Cultural tourism between local and transnational identities: Jewish heritage in Syracuse, Italy

Andrea Corsale & Shaul Krakover

Published online: 14 Sep 2018.

Submit your article to this journal

View Crossmark data

Cultural tourism between local and transnational identities: Jewish heritage in Syracuse, Italy

Andrea Corsale[a] [iD] and Shaul Krakover[b] [iD]

[a]Department of History, Cultural Heritage and Territory, University of Cagliari, Cagliari, Italy;
[b]Department of Geography and Environmental Development, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and Hemdat HaDarom College of Education, Beer-Sheva, Israel

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the management of heritage and cultural tourism related to the complex identity of minority groups, where different components tend to produce different visions and practices. It highlights the impacts of globalized transnational networks and influences on political, cultural and religious identities and affiliations over long distances. In fact, diverse views, approaches, perceptions and representations may lead to disagreement and conflicts even within apparently compact ethnic or religious communities. The issues related to dissonant heritage management strategies and the related authorized heritage discourse, in terms of unbalanced power relations and diverging narratives, are considered. The theme of Jewish heritage tourism (J.H.T) is analysed, with a focus on the case of Syracuse, Italy. This historically cosmopolitan and multicultural city specializes in cultural tourism and tends to develop niche products, including J.H.T, in order to strengthen and diversify its international cultural destination status. Different components of the Jewish world, as well as non-Jewish stakeholders, practice different approaches to heritage tourism. Actors, discourses and reasons behind Jewish culture management and promotion will be highlighted and the reactions, perceptions and suggestions by the various stakeholders and groups involved will be portrayed, with the aim of contributing to the discussion about the complexity of niche heritage tourism processes in a multi-ethnic site.

摘要
本文主要研究与少数民族群体复杂的身份认同有关的遗产和文化旅游的管理问题, 就此问题而言, 不同的少数民族往往产生不同的愿景和实践。它突出了全球跨国网络的影响, 以及对远距离政治、文化和宗教认同与联系的影响。事实上, 即使是在明显紧密的种族或宗教社区内, 不同的观点、方法、认识及表现方式也可能导致分歧和冲突。本文从权力关系的不平衡和叙事方式的差异讨论了有分歧遗产管理的策略和权威遗产话语议题。本文以意大利锡拉库扎为例, 分析了犹太遗产旅游的主题。这座历史上具有世界性和多文化的城市专门从事文化旅游, 并倾向于开发包括犹太遗产旅游在内的特色产品, 以加强和多样化其国际文化目的地的地位。犹太世界的不同组成部分, 以及非犹太利益相关者, 以不同的方式从事遗产旅游。本文将凸显犹太文化管理和推广背后的行动者、话语和原因, 并描绘各利益相关者和相关团体的反应、看法和建议, 以期有助于讨论多民族地区特色遗产旅游发展过程的复杂性。

CONTACT Andrea Corsale ✉ acorsale@unica.it

1. Introduction

This article contributes to the discussion on the management of heritage and the promotion of cultural tourism related to the complex identity of minority groups, where different components tend to produce different visions and practices. It also deals with some of the new dimensions of transnationalism in the globalized world, and the consequent projection of political, cultural and religious identities and affiliations over long distances through religion-related networks.

This study focuses on highlighting the impacts of transnational networks and influences which foster diverse and sometimes conflicting views on heritage management and cultural tourism development. These diverse views, approaches, perceptions and representations may lead to disputes even within apparently compact ethnic or religious communities. This can ultimately hamper or prevent the development of shared plans for community-based heritage tourism.

The case of the Jewish heritage in the community of Syracuse, Italy, will be examined. This case is pertinent to the discussion since it is a historically cosmopolitan and multicultural city which specializes in cultural tourism and tends to develop niche products, including Jewish heritage tourism (J.H.T), in order to strengthen and diversify its international cultural destination status. Actors, discourses and reasons behind Jewish culture management and promotion will be highlighted and the reactions, perceptions and suggestions by the various stakeholders and groups involved will be portrayed. Thus, this article contributes to the discussion about heritage management related to minority group participation considering the influence and impact of different identities, connections, roots and visions on local cultural policies. It also considers the intrinsic risk of niche tourism process to paradoxically exclude the community who produced and ran that heritage in the past but is now in a weaker position, considering and underlining the issues raised by theories such as the dissonant heritage and the authorized heritage discourse (A.H.D).

The transnational globalized aspects of tourism development and the specific theme of JHT will be discussed in the literature review, followed by a presentation of the methodology and the study area characteristics. Next, the case features will be used to illustrate how different components of the Jewish world, including (re)converts to Judaism, crypto-Jews, religious and secular groups, at the local (Syracuse), national (Italy) and international/transnational levels, practice different approaches to heritage tourism, producing divergent and conflicting views and plans. This complexity which exists within the local and the wider Jewish world shows the influence of transnational kinships and their effects on local identities and territorial dynamics related to heritage tourism.

Finally, there is a reflection on the discourse behind the current and possible future management of Jewish legacy and how the case study contributes to a better understanding of the complexity of niche heritage tourism processes in a multi-ethnic site. Both the case study and its theoretical framework aim to foster a critical approach to minority heritage tourism, as its management and promotion may produce or exacerbate phenomena of commodification, hierarchisation, dispossession, marginalisation

and misinterpretation. At the same time, this form of niche tourism can also become an opportunity for economic diversification, rediscovery of the past, acceptance of cultural diversity and involvement of minority groups. Nevertheless, the research results demonstrate that tourism is not necessarily a convenient or even appropriate way to promote minority heritage.

2. Heritage management in complex societies

This literature review concentrates on the diverse nature of nowadays communities and the impact of this diversity on heritage management and cultural tourism development. The review focuses on the varied and sometimes discordant economic, political and social use of heritage among dominant or minority groups. The influence of the globalized transnational relations and networks which link distant groups, homelands and diasporas will be exposed.

Heritage is generally viewed, interpreted, narrated and ultimately managed according to an affirmation and sharing of certain meanings and values within a local community, or at a global level (Ashworth, 2011; Graham, 2002; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The varied and sometimes conflicting approaches to heritage and tourism depend on a complex series of factors, such as ethnicity, religion, class, political attributes and personal or collective histories and narratives, which may divide and segment the communities involved (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007). In fact, the links with the past, both tangible and intangible, are recognized and represented through a selection process related to the needs of the present and the visions of the future (Ashworth et al., 2007; Graham & Howard, 2008; Wall, 2009). Thus, heritage can be seen as the contemporary use of memories and artefacts according to current cultural, social and economic realities, in order to build social or ethnic identities, legitimize political power, or support tourism development (Ashworth, 2011).

This means that heritage management, and the related selection, authorization and promotion processes, has strong political drives or impetus, besides its cultural and economic motivations and impacts. Dominant groups, in terms of demographic, ethnic, political, social, economic or cultural control, can easily impose their narratives and take a leading role in the selection and authorization of heritage in order to support and fulfil their aims (Smith, 2006). Elements, aspects or interpretations of heritage related to smaller or weaker groups can thus be overshadowed. This is a particularly delicate issue in current or former multicultural and cosmopolitan contexts, where different national groups marked the landscape and contributed to complex and multifaceted territorial identities (Caffyn & Lutz, 1999; Lowenthal, 1998; Poria & Ashworth, 2009; Smith, 2006).

Studies concentrating on tourism marketing highlight the impact that cultural diversity, and a corresponding diversity of tourism products and destinations, can have on the evolution of tourism areas (Castro, Armario, & Ruiz, 2007; Hoffman, 2003; Krakover, 2012; Ma & Hassink, 2013). In fact, past or present multicultural heritage can be a strong asset for the development of niche tourism products and for the diversification or renewal of a certain destination image (Dinis & Krakover, 2016), although dominant groups can keep or take control and impose their own interpretations,

narratives and aims, regardless of their ethnic background and personal or emotional links with the heritage itself (Diekmann & Smith, 2015; Novelli, 2005; Smith, 2006).

When a culturally dominant group manages the traces of minorities' past or current presence, three options are possible with regard to their visibility in the tourist image of a specific territory (Krakover, 2016): (a) the minority heritage is silenced; (b) it is tolerated or allowed as an additional heritage coexisting with the dominant one; (c) it is incorporated within the local narrative to generate a complex, inclusive and pluralized place identity (Lehrer, 2015; Sandri, 2013).

Complex questions about authenticity, commodification, community participation, social inclusion/exclusion and recognition of diversity are involved in heritage tourism dynamics that necessitate constant monitoring and reassessment (Chambers, 2005; Leite, 2007; Lowenthal, 1998; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Blackstock (2005) observes that many tourism development plans and models tend to treat the host community as a homogeneous bloc, but in reality most communities are complex, heterogeneous and stratified, so that sub-groups or individuals can act for their own interest rather than for the collective well-being.

Various other scholars have identified a number of inter-related barriers that prevent effective local communities' involvement in tourism development (Cole, 2006; Manyara & Jones, 2007). Internal and external obstacles to participation can include such factors as political frictions, lack of financial resources, cultural remoteness, negligible experience of tourism and heavy presence of international tour operators. Among these obstacles, the impact that divergent representations, narratives and visions, within the same community which manages the local heritage, or feels particularly attached to it, can be significant. In fact, different visions and plans about heritage conservation and promotion are generally linked to broader senses of identity and attachment, with complex and diverse ethnic, religious, political, economic backgrounds and reflections (Adongo, Choe, & Han, 2017; Tosun, 2000). The interpretation and management of heritage is considered 'dissonant' when different groups attribute different narratives or values to a certain object, landscape, or tradition (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). According to Blackstock (2005), even a small minority group, apparently united and homogeneous, when dealing with the legacy of its historical development in a certain place, can reflect a wide variety of identities and views, which can become particularly problematic when faced with the opportunity, or threat, of mass cultural tourism development. Heritage assumes different functions in different forms of plural societies, and for this reason minority or multicultural heritage will be seen as more or less problematic depending largely on the extent to which the society conforms to an 'assimilatory' or 'pluralistic' model (Ashworth et al., 2007; Harrison, 2010). Hence, dominant groups within societies use heritage in the production of varied place-identities, while vulnerable components may need to rely on different representations of heritage. This will produce a diverse range of types of heritage management in plural societies, and again these will be seen as more or less in competition with one another depending on the degree to which the society, or the group, is inclusive of plurality. Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) use the term 'contested heritage' to describe cases of conflicts between different social groups over the same relics, sites and events, where each group (or even sub-group) claims them as their own heritage, interprets them differently, and aims to use them for different

purposes. According to Lowenthal (1985), history, memory and heritage constitute a malleable matter which enables a thorough creation of the past, through selective erosion, invention, or oblivion.

Smith (2006) has suggested that there is an 'A.H.D' which is a set of ideas, practices and texts produced by stronger and dominant political, economic or cultural stakeholders that regulate heritage practice and determine what heritage is perceived to be relevant, and, conversely, what is not. Consequently, different and even conflicting visions about heritage representation and management, and heritage tourism development, can arise. The A.H.D can easily exclude minority groups, but can also marginalize different components within minority and diasporic groups themselves. The A.H.D can be considered as a lens to view heritage. It influences the perception of what is valuable to be preserved and the way it is interpreted. Therefore, the understanding of heritage interpretations should pay less attention to its tangible or intangible aspects, and more to their attributed meanings and representations (Graham & Howard, 2008). Thus, heritage can be used to politicize culture by projecting certain desired images of the nation, and by conveying ideas and constructs of inclusion and exclusion (Ashworth & Graham, 1997; Peckham, 2003).

The term 'diaspora' originally refers to the Jewish population who was exiled from Palestine, particularly in the first and second century CE, and forced to settle outside their homeland. More generally, diasporic groups can be defined as displaced populations, such as migrants, political refugees, foreign workers, overseas communities, ethnic and religious minorities, living outside of their original territory (King, 2010; Shuval, 2000). These groups tend to define themselves through the reference to a distant homeland from which they once originated, maintaining cultural and psychological attachments to their places of origin, even after several generations (Barber, 2001; Mitchell, 1997; Timothy, 1997). The peculiar identity of the diasporic communities anchors individuals and groups to distant places, and helps them to cope with new lives, displacement or discrimination (Baldassar, 2001; Stephenson, 2002). One of the most common ways to keep bonds with the homeland is travelling with the aim of keeping personal and emotional links and to re-discover the original or ancestral home. Indeed, connections to homelands are major motivators of tourism flows of migrants and their descendants who wish to re-discover their roots, to re-experience their former homeland and thereby to re-locate their identity. Coles and Timothy (2004) identified several ways in which diasporas and tourism intersect, e.g. travelling to homelands or diasporic and ethnic enclaves, genealogical research, homeland populations visiting the diaspora communities and tourism to places of transit. Baldassar (2001) conceptualized return visits to the homeland as part of the migratory process itself, as they influence the settlement in a new country, maintain connections with distant relatives, feed nostalgia for past times and places and create fluid, transnational identities. Diasporic tourists may visit a certain destination for a short period of time and have little or no experience of being in the place, just like the 'classic' cultural tourists, but they tend to cultivate a stronger sense of cultural awareness and a distinct feeling of being home (Huang, Ramshaw, & Norman, 2016).

According to Sheffer (2003), diasporic identities rely on cultural attachments and emotional connections to the 'homeland', but these identities, rather than providing a

single meaning, are often defined on the basis of multiple characteristics (Coles & Timothy, 2004). As Cloke, Crang, and Goodwin (2009) asserts, the actual identity experienced by the dispersed population is often filtered by place, meaning that whilst there is a common connection to the idea of a homeland, the articulation of this transnational identity is dynamic.

Diasporic minorities can often be seen as 'transnationally-organized imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983), or social and political constructions strengthened by globalized communication and transportation means, which create a de-territorialized social, cultural or political community (Adamson, 2012). Emigrated and diasporic communities can (re)define themselves as belonging to larger transnational identity networks (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002; Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton-Blanc, 1994; Georges, 1990). Rather than general transnational interest groups, diasporic communities are bounded by a particular national, ethnic or religious marker, which creates fertile conditions for the preservation of particularism and competition between different aspects or declinations of their identity (Adamson, 2012; Bob, 2005; Carpenter, 2005). When diasporic communities, or parts of them, are spatially dispersed among host populations, but still keep strong ties, at local, regional or international levels, also using modern technologies of communication and transportation, transnationalism can take the form of heterolocalism (Zelinsky & Lee, 1998).

Political, social and cultural orientations and belongings act as glue holding together diasporas, or sub-groups within them, but are also constantly reinterpreted and reframed through the varied experiences and relations which emerge through the contact with the host societies and their identities (Said, 1993).

The current history of Jewish diaspora demonstrates the strong impact of Zionism, which can be seen as a form of 'transnational nationalism', in the evolution of dispersed religious communities into a worldwide political movement involving a large part, albeit not the whole, of the Jewish world (Gellner, 1983).

Transnational dynamics – in terms of long-distance demographic, political, economic or cultural ties, realistic or imaginary representations and complex dimensions of diverse or competing identities – produce significant consequences on heritage selection, authorization, interpretation, management and promotion (Basch et al., 1994; Koundoura, 2012). According to the New Mobilities Paradigm, proposed by Sheller and Urry (2006), migrations and other forms of population movements, including tourism, constantly create new identities, including subnational and transnational ones.

According to Hall (2008), heritage is a key element of the 'educative apparatus' which creates a sense of belonging to the nation, or to a particular aspect or interpretation of a nation's identity. Like personal memory, social memory is also highly selective, and often forgets and elides many episodes which, from another perspective, could be the start of different narratives, identities and practices.

This study intends to explore debates and dilemmas within transnational identity networks dealing with heritage management and cultural tourism development, comparing different approaches among stakeholders owning or having to do with Jewish heritage assets, using the case of Syracuse, Italy, as an example for the current trends occurring in contemporary complex societies.

A focus on this dimension of complexity, within traditional and globalized societies and communities as well, can help understand numerous and widespread issues of confrontation, marginalization, disinheritance, exclusion or inactivity. Studies on Jewish diaspora heritage tend to show these issues in a particularly clear way, as the complex relations within different community components, between the homeland and the diaspora, and between the Jewish minorities and the non-Jewish majorities, make these case studies a stage where histories, identities, relations and visions encounter and influence each other in ever-changing manners. This is also pertinent to many other globalized and migrant communities (Gruber, 2002).

Jewish heritage tourism developed in recent decades starting as a small niche tourism segment, but has rapidly grown reaching typical mass-tourism characteristics in many destinations (Gruber, 2002; Krakover, 2013). However, despite the wide interest in religious tourism (Timothy & Olsen, 2006) and pilgrimage (Swatos & Tomasi, 2002), discussion of Jewish heritage as tourism product is still relatively rare. Among the most significant studies, Ashworth (1996) focused on this topic as an example of dissonant heritage (Ashworth, 2003), and Gruber (2002) documented the story of the rediscovery, or 'reinvention', of Jewish heritage in many towns and cities in Europe.

Jewish culture, or what is perceived or defined as Jewish culture by different groups, has become a visible component of 'heritage' and 'identity', even in countries where Jews themselves now form tiny minorities, or have completely disappeared (Leite, 2007; Gruber, 2002). Klezmer or Sephardic music festivals, restoration of synagogues, opening of Jewish museums, construction of Holocaust memorials, production of films and novels, have characterized this trend in many European countries (Valley, 1999). Jewish-theme tourism has become a well-established niche in the vast tourist market, promoted on the private level and also strongly backed by state, city, or regional authorities (Gruber, 2002). Numerous new Jewish guidebooks, brochures, Jewish heritage maps, posters, websites and other material have been published, and new travel agencies have opened to specialize in Jewish tours. Old Jewish districts are under development as tourist attractions in major cultural tourism destinations (such as Seville, Rome, Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Cracow) as well as lesser-known towns and villages scattered from Portugal to Ukraine (Gruber, 2007; Krakover, 2016). Holocaust sites, from Dachau to Auschwitz-Birkenau, are visited by millions of people every year (Thurnell-Read, 2009). Jewish-style shops, galleries, cafes and restaurants have been opened in many cities, most often by non-Jews. Since the Jewish presence in most of these cities and countries is negligible, the vast majority of managers, retailers, visitors, customers and audiences are non-Jews (Heitlinger, 2013). Commodification and commercialization of Jewish heritage sites are certainly linked to exploitative and opportunistic business or to a sense of guiltiness about the Holocaust (Ashworth, 1996), but in many other cases the rediscovery of Jewish history and culture depends on the metaphorical interpretations and values attribution by non-Jews (Petrevska, Krakover, & Collins-Kreiner, 2018). This heritage can be variously seen and used as a symbol of survival, hybrid identity, multiculturalism; a remembrance of Nazi crimes, communist denial or religious intolerance; a tribute to all oppressed peoples and a celebration of democratic ideals and human rights (Corsale & Vuytsyk, 2015; Young, 1993). It can be linked with fascination for world music, nostalgia for a vanished past, admiration for

Jewish figures in arts, literature, science, or curiosity about dark ages, such as the Shoah (Tuszynska, 1998). This phenomenon is manifested on a purely personal level but also as a conscious part of public policies, by local and national authorities as well as by pan-European institutions. In countries such as Spain, Portugal and southern Italy, it is a matter of recreating or reinventing a heritage that was mostly lost and destroyed over five centuries ago. The mainstream recovery of Jewish history and culture as well as Holocaust memory can be used as a means of re-thinking and re-defining both personal identity and national histories, in a process that is both conscious and unconscious.

Jews themselves have not been immune to this phenomenon. Parallel to the development of a non-Jewish rediscovery and appropriation of Jewish heritage in Europe, there has been a growing interest by Jews themselves, too. Indeed, the embrace of Jewish culture by mainstream society has gone on side by side with efforts by Jews themselves to recover or redefine personal Jewish roots and identities, and to revive or enrich Jewish communities, Jewish life, and internal Jewish culture in various countries (Krakover, 2016).

The history and memory that are resurrected are often distorted or codified to suit specific local and personal needs (Flesler & Pérez Melgosa, 2010). The promotion of past Jewish life and culture can thus respond to symbolic expectations and cultural demands by non-Jews, and can also feed business and tourism product and destination diversification and development. However, approaching this heritage without a connection with a living and evolving Jewish dimension, raises issues of cultural authenticity, interethnic dialogue, community participation and history interpretation which ought to be analysed in-depth (Sandri, 2013). At the same time, the Jewish world itself holds varied and different views on Jewish heritage commodification, when done by Jews and non-Jews alike (Gruber, 2009). Divergent religious, political and cultural directions, within the Jewish population in Israel and in the surviving diaspora, often create rifts, tensions and misunderstandings (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011). This plurality may cause phenomena of dissonant heritage within the Jewish world itself, and in the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in terms of history narratives and heritage interpretation and management. This heritage, either related to a distant past or to the present time, may be authorized and represented in different ways by different stakeholders, and may lead to its deliberate use for niche tourism promotion and business, which does not necessarily correspond to a shared vision within the Jewish world.

Cases such as Jewish heritage development dynamics in Lviv and Bucharest have been analysed in recent years (Corsale, 2017; Corsale & Vuytsyk, 2015), showing the weight of divergent strategies among Jews and non-Jews on cultural tourism perspectives. The case of Syracuse further adds to this complex scenario because, as the article will illustrate, Jewish presence in the city actually faded several centuries ago, comparable to the historic situation prevailing in Portugal and Spain (Krakover, 2012, 2013). The current re-discovery of Syracuse Jewish past, and the re-establishment of its Jewish community, makes it an interesting arena where some typical features of post-modern and globalized phenomena, such as identity recovery, heterolocal and transnational bonds, unbalanced power relations, and divergent views on heritage tourism, can be observed (Zelinsky & Lee, 1998).

The narrative power of tourism in inventing, adapting and obliterating dissonant national historiographies is well recorded in the literature (Pitchford, 2008; Ploner, 2012). In particular, various studies show the conscious use of ethnic-related heritage in order to foster a certain image or geopolitical positioning (Naef & Ploner, 2016; Silverman, 2001). For example, the Croatian tourism policy seeks to dissociate the country from its war heritage, and tries to promote Croatia as 'European', emphasising Roman or Austro-Hungarian historical elements, instead of Byzantine, socialist or Slavic culture (Rivera, 2008). Dragićević Šešić and Rogač Mijatovićć (2014) describe how the links between tourism and heritage interpretation reinforce long-established narratives and symbolic geographies of the Balkan region through varied politically charged metaphors such as 'multicultural mosaic', 'bridge', 'border', 'crossroads', 'powder keg' or Europe's 'Other'. Addison (2004) shows how Jordan, a predominantly Muslim country rich in Islamic monuments, invests heavily in Christian sites, favouring them over Islamic sites in terms of preservation, and makes them overtly more visible to the foreign tourist than Islamic heritage, in order to present itself as a multicultural, secular, safe and 'Western-identified State'.

Places whose history and identity are strictly linked with past conflicts, hostilities, traumas and injustices, or even competing memories, can be represented and 'normalized' with the aid of tourism, in order to strengthen, or challenge, their narratives and perspectives, and direct audiences towards certain attitudes and moral judgements (Bendix, 2002; Causevic & Lynch, 2011; Ploner, 2012).

3. Study method and area

The study is substantially based on a qualitative research method and incorporates observations, interviews and consultation of secondary sources (Merriam, 2002; Patton, 2002). Between July and September 2016, the authors undertook interviews, in person and over the phone, with key stakeholders from the Jewish communities of Syracuse and eastern Sicily, from the Union of the Italian Jewish Communities (based in Rome), with local public authorities dealing with cultural heritage management and promotion, and with local tourist operators working in this tourism segment. The main questions of the interviews focused on how the different stakeholders, both Jewish and non-Jewish, envision the management and promotion of Jewish heritage for tourism purposes, and how public authorities and private operators relate to it. A total of 11 interviews were held; they started with a presentation of the research aims to the interviewees, were held in Italian and English and varied in length from 10 to 60 minutes; the interviews which were taken in person were taped and subsequently transcribed, analysed and compared in order to highlight the excerpts related to identity, heritage and tourism issues.

The field study was made in September 2016, over a period of seven days. Most of the interviews to the local stakeholders were taken during this period, too. Direct observations included visits to the main cultural highlights and neighbourhoods related to the Jewish historical and current presence in Syracuse. This city was selected as an appropriate case study due to the preservation of significant and varied Jewish

relics, to the existence of a re-converted Jewish community, and to the involvement of various other stakeholders in the development of J.H.T.

Prior to entering the field, the authors undertook a review of literature on heritage tourism management and transnational identities, part of which has been reported above, to provide a broad academic context for the research. They also consulted a range of secondary sources, such as historical and recent statistical data on the demography and the economy of Syracuse and its territorial context, and materials that directly or indirectly deal with Jewish history and culture, and J.H.T. 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 town's printed material. Likewise, this coverage was later examined in the municipal and regional official websites. This allowed understanding how Jewish tangible and intangible heritage in Syracuse is valued and represented by non-Jewish stakeholders. This supported interpretation of the discourse behind its management and promotion, through the evaluation of its visibility within the cultural and tourist image of the town promoted by public authorities. The contacts with the interviewed stakeholders have been maintained until January 2018, in order to consider any relevant changes and updates.

4. Different and convergent identities and visions

The town of Syracuse, located along the eastern coast of Sicily, was founded in the eighth century BC by Greek settlers from Corinth and developed through Greek, Hellenistic and Roman times as one of the main cosmopolitan and multicultural cities of the Mediterranean. During the Byzantine, Arab and Norman rule, the city declined in population and size but maintained its cultural diversity and its double Greek and Latin identity (Finley, 1979).

The long Aragonese and Spanish rule, between the late 13th and the early 18th century, was characterized by flourishing architecture on the one hand and devastating earthquakes, most notably in 1693, on the other hand. Concurrently, the town lost much of its traditional multiculturalism with the expulsion of the Jewish population, ordered by the Catholic monarchs of Spain in 1492. A significant part of the local Jewish community decided to convert to Catholicism, albeit often only superficially, and was then allowed to stay. However, fear of repression and growing intolerance led to the eventual fade of their specific practices, identities and memories (Renda, 1993). The ancient Greek character of the city was lost as well, and lavish baroque palaces and churches concealed a growing economic and cultural marginalization. The Bourbon and Savoy rule, and the ongoing Italian Republican period, have seen the city still struggling between the memory of its ancient glory and severe economic difficulties (Correnti, 2002; Renda, 2003).

In spite of a significant flow of cultural tourism, a large part of the population faces high unemployment rates (22% in the province of Syracuse in 2017), and the economic context suffers from inadequate infrastructures and pressure from organized crime. Syracuse counted 122,001 inhabitants in 2017, down from 125,941 in 1991; among them, 5,680 are foreign immigrants (4.7% of the total population). In spite of

the difficult economic context, immigration flows have been significant and cultural and religious diversity is thus on the rise, with Sri Lankans, Moroccans and Romanians as the main immigrant communities (Statistics derived from Istat, 2018).

The contradiction between an exceptionally rich cultural heritage and these severe socio-economic problems generates an ongoing debate on how cultural tourism could produce more significant benefits for the population and the economy. In fact, Jewish heritage resources in the city are widely viewed as one of the options available to enhance the local tourism industry. However, the results outlined below clarify that utilization of these resources is rather complicated and depends, inter alia, on transnational rival forces.

4.1. The Jewish religious approach

Among the numerous stakeholders interested in strengthening heritage tourism in Syracuse, the descendants of the ancient Jewish community started developing plans and proposals in parallel with the progressive rediscovery of their ancient roots. However, this community, although small in size, reflects the considerable complexity of Judaism and Jewish identity in the diaspora, which produces significant consequences for heritage management and promotion.

At a first stage, several 'crypto-Jews', local Catholic families and individuals still bearing Jewish surnames, or even keeping symbolic elements of their distinct identity, such as candle lighting for Shabbat, converted to Judaism between the 1980s and the 2010s. The first of them discovered his Jewish roots in 1983, decided to become a Rabbi in Israel and dedicated time and money to re-found the Jewish community of Syracuse. Starting from 2008, his house became a magnet for many Sicilian crypto-Jews and he subsequently opened a formal synagogue in one of the modern suburbs of the town. According to the interview results, he helped about 40 individuals to return to Judaism and create a functioning community guided by his young local assistant. However, this community is constantly weakened by the emigration of younger members, due to the high unemployment rates of Sicily. It is thus not always easy to gather enough participants for Shabbat prayers in the synagogue. Nevertheless, the festivities are regularly celebrated and kosher food is provided to the participants on special occasions.

The synagogue is not normally open, save for Shabbat and festivities, and is located very far from the city centre and the old town ('Ortigia'), which hampers the access of both Jewish and non-Jewish visitors or attendants. The community wishes to move the synagogue to Ortigia, but lack of funds and alleged indifference from the municipal administration have stopped the plan, so far. Nevertheless, the synagogue is increasingly visited by school groups, particularly for Holocaust remembrance days. It is not listed among the city's cultural attractions by municipal brochures and maps, even though the administration is informed of its existence. No conflicts ever emerged with the local non-Jewish inhabitants. The community is active in interfaith dialogue with Christian and Muslim communities of Sicily.

> The Municipality knows about our existence, but has never included our synagogue in their maps and brochures … We are happy that Jewish sites such as the mikveh are visited by so

> *many tourists, although we earn nothing from that … We currently focus on educational programmes with schools, in order to make them know more about the Jewish religion and culture* (G., Jewish community of Syracuse).

However, this peculiar phenomenon of 'bottom-up' rediscovery of Jewish roots, autonomous rabbinical education, widespread conversion and independent synagogue establishment, raised significant distrust and opposition from both the Union of the Italian Jewish Communities and the rabbinical establishment in Israel. In fact, the newly-reborn Jewish community of Syracuse, and their synagogue, have not been recognized by the Union of Jewish Communities in Italy, based in Rome. According to the interview results, the main reason for this dispute is the independent procedure taken toward the (re)conversion of the local Jews, which is a very controversial issue both in Israel and the Jewish diaspora because of the lack of universally recognized criteria and practices.

> *We have no relations with the Union in Rome. They try to control everything. We have our own history and identity here … There are other Jews here in Syracuse and in Eastern Sicily who do not adhere to our community. They are not very religious and some of them try to exploit their origins to make business* (G., Jewish community of Syracuse).

Moreover, the Orthodox and conservative approach to Jewish identity and faith, adopted by the newly-established community of Syracuse, does create a strictly-bound community, but tends to push away more secular individuals, who may be more interested in their ethnic Jewish roots rather than religious belonging and practice, and may even wish to keep their Catholic faith.

According to the interviewed Jewish stakeholders, the remaining local inhabitants with distant Jewish origins, who converted to the Christian faith centuries ago, and who are still able to trace their background through their surnames or their family memories, but are not interested in a reconversion to Judaism, do not currently play a significant role in the development of J.H.T. However, some relevant exceptions are present, as the authors interviewed a professor of the Academy of Arts who is well aware of his Jewish roots, albeit keeping his Christian faith, and who is strongly concerned with the rediscovery, preservation and development of Jewish history and culture, tightly working with the Jewish community's synagogue, albeit not showing any collaborative relationship with the other components of the local Jewishness, or with the local municipal administration.

4.2. The Jewish heritage approach

A more secular approach to Jewish legacy and heritage, including tourism promotion, is practiced by other local people of Jewish origin who established a cultural organization called 'Charta delle Judeche' (Chart of the Jewish settlements) in 1997. This organization created a network connecting the Regional Government of Sicily with tens of municipalities in Sicily and Calabria, and the private universities of Cumo (located in the nearby town of Noto) and Kore (in Enna), in order to promote Jewish tangible and intangible heritage in their territories, for both cultural and tourism development purposes. The participation of these institutions and municipalities is voluntary and does not imply any financial engagement, but does create a visible institutional network

which holds annual themed meetings and receives significant coverage in local media. The ultimate aim is to develop multi-level itineraries in Sicily and Southern Italy which would include appropriate accommodation and provision of kosher food. Some kosher productions (e.g. olive oil, wine and traditional food) are already available in a connected luxury rural hotel located in Noto. The head of the *Cartha* organization plans to obtain more kosher food certifications, in order to make Italians know more about kosher food and its healthy production processes.

A 'Jewish House' has recently been opened by the organization in the nearby city of Catania, following an agreement with the local municipal administration, in the neo-gothic 'Castello Leucatia', a picturesque mansion built in the early 20th century by a Jewish businessman, as a first step toward the creation of an autonomous Jewish community.

According to the interviewees belonging to the *Cartha*, Israeli potential visitors to Sicily do not know enough about Jewish history and heritage in southern Italy and strong marketing and promotion campaigns should be introduced in Israel, in order to support the project and make it financially viable. Due to different histories, approaches, declinations, networks and aims, the relations with both the Jewish community of Syracuse and the Union of the Italian Jewish Communities are characterized by reciprocal tension and mistrust.

> There is a great potential for Jewish heritage tourism in Sicily, but we need to be active and take a leading role to make profitable business and raise awareness about Jewish history and culture ... We do not need self-proclaimed Rabbis, nor supervision from the Union (B., Charta delle Judeche).

4.3. The Jewish institutional approach

The third component of the re-emerging Jewish identity and practice in Sicily is strongly connected with the Union of Italian Jewish Communities in Rome, directly linked with Israeli institutions, which only recognizes the long-established Jewish community in Naples as the sole formal and effective reference point for Judaism in the whole South of Italy. As the sole institutional body representing the Italian Jewish religious minority, recognized by the Italian State, the Union receives significant yearly taxpayers' contributions, according to the Italian law. The Union autonomously supports and encourages contacts with public authorities and occasional cultural projects in Sicily, involving several individual local Jews who follow the guidelines of the national community. Tourism, however, does not appear to be the main focus of their activities.

This Italian Jewish institutional dimension, structurally linked with high-level Israeli political and religious authorities, does not support either of the previously linked stakeholders. The independently-established and autonomously-run Jewish community of Syracuse did not receive their endorsement, nor did the pragmatic and tourism-oriented strategy of institutional networking led by the *Charta delle Judeche* association. Open conflicts occasionally arise, as the Union publicly disapproved and denounced the self-established communities of Syracuse and Catania on Sicilian media.

> We know that several people act as questionable representatives of Jewish history, culture and religion in Sicily. We prefer to tolerate this, rather than start a war against them … We do not see tourism as our direct goal. We work in the cultural and educational field (G., Union of the Italian Jewish Communities).

4.4. The non-Jewish approach

The interviewed non-Jewish stakeholders showed considerable interest in the development of J.H.T and already moved in this direction, with little effective involvement of the aforementioned different sides and faces of local and national Judaism.

Jewish heritage tourism in town essentially started in 1991 when a luxury hotel, located in the ancient Jewish district of Syracuse ('Giudecca', or 'Judecha'), accidentally discovered an exceptionally well-preserved medieval ritual bath (mikveh) several metres beneath the ground, and turned it into one of the most known and appreciated cultural highlights of Syracuse, constantly visited by a consistent number of visitors, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, all year round. This bath is clearly marked on city tourist maps as a Jewish cultural attraction. Although none of the hotel's owners or staff is Jewish, the hotel conducts guided tours to the mikveh, sells Jewish-related souvenirs and books, and promotes Jewish-related cultural events.

Besides the hotel, the nearby Church of San Filippo, which used to be a synagogue before 1492, restored its wide underground spaces and stresses the connection of the place with its Jewish past, as proved by the interviews with the church's guides. Some confusion arises, though, on the identification of other churches, such as the imposing roofless ruins of the Church of San Giovanni, also located in the Giudecca quarter, as former synagogues. While local guides highlight the Hebrew inscription engraved on the wall in the church's apse, the local priest strongly rejects any connection and placed notes in the doorway saying 'this place was not a synagogue'.

The nearby Regional Museum of Palazzo Bellomo, which hosts art masterpieces of exceptional value, gives high visibility to Jewish gravestones with Hebrew inscriptions found in Syracuse and displays them at the entrance of the museum. The interviewed staff motivated this choice as a significant evidence of the multicultural past of the city, and is strongly interested in further investigating and promoting Jewish heritage in the city and the surrounding region. Moreover, an interviewed high ranked Municipal Administrator declared a strong interest in the promotion of the ancient cosmopolitan and multicultural character of the city, as a major asset for tourism.

> All the peoples who conquered and settled Syracuse over thousands of years left a valuable cultural mark on the city, and this heritage is our main economic resource … The Jewish sites and relics, together with the Greek, Roman, Arab, Norman, Spanish ones, are a part of our own identity and make Syracuse and Sicily unique (F., Municipal Department for Heritage, Culture and Tourism).

Direct observation in the old town of Syracuse confirmed a high interest from local tourist operators and public authorities in the promotion of Jewish heritage, as both tour guides and informative panels placed next to cultural sites, such as the medieval 'Castello Maniace' consistently stress the ancient presence of a Jewish community. This

is also proven by the importance and visibility given to Jewish sites, primarily the mikveh, in locally-printed maps and brochures.

The A.H.D, related to the Syracuse Jewish history, is thus essentially in the hands of these public and private non-Jewish stakeholders, which include the Municipality, the Regional Government, the Catholic Church and tour operators. Their aims appear to converge toward the common interest of promoting the multicultural and tolerant history of the town, highlighting the ancient presence of different ethnic, religious and linguistic groups, and disapproving the expulsion of the Jews which happened in 1492, blaming it on the Spanish rulers. This is seen as an asset to attract and appeal both Jewish and non-Jewish visitors. Their 'authorization' is related to commodification and is mainly utilitarian in nature. Hence, it overlooks the current local, regional, national and transnational Jewish religious, political and cultural community life, with its different faces, as its involvement, paradoxically, does not appear to be relevant. According to the interviews, the signs produced by the current Muslim or Greek orthodox communities – who recently grew in Syracuse following foreign immigration from North Africa and Eastern Europe – and the increasing ethnic and religious diversity of the town, are not perceived by the heritage authorizers as a tourist asset, differently from the highly valued tangible remnants of ancient temples, synagogues, eastern churches or mosques.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The development of J.H.T in Syracuse shows some peculiar features due to the complex transnational identity of the Jewish diaspora, and the ever-changing dynamics and aims of heritage management and promotion, in the light of concepts such as dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) and A.H.D (Smith, 2006).

Dissonant heritage issues are related to the different approaches to the Jewish identity and organisation, at the local, national and transnational level, by Jews themselves, including divergent religious, secular, institutional, or self-ruling orientations, spanning from support for tourist commodification to little or no interest in tourism. Another dimension of dissonance stems from the non-Jewish interest in Jewish niche tourism, either from public authorities, private operators and tourists themselves, who may not have a particular interest in the interaction or cultural exchange with a tiny and divided Jewish community, and tend to adopt a rather superficial and utilitarian 'archaeological' approach to a vague and distant echo of the multicultural heritage of the old Syracuse, which includes Jewish memories and sites alongside Greek or Norman ones. Some of the stakeholders, in particular the non-Jewish ones, play a central role in the promotion of J.H.T, while others, representing the different faces of Jewish identity, are marginal and divided by indifference, mistrust and competition. Dissonance does not come in the form of tensions between the non-Jewish majority and the Jewish minority. On the contrary, according to the interviewees, the local population shows pride and interest for this aspect of the local history, and the current main initiatives for the promotion of past Jewish history come from non-Jewish locals. Instead, different shades of narrative, interpretation, representation and possible use emerge within the Jewish minority itself.

The issues related to the A.H.D are strictly linked to the aforementioned ones, as the aspects of Jewish heritage which have been highlighted, mainly by public authorities including the Municipality and the Catholic Church, are mainly driven by utilitarian aims, among which the reaffirmation of the tolerant nature of the Sicilian and Syracuse society and the continuous and renewed promotion of Syracuse as a major and multifaceted cultural tourism destination. The official narrative, strongly supported by public authorities and private tourism operators, states that the expulsion of the Jewish population in 1492, and the subsequent 'dark' ages of the Inquisition, are basically to be blamed on external forces, while the Sicilian people and culture are embedded with tolerance and pluralism, and this would be proved by the values attributed to minority heritage (Greek, Jewish, Arab, Norman) in the heritage tourism image of the city and the whole island. However, the current minorities, such as the consistent and growing Eastern European and North African communities, as well as the re-founded Jewish community itself, are virtually inexistent in the heritage tourism development strategies of Syracuse and Sicily, which may be seen as a contradiction.

Community-based tourism, to be intended here in terms of direct participation of the Jewish community to the management and benefits of cultural tourism and increased visibility, is hampered by its fragmentation and heterogeneity, by the dispossession of the main tourist-related sites, which mainly belong to non-Jewish stakeholders, and to different evaluations about tourism, ranging from indifference to inability to enthusiasm. This shows the limits of community-based tourism development models in those cases where the community is actually deeply divided and affected by external forces.

According to the interviewed stakeholders, the three different components of Jewish identity and faith in eastern Sicily, the religious orthodox community centred on the new synagogue, the 'Carta' organization interested in tourism promotion, and the Italian Jewish institutions active in the cultural dimension, do not effectively interact with each other. Different targets, divergent identity nuances, financial tensions and deeply-rooted mistrust produce latent conflicts which effectively prevent the growth of visibility for Jewish history and heritage in Syracuse and its region. This is in line with the multifaceted projection, back and forth between the Israeli homeland and the diaspora, of transnational identities, representations and visions which characterize the Jewish world. What is externally perceived as a compact Jewishness, is much more complex than it would seem (Corsale & Vuytsyk, 2015; Gruber, 2002). As observed, the main reasons for these frictions are rooted in the complex, yet unclear and discordant approach to converts, or reconverts, within the Jewish world, as well as in the different degrees of religiousness and secularism, contrasting orthodox or liberal orientations, distinct transnational or local identities, and divergent trends toward institutionalization and stronger relations with the Israeli religious or political authorities, versus bottom-up autonomy (Adamson, 2012).

Given this fragmentation, the current Jewish presence in the area can hardly reach any visibility to the local population and tourists alike, either Jewish or not. However, even if these different components would manage to overcome their internal divisions and act more independently from the external influences, they would not automatically benefit from a further development of J.H.T, because, as already noted, effective

community-based tourism needs several factors which are not always present in a small minority group, such as a strong and recognized leadership, financial resources and specific skills (Cole, 2006; Reed, 1997).

Meanwhile, the non-Jewish stakeholders, dealing with the local tourist system, appear to have taken some decisive steps toward the promotion of this niche tourism segment (Dinis & Krakover, 2016; Krakover, 2016). According to the interviews and the source analysis, official municipal websites, local tourist operators and guides, informative panels and brochures printed by local authorities, municipal and cultural institutions, the local Church bodies and owners of former Jewish sites, all show high awareness, interest and involvement in the promotion of Jewish heritage in order to differentiate and enrich the tourist attractiveness of the town. As often happens within niche tourism development strategies, these non-Jewish stakeholders tend to highlight Jewish-related sites in order to diversify the tourist offer and the image of the destination (Krakover, 2016). This strategy attracts new categories of domestic and international visitors, lengthens the tourist season, and ultimately affirms the image of a multicultural, cosmopolitan, tolerant, vibrant and open-minded town, thus contrasting its enduring socio-economic marginality. This readiness shows that promoting ethnic minority heritage does not always create tensions or conflicts, as assumed in the conceptual framework of 'dissonant heritage'; it may, however, highlight and exacerbate different visions and evaluations within the minority itself, in a sort of internal dissonance issue (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Indeed, the acknowledgement of Jewish history and heritage plays a key role in this virtual reconnection to a past golden age and to the construction of a projection on the future strongly based on cultural tourism. Jewish heritage promotion in Syracuse is different from other cases where local historic Jewish communities survived to this day through controversial events and difficult political transitions, as in Lviv, Ukraine (Corsale & Vuytsyk, 2015) and Bucharest (Corsale, 2017). In the absence of a visible local community or foreign Jewish population, and without any claims for property restitution, the development of Jewish heritage sites enriches the identity of the city without creating any significant social or political tensions vis-a-vis the local population. The key choices, strategies and actions for the promotion of J.H.T in Syracuse are produced and controlled by local non-Jewish stakeholders, reminding the case of Jewish heritage restoration in Portugal and Spain (Krakover, 2013). In the tourist sites connected with Judaism, only a very few aspects of Jewish culture and history are presented, and the narrative is often superficial and not corroborated by proper studies. What is promoted is basically an echo of a past and distant Jewish presence, essentially disconnected from the actual and current Jewish life. Among the consequences of this 'archaeological' approach, the relation with Jewish visitors is hampered by the absence of kosher food or appropriate religious-friendly accommodation (Dinis & Krakover, 2016).

Jewish stakeholders currently play a very marginal role in this development. The recently-opened synagogue, unrecognized by the Italian and Israeli Jewish authorities, is far from the city centre and is not seen or promoted by the municipal authorities as a tourist destination. The members of this local Jewish community show moderate interest in tourism but lack financial resources and skills for an effective endeavour.

The national Jewish authorities lack local roots and contacts and do not have a particular interest in Jewish tourism development in Syracuse, in the absence of a recognized community. The Cartha focuses more on tourism development as a way to promote Jewish culture and produce economic benefits to their advantage, but currently avoids engaging in significant initiatives in Syracuse, in order not to exacerbate divisions and tensions with the other Jewish actors.

In fact, educative and cultural initiatives are alternatively or even competitively promoted or attended by individuals representing these different faces and representatives of Judaism, and tourism is not perceived as a priority by most of them, although none of them expressed hostility toward Jewish-related cultural tourism development. The existence of these different components, stemming from the multifaceted identity of the Jewish world, makes synergic and coordinated efforts for a Jewish-based promotion of Jewish heritage particularly difficult, as different accents posed on religious, cultural or economic aims tends to push forces toward different directions.

Thus, the marginality of Syracuse Jews in the development of J.H.T is evident as Jewish heritage and its related narrative, management and benefits are currently 'authorized' by non-Jewish public and private stakeholders.

A more shared, plural and complex approach to Jewish heritage promotion, including past relics as well as current life, would probably benefit the Jewish community itself, in terms of inclusion of diversities, increased contacts with Jewish visitors, cultural visibility and exchanges and economic opportunities.

In more general terms, the study results show that asymmetric power relations, with institutional actors, either local, national or international, ignoring or marginalising bottom-up initiatives and potential, can significantly impact on heritage management, even when the common focus is on the promotion of Jewish culture. The accent may shift from ancient heritage relics to present-day minority community life and identity, depending on which actors prevail and gain visibility or drive.

The ultimate aim of this study is thus to contribute to the discussion on the complexity of heritage tourism dynamics in contemporary transnational multicultural societies, necessarily dealing with the significant territorial effects, in terms of planning and management, stemming from the existence of different identities and visions. The transnational dimension of the approach to heritage thus becomes relevant when the issues related to complex identities, globalization, democratic participation and local development encounter the ever-going evolution of plural, transnational and multifaceted communities (Ashworth et al., 2007).

Disclosure statement

Notes on contributors

Andrea Corsale is assistant professor of geography at the department of History, Cultural Heritage and Territory at the University of Cagliari, Italy. His research interests include international migrations, ethnic minorities, rural and cultural tourism, participation and local development, particularly in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean Region.

Shaul Krakover is professor emeritus of geography in the Department of Geography and Environmental Development at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel. Currently he is president of Hemdat Hadaron academic education college, Israel. He specializes in urban and regional development via tourism.

ORCID

Andrea Corsale ⓘD http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9516-9420
Shaul Krakover ⓘD http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9208-623X

References

Adamson, F. (2012). Constructing the diaspora: Diaspora identity politics and transnational social movements. In P. Mandaville & T. Lyons (Eds.), Politics from afar: Transnational diasporas and networks (pp. 25–42). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Addison, E. (2004). The roads to ruins: Accessing Islamic heritage in Jordan. In R. Yorke & U. Baram (Eds.), Marketing heritage: Archaeology and the consumption of the past (pp. 229–247). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Adongo, R., Choe, J. Y., & Han, H. (2017). Tourism in Hoi An, Vietnam: impacts, perceived benefits, community attachment and support for tourism development. International Journal of Tourism Sciences, 17, 86–106.

Al-Ali, N., & Koser, K. (Eds.) (2002). New approaches to migration? Transnational communities and the transformation of home. London, England: Routledge.

Anderson, B. (1983). Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of Nationalism. London, England: Verso.

Ashworth, G. J. (1996). Holocaust tourism and Jewish culture: The lessons of Krakow-Kazimierz. In M. Robinson, N. Evans, & P. Callaghan (Eds.), Tourism and culture: Towards the twenty-first century: Conference proceedings. Sunderland: Centre for Travel and Tourism in Association with Business Education Publishers.

Ashworth, G. J. (2003). Heritage, identity and places: For tourists and host communities. In S. Singh, D. J. Timothy, & R. K. Dowling (Eds.), Tourism and destination communities (pp. 79–97). Wallingford: CAB International.

Ashworth, G. J. (2011). Preservation, conservation and heritage: Approaches to the past in the present through the built environment. Asian Anthropology, 10(1), 1–18.

Ashworth, G. J., & Graham, B. (1997). Heritage, identity and Europe. Tijdschrift voor Economischeen Sociale Geografie, 88, 381–388.

Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. J., & Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). Pluralising pasts: Heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies. London, England: Pluto.

Baldassar, L. (2001). Visits home: Migration experiences between Italy and Australia. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

Barber, B. J. (2001). Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's challenge to democracy. New York, NY: Ballantyne Books.

Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N., & Szanton-Blanc, C. (1994). Nations unbound: Transnational projects and the deterritorialized nation-state. New York, NY: Gordon and Breach.

Bendix, R. (2002). Capitalizing on memories past, present, and future: Observations on the intertwining of tourism and narration. Anthropological Theory, 2, 469–487.

Blackstock, K. (2005). A critical look at community based tourism. Community Development Journal, 40, 39–49.

Bob, C. (2005). The marketing of rebellion: Insurgents, media and international activism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caffyn, A., & Lutz, J. (1999). Developing the heritage tourism product in multi-ethnic cities. Tourism Management, 20, 213–221.

Carpenter, C. R. (2005), "Women, children and other vulnerable groups": Gender, strategic frames and the protection of civilians as a transnational issue. International Studies Quarterly, 49, 295–334.

Castro, C. B., Armario, E. M., & Ruiz, D. M. (2007). The influence of market heterogeneity on the relationship between a destination's image and tourists' future behavior. Tourism Management, 28, 175–187.

Causevic, S., & Lynch, P. (2011). Phoenix tourism. Post-conflict tourism role. Annals of Tourism Research, 38, 780–800.

Chambers, D. (2005). Heritage and the Nation: An exploration of a discursive relationship. Tourism Analysis, 9, 241–254.

Cloke, P., Crang, P., & Goodwin, M. (2009). Introducing human geographies. Oxford: Hodder Education.

Cole, S. (2006). Cultural tourism, community participation and empowerment. In M. K. Smith & M. Robson (Eds.), Cultural tourism in a changing world: Politics, participation and (re)presentation (pp. 89–103). Cleveland: Channel View Publications.

Coles, T., & Timothy, D. J. (Eds.). (2004). Tourism, diasporas and space. London: Routledge.

Correnti, S. (2002), Breve storia della Sicilia dalle origini ai giorni nostri. Roma: Newton.

Corsale, A. (2017). Jewish heritage tourism in Bucharest: reality and visions. The Geographical Journal, 183, 261–271.

Corsale, A., & Vuytsyk, O. (2015). Jewish Heritage tourism between memories and strategies. Different approaches from Lviv, Ukraine. Current Issues in Tourism, 183, 261–271. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2015.1103210].

Diekmann, A., & Smith, M. K. (Eds.) (2015). Ethnic and minority cultures as tourist attractions. Bristol: Channel View, 188–201.

Dinis, A., & Krakover, S. (2016). Niche tourism in small peripheral towns: The case of Jewish Heritage in Belmonte, Portugal. Journal of Tourism Planning and Development, 13, 310–332.

Dragićević Šešić, M., & Rogač Mijatović, L. (2014). Balkan dissonant heritage narratives (and their attractiveness) for tourism. American Journal of Tourism Management, 3, 10–19.

Finley, M. I. (1979). Storia della Sicilia antica. Bari: Laterza.

Flesler, D., & Pérez Melgosa, A. (2010). Hervás, convivencia and the heritagization of Spain's Jewish past. Journal of Romance Studies, 10, 53–76.

Gellner, E. (1983). Nations and nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell.

Georges, E. (1990). The making of a transnational community: Migration, development, and cultural change in the Dominican Republic. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Graham, B. (2002). Heritage as knowledge: Capital or culture? Urban Studies, 39, 1003–1017.

Graham, B., & Howard, P. (2008). Heritage and identity. In B. Graham & P. Howard (Eds.), The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity (pp. 1–15). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Gruber, R. E. (2002). Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish culture in Europe. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gruber, R. E. (2007), Jewish Heritage travel: A guide to Eastern Europe. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society.

Gruber, R. E. (2009), Reclaiming memory: Urban regeneration in the historic Jewish quarters of Central European cities. In M. Murzyn-Kupisz & J. Puchla (Eds.), Beyond virtually Jewish. Balancing the real, the surreal and real imaginary places (pp. 63–79). Cracow: International Cultural Center.

Hall, S. (2008). Whose heritage? Un-settling "the heritage", reimagining the post-nation. In G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. H. Jameson & J. Schofield (Eds.), The Heritage Reader (pp. 219–228). Abingdon: Routledge.

Harrison, R. (2010). Multicultural and minority heritage. In T. Benton (Ed.), Understanding heritage and memory (pp. 164–201). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Heitlinger, A. (2013). In the shadows of the Holocaust and communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hoffman, L. M. (2003). The marketing of diversity in the inner city: Tourism and regulation in Harlem. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27, 286–299.

Huang, W. J., Ramshaw, G., & Norman, W. C. (2016). Homecoming or tourism? Diaspora tourism experience of second-generation immigrants. Tourism Geographies, 18, 59–79.

King, R. (2010). Geography and diasporas. In M. Iorio & G. Sistu (Eds.), Dove finisce il mare (pp. 195–212). Cagliari: Sandhi.

Koundoura, M. (2012). Transnational culture, transnational identity: The politics and ethics of global culture exchange. London, England: I. B. Tauris.

Krakover, S. (2012). Coordinated marketing and dissemination of knowledge: Jewish heritage tourism in Serra da Estrela, Portugal. Journal of Tourism and Development, Revista Turismo and Desenvolvimento, 17–18, 11–16.

Krakover, S. (2013). Generation of a tourism product: Jewish heritage tourism in Spain. Enlightening Tourism. A Pathmaking Journal, 3, 142–168.

Krakover, S. (2016). A heritage site development model: Jewish heritage product formation in south-central Europe. Journal of Heritage Tourism, 12, 81–101.

Lehrer, E. (2015). Jewish heritage, pluralism and milieu de memoire: The case of Krakow's Kazimierz. In E. Lehrer & M. Meng (Eds.), Jewish space in contemporary Poland (pp. 170–192). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Leite, N. (2007). Materializing absence: Tourists, surrogates, and the making of "Jewish Portugal". In M. Robinson (Ed.), Things that move: The material worlds of tourism and travel [Conference Proceedings]. Leeds: Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change [CD Rom].

Lowenthal, D. (1985). The Past is a Foreign Country. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1998). Possessed by the past: The heritage crusade and the spoils of History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ma, M., & Hassink, R. (2013). An Evolutionary perspective on tourism area development. Annals of Tourism Research, 41, 89–109.

Manyara, G., & Jones, E. (2007). Community-based tourism enterprises development in Kenya: An exploration of their potential as avenues of poverty reduction. Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 15, 628–644.

Merriam, S. B. (2002). Qualitative research in practice. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mitchell, K. (1997). Different diasporas and the type of hybridity. Environmental and Planning D: Society and Space, 15, 533–553.

Naef, P., & Ploner, J. (2016) Tourism, conflict and contested heritage in former Yugoslavia. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 14, 181–188.

Novelli, M. (Ed.) (2005). Niche tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). Qualitative research and evaluation methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Peckham, R. (2003). Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe. London: I. B. Tauris.

Petrevska, B., Krakover, S., & Collins-Kreiner, N. (2018). Preserving cultural assets of others: Jewish heritage sites in Macedonian cities. Tourism Geographies. 20, 549–572. doi:10.1080/14616688.2017.1387811.

Pitchford, S. (2008). Identity tourism: Imaging and imagining the nation. Bingley: Emerald.

Ploner, J. (2012). Tourist literature and the ideological grammar of landscape in the Austrian Danube Valley, ca. 1870–1945. Journal of Tourism History, 4, 237–257.

Podoshen, J., & Hunt, J. (2011). Equity restoration, the Holocaust and tourism of sacred sites. Tourism Management, 32, 1332–1342.

Poria, Y., & Ashworth, G. (2009). Heritage attractions – A resource for conflicts. Annals of Tourism Research, 36, 522–525.

Reed, M. G. (1997). Power relations and community-based tourism planning. Annals of Tourism Research, 24, 566–591.

Reisinger, Y., & Steiner, C. (2006). Reconceptualizing object authenticity. Annals of Tourism Research, 33, 65–86.

Renda, F. (1993). La fine del giudaismo siciliano. Ebrei marrani e inquisizione spagnola prima, durante e dopo la cacciata del 1492. Palermo: Sellerio.

Renda, F. (2003). Storia della Sicilia. Palermo: Sellerio.

Rivera, L. (2008). Managing 'spoiled' national identity: War, tourism, and memory in Croatia. American Sociological Review, 73, 613–634.

Said, E. W. (1993, July 8). Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals. Independent, 16.

Sandri, O. (2013). City heritage tourism without heirs: A comparative study of Jewish-themed tourism in Krakow and Vilnius. European Journal of Geography – CyberGeo, 646 [https://cybergeo.revues.org/25934].

Sheffer, G. (2003). Diaspora politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. Environment and Planning A, 38, 207–226.

Shuval, J. T. (2000). Diaspora migration: Definitional ambiguities and a theoretical paradigm. International Migration, 38, 41–57.

Silverman, H. (2001). Contested cultural heritage: A selective historiography. In H. Silverman (Ed.), Contested cultural heritage: Religion, nationalism, erasure, and exclusion in a global world (pp. 1–49). New York, NY: Springer.

Smith, L. (2006). Uses of heritage. London, England: Routledge.

Stephenson, M. L. (2002). Travelling to the ancestral homelands: The aspirations and experiences of a UK Caribbean community. Current Issues in Tourism, 5, 378–425.

Swatos, W. H., & Tomasi, L. (2002). From medieval pilgrimage to religious tourism. The social and cultural economics of piety. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Thurnell-Read, T. P. (2009). Engaging Auschwitz: An analysis of young travellers' experiences of Holocaust tourism. Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice, 1, 26–52.

Timothy, D. J. (1997). Tourism and the personal heritage experience. Annals of Tourism Research, 24, 751–754.

Timothy, D. J., & Boyd, S. W. (2003). Heritage tourism. London, England: Prentice Hall.

Timothy, D. J., & Nyaupane, G. P. (2009). The politics of heritage. In D. J. Timothy & G. P. Nyaupane (Eds.), Cultural heritage and tourism in the developing world: A regional perspective (pp. 42–56). London, England: Taylor & Francis e-Library.

Timothy, D. J., & Olsen, D. H. (Eds.) (2006). Tourism, religion and spiritual journeys. Oxford: Routledge.

Tosun, C. (2000). Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. Tourism Management, 21, 613–633.

Tunbridge, J. E., & Ashworth, G. J. (1996). Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict. Chichester: Wiley.

Tuszynska, A. (1998). Lost landscapes: In search of Isaac Bashevis Singer and the Jews of Poland. New York, NY: William Morrow.

Valley, E. (1999). The great Jewish cities of Central and Eastern Europe. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.

Wall, G. (2009). Tourism and development: Towards sustainable outcomes. In L. Fusco & P. Nijkamp (Eds.), Cultural tourism and sustainable local development (pp. 31–46). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Young, J. (1993). The texture of memory: Holocaust memorials and meaning. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Zelinsky, W., & Lee, B. A. (1998). Heterolocalism: an alternative model of the sociospatial behaviours of immigrant ethnic communities. International Journal of Population Geography, 4, 218–298.

Websites

http://www.comunitaebraicasiracusa.it/ (Jewish Community of Syracuse)
http://www.facebook.com/Carta-delle-Judeche-1852564061629186/ (Carta delle Judeche)
http://www.istat.it/ (Italian National Institute for Statistics)
http://www.siracusaturismo.net/ (Institutional web portal on tourism in Syracuse)
http://www.ucei.it/ (Union of the Italian Jewish communities)