



Jewish heritage tourism in Bucharest. Reality and visions

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Journal: | <i>The Geographical Journal</i> |
| Manuscript ID | Draft |
| Manuscript Type: | Regular Paper |
| Keywords: | Heritage Tourism, Niche Tourism, Jewish Heritage, Participation, Bucharest, Romania |
| Abstract: | Heritage tourism linked with past or current cultural diversity and ethnic minorities has become a significant part of the tourism industry. This paper contributes to the discussion about heritage management related to niche tourism development and minority groups' participation. The specific theme of Jewish heritage tourism is analyzed, particularly through the case of the present Jewish community of Bucharest. Study results are presented and discussed in order to understand how this community and the local tourist sector perceive the tourist potential of its heritage and envisions its development. A reflection on the discourse behind the current and possible future management of Jewish legacy can thus contribute to better understand the complexity of niche heritage tourism processes in multi-ethnic sites. |
| | |

Jewish heritage tourism in Bucharest. Reality and visions

Abstract

Heritage tourism linked with past or current cultural diversity and ethnic minorities has become a significant part of the tourism industry. This paper contributes to the discussion about heritage management related to niche tourism development and minority groups' participation. The specific theme of Jewish heritage tourism is analyzed, particularly through the case of the present Jewish community of Bucharest. Study results are presented and discussed in order to understand how this community and the local tourist sector perceive the tourist potential of its heritage and envisions its development. A reflection on the discourse behind the current and possible future management of Jewish legacy can thus contribute to better understand the complexity of niche heritage tourism processes in multi-ethnic sites.

Keywords

Heritage tourism, niche tourism, Jewish heritage, participation, Bucharest, Romania

Minority heritage tourism

Cultural heritage is generally constructed, perceived, interpreted and managed according to an attribution of meanings and values (Ashworth 2011; Graham 2002;

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 Smith, 2006). The links with the past, either tangible or intangible, are recognized and
10 represented through a selection process related to the demands of the present and the
11 visions of the future (Ashworth et al. 2007; Graham and Howard 2008; Wall 2009).
12
13 Thus, heritage can be seen as the contemporary use of the past according to current
14 cultural, social and economic realities (Ashworth, 2011), in order to build social
15 identity, legitimize political power, or support tourism development. Values are placed
16 on artefacts or activities by people who interpret heritage through a complex series of
17 lenses, among which: nationality, religion, ethnicity, class, wealth, age, gender,
18 education and personal history (Ashworth et al. 2007).
19

20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29 Tourists are often attracted and motivated by their desire to see and experience things
30 they do not have in their home environment (Cohen 2004). Heritage tourism has thus
31 become a significant part of the tourism industry, characterized by powerful supply and
32 demand motivations (Prentice 1993; Timothy and Boyd 2003). Studies concentrating on
33 tourism marketing consider the impact that cultural diversity, and a corresponding
34 diversity of tourism products and destinations, can have on the evolution of tourism
35 areas (Castro et al. 2007; Hoffman 2003; Krakover, 2012; Ma and Hassink 2013).
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44 However, linking officially “authorized” heritage to tourism product marketing and
45 development necessarily raises questions on authenticity, commodification and
46 participation (Halewood and Hannam 2001; Reisinger and Steiner 2006).
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 While some heritage sites have become major tourist attractions (Richards and
10 Fernandes 2007), countless others tend to attract special interest groups, sometimes as
11 niche tourism products (McKercher 2002; Trauer 2006). Niche tourism can be defined
12 as a subdivision of tourism industry into specific and particular products (MacLeod
13 2003; Novelli 2005). According to Robinson and Novelli (2005), it is a reaction to the
14 phenomena of globalized mass tourism; hence, “macro-niches”, such as cultural or rural
15 tourism, include “micro-niches”, such as literary or culinary tourism. Robinson and
16 Novelli (2005) and Dinis and Krakover (2016) observe that the discourse on niche
17 tourism is constructed by the producers of tourism, rather than consumers, as an element
18 of competitive strategy, a means for diversification and a sophisticated approach to
19 marketing. Environmental and social sustainability are often called into the arena of
20 smaller-scale tourism, as well (Novaczek 2010; Scheyvens 1999). Niche marketing can
21 be understood as a concentration on a limited market, generally considered appropriate
22 for small or specialized businesses or territories (Dinis, 2006; Toften and Hammervoll
23 2009). Current or former multicultural and cosmopolitan contexts, where different
24 national groups marked the landscape and contributed to territorial identity, offer
25 significant opportunities for niche cultural tourism, as heritage can be created,
26 recognized, highlighted, reinterpreted and ultimately sold in order to diversify the image
27 of a certain destination (Caffyn and Lutz 1999; Novelli 2005; Poria and Ashworth 2009;
28 Walder et al. 2006). When a majority group inherits traces of minorities’ past or present
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 presence, three options are possible with regard to their visibility in the tourist image of
10 a specific territory (Krakover 2016):

- 11
12
13 a) the minorities' heritage is silenced;
14
15 b) it is tolerated or allowed as an additional heritage coexisting with the dominant one;
16
17 c) it is incorporated within the local narrative to generate a complex, inclusive and
18 pluralized place identity.
19

20
21 In places where minorities' cultural heritage has surfaced in one way or another, the
22 uneasiness of the majority group has been described in terms of cultural dissonance
23 (Olsen and Timothy 2002; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Recent evidence suggests a
24 significant attitudinal shift with respect to the development of minority heritages from
25 option a) to options b) and c). This shift, with its character, magnitude and driving
26 forces, was studied recently by Ashworth et al. (2007).
27
28

29
30 Questions about heritagisation, commodification, community participation, social
31 inclusion and the recognition of diversity are called into the heritage arena (Chambers
32 2005; Lowenthal 1998). Various scholars have identified a number of inter-related
33 barriers that prevent effective local communities' involvement in niche tourism
34 development (Cole 2006). According to Tosun (2000), several internal and external
35 barriers hamper participation, such as lack of financial resources, negligible experience
36 of tourism, heavy presence of international tour operators, ethnic discrimination, etc.
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 This paper contributes to the discussion on the management of heritage and cultural
10 tourism related to minority groups. It offers insights on the difficult heritage
11 management and promotion that may occur in a former multi-ethnic context, thus
12 dealing with the heritage left by an ethnic group that lost much of its influence, but still
13 asks for participation and tries to have a voice in its management and development. The
14 case of Bucharest will be examined. This case is pertinent to the discussion since it is a
15 historically cosmopolitan city. Actors, discourses and reasons behind Jewish culture
16 management and heritagisation will be highlighted and the reactions, perceptions and
17 suggestions by the various groups involved will be portrayed. Thus, this paper
18 contributes to the discussion about heritage management related to niche tourism
19 development and minority groups' participation. It also considers the intrinsic risk of
20 niche tourism process to paradoxically exclude the community who produced and ran
21 that heritage in the past but is now in a weaker position.
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36

37 The specific theme of Jewish heritage tourism will be analyzed, followed by
38 presentation of methodology and study location. Next, the case features will be used to
39 illustrate how the present small Jewish community of Bucharest perceives the tourist
40 potential of its heritage and envisions its development. Finally, there is a reflection on
41 the discourse behind the current and possible future management of Jewish legacy and
42 how the case study contributes to a better understanding of the complexity of niche
43 heritage tourism processes in multi-ethnic sites.
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

The Jewish niche product

Jewish heritage tourism (JHT) is a cultural niche product offered to visitors in many European towns and cities (Gruber 2002; Krakover 2013). It is widely accepted, in the field of tourism development, and especially in niche heritage tourism, that it is not the site that matters but the meaning and values assigned to it (Poria et al. 2004). Despite the wide interest in religious tourism (Timothy and Olsen 2006), including pilgrimage (Swatos and Tomasi 2002), discussion of Jewish heritage as a tourism product is still relatively rare. Ashworth (1996) discussed this topic as an example of dissonant heritage (Ashworth 2003). Gruber (2002) documented the story of the “reinvention” of Jewish-related sites in many European towns and cities, while Krakover (2016) proposed a model of Jewish heritage tourism development in Europe.

Over the past decades, particularly since the fall of communism in 1989-1991, Europe has seen a growth of interest for Judaism, Jews, Jewish culture and the Holocaust, increasingly recognized as part of national histories and identities. As part of this trend, Jewish culture, or what is perceived or defined as Jewish culture, has become a strong component of “heritage” and “identity”, even in countries where Jewish communities disappeared, or are reduced to tiny and barely visible minorities. This is a Europe-wide phenomenon, observable in countries whose people were the perpetrators as well as the victims and bystanders of the Second World War and the Holocaust, and even in

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 countries where antisemitism is still alive. Klezmer festivals, restoration of synagogues,
10 opening of exhibitions and museums, construction of Holocaust memorials, production
11 of films and novels have characterized this trend in most European countries (Valley
12 1999). Jewish-theme tourism has become a well-established niche in the vast tourist
13 market, developed by private operators and often strongly promoted by state, city, or
14 regional authorities (Gruber 2002). Numerous new Jewish-themed guidebooks,
15 brochures, heritage maps, posters, and other material have been published, and new
16 travel agencies have opened to specialise in Jewish tours. Old Jewish quarters are under
17 development as tourist attractions and Jewish museums have been opened in big cities
18 as well as rural villages in many countries, from Spain to Poland (Gruber 2007; Russo
19 and Romagosa 2010), while Holocaust sites are visited by millions of people every year
20 (Thurnell-Read 2009). Jewish-style shops, galleries, cafes and restaurants have been
21 opened in many cities, in many cases by non-Jews. Jewish-themed souvenirs of various
22 materials and origin are sold in these locations and establishments, to Jewish and non-
23 Jewish visitors alike (Heitlinger 2013). In Prague and Krakow, the most advanced
24 examples, it is not only the synagogues and other physical relics that craft the Jewish
25 experience but also the general atmosphere generated by Jewish-themed festivals and
26 exhibitions, klezmer music, souvenir shops, restaurants offering Jewish cuisine, bars
27 and coffee shops. According to Sandri (2013) and Lehrer (2015), the Kazimierz quarter
28 in Krakow has become a mass cultural tourism destination and Jewish heritage is now
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 widely seen as a part of Polish heritage. Commodification and commercialization are
10 certainly linked to exploitative and opportunistic business, or to guiltiness about the
11 Holocaust, but in many other cases the rediscovery of Jewish history and culture
12 depends on the metaphorical interpretation and value attribution by non-Jews. This
13 heritage can be variously seen and used as a symbol of survival, hybrid identity,
14 multiculturalism; a symbol of Nazi crimes or communist denial; a symbol of all
15 oppressed peoples and democratic ideals (Young 1993). It can be linked with
16 fascination for world music, nostalgia for a vanished past, admiration for Jewish figures
17 in arts, literature, science (Tuszynska 1998). This phenomenon is manifested on a
18 purely personal level but also as a conscious part of public policies, by local and
19 national authorities as well as by pan-European institutions. In countries such as Spain,
20 Portugal and southern Italy, it is a matter of recreating or reinventing a heritage that was
21 mostly lost and destroyed over five centuries ago. The mainstream recovery of Jewish
22 history and culture as well as Holocaust memory can be used as a means of re-thinking
23 and re-defining both personal identity and national histories, in a process that is both
24 conscious and unconscious (Krakover 2012 and 2016).

25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44 Parallel to the development of a non-Jewish fascination for Jewishness in Europe, there
45 has been an internal Jewish rediscovery of roots and heritage, too, particularly since the
46 fall of communism. Indeed, the embrace of Jewish culture by mainstream society has
47 gone on side by side with efforts by Jews themselves to recover or redefine personal
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 Jewish identities and to revive or enrich Jewish communities, Jewish life, and internal
10 Jewish culture in various countries (Flesler et al. 2010).

11
12 Within the broader “macro-niche” of cultural tourism, Jewish heritage sites are
13 characterized by several unique features. First, outside Israel, these sites represent the
14 culture of a minority (Smith and Zatori 2015); second, nowadays this minority is very
15 often absent or is represented by a small group of survivors or descendants of survivors
16 of atrocities (Gruber 2002; Sandri 2013); third, their heritage focal point, the synagogue,
17 is most often housed in a small and unimposing building (Krakover 2013); and fourth,
18 besides the synagogue, there are several other minor monuments or relics associated
19 with Jewish culture such as cemeteries, former Jewish streets and quarters, Holocaust
20 memorials, and significant intangible heritage (Ioannides and Ioannides 2006; Krakover
21 2013). Krakover (2016) suggests a model outlining a general path of development for
22 Jewish heritage sites, which also appears to be applicable to other heritage sites that
23 might resemble the Jewish heritage niche.
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38

39 According to the model, at an early stage, the presence of a well-preserved historical
40 synagogue is usually essential; its recognition, restoration, maintenance and promotion
41 favour the encounter of several stakeholders, including the local Jewish community,
42 public authorities, tourist bodies, international Jewry. At this early stage, visits to the
43 synagogue are usually free or by donation. As the synagogue enters the cultural tourism
44 circuit, is listed in best-selling guidebooks and reaches a higher position in Trip Advisor
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 charts, regular opening times and institutionalized entrance fees are established, and a
10 Jewish-themed museum is usually opened.

11
12
13 At a more mature stage, other Jewish-related cultural sites, such as side streets,
14 cemeteries, memorials, Hebrew writings, receive recognition and enter the circuit, albeit
15 the direct revenue is less relevant compared with synagogues and museums. Promotion
16 of intangible heritage, storytelling, dedicated brochures and maps tend to follow,
17 accompanied by an increasing presence of services for Jewish visitors (e.g. kosher
18 shops and restaurants, appropriate accommodation) and for general tourists (e.g.
19 agencies, souvenirs, festivals). Finally, the international relevance of the destination
20 leads to the inclusion in regional and international itineraries and networks.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

30 Overall, considering the experiences of revitalization and commodification of Jewish
31 neighbourhoods, this process shows both positive and negative aspects (Corsale and
32 Vuytsyk 2015; Gruber 2009). A negative attitude toward the commercialization of the
33 sacred sites in Poland and Germany, among worldwide Jewish communities, is showed
34 by Podoshen and Hunt (2011). On the hand, rehabilitation of Jewish heritage sites in
35 many European cities, and towns turned Jewish neighbourhoods into vibrant urban
36 spaces and boosts to the physical development of once dilapidated and depressed areas
37 (Krakover 2012).
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

48 The history and memory that are resurrected are often distorted or codified to suit
49 specific local and personal needs. Heritagisation of past Jewish life and culture can thus
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 respond to symbolic expectations and cultural demands by non-Jews, and can also feed
10 niche tourism business and destination diversification (Dinis 2012; Robinson and
11 Novelli 2005). However, approaching this heritage without a connection with a living
12 and evolving Jewish dimension raises issues of cultural authenticity, interethnic
13 dialogue, community participation and history interpretation which ought to be analyzed
14 in-depth. Local and marginal Jewish communities are expected to become partners in
15 tourism development related to their own culture, but often lack funds and know-how,
16 and may not always share a compact and unanimously positive view on the tourist
17 option itself. Public authorities or private stakeholders, on the other hand, do not
18 necessarily need the support and involvement of Jewish communities when dealing with
19 a heritage that is increasingly, but sometimes opportunistically, presented as part of a
20 broader local or national identity.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36

37 **Study methods**

38
39 The study is substantially based on a qualitative research method and incorporates the
40 three sources of data recognized in qualitative research: observations, interviews and
41 consultation of secondary sources (Merriam 2002; Patton 2002). The field study was
42 made in June 2016, over a period of 20 days. Observations included visits to the main
43 cultural highlights and neighbourhoods related to the Jewish historical and current
44 presence in Bucharest.
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
The author undertook interviews as informal conversations with key stakeholders from the Jewish community of Bucharest and with tour operators and agencies working in this tourism segment. The main questions of the conversations were how the different stakeholders within the Jewish community envision the management and promotion of Jewish heritage for tourism purposes, and how private tourist operators relate to it. A total of 22 conversations were held; they started introducing the research aims, were held in Romanian and varied in length from 30 to 60 minutes; in most cases, they were taped and subsequently transcribed.

26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
Prior to entering the field, the author undertook a review of literature on heritage tourism and niche tourism, part of which has been reported above, to provide a broad academic context for the research. He also consulted a range of secondary sources, such as historical and recent statistical data on the demography and the economy of the city and the region and materials that directly or indirectly deal with Jewish history and Jewish heritage tourism, adopting a multidisciplinary approach. Brochures, maps and other publications prepared for free distribution by the municipal tourism office were collected and analysed in order to evaluate the coverage of the Jewish-related attractions in the city's printed material. Likewise, this coverage was later examined in the municipal and national official websites. Information collected via these procedures enabled triangulation and validation of data. This allowed understanding how Jewish

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 tangible and intangible heritage in Bucharest is valued and represented, which permitted
10 interpretation of the discourse behind its management and promotion.
11
12

13 14 15 **Jewish heritage in Bucharest** 16

17 The city of Bucharest, first mentioned in 1459, despite its turbulent history and
18 periodical outbursts of violence, hosted, over the centuries, a numerous, varied and
19 active Jewish presence. The economic importance of the Wallachian capital attracted
20 large numbers of foreigners of different origins, which gave the city a traditionally
21 strong cosmopolitan character. The composite background of the Jewish population was
22 evident in its dual organization, as a Sephardic (“Spanish”) and an Ashkenazic
23 (“Polish”) community existed and developed in parallel. The Ashkenazic element grew
24 larger than the Sephardic one and, during the second half of the XIX century, further
25 split into an orthodox community, centred around the Great Synagogue (built in 1847)
26 and a modernist one, which built the Choral Temple (1867). Yiddish and Ladino were
27 widely spoken by the two communities, with Romanian being increasingly spoken as a
28 first language (Iancu 1996; Waldman and Ciuciu 2011).
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43

44 The Jewish population of Bucharest grew significantly, from 2,600 people in 1835
45 (4.3% of total population) to 20,749 in 1877 (11.7% of total population), making
46 Bucharest by far the largest Jewish community in the Romanian territory. By 1930, the
47 city’s Jewish population was 76,480 (12% of total population). The heart of the
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 religious and communal life remained in the South-Eastern districts of Văcărești and
10 Dudești, but Jews progressively settled in virtually all districts of the city, especially in
11 areas where economic growth was fastest, and were active in a variety of fields,
12 working as artisans, workers, merchants, and bankers. The main commercial streets and
13 avenues of Bucharest hosted a large number of Jewish-owned companies, as well as
14 religious, cultural, educational and social institutions (Streja and Schwarz 2009).
15
16
17
18
19
20
21

22 The community established several ironworks and foundries; their manufacture of urban
23 ornaments, including streetlamps, fences, balconies and gates, marked the city's urban
24 landscape with features associated with eclectic, art nouveau and art deco styles. During
25 the interwar period, Jewish literature and theatre flourished, and intellectuals, such as
26 Tristan Tzara and Marcel Iancu, boosted renovation in arts and architecture, spreading a
27 taste for rationalism and modernism that changed the face of the city between the
28 1930's and the 1940's (Waldmann and Ciuciu 2011).
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36

37 However, antisemitism was a constant threat and violent agitations were frequent. In
38 January 1941, during the rebellion of the Legionary Movement, over 120 Jews were
39 killed in a devastating pogrom that hit the core of the Jewish district and damaged or
40 destroyed several synagogues, homes, shops and communal buildings. In September
41 1942, approximately 600 Jews were deported to Transnistria, but large-scale
42 deportations were soon stopped by the ambivalent regime of Ion Antonescu and the vast
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 majority of Bucharest's large Jewish community survived the war and the Holocaust
10 (Wiesel et al. 2004).

11
12 Shortly after World War II, Bucharest experienced a great influx of Jews as refugees
13 arrived from concentration camps as well as from several areas in Romania where they
14 continued to feel unsafe. The city's Jewish population grew to 150,000 by 1947. After
15 the first years of the Communist regime and the closing of Jewish welfare and religious
16 institutions, Bucharest continued to be the centre of Romania's Jewish communal and
17 cultural life due in large part to the ability of its chief rabbi, Mozes Rosen, to cope with
18 the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceaușescu. A State Jewish Theatre was founded in 1948 and
19 served as a continued cultural reference. Massive emigration to Israel, however,
20 drastically reduced the number of the Jews in Bucharest. According to the census, by
21 2002 there were only 2,564 and, in 2011, only 1,333, although estimates by the
22 community's institutions count around 4,000, including partly Jewish descendants and
23 partially assimilated people. There is no significant residential concentration in the
24 former Jewish district anymore, but Jewish communal life still revolves around the area
25 and currently mainly focuses on two functioning synagogues, the institutional
26 administration, a multifunctional community center, a school and the minority's media.
27 The theatre still regularly performs Yiddish plays, as required by law for minority
28 cultural institutions, but its staff and actors are now mainly non-Jews.
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 Jewish heritage in Bucharest suffered significant destruction during the latest years of
10 Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime, when a large part of the old districts of Văcărești and
11 Dudești was demolished within the "sistemizare" plan, and replaced with wide
12 avenues, standardized apartment blocks and empty spaces. Several temples and
13 synagogues disappeared, including the old Sephardic Spanish temple, along with the
14 characteristic eclectic architecture of the area, and its inns, houses, gardens, winding
15 streets and atmosphere (Leahu 1995; Streja and Schwarz 2009). Three of the main
16 synagogues, with their lavish neoclassical and neo-Moorish architecture, were spared,
17 together with the building of the State Jewish Theatre, and look now stranded among
18 communist blocks and barren areas. In the surrounding districts, however, many
19 winding streets sided with tree-shaded old houses survived the destruction, in spite of
20 their often neglected and decaying state, and valuable buildings once designed or
21 decorated by Jewish architects and artists are spread all over the city. The Sephardic and
22 Ashkenazic cemeteries also survived to the present day, however in a semi-abandoned
23 state. Rampant overbuilding is now quickly filling the underdeveloped areas within the
24 district, or replacing unprotected old houses. Several surrounding streets, with their old
25 bourgeois houses now seriously decaying, are inhabited by very poor families, often of
26 Roma ethnicity, who obtained or occupied them when Jews left. A large memorial
27 monument dedicated to the victims of the pogrom and deportations was recently built
28 by the government in a barely visible area out of the Jewish district, with little
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8 involvement of the community, and currently appears overshadowed and forgotten by
9 both visitors and locals.

10
11
12 Thus, tangible heritage shows elements of both cultural and architectural flourishing as
13 well as neglect and destruction. Intangible heritage, on the other hand, traces its roots
14 back to a rich tradition which includes literature, music, traditions, folklore, food, etc.,
15 but has been dramatically undermined by the mass emigration towards Israel and the
16 United States, and the subsequent fading of the formerly unique Romanian-Jewish
17 identity.
18
19

20
21
22 Yet, in spite of the currently chaotic and shabby look of the formerly picturesque Jewish
23 district, its rich history and memories, as well as the architectural and cultural jewels it
24 still contains, are clearly recognizable tourism assets (Gruber 2007; Streja and Schwarz
25 2009; Waldmann and Ciuciu 2011).
26
27

28
29
30 The Jewish community of Bucharest, weakened by emigration, assimilation, aging and
31 economic hardships, inherited and manages this rich heritage in spite of its increasing
32 economic difficulties. Three remaining synagogues, one of which still functioning and
33 two hosting Jewish museums, have recently been restored with mixed public and private
34 funds, while a fourth synagogue, located out of the former Jewish area, was recently
35 renovated and acquired by the Chabad community and is almost exclusively managed
36 by that group. The management of the synagogues is a significant financial trouble for
37 this tiny and largely impoverished community. No funds are available for the restoration
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 and maintenance of the two cemeteries and the remaining ruins of other synagogues and
10 temples. There are no kosher grocery stores or regularly open restaurants in Bucharest
11 anymore, as the reduced size of the community, and its geographical dispersion,
12 critically hampers their profitability. No Jewish-related objects or souvenirs are
13 regularly sold in any of the venues, with the exception of locally-printed books, mostly
14 in Romanian and some in English or Hebrew, intermittently displayed in the internal
15 offices of the communal institutions.
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23

24 25 26 **The voice of the stakeholders**

27
28 According to the interviews done at the Choral Temple and the Great Synagogue, the
29 local Jewish community is well aware of the tourist potential of its heritage, and both
30 sights currently host significant flows of Jewish tourists, particularly Israeli, including
31 former Romanian Jews, while the number of non-Jewish visitors is modest, and local
32 Romanian visitors are rare. At the same time, not all Israeli tourists going to Bucharest,
33 particularly for business purposes, are actually interested in visiting the cultural sites
34 related to the history of the Jewish presence in the city.
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43

44 The Federation of the Jewish Communities of Romania, based in Bucharest, advocates
45 keeping a central role in the development of Jewish heritage tourism in the city, and
46 proposed a partial reconstruction of the former Jewish district of Văcărești, in the
47 remaining empty areas, clearly indicating the cases of Prague and Krakow as successful
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 models. Tourism is viewed as a major economic chance particularly for the younger
10 elements of the community. However, pessimism is widespread and related to the ever
11 reducing size of the community itself, the lack of internal funds and the weak interest
12 showed by both public and private stakeholders. Both the poor state of the old
13 remaining houses and the rampant building of new blocks are seen as serious threats for
14 the historical and cultural significance of the former Jewish district, and obstacles for its
15 tourist development, but no solutions are easily recognizable.
16
17

18
19
20
21
22
23
24 The Jewish Community Centre confirms these views adding that the cultural life of the
25 community, in spite of its reduced size, is still active and diverse, and several events
26 have been organized over the years for the Romanian population in order to revive the
27 interest and knowledge on the Jewish world, including music and food venues. Cultural
28 exchanges have also involved other historical minorities living in the city, such as Roma
29 and Armenians. The cost of these events, however, is significant and the community can
30 hardly cover them with sufficient regularity.
31
32

33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40 The Center for Monitoring and Combating Antisemitism in Romania, a local NGO, is
41 also aware of the tourist and cultural potential of Jewish heritage in Bucharest and
42 works on several projects to foster it, including digitalization of cemetery records, to
43 favour genealogical tourism, and multimedia applications to highlight Jewish-related
44 buildings and sights spread all over the historical districts of the city. However,
45 according to the interviewee, lack of public interest and inactivity and fragmentation
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 within the Jewish community itself hampered the implementation of these projects.
10 Moreover, Bucharest is not generally perceived as a cultural tourism destination, and the
11 memory of the ancient Jewish presence is largely lost among the local people.
12

13
14 The State Jewish Theatre is still formally a significant element of the Jewish identity in
15 Bucharest, but, following the emigration and aging of the community, its staff and
16 audience are now mainly non Jewish. It is managed according to the national law on
17 ethnic and linguistic minorities, thus all the plays must have a connection with Jewish
18 culture, and at least 25% of them must be in Yiddish, making it the last regular Yiddish
19 theatre in Europe. The theatre's ateliers host a wide collection of costumes, sceneries,
20 texts and posters which could easily fill a museum, but the staff indicates lack of funds,
21 weak interest from the institutions and the rundown state of the surrounding area,
22 widely demolished during Ceaușescu's years, as key issues. Under the new direction of
23 well-known actress Maia Morgenstern, the theatre aims at ultimately renovating its
24 cultural offer and introducing plays in foreign languages, in order to attract new local
25 and international audiences.
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 Other Jewish stakeholders, such as the Centre for the History of Romanian Jewry, the
42 Museum of the History of the Romanian Jewish Community, located in the former
43 United Holy Temple, the Memorial of Jewish Martyrs "Chief Rabbi Dr. Mozes Rosen",
44 located in the Great Synagogue, and the Bucharest Klezmer Band, the only klezmer
45 music players in the city, all showed scepticism on the future of the old Jewish district
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 but showed confidence on a slowly but steadily growing interest for Jewish culture and
10 history from the Romanian population.

11
12 According to Trip Advisor, Bucharest's Jewish sites are well appreciated by visitors,
13 with the three open synagogues placed 34th, 55th and 89th out of 261 listed activities,
14 while the Holocaust memorial received mixed to negative reviews and is placed 146th.
15 The Jewish Theatre is 11th out of 20 show venues. The sights, as well as the cemeteries,
16 are cited in most guidebooks, such as Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, National
17 Geographic and In Your Pocket, as well as the national tourism website
18 (<http://romaniatourism.com/jewish-heritage.html#Bucharest>), while there is still no
19 dedicated municipal tourism website. The presence of Jewish history and heritage in the
20 brochures, printed materials and websites run by the city's and county's tourist
21 authorities is weak and marginal.
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34

35 A pilot project of digitalization and promotion of Jewish heritage, also for tourism
36 purposes, was funded by the Romanian government and implemented by the University
37 of Cluj-Napoca, the Spiru Haret University of Bucharest and the National Institute of
38 Historical Monuments, under the direction of Prof. Mircea Sergiu Moldovan, between
39 2008 and 2011. Two prototypes of digital georeferenced Jewish-themed cultural trails were
40 proposed for Bucharest, one covering 18 existing and former synagogues and another one
41 including 19 interwar buildings designed by Dada architect Marcel Iancu. However, no
42 following steps have been recently recorded.
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Given the overall modest interest showed by governmental tourist offices, and a lack of landscape-attentive urban planning in the old Jewish district, private entrepreneurs have started promoting Jewish heritage tourism in effective ways. Four interviewed operators, organizing Jewish-themed guided tours in Bucharest, meet significant numbers of visitors, particularly Israeli and American Jews, followed by non-Jewish tourists, while Romanian visitors are rare. According to the interviewees, one of the main difficulties in developing this segment is the dilapidated look of the old Jewish district, caused by the demolitions ordered by Ceaușescu and the subsequent neglect. It is so difficult for foreign tourists to imagine how the area used to look like, that some of the tour operators feel compelled to bring old pre-demolition pictures, and take the visitors to neighbouring surviving old streets which recall the lost atmosphere of the district. The three central synagogues and the theatre are usually included in the tours. Some of them also include the Chabad synagogue and at least one of the two Jewish cemeteries, according to the customers' interests, and extend the tour to other Jewish sights out of Bucharest, including Transylvania and Moldavia. The Holocaust memorial is usually skipped by all of them because of its remote location and its widely perceived unattractiveness. As already noted, its layout was chosen by public authorities with no effective participation by the Jewish community, who considers it an essentially extraneous element.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 According to the interviewees, the old antisemitism, which used to be deeply rooted in
10 the Romanian society, is now largely gone and replaced by widespread indifference.
11
12 However, the issue of the Romanian contribution in the pogroms and the Holocaust, and
13 the role of Ion Antonescu's fascist regime, is still a delicate and controversial topic, as
14 confirmed by the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania (2004).
15
16

17
18 Overall, Jewish heritage tourism in Bucharest is considered, by both the Jewish
19 community and non-Jewish operators, as an important economic opportunity in order to
20 diversify the image of the city, reinforce its cultural attractiveness and spread benefits to
21 some of its marginal districts. The current shabby and unfinished state of the old Jewish
22 neighbourhood is widely indicated as a serious weakness, together with lack of
23 governmental interest and indifference or unawareness towards the historical and
24 current Jewish presence in the city showed by most of the Romanian population.
25
26 Different histories, traditions and visions by different components and stakeholders
27 within the community also emerged as a hamper. The Jewish community does not view
28 the presence of private non-Jewish operators in negative terms, considering the limited
29 size and power of the community itself and the good level of collaboration and
30 understanding with the involved guides. However, a central role and active participation
31 in heritage management is still advocated by the community.
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49

50 **Conclusive discussion**

51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 Jewish heritage sites in Europe, after several episodes of violent destruction of
10 prolonged neglect, are often characterized by a small non-monumental scale enriched by
11 intangible memories and historical significance. These characteristics tend to appeal to
12 special interest groups of tourists who have some links with or at least curiosity for
13 Jewish culture. Hence, Jewish heritage can generally be considered as a resource for
14 niche tourism. These sites are now often managed and promoted by groups and cultures
15 foreign to the Jewish faith (Howard and Allen 2005; Murzyn 2008). The development
16 of this niche heritage may often raise issues of dissonance with regard to the present-day
17 majority, who may not necessarily perceive its relevance, value and potential
18 (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).
19

20
21 The city of Bucharest is still in its early stages of cultural tourism industry growth. This
22 situation provides excellent conditions for examining the rise of Jewish heritage tourism
23 as a minority heritage product. Most tourists are still unaware of the Jewish cultural
24 resources and, owing to the diminished visibility of Jewish sights, and the tiny size of
25 the community, this heritage may also not be known to many residents.
26
27

28
29 According to the model proposed by Krakover (2016) for Jewish heritage tourism
30 development in former communist countries, Bucharest shows discordant signs.
31 Tangible heritage has partially been revived, in particular the main temples and the
32 theatre, while other sights are essentially abandoned, such as the cemeteries, and the old
33 district was wiped-out by Nicolae Ceaușescu and currently presents a rather unattractive
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 or undeveloped face. The memory and sites of Jewish presence in the rest of the city,
10 including the bourgeois architecture that still marks many central avenues and streets,
11 remains largely unrecognized. Intangible heritage, including literature, music, food, is
12 only seldom given tourist value.
13
14
15

16
17 Jewish stakeholders are aware of its weaknesses and its potential, but lack the necessary
18 resources and expertise. The Jewish museums still need an upgrade from their rather
19 traditional models into new formulas able to attract a wider public. The Jewish State
20 Theatre is already moving in that direction. The lack of services for Jewish visitors
21 (such as kosher food and restaurants and religious-friendly hotels) and for non-Jews
22 alike (souvenirs, brochures) is a considerable sign of weakness. Private specialized tour
23 guides already started developing this segment offering both standardized tours to the
24 most visible sights and more tailored proposals, also spanning towards other cities and
25 regions of Romania. A national-level Jewish itinerary, sketched by the national tourism
26 office but not subsequently developed, is thus taking form through private initiatives,
27 principally destined to Jewish visitors.
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 During the interviews with Jewish community leaders and non-Jewish private tourism
42 operators, most interviewees noted the lack of governmental financial support stemming
43 from difficult economic conditions. Nevertheless, government support has been
44 manifested in the form of restitution of Jewish public assets, financial aid for restoration
45 as well as by declaring some of the sights national monuments.
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 The sentiment of non-Jewish residents toward the current and potential revival of the
10 local Jewish identity would require further studies. According to Tunbridge and
11 Ashworth (1996), residents may develop a sense of cultural dissonance confronting the
12 revival of an almost wiped-out heritage of a local minority. However, Ashworth (2003)
13 also recorded different reactions based on the case of Polish citizens in Krakow, where
14 Jewish memories and sights largely became part of the city's identity and a solid tourist
15 asset, for Jews and non-Jews alike. Each case being placed in a different social,
16 economic, political and cultural environment, with comparable mechanisms of
17 dissonance or inclusion, further exploring the issue of minority heritage tourism niches
18 will enrich the discussion on cultural diversity in contemporary societies.
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32

33 **References**

34
35
36
37 **Ashworth G J** 1996 Holocaust tourism and Jewish culture: The lessons of Krakow-
38 Kazimierz in **Robinson M, Evans N and Callaghan P** eds *Tourism and cultural*
39 *change* Centre for Travel and Tourism, Newcastle 1-12
40
41
42

43
44 **Ashworth G J** 2003 Heritage, identity and places: For tourists and host communities in
45 **Singh S, Timothy D J and Dowling R K** eds *Tourism in destination communities*
46 CABI, Wallingford 79-97
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Ashworth G J** 2011 Preservation, conservation and heritage: Approaches to the past in
10 the present through the built environment *Asian Anthropology* 10(1) 1-18

11
12 **Ashworth G J, Graham B J and Tunbridge J E** 2007 *Pluralising pasts: Heritage,*
13 *identity and place in multicultural societies* Pluto Press, London

14
15
16
17 **Caffyn A and Lutz J** 1999 Developing the heritage tourism product in multi-ethnic
18 cities *Tourism Management* 20(2) 213-221

19
20
21
22 **Castro C B, Armario E M and Ruiz D M** 2007 The influence of market heterogeneity
23 on the relationship between a destination's image and tourists' future behavior *Tourism*
24 *Management* 28(1) 175-187

25
26
27
28 **Chambers D** 2005 Heritage and the Nation: an exploration of a discursive relationship
29 *Tourism Analysis* 9 241-254

30
31
32
33 **Cohen E** 2004 *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity and Change: Collected Articles*
34 Elsevier, Amsterdam

35
36
37 **Cole S** 2006 Cultural tourism, community participation and empowerment in **Smith M**
38 **K and Robson M** eds *Cultural tourism in a changing world: Politics, participation and*
39 *(re)presentation* Channel View Publications, Cleveland 89-103

40
41
42
43
44 **Corsale A and Vuytsyk O** 2015 Jewish Heritage Tourism between Memories and
45 Strategies. Different Approaches from Lviv, Ukraine *Current Issues in Tourism*
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Dinis A** 2006 Rural entrepreneurship - An innovation and marketing perspective In
10 **Nijkamp P, Morgan E and Vaz T** eds *The new European rurality: Strategies for small*
11 *firms* Ashgate, Aldershot 157-178
12

13
14
15 **Dinis A** 2012 Tourism, niche strategy and networks as factors for both entrepreneurship
16 and rural sustainability in **Homlong N** ed *Tourism destinations and tourism businesses:*
17 *Issues of competition and cooperation* Athens Institute for Education and Research,
18 Athens 77-92
19

20
21
22 **Dinis A and Krakover S** 2015 Niche tourism in small peripheral towns: the case of
23 Jewish Heritage in Belmonte, Portugal *Tourism Planning & Development*
24

25
26
27 **Flesler D and Pérez Melgosa A** 2010 Hervás, convivencia and the heritagization of
28 Spain's Jewish past *Journal of Romance Studies* 10(2) 53-76
29

30
31
32 **Graham B** 2002 Heritage as knowledge: Capital or culture? *Urban Studies* 39(5-6)
33 1003-1017
34

35
36
37 **Graham B and Howard P** eds 2008 *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and*
38 *identity* Ashgate, Aldershot.
39

40
41
42 **Gruber R E** 2002 *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* University
43 of California Press, Berkeley
44

45
46
47 **Gruber R E** 2007 *Jewish Heritage Travel. A Guide to Eastern Europe* National
48 Geographic Society, Washington
49

50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Gruber R E** 2009 Reclaiming Memory: Urban regeneration in the historic Jewish
10 quarters of Central European cities in **Murzyn-Kupisz M** and **Puchla J** eds *Beyond*
11 *Virtually Jewish. Balancing the real, the surreal and real imaginary places*
12 International Cultural Center, Krakow 63-79
13
14
15
16
17 **Halewood C** and **Hannam K** 2001 Viking Heritage Tourism: Authenticity and
18 Commodification *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3) 565-580
19
20
21 **Heitlinger A** 2013 *In the Shadows of the Holocaust and Communism: Czech and*
22 *Slovak Jews Since 1945* Indiana University Press, Bloomington
23
24
25
26 **Hoffman L M** 2003 The marketing of diversity in the inner city: Tourism and
27 regulation in Harlem *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(2) 286-
28 299
29
30
31
32
33 **Howard H** and **Allen D** 2005 Cultural tourism in central and Eastern Europe: The
34 views of 'induced image formation agents' *Tourism Management* 26(2) 173-183
35
36
37 **Iancu C** 1996 *Jews in Romania* New York, Columbia University Press
38
39
40 **Ioannides M W C** and **Ioannides D** 2006 Global Jewish tourism: Pilgrimages and
41 remembrance in **Timothy D J** and **Olsen D H** eds *Tourism, religion and spiritual*
42 *journeys* Routledge, London 156-171
43
44
45
46 **Krakover S** 2012 Coordinated marketing and dissemination of knowledge: Jewish
47 heritage tourism in Serra da Estrela, Portugal *Journal of Tourism and Development* 17-
48 18(1) 11-16
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Krakover S** 2013 Generation of a tourism product: Jewish heritage tourism in Spain
10 *Enlightening Tourism* 3(2) 142-168
11
12 **Krakover S** 2016 A heritage site development model: Jewish heritage product
13 formation in south-central Europe *Journal of Heritage Tourism*
14
15 **Leahu G** 1995 *Bucureștiul dispărut* Editura Arta Grafică, Bucharest
16
17 **Lehrer E** 2015 Jewish heritage, pluralism and milieu de memoire: The case of
18 Krakow's Kazimierz in **Lehrer E** and **Meng M** eds *Jewish space in contemporary*
19 *Poland* Indiana University Press, Bloomington 170-192
20
21 **Lowenthal D** 1998 *Possessed by the past: The heritage crusade and the spoils of*
22 *History* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
23
24 **Ma M** and **Hassink R** 2013 An Evolutionary perspective on tourism area development
25 *Annals of Tourism Research* 41 89-109
26
27 **MacLeod D V** ed 2003 *Niche tourism in question: Interdisciplinary perspectives on*
28 *problems and possibilities* University of Glasgow, Crichton
29
30 **McKercher B** 2002 Towards a classification of cultural tourists *International Journal*
31 *of Tourism Research* 4(1) 29-38
32
33 **Merriam S B** 2002 *Qualitative research in practice* Jossey-Bass, San Francisco
34
35 **Murzyn M A** 2008 Heritage transformation in central and eastern Europe in **Graham B**
36 and **Howard P** eds *The Ashgate companion to heritage and identity* Ashgate, Farnham
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Novelli M** ed 2005 *Niche tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases* Butterworth-
10 Heinemann, Oxford
- 11
12 **Nowaczek A** 2010 Ecotourism: Principles and Practices *Annals of Tourism Research*
13 37(1) 270-271
- 14
15
16
17 **Olsen D H** and **Timothy D J** 2002 Contested religious heritage: Differing views of
18 mormon heritage *Tourism Recreation Research* 27(2) 7-15
- 19
20
21 **Patton M Q** 2002 *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* Sage, Newbury Park
- 22
23 **Podoshen J** and **Hunt J** 2011 Equity restoration, the Holocaust and tourism of sacred
24 sites *Tourism Management* 32 1332-1342
- 25
26
27
28 **Poria Y** and **Ashworth G** 2009 Heritage Attractions - A Resource for Conflicts *Annals*
29 *of Tourism Research* 36(3) 522-525
- 30
31
32
33 **Poria Y**, **Butler R** and **Airey D** 2004 Links between Tourists, Heritage, and Reasons
34 for Visiting Heritage Sites *Journal of Travel Research* 43(1) 19-28
- 35
36
37 **Prentice R** 1993 *Tourism and heritage attractions* Routledge, London
- 38
39 **Reisinger Y** and **Steiner C** 2006) Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity *Annals of*
40 *Tourism Research* 33(1) 65-86
- 41
42
43
44 **Richards G** and **Fernandes C** 2007 Religious tourism in Northern Portugal in
45
46 **Richards G** ed *Cultural tourism: Global and local perspectives* Haworth Press,
47 Binghamton 215-238
- 48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Robinson M** and **Novelli M** 2005 Niche tourism: An introduction in **Novelli M** ed
10 *Niche tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases* Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford
11
12 1-11

13
14
15 **Russo A P** and **Romagosa F** 2010 The network of Spanish Jewries: In praise of
16
17 connecting and sharing heritage *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 5(2) 141-156

18
19 **Sandri O** 2013 City heritage tourism without heirs: A comparative study of Jewish-
20
21 themed tourism in Krakow and Vilnius *European Journal of Geography*

22
23
24 **Scheyvens R** 1999 Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities *Tourism*
25
26 *management* 20 245-249

27
28 **Smith L** 2006 *Uses of Heritage* Routledge, London

29
30
31 **Smith M** and **Zatori A** 2015 Jewish culture and tourism in Budapest in **Diekmann A**
32
33 and **Smith M K** eds *Ethnic and minority cultures as tourist attractions* Channel View,
34
35 Bristol 188-201

36
37 **Streja S** and **Schwarz L** 2009 *Synagogues of Romania* Editura Hasefer, Bucharest

38
39 **Swatos W H** and **Tomasi L** eds 2002 *From Medieval Pilgrimage to religious tourism:*
40
41 *The social and cultural economics of piety* Praeger, Westport

42
43
44 **Thurnell-Read T P** 2009 Engaging Auschwitz: an analysis of young travellers'
45
46 experiences of Holocaust Tourism *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 1(1)
47
48 26-52

49
50 **Timothy D J** and **Boyd S W** 2003 *Heritage Tourism* Prentice Hall, London

51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Timothy D J** and **Olsen D H** eds 2006 *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*
10 Routledge, Oxford
11
12
13 **Toften K** and **Hammervoll T** 2009 Niche firms and marketing strategy: An exploratory
14 study of internationally oriented niche firms *European Journal of Marketing* 43(11-12)
15 1378-1391
16
17
18
19 **Tosun C** 2000 Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in
20 developing countries *Tourism Management* 21(6) 613-633
21
22
23
24 **Trauer B** 2006 Conceptualizing special interest tourism – frameworks for analysis
25 *Tourism Management* 27(2) 183-200
26
27
28
29 **Tunbridge J E** and **Ashworth G J** 1996 *Dissonant heritage: The management of the*
30 *past as a resource in conflict* Wiley, Chichester
31
32
33 **Tuszynska A** 1998 *Lost Landscapes: In Search of Isaac Bashevis Singer and the Jews*
34 *of Poland* William Morrow, New York
35
36
37
38 **Valley E** 1999 *The Great Jewish Cities of Central and Eastern Europe* Jason Aronson,
39 Northvale
40
41
42 **Walder B**, **Weiermair K** and **Sancho Pérez A** eds 2006 *Innovation and Product*
43 *Development in Tourism* Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin
44
45
46
47 **Waldman F** and **Ciuciu A** 2011 *Stories and Images of Jewish Bucharest* NOI Media
48 Print, Bucharest
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 **Wall G** 2009 Tourism and development: Towards sustainable outcomes in **Fusco L** and
10 **Nijkamp P** eds *Cultural tourism and sustainable local development* Ashgate, Aldershot
11
12 31-46
13

14
15 **Wiesel E, Friling T, Ioanid R and Ionescu M E** eds 2004 *International Commission*
16
17 *on the Holocaust in Romania – Final Report* Polirom, Iași
18

19 **Young J** 1993 *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* Yale
20
21 University Press, New Haven
22
23

24 25 26 **Websites**

27
28 <http://antisemitism.ro/> (Center for monitoring and combating antisemitism in Romania)

29
30 <http://teatrul-evreiesc.com.ro/> (State Jewish Theatre)

31
32 <http://www.jcc.ro/> (Jewish Community Centre – Bucharest)

33
34 <http://www.jewishfed.ro/> (Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania)

35
36 <http://www.jewish-romania.ro/> (Project JEWISH-ROM)

37
38 <http://www.romania.travel/special-interest/jewish-heritage/> (Romanian National
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
Tourism Authority)

44
45
46
47 <https://www.ushmm.org/research/scholarly-presentations/symposia/holocaust-in-romania/romania-facing-its-past> (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

For Peer Review