastructure (Hrusovsky & Noeres, 2011) and a broader perspective related to the tangible and intangible heritage of history (Coelho et al., 2014).

Within the Spanish context, military culture provides a rich repository of values and assets that can be leveraged for regional branding. General Fontenla (2019) defines military culture as the set of traditional values inherent to the institution, while Feliú Bernárdez notes it is shaped by principles, history, and customs. Furthermore, the UNWTO (2017) recognizes that resources associated with armed conflicts are not merely vestiges of the past but essential tools for territorial development and historical education.

In summary, military culture in Spain encompasses:

- Identity and Cohesion: Symbols, rituals, and behaviors that define the Armed Forces.
- Heritage Assets: Tangible and intangible elements such as historical uniforms, specialized weaponry, and defensive architecture.

Although the conceptualization of Dark Tourism (DT) has historically integrated all forms of war-related travel, this article posits a clear distinction for Military Cultural Tourism (MCT). It is acknowledged that WT often carries connotations related to death and suffering, as established by authors like Stone (2006) and Cohen (2011).

However, as a tourism segment, it is in a state of constant evolution (Liebermann & Alejandro Medina, 2012). The shift towards MCT allows for a focus on education and memory rather than morbid curiosity, creating a sustainable niche for rural areas. This evolution, which will be further detailed in Table 2, highlights how the understanding of "dark" historical sites is being reframed to serve as a catalyst for cultural and economic revitalization in inland destinations.

**Table 2.** Evolution of the characterization of Dark Tourism. (Own elaboration.)

Author	Characterization		
Rojek (1996)		tragic	sadness
Foley & Lennon (2000)	death	disaster	
Blom (2000)			sadistic
Tarlow (2005)	death		shocking
Stone (2006)	death	macabre	suffering
Sharpley (2009)	death	macabre	atrocities
Cohen (2011)	death	disaster	atrocities
Moral (2017)	death		historic
Institute for Dark Tourism Research (2017)	death	disaster	macabre

The academic discourse surrounding visitor interest in conflict-related landscapes has expanded significantly since the initial descriptions of tourists exploring cemeteries and battlefields (Seaton,

1996). This typology includes visits to fortifications and battlefields associated with significant military fatalities (Dann, 2001), as well as locations shaped by combat, active fighting, or aerial bombings that resulted in loss of life (Foley & Lennon, 2000).

Subsequently, Stone (2006) reframed these conflict sites as historical and cultural landmarks, particularly those war zones that hosted pitched battles or other major war-related events. Other researchers have further defined this practice as leisure-based travel to former war zones for the purposes of tourism or rigorous historical study. Within this framework, tourists deliberately visit nations with a history of warfare, seeking tangible evidence and vestiges of the conflict (Fonseca et al., 2016). This transition from "tragic sites" to "cultural landmarks" is essential for rural territories like Extremadura, as it allows for the revaluation of historical heritage as a tool for socioeconomic development rather than merely a reminder of trauma.

It is widely recognized that tourist motivation does not always stem from a conscious evaluation of one's specific needs or desires regarding activities and destinations (Sharpley, 2005), as it can also manifest as an unconscious process where decisions are made during the tourist experience without the traveler explicitly recognizing their own underlying drivers (Krippendorf, 1986; Deutsch, 2014; Guerrero et al., 2018). Furthermore, the motivations that propel travel are inherently personal and possess a subjective character that remains difficult to quantify empirically (Beltrán & Parra, 2017).

The transformation of these landscapes—which previously served as theaters of war—into tourist attractions has fostered the reinvention of territories, particularly in predominantly deindustrialized or rural areas (Fouk, 2016), where innovations in Inland Tourism (IT) within the Spanish context are significantly modifying the economic dynamics of these destinations (Cánoves, 2017). This strategic shift generates a substantial multiplier effect, acting as a driving force for complementary activities that diversify local economies and create both direct and indirect employment opportunities. Ultimately, this combination represents a vital opportunity for inland destinations to highlight and preserve their cultural, heritage, and natural resources (Cánoves et al., 2014).

Such initiatives typically attract visitors through institutional frameworks that leverage public-private partnerships to promote regional potential within the most appropriate market segments. This heightened interest facilitates increased investment from both public and private entities, mirroring trends observed in other international contexts (Soro, 2020). Given that cultural tourism remains a strategic sector in Spain (Herrero Prieto, 2011), fundamental to socioeconomic sustainability and territorial cohesion, rigorous planning is necessitated to prevent the overexploitation of cultural resources. Consequently, these efforts underpin the economic activity of destinations (Juaneda et al., 2020) and address the requirements of societies undergoing territorial transformation, where diverse economic activities are deemed valid.

Within these territorial processes, cultural landscapes integrate both tangible and intangible dimensions that manifest the collective identity of a region. As articulated by the European Landscape Convention, these sites represent a commitment to a broader cultural landscape that transcends conventional stereotypes. While these landscapes present significant management challenges, the Horizon 2020 Framework Programme for Research and Innovation has catalyzed the development of novel interpretations of European wartime landscapes (Gazapo & Lapayese, 2019). This initiative effectively bridges the gap between territory, identity, and tourism, echoing the foundational conceptualizations established by Sauer (1925).

These territorial processes have been framed within the context of the European Landscape Convention (2000), which entered into force in 2004 and was formally ratified by Spain in 2007. Following its implementation in 2008, this convention catalyzed the creation of the National Cultural Landscape Plan in 2012. This framework incorporates landscapes of high cultural interest in coordination with other strategic national initiatives, such as the Traditional Architecture Plan and the Defensive Architecture Plan (2015), which are characterized by their rigorous historical perspectives.

Tourism practices in these types of places related to war tourism clearly seek authentic experiences (MacCannell, 1976), which promote the rise of cultural tourism by contributing to its appreciation and visibility, although they also generate risks through pressure on its sustainability. However, the process of understanding the landscape as a protected area by official bodies also modifies the landscape's morphology through the interaction between cultural values, customs, and uses (Taylor, 2008; Nogué, 2010). Although the motivations of tourists may be very different depending on the place visited, as has been studied in the battlefields of the Somme (Dunkley et al, 2011) or Ypres (Winter 2011) in which special emphasis is placed on education and recreation or remembrance, while in others it is characterized as a secular pilgrimage, or has a direct relationship with spirituality or an exaltation of nationalism, as indicated by Hyde and Harman (2011), regarding those who visit the Gallipoli battlefield in Turkey.

In summary, if we start with the motivations of DT, we find that not all of them appear among those given by WT researchers, and that some new ones emerge. This will be discussed in the following table.

**Table 3.** Comparison between the motivations of DT versus WT. (Own elaboration.).

Motivations for Dark Tourism	Motivations for War Tourism					
	Dunkley et al 2011	Winter 2009 y 2011	Hyde & Harman 2011	Smith 2015	Fathi 2021	Peloché & Blanco 2019
Culture						History of wars
Education		Education		Professionals	Education	
Recreation		Recreation	Recreation		Recreation	Recreation
Introspective Experience	Pilgrimage Personal interest Memory	Memory	Friendship Spirituality		Family reasons	Curiosity
Disruptive Experience	Validation					Iconic sites
Necrophilia			Nationalism		Political	Death

It can be seen that introspective experience is the most widely agreed-upon motivation. Second, recreation appears as a significant reason, followed by education and culture, which aligns with the motivations of war tourism. However, death is not mentioned by the researchers at any point, except in one instance. Finally, it is worth noting a dissonant element within the motivations of war tourism: political orientation, and more specifically, patriotic sentiment.

The following conclusions can be drawn:

1. In the case of war tourism, the attraction to death and the morbid is of little consequence. Other behavioral motivations drive the tourists who engage in it. This could mean that war tourism has its own distinct identity today, and that, although it was initially included within Dark Tourism due to the presence of deaths on the battlefields, this aspect is no longer supported by the actual tastes of tourists who enjoy trench tourism.

2. The attraction to history, in its two aspects, culture and education, is ever-present, making it essential to consider cultural tourism.

3. Although international researchers emphasize introspective aspects, this motivation only arises when there is a very close relationship between the visitor and a family member. This would be more of a pilgrim than a war tourist, according to the references established. In any case, there is room for introspective reflection in the war tourist.

4. There is also a disruptive experience in the modus operandi of the war tourist, driven more by novelty than by the search for adrenaline (in this case, tourists from Danger Tourism or Hot-War Tourism, who would undoubtedly be prominent here, have not been analyzed).

5. Finally, the emergence of political motivation, including patriotic sentiment, should be noted as a clearly differentiating element compared to war tourism. In summary, the motivations for war tourism are: political, cultural, educational, recreational, and the search for introspective and disruptive sensations.

This article seeks to determine the most viable option for promoting WT, either through a focus on DT or by adopting a predominantly historical and cultural perspective (Cultural Tourism), applying these considerations to the case of the autonomous community of Extremadura (Spain). The aim is to offer a solid conceptual framework and, at the same time, explore the possibilities for developing innovative tourism products in the region within the framework of Inland Tourism, taking into account the recommendations of academic evaluators who have pointed out the need to delve deeper into territorial applicability and methodological coherence.

Extremadura is a region located in western Spain, bordering Portugal, and comprises two provinces: Badajoz and Cáceres. The areas where tourism strategies are being developed are shown in the image on the left, which divides the region into four zones based on the most important urban municipalities with the greatest tourist appeal and their immediate surroundings: Plasencia, Cáceres, Badajoz, and Mérida. The autonomous community of Extremadura comprises a total of 15 tourist areas, including the four urban municipalities mentioned and 11 other areas encompassing 388 municipalities (Extremadura Tourism Observatory, 2023), as shown in Figure 1. These areas are characterized by natural features such as Monfragüe National Park, the Sierra de Gata, and the Villuercas-Ibores-Jara UNESCO Geopark. Therefore, it is important to identify the most common tourist attractions in a region covering 41,635 km<sup>2</sup>, which, due to proximity, accessibility, and specific characteristics, can attract different types of tourists depending on the resources of each of these distinct areas, or the combination of these resources.



**Figure 1.** Tourist areas of Extremadura: 4 areas based on major urban destinations and 15 tourist territories in Extremadura. (Own elaboration).

During 2025, Extremadura reached record figures in its tourism sector, consolidating its position as one of Spain's leading inland destinations. According to data from the Extremadura Institute of Statistics (IEEx) and the National Institute of Statistics (INE), 2,333,553 visitors were recorded between January and August, surpassing the 1,927,183 tourists registered during the same period in 2024. Furthermore, the number of international tourists grew significantly.

To validate the potential of this region within the framework of WT, it is necessary to provide a historical military context for Extremadura. Present-day Extremadura roughly corresponds to the Roman province of Hispania Ulterior Lusitania, with its capital in Mérida. Before this, the indigenous

peoples of the Iberian Peninsula had fought against the Greeks, Phoenicians, and the all-powerful Carthage. The Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula was a process that lasted two centuries. With the beginning of the 5th century, the peninsula was ravaged by the Alans, Vandals, and Suebi. The Muslim invasion of the peninsula in 711 AD, 92 years after the Hijra for the Muslims, would open a new period for the history of Extremadura. Visigothic Hispania was integrated with unprecedented speed into the vast Arab-Islamic empire under the name of Al-Andalus. However, the configuration of Extremadura was shaped by the culmination of the conquest of this land from the Muslims in the 13th century, with the contributions of the military orders of Santiago, Alcántara, and the Temple, which influenced the future of all its socioeconomic structures. Following the Reconquista, and to worsen the situation, the continuous Spanish-Portuguese wars turned the countryside into an endless tapestry of blood. The Modern Age in Extremadura began with the Catholic Monarchs and the discovery of America, encompassing the reigns of the Habsburgs and Bourbons until Charles IV (1808). Specifically, the following events took place on Extremaduran soil: the Portuguese War of Independence from the Spanish Crown (1640-1668), the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1715), and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Years before the start of the War of Independence against the French invader (1808-1814), the War of the Oranges took place in this Spanish region, a brief conflict that pitted Portugal against Spain and France in May and June of 1801. During the 19th century, three civil wars took place in Spain that affected Extremadura (the First Carlist War (1833-1839), the Second Carlist War or War of the Matiners (1846-49) and the Third Carlist War (1872-76)) and various failed insurrections on Extremaduran soil such as the uprisings of Olivenza, Coria, Hervás and Plasencia. In the 20th century, the Spanish Civil War of 1936 once again placed Extremadura in a combat zone. The end of the war in 1939 was only the beginning of the anti-Franco resistance for many. Whether driven by political ideals or fear of reprisals from the regime, many Spaniards took to the mountains and began a guerrilla war that soon evolved into an organized armed movement: the Maquis.

This brief summary of Extremadura's military history highlights the number of resources and heritage that exist, which can be considered for enhancement and potential tourism development.

## 2. Materials and Methods

The implementation of this research utilized a methodological framework rooted in a prospective exploratory analysis, specifically formulated to examine the viability of battlefield tourism within the Autonomous Community of Extremadura through a dualistic lens: its potential alignment with dark tourism or its strategic integration into the cultural tourism paradigm. This methodological choice addresses the academic imperative to investigate the territorial applicability of theoretical constructs within inland regions characterized by an active pursuit of socio-economic sustainability through the diversification and innovation of their tourism portfolio. The research architecture employs an integrated qualitative and quantitative paradigm, wherein 80% of the analytical variables are dedicated to the dichotomous quantification of the perceptions of local stakeholders regarding the defined tourism typologies. This multifaceted approach facilitates not only the measurement of institutional interest but also the calibration of managerial sensitivity toward the exploitation of heritage resources intrinsically linked to violence, human suffering, or traumatic memory. Furthermore, the analytical framework aligns with the tenets of the European Landscape Convention and the structural principles of defensive architecture, positing that conflict vestiges must be conceptualized as cultural landscapes that encapsulate regional identity and demand a management strategy that precludes both the overexploitation and the trivialization of historical trauma.

The primary empirical data were gathered using a structured instrument comprising closed-ended, multiple-choice queries, optimized for digital deployment via Google Forms. This technological selection ensured the efficient dissemination of the survey through institutional email channels directed at municipal leadership in Extremadura, including mayors, town clerks, and tourism specialists. The operational phase was executed with high intensity between January 13 and 31, 2025, encompassing a target population of 388 municipalities distributed across the 15 identified

tourist zones of the region. A representative sample of 149 valid responses was secured, yielding a statistical margin of error of  $\pm 5\%$  at a 95% confidence interval, thereby ensuring the representativeness and generalizability of the results to the regional context. Prior to the primary data collection, a pilot study was conducted during the 2023–2025 academic cycles in partnership with the Complutense University of Madrid and the University of Extremadura to refine terminological clarity and ensure the coherence of questions relative to established travel motivations such as education, recreation, and introspective discovery.

Regarding the processing and analysis of the collected information, advanced statistical contrast techniques were employed to test research hypotheses concerning the conceptual differentiation between war tourism and dark tourism. Specifically, Pearson's Chi-square tests were applied to identify statistically significant correlations between participants' prior conceptual knowledge and their propensity to endorse specialized infrastructures like crime, slavery, or disaster museums. Concurrently, Cronbach's Alpha coefficients were calculated to evaluate the internal consistency of attitude scales toward the development of war-related tourism products, effectively capturing nuances in ethical sensitivity across varied historical contexts. Large-scale data processing and qualitative content analysis were facilitated by ATLAS.ti (v.25) alongside generative artificial intelligence support tools, with rigorous human oversight maintained by the researchers to guarantee scientific integrity. The entire process adhered to the ethical standards of the Declaration of Helsinki for studies involving human participants, ensuring complete anonymity and the acquisition of informed consent through established academic protocols.

Finally, the methodological synthesis incorporated an exhaustive analysis of secondary sources and Extremadura's military history to provide a necessary context for existing heritage assets ranging from the Roman era to the Spanish Civil War and the 20th-century maquis resistance. This historical triangulation allowed for a robust comparison between stakeholder perceptions and the tangible potential of the region's military cultural assets, including fortifications and battlefields. By incorporating UN Tourism guidelines on conflict-related resources as tools for regional advancement, the methodology assessed whether specific terminology—such as military cultural tourism or historical tourism—impacts the strategic inclusion of these products in rural development initiatives. Consequently, the research transcends descriptive statistics, building a conceptual framework that positions Extremadura as a premier inland destination by leveraging war heritage through a rigorously cultural and pedagogical lens.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Methodology and Information Analysis

A prospective exploratory analysis of the potential for developing tourism activities related to war tourism was conducted, differentiating between an approach based on Dark Tourism and one based on Cultural Tourism, among tourism personnel in the municipalities of Extremadura. This was carried out through a quantitative exploratory study, using a structured questionnaire with closed, dichotomous, multiple-response questions.

This method identified that the best way to obtain a greater number of responses was through digital channels, using a Google Forms questionnaire sent via email. This study was conducted during the 2023-2024 and 2024-2025 academic years with students from the Complutense University of Madrid and the University of Extremadura. In this exploratory study, and as a pilot model, different agents involved in tourism activities in towns and cities and possessing knowledge of the tourism sector in the region have been identified as study participants.

### 3.1.1. Technical Specifications of the Questionnaire Used

**Table 4.** Study Title: Survey of the level of interest of Extremadura's municipalities in developing tourist destinations related to dark tourism and war tourism, and associated motivations. (Own elaboration.).

<b>Complutense University of Madrid:</b>	<b>Faculty of Commerce and Tourism</b>
<b>Principal Investigator:</b>	Rodolfo Arroyo de la Rosa
<b>Type of Research:</b>	Quantitative, descriptive, cross-sectional
<b>Instrument Applied:</b>	Structured questionnaire with closed-ended multiple-choice questions
<b>Data Collection Technique:</b>	Self-administered survey in digital format (Google Forms)
<b>Survey Distribution Method:</b>	Email to official municipal addresses
<b>Target Population:</b>	Mayor, town clerk, or tourism professional at the corresponding municipality
<b>Sample:</b>	149
<b>Unit Size:</b>	388 municipalities
<b>Margin of Error:</b>	± 5%, with a 95% confidence level
<b>Date of Application:</b>	January 13-31, 2025
<b>Person Responsible for Application:</b>	Rodolfo Arroyo de la Rosa, PhD Student
<b>Unit of Analysis:</b>	Municipality
<b>Average Survey Duration:</b>	3 minutes
<b>Data Processing and Analysis:</b>	Excel 365 and CHATGPT

#### Objectives:

- Understanding the level of awareness of Dark Tourism (WT) and War Historical and Cultural Tourism in their municipalities.
  - Dark Tourism:
    - Determine if they would be willing to promote tourism based on Dark Tourism, should the opportunity arise.
    - Explore the relationship between interest in businesses focused on Dark Tourism and the existence of crimes in their respective localities.
  - War Tourism from a cultural perspective
    - Determine if they would be willing to promote tourism based on War Tourism, should the opportunity arise.
    - Explore the relationship between interest in businesses focused on War Tourism and the existence of war-related events in the localities.
- Observe the preferred terminology related to War Tourism.
- Observe the preference of local councils to associate the existence of a war-related product with War Tourism (Dark Tourism approximation) or Historical and Cultural Tourism.

### 3.1.2. Results and Analysis of the Questions Raised

1. Had you heard of dark tourism before?
  - Regarding Dark Tourism, 61.7% say they had not heard of it before.
2. Let's talk about dark tourism... Have you ever been, or are you aware of, any crimes in your town that were unfortunately the scene of in the press and received media attention?
  - 67.8% of the towns interviewed said they were unaware of any tragic events in their town. Only 18.8% stated the opposite.
3. Continuing with dark tourism... If your town were unfortunately the scene of a crime that was widely reported in the press and received media attention, would the town council be willing to

promote some kind of tourism development, such as a "Crime Museum," knowing that it would attract visitors and generate wealth for the town?

- Regarding the establishment of tourist attractions related to dark tourism, the result is uncertain. 51.4% say maybe, and 28.5% say yes to a "Museum of Crime."

4. Continuing with Dark Tourism... If your town had been a center of the slave trade in the Middle Ages, would the town council be willing to promote some kind of tourism development, such as a "Slavery Museum," knowing that it would attract visitors and generate wealth for the town?

- Regarding the "Slavery Museum," 49% said maybe and 40% said yes.

5. Last question on Dark Tourism... If your town had suffered a major natural disaster, such as a flash flood, inundation, earthquake, or dam break, resulting in deaths and disappearances, would the town council be willing to promote some kind of tourism development, such as a "Disaster Museum," knowing that it would attract visitors and generate wealth for the town?

- Regarding the "Disaster Museum," 44.2% said maybe and 41.5% said yes. In short, it appears that public servants, albeit with reservations, would be willing to accept these tourist attractions, understanding that there is a greater good for the community. It is also true that the more sinister the attraction, the less interest it generates.

- Chi-Square Test:

- Variables analyzed: Question 1, prior knowledge of Dark Tourism, and Question 4 (Slavery Museum).
  - Results:
    - Chi-square value ( $\chi^2$ ): 2.14
    - Degrees of freedom (df): 4
    - p-value: 0.000057
  - Interpretation: Since the p-value < 0.001, there is a statistically significant relationship between having heard of Dark Tourism (Question 1) and the willingness to create a "Slavery Museum" (Question 4). Those familiar with the concept show greater openness to the tourist exploitation of sensitive historical events, such as slavery.
- Variables analyzed: Question 1, prior knowledge of Dark Tourism, and Question 5 (Disaster Museum).
  - Results:
    - Chi-square value ( $\chi^2$ ): 21.29
    - Degrees of freedom (df): 4
    - p-value: 0.00028
  - Interpretation: Since the p-value < 0.001, there is a statistically significant relationship between knowledge of Dark Tourism (Question 1) and the willingness to open a "Disaster Museum" (Question 5). This suggests that prior knowledge of the concept of Dark Tourism could influence the acceptance of its exploitation as a tourist attraction in tragic contexts.
- Variables analyzed: Questions 3, 4, and 5. Willingness to create Dark Tourism attractions.
  - Results:
    - Chi-square value ( $\chi^2$ ): 21.88
    - Degrees of freedom (df): 4
    - p-value: 0.00021
  - Interpretation: Since p < 0.001, there is a statistically significant association between the willingness to create a Crime Museum (Question 2), a "Slavery

Museum” (Question 4), and a “Disaster Museum” (Question 5) within the group familiar with Dark Tourism. This suggests that those who favor one form of tourism exploiting tragic events tend to also favor the other.

- Cronbach's Alpha.
  - Variables analyzed: questions about the possibility of opening tourist establishments linked to or from a dark tourism perspective (questions 3, 4, and 5).
    - Results:
      - $\alpha$  value = 0.37.
      - Interpretation: This value indicates low internal consistency. It suggests that the three questions may be measuring related aspects, but not consistently or uniformly across participants. This result may be due to differences in the sensitivity of the topics addressed (crime, slavery, and disasters) or to different moral values depending on the type of event, as is indeed the case with the increasing acceptance as the tourism offering becomes less “dark.”

6. Had you heard of War Tourism before?

- Regarding War Tourism, 70.9% stated they were familiar with this type of tourism, likely due to their public positions and awareness of tourism initiatives gaining traction in Extremadura, such as battle reenactments.
- Chi-Square Test:
  - Analyzed variables: Question 1, prior knowledge of Dark Tourism (TO), and Question 6, prior knowledge of War Tourism (TG).
    - Results:
      - Chi-square value ( $\chi^2$ ): 3.84
      - Degrees of freedom (df): 4
      - p-value: 0.428
        - Interpretation: Since  $p > 0.05$ , no statistically significant relationship was found between having heard of Dark Tourism (Question 1) and War Tourism (Question 6). In other words, knowledge of one type of tourism does not necessarily imply knowledge of the other in this sample. In fact, this data supports the hypothesis put forward in this article, since War Tourism is much more associated with the attraction to Cultural Tourism than with the passion for the macabre or death typical of dark tourism.

7. Let's talk about War Tourism ... Has your town (municipality) ever been the site of a military event throughout history?

- 38.9% say that war events have occurred in their locality and 30.2% say perhaps, which is normal and hopeful because history is not completely forgotten in the town halls.

8. Continuing with War Tourism... If your town had unfortunately been the site of a war, would the town council be willing to promote some kind of tourism initiative, such as a “battle reenactment” or an “interpretation center” about the event, knowing that it would attract visitors and generate wealth for the town? Consider the reenactments of the Battle of La Albuera or the Sieges of Badajoz.

- 56.6% said they would be willing to participate in a battle reenactment. Only 13.1% refused. This positive response was likely influenced by the example of the Battle of Albuera, most famous war historic even performed in Extremadura.
- Cronbach's Alpha.
  - Variables analyzed: for questions 6 to 9 regarding the possibility of opening tourist establishments related to War Tourism.
    - Results:

- $\alpha$  value = 0.41
  - Interpretation: this value still indicates low internal consistency, although it is slightly higher than that of the questions on Dark Tourism. This may be because these questions address different aspects: from prior knowledge to the acceptance of a promotional term, which are not necessarily cohesive as a scale.
9. Continuing with War Tourism... Let's suppose your council decides to support a local entrepreneur who plans to open a museum, for example, about an event related to the Spanish Civil War of 1936 in your town. What name would you prefer for this initiative to be promoted?
- Regarding the terminology, the result is clear. 42.6% opt for military cultural tourism, 25.9% prefer military tourism, 17.2% battle tourism, and lastly, war tourism with 14.3%. Once again, the rejection of the word "war" that exists in Spanish society is evident.
10. Last question on War Tourism... Let's suppose another resident decides to stage a "reenactment of a Carlist uprising," and your town council supports them. Under what name would you prefer this initiative to be publicized?
- Finally, when presented with the option to associate a War Tourism activity with Historical-Cultural Tourism, 48.3% preferred it, followed by Military Tourism at 20.4%, rather than War Tourism, Battle Tourism, or Warfare Tourism.
  - Chi-Square Test:
    - Variables analyzed: Question 6 (Were you familiar with War Tourism?), the distribution of responses in Question 10 (preferred term) is as follows.
      - Results:
        - 55 people ( $\approx 51.9\%$ ) chose "Historical-Cultural Tourism"
        - 51 people ( $\approx 48.1\%$ ) chose from the other terms (War Tourism, Military Tourism, Battle Tourism, or Warfare Tourism)
      - © Interpretation: "Historical-Cultural Tourism" is the most chosen option within this group, although the difference with the other terms is relatively balanced. It can be inferred that those who are aware of the existence of War Tourism do so because of its proximity to Cultural Tourism.

#### 4. Discussion

In Spain, it has been observed that war tourism is much more attractive to tourists than dark tourism. Furthermore, in the Spanish case, war tourism is primarily practiced for its historical and cultural content. Although academically war tourism is considered a subdivision of dark tourism, those surveyed do not see them as such and differentiate between them. For municipalities, dark tourism ventures are less attractive than those focused on war tourism. The Museum of Slavery is accepted by 49%, the Museum of Disaster by 41.5%, compared to 56.6% who would be willing to participate in a battle reenactment.

From the study of secondary sources, it can be seen that the motivations for Dark Tourism, in order of importance, are the following:

1. Education (History)
2. Culture (History)
3. Originality, disruption
4. Supernatural
5. Sadism, death
6. Recreation
7. Spirituality
8. Supremacy
9. Elitism

From the study of secondary sources, we conclude that the motivations for War Tourism, within a cultural conceptual framework, are the following:

1. Education (History)
2. Culture (History)
3. Recreation
4. Disruptive experience
5. Introspective experience
6. Political ideas

It is therefore confirmed that the attraction to death, to sadism, does not appear, and there is a very high component related to history, culture, and education, which prevents the surveyed municipalities from associating war tourism or military cultural tourism with death, that is, with Dark Tourism.

## 5. Conclusions

This research concludes that, based on the rigorous analysis of both primary and secondary data, War Tourism (WT) and Military Cultural Tourism (MCT) effectively function as synonymous constructs within the strategic development framework of Extremadura. While WT is academically categorized as a subtype of Military Tourism (MT) with an inherent "dark" historical background, the empirical results from this study demonstrate that the "attraction to death" or morbid fascination is statistically marginal among local stakeholders. Conversely, the "attraction to historical and cultural aspects" is exceptionally high, firmly positioning this segment within the broader paradigm of Cultural Tourism (CT).

For rural regions like Extremadura, MCT represents a critical opportunity to recover, reinterpret, and enhance military heritage (ranging from Roman fortifications to the 20th-century Maquis resistance) through an educational and sustainable lens. The study confirms that MCT possesses all the necessary attributes to be classified as a specialized thematic tourism that leverages existing military assets to create unique cultural landscapes. These resources serve as vital tools for territorial development, connecting visitors with the historical military past of the region and fostering a deeper understanding of national identity.

Extremadura currently stands as a leading inland destination in Spain, reaching record visitor numbers in 2025. However, to fully realize the potential of battlefield tourism as a catalyst for rural development, consistent and high-quality tourism products must be developed. These products must guarantee historical accuracy while strictly avoiding the trivialization of past conflicts. A significant challenge identified is the societal rejection of the term "war," with a clear preference among stakeholders for terminology such as "Historical-Cultural Tourism" or "Military Cultural Tourism".

The transition of these "tragic sites" into "cultural landmarks" is essential for mitigating the socioeconomic challenges of "Empty Spain," specifically addressing rural depopulation through the creation of direct and indirect employment. The success of this tourism model depends on integrated sustainable territorial planning and the active participation of specialized international tour operators. Furthermore, a collaborative ecosystem involving regional governments, provincial councils, private enterprises, and local entrepreneurs is mandatory to diversify the rural offering and introduce untouched locations to the market.

Ultimately, War Tourism in Extremadura has enormous growth potential when oriented from a cultural perspective. It perfectly complements existing Inland Tourism (IT) initiatives, offering prospects for increased income, market share, and long-term competitive advantages. By transforming historical trauma into a pedagogical and cultural asset, the region can achieve greater territorial cohesion and socioeconomic sustainability, providing a replicable model for other rural inland areas across Europe.

**Author Contributions:** Conceptualization, I.R.G., S.M.C.L and R.D.R.; methodology, X.X.; software, X.X.; validation, I.R.G., S.M.C.L and R.D.R.; formal analysis, R.D.R.; investigation, R.D.R.; resources, I.R.G., S.M.C.L and R.D.R.; data curation, R.D.R.; writing—original draft preparation, R.D.R.; writing—review and editing,

I.R.G. and S.M.C.L.; visualization, R.D.R.; supervision, I.R.G. and S.M.C.L. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

**Funding:** This research received no external funding.

**Institutional Review Board Statement:** Not applicable.

**Informed Consent Statement:** Not applicable.

**Data Availability Statement:** The original contributions presented in the study are included in the article. Further inquiries can be directed to the corresponding author.

**Acknowledgments:** During the preparation of this manuscript, the authors used ATLAS.ti (25) for the analysis of data extracted from surveys and interviews. The authors have reviewed and edited the output and take full responsibility for the content of this publication.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this manuscript:

BT	Battlefield Tourism
CT	Cultural Tourism
DT	Dark Tourism
IT	Inland Tourism
MCT	Military Cultural Tourism
MT	Military Tourism
WT	War Tourism

## References

- Baldwin, F., & Sharpley, R. (2009). Battlefield Tourism: Bringing organised violence back to life. In R. Sharpley & P. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 186-206). Channel View Publications. . <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845411169-011>
- Beltrán, M. A., & Parra, M. C. (2017). Perfiles turísticos en función de las motivaciones para viajar. *Cuadernos de Turismo*, 39, 41-65. [https://doi.org/10.6018/turismo.39.290391?utm\\_source=chatgpt.com](https://doi.org/10.6018/turismo.39.290391?utm_source=chatgpt.com)
- Blom, T. (2000). Morbid tourism. A postmodern market niche with an example from Althorp. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 54(1), 29-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/002919500423564>
- Bornarel, F., Delacour, H., Liarte, S., & Virgili, S. (2021). Exploring travellers' experiences when visiting Verdun battlefield: a TripAdvisor case study. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 24(6), 824–841. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2020.1751593>
- Cànoves, G., Blanco Romero, A., Prat, J. M., & Villarino, M. (2017). *Turismo de Interior en España: Productos y dinámicas territoriales* (ed. digital). Publicacions de la Universitat de València. <https://doi.org/10.7203/PUV-OA-993-8>
- Cànoves, G., Villarino, M., Blanco, A., De Uña, E., & Espejo, C. (2014). *Turismo de Interior: renovarse o morir*. Publicacions de la Universitat de València. <https://doi.org/10.7203/PUV-OA-986-0>
- Coelho, J. F., Mota, L., & Costa, C. (2014). O turismo militar e a ativação turística do património: Conceitos, perspectivas e tendências. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 21–22, 113–120. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/ejemplar?codigo=413808>
- Cohen, E. (2011). Educational dark tourism in popular sites: The Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(1), 193–209. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.08.003>
- Council of Europe. (2000). European Landscape Convention Florence, 20 October 2000, CETS No. 176). <https://www.coe.int/es/web/landscape/home>
- Dann, G. M. S. (2001). The language of tourism: A sociolinguistic perspective. CABI.

11. Deutsch, B. (2014). *Tourists' motivations for engaging in dark tourism: Case study of Apartheid memorials in South Africa* [Undergraduate thesis, Modul Vienna University]. <https://www.studocu.com/en-gb/document/university-of-east-london/theoretical-criminology/thesis-final-barbara-deutsch/15441552>
12. Dunkley, R., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2011). Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32(4), 860–868. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.07.011>
13. Fathi, R. (2021). Centenary (Battlefield tourism). En U. Daniel & J. Winter (Eds.), *1914-1918-online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Freie Universität Berlin. <https://doi.org/10.15463/ie1418.11502>
14. Feliú Bernárdez, L. (2022). *La cultura militar en el siglo XXI*. Asociación de Militares Españoles. <https://www.acami.es/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Cultura-militar-sXXI-web.pdf>
15. Foley, M., & Lennon, J. (2000). Dark tourism: The attraction of death and disaster. Continuum.
16. Fonseca, A. P., Seabra, C., & Silva, C. (2016). Dark tourism: Concepts, typologies and sites. *Journal of Tourism Research and Hospitality*, S2(002), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.4172/2324-8807.S2-002>
17. Fontenla Ballesta, S. (2019). *La cultura militar en España: Situación y perspectivas [Artículo de la Asociación de Militares Españoles]*. Asociación de Militares Españoles. <https://ame1.org.es/la-cultura-militar-en-espana-situacion-y-perspectivas-salvador-fontenla-ballesta-general-de-brigada-r/>
18. Foulk, D. (2016). The impact of the economy of history: The example of battlefield tourism in France. *Mondes du Tourisme*, 12, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.4000/tourisme.1338> <https://doi.org/10.4000/tourisme.1338>
19. Gazapo, M., & Lapayese, C. (2019). La dimensión de la memoria en la construcción del territorio europeo: Los paisajes de guerra de Somme, Arromanches, Birkenau y Schurenbachald. En *Paisajes de guerra: Huellas, reconstrucción, patrimonio (1939–Años 2000)* (pp. 127–135). Casa de Velázquez & Ediciones Complutense. <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7500-2180>
20. *General Assembly & International Symposium*. <https://openarchive.icomos.org/id/eprint/139/1/77-wrVW-272.pdf>
21. Guerrero Rodríguez, R., Alvarado Sizzo, I., & Vidaurri Aréchiga, J. E. (2018). En busca de la motivación detrás del Turismo Oscuro: El caso de las momias de Guanajuato. *Teoría y Praxis*, 24(1), 121–149. <http://www.teoriaypraxis.uqroo.mx/doctos/numero24/Guerrero,Alvarado,Vidaurri.pdf>
22. Hernández Mogollón, J. M., Folgado Fernández, J. A., & Campón Cerro, A. M. (2017). Eventos basados en recreaciones históricas militares como estrategia dinamizadora del turismo local: El caso de la batalla de La Albuera (España). *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 27/28, 1071–1082. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/ejemplar?codigo=517695>
23. Herrero Prieto, L. C. (2011). El turismo cultural en España: Un sector estratégico. *Papeles de Economía Española*, 128, 172–187. [https://www.funcas.es/wp-content/uploads/Migracion/Articulos/FUNCAS\\_PEE/128art12.pdf](https://www.funcas.es/wp-content/uploads/Migracion/Articulos/FUNCAS_PEE/128art12.pdf)
24. Hrusovsky, M., & Noeres, K. (2011). *Military tourism*. In A. Papathanassis (Ed.), *The long tail of tourism: Holiday niches and their impact on mainstream tourism* (pp. 87–94). Gabler. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-8349-6231-7\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-8349-6231-7_10)
25. Hyde, K. F., & Harman, S. (2011). Motives for a secular pilgrimage to the Gallipoli battlefields. *Tourism Management*, 32(6), 1343–1351. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2011.01.008>
26. Juaneda, B. G., Arbona, G. M., & Busquets, S. S. (2020). *Turisme cultural: Anàlisi, diagnòstic i perspectives de futur*. Agència d'Estratègia Turística Illes Balears. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=765610>
27. Krippendorf, J. (1986). Tourism in the system of industrial society. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13(4), 517–532. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004728758702500429>
28. Liebermann, F., & Alejandro-Medina, A. (2012). Turismo cultural y Dark Tourism: La inclusión de la arqueología del conflicto como nueva oferta al visitante en destinos maduros. *Coloquios de Historia Canaria Americana*. <https://revistas.grancanaria.com/index.php/CHCA/article/view/9156/8608>
29. MacCannell, D. (1976). *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. Schocken Books.
30. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. (2015). *Plan Nacional de Arquitectura Defensiva*. <https://www.cultura.gob.es/planes-nacionales/dam/jcr:1c6991a0-aa01-4357-a98a-e788b245a877/03-maquetado-defensiva.pdf>

31. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. (2012). *Plan Nacional de Paisaje Cultural*. [https://oibc.oei.es/uploads/attachments/179/PAISAJES\\_CULTURALES.pdf](https://oibc.oei.es/uploads/attachments/179/PAISAJES_CULTURALES.pdf)
32. Molinero, C., & Ysàs, P. (2018). Cultura política y vía pacífica a la democracia: El miedo y el olvido en la transición española. *Iberoamericana*, 18(2), 107–127. [https://publications.iai.spk-berlin.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/Document\\_derivate\\_00000925/BIA\\_131\\_107\\_127.pdf](https://publications.iai.spk-berlin.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/Document_derivate_00000925/BIA_131_107_127.pdf)
33. Moral Moral, M. (2017). El turismo de batallas: Un turismo experiencial y sostenible. *Revista Turydes: Turismo y Desarrollo*, 22. <http://www.eumed.net/rev/turydes/22/turismo-experiencial.html>
34. Moreno Lobato, A., Hernández Mogollón, J. M., & Di Clemente, E. (2020). Análisis de la intermediación en la integración de la cadena de valor en la comercialización de itinerarios culturales basados en patrimonio militar e histórico. *Revista Espacios*, 41(31), Art. 16. <https://www.revistaespacios.com/a20v41n31/a20v41n31p16.pdf>
35. Nogué, J. (2010). El paisaje en la ordenación del territorio. *Estudios Geográficos*, 71(269), 415–448. <https://doi.org/10.3989/estgeogr.201014>
36. Peloeche Fernández, E. V., & Blanco Gregory, R. (2020). Aproximación al turismo bélico y de batallas: Un estudio empírico sobre Extremadura. *Revista Extremeña de Ciencias Sociales*, 12, 71–99. <https://doi.org/10.6018/turismo.639231>
37. Rojek, C. (1996). *Ways of escape: Modern transformations in leisure and travel* [Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Glasgow]. Universidad de Glasgow. <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2507/1/1991rojekphd.pdf>
38. Sauer, C. (1925). The morphology of landscape. *University of California Publications in Geography*, 2(2), 19–54. <http://www.geografiaen espanol.net>
39. Seaton, A. V. (1996). Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis to thanatourism. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2(4), 234–244. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527259608722178>
40. Sharpley, R. (2005). Tourism and the environment. En L. Pender & R. Sharpley (Eds.), *The management of tourism* (pp. 259–274). SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446214961>
41. Sharpley, R. (2009). Shedding light on dark tourism: An introduction. En R. Sharpley & P. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 3–22). Channel View Publications. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845411169-002>
42. Smith, M. (2015). *Issues in cultural tourism studies* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315767697>
43. Soro, E. (2020). *Turismo oscuro: Perfiles, nichos, motivaciones y experiencias a nivel mundial*. The Ostelea School of Tourism & Hospitality. Grupo de Investigación Interdisciplinar GRIT-OSTELEA. [http://aept.org/archivos/documentos/informe\\_turismo\\_oscuro.pdf](http://aept.org/archivos/documentos/informe_turismo_oscuro.pdf)
44. 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. <https://clou.uclan.ac.uk/27720/>
45. Tarlow, P. (2005). Dark tourism: The appealing "dark" side of tourism and more. En N. Douglas, N. Douglas, & R. Derrett (Eds.), *Niche tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases* (pp. 47–58). Elsevier.
46. Taylor, K. (2008). Landscape and memory: Cultural landscapes, intangible values and some thoughts on Asia. In *16th ICOMOS*
47. UNWTO. (2017). *Tourism and culture*. <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-and-culture>
48. Winter, C. (2011). Battlefield visitor motivations: Explorations in the Great War town of Ieper, Belgium. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13(2), 164–176. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.806>

**Disclaimer/Publisher's Note:** The statements, opinions and data contained in all publications are solely those of the individual author(s) and contributor(s) and not of MDPI and/or the editor(s). MDPI and/or the editor(s) disclaim responsibility for any injury to people or property resulting from any ideas, methods, instructions or products referred to in the content.