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# Comparative analysis of Jewish heritage tourism research methods

## Komparativna analiza metoda istraživanja turizma židovske baštine

Jewish heritage tourism is a relatively new form of niche tourism which appeared in Europe in the 1990s, because of a renewed understanding of cultural and historical values of Jewish heritage. By its inclusion in tourism, Jewish heritage has become a visible component in destinations, which has led to the renovation of synagogues, opening of Jewish museums, organization of festivals, and also to the gentrification of neglected Jewish quarters in many European cities. The goal of this paper is to analyse the most common methods, selection of stakeholders, elements, research locations and spatial scope used in studies of Jewish heritage tourism. The analysis includes 28 scientific papers from databases and focuses on the research methods used in those papers. The results show that the most common methods used in studies of Jewish heritage tourism are content analysis and interviews. These methods have proven to be suitable for determining the state and representation of Jewish heritage in each destination, while for a higher level of integration of Jewish heritage in tourism, other methods are more appropriate.

**Key words:** Jewish heritage tourism, cultural tourism, research methods, Jews, Europe

Turizam židovske baštine novi je nišni oblik turizma koji se javlja u Europi od 1990-ih kao posljedica ponovnoga shvaćanja kulturne i povijesne vrijednosti židovske baštine. Uključivanjem u turizam židovska baština postaje vidljiva destinacijska komponenta te dolazi do obnavljanja sinagoga, otvaranja židovskih muzeja, organizacija festivala, ali i gentrifikacije zapuštenih židovskih četvrti u mnogim europskim gradovima. Cilj je rada analizirati najčešće korištene metode, odabir dionika, elemenata, lokaciju istraživanja te prostorni obuhvat u istraživanjima turizma židovske baštine. Analiza je obuhvatila 28 znanstvenih radova iz baza podataka, pri čemu su analizirane korištene istraživačke metode. Rezultati su pokazali da su najčešće korištene metode u proučavanju turizma židovske baštine analiza sadržaja i metoda intervjua. Te su se metode pokazale prikladnima za utvrđivanje stanja i zastupljenosti židovske baštine u nekoj destinaciji, dok je za viši stupanj integriranosti židovske baštine u turizmu prikladnije koristiti druge metode.

**Ključne riječi:** turizam židovske baštine, kulturni turizam, metode istraživanja, Židovi, Europa

## INTRODUCTION

During the period after Second World War, and until the fall of communism, little to no attention was paid to Jewish heritage, especially as it relates to tourism. Starting in the 1990s, its historical and cultural value began to be acknowledged, which is when both Jewish heritage and the Holocaust became a recognizable part of national and local histories, regardless of whether any local Jewish communities were present or not. Jewish heritage in Europe represents 'the legacy of a minority, which either disappeared, in some cases even centuries ago, or is now represented by small groups of people with high median age and advanced degrees of assimilation' (Corsale, 2017). Material Jewish heritage was once part of the European urban space, while today it is unused and often represents a problem for the local community. The problems that appear in this context are unresolved property issues, decision-making regarding the person/body responsible for the heritage, payment of upkeep fees for graves with no descendants, etc. European Jewish communities are usually too small to maintain such infrastructure, which poses the question of what to do with such heritage, and also who should manage it. A solution may lie in tourism valorisation because, in this way, the heritage may be preserved and protected. Accordingly, the Council of Europe included sustainability of Jewish heritage as a cultural priority. There is also the European Route of Jewish Heritage program within the European Cultural Route managed by AEPJ (The European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture and Heritage) (AEPJ, 2022). Under the influence of tourism diversification, a new form of niche tourism appeared—Jewish heritage tourism—in many European destinations. As a result, scientific research has also begun on this topic.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse most common methods used in the research of Jewish heritage tourism, together with their advantages and disadvantages. Apart from methods, the paper includes choice of stakeholders, elements, research locations and spatial scope. Jewish heritage tourism as a topic is quite new, but considering that there is already a considerable amount of papers, the need for a comparative analysis of the research that has been conducted to date has emerged.

## UVOD

U razdoblju nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata sve do pada komunističkih režima na europsku se židovsku baštinu nije obraćala pažnja pa je ona često bila zanemarena. Nakon 1990-ih počinje se shvaćati njezina povijesna i kulturna vrijednost, kad i židovska baština i Holokaust postaju prepoznatljivi dio nacionalnih i lokalnih povijesti, neovisno o tome postoje li i dalje židovske zajednice ili su u potpunosti nestale. Židovska baština u Europi predstavlja „nasljeđe manjine koja je ili nestala, u nekim slučajevima i prije nekoliko stoljeća, ili je danas predstavljaju male skupine ljudi visoke dobi i s višim stupnjem asimilacije” (Corsale, 2017). Materijalna židovska baština nekada je bila dio europskih urbanih prostora, dok je danas neiskorištena i često je problem lokalnoj zajednici. Problemi koji se javljaju odnose se na neriješene imovinsko-pravne odnose, donošenje odluke tko bi se trebao brinuti o toj baštini, plaćanje grobarina za grobove bez potomaka i slično. Europske židovske zajednice nerijetko su premale za održavanje takve infrastrukture te se postavlja pitanje što učiniti s takvom baštinom, ali i tko bi trebao njome upravljati. Jedan od načina jest turistička valorizacija jer se time ona može očuvati i zaštititi. Tako je, primjerice, Vijeće Europe uključilo održivost židovske baštine kao kulturni prioritet. Postoji i program Europske rute židovske baštine unutar europske kulturne rute koji vodi AEPJ (Europsko udruženje za očuvanje i promicanje židovske kulture i baštine) (AEPJ, 2022). Pod utjecajem diversifikacije turizma pojavio se novi nišni oblik turizma – turizam židovske baštine koji je danas prisutan u mnogim europskim destinacijama pa se u skladu s time počinju provoditi i znanstvena istraživanja.

Cilj je ovoga rada analizirati najčešće korištene metode u istraživanjima turizma židovske baštine, zajedno s njihovim prednostima i nedostacima, a osim samih metoda uključuje odabir dionika, elemenata, lokaciju istraživanja te prostorni obuhvat. Tema turizma židovske baštine dosta je nova, ali budući da postoji već dovoljno radova, ukazala se potreba za komparativnom analizom dosad provedenih istraživanja.

In the introduction, terms and approaches related to the research of Jewish heritage tourism valorisation are defined. The central part of the paper presents the main and most common methods used for the research of Jewish heritage tourism. The conclusion presents the advantages and disadvantages of the research methods used.

## Methodology

The comparative analysis includes searching for scientific papers related to studies directly dealing with Jewish heritage tourism or certain elements of Jewish heritage used for tourism purposes. The search was made using web-based search engines in the EBSCO, Scopus and Web of Science international databases. During the search, the following keywords were used: *Jewish heritage tourism*, *Jewish tourism*. The search conducted in the databases identified a total of 129 papers. The first stage of the search identified papers which were published in English, dealt with Jewish heritage tourism (not Jewish tourism in Israel), and were scientific papers or chapters in a book. Recurring papers in database searches were excluded. The total number of papers corresponding to the given criteria is 28. The search was conducted in February 2022. The temporal scope of the papers spans from the 1990s (Jewish heritage tourism was not a subject of scientific interest, nor was it a common practice, prior to this) to the time of writing.

## Definition and Development of Jewish Heritage Tourism

### Dissonant Heritage

Nearly every country possesses an ethnic or cultural heritage which differs from the ethnicity/culture and heritage of the majority population, and which is called minority heritage. Such heritage developed because of migrations during history. Minority heritage which contains 'conflictual feelings, tension, or discordance with regard to presentation of structures or symbols associated with a culture or religion which is not your own' is called dissonant heritage (Petrevska

U uvodnom dijelu definirat će se pojmovi i pristupi vezani uz područje istraživanja turističke valorizacije židovske baštine. Središnji dio rada prikazuje najvažnije i najčešće korištene metode pri istraživanju turizma židovske baštine. U zaključku će se prikazati prednosti i nedostaci korištenih istraživačkih metoda.

## Metodologija rada

Komparativna analiza obuhvaća pretraživanje znanstvenih radova čija se istraživanja izravno bave turizmom židovske baštine ili nekim elementom židovske baštine u turističke svrhe. Pretraživanje je provedeno pomoću mrežnih tražilica u međunarodnim bazama podataka EBSCO, Scopus i Web of Science. Prilikom pretraživanja korištene su sljedeće ključne riječi: *Jewish heritage tourism*, *Jewish tourism*. Pretraživanje u objema bazama izdvojilo je ukupno 129 radova. Nakon prve faze pretrage izdvojeni su radovi koji su objavljeni na engleskom jeziku i koji se bave turizmom židovske baštine (a ne židovskim turizmom u Izraelu), a posrijedi su znanstveni članci ili poglavlja u knjizi. Isključeni su radovi koji se ponavljaju u pretragama baza. Konačni je broj radova koji odgovaraju danim kriterijima 28. Pretraživanje radova provedeno je u veljači 2022. godine. Vremenski obuhvat radova prati se od 1990-ih jer turizam židovske baštine kao takav nije prije bio prepoznat ni u praksi ni u znanstvenim istraživanjima.

## Definiranje i razvoj turizma židovske baštine

### Disonantna baština

Gotovo svaka država posjeduje baštinu koja se izdvaja od kulture i baštine većinskoga stanovništva i naziva se manjinska baština, a nastala je kao posljedica migracija stanovništva kroz povijest. Baština manjina koja sadržava „sukobljene osjećaje, napetost ili nesklad s obzirom na prezentaciju simbola povezanih s kulturom ili religijom koja nije vlastita” naziva se disonantna baština (Petrevska et al., 2018). Smatra se da će

et al., 2018). Interpretation and management of heritage is considered to be dissonant if various groups ascribe different narratives or values to a certain object, locality or tradition. A critical approach towards minority heritage tourism, and thus towards dissonant heritage tourism, is encouraged, since it is considered that dominant groups assert their own heritage and vision of which elements make up the minority heritage. Questions are posed regarding what happens with dissonant heritage when it is under the influence of such a dominant group (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Dragičević Šešić et al., 2014; Corsale, 2021). The issue of minority heritage is sensitive in current or formerly multi-cultural areas where multiple identities interweave. In the context of dissonant heritage, the focus is on its interpretation, message and meaning, and on the reactions thereto (Corsale, 2021). Jewish heritage in Europe is a minority and dissonant heritage.

### Jewish Heritage Tourism

Until the Second World War, Jewish people had a major influence on the economic, cultural and social aspects of life in Europe. Political decisions in Germany during the 1930s began undermining Europe's Jewish communities, which resulted in the collapse of most of them. After the Second World War, apart from human casualties, much material Jewish heritage, such as synagogues and graveyards, was destroyed, but some remained. From 1945 until the fall of communist regimes at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, not much attention was given to Jewish heritage—either to its preservation and protection or tourism valorisation—and due to this, examples of neglect and sale of property or land are not uncommon. In this period, Jewish heritage had almost no tourism role, except several famous places: the old Jewish area in Prague, the synagogue in the Venetian ghetto, and the Ancient Judería of Toledo (Sandri, 2013). The first hints of Jewish heritage tourism appeared in Morocco, where attention had been given to Jewish heritage since the 1970s, via better media coverage, scientific and literary publications, renovation of old synagogues and graveyards, and establishing a marketing for specialized Jewish heritage tours. Today, in Morocco, special Jewish heritage tours are of-

tumačenje i upravljanje baštinom biti disonantno kad različite skupine pripišu različite narative ili vrijednosti određenom objektu, krajoliku ili tradiciji. Potiče se kritički pristup turizmu manjinske baštine, a time i disonantne baštine, jer se smatra da dominantne skupine nameću vlastitu baštinu i određuju koji će elementi činiti manjinsku baštinu, pri čemu se raspravlja što se događa s disonantnom baštinom kad je naslijedi (upravo takva) dominantna skupina (Tunbridge i Ashworth, 1996; Dragičević Šešić i dr., 2014; Corsale, 2021). Pitanje manjinskih baština osjetljivo je u sadašnjim ili bivšim multikulturalnim prostorima gdje se isprepleće više identiteta. Kod disonantne baštine naglasak je na njezinoj interpretaciji, kakva je poruka i značenje te kakve su reakcije (Corsale, 2021). Jedna od manjinskih i disonantnih baština jest i židovska baština.

### Turizam židovske baštine

Židovi su do Drugoga svjetskog rata imali velik utjecaj u gospodarskom, kulturnom i društvenom aspektu života Europe. Političkim odlukama u Njemačkoj 1930-ih započelo je njihovo uništavanje koje je rezultiralo propašću većine europskih zajednica. Nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, osim ljudskih žrtava, uništen je i velik dio materijalne židovske baštine, poput sinagoga i groblja, no ipak je ostalo izgrađenoga židovskog nasljeđa. U razdoblju od 1945. do pada komunističkih režima krajem 1980-ih i početkom 1990-ih na židovsku se baštinu nije obraćalo puno pažnje – od očuvanja i zaštite do turističke valorizacije – stoga nisu rijetki primjeri zanemarivanja i prodaje objekata ili zemljišta. U tom razdoblju baština gotovo da i nema turističku svrhu, osim nekih poznatih mjesta kao što su staro židovsko područje Praga, sinagoge u venecijanskom getu, antička juderija iz Toleda (Sandri, 2013). Prve naznake turizma židovske baštine javljaju se u Maroku, gdje se od 1970-ih posvećuje pažnja židovskoj baštini porastom medijske pokrivenosti, znanstvenih i književnih publikacija, obnovom starih sinagoga i groblja, uspostavom marketinga specijaliziranih tura i sl. Danas se u Maroku

fered, including various sites such as renovated synagogues and graveyards, the Jewish quarter, the Jewish Museum etc. (Soussi, 2020). In Europe, interest for Jewish heritage appeared later, in the 1980s, with the first Jewish heritage tours being offered in Spain (Krakover, 2013), while in the rest of the Europe, the first tours appeared on the market in the 1990s. After the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, Jewish heritage and the Holocaust became a part of national and local histories. Under the influence of tourism diversification, a new form of niche tourism within heritage tourism appeared: Jewish heritage tourism. The term was first used by Ashworth (1996) within the context of dissonant heritage. With its inclusion in tourism, Jewish culture became a visible component of heritage and identity. The reasons for increased interest in material Jewish heritage are the following: as a consequence of long-term guilt or unease related to history (dark tourism), and stereotyped nostalgia (Dulska, 2020). Parallel to this phenomenon, there has also been an increase in antisemitism, especially in countries that have not yet fully accepted historical accountability for Holocaust collaboration (Belarus, Croatia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Romania) (Corsale, 2017). The book *Virtually Jewish* (Gruber, 2002) was the first to point out a renewed interest in Jewish heritage in European countries, highlighting the development of Jewish heritage sites by other nationalities in the absence of Jewish people.

Since the end of the 1990s, many synagogues have been renovated or reconstructed, Jewish museums and exhibitions have been opened, Holocaust monuments and/or memorials have been built, films and novels have been produced, Jewish festivals have been organized, etc. (Corsale, 2017). Much that is perceived as being linked to or part of Jewish culture has become popular (Sandri, 2013). Jewish guides, brochures, Jewish heritage maps, posters and other materials have been published, and travel agencies specialized for Jewish tours opened. Jewish quarters that have become tourist attractions in the context of gentrification, such as in Seville, Cordoba, Venice, Budapest, Prague, Krakow, Lublin and Vilnius. Jewish museums have been opened in Berlin, Frankfurt, Warsaw, Moscow, Vienna, Paris, Munich, Copenhagen, Thessaloniki, and Budapest. Holocaust sites are also frequently visited (Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018).

nude posebne ture židovske baštine koje uključuju razna mjesta poput obnovljenih sinagoga i groblja, židovske četvrti, židovskoga muzeja itd. (Soussi, 2020). U Europi se interes za židovsku baštinu javlja tek 1980-ih s ponudom prvih židovskih tura u Španjolskoj (Krakover, 2013), dok u ostatku Europe od 1990-ih. Nakon pada komunizma u Srednjoj i Istočnoj Europi židovska baština i Holokaust postaju dio nacionalnih i lokalnih povijesti. Pod utjecajem diversifikacije turizma javlja se novi nišni oblik turizma unutar turizma baštine, a to je turizam židovske baštine (engl. *Jewish Heritage Tourism*). Pojam je prvi upotrijebio Ashworth (1996) u okviru disonantne baštine. Uključivanjem u turizam židovska je kultura postala vidljiva sastavnica baštine i identiteta. Razlozi su porasta interesa za materijalnu židovsku baštinu dvojaki: posljedica dugotrajne krivnje ili nelagode prema prošlosti (mračni turizam) te stereotipna nostalgija (Dulska, 2020). Paralelno s ovom pojavom javlja se i porast antisemitizma, posebice u zemljama koje još nisu prihvatile odgovornost lokalnih suradnika u Holokaustu (Bjelorusija, Hrvatska, Litva, Ukrajina, Rumunjska) (Corsale, 2017). Knjiga „Virtually Jewish” (Gruber, 2002) prva upućuje na ponovni interes za židovsku baštinu u europskim zemljama pri čemu se naglašava razvoj mjesta židovske baštine od drugih državljana u odsutnosti Židova.

Krajem 1990-ih diljem Europe dolazi do obnavljanja ili rekonstrukcije sinagoga, otvaranja židovskih muzeja i izložbi, izgradnje memorijalnih spomenika i/ili spomen-obilježja Holokausta, produkcije filmova i romana, organizacija židovskih festivala i slično (Corsale, 2017). Sve ono što se percipira kao židovska kultura postaje popularno (Sandri, 2013). Objavljuju se židovski vodiči, brošure, karte židovske baštine, plakati i drugi materijali te se otvaraju turističke agencije specijalizirane za židovske ture. Židovske četvrti koje su u okviru gentrifikacije postale turističke atrakcije nalaze se u Sevilli, Cordobi, Veneciji, Budimpešti, Pragu, Krakovu, Lublinu, Vilniusu. Otvaraju se židovski muzeji u Berlinu, Frankfurtu, Varšavi, Moskvi, Beču, Parizu, Münchenu, Kopenhagenu, Solunu, Budimpešti. Posjećuju se i mjesta Holokausta (Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018).

When defining Jewish heritage tourism, it is important to specify what Jewish heritage includes, in order to determine which elements a given destination contains. Elements forming Jewish heritage are the following: a Jewish quarter, a Jewish Museum, a synagogue, a local Jewish persona who lived in the town in the past, other minor objects, a square or a street bearing the name of a Jewish person, a Jewish graveyard, monuments, memorials (Krakover, 2013; Sandri, 2013). Jewish culture also includes Jewish art exhibitions, traditional music concerts, restaurants (Sandri, 2013). Places of Jewish heritage are characterized by being located outside of Israel and they are also automatically places of a national minority culture; that minority is frequently non-existent or consists of a small group of Holocaust survivors or their descendants; the central heritage object (typically a synagogue) is often situated in a small and unremarkable building and there are also smaller monuments related to Jewish culture: graveyards, Jewish streets and quarters, Holocaust memorials, and other symbols (Krakover, 2017).

Most authors agree that Jewish heritage tourism falls within cultural tourism; however, depending on the (Jewish) history of a certain country, it may develop within religious, heritage, memorial, minority, dark, and diaspora tourism. Jewish heritage tourism is also manifested as mass tourism (through concentration camp tourism or Holocaust tourism) and alternative tourism (such as walking routes) (Soussi, 2020). Today, Jewish heritage tourism is present in many European destinations. Examples of successful tourism destinations of this type are Prague and Krakow. During the last decade, Jewish heritage tourism has become a successful branch of the European tourism sector (Dulska, 2020). With further development of this type of tourism, accompanying services have also been developed to maintain growing demand and allow value to be kept in the region: Jewish-themed souvenirs, shops, kosher restaurants, and cafés have become part of the tourism supply (Dinis and Krakover, 2016). They are characterized by the fact that they are usually managed by non-Jews (Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018). The Jewish heritage tourism market primarily consists of all the Jewish people in the world (16 million) (Dinis and Krakover, 2016). The structure of visitors of Jewish heritage, however, consists of both Jewish and non-Jewish tourists (Duda-Seifert and Kajdanek,

Prilikom definiranja turizma židovske baštine važno je spomenuti što sve obuhvaća židovska baština da bi se moglo odrediti koje elemente sadržava određena destinacija. Elementi koji čine židovsku baštinu su: židovska četvrt, židovski muzej, sinagoga, lokalna židovska osoba, drugi manji predmeti, trg ili ulica nazvani po židovskoj osobi, židovsko groblje, spomenici, spomen-ploče (Krakover, 2013; Sandri, 2013). Židovska kultura obuhvaća i izložbe židovske umjetnosti, koncerte tradicionalne glazbe, restorane (Sandri, 2013). Obilježja mjesta židovske baštine su ova: nalaze se izvan Izraela (automatski su mjesta i kultura nacionalne manjine), ta manjina često je nepostojeća ili je to mala skupina preživjelih odnosno potomaka, središnja baština (sinagoga) najčešće je smještena u maloj i neuglednoj zgradi, postoje manji spomenici vezani uz židovsku kulturu: groblja, židovske ulice i četvrti, spomen-obilježja Holokausta i drugi simboli (Krakover, 2017).

Većina autora slaže se da se turizam židovske baštine razvija u okviru kulturnoga turizma, ali ovisno o povijesti Židova neke države može se razvijati u okvirima vjerskoga, baštinskoga, memorijalnoga, manjinskoga, mračnoga i iseljeničkoga turizma. Turizam židovske baštine očituje se i kao masovni turizam (turizam koncentracijskih logora ili turizam Holokausta) i kao alternativni turizam (poput pješačkih tura) (Soussi, 2020). Danas je turizam židovske baštine prisutan u mnogim europskim destinacijama, a primjeri uspješnih turističkih destinacija ovoga oblika turizma su Prag i Krakov. Tijekom posljednjega desetljeća postao je uspješna grana europskoga turističkog sektora (Dulska, 2020). Daljnjim razvojem ovoga oblika turizma razvijaju se prateće usluge da bi se održala rastuća potražnja i omogućilo zadržavanje vrijednosti u regiji: nude se suveniri sa židovskom tematikom, trgovine, košer restorani i kafići (Dinis i Krakover, 2016). Karakteristično im je da ih uglavnom vode nežidovi (Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018). Primarno tržište turizma židovske baštine čine svi Židovi u svijetu (16 milijuna) (Dinis i Krakover, 2016). Strukturu posjetitelja židovske baštine čine židovski i nežidovski turisti (Duda-Seifert

2017). Both groups want to visit and experience the specific ambient of Jewish quarters, while their interests may be based on art and/or architecture. The difference is that non-Jewish tourists have a weaker emotional connection to the places they visit, while Jewish tourists may wish to visit places with which they have familial ties, i.e. genealogy tourism. The re-discovery of Jewish heritage and culture comes mostly from non-Jewish people, which is precisely what has led to an inner Jewish discovery of European roots and heritage (Corsale, 2017).

In academic literature in English, Jewish heritage tourism has not been given much attention (Krakover, 2012), but several authors dealing with this topic stand out: John Ashworth (1996), Andrea Corsale (2017; 2021), Noga Collins-Kreiner (2004), Magdalena Duda-Seifert (2016; 2021), Ruth Ellen Gruber (2002), Shaul Krakover (2012; 2013; 2017), Jeffrey Podoshen (2011; 2015; 2017). Study areas in scientific papers are cities in which the Jewish population was significant before the Second World War, but has since largely or completely disappeared. Research is conducted regarding the measure in which Jewish heritage is used for tourism purposes in various cities, and the factors it depends upon in the context of cultural and heritage tourism. Most papers deal with the potential and models of Jewish heritage revitalisation for the purpose of tourism, as the most important factor (Sandri, 2013). Research shows that there is an awareness of the cultural and economic potential of this heritage (Corsale, 2017), where Jewish heritage may be an important segment of tourism in a destination, but it is only rarely a driving factor of local growth (Spain and Portugal) (Dinis and Krakover, 2016). European cities with rich Jewish heritage work on a diversification of tourist products, where they see cultural and tourism potential in Jewish heritage. However, certain cities lack recognizable Jewish buildings or museums. For instance, the synagogues located in Zagreb and Osijek were demolished (Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018). The Zagreb Synagogue in Praška Street was demolished from October 1941 to the beginning of 1942, while the Osijek Synagogue in Upper Town was burned down in April 1941 and demolished in 1950 (Karač, 2020). Scientific papers imply that Jewish communities are not able to maintain a central role in decision-making, which leads to a discussion regarding who will manage Jewish heritage, since European Jewish communities,

i Kajdanek, 2017). Obje skupine žele posjetiti i doživjeti specifičan ambijent židovskih četvrti, a interes može biti umjetnički i/ili arhitektonski. Razlika je u tome što nežidovski turisti imaju manje emocionalne veze s mjestima koja posjećuju, dok židovski turisti žele posjetiti mjesta s kojima su obiteljski povezani (genealoški turizam). Ponovno otkriće židovske baštine i kulture dolazi najviše od nežidova, a upravo je to dovelo do unutarnjega židovskog otkrivanja europskih korijena i baštine (Corsale, 2017).

U akademskoj literaturi na engleskom jeziku turizam židovske baštine još nije dobio veliku pažnju (Krakover, 2012), ali se ističe nekoliko autora koji se bave ovom tematikom: John Ashworth (1996), Andrea Corsale (2017; 2021), Noga Collins-Kreiner (2004), Magdalena Duda-Seifert (2016; 2021), Ruth Ellern Gruber (2002), Shaul Krakover (2012; 2013; 2017), Jeffrey Podoshen (2011; 2015; 2017). Područje istraživanja u znanstvenim radovima uglavnom su gradovi u kojima je (gotovo) nestala židovska populacija, a prije Drugoga svjetskog rata bila je važna. Istražuje se u kojoj se mjeri židovska baština koristi u turističke svrhe u različitim gradovima te o čemu ovisi u kontekstu kulturnoga i baštinskoga turizma. Većina radova posvećuje se mogućnostima i modelima revitalizacije židovske baštine u svrhu turizma kao najvažnijem čimbeniku (Sandri, 2013). Istraživanja pokazuju da postoji svijest o kulturnom i ekonomskom potencijalu ove baštine (Corsale, 2017) koja može biti važan segment turizma destinacije, ali su rijetki primjeri gdje je pokretač lokalnoga razvoja (Španjolska i Portugal) (Dinis i Krakover, 2016). Europski gradovi s bogatom židovskom baštinom rade na diverzifikaciji turističkoga proizvoda, vidjevši tu baštinu kao kulturni i turistički potencijal. Međutim, pojedinim gradovima nedostaju prepoznatljive židovske građevine ili muzej, primjerice u Zagrebu i Osijeku sinagoge su srušene (Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018). Zagrebačka sinagoga u Praškoj ulici rušena je od listopada 1941. do početka 1942. godine, dok je gornjogradska osječka sinagoga spaljena u travnju 1941., a potpuno srušena 1950. godine (Karač, 2020). U radovima se implicira da židovske zajednice nisu u stanju zadržati središnju ulogu u donošenju odluka pri čemu dolazi do rasprave tko će upravljati židovskom baštinom jer se ionako male

which are already small, are shrinking. Motivations for the preservation of Jewish heritage are examined (Petrevska et al., 2018), while there is a small amount of research dedicated to the analysis of tourists/visitors visiting Jewish heritage sites (Russo and Romagosa, 2010; Soussi, 2020).

The development of Jewish heritage tourism may lead to commodification, hierarchisation, seizure of property, marginalisation and incorrect interpretation, while simultaneously it may provide an opportunity for economic diversification, rediscovery of the past, acceptance of cultural differences, and inclusion of minority groups (Corsale and Krakover, 2019). It is considered that Jewish heritage and places of suffering should not be used in a manner identical to other tourist attractions, since this may lead to so-called pseudo nostalgia, which can lead to historical inaccuracies, false memory, and commodification (Gruber, 2002). Although memory and commemoration should be more important than entertainment, examples of commodification of Jewish heritage are common in Germany and Poland, where Jewish quarters have become so-called theme parks, unlike Sephardic heritage, which is nowadays promoted as entertainment (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). On the one hand, heritage is commercialised in Poland and Germany, while in Mediterranean cities, there has been a revitalisation of Jewish heritage.

Growing Jewish heritage tourism poses two main issues. The first is a '(striking) absence of Jews in presumably Jewish spaces, which turns Jewish quarters into something of a theme park for non-Jews and may evoke painful thoughts of their ancestor's fate for Jews' (Dulska, 2020), which refers to the visits of the descendants of victims and/or survivors of the Holocaust when visiting the cities of their ancestors. The other issue is that such places are subject to visual homogenisation (Dulska, 2020). There are both advantages and disadvantages to the revitalisation and commodification of Jewish heritage. The advantage is that the revitalisation of Jewish heritage has turned deteriorating and forgotten quarters into lively and cosmopolitan urban spaces in many European cities. The disadvantage is a "Disneyfication" of Jewish culture—a phenomenon called "Jewish Disneyland" by Gruber. It manifests as Jewish-style restaurants, signs in the Hebrew language or script, Jewish decorative mo-

europske židovske zajednice još smanjuju. Istražuje se i motivacija za očuvanje židovske baštine (Petrevska et al., 2018), dok je manji broj istraživanja posvećen analizi turista/posjetitelja koji posjećuju mjesta židovske baštine (Russo i Romagosa, 2010; Soussi, 2020).

Razvoj turizma židovske baštine može dovesti do komodifikacije, hijerarhizacije, oduzimanja vlasništva, marginalizacije i pogrešne interpretacije, dok istodobno može postati prilika za ekonomsku diverzifikaciju, ponovno otkrivanje prošlosti, prihvaćanje kulturnih raznolikosti i uključivanje manjinskih skupina (Corsale i Krakover, 2019). Smatra se da se židovska baština i mjesta stradanja ne smiju koristiti identično kao ostale turističke atrakcije jer može dovesti do tzv. pseudonostalgije koja zatim dovodi do povijesnih netočnosti, lažnoga sjećanja i komodifikacije (Gruber 2002). Iako se nalaže da sjećanje i komemoracija trebaju biti ispred zabave, česti su primjeri komodifikacije židovske baštine u Njemačkoj i Poljskoj, gdje židovske četvrti postaju tzv. tematski parkovi, za razliku od sefardske baštine koja se danas promovira kao zabava (Tunbridge i Ashworth, 1996). S jedne strane baština se komercijalizira u Poljskoj i Njemačkoj, dok u mediteranskim gradovima dolazi do revitalizacije židovske baštine.

Dva su glavna problema rastućega turizma židovske baštine. Jedan je „(zapanjujuća) odsutnost Židova u židovskim prostorima gdje nekadašnje židovske četvrti postaju tzv. tematski parkovi, a može izazvati bolna sjećanja na pretke” (Dulska, 2020), što se odnosi na posjete potomaka stradalih i/ili preživjelih u Holokaustu prilikom posjeta gradovima predaka. Drugi je problem u tome što su ta mjesta podložna homogenizaciji u pogledu izgleda (Dulska, 2020). Revitalizacija i komodifikacija židovske baštine može imati pozitivne i negativne strane. Pozitivna je strana da je revitalizacija židovske baštine u mnogim europskim gradovima pretvorila propadajuće i zaboravljene četvrti u živopisne i kozmopolitanske urbane prostore. Negativna je strana *diznifikacija* židovske kulture – pojava koju je Gruber nazvala „židovski Disneyland”, a manifestira se u vidu restorana u židovskom stilu, znakova na hebrejskom jeziku ili hebrejskom pismu, židovskih motiva u



tives, Jewish motives in names of dishes, etc. (Gruber, 2002). Salamensky (2013) speaks of the Disney diaspora, of which there are two types: *Jewface* (includes music, dancing, and the theatre, where non-Jewish people “become” Jewish) and *Jewfacade* (includes museum-type objects) (Smith and Zátori, 2015). Research conducted by Podoshen and Hunt (2011) showed that Jewish people find visiting the actual site too painful and that it is wrong that the profit from Holocaust sites goes to those partially responsible for the Holocaust.

The transformation of previous Jewish life and culture into heritage is done according to symbolic expectations and cultural requirements of non-Jewish people; efforts are made regarding tourist products, diversification, and the development of destinations (Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018). The potential of Jewish heritage tourism is huge and, by facing the past, it contributes to the preservation of heritage (Corsale, 2017). Jewish heritage as a tourist attraction may be included as a new form of tourism or as an extension of the existing tourism supply. The basic form of Jewish heritage development for tourism purposes was proposed by Krakover (2017).

Krakover’s model (2017) is divided into an initial and a mature phase, which differ from each other according to the type of visitors and demand for investment, and the phases themselves enable the planning of the valorisation of Jewish heritage. In the initial phase, the synagogue is the basic starting point for the development of Jewish heritage tourism, and the main stakeholders are the local tourist offices and the local Jewish community. This phase is characterized by the renovation and/or restoration of material heritage as well as listing and mapping heritage for the purpose of identifying attractions. Krakover (2017) states that in the early stages of Jewish heritage tourism, it is characteristic that entry to the synagogue is free, but donation boxes are set up, and there are typically shorter working hours. If the sale of tickets to visit the synagogue is introduced, it marks the formal inclusion of the synagogue as part of the city’s tourism supply. With the introduction of tickets, regular working hours are also introduced. There is often a museum or a smaller museum display inside the synagogue with a display of local Jewish history that acts as a complement to the visit to the synagogue.

dekoru, imena jela itd. (Gruber, 2002). Salamensky (2013) govori o Disney-dijaspori, razlikujući: *Jewface* (obuhvaća glazbu, ples, teatar, pri čemu nežidovi „postaju” Židovi) i *Jewfacade* (obuhvaća instalacije muzejskoga tipa) (Smith i Zátori, 2015). Istraživanje koje su proveli Podoshen i Hunt (2011) pokazuje da Židovi posjećivanje lokaliteta Holokausta smatraju previše bolnim te da je pogrešno da dio zarade od posjećivanja tih lokaliteta odlazima onima koji su djelomično odgovorni za Holokaust.

Pretvaranje prošloga židovskog života i kulture u baštinu odgovara na simbolična očekivanja i kulturne zahtjeve nežidova; radi se na turističkim proizvodima, diverzifikaciji i razvoju destinacija (Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018). Potencijal turizma židovske baštine velik je i pridonosi očuvanju baštine kroz suočavanje s prošlošću (Corsale, 2017). Židovska baština kao turistička atrakcija može se uključiti kao nov oblik turizma ili kao proširenje postojeće turističke ponude. Osnovni model razvoja židovske baštine u turističke svrhe predložio je Krakover (2017).

Krakoverov model podijeljen je na početnu i zrelu fazu koje se međusobno razlikuju prema tipu posjetitelja i potražnje za ulaganjem, a same faze omogućuju planiranje valorizacije židovske baštine. U početnoj je fazi sinagoga osnovno polazište za razvoj turizma židovske baštine, a glavni su dionici lokalni turistički uredi i lokalna židovska zajednica. Ovu fazu karakterizira obnavljanje i/ili restauracija materijalne baštine kao i popisivanje te dokumentiranje baštine u svrhu prepoznavanje atrakcija. Krakover (2017) navodi da je u ranim fazama turizma židovske baštine karakterističan besplatan ulaz u sinagogu, ali uz postavljene kutije za donacije, na što se nadovezuje i kraće radno vrijeme. Ako se uvede prodaja ulaznica za posjet sinagogi, to znači formalno uključivanje sinagoge kao dio gradske atrakcije. Uvođenjem ulaznica uvodi se i redovno radno vrijeme. Često je unutar sinagoge smješten muzej ili manji muzejski postav s prikazom lokalne židovske povijesti koji djeluje kao nadopuna posjetu sinagogi.

According to Krakover (2017), the mature phase of the development of Jewish heritage is marked by the supply enhancement, which implies the inclusion of smaller attractions related to Jewish heritage. This includes the minor points of interest (local Jewish cemetery, Holocaust memorial, etc.), prominent historical figures, and site-specific stories. In this phase, specialized tour guides appear, because a person is now needed who will connect visitors with added elements, and supplies for special needs (kosher food, hotels). Online and printed editions of brochures on Jewish heritage are usually published, and cities are connected with regional networks.

### Methods Applied in Scientific Papers

At the initial stage of the research, it is necessary to determine the method of the research itself, which is based on the literature. The analysis of the elements of Jewish heritage used as study subjects and applied methodology may be used as a starting point for research in countries and places with Jewish heritage, in which it has not been recognized as a factor for restoration and involvement in tourism. Within the research conducted, the quantity of the methods used, their spatial scope, and the quantity and usage of certain elements of Jewish heritage have been analysed.

The analysis of articles determined the research methods used in the studies: observation method, interviews, surveys, focus groups, netnography and content analysis. All of the aforementioned methods, except netnography, include field research. It can be observed that a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods is used in the studies, among which qualitative methods are dominant. Table 1 shows the authors of the papers, research methods used, and study location.

In the 28 analysed scientific papers, a total of 55 research methods are used, among which many are used multiple times. A combination of multiple methods within one study is also used. The most common methods are interview, observation, and content analysis (Dinis and Krakover, 2016; Corsale, 2017; Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale and Krakover, 2019; Corsale, 2021; Martinez-Arino, 2020).

Zrelu fazu razvoja židovske baštine prema Krakoveru (2017) obilježava poboljšanje opskrbe koja podrazumijeva uključivanje manjih atrakcija vezanih uz židovsku baštinu. To uključuje tzv. manje točke interesa (lokalno židovsko groblje, spomen-obilježje Holokausta i sl.), istaknute povijesne osobe te lokalne priče. U ovoj se fazi pojavljuju specijalizirani turistički vodiči jer je sada potrebna osoba koja će posjetiteljima omogućiti povezivanje dodanih elemenata te osigurati opskrbu za posebne potrebe (košer prehrana, hoteli). Objavljuju se online i tiskana izdanja brošura s tematikom židovske baštine te se gradovi povezuju u regionalne mreže.

### Primijenjene metode u znanstvenim radovima

U početnoj fazi istraživanja treba odrediti metodu samoga istraživanja koja se temelji na pročitanoj literaturi. Analiza korištenih elemenata židovske baštine kao objekta istraživanja i primijenjene metodologije rada može služiti kao početak istraživanja u državama i mjestima sa židovskom baštinom koja nije prepoznata kao potencijal za obnovu i sudjelovanje u turizmu. U provedenom istraživanju analizirala se brojnost korištenih metoda, prostorni obuhvat te brojnost i korištenje pojedinih elemenata židovske baštine.

Analizom članaka utvrđene su istraživačke metode koje su korištene u istraživanjima: opažanje, intervju, anketiranje, fokus-grupe, netnografija (online etnografija) i analiza sadržaja. Sve navede metode izuzev netnografije uključivale su terensko istraživanje. Primjećuje se da se u istraživanjima primjenjuje triangulacija kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih metoda, pri čemu kvalitativne dominiraju. U tablici 1 prikazani su autori radova, korištene istraživačke metode te prostor istraživanja.

U 28 analiziranih znanstvenih radova korišteno je ukupno 55 istraživačkih metoda od kojih se mnoge više puta ponavljaju, a korištena je i kombinacija više metoda u jednom radu. Najčešće su to bile metode intervju a i opažanja te analiza sadržaja (Dinis i Krakover, 2016; Corsale, 2017; Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale i Krakover,

Tab. 1 Overview of the analysed studies  
Tab. 1. Pregled analiziranih radova

Author(s) / Autor(i)	Methods / Metode	Country (city) / Država (grad)
Ari and Mittelberg (2008)	survey / anketiranje	Europe
Cohen (2015)	interview / intervju	Poland
Cole (2018)	content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Poland
Collins-Kreiner and Olsen (2004)	netnography / netnografija interview / intervju	Europe
Corsale (2017)	observation / opažanje interview / intervju content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Romania (Bucharest)
Corsale (2021)	observation / opažanje interview / intervju content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Ukraine (Berezhany, Rohatyn, Pidhaitsi)
Corsale and Krakover (2019)	observation / opažanje interview / intervju content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Italy (Siracusa)
Corsale and Vuytsyk (2018)	observation / opažanje interview / intervju content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Ukraine (Lviv)
del Rio et al. (2020)	survey / anketiranje	Spain (Cordoba)
Dinis and Krakover (2016)	observation / opažanje interview / intervju content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Portugal (Belmonte)
Dnistrianska et al. (2022)	content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Ukraine (Vinnytsia Oblast)
Drotár and Kozma (2021)	survey / anketiranje content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Hungary (Mád, Sátorajújhely, Bodrogkeresztúr)
Duda-Seifert (2016)	survey / anketiranje interview / intervju observation / opažanje	Poland (Wroclaw)
Duda-Seifert and Kajdanek (2021)	survey / anketiranje	Poland (Krakow)
Dulska (2020)	observation / opažanje interview / intervju focus group / fokus-grupa	Spain (Navarra)
Flesler and Melgosa (2010)	content analysis / analiza sadržaja interview / intervju	Spain (Hervás)

Author(s) / Autor(i)	Methods / Metode	Country (city) / Država (grad)
Gaižutyté-Filipavičienė (2020)	content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Poland (Krakow, Warsaw) Hungary (Budapest) Czech Republic (Prague and Moravia) Lithuania (Kaunas)
Haba et al. (2020)	observation / opažanje content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Ukraine (Lviv)
Krakover (2017)	observation / opažanje interview / intervju	Croatia (Bjelovar, Dubrovnik, Osijek, Rijeka, Split) BiH (Doboj, Mostar, Sarajevo, Zenica) Serbia (Beograd, Novi Sad, Subotica) Hungary (Baja, Pécs Szeged)
Martinez-Arino (2020)	interview / intervju observation / opažanje content analysis / analiza sadržaja	Spain (Barcelona)
Mitsche and Strielkowski (2016)	survey / anketiranje	Czech Republic (Prague)
Petrevska et al. (2018)	interview / intervju content analysis / analiza sadržaja	North Macedonia (Bitola, Skopje, Štip)
Podoshen (2017)	content analysis / analiza sadržaja interview / intervju netnography / netnografija	places of the Holocaust
Podoshen and Hunt (2011)	netnography / netnografija	Holocaust sites in Germany and Eastern Europe
Podoshen et al. (2015)	interview content analysis	Poland
Russo and Romagosa (2010)	content analysis	Spain
Sandri (2013)	Interview content analysis	Poland (Krakow) Lithuania (Vilnius)
Wight and Lennon (2007)	Interview content analysis	Lithuania
Zammit (2020)	content analysis	Malta

Among the 55 methods, interviews (18 papers - 33 %) and content analysis (17 papers - 31 %) are used equally, followed by observation (10 papers - 18 %) and surveys (6 papers - 11 %), while netnography (3 papers - 5%) and focus groups (1 paper) are used the least. The use of methods is graphically presented in Fig. 1.

Out of the 28 examined scientific papers, 17 of them used the interview as one of the research meth-

2019; Corsale, 2021; Martinez-Arino, 2020). Od 55 metoda podjednako su korišteni analiza sadržaja (18 radova – 33 %) i intervju (17 radova – 31 %), zatim opažanje (10 radova – 18 %) i anketiranje (6 radova – 11 %), a najmanje su korištene netnografija (3 rada – 5 %) i fokus-grupe (1 rad). Uporaba metoda grafički je prikazana na slici 1.

Od ukupno 28 obrađenih znanstvenih radova u njih 17 korišten je intervju. Intervjui su bili

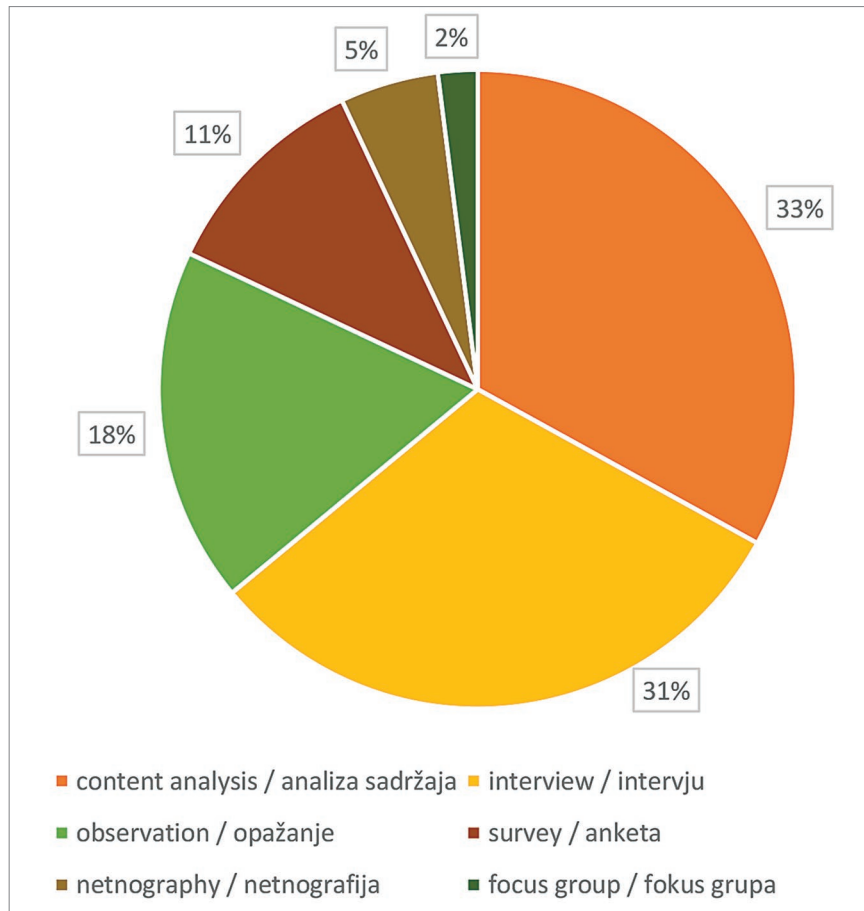


Fig. 1 Use of methods in analysed scientific papers with figures, N=55

Sl. 1. Uporaba metoda u analiziranim znanstvenim radovima izražena brojčanim podacima, N=55

ods. Interviews were semi-structured and unstructured. Table 2 shows the stakeholders who participated in the interviews in the examined research. In half of the papers (6 out of 12) in which the interview method was used, persons from Jewish communities were interviewed, which points to the importance of monitoring the situation and including the Jewish heritage of a place. They are followed by local government representatives responsible for heritage and/or tourism (in 5 out of 12 papers), and local tour operators and curators (each in 4 papers). It is obvious that the state of Jewish heritage in tourism and its preservation is being monitored, as well as how the local community manages it. Along with formal, transcribed interviews, informal interviews were also conducted with the locals (Corsale, 2021). Within one study, a focus group consisting of the local population was used (Dulska, 2020).

Unlike interviews, surveys are used less frequently. Jewish heritage visitors have been surveyed (Ari and

polustrukturirani i nestrukturirani. Tablica 2 prikazuje dionike koji su sudjelovali u intervjuima u analiziranim istraživanjima. U polovini radova (6 od 12) u kojima je korištena metoda intervjua ispitane su osobe iz židovskih zajednica, što upućuje na važnost praćenja stanja i uključivanja same židovske baštine nekoga mjesta. Slijede predstavnici lokalne vlasti koji se bave baštinom i/ili turizmom (u 5 od 12 radova) te lokalni turoperatori i kustosi (svaki u 4 rada). Vidljivo je da se prati stanje židovske baštine u turizmu i njezino očuvanje te na koji način lokalna zajednica upravlja njome. Uz formalne intervjue, koji su transkribirani, provedeni su i neformalni intervjui s lokalnim osobama (Corsale, 2021). U jednom istraživanju korištena je i fokus-grupa s lokalnim stanovništvom (Dulska, 2020).

Za razliku od metode intervjua, anketiranje je kao metoda nešto manje korištena. Anketirani su posjetitelji židovske baštine (Ari i Mittelberg,

Tab. 2 Stakeholders in the interviews in the analysed research  
Tab. 2. Dionici intervjuja u analiziranim istraživanjima

Stakeholders / Dionici	Number of works / Broj radova
a person or persons from a Jewish community / osoba ili osobe iz židovske zajednice	6
local government representatives responsible for heritage and/or tourism / predstavnici lokalne vlasti koji se bave baštinom i/ili turizmom	5
local tour operators / lokalni turoperatori	4
curators / kustosi	4
representatives of local tourist boards / predstavnici lokalnih turističkih zajednica	2
tour guides / turistički vodiči	1
educators / edukatori	1
festival organisers / organizatori festivala	1

Mittelberg, 2008; Mitsche and Strielkowski, 2016; Drotár and Kozma, 2021), most frequently when visiting synagogues (Duda-Seifert, 2016; del Río et al., 2020; Duda-Seifert and Kajdanek, 2021). Unless its sole function is its primary function, synagogues are the most practical (material) Jewish heritage sites for conducting surveys, since memories of Jewish suffering in the Second World War and once large Jewish communities are not as associated with them today.

In Jewish heritage tourism studies, the observation method (10 papers) is very important, for which the subject of the study is material heritage. This is characteristic for the early phase, as the study focuses on whether a Jewish heritage object is visited, what shape it is in, whether it still fulfils its primary function or it has been repurposed, and whether it has any visitors and what their motivations are. The analysed papers study the following: a synagogue (Sandri, 2013; Duda-Seifert, 2016; Krakover, 2017; Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale, 2021), a Jewish quarter (Corsale and Krakover, 2019; Dulaska, 2020; Haba et al., 2020; Martinez-Arino, 2020), a Jewish museum or exhibition (Sandri, 2013; Krakover, 2017), a Jewish graveyard (Krakover, 2017; Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale, 2021), monuments (Sandri, 2013), monuments related to the Holocaust (Sandri, 2013; Krakover, 2017), streets and buildings (Sandri, 2013), cafés and restaurants (Sandri, 2013). The use of elements of Jewish heritage in the observation method is graphically shown in Figure 2. The observation method was used in 10 papers, while the number of

2008; Mitsche i Strielkowski, 2016; Drotár i Kozma, 2021), a najčešće prilikom posjete sinagogama (Duda-Seifert, 2016; del Río i dr., 2020; Duda-Seifert i Kajdanek, 2021). Bez obzira na to ima li sinagoga primarnu funkciju ili je pretvorena u izložbeni prostor ili muzej, najpogodnija je materijalna židovska baština za provedenje anketiranja posjetitelja.

U istraživanjima turizma židovske baštine važna je metoda opažanja (10 radova) kod koje je objekt proučavanja židovska materijalna baština. To je karakteristično za ranu fazu jer se promatra posjećuje li se neki objekt židovske baštine, u kakvu je ona stanju, ima li primarnu funkciju ili je prenamijenjena te ako ima posjetitelja, kako se oni ponašaju i koja im je motivacija. U analiziranim radovima promatra se: sinagoga (Sandri, 2013; Duda-Seifert, 2016; Krakover, 2017; Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale, 2021), židovska četvrt (Corsale i Krakover, 2019; Dulaska, 2020; Haba i dr., 2020; Martinez-Arino, 2020), židovski muzej ili postav (Sandri, 2013; Krakover, 2017), židovsko groblje (Krakover, 2017; Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale, 2021), spomenici (Sandri, 2013), spomenici povezani s Holokaustom (Sandri, 2013; Krakover, 2017), ulice i zgrade (Sandri, 2013), kafići i restorani (Sandri, 2013). Korištenje elemenata židovske baštine u metodi opažanja grafički je prikazano na slici 2. Metoda opažanja korištena je u 10 radova, dok je broj promatranih elemenata 12.

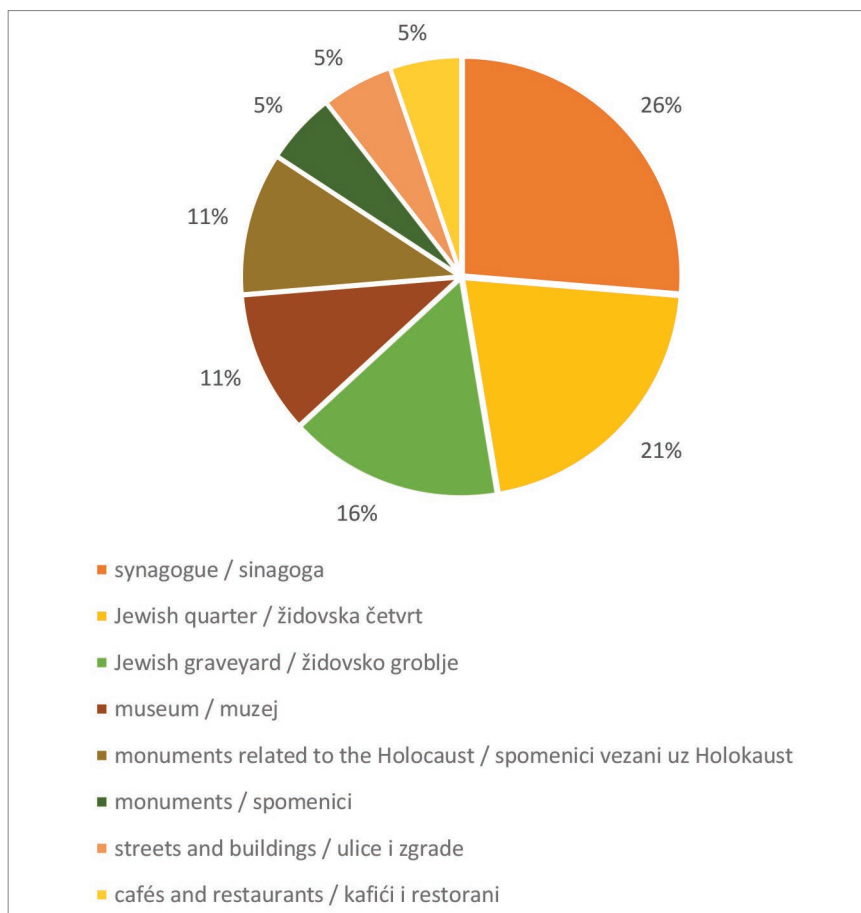


Fig. 2 Elements of Jewish heritage analysed using the observation method, N=12

Sl. 2. Dionici intervjuja u analiziranim istraživanjima

observed elements was 12.

Collection of secondary literature is used in the examined studies for achieving method triangulation. The secondary literature used may be divided into printed materials and online sources. The following are used as printed materials: brochures (Flesler and Melgosa, 2010; Podoshen et al., 2015; Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale and Krakover, 2019), maps (Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale and Krakover, 2019), other materials available at tourist boards (Flesler and Melgosa, 2010; Podoshen et al., 2015; Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale and Krakover, 2019), guides (Wight and Lennon, 2007; Corsale, 2017; Cole, 2018), documents (Wight and Lennon, 2007; Martinez-Arino, 2020; Drotár and Kozma, 2021), archival materials (Wight and Lennon, 2007; Dinis and Krakover, 2016) and newspapers (Dinis and Krakover, 2016;

Prikupljanje sekundarne literature koristilo se u proučavanim istraživanjima za postizanje triangulacije metoda. Korištena sekundarna literatura može se podijeliti na tiskane materijale i mrežne (*online*) izvore. Kao tiskani materijali koristile su se: brošure (Flesler i Melgosa, 2010; Podoshen i dr., 2015; Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale i Krakover, 2019), karte (Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale i Krakover, 2019), ostali materijali dostupni u turističkim zajednicama (Flester i Melgosa, 2010; Podoshen i dr., 2015; Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale i Krakover, 2019), vodiči (Wight i Lennon, 2007; Corsale, 2017; Cole, 2018), dokumenti (Wight i Lennon, 2007; Martinez-Arino, 2020; Drotár i Kozma, 2021), arhivska građa (Wight i Lennon, 2007; Dinis i Krakover, 2016) i novinski tisak (Dinis i Krakover, 2016; Podoshen, 2017). Mrežni izvori

Podoshen, 2017). Online sources included: search engines (Collins-Kreiner and Olsen, 2004; Krakover, 2017) and tourist board websites (Dinis and Krakover, 2016; Corsale, 2017; Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale and Krakover, 2019). Outside of those categories, documentaries are also used (Podoshen et al., 2015), as well as Jewish heritage mobile applications (Gaižutytė-Filipavičienė, 2020) and Jewish heritage protection organization websites in Spain (Russo and Romagosa, 2010).

With increasing use of modern technologies, studies are transposed into the online environment. Thus, netnographic research has appeared in the analysed studies. In the analysed studies, virtual communities are examined on the topics of Holocaust site tourism (Podoshen and Hunt, 2011) and the North American tourism market (Collins-Kreiner and Olsen, 2004). Jewish virtual communities in social media and blogs (Podoshen, 2017) are also observed via netnographic research. Collins-Kreiner and Olsen (2004) examined 50 tourist websites oriented to the Jewish market in the USA and Canada (which together make up 75% of the total Jewish diaspora). They analysed the types of tours offered, motivations for participating in certain tours, images associated with tours, market definitions and itineraries. Podoshen and Hunt (2011) use the forums *Jewish Current Events* and *Religious Judaism*, in which they enter the Jewish communities themselves in order to observe the narratives between the members of these forums. On the other hand, Podoshen (2017) used Jewish and Holocaust-themed Facebook communities, Reddit subreddits, blogs and virtual gathering places of Jews, in their analysis. Virtual Jewish communities are an important source, because they serve to connect the displaced Jewish community (genealogically, collective past), from which their motives, experiences, and reasons for visiting certain places can be researched. With the help of such virtual communities, it is easier to collect a large amount of data, and research can be constantly updated.

It is apparent, based on method analysis, that qualitative methods (49) are dominant in comparison to quantitative methods (6). Although there is a need for studies of visitors and tourists, the authors of these studies indicate that there is a lack of such studies, which is also related to quantitative methods.

uključivali su pretraživanje na internetskim tražilicama (Collins-Kreiner i Olsen, 2004; Krakover, 2017) i stranicama turističkih zajednica (Dinis i Krakover, 2016; Corsale, 2017; Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale i Krakover, 2019). Izvan ovih kategorija korišteni su dokumentarni filmovi (Podoshen i dr., 2015), mobilne aplikacije o židovskoj baštini (Gaižutytė-Filipavičienė, 2020) i organizacije za očuvanje židovske baštine u Španjolskoj (Russo i Romagosa, 2010).

Sve većom uporabom modernih tehnologija istraživanja se prebacuju i na *online* okruženje. Tako se u analiziranim radovima pojavljuju netnografija. U analiziranim radovima netnografskim se istraživanjem promatraju virtualne zajednice na temu turizma mjesta Holokausta (Podoshen i Hunt, 2011), turističko tržište Sjeverne Amerike (Collins-Kreiner i Olsen, 2004) i židovske virtualne zajednice na društvenim mrežama i blogovima (Podoshen, 2017). Tako su Collins-Kreiner i Olsen (2004) promatrali 50 turističkih mrežnih stranica orijentiranih na židovsko tržište SAD-a i Kanade (koji zajedno čine 75 % ukupne svjetske židovske dijaspore). Pritom su se istraživali tipovi ponuđenih turističkih tura, motivacije za sudjelovanje u određenim turističkim turama, slike povezane s turama, tržište i itinerari. Podoshen i Hunt (2011) koriste forume *Jewish Current Events* i *Religious Judaism* u kojima ulaze u same židovske zajednice gdje promatraju narative između članova tih foruma. S druge se strane Podoshen (2017) u svojoj analizi koristi stranicama židovskih zajednica na temu Holokausta poput Facebooka, Reddita, blogova i virtualnih mjesta okupljanja Židova. Virtualne židovske zajednice važan su izvor jer se na taj način raseljena židovska zajednica povezuje (genealogija, kolektivna prošlost) te se za posjet određenim mjestima doznaju njihovi motivi, doživljaji i iskustva koja koriste istraživanju tržišta. Uz pomoć takvih virtualnih zajednica jednostavnije je prikupiti veći broj podataka te se istraživanja mogu stalno nadopunjavati.

Iz analize metoda vidljiva je dominacija kvalitativnih (49) metoda naspram kvantitativnih (6). Iako postoji potreba, autori ovih istraživanja



Because Jewish heritage tourism is a relatively new type of tourism and it has not been studied as much, it is concluded that, in the so-called first phase (in which Jewish heritage sites are discovered), a relationship between the local government and community with the Jewish community is established, in the context of which qualitative methods are most often used. These methods represent the first step in the development of Jewish heritage tourism and, with its formation in a destination, quantitative methods for determining the advantages and disadvantages of the tourism supply itself may also be used. Going back to the first phase is not necessary, if a certain element of Jewish heritage is already implemented in tourism. Instead of this, visitors should be examined.

Scientific papers differ according to the spatial scope of the research. If Jewish communities were relatively small until Second World War in a certain country, studies included the entire country (e.g. North Macedonia), while in case of large communities, studies deal with a certain city or a certain element of Jewish heritage (e.g. Poland). Studies are also divided according to the study of historical Jewish communities: Sephardic (Flesler and Melgosa, 2010; Russo and Romagosa, 2010; Dinis and Krakover, 2016; Krakover, 2017; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale and Krakover, 2019; del Rio et al., 2020; Dulaska, 2020; Martinez-Arino, 2020; Zammit, 2020) and Ashkenazi (Sandri, 2013; Cohen, 2015; Podoshen et al., 2015; Duda-Seifert, 2016; Mitsche and Strielkowski, 2016; Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Wight and Lennon, 2017; Cole, 2018; Corsale and Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale, 2021; Gaižutytė-Filipavičienė, 2020; Haba et al., 2020; Drotár and Kozma, 2021; Duda-Seifert and Kajdanek, 2021). Other works study European (Collins-Kreiner and Olsen 2004; Ari and Mittelberg, 2008) and Holocaust sites (Podoshen and Hunt, 2011; Podoshen, 2017), where Jewish communities cannot be divided in this way.

In Spain and Portugal, the countries from which the Sephardic communities originated, the issue of property-legal relations of Jewish heritage is not highlighted as it is with the Ashkenazi communities and in other parts of Europe, because more than five centuries have passed since the expulsion of Jews from the lands of the Spanish crown (1492) and in the meantime the ownership of their private,

upućuju na nedostatak istraživanja posjetitelja i turista, što se i povezuje s kvantitativnim metodama. Budući da je turizam židovske baštine relativno nov oblik turizma i ne toliko istražen, zaključuje se da se u tzv. prvoj fazi – u kojoj se otkrivaju lokaliteti židovske baštine – uspostavlja odnos između lokalne vlasti i zajednice sa židovskom zajednicom, pri čemu se najčešće koriste kvalitativne metode. One su prvi korak u razvoju turizma židovske baštine, a njegovim formiranjem turizma židovske baštine u destinaciji mogu se provoditi kvantitativne metode za otkrivanje prednosti i nedostataka same turističke ponude. Ako je pojedini element židovske baštine valoriziran u turizmu, nije se potrebno vraćati na prvu fazu, već bi trebalo istražiti posjetitelje.

Znanstveni radovi međusobno se razlikuju prema prostornom obuhvatu istraživanja. Ako su u nekoj državi židovske zajednice do Drugoga svjetskog rata bile relativno male, istraživanja obuhvaćaju cijelu državu (npr. Makedonija), dok se kod velikih zajednica istraživanja bave nekim gradom ili određenim elementom židovske baštine (npr. Poljska). Radovi se dijele i s obzirom na proučavanje povijesnih židovskih zajednica, Sefarda (Flesler i Melgosa, 2010; Russo i Romagosa, 2010; Dinis i Krakover, 2016; Krakover, 2017; Petrevska et al., 2018; Corsale i Krakover, 2019; del Rio et al., 2020; Dulaska, 2020; Martinez-Arino, 2020; Zammit, 2020) i Aškenaza (Sandri, 2013; Cohen, 2015; Podoshen et al., 2015; Duda-Seifert, 2016; Mitsche i Strielkowski, 2016; Corsale, 2017; Krakover, 2017; Wight i Lennon, 2017; Cole, 2018; Corsale i Vuytsyk, 2018; Corsale, 2021; Gaižutytė-Filipavičienė, 2020; Haba et al., 2020; Drotár i Kozma, 2021; Duda-Seifert i Kajdanek, 2021). Ostali radovi bave se Europom (Collins-Kreiner i Olsen 2004; Ari i Mittelberg, 2008) i mjestima Holokausta (Podoshen i Hunt, 2011; Podoshen, 2017), gdje se židovske zajednice ne mogu na taj način podijeliti.

U Španjolskoj i Portugalu, državama iz kojih su potekle sefardske zajednice, pitanje imovinsko-pravnih odnosa židovske baštine nije istaknuto kao kod aškenaskih zajednica i u drugim dijelovima Europe jer je u tim dvjema državama

communal and religious properties has changed extensively. Because of the long temporal gap, today it is more difficult to find material heritage that would attract tourists, but using brochures and guided tours one can get to know the Sephardic heritage of Spain and Portugal. The same situation for Ashkenazi communities applies for other European Sephardic communities because they may (or may not) have largely been killed in the Holocaust. On the other hand, the Ashkenazi were dominant in Central and Eastern Europe. Given that the Holocaust took place in the area inhabited by the Ashkenazi, a large part of their material heritage was destroyed, and the period of the Holocaust and the immediate aftermath (with many people killed and the complex situation in which the survivors found themselves) brought with it the problem of the return of property. The conversion of the surviving heritage and unclear property relations make research and valorisation difficult.

The cities that have been selected for research are mostly state capitals. This is how the cities in Hungary were observed: Budapest, the capital city with the largest Jewish community, and Szeged, which also has an important community, while in other places the communities before Second world war were large and historically important. In North Macedonia, Skopje, Bitola and Štip had the largest and most important communities, although the North Macedonian Jewish community is small today. Even two studies were conducted for the city of Prague in the Czech Republic, which is also the capital and has the largest Jewish community. The situation is the same for Bucharest in Romania. In Serbia, Jewish heritage has been observed in its largest contemporary Jewish communities—Belgrade and Novi Sad—which are also historically important, while Subotica has a slightly smaller community, but also of great historical importance. In Poland, research was conducted in Krakow and Warsaw, which have the largest contemporary Polish Jewish communities, which are also of great historical importance. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the cities of Sarajevo (which remained the centre of the country's Jewish community), Doboj, Mostar and Zenica were studied as formerly smaller but important communities. Vilnius has the largest Lithuanian Jewish community, while Kaunas is also historically important.

prošlo više od pet stoljeća od progona Židova iz zemalja španjolske krune (1492.) te se u međuvremenu promijenilo vlasništvo njihovih privatnih, komunalnih i vjerskih nekretnina. Upravo zbog dugoga vremenskog razmaka danas je teže pronaći materijalnu baštinu koja bi privukla turiste, ali se kroz brošure i vođene ture može upoznati sefardska baština Španjolske i Portugala. Za ostale europske sefardske zajednice primjenjuje se postupak kao i kod aškenaskih jer su, ovisno o intenzitetu, stradale u Holokaustu. S druge strane, Aškenazi su bili dominantni u Srednjoj i Istočnoj Europi. Budući da se na prostoru koji su naseljavali Aškenazi dogodio Holokaust, velik dio njihove materijalne baštine je uništen, a razdoblje Holokausta i neposrednoga poraća s velikim brojem ubijenih i kompleksnom situacijom u kojoj su se našli preživjeli povukao je sa sobom i problem (ne)povrata imovine, a prenamjena preživjele baštine i njezini nejasni imovinski odnosi otežavaju istraživanje i valorizaciju.

Gradovi odabrani za istraživanje uglavnom su glavni gradovi država. Tako su u Mađarskoj promatrani gradovi Budimpešta, glavni grad s najvećom židovskom zajednicom, te Szeged, koji također ima važnu zajednicu, dok su u drugim mjestima zajednice prije Drugog svjetskog rata bile velike, a povijesno važne. U Makedoniji su Skopje, Bitola i Štip bile najveće i najvažnije zajednice iako je makedonska zajednica danas mala. Čak su dva istraživanja provedena za grad Prag u Češkoj, koji je i glavni grad i ima najveću židovsku zajednicu. Ista je situacija za Rumunjsku i njezin Bukurešt. U Srbiji je promatrana židovska baština u danas najvećim židovskim zajednicama – Beogradu i Novom Sadu – koje su i povijesno važne, dok je Subotica nešto manja zajednica, ali također velike povijesne važnosti. U Poljskoj su provedena istraživanja u Krakovu i Varšavi, danas najvećim poljskim židovskim zajednicama, ali i s velikom povijesnom važnošću. U Bosni i Hercegovini proučavani su gradovi Sarajevo (koji je i ostao centar židovske zajednice te države), Doboj, Mostar i Zenica kao nekadašnje manje i važne zajednice. Vilnius predstavlja najveću litvansku židovsku zajednicu, dok je povijesno važan i Kaunas.

In Ukraine, the largest communities have not been studied, but they are historical cultural centres and show the former size of the Ukrainian Jewish community. Smaller Jewish communities were studied in Croatia: Split, Rijeka, Dubrovnik, Bjelovar and Osijek (which at one point had the largest Jewish community in Croatia).

In Italy, the Jewish community in Syracuse was studied, as an example of restoration and return to Sephardic roots. There were almost no Spanish communities, but as part of the RED organization, the Jewish heritage in Córdoba, Hervás and Barcelona has been observed. A similar situation exists in Portugal, where Belmonte is being studied, a town where Judaism has been restored since the 1970s. Today's largest Jewish communities in individual countries are only a shadow of the communities that existed before the Second World War.

## Conclusion

Based on the selected scientific papers, an overview of methodological approaches for the research of Jewish heritage tourism is given. This paper analyses the choice of methods, the observed elements of Jewish heritage and the location of research in studies dealing with Jewish heritage tourism or tourism valorisation of Jewish heritage. A comparative analysis determined that interviews and content analysis are the most frequently-used methods in the analysed papers. Using those methods, the answer to the most common research question related to Jewish heritage tourism may be obtained: how Jewish heritage is represented in tourism in a given destination. This is why interviews are conducted with stakeholders from the Jewish communities, but also from local governments and those working in culture and tourism. To start and develop Jewish heritage tourism, material heritage is required, followed by an evaluation of the current state and the possibilities related to its usage via observation.

Most studies deal with source analysis, interviews with important stakeholders and observation of Jewish heritage. Regardless of the small number of studies, future research of Jewish heritage tourism should focus more on studying Jewish heritage tourism visitors. This would lead to a construction of a visitor profile that includes their motivations, and to determining the role of

U Ukrajini nisu proučavane najveće zajednice, međutim one su povijesni kulturni centri i prikazuju nekadašnju veličinu ukrajinske židovske zajednice. U Hrvatskoj su proučavane manje židovske zajednice – Split, Rijeka, Dubrovnik, Bjelovar te Osijek koji je u jednom trenutku i bio najveća židovska zajednica.

U Italiji je proučavana židovska zajednica u Sirakuzi, kao primjer obnavljanja i vraćanja sefardskim korijenima. Španjolskih zajednica gotovo da i nije bilo, ali se u sklopu RED organizacije promatra židovska baština u Cordobi, Hervásu i Barceloni. Slična situacija je i u Portugalu, gdje se proučava Belmonte, grad u kojem se od 1970-ih obnavlja židovstvo. Današnje najveće europske židovske zajednice zapravo su tek sjena zajednica prije Drugoga svjetskog rata.

## Zaključak

Na temelju odabranih znanstvenih radova dan je pregled metodoloških pristupa za istraživanje turizma židovske baštine. U radu je analiziran odabir metoda, promatrani su elementi židovske baštine te lokacija istraživanja u radovima koji se bave turizmom židovske baštine ili turističkom valorizacijom židovske baštine. Komparativnom analizom utvrđeno je da su metode intervjua i analiza sadržaja najčešće korištene metode u analiziranim radovima. Upravo se tim metodama može doći do odgovora na najčešće istraživačko pitanje u turizmu židovske baštine: zastupljenost židovske baštine u turizmu neke destinacije. Stoga se intervjuiraju dionici iz židovskih zajednica, ali i iz lokalnih vlasti te oni koji rade u kulturi i turizmu. Za pokretanje i sam razvoj turizma židovske baštine važna je prije svega materijalna baština pa je potrebno metodom opažanja evaluirati postojeće stanje te istražiti mogućnosti njezina korištenja.

Većina istraživanja bavila se analizom izvora, intervjuiranjem važnih dionika i opažanjem židovske baštine. Bez obzira na malen broj radova buduća istraživanja turizma židovske baštine trebala bi se više fokusirati na ispitivanje posjetitelja turizma židovske baštine. Time bi se izradio profil posjetitelja, doznale njihove motivacije, uloga koju imaju preostale židov-

the remaining Jewish communities in creating tourism products, together with the positives and negatives of Jewish heritage tourism. As a larger number of subjects in required, a survey should be used.

Along with field surveys, modern technologies (such as content analysis of mobile applications) are more frequently used, because they can be used in places where there are no material elements of Jewish heritage. In the work of Michalkó et al. (2022), the daily tourist milieu of the night party zone of Budapest is investigated where, with the help of visual analysis of photos and hashtags, Jewish heritage appears among the results.

Although a relatively small number of papers were used for the analysis, an increase in papers investigating Jewish heritage and its application via Jewish heritage tourism in European cities is noticeable. The analysed research shows that Jewish heritage is no longer considered a problem for space and society, and its purpose is beginning to be understood as part of tourist history and social identity. By restoring Jewish heritage and including it in the tourism supply of cities (as a supplement or main attraction), tourists are attracted, it can be used for education purposes, and former Jewish quarters are also being revitalized.

ske zajednice u kreiranju turističkih proizvoda te pozitivne i negativne strane turizma židovske baštine. U tu svrhu mogla bi se koristiti metoda ankete, kojom bi se obuhvatio veći broj ispitanika.

Uz terensko istraživanje sve je više u upotrebi i korištenje modernih tehnologija (poput analize sadržaja mobilnih aplikacija) jer se mogu koristiti i na mjestima gdje nema materijalnih elemenata židovske baštine. U radu Michalkó i dr. (2022) istražuje se dnevni turistički milje noćne zabavne zone Budimpešte gdje se uz pomoć vizualne analize fotografija i *hashtaga* židovska baština pojavljuje među rezultatima.

Iako je za provedbu analize korišten manji broj radova, primjećuje se porast radova koji istražuju židovsku baštinu i njezinu primjenu kroz turizam židovske baštine u europskim gradovima. Analizirana istraživanja pokazuju da se židovska baština više ne smatra problemom za prostor i društvo, već se počinje shvaćati njezina svrha i kao dio turističke povijesti i društvenoga identiteta. Obnavljanje židovske baštine i uključivanje u turističku ponudu gradova (kao dopuna ili glavna atrakcija) privlači turiste, koristi se za edukaciju o prošlosti i učenje jednakosti, dok prostor bivših židovskih četvrti dobiva urbanu regeneraciju.

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