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Tourism and Terror: A case study : Israel 1948-2012

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Israel is a popular tourist destination which has been afflicted by varying levels of terrorism against civilians over the course of its history. A longitudinal analysis of data pertaining to tourism and terrorism is undertaken to examine how terrorism affects patterns of tourism. It is found that on the macro-level, tourism to Israel continues to grow although it experiences periodic declines corresponding with times of high terrorist activity. National and religious subpopulations of tourists react differently to terrorism at the destination. Overall, Jews are proportionally more likely than non-Jews to continue to visit Israel during times of conflict, but this varies among Diaspora communities. Moreover, among US Jewish tourists, the strongly religious populations represented a greater percentage of visitors during years of high terrorism. This preliminary analysis explores how internal structural features of the Jewish community (such as Jewish educational settings and family ties to Israelis), external factors of the home country (such as anti-Semitism or the economic situation) and national and cultural value orientation affect tourism patterns. The impact of these factors on tourism deserves continued research.

Keywords: tourism, terrorism, Israel, nationality, Jewish

Introduction: Tourism And Terrorism in Israel

Israel offers an interesting case study of how international tourism is affected by political instability. Neither tourism nor terrorism is new to this region. Israel has always been a tourist destination of sorts. For millennia, a small but steady stream of pilgrims was drawn to the religious and historical sites of the Holy Land. Throughout this long time, too, the area underwent numerous political upheavals, as successive kingdoms, empires, crusades and revolts fought and overturned one another.

In modern times, tourism was seen as part of the nation-building project. Even before the founding of the State, tourism was recognized as important both as an industry and as a key method for strengthening the connection of Diaspora Jews to Israel. Beginning at the end of the 19th century, the Zionist movement advocated and organized tours as a means to support the emerging Jewish Yishuv and a way to advocate eventual immigration. Beginning in the 1920s, the Zionist Tourist Information Bureau organized tours and published guidebooks and itineraries, and an association for training Jewish guides to lead such

tours was founded (Cohen-Hattab, 2001, 2004; Gefen, 1979, 2013; Marzano, 2013; Stein, 2009). In 1949 a program of group tours for Diaspora Jewish youth was launched. This program, which later came to be known as the Israel Experience, has brought over 410,000 Jewish youth from more than a dozen countries to Israel. More recently, other similar programs have been developed, notably Taglit-birthright Israel which since 2000 has brought hundreds of thousands of Jewish youth on free ten-day educational tours, and MASA which sponsors educational tours lasting six months to a year. All three programs share the goal of enhancing the relationship of Diaspora Jewish youth to Israel (Cohen, E.H., 2008, in press). Parallel to this, other types of tourism to Israel have developed including recreational and educational tours, and pilgrimages to Christian and Muslim sites (Collins-Kreiner, 2006; Stein, 2002). Currently, direct and indirect income from tourist activity represents about 8% of Israel's Gross Domestic Product (Beenstock, Felsenstein & Rubin, 2013; WTTC 2013).

Also since its founding in 1948, Israel has been involved in cyclical conflict and war with the neighboring Arab countries and with the Palestinian population. Terrorism is one aspect of this violence.

Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the UN, defines terrorism as

any action ...that is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act (UN, 2004, p. 52).

Terrorism is thus differentiated from acts of war which target military combatants. It also differs from crime which is not motivated by an ideological goal and serves no political purpose. While high crime rates may discourage tourism to a given area, criminals nevertheless depend on the continued influx of tourists. In contrast, terrorists aim to disrupt or destroy the government, society and/or economic system of which tourism is a part (Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Tarlow, 2006).

Waves of terrorism or major attacks may cause tourists to decide against vacations in countries or regions perceived as affected. This is especially true for those considering a first trip to a destination. Nevertheless, tourism to popular destinations tends to recover when stability is restored. Thus, repeated acts of terrorism have a more lasting and negative impact on tourism than do single events, even if the latter claim more lives. Further, the perception that the government of the targeted country is adequately addressing the security risk helps restore tourists' willingness to visit in the future, yet heavy-handed military retribution may also discourage tourism (D'Amore & Anuza, 1986; O'Connor, Stafford & Gallagher, 2008; Pizam &

Fleischer, 2002; Sönmez, 1998). For example, since many terrorist attacks in Egypt (particularly in the early 1990s) were directed against tourists (in multiple cases specifically against Israeli tourists) and political unrest and violence have continued, the 'shock' to tourism has been relatively significant and long-lasting (Aly & Strazicich, 2000; Fielding & Shortland, 2011; Sönmez, Apostolopoulos & Tarlow, 1999; Wahab, 1996). Even so, tourists continue to visit Egypt with over 1.1 million international visitors in 2012 (WTO, 2013), including Israeli tourists (Uriely, Maoz & Reichel, 2007, 2009).

The current article looks at the relationship between terrorism in Israel and tourism to Israel from the inception of the State through contemporary times. It takes a longitudinal macro-approach, considering the large phenomenon of international tourism to Israel across six and a half decades. Additionally, it looks at micro-trends such as fluctuations in tourism during particular time periods, visitation patterns from various home countries, and the relative prevalence of Jewish tourists as a sub-population of international tourists. This contributes to discussions on the influence of national and cultural value orientations on tourism behavior (Hsu, Woodside & Marshall, 2013; Schwartz, 2006).

Methods / Sources of Data

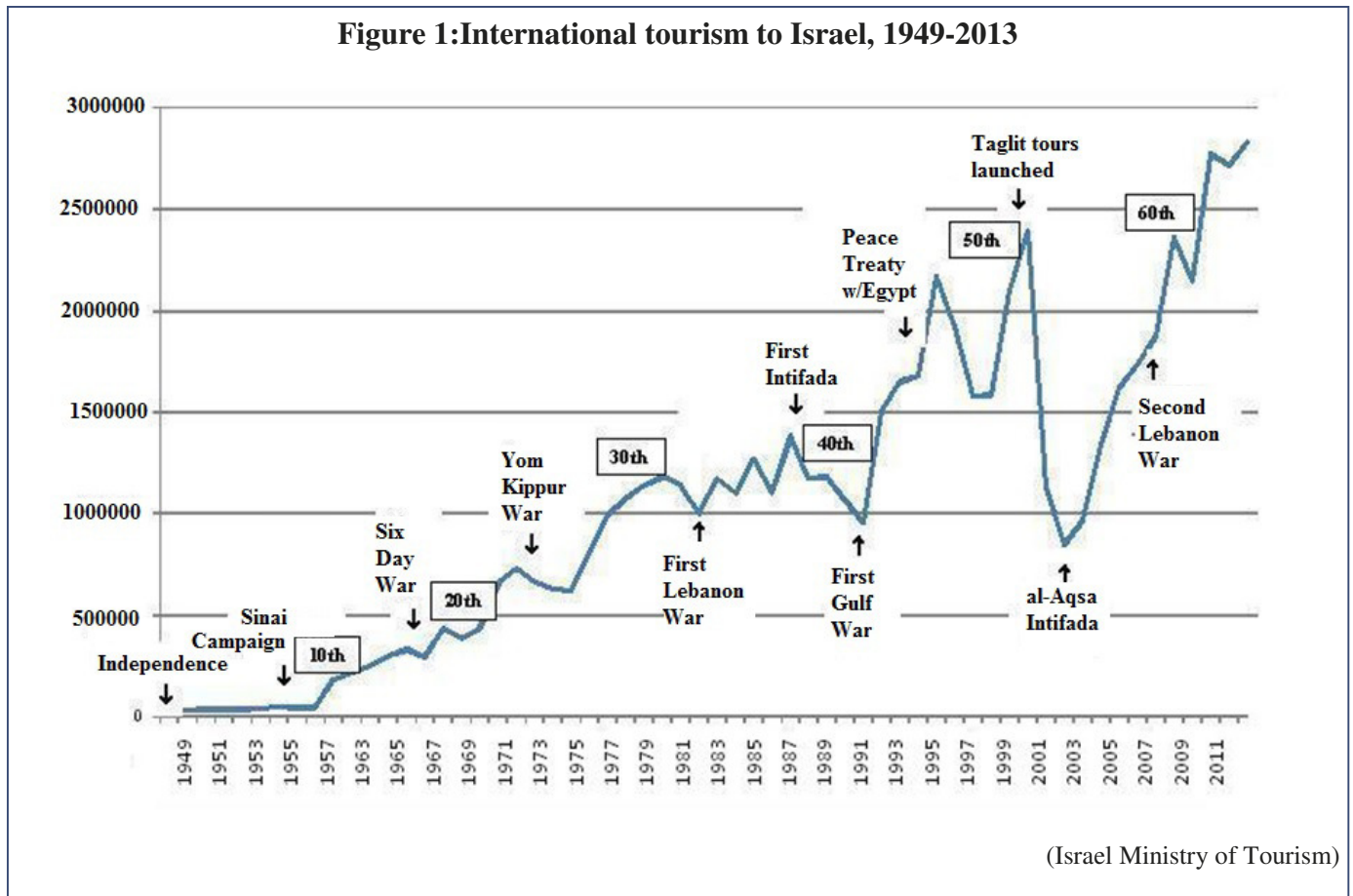
Data on international tourism to Israel were provided by the Israel Ministry of Tourism. Each year the total number of arrivals to Israel was recorded. From the early 1960s, international tourists' home country was recorded. Additionally, beginning in the mid-1990s, the Israel Ministry of Tourism began surveying a sample of incoming tourists, providing demographic data on visitors - one question pertained to religious affiliation. From this sample, the percentage of tourists who were Jewish was extrapolated. Those who identified themselves as Jewish were also asked to define themselves as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or unaffiliated. From this sample the percentage of Jewish tourists in each of these four denominational categories was extrapolated.

At least nine people have been killed and more than 40 others injured in suicide bombing on a bus in northern Israel. Sunday, 4 August, 2002.



http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2171227.stm

1 According to the NGO *B'tselem* (2009) between September 29, 2000 and January 31, 2007 there were 4016 Palestinians killed by Israeli security forces, 41 killed by Israeli civilians and 268 killed by Palestinians. These figures do not differentiate between unarmed civilians and members of terrorist organizations. Additionally, 53 citizens of foreign countries were killed by Palestinians and 10 by Israeli security forces.

Figure 1: International tourism to Israel, 1949-2013

The numbers of Israeli civilians injured and killed in terrorist attacks were recorded by the Israel Foreign Ministry. These figures include Israeli-Arab citizens but not Palestinians in the Palestinian Authority territory^[1]. The statistics are not considered complete, particularly for the early years, but they give an indication of trends in terrorist attacks.

Data on world merchandise trade (given in constant US dollars) is from the World Trade Organization (WTO, 2013).

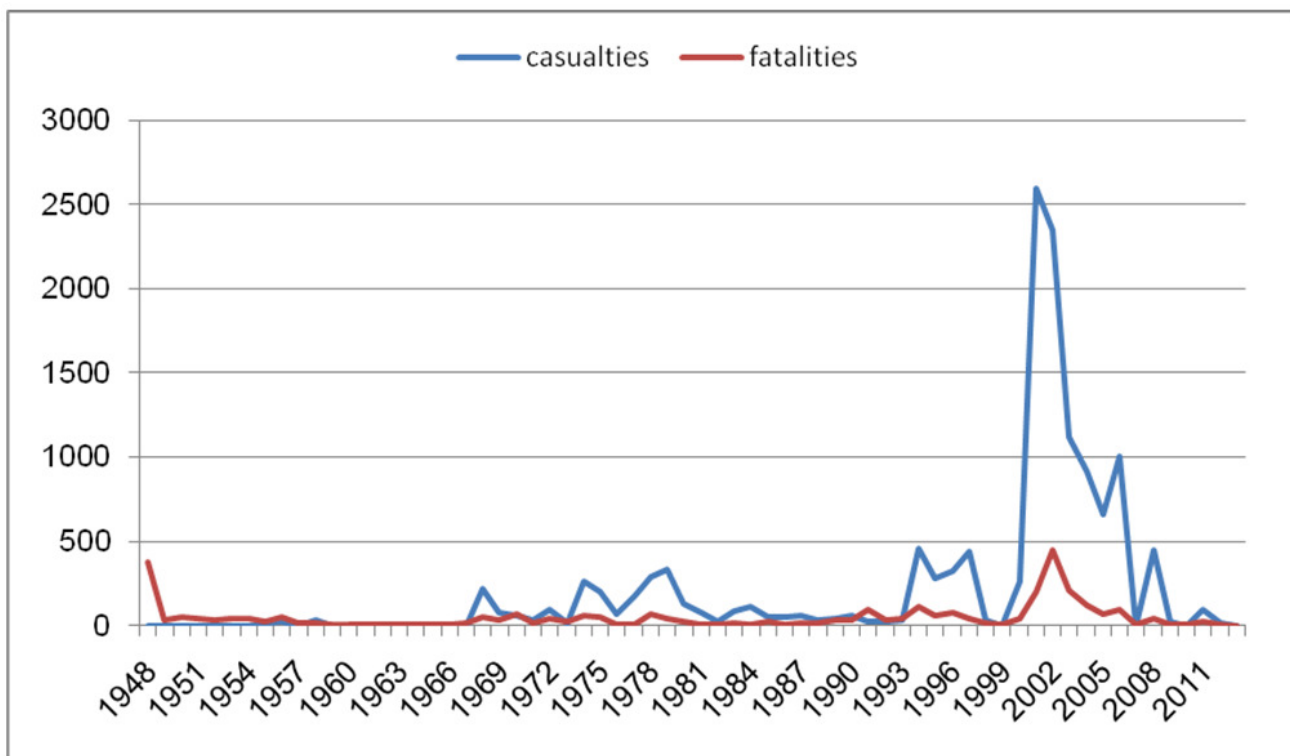
Results

Tourism and political conflict

In the 66 years since independence, international tourism to Israel increased a hundred-fold, from just over 22,000 to over 2.8 million.^[2] This parallels the exponential growth in global international tourism, which rose from 25 million in 1950 to over 1 billion in 2012 (World Tourism Organization, 2006, 2013). The growth of international tourism is attributable to numerous factors such as economic development of many countries, which in turn led to increased leisure time and money for recreation, and improvements in transportation (Fletcher, 2009).

Despite its overall growth, tourism to Israel underwent dramatic fluctuations in tourism over the decades, as seen in Figure 1. A few key events are indicated. Tourism began to increase following the Six Day War of 1967. Israel's victory in the war sparked a period of pride and a sense of security, and it is noted as a pivotal point in strengthening the connection of Diaspora Jews to Israel (Lederhendler, 2000; Oren, 2002). Also around this time, mass transportation became more widely available and affordable, and international tourism in general expanded. There was a temporary decline after the Yom Kippur War of 1973, after which the numbers of visitors began to climb again in the mid-1970s. There was another dip in 1982 when the first war with Lebanon broke out. Over the next decade tourism fluctuated. There was another sharp decline during the First Gulf War of 1991, during which Iran fired missiles at Israel, but tourism quickly recovered and grew steadily into the 1990s. It reached

2 Domestic tourism is even larger; in 2012 Israelis made some 7 million overnight trips within the country (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Domestic tourism - particularly educational outings known as *tiyulim* - is seen as important both for the revenue it generates to tourist services and for increasing citizens' knowledge of their country (Katriel, 1995; Singh & Krakover, 2013).

Figure 2: Israeli casualties and fatalities from terrorist attacks, 1948-2013

(Johnson, 2013)

a peak around the 50th anniversary of Israel's independence in 1998, and with the launching of the Taglit-birthright tour program in 2000. In 2001 when the al-Aqsa intifada broke out, Israel experienced an unprecedented level of terrorism and tourism plummeted. However, it recovered and reached its previous level by the 60th anniversary of independence and has continued to climb since then.

Terrorism in Israel

Figure 2 shows the number of casualties and fatalities from terrorism in Israel between 1948 and 2013. Apart from some attacks against civilians during the War of Independence, terrorism did not become a significant part of the political landscape in Israel until the mid-1960s. In 1964 the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was created by the Arab League at a summit in Cairo. The means for achieving the PLO's stated goal of 'liberating' all of Palestine by eliminating the State of Israel included acts of violence against civilians (Baracksky, 2011). After the Six Day War, when Israel took control of new territories with large Arab populations (Gaza Strip, West Bank, Sinai Peninsula, and Golan Heights), the number of terrorist attacks increased significantly. Over the next quarter the number of Israeli civilians killed and injured in terrorist attacks varied; in some years there were dozens of

fatalities and hundreds of injuries, other years very few. Between 1994 and 1997 there was a spate of terrorist attacks, with a corresponding decline in tourism. A high level of terrorism occurred between 2001 and 2003, the al-Aqsa intifada, during which there were hundreds of fatalities and thousands of injuries. This dropped off in subsequent years, although terrorist attacks remained far more common than they had been prior to the intifada. Since 2009, however, there have been very few attacks (Johnson, 2013).

The main observation from this first stage of the analysis is that while terrorism has short-term impact on tourism to Israel, in that the number of visitors tends to decline during years of intense terrorist activity, there has not been a long-term detriment to tourism.

Demographic patterns of tourism to Israel

Next I will look at how various sub-populations of tourists react differently to the threat or perceived threat of terrorism in Israel.

Figure 3: Total international tourists and Jewish tourists to Israel, 1994-2012

(Data from Israel Ministry of Tourism)

Home country

The countries considered here are those which have significant Jewish populations. Each year, the greatest number of tourists overall came from the United States (hundreds of thousands), followed by France (at least 100,000) then the UK and Canada. Thousands or tens of thousands of tourists came each year from Argentina, Brazil and South Africa, with variation from year to year in terms of which country was home to more of the tourists to Israel.

The number of tourists from every country declined significantly during the peak years of terrorism, but at different rates. For example, tourism from the USA dropped from over half a million in 2000 to less than a quarter million in 2002-2003, a decrease of 61%. The number of Argentinean and Brazilian tourists to Israel declined by over 70% during the same time span. The number of tourists from France also declined, but by the much smaller margin of 43%.

In 1994 there was a less dramatic but still significant spike in terrorism, with 120 fatalities and 456 casualties. Data on tourists' nationality was not collected in the previous years, but a comparison

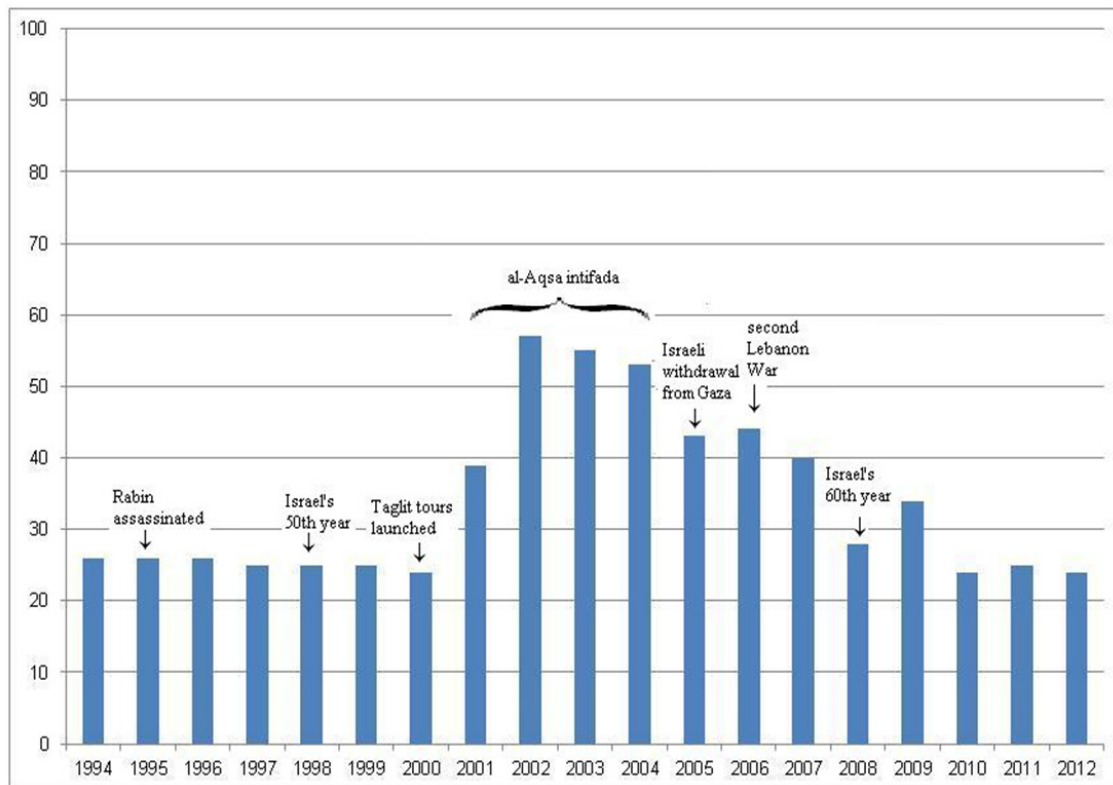
between 1994 and the relatively quiet year of 1999 (8 fatalities and 2 casualties) gives an indication of the overall impact of terrorism on tourism. The number of tourists from the USA and France were higher in 1999 than in 1994 (by 32% and 22% respectively). In stark contrast, there were more tourists from Argentina and from South Africa in 1994 than in 1999.

To understand these differing patterns, it is necessary to also take into consideration Jewish tourism at large and from each of the countries.

Jewish tourists to Israel

Extrapolating from the survey sample, the percentage and number of Jewish tourists to Israel were estimated for the years 1994 through 2012. As seen in Figure 3, while the total number of international tourists to Israel dropped sharply, the number of Jewish tourists changed very little. As a result, Jews represented a greater percentage of tourists during the years of greatest terrorist activity.

As seen in Figure 4, between 1994 and 2000 Jews consistently represented about a quarter of international visitors to Israel. Given that Jews make up less than 1% of the world's population, this shows

Figure 4: Percentage of Tourists to Israel that are Jewish, 1994-2012 with Key Events

(Data from Israel Ministry of Tourism)

the prevalence of Jewish travel to Israel. Between 2001 and 2004, the years of the al-Aqsa intifada when terrorist attacks against civilians in Israel were at their most frequent and severe, the percentage of Jewish tourists increased to more than half. In 2005, when Israel completed its controversial unilateral disengagement from the Gaza Strip and 2006, when it fought a month-long war with the Lebanese Hezbollah, the percentage of Jewish tourists remained over 40%. By 2010, when the numbers of terror victims had been dramatically reduced, the percentage of Jewish tourists returned to its pre-intifada level of about 25%. Thus it appears that Jewish tourism to Israel was less dramatically affected by terrorism and political conflict than was tourism at large.

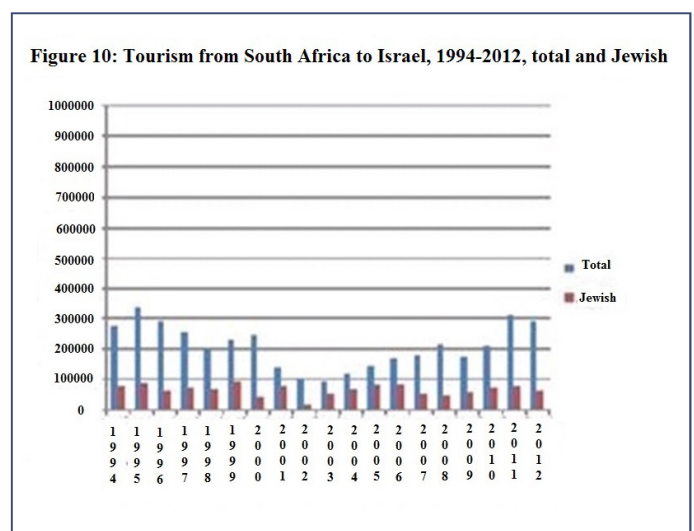
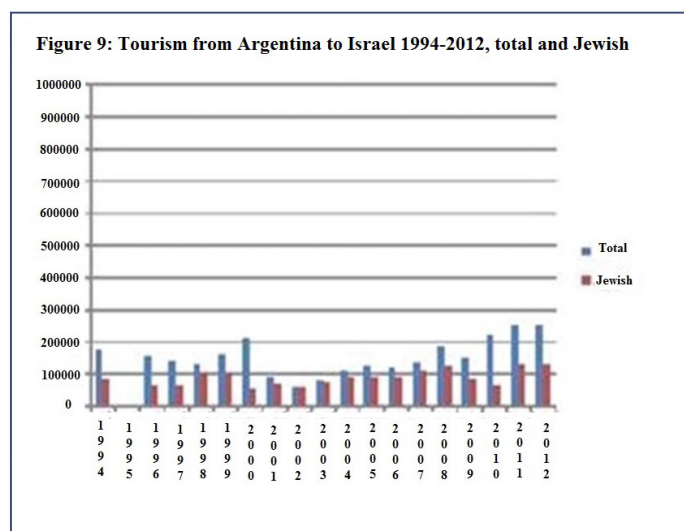
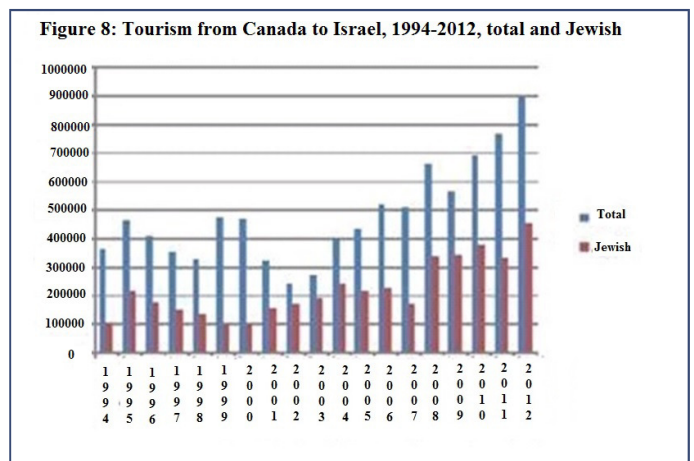
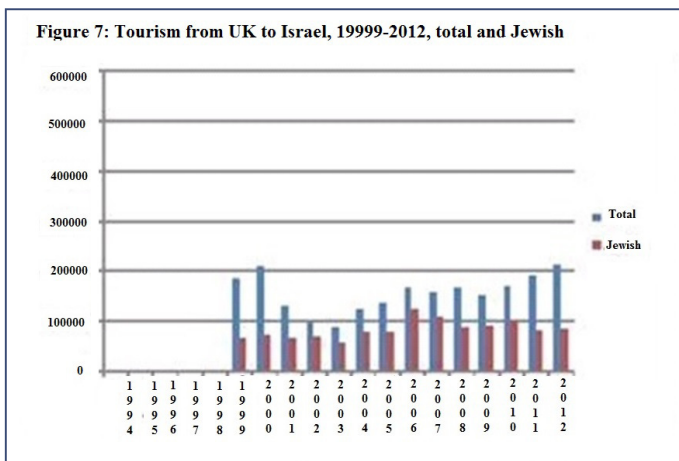
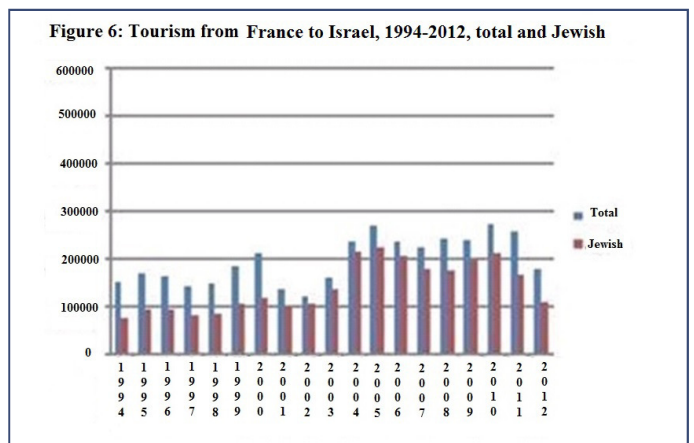
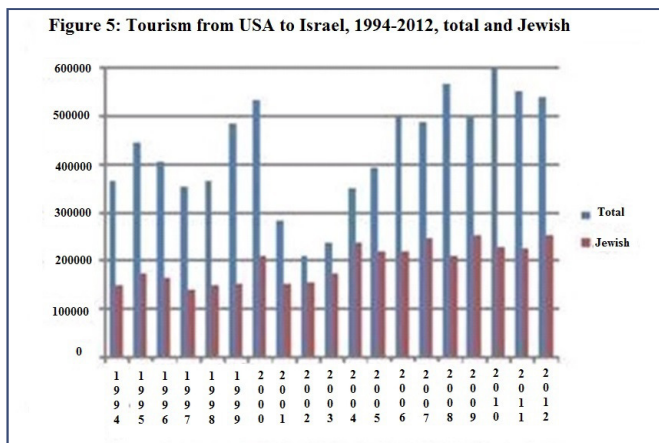
This trend was even more pronounced among some home countries. In 2002, Jews represented 71% of tourists from the UK, 74% of those from the USA, 87% of tourists from France and 97% of those from Argentina. Figures 5-10 show the total number of tourists and the number Jewish tourists who came to Israel in 1994–2012 from each of the six largest Diaspora countries: USA, France, UK, Canada, Argentina and South Africa.

Denominational affiliation

Between 1996 and 2012, data were collected on the denominational affiliation of Jewish tourists. Initially three options were offered: Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, the main institutional denominations in US religious life. In 1999 two more options were added: haredi - the Hebrew term for ultra-Orthodox - and 'unaffiliated' (on denominational Judaism in the USA see Kaplan, 2012; Lazerwitz, et al., 2012)

Given the space limitations of this article, tourism patterns by affiliation will be examined only for the United States, the largest Diaspora population. As seen in Figure 11, for most years the largest percentage of Jewish tourists defined themselves as Conservative. However, during the years of the al-Aqsa intifada, the percentage of Conservative and Reform Jews declined while the percentage of Orthodox Jews and Haredi Jews increased. Between 2001 and 2003, Orthodox Jews made up the largest group of Jewish tourists to Israel. The percentage of unaffiliated also rose slightly during these years.

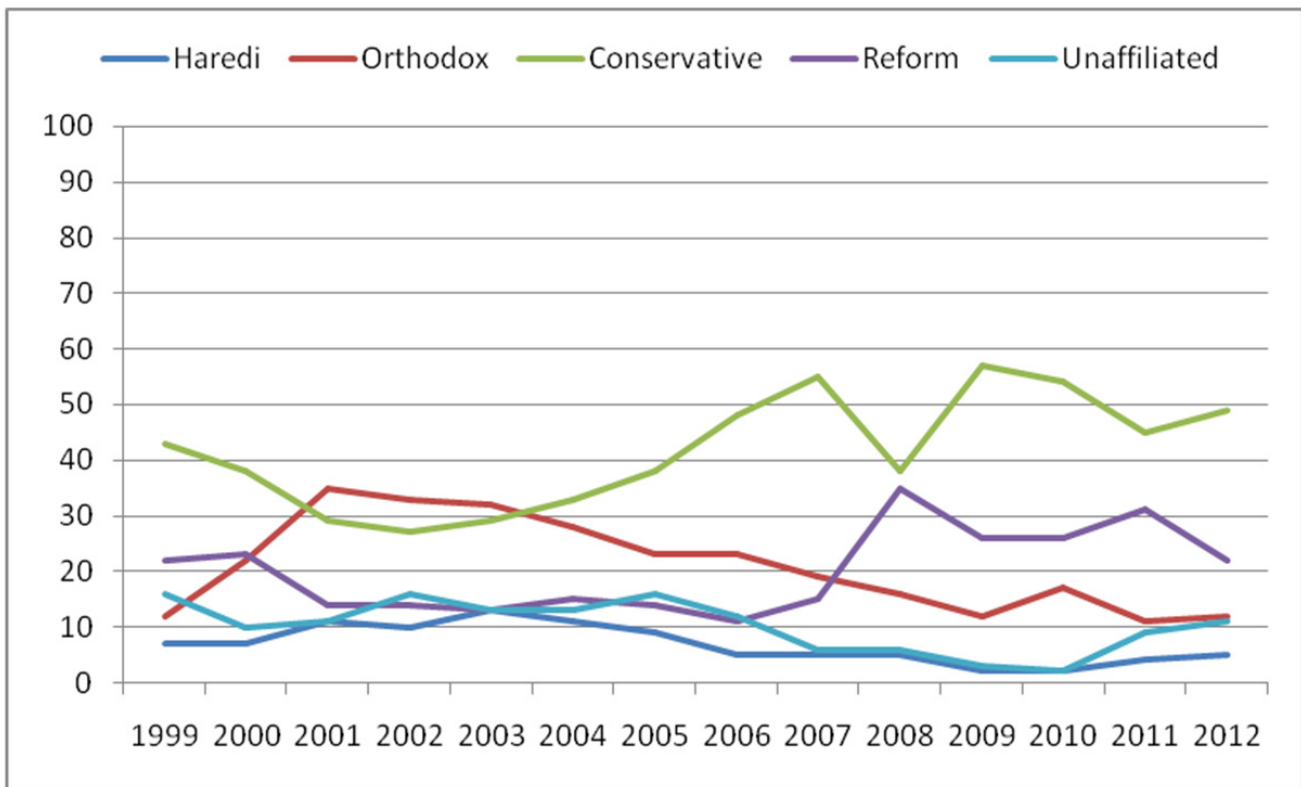
Figure 5 - 10 : Jewish and General Tourism to Israel 1994-2012 From Major Diaspora Countries^[3]



(Data from Israel Ministry of Tourism)

3 Note that the scale is not consistent for all the country graphs. For USA, France and UK the vertical axis is set at 600,000 while for Canada, Argentina and South Africa it is set at 100,000 to enable readability.

Figure 11: Denominational affiliation of Jewish tourists to Israel by percentage, 1999-2012



To further investigate the issue, the correlations between five variables are calculated:

- 1) the year;
- 2) total number of international tourists to Israel,
- 3) percentage of tourists to Israel who were Jewish;
- 4) number of fatalities from terrorism in Israel; and
- 5) the total amount of money traded in the world economy - an economic indicator which is normalized to allow for comparison across years.

As seen in Table 1, the total number of tourists has a strong correlation (.89) with the year and the economic indicator. It is weakly correlated with the number of fatalities from terrorism. The correlation between the total number of tourists and the percentage of Jewish tourists is, by definition, negative. (It is not statistically possible for the percentage of Jewish tourists to have a positive correlation with the total number of tourists, since as total tourism increases the figure would soon exceed the number of Jews in the world) .The percentage of Jewish tourists has a negative correlation with the economic indicator and a strongly positive correlation with fatalities in Israel. That is, in years with a high incidence of terrorism, total tourism to Israel drops and the proportion of those that do visit who are Jewish rises.

Discussion

The variations over time in tourism to Israel, especially among Jews from different home countries, may reflect a number of internal and external factors that affect attitudes towards travel to Israel when terrorist activity in Israel is more prevalent. Based on decades of research on Jewish identity and Diaspora - Israel relations, I would like to put forth a few considerations which may help in understanding the data.

Socio-political climate in home country

Until now the discussion has focused on how the situation in Israel affects tourism. The socio-political

Table 1: Pearson correlation matrix

		1	2	3	4	5
Year	1	100	92	90	30	-2
Total tourists	2	92	100	89	4	-75
Global trade	3	90	89	100	20	-16
Terrorism fatalities	4	30	4	20	100	69
Jewish tourists	5	-2	-75	-16	69	100

Disaster Victim Identification



ZAKA (for ZihuyKorbanotAson, literally: Disaster Victim Identification), founded in 1989, is an organization of voluntary community emergency response teams in Israel. This organization is officially recognized by the government. Members of ZAKA, most of whom are Orthodox Jews, assist ambulance crews, aid in the identification of the victims of terrorism, road accidents and other disasters, and where necessary gather body parts and spilled blood for proper burial. (see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ZAKA> and <http://www.zakarescue.org/>)

climate in the home countries may also have an impact which contributes to the differences in rates of tourism from various countries during the same years. How comfortable the Jews are at home affects their travel patterns. Economically, tourists need discretionary income to be able to travel internationally. At the same time, an unpleasant social atmosphere in the home country may encourage vacationing elsewhere. Especially relevant to the current case is the degree of anti-Semitism in the home country. If the Jewish population is experiencing violence and terrorism at home, terrorism in Israel will be less of a deterrent. Further, travel to Israel is sometimes a first step in investigating the possibility of a more permanent move, and Jews who do not feel at home in their country of birth are often more likely to be considering aliyah.

A recent survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League provides an indication of the level of anti-Semitism in various countries. Anti-Semitic attitudes are more prevalent in France, South Africa and Argentina than in Canada, the USA and UK (ADL, 2014).

Family ties to Israelis

A demographic characteristic which has a profound effect on the connection Diaspora Jews feel for Israel is the prevalence of family ties to Israelis. Because of Jewish immigration patterns over the past century, some Diaspora populations are significantly more likely to have members of their immediate family living in Israel. For example, when the majority of the Jews left North Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, the two primary destinations were France and Israel. Many families were split between the two. Further, since 1980 some 55,000 French Jews have made aliyah (become Israeli citizens); this is 10% of the population (Cohen, E. H., 2007, 2011). In contrast, the majority of American Jews are descendants of migrants who left Europe and Russia at the end of the 18th century; only a very small number of those migrants joined the new Jewish Yishuv in Palestine.

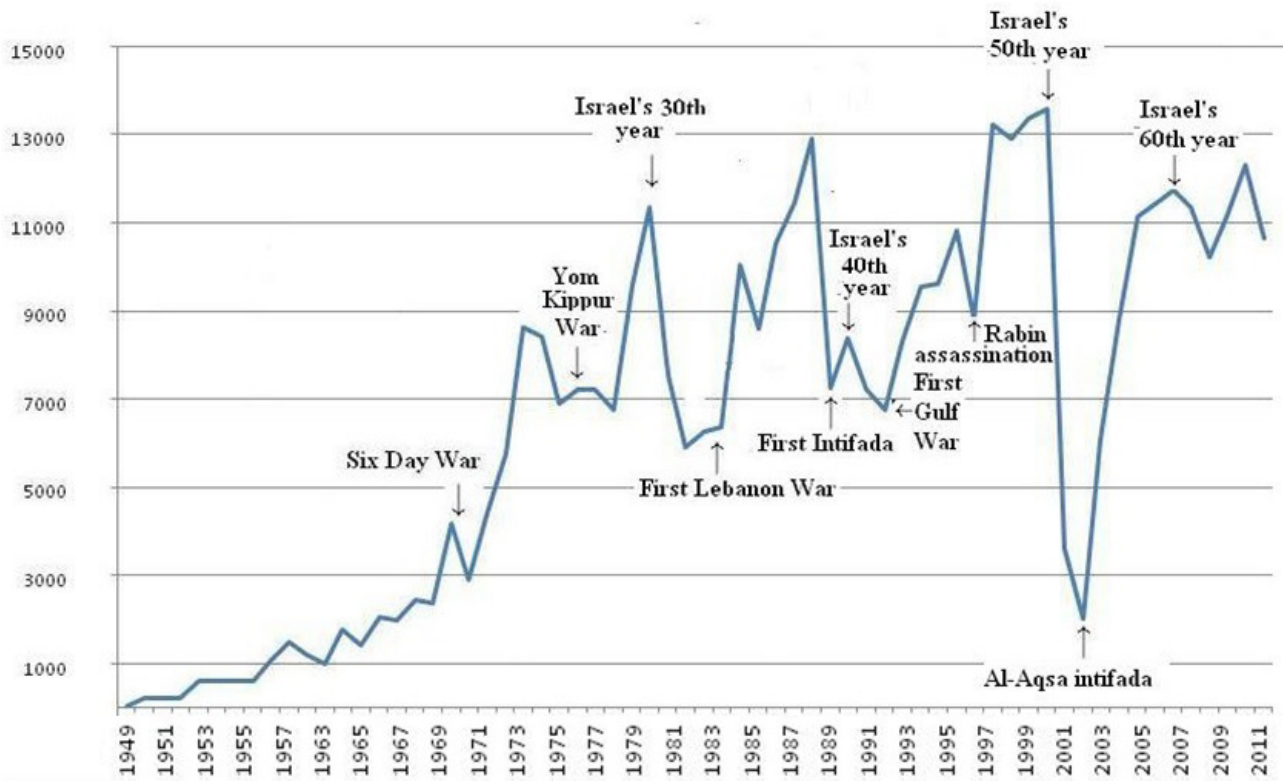
Having family ties to Israelis would not only strengthen the connection to Israel in general, but also increase the sense of mutual fate and responsibility during times of crisis. Research among communities which have undergone natural or man-made disasters has found that concern for victims extends in concentric circles from immediate family to close friends and neighbors, then to members of an extended social group (such as members of the same religious or ethnic group), and finally to strangers who are not part of one's social group. Beyond the issue of offering aid, there is profound emotional comfort from simply being together with family, friends and community members during a disaster (Hill & Hansen, 1962; Peacock, Morrow & Gladwin, 1997; Walsh, 2007).

Jewish informal education

An internal structural feature of Jewish communities which strongly influences tourism is the Jewish educational system, and particularly informal education. Group tours to Israel for youth and adults are often organized through local community institutions. These are more popular in some countries than others. For example, French Jews frequently come to Israel in the framework of a family vacation, whereas for Jews from North and South America are most likely to make a single pilgrimage to Israel through an organized youth tour (Cohen, E. H., 2008).

The following chart (Figure 14) shows participation in Israel Experience group tours. It can be seen that the decline during the years of the al-Aqsa intifada is considerably sharper among this young population (ages 13-18) than was seen among tourists overall. In

Figure 12: Participation in Israel Experience programs of the Youth & Hechalutz Department/ Department of Education 1949-2012 ^[4]



response to the spike in terrorism, many parents decided not to send their children, and many tours, including all the Reform movement tours from the USA, were cancelled outright. Thus, while in general the pervasiveness of Jewish informal educational settings as a framework for visiting Israel tends to increase the rate of tourism to Israel, such programs may be more sensitive to times of crisis as compared with independently organized family vacations.

Interestingly, the same denominational pattern seen among American-Jewish tourists at large is mirrored among youth. Data collected among participants in the Taglit program show that Orthodox youths represented a much larger proportion during the years of the al-Aqsa intifada (coinciding with the first years of the program), whereas in later years the proportion of Orthodox youth was significantly smaller, as seen in Figure 15.

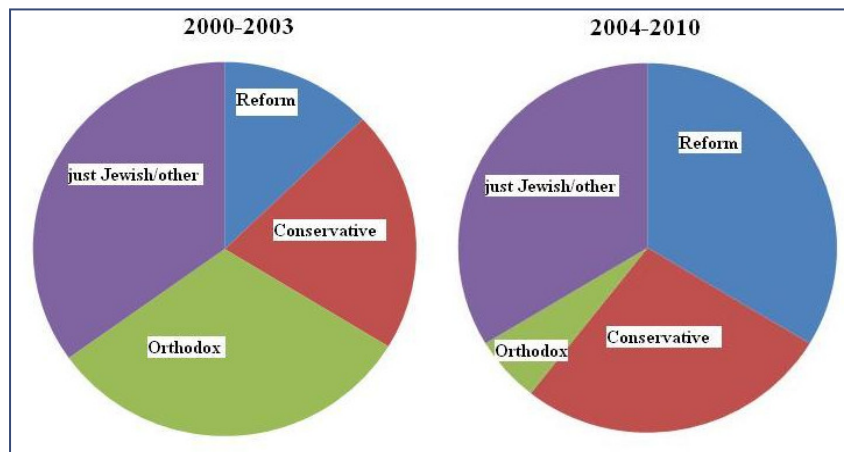
Countries with Jewish population

Taking these three factors into account, it is possible to better understand the patterns seen among the various countries. Here I will briefly cover the countries with the largest Jewish populations.

France

During the first years of the 21st century (the same years in which Israel was experiencing the al-Aqsa intifada) anti-Semitism in France was particularly virulent. There were hundreds of anti-Semitic incidents each year including physical attacks, threats, verbal harassment, and vandalism of Jewish community buildings. Further, harsh criticism of Israel - and by extension of Jews who support Israel - was prevalent in the national media (Cohen, E.H., 2011; Finkielkraut, 2004; Observatoire du monde juif, 2001; Taguieff, 2002; Trigano, 2006). Thus, the situation at home was no more secure for French Jews, and therefore terrorism in Israel would be less of a deterrent. In fact, during the years of the al-Aqsa intifada, participation of French youth in Taglit-birthright tours rose rather

4 Data were collected from annual reports preserved in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem and were confirmed by data in Mittleberg, 1994, pp. 137-138. Data for the years 1950-1952 and 1953-1956 are estimates based on cumulative data for these two periods. Figures for 1964 are an estimate. This graph shows only participants in Israel Experience tours and does not include participants in Taglit birthright Israel tours, which were launched in 2000.

Figure 13: Taglit participants from USA by denomination, 2000-2003 and 2004-2010

[reprinted from Cohen, E.H., in press]

than fell (Cohen, E. H., 2008). Further, since over 70% of French Jews have close family members in Israel (Cohen, E. H., 2011), they may have desired the mutual support of being with their Israeli family members in Israel during the time of crisis. Similarly, a disproportionately large number of French Jews volunteered in Israel following the Yom Kippur War of 1973 (Cohen, E. H., 1986).

Argentina

As noted earlier, more tourists came to Israel from Argentina in 1994, a year of relatively high terrorism, compared with the quiet year of 1999. This provides another interesting insight into the relationship between the situation in the home country and tourism to Israel. In 1994, the Argentine Israelite Mutual Association Jewish community center in Buenos Aires was bombed, killing 85 people and injuring hundreds (Brooke, 1994). Two years previously the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires was bombed, with 29 fatalities and 24 casualties. Moreover, the Argentinean media implied that the attacks were somehow attributable to the actions of the local Jewish population and Israel, creating a hostile rather than sympathetic atmosphere (Feldstein & Acosta-Alzuru, 2003). Almost half the Argentinean tourists to Israel in 1994 (the first year data were collected) were Jewish. Again, it seems that violence and an unwelcoming environment at home makes violence in Israel less of a deterrent to tourism.

Since 1980 over 30,000 Jews from Argentina have made aliyah, including over 10,000 in the 1980s alone (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013) so a fairly large proportion of the country's Jews are likely to have family members in Israel. Argentinean Jewish

youths have a high level of participation in formal and informal Jewish education - over a quarter of Argentinean youths take part in Israel Experience tours (significantly higher than either the USA or France). As in the case of France, participation of Argentinean youth in Taglit tours increased rather than fell between 2001 and 2003.

South Africa

Also in the case of South Africa tourism was higher in 1994 despite a spike in terrorism, as compared with 1999 when there were few attacks. Nelson Mandela was elected president in 1994, and the apartheid regime ended (Clark & Worger, 2013). This was a time of hope but also of uncertainty in South Africa, and the changing situation affected all citizens. The percentage of tourists from South Africa that year was similar to their proportion among the total population (just over a quarter). That overall tourism from South Africa to Israel declined in 1999 may reflect the difficult economic situation which had emerged in South Africa (Meth & Dias, 2004). The Jewish youth of South Africa have a high rate of attendance in Jewish day schools, community activities, and Israel Experience tours.

North America

While there are differences between the USA and Canada, and the Jewish populations of the two countries, they share many traits. North American Jews are highly visible in programs such as Israel Experience and Taglit due to the size of the population, however, less than 14% of Jewish youths from the USA take part in Israel Experience tours. The percentage from Canada is higher - over 20%. Anti-

Semitism is quite low in these two countries and the standard of living is comfortable, so there are few 'pushes' away from home. At the same time, the 'pull' of Israel is weaker than for the other countries discussed. A relatively small percentage of North American Jews have immediate family in Israel. While the relationship between American Jews and Israel is one which has received much attention and debate, it seems that the emotional ties of American Jews to Israel are not as strong as among other Diaspora populations (Cohen, E. H., in press; Rosenthal, 2001).

Conclusions

While war and terrorism are detriments to tourism, the relationship between them is not simple or unidirectional, as clearly seen in the case of Israel. At some times, Israel's wars have had a positive impact on tourism. During the Sinai Campaign of 1956, the Six Day War of 1967, and the Yom Kippur War of 1973, thousands of Diaspora Jews came to Israel as volunteers, mainly in non-combatative support roles (Cohen, E. H., 1986). The Six Day War, in particular, was a pivotal event in Israel-Diaspora relations and following Israel's victory, tourism in general and participation in group tours in specific increased dramatically. Other conflicts, such as the wars with Lebanon, and the Gulf War only affected tourism in the very short-term. Although tourism plunged sharply for several years during the al-Aqsa intifada, with its unprecedented level of terrorism against civilians, it recovered quickly. Therefore, it seems that while terrorism affects tourism on the micro-level, it has not inflicted long-term damage on the tourist industry of Israel.

Moreover, reactions to periods of conflict and terrorism are not homogenous across different groups of tourists. In years that the numbers of tourists overall declined, the representation of Jews among those who visited Israel increased. This was especially true for certain Diaspora populations. Notably, French Jews, who were simultaneously experiencing a high level of anti-Semitic violence at home during the same years, continued to visit Israel in relatively high numbers. Among Jewish-American tourists, those affiliated with the strongly religious denominations (Orthodox and haredi) represented a greater proportion of visitors during the years of highest terrorism. This trend needs to be verified among other national populations.

The theory that Diaspora Jews' willingness to visit Israel even during times of terrorism is affected by the situation in their home country deserves further investigation.

The analysis also revealed trends among the general population of tourists at large (not differentiated by religion). Tourism to Israel has greatly increased over the sixty-six years of the State's existence. Fluctuations due to political conflict tend to be short-lived, and tourism recovers quickly in more peaceful years. Among the general population differing cultural value orientations may affect patterns of visitation to Israel during times of intense terrorist activity. For example, a study of Christian tourism found that pro-Israel evangelical Christians, mainly from the USA came to Israel on 'solidarity' missions during times of crisis such as the al-Aqsa intifada, whereas Catholic tourism from European countries dropped by up to 90% during these years (Collins-Kreiner, 2006). Value orientations of egalitarianism, autonomy and mastery have been found to affect tourist patterns to the USA and Australia (Hsu, Woodside & Marshall, 2013). The extent to which these value orientations affect tourism to countries experiencing terrorism should be further explored.

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