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IZMEĐU MITOVA I PERCEPCIJE RIZIKA KOD VJERSKIH TURISTA: SLUČAJ HAREDSKIH ŽIDOVA

BETWEEN MYTHS AND RISK PERCEPTION AMONG RELIGIOUS TOURISTS: THE CASE OF THE HAREDIM

SAŽETAK: Mitovi o ponašanju turista i načinima na koji percipiraju rizike dva su socio-kulturna konstrukta kojima se istraživanja u turizmu rijetko bave. Usto, nikad se nije istraživao njihov međusobni odnos kod religioznih turista koji su razapeti između svoje vjere u Boga i stvarnih turističkih okolnosti koje zahtijevaju nerizično odgovorno ponašanje. Ovaj rad nastoji ispuniti tu prazninu te istražuje mitove i percepcije rizika kod ultraortodoksnih haredskih Židova. Upotrebom metode nominalne grupe i modela s primjenjivim vrijednostima ovaj rad nastoji utvrditi na koji način ta zajednica percipira najveće opasnosti vezane uz putovanja te u kojoj mjeri te percepcije nalikuju na mitove o ponašanju vezanima uz putovanja koji su stvoreni u sekularnom izraelskom društvu ili se od njih razlikuju. Rezultati pokazuju da je kod haredskih Židova percepcija opasnosti vezanih uz putovanja obično "vjersko-svjetojni hibrid". Sastoji se od predodžbi o opasnostima koje prevladavaju među sekularnim turistima, ali i od onih koje proizlaze iz specifičnih socio-ekonomskih i logističkih ograničenja vezanih uz haredski način života.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: ponašanje turista, Haredi, percepcija rizika, mitovi, rizici vezani uz putovanja

SUMMARY: Myths about tourist behavior and tourists' risk perception are two socio-cultural constructs rarely discussed in tourism research. Furthermore, their interrelations have never been discussed with respect to religious tourists who are caught between their trust in God and real tourist circumstances that require risk-free responsible behavior. This paper attempts to fill this gap by studying myths and risk perception of Ultra-Orthodox Jews known as *Haredim*. Using Nominal Group Technique and the Value Stretch model, the study unveiled this community's main travel-related risk perceptions and to what extent they differ from or are similar to myths about travel behavior originated by the secular Israeli society. Findings show that travel-related *Haredi* risk perception is generally a "religio-secular hybrid." It is composed of risk constructs prevailing among secular tourists but also of those that stem from the unique socio-economic, logistic and lifestyle constraints of the Haredim.

KEYWORDS: tourist behavior, Haredim, risk perception, myths, travel risk

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1. UVOD

Obrasci mobilnosti turista velikim su dijelom rezultat *privlačnih* i *potisnih* čimbenika, ograničenja koja se nameću putnicima, ali i subjektivnog doživljaja opasnosti kojeg oni sami imaju. Posljednjih godina raste zanimanje znanstvenika za ulogu percepcije rizika. Tomu su razlozi rastuća svijest o neizvjesnostima koje sa sobom nose putovanja, sve veća konkurencija u turizmu te sve veća izloženost različitim generatorima opasnosti. Pošto razni tržišni segmenti imaju različite percepcije rizika, potrebno je koristiti krojene alate kako bi se te strahove ublažilo i uklonilo te kako bi se u tim tržišnim segmentima potaknula veća spremnost na putovanja. Međutim, kako nedostaje istraživanja takvih specifičnih segmenata koji bi nam pružili empirijske podatke o percepciji rizika tipičnih za njih, otvara se prostor za stvaranje mitova o tome što turiste odvraća od putovanja koji onda oblikuju popis mjesta na koje je sigurno putovati.

Cilj ovoga rada je ispuniti tu prazninu u teorijskim radovima i istražiti u kojoj se mjeri mitovi o percepciji rizika vezanih uz putovanja preklapaju ili, radije, razlikuju od stvarnih rizika. Pomoću studije slučaja izviđačkog tipa istražili smo ultraortodoksnu židovsku zajednicu iz Izraela (poznatu pod nazivom Haredi) kao tržišni segment. Pomoću modela s promjenjivim vrijednostima, koji se koristi u sklopu tehnike nominalne grupe, ovaj rad istražuje u kojoj se mjeri te percepcije rizika razlikuju ili su slične prevladavajućim mitovima i stereotipovima o specifičnim ograničenjima, strahovima i nevoljkosti pripadnika te zajednice da idu na turistička putovanja. Važno je napomenuti da mitovi obrađeni u ovome radu dolaze iz zapadnjačkog sekularnog izraelskog društva te se stoga mogu razlikovati od onih u samoj haredskoj zajednici.

1. INTRODUCTION

Patterns of tourist mobility are largely a result of “push” and “pull” factors, of constraints imposed on travelers, and of tourists’ subjective risk perceptions. In recent years, researchers’ interest in the role of risk perception has been growing due to expanding awareness of the uncertainties involved in traveling, and growing competition within the tourist industry, as well as to the growing exposure to various risk generators. Assuming that different market segments share various mutual sets of risk perceptions requires tailored mitigation and elimination tools to facilitate greater participation in travel among these market segments. However, lacking such segment-specific research that yields empirical information on its common risk perception leaves room for myths about what deters tourists from traveling determines their map of safe travel spaces.

The aim of this paper is to fill this theoretical gap and to examine to what extent myths about travel-related risk perceptions overlap or, rather, differ from their actual observed ones. The exploratory case study investigated the Ultra-Orthodox Jewish community in Israel (known as *Haredim*) as a market segment. Using a *Value Stretch* model embedded into a Nominal Group Technique, the paper will explore how different from or similar to these risk perceptions are from the prevailing myths and stereotypes concerning this community’s distinct constraints, fears and reluctance to undertake tourist trips. It is important to note that the myths mentioned in this paper originate in the Western secular Israeli society and hence may be different from those existing within the Haredi community itself.

2. TEORIJSKI OKVIR

Mit se može definirati kao narativ za koji se vjeruje da je istinit ili kao lingvistički konstrukt koji ima neko duboko značenje (Hunter i Whitten, 1976; Johns i Clarke, 2001). Neki znanstvenici (npr. Palmer, 1999; Johns i Clarke, 2001) smatraju da se mit može gledati i kao kolektivni prikaz kulturnih vjerovanja i vrijednosti koje igraju važnu ulogu u oblikovanju osobnih i nacionalnih identiteta, a svoren je u imaginaciji naroda. Kako navodi Percy Cohen (1969:337): "Mitovi imaju pejorativnu svrhu... i predstavljaju pogrešna vjerovanja kojih se držimo usprkos postojanju dokaza o suprotnom". U svojem nedavnom radu, Cohen (2013) tvrdi da turističke mitove znanstvenici gotovo uopće ne uzimaju ozbiljno. U turizmu mitovi istovremeno mogu služiti i kao *potisni* i kao *privlačni* čimbenici pri oblikovanju ponašanja vezanih uz putovanja i iskustava koja iz njih proizlaze (Laing i Crouch, 2008). Cohen (2013) i Dann (2013) u svojim najnovijim radovima bave se prvenstveno mitovima kao *privlanim* čimbenikom te objašnjavaju kako su se oni kao prostorno-vremenski konstrukti razvijali od modernih, preko postmodernih pa do današnjih turista, turističkih znamenitosti i krajolika (Echtner i Prasad, 2003; Skinner i Theodossopoulos, 2011, Urry i Larsen, 2011; Salazar, 2012). S druge strane, do sada se mnogo manje pažnje posvećivalo turističkim mitovima kao *potisnim* čimbenicima. Neki od njih o kojima se već pisalo su, na primjer, krivi utisci o tome kako turisti razvijaju motivacije, očekivanja, aspiracije i želje vezane za putovanja te način na koji se oni odražavaju na ponašanje vezano uz putovanja (Martin, 2010; Larsen *et al.*, 2011).

Mitovi vezani uz vjeru i turizam

U vjerskom kontekstu, „mit“ može značiti „priču o bogovima“ (Nöth 1990:374). Vjera ovisi o „vrhovnim vrijedostima“ koje se prihvaćaju kao one u koje se vjeruje (Hennig, 2002).

Turistički mitovi često su vezani uz vjeru (Cohen, 2013). Takvi su mitovi ponekad

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A myth has been defined as a narrative that is believed to be true or as a linguistic construct that has a deep meaning (Hunter and Whitten, 1976; Johns and Clarke, 2001). Some scholars (e.g. Palmer, 1999; Johns and Clarke, 2001) also suggested that it may be regarded as a collective representation of cultural beliefs and values, which play a role in shaping personal or national identities but often in the popular imagination. As Percy Cohen (1969:337) indicated: "Myths are intended pejoratively... and are erroneous beliefs clung to against all evidence". In a recent paper, Cohen (2013) argued that tourist myths have hardly been taken seriously by tourism scholars. In tourism, myths may serve both as "push" and as "pull" factors when shaping travel behavior and consequent experiences (Laing and Crouch, 2008). However, recent seminal works by Cohen (2013) and Dann (2013) looked primarily at the "pull" factor explaining how myths as spatio-temporal constructs have evolved in the Modern, Post-modern and today's tourists' mind/s, tourist sites and landscapes (Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Skinner and Theodossopoulos, 2011, Urry and Larsen, 2011; Salazar, 2012). Much less attention, has so far, been given to tourism myths associated with "push" factors. These, for example, may include distorted impressions on how tourists develop their travel motivations, expectations, aspirations, desires, and their actual reflection in travel behavior (Martin, 2010; Larsen *et al.*, 2011).

Religion-oriented myths and tourism

In a religious context, "myth" may mean "a tale of the Gods" (Nöth 1990:374). It is a religious sense that depends on "ultimate values" that are accepted as matters of belief (Hennig, 2002).

Tourism myths are often religiously oriented (Cohen, 2013). Such myths sometimes

vezani uz vjerske legende ili “dokaze” o prošlosti koji mogu poslužiti kao objašnjenja za sadašnja ponašanja turista prilikom odabira destinacija (Cohen, 2013; Dann, 2013). Dann (2003) također smatra da duhovno ponašanje religioznih turista odgovara vjerskim mitovima i često iz njih proizlazi. Kao takvi, vjerski mitovi često turistima pomažu da pojačaju svoju vrijednost nacionalne pripadnosti i samoodređenja (Bandyopadhyay *et al.*, 2008). Nadalje, mitovi se često koriste kao alat za stvaranje svrhovitih duhovnih iskustava, kad su turisti vjerski motivirani da putuju u vjerska okruženja, u kojima su sveto i svjetovno često isprepleteni (Damri i Mansfeld, 2014).

Međutim, iako se zna da su konstrukti mitova i vjerski turizam međusobno povezani, mitovi o ponašanju religioznih turista vezanima uz putovanja do sada još nisu temeljito istraženi (Fuchs i Reichel, 2004; Blackwell, 2007). U tom kontekstu, jedno od zanimljivih istraživačkih pitanja je: Koliko se mitovi razlikuju od stvarnog ponašanja vjerskih turista vezanog uz putovanja? Ovaj rad istražiti će odnos mitova i stvarne percepcije rizika vezanih uz putovanja te ograničenja koja kod vjerskih turista utječu na izbor destinacije i oblikuju njihovo ponašanje vezano uz putovanja.

Percepcije rizika u turizmu

Proces koji se nalazi u osnovi odlučivanja i biranja destinacije detaljno je istraživani u posljednjih dvadeset godina (npr.: Sönmez i Graefe, 1998; Reisinger i Mavondo, 2005; Walker i Page, 2008; Jonas *et al.*, 2010). Prema jednoj od definicija percepcije rizika, koju nude Mowen i Minor (1998: 176), percipirani je rizik “percepcija kupca o sveukupnom negativnom aspektu neke radnje zasnovana na procjeni mogućih negativnih ishoda i vjerojatnosti da će do tih ishoda doći.” Velika je vjerojatnost da stvari krenu krivim putem nakon praznika, nakon odabira destinacije i za vrijeme putovanja. Razlog su tome četiri specifična obilježja turističkih proizvoda, a

stem from religious legends or “evidence” of the past, which may serve as explanations for tourists’ present observed destination-choice behavior (Cohen, 2013; Dann, 2013). Dann (2013) also argues that religious tourists’ spiritual behavior corresponds with and often stems from religious myths. As such, religious myths often help tourists reinforce their value of nationalism and self-determination (Bandyopadhyay *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, myths are often used as a tool to generate meaningful spiritual experiences when religiously motivated to travel to religious environments where the sacred and the mundane are often interwoven (Damri and Mansfeld, 2014).

However, as much as the constructs of myths and religious tourism are known to be related, myths associated with the travel behavior of religious tourists have not yet been extensively studied (Fuchs and Reichel, 2004; Blackwell, 2007). In this context, one of the interesting research questions is: How far are myths from the realities of travel behavior of religious tourists? The paper will explore this issue with respect to myths and realities concerning travel-related risk perceptions and constraints that shape religious tourists’ choice of destination and travel behavior.

Risk perceptions related to tourism

The process underlying tourists’ decision-making and their consequent destination-choice have been extensively studied in the last two decades (e.g.: Sönmez and Graefe, 1998; Reisinger and Mavondo, 2005; Walker and Page, 2008; Jonas *et al.*, 2010). One of the definitions of a risk perception provided by Mowen and Minor (1998: 176) suggests that a perceived risk is: “a consumer’s perception of the overall negativity of a course of action based upon an assessment of the possible negative outcomes and the likelihood that those outcomes will occur.” The likelihood of things going wrong after taking a holiday, making a destination choice

to su neopipljivost, neodvojivost, promjenjivost i nemogućnost skladištenja (Lovelock *et al.*, 2009; Hall i Lew, 2009).

Zbog tih obilježja turisti mogu biti izloženi velikom broju mogućih rizika zbog kojih se kod njih može stvoriti percepcija različitih rizika poput onih vezanih uz vrijeme, društvo, financije, fizičke aspekte, zadovoljstvo, psihološke aspekte, opremu, prirodne katastrofe, terorizam, kriminal, političku nestabilnost i zdravlje (Roehl i Fesenmaier, 1992; Reisinger i Mavondo, 2005; Kozak *et al.*, 2007; Slevitch i Sharma, 2008; Gibson i Zhang, 2009; Jonas *et al.*, 2010; Fuchs i Reichel, 2011; Schroeder *et al.*, 2013). Ovaj široki raspon percepcija mogućih rizika predstavlja najveći marketinški izazov u turizmu pošto se može pretpostaviti da različite okolnosti prilikom putovanja, činjenica da turisti pripadaju raznim socio-kulturnim grupama i razni tržišni segmenti mogu dovesti do stvaranja različitih percepcija rizika koji turiste mogu odvratiti od putovanja (Kozak *et al.*, 2007; Quintal *et al.*, 2010).

Nekoliko se istraživanja usredotočilo na kulturni aspekt, tražeći razlike u percepciji rizika kod različitih kultura, uglavnom onih različitih zemalja (Reisinger i Mavondo, 2006; George, 2010). Međutim, nije dovoljno analizirati percepcije rizika vezanih uz putovanja prema zemlji porijekla. Kako bi se povećala mogućnost plasiranja turističkih proizvoda na tržište, percepcija rizika trebala bi se nastojati ublažiti pomoću marketinških aktivnosti koje ciljaju i fokusiraju se na specifične podkulture i tržišne segmente. Međutim, u nedostatku istraživanja o stvarnim percepcijama rizika u takvim segmentima, marketing može posegnuti za mitovima o percepciji rizika, što nije ispravno. Na taj će se način upravljanje percepcijom rizika bazirati na neispravnim, iskrivljenim pa čak i stereotipnim slikama i stoga će biti veoma nedjelotvorno.

Haredi – profil zajednice u tranziciji

Haredi, ultraortodokсна židovska skupina, živi koncentrirana na tri glavna zemljopisna

and while traveling is high. This is due to the unique four characteristics of tourist products, i.e., intangibility, inseparability, variability and perishability (Lovelock *et al.*, 2009; Hall and Lew, 2009).

These characteristics potentially expose the tourist to a wide range of possible risks that may generate a variety of risk perceptions including: time, social, financial, physical; satisfaction, psychological, equipment, natural disasters, terrorism, crime, political instability, and health (Roehl and Fesenmaier, 1992; Reisinger and Mavondo, 2005; Kozak *et al.*, 2007; Slevitch and Sharma, 2008; Gibson and Zhang, 2009; Jonas *et al.*, 2010; Fuchs and Reichel, 2011; Schroeder *et al.*, 2013). This wide range of possible risk perceptions creates a major marketing challenge to the tourism industry since it may be assumed that different travel circumstances, tourists belonging to diverse socio-cultural groups, and different market segments may share different arrays of risk perceptions which may be a deterrent to travel (Kozak *et al.*, 2007; Quintal *et al.*, 2010).

Several studies did pursue the cultural track, seeking cross-cultural differences in risk perceptions mainly across different countries (Reisinger and Mavondo, 2006; George, 2010). However, analyzing travel risk perceptions by country of origin is not sufficient. In order to improve marketability of tourist products, containing and mitigating risk perceptions should be targeting and focusing on specific subcultures and market segments. However, in the absence of studies that follow this path, myths on risk perceptions may surface and be wrongly used as a substitute. In doing so, risk perception management may be based on wrong, distorted and even stereotyped images and hence highly inefficient.

Haredim - a profile of a community in transition

The Haredim, a segregated ultra-orthodox Jewish group lives in three main concen-

područja, u Izraelu, SAD-u i zapadnoj Europi. Ta se zajednica bitno razlikuje od drugih vjerskih židovskih zajednica, a još više od nereligioznih Židova koji žive u Izraelu ili u dijaspori (Flint, 2010; Cahaner i Shilhav, 2012). Zajednica se sastoji od tri glavne podgrupe: sefardskih, hasidskih i litvanskih Hareda. Oni se međusobno razlikuju po razini konzervativnosti i poštivanja vjerskih vrijednosti i normi (Kaplan 2003; 2007) te po svojim socio-kulturnim obilježjima (Friedman, 1991; Leon, 2009). Tablica 1 prikazuje odabrane socio-demografske podatke o izraelskim haredima te o cjelokupnom izraelskom židovskom stanovništvu. Ova tablica jasno ilustrira velike razlike između dviju zajednica.

Tablica 1: Socio-demografske razlike između Hareda i cjelokupnog izraelskog stanovništva

Socio-demografska obilježja	Haredi u Izraelu	Cjelokupno židovsko stanovništvo Izraela
Broj stanovnika	850.000	5.949.000
Prirast stanovništva	5%	1,4%
Stopa fertiliteta	6,5	2,6
Prosječna dob stupanja u brak - žene	19,9	24,8
Prosječna dob stupanja u brak - muškarci	21,3	27,2
Udio broja djece u ukupnom stanovništvu (0-14)	50,0%	26,0%
Prosječni bruto mjesečni prihod (2012)	NIS 6.824	NIS 9.857
Stopa motoriziranosti	70-75 automobila na tisuću stanovnika	270 automobila na tisuću stanovnika
Akademsko obrazovanje	34%	71%

Izvori: Regev, 2013; Paltiel, 2012; Hleihelel 2011, Ben-Moshe, 2011

trations in Israel, the USA and in Western Europe. This community is distinctively different from other religious Jewish communities, let alone from non-religious Jews living in Israel or in the diaspora (Flint, 2010; Cahaner and Shilhav, 2012). The community is made of three major subgroups: *Sephardi*, *Hassidic*, and *Lithuanian*. They differ in their level of conservatism and adherence to religious values and norms (Kaplan 2003; 2007) and in their socio-cultural characteristics (Friedman, 1991; Leon, 2009). Table 1 provides selected data on socio-demographics of Israeli Haredim versus the overall Israeli Jewish population. This table clearly illustrates the large differences between the two communities.

Table 1: Socio-demographic differences between Haredim and the entire Israeli population

Socio-Demographic Characteristics	Haredim in Israel	Entire Jewish population in Israel
Population size	850,000	5,949,000
Population growth rate	5%	1.4%
Fertility rate	6.5	2.6
Average marriage age - women	19.9	24.8
Average marriage age - men	21.3	27.2
Children rate (0-14)	50.0%	26.0%
Average gross monthly income (2012)	NIS 6,824	NIS 9,857
Rate of motorization	70-75 cars per thousand	270 cars per thousand
Obtained academic degree	34%	71%

Sources: Regev, 2013; Paltiel, 2012; Hleihelel 2011, Ben-Moshe, 2011

U posljednjim desetljećima, neki dijelovi haredske zajednice dopuštaju više interakcije s modernim svijetom i prolaze kroz proces socio-kulturne promjene te gospodarske modernizacije (Kaplan, 2007; Zicherman, 2014). Taj proces transformacije, koji se često naziva "izraelizacijom Hareda", obilježen je traženjem posla na svjetovnom tržištu rada, stjecanjem akademskog obrazovanja, korištenjem novih medijskih platformi (Interneta i društvenih mreža) te širenjem potrošačke kulture (Sheleg, 2000; Kaplan, 2007; Leon, 2015). Smatra se da na ritam i obujam te transformacije uvelike utječe brzi demografski rast u toj zajednici. Taj brzi rast dovodi do pomicanja granica njihovih društvenih i kulturnih vrijednosti, prvenstveno onih koje se odnose na strogo poštivanje vjerskih vrijednosti i normi. Sukladno s time, neki Haredi usvajaju nove identitete koji su moderniji od onih koje su prije imali (Cahaner, 2014; Leon, 2015; Zicherman, 2014).

Usprkos tim procesima promjene, svjetovna židovska haredska zajednica i dalje doživljava kao konzervativnu ultraortodoksnu zajednicu koja je segregirana u socio-kulturnom i prostornom smislu. Usto, obilježava je i strah od pretjerane izloženosti profanome, neznanje i odsustvo svakodnevnih interakcija sa svjetovnom zajednicom. Takav pogled na Hareda se ne mijenja, a posljedice su stvaranje mitova, krivih predodžbi, stereotipova i stigma kojima se hrane loši odnosi između dviju zajednica (Grylak, 2002).

3. HAREDI KAO TURISTI

Posljednjih godina nekoliko se radova i istraživanja bavilo obilježjima putovanja kod pripadnika izraelske haredske zajednice (e.g., Cahaner i Mansfeld, 2012; Israel Government Tourism Ministry, 2007; 2013a). Ustanovljeno je da su motivacije i obrasci putovanja kod haredskih Židova slični onima pripadnika svjetovne židovske zajednice u Izraelu. I oni praznike doživljavaju kao priliku da pobjegnu od svakodnevnice rutine, provedu dragocjeno

In recent decades, some fractions of the Haredi community have been allowing more interaction with the *moderna* and undergoing a socio-cultural and economic modernization process (Kaplan, 2007; Zicherman, 2014). This transformation process, often referred to as the "Haredi Israelization", is characterized by seeking work in the secular job market place; in taking academic education; in using new media platforms (the Internet and social networks); and in expanding their consumer goods consumption culture (Sheleg, 2000; Kaplan, 2007; Leon, 2015). The pace and volume of this transformation is largely attributed to the rapid demographic growth of this community. This fast expansion enlarges the core borders of their social and cultural values, primarily those related to their strict adherence to religious values and norms. Consequently, among some of the Haredim, new identities have been evolving, identities that are distinctively more modern (Cahaner, 2014; Leon, 2015; Zicherman, 2014).

Despite these processes of change, the perception of Haredim by the secular Jewish community is still based on the conservatism, socio-cultural and spatial segregation of the ultra-orthodox community. These views are not changing and are accompanied by a fear that is based on overexposure to the profane, the ignorance and a lack of daily interaction between the two communities. The consequences of the above are myths, misperceptions, stereotypes and stigmas that nurse the poor relationship between the two communities (Grylak, 2002).

3. HAREDIM AS TOURISTS

In recent years a few studies and surveys have documented the travel characteristics of the Israeli Haredi community (e.g., Cahaner and Mansfeld, 2012; Israel Government Tourism Ministry, 2007; 2013a). These revealed that Haredi travel motivations and patterns are similar to the secular Jewish community in Israel. For them, a holiday

vrijeme sa svojim obiteljima i uživaju u dobroj hrani (Ministarstvo turizma Izraela, 2013b). Međutim, kad se ponnije razmotri njihovo ponašanje vezano uz putovanja, uočavaju se neke specifičnosti. One proizlaze iz njihovog jedinstvenog načina života i posebnih ograničenja koja im on nameće. Obrasci putovanja koji su među njima popularni uključuju obiteljske praznike, putovanja parova, putovanja vezana uz pojedini spol i ona vezana uz zajednicu. Obiteljska slavlja također su dobar razlog za putovanja i mogu se kombinirati s drugim turističkim aktivnostima (Klein-Oron, 2005; Mansfeld i Cahaner, 2013).

Na obrasce ponašanja vezane uz putovanja kod haredskih Židova također znatno utječu socio-kulturna ograničenja koje im nameće strogo poštivanje vjerskog načina života. Vjerska infrastruktura i usluge krojene prema njihovim potrebama stoga mogu biti presudne prilikom njihovog odabira mjesta na koje će putovati. Zato postojanje sinagoge, ponuda košer hrane ili mikve (bazen koji se u judaizmu koristi za posebno, ritualno uranjanje) mogu utjecati na to koju će destinaciju Haredi odabrati. Drugo ograničenje predstavlja specifični haredski kalendar koji ne ostavlja prostora za improvizacije prilikom planiranja putovanja. Obiteljski budžet naredni je važan problem za haredske turiste. Kako su obitelji velike, a njihovi prosječni prihodi mali, haredske obitelji si mnoge turističke usluge naprosto ne mogu priuštiti. I sama veličina obitelji predstavlja logistički problem. Bilo da djecu ostavljaju kod kuće ili ih vode sa sobom na putovanje, putovanje predstavlja kompliciranu misiju (Mansfeld *at al.*, 2014). Zbog ograničenja koja im nameću zajednica, društvo i obrazovanje, haredski turisti smatraju da konzervativni identitet svoje zajednice moraju zadržati i kad su na obiteljskim ili grupnim putovanjima. Ustvari, na obiteljskim i grupnim putovanjima Haredi jednu svoju zatvorenu sredinu naprosto zamijene drugom, pri čemu njihove društvene norme i vrijednosti ostaju potpuno nepromijenjene. Utjecaj haredskog identiteta na pona-

is perceived as an opportunity to escape from routine daily life, to spend precious time with the family and to indulge in good food (Israel Government Tourism Ministry, 2013b). However, when looking deeper into their travel behavior, unique travel characteristics crop up. These stem from their unique lifestyle and special constraints. Their popular travel patterns include family vacations, couple-based trips, gender-based and community-based tours. Family celebrations are also a good reason for traveling and may be combined with other tourist activities (Klein-Oron, 2005; Mansfeld and Cahaner, 2013).

Patterns of Haredi travel behavior are also largely influenced by the socio-cultural constraints imposed by a strict adherence to their religious lifestyle. Tailor-made religious infrastructure and services may therefore be a prerequisite, so creating their own unique choice of travel space. Thus, the availability of a synagogue, strict kosher food, or a *Mikve* (a bath used in Judaism for the purpose of ritual immersion) may determine the Haredi choice of destination. Another constraint is the unique Haredi calendar which does not allow improvisation of vacation timing. The family budget is also a major concern for Haredi tourists. As families are distinctively large while their average income is low, many tourism services and facilities are simply not attainable for Haredi families. Family size is also a concern from a logistical perspective. Leaving behind or taking the children becomes a complicated mission (Mansfeld *at al.*, 2014). Due to community, social and educational constraints, the Haredi tourist finds himself obliged to retain his conservative community identity while engaged in family or group vacations. In fact, family and group vacations involve swapping one Haredi "bubble" with another while social norms and values remain strictly the same. The impact of a Haredi identity on travel behavior and destination-choice is different when Haredim perform couple-based tourism. In these circumstances they tend

šanje vezano uz putovanja i odabir destinacije drugačiji je kad Haredi odlaze na putovanja u paru. Tada najčešće ostavljaju po strani tabue, traže privatnost i popustljiviji su kad se radi o poštivanju pravila, što se ogleda u modernijim i svjetovnijim oblicima ponašanja vezanih uz putovanja (Cahaner i Mansfeld, 2012).

Ne zaboravimo da je tijekom godina svjetovna izraelska zajednica razvila mnoge mitove i stereotipe o životu i ponašanju Hareda. Njima se bavi nekoliko studija (Grylack, 2002; Barth, 2012). Nekim nijansama ponašanja Hareda vezanih uz putovanja i činjenicom da neki od njih pod određenim okolnostima pokazuju "svjetovnije" obrasce na putovanjima već su se bavili i raniji radovi. Međutim, takve nijanse još nemaju svoj odraz u mitovima i načinu na koji ih doživljavaju pripadnici neharedske zajednice u Izraelu. U sljedećem ćemo poglavlju predstaviti nekoliko najčešćih mitova koji se javljaju među pripadnicima neharedske zajednice i usporediti ih s rezultatima istraživanja o njima.

4. METODOLOGIJA

Kako je navedeno u uvodu, cilj je ovoga rada na primjeru ultraortodoksne zajednice haredskih Židova koji žive u Izraelu istražiti u kojoj se mjeri mitovi o percepcijama rizika vezanih uz putovanja preklapaju sa stvarnim rizicima ili se pak od njih razlikuju. Glavna pretpostavka koju ovaj rad želi istražiti je da na percepcije rizika vezanih uz putovanja kod haredskih Židova znatno utječe njihova snažna vjera u Boga i Njegovu potpunu kontrolu nad situacijama u kojima su izloženi opasnostima. Kako smo već naveli, ovaj rad nastoji taj mit istražiti iz perspektive sekularnih istraživača te pretpostavlja da vjernici vjeruju da su rizici vezani uz putovanja izvan njihove kontrole, što utječe na njihov odabir odredišta i na njihova ponašanja vezana uz putovanja.

U nastojanju da otkrije odnos između mitova o rizicima vezanima uz putovanja kod haredskih Židova i njihovog stvarnog ponašanja, ovaj rad koristi dvije metode prikuplja-

na put aside taboos, look for privacy, and allow more permissiveness reflected in a more modern and secular form of travel behavior (Cahaner and Mansfeld, 2012).

Note that myths and stereotypes over a wide range of Haredi life and behaviors have been developed by the Israeli secular community over the years. These have been documented by several studies (Grylack, 2002; Barth, 2012). More specifically, the nuances in travel behavior of Haredim and the fact that some of them perform more "secular" travel patterns in some circumstances, have already been noted in previous studies. However, such nuances have not yet been reflected in the myths and perceptions of these behaviors by the non-Haredi community in Israel. The next section presents several myths prevailing among the non-Haredi community and compares them to the research findings corresponding to these myths.

4. METHODOLOGY

As indicated in the introduction, using the Haredi ultra-orthodox community living in Israel, the aim of this paper is to examine to what extent myths on travel-related risk perceptions overlap or, rather, differ from their actual observed ones. The leading postulate to be examined in this study was that Haredi travel-related risk perceptions are overwhelmingly shaped by their uncompromising belief in God and His full control over their risk-taking. As mentioned earlier, the study aims at examining this myth from the perspective of secular researchers. This implies an inherent assumption that travel-related risk-taking behavior among believers is beyond their control and shapes their destination-choice and travel behavior accordingly.

In pursuit of unveiling the relationship between myths on Haredi travel-related risk-taking and their actual behavior this study made use of two data collection and

nja i obrade podataka. Prva je konceptualni model – model s promjenjivim vrijednostima koji čini sastavni dio tehnike nominalne grupe. Ovaj integrirani istraživački alat omogućava otkrivanje normativnog ponašanja ili stavova grupe prema planiranju i/ili načinu života (Mansfeld i Jonas, 2006; Shani i Pizam, 2012). Istraživanje je provedeno u tri različite grupe haredskih Židova koje žive u tri područja s najviše haredskog stanovništva u Izraelu: to su Jeruzalem, Haifa i haredski grad Bnei Brak, pored Tel Aviva. Druga metoda je dubinski polustrukturirani intervju s pojedinim sudionicima sastanka i tehnika stuba (Sirgy *et al.*, 2011). Ti pojedinačni intervjui bili su potrebni kako bi se nadopunili podaci prikupljeni pomoću tehnike nominalne grupe, u situacijama kad ispitanici nisu bili spremni na grupnim sastancima pred ostalim članovima grupe opisati svoje percepcije rizika.

5. REZULTATI

U nastavku navodimo istražene mitove vezane uz putovanja i podatke o razlikama ili sličnostima između mitova i stvarnih percepcija rizika koje smo prikupili prilikom istraživanja.

Mit: “Sve je u Božjim rukama”. Haredi nemaju iste percepcije rizika koji se odnose na putovanja kao drugi turisti.

Stvarnost: Premda vjeruju u Boga, haredski turisti slijede dva načela koja ukazuju na to da i oni trebaju biti proaktivni kad se radi o smanjenju rizika. Prvo je načelo posvećivanja osobite brige ili “venishmartem” (doslovno: i ti ćeš voditi brigu), što znači da trebaju poduzeti sve potrebne mjere opreza kako sebe i članove svoje obitelji ne bi doveli u opasnost. Drugo načelo kaže da u vođenje brige treba uložiti određeni napor, a zove se “hishtadlut”. To su komplementarne ideje koje naglasak stavljaju ne samo na namjeru da se nešto napravi, već i na odlučnost da se učini sve što je u našoj moći da se izbjegne neka opasnost. Očigledno, za haredske turi-

processing tools. The first is a conceptual model – the *Value Stretch* model integrated into *Nominal Group Technique* (NGT). This integrated research tool allows detecting normative community behavior or attitudes toward planning and/or lifestyle issues (Mansfeld and Jonas, 2006; Shani and Pizam, 2012). It took place among three distinct groups of Haredim located in three major haredi “bubbles” in Israel: Jerusalem, Haifa and the Haredi town of Bnei Brak close to Tel Aviv. The second tool used in-depth semi-structured interviews with selected members of the group sessions and employed the *Laddering Technique* (Sirgy *et al.*, 2011). These individual interviews were needed in order to complement the data collected in the NGT sessions in situations where participants in the group sessions felt reluctant to share their risk perceptions with the whole group.

5. FINDINGS

Following are the examined travel-related myths and the findings on the gap or overlap between these myths and actual risk perceptions obtained through the fieldwork.

Myth: “It’s all in the hands of God” and thus Haredim do not share travel-related risk perceptions

Reality: Although trusting in God, Haredi tourists follow two principles indicating that they are also obliged to be proactive in terms of risk reduction. The first is the principle of taking special care “venishmartem” (literally: and you shall take care) meaning that they have to take all necessary precautions to avoid putting themselves or their relatives at risk. The second is to exert an effort in taking care called “hishtadlut”. This is a complementary idea that puts an emphasis not only on the intention to do something but on the determination of doing everything possible to avoid any risk. Apparently, for Haredi tourists, mitigating travel-related risk perceptions is based on a duality of the val-

ste ublažavanje percepcija rizika vezanih uz putovanja zasniva se na dualitetu bezuvjetne vjere u Boga i, istovremeno, poštivanja norme koja nalaže da treba i osobno biti odgovoran. Taj polaritet paradoksalno stvara dodatni “zaštitini kišobran” pod kojim Haredi funkcioniraju u prostoru turizma. Lea (31 godina, majka šestoro djece) na sljedeći je način opisala taj dvostruki pristup smanjivanju opasnosti:

“...vjerovanje smanjuje strah. Nisam zabrinuta zbog erupcije vulkana ili valova tsunamija. To je u Božjim rukama. Međutim, nikad neću ići na vožnju kajakom jer imam petero djece koja me još trebaju. Ne treba se izlagati nepotrebnim rizicima.”

Mit: Zbog njihovog relativno lošeg ekonomskog statusa, Haredi se ne izlažu ekonomskim rizicima poput odlaska na praznike čija cijena nadilazi njihove financijske mogućnosti.

Stvarnost: Točno je da većina članova haredske zajednice u Izraelu pripada nižem društveno-ekonomskom sloju. Jedan od glavnih uzroka tome je njihova društvena norma prema kojoj se od muškaraca očekuje da se cijeli život bave izučavanjem svetih tekstova te da stoga ne rade (samo 48% Haredi muškaraca ima posao, nasuprot 80% njih u ukupnoj izraelskoj populaciji) (Regev, 2013). Međutim, kod ove je zajednice uočljiv porast potražnje za turističkim proizvodima i sudjelovanja u turističkim aktivnostima. U jednom je desetljeću, od 2003. do 2013., obim sudjelovanja haredskih Židova u domaćim putovanjima narastao od 34% do 51%, a onaj u međunarodnom turizmu s 11% na 17%. Štoviše, u isto vrijeme broj onih koji nisu željeli odlaziti na odmor van mjesta stanovanja pao je sa 66% na 37% (Dgani i Dgani, 2003; Ministarstvo turizma Izraela, 2007; 2013a). Taj rast kupovine i domaćih i međunarodnih turističkih usluga ne pripisuje se primarno rastu prihoda kod haredskih Židova. Naprotiv, očigledno je da je to rezultat njihove spremnosti na izlaganje financijskim rizicima i vjerovanja da će, po povratku ku-

ue of unconditional trust in God and, at the same time, following the norm of taking personal responsibility. This polarity paradoxically creates a complementary “protective umbrella” within which Haredim operate in the tourist space. Lea (aged 31 and a mother of six children) portrayed this dual risk mitigation approach by saying:

“...believing reduces fear. I am not concerned with a volcano eruption or tsunami waves. These are in God’s hands – however, I will never go kayaking, I have five children that still need me. One should not take unnecessary risks.”

Myth: Due to their relatively low economic status, *Haredim* do not take an economic risk involving holidaymaking that costs beyond their financial capabilities.

Reality: It is true that the majority of the Haredi community in Israel belongs to the lower socio-economic status. This is mainly due to their social norm expecting males to be preoccupied with on-going study of the Holy Scriptures and hence out of the work cycle (only 48% of the Haredi males do go out and work as opposed to 80% in the overall Israeli society). (Regev, 2013). Nevertheless, there is an evident upward trend in the demand for tourism and actual participation in tourism activities among this community. Thus, in over a decade, i.e. between 2003 and 2013, the volume of Haredi participation in domestic holidaymaking has risen from 34% to 51% and that of international tourism grew from 11% to 17%. Moreover, those who were reluctant to take a holiday away from home dropped from 66% to 37% over the same period (Dgani and Dgani, 2003; Israel Government Tourism Ministry, 2007; 2013a). This growth in purchasing both domestic and international tourism services is not attributed primarily to a growth in Haredi disposable income. It is, apparently, a result of willingness to take a financial risk and the hope that upon returning home they will be able to bridge the negative gap between their actual earnings and the unaffordable cost of

ćama, biti u stanju premostiti negativnu razliku između njihovih stvarnih prihoda i troškova putovanja na kojemu su bili, a koji prelaze njihovu platežnu moć (Cahaner i Mansfeld, 2012). Spremnost na izlaganje takvom riziku uglavnom se pripisuje osobnim čimbenicima i onima vezanima uz zajednicu. To su, s jedne strane, želja za odmorom od intenzivne i naporene svakodnevne rutine (prvenstveno za žene) te, s druge strane, pristisak na pojedince da se prilagode društvenim normama i rastućim trendovima putovanja koji prevladavaju u njihovim zajednicama (Mansfeld i Cahaner, 2013). Stoga, razapeti između osobnih potreba i normi te normi zajednice, Haredi pokrivaju troškove svojih putovanja zadužujući se u banci ili kod prijatelja i rodbine ili otplaćujući ih kroz dulje vrijeme u obrocima. Sara (52 godine, majka desetoro djece) opisala je izlaganje toj vrsti rizika na primjeru svoje susjede:

“... njezina je obitelj siromašna. Ima dvanaestoro djece, njezin muž cijeli je život posvetio proučavanju svetih tekstova, a ona je nastavnica u školi i jedina zarađuje za obitelj. Tokom godina, njezino se psihičko i fizičko zdravlje narušavalo zbog svih tih odgovornosti koje je preuzela na sebe. Nedavno ju je njezin muž odlučio poslati na kratko putovanje kako bi se malo oporavila. Znam da troškove nije mogao platiti sam nego je otplatu dijela putovanja rastegnulo na puno rata, a za dio je zatražio financijsku pomoć od lokalne dobrotvorne organizacije koja potpomaže haredske žene kojima je pomoć potrebna. Usprkos tomu što je postojala opasnost da možda ne uspije pokriti troškove putovanja, rekao joj je da se rizik isplatio jer je utjecaj tog putovanja na nju bio veoma dobar. Kako je rekao, vratila mu se neka nova žena, potpuno odmorena, sretna te psihički i fizički spremna da nastavi obavljati sve svoje majčinske dužnosti te dužnosti supruge...”

Mit: Haredski turisti neće otići na putovanje ako im na odredištu nisu ponuđene adekvatne vjerske usluge i infrastruktura.

the vacations taken (Cahaner and Mansfeld, 2012). This risk-taking behavior is attributed mainly to personal and community factors. On the one hand, seeking some sort of ventilation from the intense and difficult daily routine (primarily for women) and, on the other, the pressure to be socially conformist and aligned with the growing holidaymaking trends prevailing in their respective communities (Mansfeld and Cahaner, 2013). Hence, being trapped between personal and community needs and norms, Haredim pay their travel expenses by borrowing money either from a bank or from friends and relatives or by spreading the payments for these tourism services over a long period. Sara (aged 52 and a mother of ten children) portrayed this risk-taking by using the example of her neighbor, saying that:

“... she came from a poor family of twelve children, her husband devotes his life to studying the Holy Scriptures, and she has been a school teacher and the sole breadwinner of the family. Over the years, her mental and health situation has been deteriorating due to all the responsibilities that she had to take upon herself. Recently, her husband decided to send her overseas for a short vacation so that she could recover a bit. I know he could not afford it himself and so he partly covered the expenses by spreading the cost and paying in installments over a long period, and partly by asking for financial help from a local charitable association supporting Haredi women in need. Despite taking the risk of not being able to cover the cost, he told her that it was worth it because the impact of this trip on his wife was remarkable – as he said, he got a new wife back, totally revived, happy and mentally and physically ready to resume all her responsibilities as a wife and a mother...”

Myth: Haredi tourists will avoid traveling if adequate religious services and infrastructure on-site are not available.

Stvarnost: Nedostatak adekvatnih usluga i nepostojanje vjerske infrastrukture na odredištu ne utječu znatno na odustajanje od putovanja. Međutim, potpuno su neprihvatljiva vikend putovanja na odredišta koja ne nude takve uvjete za vjernike. S druge strane, putovanja radnim danom donekle dopuštaju veću slobodu pri odabiru odredišta. Za putovanje koje obuhvaća i vrijeme Šabata, kada ih se obvezuje da miruju, Haredi neće prihvatiti smještaj ni na kojem mjestu koje nema sinagogu, minjan (molitveni kvorum od barem deset odraslih muškaraca koji mogu izvesti vjersku ceremoniju) i ceremonijalni obrok za Šabat. Radnim danima pak, kako mobilnost nije prepreka, mjesto molitve ne treba nužno biti na samoj destinaciji, hrana se može kupiti na licu mjesta ili je se može donijeti od kuće, a ceremonijalni obroci nisu obavezni. Važno je uočiti da se stupnjeve slobode ne interpretira na jedinstveni način u svim podgrupama haredske zajednice. Radnim danom mogu se javiti varijacije ponašanja zbog različitih razina konzervativnosti. Yael (36 godina, majka trinaestero djece) to opisuje ovako:

“...Odlučili smo ići na praznike bez djece, u pansion na sjeveru Izraela. Kako smo na putovanje išli u radne dane, mogli smo si ispuniti želju da odemo na romantično putovanje, a da pri tome ne kršimo svoje vjerske obaveze... tako je moj muž uzeo auto i otišao moliti na obližnji grob svetog pretka – što je prihvatljiva zamjena za sinagogu, koja je neophodna za vikend putovanja.”

Tome je Sara (29 godina, majka četvoro djece) dodala:

“...kad putujemo vikendom s nekoliko drugih obitelji, vjerski kvorum nije problem pošto odsjedamo u turističkim objektima koji ugošćuju haredske turiste pa tako uvijek ima barem deset vjernika...”

Mit: Haredski turisti neće otkinuti putovanje na destinaciju koja ne nudi košer hranu koja im je prema njihovim pravilima prihvatljiva (Glatt).

Reality: The lack of adequate services and religious infrastructure on-site do not overwhelmingly eliminate the option of taking a holiday. Thus, while traveling on a weekend to places that do not offer such religious facilities is totally unacceptable. Traveling on weekdays is somewhat more permissive, allowing a certain degree of freedom. For a stay over the Sabbath, as they are obliged to stay put, Haredim will not settle for any accommodation facility that does not have a synagogue, *Minyan* (a quorum, i.e. at least ten adult males that can perform an acceptable religious ceremony), and a ceremonial Sabbath meal. For weekdays, as mobility is not an obstacle, the place of prayer need not necessarily be on-site, food may be bought on-site or brought from home and ceremonial meals are not mandatory. It is important to note that the degrees of freedom are not interpreted uniformly across all the subgroups of the Haredi community. Variations in weekday behavior may occur due to differing levels of conservatism. As Yael (aged 36 and a mother of thirteen children) indicated:

“... We decided to go on a holiday without the children to a bed and breakfast facility in the North of Israel. As this trip took place during the week we could fulfil our intention to have a romantic break without violating our religious obligations... thus, my husband took the car and prayed at a nearby tomb of a holy ancestor -- an accepted substitute for a synagogue required for a Sabbath holiday on-site”.

To this, Sara (aged 29 and a mother of four children) added that:

“... when traveling on a weekend with a few more families, a religious quorum is easily arranged since we stay at a tourism facility that is geared to host Haredi tourists and so having at least ten male worshipers is not a concern...”

Myth: Haredi tourists will not travel to destinations not providing Kosher food compatible with their acceptable level of strictness (Glatt).

Stvarnost: Odabir destinacije nije uvjetovan ponudom košer hrane u destinaciji. Ustvari, pravila koja se odnose na košer hranu Haredi doživljavaju kao norme kojih se ne treba strogo pridržavati. Kad se, primjerice, par priprema za odlazak na putovanje, od njega ga neće odvratiti činjenica da im se u destinaciji ne garantira košer hrana. Vjerojatno će hranu kupovati u destinaciji, čak i ako nije u potpunosti u skladu s uobičajenim strogim pravilima košer hrane. Ako Haredi putuju kao obitelj, vjerojatno će većinu hrane donijeti od svoje kuće kako ne bi riskirali da u destinaciji ne dobiju hranu u potpunosti pripremljenu prema košer pravilima. Međutim, kako je već navedeno, ako na putovanje odlaze vikendom, neće si dopustiti nikakvu improvizaciju te će se njihov odabir destinacije suziti samo na mjesta koja ugošćuju Haredi i koja mogu jamčiti da će košer hrana biti u potpunosti pripremljena prema strogim pravilima. Hadassah (31 godina, majka petoro djece) objašnjava:

“...kad smo odlazili na naše posljednje putovanje, ostavili smo djecu kod kuće i otišli sami u prirodu. Odsjeli smo u jednom pansionu i domaćin nam nije nudio i hranu. Uspjeli smo pronaći hranu pripremljenu otprilike u skladu s haredskim košer pravilima. Međutim, nije bila u potpunosti u skladu sa strogim košer pravilima koja vladaju u našoj zajednici. O tome se nismo previše brinuli... to je naša stvar.”

Mit: Haredski turisti ovise o veoma dobrom i organiziranom “sustavu podrške zajednice” koja rješava i probleme vezane uz putovanja koji se odnose na organizaciju života kod kuće.

Stvarnost: Logistički problemi koji se odnose na organizaciju obitelji, a o kojima se odlučuje prije odlaska na putovanje, često su složeni i ne mogu biti riješeni samo dobrom voljom zajednice i šire obitelji. Stoga takvi problemi haredske Židove često odvrćaju od putovanja. Čak i ako se takvi logistički problemi riješe, briga oko toga je li kod kuće sve uredi Haredi prate tokom cijelog njihove

Reality: Lack of kosher food at the destination is not a pre-requisite. In fact Haredim treat this strict kosher food requirement as an adjustable norm. Thus, when traveling as a couple, lack of guaranteed kosher food is not a travel deterrent. They will most probably buy food products at the destination even if they do not meet their usual level of kosher strictness. If Haredim travel as families, they will most probably bring most of the food from home in order not to risk their required level of kosher strictness. However, as indicated before, if their vacation takes place on a weekend, no degrees of freedom are allowed and thus their choice of destination becomes restricted only to places that cater for Haredim and that can guarantee Kosher levels in full accordance with their level of strictness. As Hadassah (aged 31 and a mother of five) explained:

“...on our last vacation we left our children behind and went on our own to the countryside. As we stayed in a bed and breakfast chalet, food was not supplied by our hosts. We managed to find food products locally within the range of Haredi Kosher strictness. However, it was not fully compatible with the strict kosher level prevailing in our own community. We did not worry over-much about that... it was just between the two of us”

Myth: Haredi tourists depend on a highly devoted and organized “community support system” that also solves travel-related home arrangement issues.

Reality: Logistical problems related to home arrangements prior to taking a holiday are often complicated and cannot be solved only through relying on the goodwill of the community and the extended family. As such, they often deter Haredim from traveling. Even if such logistical problems are apparently solved, the concern over their implementation while they are away accompanies Haredi tourists when they travel. As

vog putovanja. Yaffa (37 godina, majka desetoro djece) svjedoči:

“...Putovanje s mojim mužem pravi je problem jer imamo puno djece... Čak i ako nađem rješenje za njih dok me nema, previše se brinem oko toga jesu li svi dobro i jesu li preveliko opterećenje onima koji ih čuvaju. Također se brinem da bi se neko od djece moglo razboljeti i ustrebati liječničku pomoć ili moju brigu. Ponekad me takve brige priječe da se potpuno iskopčam i u potpunosti uživam u putovanju.”

Mit: Rizike koji se odnose na zaštitu i sigurnost Haredi smatraju nečim što je “izvan njihove kontrole”.

Stvarnost: Takve percepcije rizika turisti mogu odvratiti od odlaska na putovanje, natjerati ih da ga odgode ili otkažu i smatraju se nečim što spada pod načelo “*venishmartem*”. Rezultati dobiveni na sastancima na kojima se koristila tehnika nominalne grupe i osobni intervjui otkrivaju da su Haredi veoma svjesni rizika vezanih uz zaštitu i sigurnost. Stoga im je tolerancija prema takvim rizicima svedena na nulu, kako bi prevenirali neželjene posljedice. Oni smatraju da se takvi rizici mogu kontrolirati i da to podrazumijeva poduzimanje neophodnih sigurnosnih mjera ili potpuno izbjegavanje putovanja ako službene vlasti izdaju upozorenje da je destinacija veoma rizična. Rivki (25 godina, majka troje djece) to opisuje ovako:

“...Trebala sam s obitelji krenuti na vjersko putovanje na Tajland. Kad sam doznala da je izraelska antiteroristička služba izdala upozorenje za putovanja u tu zemlju, mužu sam rekla: “Ne idemo. Neću dovesti svoju obitelj u opasnost na takvom nepoznatom mjestu, daleko od kuće...”

Mit: Haredi neće putovati i provesti praznike na “ispraznim”, “svjetovnim” mjestima.

Stvarnost: Ustvari, Haredi putuju na mjesta čija su obilježja suprotna onima ha-

Yaffa (aged 37 and a mother of ten children) indicated:

“...Traveling with my husband when you have so many children is a real concern...Even if I find a solution when I’m away, I worry too much whether they are all OK and whether they are not a burden on those who look after them. My other concern is that some of them may become sick and need medical and their mother’s attention. Sometimes this concern really affects my ability to disconnect and fully enjoy my trip.”

Myth: Safety and security perceived risks are considered by Haredim as “beyond their control”.

Reality: Such risk perceptions may divert, delay or cancel a tourist trip and are considered to be under the “*venishmartem*” commandment. Results of both the NGT sessions and the personal interviews revealed that Haredim are highly aware of safety and security risks. Thus, they adopt a zero tolerance attitude to prevent unwanted consequences. In their mind, all such risks are controllable and should involve either taking the necessary precautions or avoiding traveling altogether if a destination is assigned a high-risk label by official government travel warnings. As Rivki (aged 25 and a mother of three children) expressed it:

“...I was supposed to travel with my family on a religious mission to Thailand. When I discovered that there was a travel warning on this country issued by the Israeli anti-terrorist office I told my husband – “We are not going. I am not going to put my family at risk in an unfamiliar place and far away from home...”

Myth: Haredim will not travel and spend a vacation in “immodest” “secular” environments.

Reality: In fact, Haredim do travel and go on vacation in such non-Haredi environments. Secular and immodest tourist spaces are often preferred as Haredim seek priva-

redske sredine. Svjetovna i "isprazna" turistička mjesta čest su odabir kad Haredi traže privatnost, bijeg od svojeg uobičajenog okruženja i ispušni ventil za društvene i kulturne pritiske tipične za život u takvim zatvorenim i restriktivnim zajednicama. Mjera u kojoj će željeti privremeno pobjeći od pritisaka njihove dnevne rutine razlikuje se ovisno o vrsti praznika i razini konzervativnosti. Dakle, kad putuju kao parovi, na izrazito "svjetovna" turistička mjesta, spremni su se izložiti većim rizicima i podložniji su svjetovnom turističkom ponašanju. S druge strane, takvo permissivno ponašanje daleko je ograničenije ili je čak potpuno nemoguće kad putuju kao obitelj. Malki (30 godina, majka četvero djece) to objašnjava ovako:

"...za mene su pravi praznici kad putujem na mjesta gdje me članovi moje zajednice ne mogu prepoznati. Naše omiljene destinacije su jedan hotel s pet zvjezdica u Tel Avivu ili luksuzan pension na sjeveru Izraela... na tim mjestima moj se suprug i ja osjećamo potpuno slobodnima da radimo što god poželimo, bez straha da ćemo zbog toga biti kažnjeni. To je magičan, ali privremen bijeg u zabranjeni svijet u kojemu smijemo ići protiv struje..."

Mit: Tradicionalna odjeća Hareda ne nosi se čak ni na putovanjima.

Stvarnost: Zbog toga što ih njihova tradicionalna odjeća čini uočljivima i zato što se boje da bi ih lokalno stanovništvo moglo uznemiravati, u inozemstvu Haredi najčešće ne nose tradicionalnu, već modernu odjeću. Taj problem javlja se uglavnom kod muškaraca čiji je izgled, zbog specifične odjeće i frizure, daleko uočljiviji i različit je kod raznih haredskih podgrupa. Općenito uzevši, spremnost da prihvate "svjetovniji" izgled također ovisi o razini njihove konzervativnosti i o tome kojoj podgrupi Hareda pripadaju. Razlozi zbog kojih svoj izgled trebaju prilagoditi turističkoj sredini dvojake su prirode: prvo, kako bi izbjegli mogućnost da ih netko kao Židove uznemirava u izrazito nežidov-

cy, disassociation from their daily space and ventilation away from the socio-culture pressures prevailing in such a closed and restrictive community life. The extent of such temporary disassociation from their pressuring routine varies according to the type of vacation and their level of conservatism. Hence, while traveling as a couple to distinctively "secular" tourist spaces they can take higher risks and engage more in secular tourism behavior. This permissive behavior, on the other hand, is much more constrained or even impossible when travelling as a family. As Malki (aged 30 and a mother of four) explained:

"...for me a real vacation means traveling to places where I cannot be recognized by members of my community. Our favorite destinations are a five stars hotel in Tel Aviv or a luxurious bed and breakfast accommodation in the North of Israel.. in these places my husband and I feel totally free to do whatever we like without the fear of being sanctioned. It is a magical but temporary jump into a forbidden pool allowing swimming against the current....."

Myth: Haredi traditional outfits are not worn even while traveling

Reality: Due to their visibility problem and the consequent fear of being harassed by local inhabitants, Haredim tend to change their clothes to modern outfits while abroad. This problem exists mainly among men whose different appearance in terms of both unique clothes and hairstyle is much more evident and differs between the various Haredi subgroups. Generally, Haredi willingness to adopt a more "secular" look is also related to their level of conservatism and the Haredi subgroup to which they belong. The reasons for having to adjust their look to the tourist environment are twofold: first, to avoid the possibility of being harassed as a Jew in a distinctively non-Jewish space and, second, their wish to temporarily lose their socio-cultural and religious iden-

skoj sredini te, drugo, zbog njihove želje da privremeno nemaju svoj socio-kulturni i vjerski identitet te da ispune svoje turističke fantazije. Međutim, važno je reći da žene te aspiracije mogu puno lakše ispuniti jer njihovo odjeća nije u toj mjeri drugačija od “normalnog svjetovnog izgleda”. Nitza (30 godina, majka četvero djece) objašnjava:

“...Moj suprug je otišao na poslovni put u Amsterdam, zajedno s pet drugih kolega koji su svi Haredi i puno su stariji od njega. Rekao mi je da su, nakon napornog radnog dana, jeli u košer restoranu u gradu i da ih se potom većina vratila u hotel. On je pak želio obići grad i uživati u njegovim znamenitostima. Dok je šetao, osjetio je da ga njegov haredski izgled tjera na konvencionalno haredsko ponašanje te da ne može uživati u “svjetovnoj” zabavi zbog načina na koji ga drugi ljudi doživljavaju... za njega je to bila izgubljena prilika”.

6. RASPRAVA I SAŽETAK

Način na koji haredske Židove i njihove zajednice percipiraju svjetovni promatrači u velikoj se mjeri zasniva na stereotipima, mitovima i predrasudama (Grylak, 2002; Zicherman, 2014). Takav pristrani pogled može dovesti do stvaranja pretpostavke da, kad je riječ o putovanjima i turizmu, kod ultraortodoksnih vjernika percepciju rizika uvelike oblikuje njihova vjera. Međutim, rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazuju da kod Hareda percepcija rizika koji se odnose na putovanja i turizam predstavlja “vjersko-svjetovni hibrid”. Tako Haredi ne misle da je sve u Božjim rukama, a izlaganjem rizicima vezanima uz turizam upravljaju i kontroliraju ga proaktivnim mjerama zasnovanim na dva načela: “venishmartem”, obavezi da se brinemo, i “hishtadlut”, odgovornosti da budemo proaktivni u poduzimanju mjera opreza. Ta dva pravila proizlaze iz kodeksa ponašanja i sustava normi koji haredske Židove uče da se tako trebaju ponašati od najranije dobi (Mansfeld *et al.*, 2014).

tity, and fulfil their tourist fantasies. However, it is important to note that women can fulfil these aspirations more easily since their attire is not so distinctively different from a “normative secular look”. As (Nitza, aged 30 and a mother of four children) explained:

“... My husband went to Amsterdam for business purposes with five other colleagues, all Haredim and much older than him. He told me that after a long working day, they ate at a strictly Kosher restaurant in the city and then most of them went back to the hotel. He felt curious to visit the city and enjoy its different sites and attractions. While doing so, he felt that his Haredi look restricted him to a conventional Haredi behavior and that he could not indulge in “secular” fun simply because of how people regarded him... for him it was a missed opportunity”.

6. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

The perception of Haredim and their communities by secular observers is based to a large extent on stereotypes, myths and prejudice (Grylak, 2002; Zicherman, 2014). This biased look may also lead to the secular assumption that as ultra-orthodox believers, with respect to travel and tourism, their risk perception construct is dominated by their faith. However, findings of this study show that Haredi risk perception with regard to travel and tourism is a “religio-secular hybrid”. Thus, for Haredim not everything is in the hands of God, and exposure to tourism related risks are also managed and controlled by proactive measures backed by the two directives: “venishmartem” – the obligation to take care and “hishtadlut” – the responsibility to be proactive in taking necessary precautions. These two dictates stem from the code of conduct and norm system educating Haredim to act as such from an early stage in their life (Mansfeld *et al.*, 2014).

Jedna od manifestacija postojećih percepcija rizika kojom se Haredi trebaju pozabaviti prije odlaska na putovanje su preduvjeti koje trebaju ispuniti, a odnose se na njihovo kućanstvo te na uvjete na destinaciji. Stvoren je mit prema kojemu oni nikad ništa ne riskiraju i putuju samo na mjesta na kojima neće biti izloženi nikakvim rizicima i situacijama koje su u suprotnosti s njihovim vrijednostima i normama.

Ustvari, Haredi se doista izlažu rizicima time što putuju van svojih sigurnih sredina. Pošto je riječ o relativno zatvorenoj zajednici, čini se da im je lakše nositi se s percepcijama rizika vezanih uz njihov dom. Percepcije rizika koji se javljaju kad putuju izvan svoje zatvorene sredine mogu predstavljati veliki izazov s obzirom na napore koje trebaju uložiti da na putovanju sve bude u skladu s njihovim vjerskim normama i da očuvaju svoje religijske vrijednosti. Važno je napomenuti da Haredi često za putovanja odabiru uglavnom sekularne turističke sredine. U takvim slučajevima, potreba da se brinu (*venishmartem*) i da u to ulože osobite napore (*hishtadlut*) možda su ključne i zahtijevaju puno više truda oko prikupljanja informacija pri odabiru destinacije. Pošto su zajednica u tranziciji, koja u sebi nosi cijelu paletu vjerskih identiteta, od konzervativnosti do otvorenosti, čini se da mehanizam brige i mjera u kojoj se drže svojih vjerskih zakona mogu varirati (Cahaner, 2014). To može rezultirati odabirom različitih destinacija i usvajanjem raznih oblika turističkog ponašanja koji odražavaju njihovo mjesto na ljestvici između konzervativnosti i modernosti.

Drugi važan mit je da Haredi imaju manje percepcija rizika vezanih uz kućnu logistiku, kad putuju bez djece. Taj mit zasnovan je na svjetovnoj percepciji haredskih Židova kao onih koji žive u zatvorenim zajednicama čiji su članovi predani ideji da jedni drugima pomažu. Međutim, ovo istraživanje pokazuje da su logistički problemi vezani uz putovanja parova veoma veliki. Problem brige oko djece dok su roditelji na putu daleko je veći nego

One of the manifestations of existing risk perceptions that has to be dealt with by Haredim before taking a trip are concerns about prerequisite conditions both at home and at the destination. The myth is that these people will not take risks and will travel only to places that will not expose them to risks and situations that contradict their values and norms.

In fact, Haredim do take risks by traveling outside their destination bubbles. Being a relatively closed community, dealing with risk perceptions related to home seems to be easier to cope with. However, risk perceptions induced by traveling outside their bubble may pose a more challenging situation in terms of the required efforts to tour within their normative religious capsule and maintain their religious values. It is important to note that, in many cases, Haredim opt to vacation in predominantly secular tourist environs. In such cases, the need to take special care (*venishmartem*) and to exert special efforts (*hishtadlut*) may become crucial and require much more information-gathering prior to choosing a destination. Being a community in transition with a range of religious identities between conservatism and openness, one may find that the mechanism of taking special care and the level of adherence to their religious code book may vary (Cahaner, 2014). This may lead to choosing different destinations and performing different tourism behaviors reflecting on their position on the conservatism – modernism stretch.

Another important myth is that Haredim share fewer risk perceptions related to home logistics when traveling without children. This myth is based on the secular perception of Haredim as living in closed communities that generate strong commitments for mutual assistance. However, as discovered in this study, logistical concerns are central to this community when considering the option of couple-based tourism. The concern over who will look after the children is much more ev-

kod svjetovnih obitelji. Razlog su tome problemi koje donose velike obitelji, kakve su mnoge haredske obitelji (Poria *et al.*, 2006; Mansfeld *et al.*, 2014). Konstrukti o posebnim naporima koje treba ulagati u brigu nisu dovoljni da bi uklonili ili ublažili neke percepcije rizika. Očigledno, njihova zajednica trebala bi razviti još mehanizama koji bi izmijenili ili nanovo interpretirali oblike uzajamne brige među njezinim pripadnicima, a kako bi se olakšalo buduće sudjelovanje haretskih Židova u turističkim aktivnostima.

Percepcije zaštite i sigurnosti postale su glavni problem turistima nakon terorističkih napada 11. rujna 2001. (Floyd *et al.*, 2012; Lisle, 2013; Saha i Yap, 2013). Stvoren je mit da će Haredi kao veoma religiozni ljudi u takvim opasnostima vidjeti čin Božje volje, pošto su takvi događaji van njihove kontrole. Međutim, rezultati ovog istraživanja pružaju drugačiju sliku. Haredi su veoma zabrinuti zbog takvih opasnosti i dat će sve od sebe da ih izbjegnu već u preliminarnoj fazi biranja destinacije. U tome su smislu veoma nalik bilo kojim drugim turistima koje takve opasnosti brinu. Ovi rezultati podupiru zaključak do kojeg su došli Mansfeld et al. (2014) prema kojemu su percepcije rizika vezanih uz zaštitu i sigurnost najvažnije percepcije rizika kod haretskih turista. Kod njih se briga za zaštitu i sigurnost ne odnosi samo na vanjske faktore poput terorističkih napada i kriminala. Takve je opasnosti teško predvidjeti i stoga se može smatrati da su one van naše kontrole. Međutim, Haredi često strahuju da i sami mogu postati žrtvom nasilja zbog činjenice da su Židovi, zbog drugačijeg izgleda te uočljivosti kad putuju van svoje lokalne sredine. Haredi tim rizicima upravljaju i ublažavaju ih na dva moguća načina: prvi je ograničavanje izbora destinacija na one koje su posebno oblikovane i namijenjene njima, uglavnom u zapadnoj Europi i u SAD-u. Drugi je prilagođavanje i "maskiranje" njihovog specifičnog vjerskog izgleda kako bi se uklopili u izgled većine ljudi na određenoj destinaciji. U svakom slučaju, potreba da poduzmu te mjere opreza pokazuje ne samo da

ident compared to parallel situations in secular families. This is due to the constraint of large family size characterizing many Haredi families (Poria *et al.*, 2006; Mansfeld *et al.*, 2014). It implies that the constructs of exerting special efforts and taking special care are not enough to eliminate or mitigate some risk perceptions. Apparently, more mechanisms within the community should be developed as changes or new interpretations of mutual assistance in order to facilitate further engagement in tourism activities among Haredim.

Safety and security risk perceptions have become a dominant concern by tourists mainly after the terror events of September 11, 2001 (Floyd *et al.*, 2012; Lisle, 2013; Saha and Yap, 2013). However, with Haredim, being highly religious people, the postulated myth was that since such events are beyond their control, they will categorize such risks as God's will and act. This paper's findings show quite a different picture. Apparently, Haredim are highly concerned with such risks and exert any possible effort to avoid them already in the preliminary stage of destination-choice. In this sense they are definitely similar to any other tourists concerned with such threats. These findings support the conclusions made by Mansfeld et al. (2014) which showed the centrality of safety- and security- induced risk perceptions among Haredi tourists. Note that in the case of Haredim, a concern for safety and security is not generated only by external factors such as terror attacks or criminal acts. These are hard to foresee and thus may be regarded as uncontrollable. However, Haredim themselves often perceive that they, themselves, may be the cause of violent acts against them due to being Jews, their different and distinct appearance, and visibility when traveling outside their local bubble. Managing and mitigating these risks by Haredim is carried out in two possible ways. One is by limiting their travel space to destinations that are specifically designed and allocated for them, mostly in Western Europe and the USA. The

se ne oslanjaju isključivo na Boga, već da su u određenoj mjeri njihove percepcije rizika koje se odnose na zaštitu i sigurnost daleko složenije i zahtjevnije.

Posljednja dva mita odnose se na probleme vezane uz skromnost i njezine manifestacije kod odabira destinacije i odjeće koju nose na odmoru. Istraživanje je pokazalo da je, za razliku od mitova, u stvarnome životu konzervativnost u svim dijelovima haredske zajednice prilično ublažena. Rezultati pokazuju da kod haredskih Židova postoji dualnost s obzirom na razinu modernosti koja je dopuštena u njihovim životima. S jedne strane, društvo im nameće niz ograničenja i ulažu velike napore u to da ograniče sve u čemu vide modernost. Međutim, na osobnoj razini, slično motivacijama drugih turista, u praznicima vide priliku da ispune svoje turističke fantazije. Njih njihove zajednice ne toleriraju, ali oni im često ne mogu odoljeti u trenucima kad traže mir, opuštanje i bijeg od svakodnevne rutine (Klein-Oron, 2005; Zicherman i Cahaner, 2012). Ta dualnost, kao i stupanj u kojem si dopuštaju ponašanja tipična za vrijeme provedeno izvan zajednice, uvelike ovise o tome o kojoj se vrsti turista radi (obitelj ili parovi), o spolu te o društvenoj i osobnoj percepciji njihovog položaja na ljestvici od konzervativnog do modernog identiteta (Cahaner i Mansfeld, 2012; Mansfeld *et al.*, 2014).

7. ZAKLJUČAK

Ovaj rad istražuje pitanje utječu li na turističko ponašanje religioznih ljudi percepcije rizika ili se oni u potpunosti oslanjaju na svoju vjeru u Boga. Konstrukti Božje kazne i zaštite duboko su ukorijenjeni u judaizam, kao i u druge monoteističke religije (Logan, 2002). Ta teološka načela rukovode pozitivnim i negativnim ponašanjima ljudi koji su u potpunosti predani vjeri u Boga. Ona dovede i do stvaranja stereotipa i mitova kod svjetovnih ljudi kad izvana promatraju život religioznih ljudi. Međutim, ovaj rad pokazuje

other is by adjusting and “masking” their unique religious appearance to fit the one prevailing in the destination. In any event, the need to take these precautions shows that not only do they not rely solely on God but that to some extent, their security- and safety-induced risk perceptions are more complicated and demanding.

The two last myths dealt with issues related to modesty and its manifestation in destination choice and in clothes worn while on holiday. The study showed that unlike the myths, in real life keeping conservatism across all Haredi fractions is quite contested. The findings show that there is a duality amongst Haredim with respect to the level of modernity allowed in their life. On the one hand, socially, they are highly restricted and make an effort to restrain what they see as modernity. However, on a personal level, and similar to the motivations of other tourists, they see holidaymaking as an opportunity to fulfil tourist fantasies. These are considered as intolerable by their communities but are often irresistible when seeking peace of mind, relaxation and disassociation from their routine way of life (Klein-Oron, 2005; Zicherman and Cahaner, 2012). This duality as well as the degrees of allowing out-of-the-bubble behavior are strongly related to the type of performed tourism (family-based or couple-based), gender and the social and personal perception of their position on the conservative – modern identity stretch (Cahaner and Mansfeld, 2012; Mansfeld *et al.*, 2014).

7. CONSLUSION

The dilemma raised in this paper asks whether religious people’s tourism behavior is affected by risk perceptions or if they fully rely on their faith in God. In Judaism, as in other monotheistic faiths, the constructs of God’s punishment and protection are deeply embedded (Logan, 2002). These theological principles put the control over positive and negative behaviors among people fully in

da u stvarnosti, uz ta teološka načela, religiozni ljudi slijede i kodeks ponašanja koji dio odgovornosti za posljedice prenosi na njih same.

Tako se haredski turisti brinu i zbog rizika vezanih uz njihov dom i zbog onih vezanih uz destinaciju. Međutim, zanimljivo je da kad planiraju praznike i odlaze na turističko putovanje, brige zbog mogućih rizika rijetko uključuju one vezane uz vjeru. Razlog je tome činjenica da ti rizici neizbježno postoje te da podrazumijevaju obavezne i bezuvjetne pripreme. Međutim, te "bezuovjetne pripreme" postale su nešto fleksibilnije. Kako su ustanovili Mansfeld i Cahaner (2012), ta fleksibilnost kod poštivanja "bezuovjetnih pravila" koja eliminiraju putne rizike vezane uz vjeru uvelike ovisi o vrsti putovanja na koje Haredi idu – putovanje u paru ili obiteljsko putovanje.

I na kraju, može se zaključiti da, usprkos tome što su ultrareligiozni, Haredi imaju i "svjetovne" percepcije putnih rizika i one vjerskog porijekla. Nadalje, istraživanjem se otkrilo i da, s obzirom na percepcije rizika vezanih uz logistiku, Haredi možda imaju i više briga od svjetovnih turista. Stoga ono što sekularni turisti smatraju običnom, gotovo trivijalnom percepcijom rizika, Haredi vide kao veliki, čak i ključan problem zbog veličine njihovih obitelji i relativno lošeg ekonomskog statusa.

Iz navedenoga treba izvesti dva zaključka: prvi je da treba dodatno istražiti raspon i relativnu važnost percipiranih rizika kod specifičnih tržišnih segmenata kako bi se ustanovilo u kojoj mjeri posebne kulture te njihove vrijednosti i norme oblikuju skupine percepcija rizika kod njihovih turista. To će nam omogućiti da bolje razumijemo jesu li percepcije rizika koje utječu na izbor destinacija i ponašanje turista vezano uz putovanja prvenstveno univerzalne ili specifične. Drugi je taj da na konkurentnost u turizmu mogu utjecati razumijevanje jedinstvenog spoja trenutnih percepcija rizika vezanih uz specifične tržišne segmente

the hands of God. As such, they have also generated stereotypes and myths prevailing among secular people who observe the life of religious people from outside. In practice however, as shown in this paper, together with this theological principle, religious people are also involving code of conduct that transfers some of the responsibility of the consequences upon themselves.

Thus, Haredi tourists are concerned both with home-induced and destination-induced risks. It is interesting, however, that when planning and undertaking a tourist trip such risk concerns hardly involve religiously related risks. This is because these risks are considered as pre-requisites, which involve compulsory and uncompromising prearrangements. However, these "uncompromising prearrangements" have become somewhat flexible. As Mansfeld and Cahaner (2012) found, this flexible adherence to "uncompromising rules" eliminating religious related risks when traveling are largely dependent on the form of trip the Haredi tourists take – couple based or family based.

Finally, it may be concluded that despite being ultra-religious, Haredim share both "secular" and religion-induced travel-related risk perceptions. Furthermore, the study also revealed that with respect to logistically oriented risk perceptions Haredim may be even more concerned than secular tourists. Thus, what might be regarded as a common, almost trivial, travel-related risk perception among secular tourists is magnified by the Haredim and becomes even crucial thanks to their family size and relatively low economic status.

Two lessons should be drawn from the above conclusions. The first is that the array and relative importance of perceived risks among specific market segments should be further studied in order to reveal to what extent specific cultures and their derivative values and norms form their tourists' set of risk perceptions. This will allow better understanding if risk perceptions are primarily universal or rather unique sets that differently

i sposobnost turizma da ih ublaži ponudom rješenja prilagođenih proizvodima u destinacijama.

shape those tourists' destination choice and travel behavior. The second lesson is that the level of competitiveness in tourism may also be influenced by the industry's understanding of the unique blend of actual risk perceptions associated with specific market segments and its ability to mitigate them by providing destination-based tailor-made solutions.

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