

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

**ISLAM AND TOURISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST :
THE CASE OF EGYPT**

by

Kaye Horsfall

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ABSTRACT

In this study the use of tourism as a means of promoting development in Islamic countries in the Middle East is discussed. In tourism generally the image of a host country and its people is an important factor in the choice of a destination. In the case of Islamic countries image is of especial importance because of the cultural differences between them and Western countries and because of Western perceptions of the resurgence of Islam.

The present Western image of Egypt is considered. An image may be formed in two ways. It may be organic or it may be induced. In the case of Egypt the organic image is found to be particularly relevant because of the kinds of influences to which potential tourists are likely to have been exposed in a Western culture in which Orientalist influences may have induced negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims.

A distorted organic image attributable to Orientalism may then have been perpetuated and emphasised by the induced image resulting from the way in which the destination image is promoted by the tourism industry. In its attempts to manipulate the potential tourist the industry may knowingly or unknowingly have created a false image. A misconceived advertising approach may give rise to disappointment in tourists who find that their expectations are not realised and may thereby damage the image of the country as a tourist destination.

The use of tourism to promote economic growth in any developing country may lead to a divergence of opinions between the economists and planners, for whom the foremost consideration is the contribution which the tourist industry can make to the economy, and the mass of ordinary people who see tourism as being primarily a foreigners' industry which has little relevance to their lives. If

they perceive that tourists have an unfavourable image of them, that can give rise to resentment.

The role of Islamist extremism in the decline of the tourism industry in Egypt is explored. This involves a consideration of the effect of the rise in the Middle East in recent years of radical Islamism, with a growing number of people in favour of the creation of an Islamic state and the restoration of Islamic law. Although only a small minority may be prepared to use violent means to achieve their aims, extremist violence has greatly reduced the number of tourists willing to take what they believe to be the high risk of a visit to Egypt.

A general review of tourism in Egypt sets out the present state of the industry; explains how certain parts of it are developing, and explores the possibility of the development of an Islamic heritage product, which would supplement the Pharaonic product and which might result in tourism becoming more acceptable to the Islamist element among the Egyptian people. Finally, an examination of the country's potential markets and products highlights those which it is hoped will attract greater numbers of tourists to Egypt.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Egypt was chosen as the focus for this study of Islam and tourism in the Middle East because of its great potential as a tourist destination. Classified as part of the Middle East by the World Tourism Organisation(WTO), it attracted almost a third of the region's tourist arrivals in 1989. In 1991 the number of tourists to Egypt peaked, with a record 3 million arrivals representing US\$3.2 billion in revenue. Although that 1991 figure meant a successful year for Egyptian tourism, from a global perspective it represented only about seven per cent of total international tourist arrivals.

Since 1991, however, there has been a marked increase in Islamic militancy in the Middle East, and in Egypt it has been responsible for a sharp decline in international tourism figures. There is still no certainty about the long-term significance and political impact of Islamic extremism, but its very existence challenges the role of tourism in the further development of the country.

In dealing with the present situation, the role of image emerges as one worth examining in any attempt to enhance the perception of Egypt as a tourist destination in the main tourist generating countries.

HYPOTHESES

1. The development of international tourism in Islamic countries is dependent upon recognition of the limitations imposed by ideology.
2. The further development of tourism in Egypt must therefore pay heed both to the requirements of its indigenous Islamic inhabitants and to the needs of the potential tourist, especially in view of the important role of image in destination choice.
3. That political instability linked to Islamic fundamentalism will severely hinder the growth of the tourist sector.

OBJECTIVES

It is the intention of this thesis to examine the following areas :

1. The importance of tourism in Middle Eastern Islamic countries.
2. The experience of Egypt as a focus.
3. The role of image in destination choice.
4. The image of Islam in tourist perceptions of destinations.
5. The threat of Islamic extremism in Egypt.
6. The potential and problems of the tourist industry in Egypt.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this thesis was largely desk research whereby a review of the relevant literature was undertaken based on searches carried out at Strathclyde University, Glasgow; the American University in Cairo; Glasgow University Library; the Mitchell Library, Glasgow; the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) library; and the National Library of Scotland.

This was supplemented by short periodic visits to Egypt over several years for the purpose of :

- interviewing officials at the Ministry of Tourism and taking notes over several one hour periods,

- informal oral interviews of often short duration with various members of the travel trade,
- interviewing a Shi'a religious leader or Mullah (in the UK) to confirm published reports of the point of view of Islamists;
- interviewing a spokesman of the Egyptian police;
- observation of local culture and attitudes, especially as regards international tourism;
- observation of tourist behaviour;
- interaction with Egyptian people both in Egypt and in the UK;
- gathering information from local Egyptian newspapers;
- obtaining tourism statistics.

LIMITATIONS

The main limitations of the study were : the cost of extended travel in Egypt which precluded a more thorough assessment of local attitudes; the difficulty in obtaining recent, detailed information about Egyptian tourism in the United Kingdom; that some information has only been published in Arabic and may have affected the breadth of information gained for this study; and the apparent reluctance of tourism officials to give full and frank answers to enquiries.

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SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1.

Islam and Development

Looks at development from the Islamic perspective and compares its holistic aims with those of the Western model. Islamic ideology is interpreted in various ways in the Muslim world, and is considered with a view to the likely attitudes of each group towards international tourism as a form of development.

Chapter 2.

The Rise of Extremism

Reviews the factors which have led to an Islamic revival in Egypt and how it is manifested. The subsequent rise in militant Islamic violence in the Middle East is investigated, along with its impact on international tourism to Egypt. The Egyptian response to the threat of terrorism is then dealt with in the light of the desire to attract tourists.

Chapter 3.

The Dilemma of Tourism in Islamic Countries

Addresses the question of whether or not an Islamic country should encourage tourism as a means of development. Various sociocultural factors which impact upon a less developed country and its people as a result of having a tourism industry are examined, as is the response to these factors.

Chapter 4.

Image as a Factor in Motivation

This chapter considers the role of the organic image in the potential tourist's motivation to travel to a particular destination. The role of Orientalism and the

subsequent stereotyping of the Muslim are reviewed as key elements of the organic image which may influence potential Western tourists to visit an Islamic region.

Chapter 5.

Image and Destination Choice

Further examines the role that image plays in the potential tourist's final choice of destination. This choice is shown to be capable of manipulation by the marketers through a greater knowledge of the way in which the advertising message is perceived. This applies especially to brochure advertising and the way in which the image of a destination is presented.

Chapter 6.

Tourism Development in Egypt

Examines the extent of international tourism in the country and highlights the benefits to the economy. It then provides an evaluation of the Egyptian tourist product and current development planning.

Chapter 7.

Egypt : Potential Markets and Products

Appraises the present generating markets and discusses the new markets referred to in the development plan. The possibility of putting more emphasis on the Islamic nature of the destination is explored in an examination of the Islamic heritage product.

Chapter 8.

Conclusion and Bibliography

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LIST OF ISLAMIC TERMS

- al-takaful** solidarity; mutual or joint responsibility; mutual agreement
- ayatollah** "Sign of God," title of a high-ranking Shii religious leader
- fatwa** formal legal opinion or decision of a mufti on a matter of Islamic law
- hadd** "limits"; Quranically prescribed penalty or punishment for theft, adultery, fornication, false witness, drinking intoxicants
- hadith** narrative report of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings and actions
- halal** permitted, lawful activities
- haram** prohibited, unlawful activities
- hijab** veil or head covering worn by Muslim women in public
- kafir** "unbeliever" or infidel, one who is "ungrateful" and rejects the message of Islam
- hizbullah** party of God
- ichwaan** Muslim Brotherhood ~ respectable political group
- ijtihad** independent analysis or interpretation of Islamic law
- islam** submission or surrender to the will of God
- jihad** "strive, effort, struggle" to follow Islam; can include defense of the faith, armed struggle, holy war
- kuttab** quran school
- madrasa** religious boarding school associated with a mosque
- nass** an authoritative text
- sabil** path, way
- shi'a** "party or faction" of Ali, those Muslims who believe that Muhammad designated Ali and his rightful descendants the true leaders of the Muslim community
- shari'ah** "path"; Islamic law
- shura** consultation
- siyahiya** tourism
- sunna** normative practice or exemplary behaviour of Muhammad

ulama religious scholars or clergy

ummah Islamic community; worldwide Muslim community

awqaf ministry of ~ supervises estates in mortmain

zakat annual alms tax or tithe 2.5 per cent levied on wealth and distributed to the poor

Chapter 1.

Islam and Development

INTRODUCTION

The developing countries were defined by W W Rostow as those countries that have not yet reached the stage of economic development characterised by the growth of industrialisation, nor a level of national income sufficient to yield the domestic savings required to finance the investment necessary for further growth. ¹

During the 1950s and 1960s the developing countries became a focus of attention for politicians keen to show countries hoping to gain independence from their colonial masters that sustained development was possible under the wing of the West rather than the Soviet Union.

Development theorists drew upon the tradition/modernity distinction of classical sociologists such as Durkheim and Weber, and emphasised the values and norms operating in these two types of society and their economic systems. It was argued that the transition from the limited economic relationships of traditional society to the innovative, complex economic associations of modernity depended upon a change taking place in the values, attitudes and norms of people.

Bauer (1976) argues that :

“Economic achievements and progress depend largely on human aptitudes and attitudes, on social and political institutions and arrangements which derive from these, on historical experience, and to a lesser extent on external contacts, market opportunities and on natural resources.”²

Development, then, was supposed to depend on ‘traditional’, ‘primitive’ values being displaced by modern ones.

MEASURING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Development is a very complex concept. It can be defined in many different ways, depending on which characteristics of a people or a society are considered to be important.

Perhaps with this in mind, Morris (1979), developed an index of the “physical quality of life” (PQLI), and commented that the construction of such an index was difficult because it involved comparing very different societies. He maintained that a useful measure must meet the following conditions :

1. It must not assume only one pattern of development.

In particular, it must not assume that the Western way is the only way.

2. Related to (1), the measure must not assume that the values of 'development' are the same in all societies.

3. It should indicate results, such as how many people can read and write, rather than inputs, such as how much has been spent on education.

4. It must reflect the distribution of social benefits; therefore it should not use mean averages which may disguise serious maldistribution of benefits.

5. It should be simple, because complex indicators are difficult to understand.

6. It should enable comparison between countries and regions of countries

Inevitably it is difficult to meet all these criteria, but Morris suggested that it is possible to create an index using three indicators :

- a. life expectancy
- b. infant mortality at age one
- c. adult literacy.

A more recent report which compares favourably with the criteria set by Morris, is the human development index (HDI) which was first published in the United Nations 'Human Development Report'

: “The HDI is a measure of a desirable level or standard of living, which is best described as being a measure of people’s ability to live a long and healthy life, to communicate and to participate in the life of the community, and to have sufficient resources to obtain a decent living.”

The variables used to measure these dimensions are :

1. life expectancy,
2. literacy,
3. a decent living standard.

The HDI for a country then is a mean of that country’s scores in these indicators. Low-income countries, that is those with a low per capita Gross National Product (GNP), also tend to have a low HDI rank, while higher income countries tend to have a high HDI rank. However, the correlations between GNP and HDI are not all that close.

Although deviations exist at all levels of income, they are particularly evident at the upper and lower ends of the per capita income range. At one end of the spectrum, the oil producers of the Middle East, most particularly Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Libya, stand out with their high GNP per capita ranking but considerably lower HDI ranking :

Table 1.1 Human Development Index Rankings 1993

<u>Country</u>	<u>HDI</u>	<u>GNP per capita ranking</u>
Japan	1	3
Kuwait	52	15
Qatar	55	22
UAE	67	12
Saudi Arabia	84	31
Libya	87	40
Egypt	124	120
Guinea	173	132

Source : United Nations Human Development Report, 1993

Of these high income oil states, Kuwait and Qatar had relatively high HDIs of 52 and 55 respectively. The highest, globally, was Japan - 1, and the lowest was Guinea - 173.

Although all the oil-producing countries mentioned above have incomes equal to or above the average rankings of all high income countries (1-55), of these, three have only medium HDIs (56-111).

By contrast, Egypt has both a low HDI ranking of 124 and GNP ranking of 120,(representing US\$650 per capita) highlighting the need for further development.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE THIRD WORLD

One of the contributors to modernisation theory, Eisenstadt (1966), claimed that :

“Historically, modernisation is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.”⁵

The implication is that the history of industrial development in the West was regarded as a blueprint for development throughout the world.

In trying to classify levels of development, the United Nations (UN) linked these to the prevailing types of market structures. Consequently, those countries associated with membership of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) came to be referred to as the First World. The Second World included those countries whose markets were characterised by centralised planning and socialist principles. While the Third World referred to the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, although these comprise a wide range of levels of development. These are often described as the Less Developed Countries (LDCs). According to the World Bank Atlas 1994, those with a per capita income of less than US\$675 (1992) are considered to be ‘low income’ countries.

Amin (1976) distinguished the following three structural features as

tending to characterise the so called Third World in relation to the rest of the world :

1. Third World societies are mainly primary producers, and cannot control the prices of their products.
2. What is produced in the Third World is determined by demand for primary produce from the developed countries.
3. The Third World does not have the concentration of industrial and technological developments of the developed countries.⁶

To these Mohammad (1992) added :

- a. Low income at both the national and individual level.
- b. Low productivity.
- c. Low rates of savings and investment.⁷

Moreover, LDCs often have low levels of education, training, and technical expertise, underdeveloped legal, administrative and regulatory frameworks and, sometimes, political instability. In addition, individual societies are likely to have developed along different cultural lines, each benefiting from a variety of inherent values, attitudes and traditions.

Taken together, these factors show that development in the Third World cannot follow the same path as it did in the developed

countries. The kind of uneven development which can be found in countries such as India, where “nuclear physics and bullock carts create unlikely juxtapositions,”⁸ can lead to unexpected forms of social and economic organisation which are not always taken into account by theories which rely heavily on the past experience of the developed world. Thus we should not confuse the stage of development of Third World countries with the developed countries as they were at an earlier stage in their development.

The development of non-Western regions, including the Muslim world, was based upon the theory of modernisation that equated development with the progressive Westernisation and secularisation of society. Smith (1974) regarded secularisation as a *sine qua non* when he stated that :

“Political development includes, as one of its basic processes, the secularisation of polities, the progressive exclusion of religion from the political system”.⁹

Critics of modernity see it as a convention that relegates Islam to the pre-modern era, equating modernity with secularism :

“Modernism, the ethic of modernity, insists on secularism as a cardinal value and assumes the appropriateness of secular solutions only.”¹⁰

Both the indigenous elites who guided government development

programmes in newly emerging Muslim states and their foreign patrons and advisers were Western-oriented and Western-educated. All equated modernisation with Westernisation, and proceeded to 'modernise' in that way, everything from cities, buildings, bureaucracies, companies and schools to politics and culture. Some warned of the need to be selective as to the direction and pace of change, but even those Muslims who gave that warning nevertheless called for the separation of religion from public life. Religion was seen by all as a major hindrance to political and social change in the Muslim world. ¹¹

MODERNISATION AND THE WEST

However, several important points must be kept in mind when viewing developments in LDCs. The process of modernisation in the West extended over several centuries. The establishment of modern states, the creation of a sense of national identity and political legitimacy, the development of appropriate economic and social institutions took time and experimentation. Moreover, the process was accompanied by heated debates and riots and by revolutions such as the American, French and Russian.

Similarly, the accommodation between religion and modernity, or revelation and scientific reason, and the ability to resolve issues of modernisation such as the family, the role of women in religion and society, and sexual, corporate, and medical ethics, continue to

challenge the faith and unity of modern Western communities. Furthermore, issues of political and cultural identity and of religious values remain important concerns inspiring a variety of religious reforms and revivalist movements in the West today. ¹²

It is from such a position that Islamic economists have proceeded to argue that the main reason for the failure of the economies of Muslim countries, most of which may be defined as LDCs, lies in the adoption of economic systems which they maintain have “no connection with their beliefs or background”.¹³ They give as an example the adoption by many Islamic countries of an interest-based banking system which runs strongly against their beliefs. Hence their further belief that no progress can be made if the patterns adopted for economic development run contrary to well-established ideological and moral values.

While it may be the case that substantial economic growth cannot occur without changes in such areas as technology, the level of capital investment, and market demand, it need not be the case that such growth requires major alterations to value systems and social institutions.

DILEMMA OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

In some quarters of the Muslim world it is widely felt that current socioeconomic conditions are worsening, and that there is massive underdevelopment, because the actual economic actions taken by nations are diametrically opposed to the fundamental precepts of Islam.

A much-debated assertion is that Western capitalist institutions have generated income and productivity by reinforcing values promoting individual self-interest. ¹⁴

In looking at the development dilemma in the Muslim world, Siddiqui (1984) accuses contemporary industrial societies of possessing a value system aimed at optimisation of their resource allocations, while often seeming to be devoid of ethical values :

“In keeping their economic standards and value judgments they often reveal attitudes towards the Third World that are ethically irresponsible and functionally impractical”.

He sees growth and wealth in the industrial world as increasing at the expense of the developing world, and as a means of dealing with the situation points out that Islamic education provides a basis for a higher purpose in life than merely living well in it ; it aims to create the perfect man.¹⁵

Consequently, many feel that any system of Western knowledge to be used in the Muslim world needs to be Islamicised, leading to the reconstruction of economic models for Muslim communities in which Islamic principles dominate.

When a Muslim community then is confronted with the tension between dependence upon the West and aspirations to the good life, Islamic ethics and values will help to redesign its socioeconomic structure as part of the Muslim world.

Davies (1991), writing in 'Futures', argues that the spatial organisation of Muslim societies at present has, to a great extent, come about as the result of capitalist nations' attempts to use these territories in their own economic interest, providing minimal means of spatial interaction within each country. This, she claims, has distorted the very idea of relations and organisation, and develops patterns of resource development that minimise the utility of space but maximise the profits of the industrial advanced societies.

The economic and social geography of most Muslim countries today is the result of socioeconomic systems which often reflect the interests of the West. Explanations and analyses of such socioeconomic developments are often based on Western ideologies and economic philosophies, and therefore some may say contribute little towards achieving the economic and social goals of these countries.

Any empirical comparison between industrialised and less developed countries must take account of the fundamental structural differences in the character of Muslim countries. One of the most obvious differences being the economic disparities which exist. ¹⁶

It must be determined whether an unequal distribution of income and economic growth are a function of non-spatial variables - technology, employment rate, distribution of income and consumption - or whether Western models lack human values that are, according to Siddiqui, "fundamental to the social and moral development needed to improve the quality of life of the people".

The growth patterns of various developing countries reveal that simple shifts from labour-intensive and resource-based industries to capital-intensive and import-based industries have concentrated most of the productive forces in a few small areas, resulting in a deterioration of living conditions for the majority of the population in both rural and urban areas. ¹⁷

DEVELOPMENT OR ECONOMIC GROWTH ?

The achievement of social and economic development is of great concern to the poorer nations of the world. The developed countries too have never at any time played down the importance of such developments. Thus, the achievement of social and economic

development has become one of the issues most often embraced by national leaders and subsequently reflected in a variety of economic plans. ¹⁸

However, the traditional method of measuring a country's economic development stressed the GNP per head and its rate of growth, but difficulties were encountered using this method as a performance test of development. Pigow pointed out that economic development comprises not only changes in national income per head, but also in its distribution, coupled with the degree of steadiness and fluctuation over time. ¹⁹

The emphasis on GNP as a way of measuring development was based on two assumptions. First, that economic growth has a tendency to 'trickle down' to the poor automatically, and second, that where the benefits of growth did not reach the poor, the government would then take corrective action. In fact, it did not work out in this way. As it was put by an official of the Pakistani government :

"The problem of development must be defined as a selective attack on the worst forms of poverty. Development goals must be defined in terms of the progressive reduction and eventual elimination of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, squalor, unemployment and inequalities. We were taught to take care of our GNP because it would take care of poverty. Let us reverse this and take care of our poverty because it will

take care of the GNP. In other words, let us worry about the content of GNP even more than its rate of increase".²⁰

It is now widely acknowledged that the growth of a country's GNP is no longer to be considered the main objective of development. Concern is also expressed over the pattern of changes of that growth, hence development has come to mean growth plus changes. In other words, the quantitative measure is no longer considered to be the best indicator of development ; qualitative measurements too are now recognised as being important indicators.

Mohamad(1990) describes an alternative approach, covering those aspects which cannot be reflected in most income-based measurements, and giving a better indication of human, social and economic development. This approach involves the use of social indicators which attempt to measure the development of health, nutrition, housing and income distribution, while also measuring other aspects of social and cultural development.²¹

Islamic economists in general, refuse to take the GNP per head as the only indicator of economic development. Khorshid Ahmed, an Islamic economist has stated, "We have to leave all the ways which measure the rate of growth as the only indicator of development".[sic]²²

Ultimately,with reference to the HDI, the aims of the Islamic approach to development are in accordance with Western ones, and

differ only in the importance which Islam extends to individual goals in preference to others. For instance, equal distribution of income is regarded as being more important than economic growth, even if the former may lead to the decrease of the latter.

The rich Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) which has many member countries in the Middle East, had an average GDP in 1993 of over US\$200 billion ^{23b} of which Kuwait, with a population of only 1.43 million, had over US\$17,000 per head, making it in these terms one of the richer countries in the world (GNP ranking 15).

Yet even these OPEC states still suffer serious problems with regard to health, literacy, the development of both their agriculture and their industrial bases, and display a highly unequal distribution of income and wealth. Moreover, the Middle East's capacity for development based on oil can be seriously disrupted by long-standing regional hostilities such as the Gulf War, or the Iran-Iraq War which lasted for eight years. The aims for economic development then must be :

1. A sustained increase in real income per capita.
2. A decrease in the number below a certain poverty line.
3. A more even distribution of income to all.

4. Provision of those basic needs which enable people to meet certain minimum standards of nutrition, health, education and housing.

Although Islamic economists accept some of the aims of Western economic development, they are not in agreement regarding its ideological base, and therefore look at it from a different angle. The Islamic perspective of economic development is related to the concept of trusteeship :

“Trusteeship has been granted by God to human beings, provided they meet certain conditions. Important among those is building the earth in order to benefit everyone”.²³

Thus, the Islamic approach purports to be founded upon its inherent philosophical principles, and differs from the Western approach by claiming to look, not only at resultant economic changes, but further, to the moral and social implications of such changes. According to Siddiqui, in Islam the most important principle in the development of a nation, region or community is “brotherhood”, whereby an individual must be aware of “what is permissible for a man to do and what he is under obligation to do”. This leads to equality and cooperation, which are described as “indispensable bases upon which the quality of life of Muslim communities is to be built.” Mohamad comments that the brotherhood between Muslims affects the economy because an individual who believes in Islam will not exercise monopoly over his brothers.

The study of Western economic models has led Muslims to focus upon problems of distribution, optimal allocation of resources, employment and demand. However, under the Islamic system, optimum resource allocation has to be made within the limits prescribed by the *Qu'ran* and the *Shari'ah* (Islamic law), with an additional emphasis being placed upon social welfare optimisation which must also take place within an Islamic framework and, according to Siddiqui, is more complex than simply maximising benefits or value.

Mohamad outlines the main characteristics of the Islamic economic system :

a). dual ownership ~ a combination of public and private ownership which is perceived by the Islamic system to be one single system.

b). economic freedom within a framework of Islamic moral values ~ whereby individuals and institutions are under the control and limitations of Islamic laws and values in order to protect against any activity which, according to Islam, might badly affect society.

c). social justice ~ which is concerned with the fair distribution of wealth in an Islamic society and contains two elements :

i) *al-takaful* (solidarity) ~ in order to guarantee an honest life for everyone, the state provides Muslims with their basic needs and expects them to help one

another.

ii) social equilibrium ~ reduction of inequality, first through self-control, such as by the Muslim's duty to pay the religious tax (*zakat*), and second, through government, by, for example, the imposition of taxes or by the establishment, and encouragement, of investment in certain new economic sectors.

THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE

Due to the ever-increasing integration of traditional cultures into the global system, whose socioeconomic and moral-political institutions are felt by some to be firmly under the control of the Western powers, a surge of political activism has become manifest among those who see themselves as "the marginalised peoples of the world".²⁴

Domination by, and dependence upon, the industrialised West has bred considerable resentment in the Middle East. It has been emphasised by some scholars that the appeal of Islamic movements lies in the desire for cultural authenticity, and hence the rejection of Westernisation as a kind of cultural imperialism tied to the economic and political domination of the Muslim world by the West.²⁵

The Western imperial legacy was thought to have precipitated a

religious as well as a political crisis for Muslims. Colonial rule had eclipsed the institutions of an Islamic state and society ~ the sultan, Islamic law, and social welfare.

“Muslim subjugation by Christian Europe confirmed not only the decline of Muslim power but also the apparent loss of divine favour and guidance”.²⁶

After the Second World War, most Muslim countries became legally independent, but they remained economically, politically and, to some extent, culturally dependent upon one or more of the industrialised nations of the West, and more recently Japan.²⁷

The responses of Muslim believers to what they perceived to be the causes of the decline of Islam, and how they would deal with this challenge to their identity and faith are many. Their subsequent actions varying from adaption and cultural synthesis to withdrawal and rejection.²⁸ Their responses, however, are better understood when discussed in the context of the various ideological labels which are often used to distinguish them.

IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS

Shepard (1987) views such labels as ideological orientations and classifies the types as 'secularism', 'Islamic modernism', 'radical Islamism', 'traditionalism' and 'neotraditionalism,' with sub-types also discerned in several cases. In order to minimise the dangers of pigeonholing it is best to see them as "points on a two-dimensional spectrum", one axis of which may be labelled 'Islamic totalism' and the other 'modernity'.

'Islamic totalism' describes the view of Islam, not just as a religion, but also as a total way of life with guidance for political, economic, and social behaviour. Aspirants to Islamic totalism claim that Muslims should have an Islamic state, that is a state in which all law is based on the *shari'ah*.

The term 'modernity' represents a tendency to place a high value upon modern material technology and to use modern techniques of social organisation. There is also a further tendency to accept certain modern institutions, such as parliaments and political parties, certain attitudes such as a positive orientation towards change, and certain ideas such as a belief in progress. ²⁹

Modernity also includes the highly ambivalent attitudes towards the West which are believed to have been formed as a result of the Western impact of the last two centuries coupled with the spiritual crisis experienced therein :

“The fundamental malaise of modern Islam is a sense that something has gone wrong with Islamic history. The fundamental problem of modern Muslims is how to rehabilitate that history : to set it going again in full vigour, so that Islamic society may once again flourish as a divinely-guided society should and must.” 30

Secularism

The most radical form of secularism would be one that wanted to replace Islam in all areas of public and private life, as was the case in formerly Marxist Albania, whose constitution made virtually no reference to religion and whose government closed the mosques and churches. However, this kind of radical secularism has been unusual in Muslim countries.

More influential by far has been ‘moderate secularism’, the purpose of which has been to separate religion from politics and other areas of public life. In such cases, the ideology is generally nationalism allied to others such as capitalism, socialism, or liberalism.

In a moderate secularist constitution Islam is not the religion of the state, and sovereignty is not vested in God but in the nation or the people.

Turkey provides the best example of a moderate secularist

constitution, for in 1928 under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk, the clause which made Islam the religion of state was removed from the constitution.³¹ The relevant article now reads :

“The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law...loyal to the nationalism of Ataturk, and based on the fundamental principles set forth in the preamble.”

Also in the preamble, sovereignty is vested “unconditionally” in the nation and explicitly separates “the sacred tenets of religion” from “state affairs and politics”.³²

Religious Secularism

An even more moderate type of secularism is to be found in the Indonesian constitution which affirms belief in “One Supreme Deity” as the first of its “five principles (*pancasila*), but not Islam, nor even Allah”. This kind of secularism may be known as ‘religious secularism’.³³

Muslim Secularism

Constitutions which make Islam the religion of state, although not conforming to the pure secular type, may be closer to it than to

'Islamic modernism' on the same scale. The Egyptian constitution of 1972 says, "Islam is the religion of the State", and "The principles of the Islamic shari'ah are primary sources of legislation", but also says that "sovereignty belongs to the people only, who are the source of authority" (Articles 2 and 3).

Accordingly, popular sovereignty together with the fact that the principles of the *shari'ah* are, by implication, not the only source of authority, make this constitution substantially secular.

Such constitutions are common in the Arab world, in countries such as Syria and Iraq for instance, and may be labelled 'Muslim secularist'.

Neutral Secularism

In the area of legal reform, secularism in its pure form replaces the Sharia in all areas of public law with codes of other, in practice Western, origin and makes citizens of all religions, in principle, equal before the law. Examples of this were the Turkish legal reforms of the 1920s. Many other Muslim countries have, in fact, done the same thing in many areas, but not in the more sensitive areas relating to family life, such as marriage, divorce or inheritance.

Motives for the various types of moderate secularism can be discerned as belonging to major sets. The first involves a concern

for progress and national strength and is associated with the Western model which Turkey has developed. The other motive is a concern for national unity where there is a significant non-Muslim minority. In Indonesia, with its Christians and Balinese Hindus, divinity is affirmed but not particularised. In Egypt, where a good ten per cent of the population are Christian, political rhetoric often speaks of 'religion' rather than 'Islam'. There is, of course, also concern in Egypt and Indonesia for progress and national strength.

However, to speak of secularism as the separation of religion from public life can be misleading since Muslim secularism has not involved a separation of 'mosque' and state on the pattern of a country such as America, where church and state are quite separate. Secularist governments both support and control religious teaching and institutions to a considerable degree :

"Essentially, secularism has meant state control of religion and state effort to use religion in the service of its nationalist and developmental goals". 34

Of course, secularism, particularly in its nationalist form, is by no means inconsistent with an appreciation of Islam as a cultural heritage, and may even be seen as a necessary component of the national identity : no-one is considered a Turk who is not also a Muslim, just as *shi'ism* was an important part of the Iranian identity under the late Shah.

Ultimately, what distinguishes the 'secular' state is the subordination of Islam to national identity and the tendency to view the Islamic heritage as "a human cultural achievement rather than a response to divine initiative." Moreover, it is important to stress that moderate secularism is not necessarily irreligious, as a secularist may perform faithfully all of the Islamic rituals and follow an Islamic code of ethics in his or her personal life. Secularists may also, quite consistently, view religion as a desirable or even necessary support for personal ethics, and thus for public order and well-being.

Likewise, pan-Islamism may be secularist, insofar as it means loyalty to or feeling for Muslim peoples, but does not call upon them to rule themselves by the *Shari'ah*.

Islamic Modernism

In contrast to secularism, Islamic modernism insists that Islam provides an adequate ideological base for public life.

The 1973 preamble to the constitution of Pakistan asserts that "sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone" and that the authority of the people is a "sacred trust" exercised "within the limits prescribed by him".

There is a strong tendency, says Shepard, to emphasise the

flexibility of Islam in the public sphere, and so to use this flexibility by interpreting Islam in terms congruent with one or more Western ideologies. Among *Sunni* Muslims this means that they refer directly to the Quran and the Sunna to seek “a fresh interpretation and synthesis for modern times” ; they do not rely on the “mediaeval synthesis” represented by the four schools of jurisprudence (*madhahib*); and they want to eliminate superstitions derived from local pre-Islamic cultures.

Modernists may insist that Islamic social principles are capable of development and able to keep up with the times, but the important point here is that unlike secularists, modernists are keen to justify general principles and development in terms of the Quran and the *Sunna*.

Modernism achieves flexibility in three main ways. The first is through a tendency to restrict both the specific and the detailed to the Quran and the authentic *Sunna*, and to use the later *hadith* tradition selectively.

The second way is a fairly radical reinterpretation of the authoritative sources, in particular, those which appear to conflict with ‘modern’ views ~ the Quranic texts on polygamy, the *hadd* punishments, *jihad*, and the treatment of unbelievers. In some cases modernist reinterpretation can find considerable support in the text, such as the requirement of four witnesses to adultery (Q 24:4), which in practice could have the effect of voiding the *hadd*, or by the

argument that the Quranic permission of four wives is conditional upon the ability of the husband to treat all of them fairly, which ability is denied by another passage (Q4:129). Another form of this argument can be found in the Quran's legal limitation upon the number of wives to four, but its view of monogamy as an ideal towards which the community should strive. ³⁵

Shepard emphasises the flexibility of the *Shari'ah*, which allows polygamy, since circumstances sometimes require it, but also provides a clear impetus towards monogamy.

Another modernist tendency has been to reinterpret *jihad* as defensive war and to stress the texts that call for tolerance of non-Muslims.

The third way is as an apologetic which links aspects of the Islamic tradition with Western ideas and practices and may claim that the Western practice represents the best way to carry out the traditional Islamic injunction under modern conditions. Justification for this is found in the Quranic injunction to the ruler to consult others, known as *shura*, which is said by Bahgat to be 'democracy' in modern political terminology :

"Islam did not explain the form, type or stages of this democracy but left this to the minds of the Muslims and the considerations of time and place". ³⁶

Apologetic modernism has been severely criticised by many scholars as superficial, tendentious and even psychologically destructive. For example, Gibb (1947) complains about :

“The intellectual confusions and the paralysing romanticism which cloud the minds of the modernists today.” 37

However, apologetic modernism is also worthy of praise, in that it allows Islam to act as a principle of selection among competing Western ideologies. Mustapha Mahmoud in ‘Marxism and Islam’ says :

“As a dialectical synthesis of two extremes [ie communism and capitalism] it [Islam] combines the virtues of both; but then it goes further than either by giving man ineffable bliss ~ spiritual satisfaction.” 38

Radical Islamism

This orientation describes those who are often referred to as ‘Islamic fundamentalists’ but are now known simply as ‘Islamists’. They agree with the modernists in that Islam is flexible and that un-Islamic superstitions must be eliminated; they accept the need for absolute *ijtihad* ~ which is the opinion of a jurist based upon Islamic principles ~ but would grant it less scope; they also emphasise the

need to treat it in an authentic Islamic way and not as a covert means of copying the West, the real object of *ijtihad* being to understand the Supreme Law not merely to replace it with a manmade law. ³⁹

Sayyid Qutb, the great Islamic writer, said that Islam is flexible but not fluid and stressed that “if there is an authoritative text (*nass*) then that text is decisive and there is no scope for *ijtihad*. If there is no *nass* then comes the time for *ijtihad*, in accordance with the established principles of God’s own method.”

Islamists tend to accept more of the past *ijtihad* of the scholars. They emphasise somewhat less the failings of the community in pre-modern times and somewhat more the distortions caused by Western colonialism. They also emphasise the distinctiveness of Islam, believing as the Islamic writer Maududi did, “that we as Muslims can earn no honour or respect unless we are able to show that our religion resembles modern creeds” is wrong. In this vein, Maududi objected to the identification of Islam with democracy, communism or dictatorship, while the Ayatollah Khomeini refused to include the word ‘democratic’ in the name of the Islamic Republic of Iran. ⁴¹

This concern with distinctiveness may manifest itself in an insistence on clearly distinctive Islamic laws, such as the *hadd* penalties. But some say that penalties such as the amputation of the hand of a thief should be carried out only after a truly Islamic society has been

established.

Both Sayyid Qutb and Maududi perceived among modern apologists an inferiority complex.

More than others, the Islamists emphasise the urgency of putting the *shariah* (Islamic Law) into practice. They see it, not only as an ideal to be known and revered, but as a law to be put into practice and obeyed. The Ayatollah Khomeini also emphasised this point in his book 'Islamic Government'.

This group (radical Islamists) tend to be more willing to accept a gradualist approach to Islamic legislation and to cooperate with those of other ideological persuasions. For example, in Egypt, the Muslim Brothers were elected to parliament in 1984 as members of the leading secularist party of the pre-Nasser era : the Wafd party. Other radical Islamists, however, are more oriented towards violent or revolutionary action, as in the Iranian revolution, or the assassination of the former Egyptian president, Anwar Sadat.

In spite of its conscious stress on authenticity, Islamism is still very modern and accepts much that is borrowed from the West. Most noticeably, it accepts modern material technology, as was illustrated by the use of the cassette tape recorder in the Iranian revolution when the Ayatollah's speeches could be heard by the people of Iran although he recorded them while in exile in Paris.

The same method was used by the Egyptian Islamist cleric, Sheikh Abd el-Rahman (who was imprisoned for his involvement in the World Trade Centre bombing) to influence the people of Egypt from New Jersey in America. Then there was the use of modern weapons in the Iran/Iraq War. As Shepard has noted, Classical Islamic civilisation had little problem borrowing purely material technology, so this contemporary willingness to do the same is unlikely to compromise its authenticity. ⁴²

In the realm of ideological concepts, Islamists have also been able to accept and use many modern methods of political and social organisation that are Western. For instance, the Islamic Republic of Iran has political parties, elections, and a parliament. And while the Ayatollah Khomeini may have rejected the word 'democratic' he nonetheless accepted 'republic'. ⁴³

Particularly important is the fact that Islamists accept the idea of progress. With their zeal for following the *Sunna* of the Prophet, they are commonly accused of wanting to turn the clock back to seventh century Arabia, but this is a misapprehension. In fact, they not only want progress but insist that Islam is the way to get it. Ayatollah Khomeini, for example, described Islam as "progressive", ⁴⁴ while Maududi said :

"We can accelerate the onward march to progress only
on the strength of the moral values enunciated by Islam" ⁴⁵

Far from reflecting a rejection of the idea of progress, their zeal reflects an acceptance of it, and so refutes the common traditional justification for inaction : the view that historical decline is more or less inevitable, and therefore the 'golden age' of the Prophet cannot be realised in later times.

Undoubtedly, Islamists want to undo many of the effects of the Western style of progress, but this is not seen by them as turning the clock back. The Islamist in a secular country has been compared to a person who has grown up in a house whose structure he does not like, and who would like to take it over and demolish it and then rebuild it to a different plan, but is quite willing to use some of the old materials in the process. In Iran, this process has already begun.

Traditionalism

A traditionalist will probably be more given to traditional superstitions than the types so far discussed. He may be defined as one whose allegiance is to "that 'mix' of *Shari'ah* and non-*Shari'ah* elements characterising his area" before the onset of the Western impact, and who has felt neither the attraction nor the threat of Western ways, and thus has not fully appreciated the seriousness of the threat.

Traditionalists respond to the challenge from the West very much in terms of the paradigms offered by their traditional ways of coping

with adversity : Westerners may be non-believers (*kafirs*) to be resisted by force, or to be tolerated as one of the punishments God visits upon his faithful for their sins, or one of the trials by which he tests their faith. ⁴⁶

Some have taken consolation in the thought that God may grant '*kafirs*' worldly success but reserves the bliss of paradise for the Muslims. ⁴⁷

In the 19th century and less so in the 20th, the 'traditional' orientation has generally characterised the ulama and other traditional elites, Sufi orders, and the lower classes, especially the peasants, particularly in areas such as central Arabia and Afghanistan.

A scale of traditionalism may be discerned, from 'rejectionist' on the right to 'adaptionist' on the left. The rejectionists would be those, particularly in the 19th century, who mounted revolts and resistance against the encroaching colonial powers, or violently resisted the reform efforts of the Westernising Muslim rulers. The 'adaptionists' would be those who tend to use delaying tactics, on the grounds that the times are inherently corrupt due to the distance from the ideal time of the Prophet, and that only necessity would make such adaption appropriate. ⁴⁸

Traditionalists have often been accused of a rigid conservatism (*jumud*), but this was often a reaction to the modernising pressures

put upon them. The most conservative elements in Saudi Arabia would tend to be traditionalist, and certainly those who opposed the introduction of television would be at the rejectionist extreme.

The fact that Saudi Arabia does not have a constitution is sufficient argument for considering it to be 'traditionalist'. However, an article of Zaki Yamani in 1972, together with King Fahd's 1983 call to Islamic scholars to hold an international conference with a view to modernising Islamic law through rigorous *ijtihad*, suggests that an analysis of current thinking and practice in Saudi Arabia would be likely to uncover all of the Islamic sub-groups so far discussed, with modernist thinking probably strongest in official circles. ⁴⁹

Neotraditionalism

The 'neotraditionalist' accepts the need for modern technology but tends to be more selective than the modern types in appropriating it. He also tends to give it less symbolic as opposed to functional value. He is less likely to have internalised Western ideas and values such as 'progress' and the Weberian work ethic, and consequently he may feel less urgency to put the Islamic ideal into practice. On the other hand, he may feel it appropriate to use obstructionist tactics to slow down what he sees as a secularist government's ill-considered rush to certain forms of modernity ~ which may account for the recent violent manifestations of *Sunni* 'fundamentalism' in the Arab world.

However, some may recognise that certain local customs are both non-Islamic in origin and non-modern and still see positive value in them. One of the leaders of the *Nahdatul Ulama* in Indonesia has criticised radical Islamism for its “rejection of the past adaptive ways of Islam as a religion living in a concrete local tradition”.⁵⁰

INFLUENCE OF IDEOLOGY ON POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Although it is generally known that in Muslim countries, policies and practices are influenced by Islam, a certain amount of confusion seems to exist in the West regarding the way in which Islam is interpreted in individual Muslim countries and the degree to which it is applied. In some countries, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Libya, the use of alcohol is banned, while in many other Muslim countries it is available for consumption. In Saudi Arabia there is a total ban upon women driving, but not in neighbouring Kuwait. These apparent inconsistencies can be explained with reference to the ideological orientations which, as we have seen, vary from one country to another.

However another aspect of Islamic influence on policy and practices in the Muslim world is the extent to which radical Islamist groups can exert pressure on Muslim governments to implement *shariah* ~ Islamic law. This pressure can vary in intensity, from the ban on the use of alcohol in public sector outlets, such as was imposed upon the national airline of Egypt some years ago, to the announcement by

Colonel Qaddafi of sweeping measures to tighten *Shari'ah* observance in Libya: "The Quran says the hand of the thief, male or female must be cut off. I want the law to be amended, so that the hands of the thief be cut off, regardless of the amount they have stolen."

Of those countries which already apply *Shari'ah* Law, Sudan is regarded in the West as the cruelest of its exponents. Since *Shari'ah* was introduced after the 1989 coup, there have been diplomatic reports of at least one crucifixion, the punishment for apostasy, while those Sudanese convicted of armed robbery often have a right hand and a left foot "hacked off". Furthermore, it was reported in *The Economist* that in Sudan :

"Many die and those who do not are cast out from society, usually unable to support their families. Soon after the coup, amputees were seen struggling to adjust to their disabilities, some barely able to eat as they lay groaning on the filthy floor of a charity hut"

The application of *Shari'ah* is also carried out in Saudi Arabia, described as 'traditionalist', in Iran which is a 'radical Islamicist' state, and in Pakistan which is 'Islamic modernist'.

'Secular' countries such as Egypt and Jordan are now coming under increasing pressure from Islamists to follow suit. An example of the pressure being applied by those in favour of the introduction of strict

Islamic law in Egypt was demonstrated, rather poignantly, when it was reported that Islamic lawyers were fighting to annul the marriage of a liberal university lecturer, on the grounds that he had committed apostasy by writing a thesis critical of an 8th century Islamic theologian. Should the case succeed, the wife of the lecturer would be obliged to leave her husband or alternatively be condemned as an adulteress.

Certain practices which are often assumed to be Islamic in nature are, in fact, sometimes pre-Islamic in origin. These were often based on attitudes which were prevalent at that time and were subsequently incorporated into the new religion, often as a way of encouraging people to co-operate in its acceptance. Examples of such practices include the covering up of a woman's face, or more worrying, female circumcision, a practice which still occurs, usually in the countryside, in some Muslim countries and is almost always wrongly attributed to Islam.

Many of the practices which tend to be identified with all Muslim countries in the region are in fact typical of only some of these countries, but such national practices often influence the perception which many people, especially Westerners, have of the region as a whole. These perceptions will be dealt with at length in a later chapter.

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

The success of tourism in the various countries of the region, given the undoubted economic benefits that the industry is capable of providing, is dependent upon a familiarity with the ideological differences which exist across the Islamic world and how they contribute to the identity of each country.

It is necessary therefore that planners and policymakers should have an understanding of, and sensitivity to, the cultural constraints which each country would bring to bear upon the tourist industry. At one end of the ideological continuum Saudi Arabia, with its very traditional culture, would be highly unlikely to encourage Western tourism. Such a step would be considered as going against the interests of its people. However, that country encourages religious tourism in the form of pilgrimage, the best-known being the annual *haj* to Mecca.

Pakistan, with its 'Islamic modernist' ideology has a more flexible approach to the interpretation of Islam and is not as strictly conservative as Saudi Arabia. Nonetheless, although it encourages Western tourism, the restrictions it imposes on the non-Muslim would be unlikely to entice mass tourists to the country. Such restrictions as the ban on the sale of alcohol are in direct opposition to the sybaritic aims of many Western mass tourists, who might be interested in the culture and activities that a country has to offer, but may also want to relax and indulge themselves on holiday. The

consumption of alcohol often plays an important part in the achievement of those aims.

Egypt's present 'secular' ideology helps to foster a tolerant attitude to most non-Muslim demands and endeavours to accommodate many of the characteristics of Western tourists, such as the consumption of alcohol and pork, gambling, and immodest dress and behaviour. Such tolerance creates a more relaxed atmosphere and contributes to the perception of the country as an attractive destination.

Interestingly, Iran, in spite of its strict interpretation of Islam, is now trying to encourage Western tourism. There is a desire to develop a tourism industry for the perceived benefits it will bring to the Iranian economy. Since the death of the Ayatollah Khomeini six years ago life has become more relaxed, but the features which are less acceptable to Westerners are still in evidence ~ segregation of men and women on the beaches and on the ski-slopes, and Islamic gangs, known as *komiteh* , patrolling the streets and enforcing a social code that bans alcohol and forces women to cover themselves from top to toe.⁵¹

Even if there has been a change of heart, it is unlikely that Iran, with such a forbidding image, will find it easy to attract tourists in any great numbers without a lot of work being done to convince them of the advantages.

CONCLUSION

The history of modern Islam has challenged many presuppositions and expectations, in particular the notion that modernisation results in the secularisation of society.

There is concern today among some of the Muslim population about the secular drift and outlook of their societies and the impact this will have on their faith and values.

It is thought by the Islamists that Western modernity is not working for Muslims as a means of enhancing their social cohesion, expanding opportunity, shared well-being, and dispersed affluence, and, in fact, has compounded many dilemmas into insoluble problems, as it brings in conflicting and seemingly incompatible aspirations for the present and the future.

Restoration of the *Shari'ah* has become the focus for those Muslims wishing to counter the 'dangers' of secularisation, to preserve a strong sense of faith and identity, to modernise without Westernising, and to foster an economic development which avoids the excesses of materialism by attending to the needs of social justice.

Consequently, the development of a tourism industry, which, in its present form, is associated with a Western lifestyle and largely caters to Western tourists, as a means of achieving development and

modernisation, may not be acceptable to the Islamists.

The various Islamic ideologies discussed are indicative of the approach to modernisation found in different parts of the Middle East and each is likely to have a bearing on the prevailing attitudes to international tourism as a strategy for their further development.

It is clear that international tourism can flourish in those Muslim countries which have already adopted a more secular approach. However, the latitude required in order to accommodate some of the needs of international mass tourism is more restricted in the non-secular Muslim countries.

As a result, tourism, although an acceptable form of development to those who profit directly from it, may sometimes be seen by others as an industry which represents a threat to Islamic cultural values and traditions inasmuch as it may be perceived to have a potential for the violation of these.

If and when the Islamists were to achieve their ultimate objective of overthrowing the present secular government and replacing it with one not dissimilar to that of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the policy which they would adopt towards tourism as a means of further development of Egypt is not known.

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Chapter 2.

The Rise of Extremism

Extremism has been a recurring feature of the the Middle East region for many years. Among the most recent examples is the Islamic fundamentalist (Islamist) violence which has been responsible for the numerous armed attacks and bombings which have occurred in various countries in the Middle East such as Algeria, Israel and Egypt.

In Egypt acts of violence such as these have been directed at both the police and the many foreign tourists visiting the country. In order to understand the relationship between the rise in Islamist extremism and the impact it is having on the development of Egypt's tourist industry it is useful to begin by looking at the historic background of what is thought by the Egyptian government to be the industry's greatest challenge.

BACKGROUND

The standard or traditional Islamic world-view and self-image which came to dominate the thoughts of all Muslims as a result of the efforts of the religious institution, may be said to have been established by about the year AD950 and certainly by 1200. ¹

The majority of people in the region possessed a sense of history in which Islam had always prevailed despite past divisions, civil wars and revolts. As Muslims they had lived in a community which was guided by the laws and institutions of Islam, and which consisted of an Islamic world-order composed of Muslim sultanates which extended from Africa to Southeast Asia. ²

Owing to internal as well as external influences this sense of Muslim history and belief was gradually eroded. The internal influence can best be illustrated by the decline of the Ottoman Empire, which at the height of its power in the middle of the 16th century ruled over Yugoslavia, Rumania, most of Hungary, and the north coasts of the Black Sea to beyond the Sea of Azov, as well as Syria, Iraq, the Hejaz and most of North Africa.

However, from early in the 18th century the Ottoman political institution was conscious that the power of their empire was in decline when compared with that of European states. Many factors contributed to this decline, among them economic and agricultural factors, as well as technological backwardness.

There was a growing awareness that reforms were necessary, but an inherited belief in the superiority and self-sufficiency of Islam. This states Hiro (1989), weakened the resolve to implement these reforms and, "Since none of them was prepared to concede the inferiority of Islam to any other system the inevitable conclusion was that Muslims had deviated from the true path". ³

Although the empire had taken over certain European innovations as early as the 15th century, such as firearms, artillery, techniques of naval construction and methods of warfare, other changes were slow in being achieved.

One symptom of the general weakness in the Ottoman Empire was the appearance of corruption in the religious institution along with its resistance to change.

It was not until the first half of the 19th century that effective steps were taken by Sultan Mahmoud II (1808-39) to reform this entrenched system. These involved the introduction of a new code of law based on French law, to be used along with Islamic law (*shari'ah*), and the introduction of 'mixed courts' where both European and Islamic judges sat.

After 1876 there was little further reform until the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, when Mustapha Kemal, known as Ataturk, established a state based on the idea of nationhood rather than Islam and made sweeping changes which virtually abolished the religious institution, including the *shari'ah*.

The Assembly became the supreme legislative power, and in 1926 produced a new legal code based mainly on that of Switzerland. The new Turkey was now a nation which was to embody the people as it did in Britain, France, or Italy. In the Arabic provinces similar measures were taken, but some legal and judicial responsibilities

were still retained.

Egypt was nominally a province of the Ottoman Empire until 1814, when the then Ottoman governor, Muhammad 'Ali, seized power and was recognised as hereditary Pasha before his death in 1848. The country was then ruled by his descendants until the revolution in 1952, with the exception of the period of British occupation between 1882 and 1922, when Britain exercised overall power.

In the last century and a half the religious institution has lost much of its power. With the exception of the Turkish Republic this has not come about because of any actions reducing or abolishing the power of the religious scholars (*'ulama*), but by the creation of new institutions which gradually took over much of the legal and judicial work formerly carried out by them.

In education too reformers saw a need to teach subjects not included in the Islamic curriculum. In Egypt Muhammad 'Ali introduced the teaching of new subjects which the *'ulama* were unwilling, or unable to teach. For that purpose he brought in European teachers and sent young Egyptians to study in Europe.

New schools and universities based on the Western model were gradually introduced alongside the traditional Islamic system of education. This led to a bifurcation in the outlook of the population.

Gradually the *'Ulama* came to be seen as diehard conservatives

opposed to all innovations and in time were perceived as being concerned only with family matters and not with the believer's entire life.

Henceforth the destinies of the Muslim peoples were to be entrusted to national governments which arose from "the rubble of the Ottoman collapse or under the auspices of the colonial powers".⁴

ISLAMIC REVIVAL

During the 1960s in the Middle East there appeared to be a retreat from the secular path which had been entered upon in the 19th century and encouraged by various nationalist governments in the region.

Arab nationalist regimes had seized power in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Algeria and reinforced their appeal for popular support by a deliberate, selective use of religion to legitimise their socialist ideologies and governments.

By the late 1960s a turning point was reached and a new phase began with the growth and spread of religious revivalism. The causes of this resurgence of Islam are many and need to be appreciated within the specific contexts of individual countries and regions. Esposito (1991), however, identifies several phenomena which he thinks are common to the contemporary Muslim

experience :

1. An identity crisis precipitated by a sense of failure, loss of identity, and lack of self-esteem.
2. Disillusionment with the West; the failure of many Muslim rulers and their Western-inspired governments to respond adequately to the political and socioeconomic needs of their societies.
3. The newly found sense of pride and power that resulted from military (Arab-Israeli War) and economic (oil embargo) successes in 1973 and the Iranian revolution of 1978-79.
4. A quest for a more authentic identity rooted in an Islamic past. ⁵

THE GROWTH OF ISLAMISM IN EGYPT

1967 is commonly supposed to be the moment at which Islamism began to take hold. There was shock at Egypt's defeat by Israel : the pride in being Arab which had been fostered by Nasser, Egypt's charismatic leader, and the credibility of Arab socialism were shattered. People tried to make sense of it by attributing the outcome to a variety of explanations - that the military had grown elitist, corrupt and bureaucratic, or that Egypt was underdeveloped technologically. One reason which gained credence was that God

had abandoned Egypt and allowed it to be defeated because the Egyptian people had abandoned God. ⁶

One of the consequences of defeat was the general disillusionment with Nasser, his socialist programme and his secularist ideology. Gilsean (1973) states :

“The defeat of 1967 only confirmed [for them] the total invalidity of the entire social, political, economic and ideological order”. ⁷

The economy was in difficulties for a variety of reasons - the Yemeni War (1962-67) had been expensive; there had been waste, mismanagement and corruption, which plagued some of the schemes at home and contributed to Egypt's economic dilemma of 1964-65.

The defeat of 1967 also presented the added problem of coping with half a million refugees from towns in the canal zone; the expense of rebuilding the region, and the doubling of the military budget for arms replacement. It also meant that having been so weakened, the Nasser government had lost the confidence of the people and was no longer able to impose unpopular and austere economic measures.

A further consequence of this weakening of the government was a retreat from its socialist policies, with concessions being made to the affluent and powerful classes. This retreat became even more

obvious after Nasser's death in 1969 and throughout the 1970s under his successor Anwar Sadat, who, on assuming the presidency, was strongly opposed by leftists and committed Nasserists, as his government retreated from socialist policies. ⁸

Sadat was neither as charismatic nor as popular as Nasser had been, but he saw the advantages of utilising Islam as a means of enhancing his political legitimacy and right of leadership; he actively encouraged Muslim sentiment and deliberately cultivated the image of 'The Believer President' by having the mass media cover his praying at the mosque; by increasing Islamic programming in the media, whereby the state-run radio and television broadcast prayers five times a day; by increasing the number of Islamic courses in schools; by building mosques; and by using Islamic rhetoric in his public statements. Meanwhile the growth of Islamic student organisations was promoted as a way of countering any opposition to his new pro-Western political and economic policies. ⁹

What these measures amounted to was a shift away from socialism with its dependence on the Soviet Union towards free enterprise and dependence on the United States. ¹⁰

Meanwhile, Sadat had accorded freedom of 'religious' action while withholding political status from the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwaan*), a group which had been established in 1928 in opposition to the Western imperialist or foreign influence of the colonialists.

The Muslim Brotherhood deplored the moral deterioration in Egypt and called for the introduction of Islamic principles based entirely on the *shari'ah*. They criticised Sadat for opening the country to too much Western influence; they opposed accommodation with Israel, a country which had usurped Islamic territory; and they were deeply disturbed by Egypt's isolation from the Islamic world. They tried to recruit new members, especially among students and civil servants. Their propaganda was carried out on university campuses by various Islamic groups; women students wore 'modest' dress and headcoverings; meetings, conferences, sales of literature and lectures were regularly and openly held. Finally, they tried to exert pressure on the universities to segregate the sexes for teaching and lectures.

The new generation which had come to maturity in the 1970s had begun looking towards Islam both as a source of inspiration and a means of legitimising political protest. Hence new groups, operating under the legacy of the brotherhood, began to form. ¹¹

THE GROWTH AND SPREAD OF ISLAMIC GROUPS

Sadat, however, had not followed consistently Islamic policies and his approaches to the West and Israel aroused resentment amongst militant Islamic groups who were by now outwith the control of the Muslim Brotherhood.

To some extent he was caught in a dilemma. In order to receive aid from 'traditionalist' Saudi Arabia he felt under pressure to prove that Egypt was a strict Muslim country. There were proposals to ban alcohol, to punish apostasy by death, and to introduce Islamic criminal penalties such as amputation of the hand for theft. In fact, none of these measures were adopted, and when, after the Camp David Accords, the Arabs ostracised Sadat, he was relieved to some extent of the pressure.

Consequently, he felt free to introduce a less rigidly interpreted form of Islam which would take Egypt in a different direction while still retaining a Muslim identity. In so doing, Sadat created a distinction between religion and politics. He said :

“Those who wish to practice Islam can go to the Mosques, and those who wish to engage in politics may do so through legal institutions”.¹²

The new freedom which he allowed created a favourable environment in which the more radical Islamic groups could also flourish. Soon these grew stronger and more widespread, and their publications began reaching a wide audience which helped to disseminate their religious message and further familiarise people with Islam “as the idiom of discourse”.¹³

As the momentum of their activities increased, the Islamist groups became even more critical of Sadat's policies; his support for the

Shah of Iran, his early condemnation of the Ayatollah Khomeini, and his key role in the Camp David Accords. They also became more vocal in their demands for the implementation of Islamic Law.

A variety of factors have contributed to the spread of these radical Islamic groups. Ibrahim (1985) states that the most important factor is probably the pervasive, deep-rootedness of the Islamic religion throughout the entire region. This is so much the case that any regime, however leftist or liberal, would always find that it is necessary and more expedient, and probably a lot easier to invoke Islam when instituting any major new policy.¹⁴ Nasser himself, in order to legitimise his Arab socialist ideology, created a state-supported periodical called '*Minbar Al-Islam*' or 'The Pulpit of Islam', in which leading scholars and religious leaders linked Arab socialist policies to the Islamic tradition.¹⁵

Another factor is that for any militant Islamic movement nearly half of its task with potential recruits has already been accomplished by virtue of the "socialisation and cultural sanctions since childhood". Ibrahim concludes from such factors as these that, "All that remains is to raise their political consciousness and to impose organisational discipline upon them".

A further factor is the strong sense of community-mindedness which Muslim groups provide for their members. According to Ibrahim, the typical recruit is usually of recent rural background, a newcomer to a huge impersonal city. In the past he could rely upon a network

of relatives or fellow villagers to make his arrival easier. Now, more and more, such mechanisms are not there. Instead, it is to the militant Muslim groups that the newcomers turn. With their emphasis on 'brotherhood' and their offer of both material and spiritual support, they provide an alternative to the traditional extended family.

Ibrahim attributes the appeal of Islamic groups to their "ability to assume the task of repelling external encroachment, enhancing the socioeconomic prospects of the middle and lower classes, and galvanising the imagination of the educated youth". According to him, the people of these classes have tried other secular alternatives but all seem to have fallen short of fulfilling their promises. 16

THE ISLAMIST PROFILE

Contrary to popular stereotypes, many of the people attracted to Islamic activism are neither uneducated peasants nor are they seminary students. They are not anti-modern reactionaries trying to take refuge in the seventh century. Many combine a traditional upbringing with modern education. They may be university graduates in subjects such as engineering, law, medicine, science or education, from major national universities in Muslim countries as well as in Europe and America.

While the *'ulama* and theological faculties have played a more

important role among *shia* Muslims, *sunni* Muslim organisations are predominantly lay rather than clerical, their membership drawn heavily from students and young professionals (such as doctors, teachers or lawyers), often recruited from schools or through mosques. Their numbers include both city dwellers and villagers, lower-middle and middle classes. Many are serious, pious, highly motivated people who have become disaffected with the socioeconomic realities of their societies.

Such people, states Esposito (1991), are often mistakenly supposed to be Muslims reacting to the introduction of modernisation, automatically rejecting any new and unknown reality. Instead, they are people whose experience of modernisation has led them to criticise and reject what they perceive to be excesses, and therefore they espouse an alternative to the dominant, Western form of modernisation. ¹⁷

THE RISE OF EXTREMISM

The vast moderate majority of Islamists, despite their increasing numbers and achievements, have often been overshadowed by a militant minority who assassinate, kidnap, and bomb in the name of Islamic political and social justice.

Although most Islamists seek reform through the gradual transformation of Muslim society, extremist groups like *Takfir wal*

Hijra (Excommunication and Emigration), *Al-Jihad* (Holy War), *Jund Allah* (God's Army), and *Hizbullah* (Party of God) pursue a policy of violent confrontation based on their conviction that only armed struggle is the answer.

These extremists tend to view Arab Muslim governments as anti-Islamic regimes that either co-opt and control religion or repress the attempts of authentic Islamic movements to implement Islam. In order to justify their views, they point to Anwar Sadat, whom they accuse of fostering Islamic student organisations on the one hand and, on the other, not implementing Islamic Law, while simultaneously suppressing dissent during the last days of his rule; to Muammar Qaddafi's silencing of the Ulama who opposed his idiosyncratic interpretation of Islam; to Habib Bourguiba's crackdown on Tunisia's Islamic Trend Movement in 1981 and 1987; and to Hafiz Al Asad's destruction of the Syrian city of Hama in 1982 in order to put down a Brotherhood-led uprising. All of these incidents are regarded as part of a pattern of government suppression of Islamic movements.

The extremists' belief in the use of violence to achieve their aims is highlighted by Esposito when he writes :

“Radicals believe that the refusal of Muslim governments to implement Islamic Law and their repression of Islamic activism necessitate the counter use of violence and armed struggle against the enemies of God, despotic rulers and their foreign allies.

Indeed it is a religious obligation to resist and fight". 18

Regarding themselves as the true defenders of Islam against repressive anti-Islamic or un-Islamic rulers and states, they assassinated Anwar Sadat, and have since kidnapped and murdered, and also attacked government installations and foreign embassies.

This new crop of secret revolutionary groups challenged both what they regarded as Sadat's hypocritical manipulation of Islam and the moderate posture of the Muslim Brotherhood. 18

Such extremists go beyond the general ideological framework of Islamic revivalism and tend to operate on the following principles :

1. Western neocolonialism and the power of Zionism pit the West against the Islamic world.
2. Establishment of an Islamic system of government is an Islamic imperative, not an alternative, based on God's will. Therefore it is incumbent upon all Muslims to obey and follow this divine mandate by struggling to implement and follow God's law.
3. As Muslim government legitimacy is based upon the Sharia, those who fail to follow Islamic law, whether governments or individuals, are guilty of unbelief. They are no longer

Muslim but atheists whose unbelief demands holy war.

4. Opposition to illegitimate governments extends to the official ulama and state-supported mosques and preachers who are considered to have been co-opted by the government.

5. Jihad against unbelief and unbelievers is a religious duty.

Therefore, all true believers are under obligation to combat such governments and their supporters, whether individuals or foreign governments. One is either a true believer or an infidel, saved or damned, a friend or an enemy of God.

6. Christians and Jews are generally regarded as unbelievers rather than "People of the Book" because of their connection with Western colonialism and Zionism. They are seen as partners in a conspiracy against Islam and the Muslim world. Hence the persecution to which non-Muslim minorities are often subjected.

THE MILITANT PROFILE IN EGYPT

The typical profile of members of the extremist Islamic groups in Egypt is young, often in their early twenties, of rural or small town background, from the middle or lower middle class, with high achievement motivation, upwardly mobile, usually with a science or

engineering background, and from a normally cohesive family. In fact, those investigated might in other circumstances be considered model Egyptian Youth. 19

They unanimously condemn Egyptian society as being un-Islamic, politically corrupt, controlled by infidels, that is, people who are not 'true believers', and dominated by alien and decadent Western laws and lifestyles which foster secularism and materialism, particularly conspicuous consumption, spiritual laxity and permissiveness.

The appearance and behaviour of the Western tourist tends to be the embodiment of such a lifestyle.

They believe that the liberation of Egyptian society requires that all true Muslims undertake an armed struggle or holy war against a regime which they regard as oppressive, anti-Islamic and a puppet of the West. Their concern is not only with Egypt's political and military dependence but also the West's cultural penetration and acculturation which they see as the more insidious threat. 20

Consequently, attacks have been made against bars, nightclubs, cinemas and Western tourist hotels, foreign banks, as well as government institutions and most often now the police.

The rationale of the violent actions taken by one of these militant groups, *The Jihad Organisation*, is implicit in 'The Forgotten Obligation', written by one of their number, Muhammad Al-Farag.

He reasserts the belief that *jihad*, which means 'struggle' in Arabic, is in fact the sixth pillar of Islam, and that armed struggle or revolt is an imperative for all Muslims, to rectify the ills of a decadent society :

“[We] have to establish the Rule of God’s Religion in our own country first, and to make the word of God supreme.....

There is no doubt that the first battlefield for jihad is the extermination of these infidel leaders and to replace them

by a complete Islamic Order. From here we should start”.²¹

ISLAMISM UNDER MUBARAK - RELIGION OR POLITICS ?

Following the assassination of Sadat in October, 1981, Hosni Mubarak, the vice president, succeeded to the presidency and since then has passed a number of important milestones.

In contrast to his predecessor, Mubarak has pursued a path of greater political liberalisation and tolerance while at the same time responding quickly and firmly to those who resort to violence in order to challenge the government’s authority.

Mubarak has also distinguished more carefully between religious and political dissent. While he has been quick to deal with outbursts and riots fomented by Islamic militants, religious critics have been

allowed public outlets for their opposition. ²²

Mubarak's period of rule has been marked by continued agitation, followed by arrests and even accusations of torture.

THE IMPACT OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM

From a global perspective, Egypt has until recently been seen as a tolerant, emancipated Muslim Arab country where Western tourists came in their millions. However, the impact of Islamic extremism has been felt in Egypt and is now clouding the political and economic outlook of this, the largest and most strategically important of the Arab countries. ²³

Attacks on Western tourists, Egyptian politicians and others whom the extremists perceive to be opponents of their ideology, are a constant threat. Political violence has killed many people over the past two years, and bomb attacks and assassination attempts are putting a severe strain on the government. Time Magazine, in April 1993, captured the still-prevailing mood in the capital city :

“People walk the streets of Cairo these days peering over their shoulders. Tourists wonder if a bomb might be hidden in this bus or that corner cafe”. ²⁴

Although Islamists are at odds with all the secular Arab

governments of North Africa, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, Mubarak is for them a special target, in that Egypt has not only made a separate peace with Israel, but also joined the Western alliance in the Gulf War, and continues to work closely with the United States. The more radical elements of Egypt's Islamic groups would like to do to Mubarak what was done to the Shah of Iran : topple him and install a purely Islamic government. In place of the Ayatollah Khomeini they appear to want the blind Egyptian cleric, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who, before his arrest in America, called passionately for Mubarak's overthrow from the mosque in New Jersey in America, where some of the suspects in the bombing of the World Trade Centre worshipped. ²⁵

As part of the Islamists' strategy to overthrow the existing leadership in Muslim countries, they have been attempting to build up mass movements throughout the region, village by village. Their networks build up loyalty and gratitude by supplementing inadequate state social services. By reaffirming traditional values they :

“....set a fervent puritanism against pervasive corruption and denial of rights by governments that have not learned the disciplines of democracy”. ²⁶

Muslim governments fear them because unlike past secular opposition groups, the religious background of these current groups makes them more difficult to deal with because “mosques cannot be

policed nor preachers silenced".²⁷ Blanket arrests and clumsy attempts at intimidation only strengthen what has often been described as a Hydra : where one head is cut off two others grow in its place.

The government is convinced that extremists are being recruited from a number of other Arab countries and are being trained in Sudan and directed from Iran.²⁸ Western experts do not dispute the Egyptian government's claim entirely, although Egypt would face a militant Islamist threat even if Iran and Sudan did not exist. For although undoubtedly fuelled by Islamic sentiment, another root cause of extremism is the continuing failure of Mubarak's government to resolve Egypt's economic problems. [Refer to Chapter 6]

The Times, 25 May 1993, empathises with the prevailing state of affairs when it notes that :

"Homegrown overpopulation, poverty, poor housing and rampant corruption would almost certainly stir radicalism and unrest without any agitation from outside".²⁹

On interviewing two members of Egypt's militant Islamic groups, Ibrahim found that they perceived Egypt's present economic problems to be the outcome of "the mismanagement of resources, application of imported policies, conspicuous consumerism, corruption of top officials, and low productivity".³⁰

However, the militants do not consider that overpopulation,

scarcity of cultivable land and other natural resources, the burden of defence and the war effort are crucial factors in Egypt's present economic difficulties. In their view the absence of the above factors would make these problems surmountable.

The militants' blueprint for dealing with all of these problems is straightforward : austerity, hard work and self-reliance. An important component of their economic thinking is its pan-Islamic, supranational nature. They tend to frown upon the excessive differences of wealth found in various Muslim countries. They believe that no true Muslim ruler would countenance the enjoyment of great wealth by some while fellow Muslims elsewhere were starving. Excessive wealth and excessive poverty would have no place in a Muslim society which followed the religious edicts and taboos (*muharammat*). The imperatives include payment of the *zakat*, which is an alms tax, fair payments of wages to labourers, hard and honest work by every Muslim, and charitableness other than by the payment of *zakat*.

The taboos include cheating, extravagance, hoarding and exacting or receiving usury-interest. It is also made clear that no individual or group of individuals could monopolise or control public utilities. (the early Islamic analogy of this is water, fire and grazing land).

Private property, profit and inheritance are allowed. However, it is incumbent upon any Muslim government to "create what is analogous to a public sector if the interest of the *'ummah*

(community) required it".³¹

From this last stipulation concerning the interests of the community, it may be concluded that two important ideological functions appear to be performed. First, it gives the Islamic state tremendous flexibility to engage in or retract from major economic activities and, second, it accentuates the collective or communal nature of the envisioned Islamic society.

The most important characteristic of Islamic revivalism in Egypt since the 1980s, as in many other parts of the Muslim world, has been the extent to which it has become part of the moderate mainstream of life and society rather than merely a marginal phenomenon. Esposito states that it is no longer simply a lower or lower-middle class phenomenon :

"Renewed awareness and concern about leading a more Islamically informed way of life can be found among the middle and upper class, educated and uneducated, peasants and professionals, young and old, women and men".³²

Nonetheless, in spite of this focus on religious values, the Islamists show a great weakness in that they are vague and repetitive; they present their belief and obedience as a panacea but produce few details of an Islamic programme, nor do they explain what would make any set of policies identifiably Islamic. Large questions, such as whether Islam can accommodate democracy, free speech and

interest rates remain unanswered. ³³

EXTREMISM AND THE ECONOMY

In Egypt, militant Islamism, in the shape of the *Jama'at al-Islamiyya*, has now become the country's dominating political issue. If Mubarak is to defeat the extremists, it is thought by many commentators that he must deliver on the economic front. His secular regime remains firmly committed to its present political (and IMF-inspired) economic programme. However, no genuine attempt has been made to solve the country's deep-rooted problems. In spite of this, the IMF and the World Bank believe that Egypt's economic prospects show definite and solid signs of improvement. They highlight a 75 per cent reduction in food and other subsidies, a reduction in the budget deficit to 2.4 per cent of GNP, and economic growth of around 4 per cent. ³⁴

Witter (1994) suggests that if the Mubarak government instituted a more radical economic reform programme, in the hope of securing faster, more sustainable prosperity, many of the factors which now contribute to the Islamists' support and popularity would disappear. It would also strengthen and enhance the concepts of capitalism and secularism as necessary components for guaranteeing stability and prosperity. ³⁵

However the IMF's economic programme has no guarantee of success unless the endemic corruption and elitism is tackled and a

new, more open business philosophy is injected into the country's commercial culture. ³⁶ These changes must also be underpinned by the sustainable redistribution of wealth to Egypt's poor.

THE IMPACT OF EXTREMISM ON TOURISM

The Islamic threat, whether real or imagined, has undoubtedly become the aspect of the region's image which impacts most forcibly upon its tourism industry. The consequent effect of isolated incidents of extremist Islamic terrorism on the global perception of a country such as Egypt can, and has, been devastating, particularly as its tourist trade had been flourishing prior to the various acts of violence which have been taking place over the last two years.

As the number of visitors continues to dwindle the implications are far-reaching. Not only are hotels, travel agencies and tourist transportation companies seriously affected, but the dramatic drop in the number of tourists has also had other less obvious consequences.

Workers in the tourism sector, who constitute ten per cent of the total Egyptian labour force have been threatened with losing their jobs. Industries which are dependent upon tourism such as tour buses, furniture, ceramics and carpets, and products for direct sale to tourists such as souvenirs, ready-made clothes and leather products, have been badly affected financially and are now in a state

of recession.

TOURISM AND PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY

Tourism, as a discretionary activity, is extremely vulnerable to political instability. Even such natural disasters as earthquakes or hurricanes do not have the lasting and devastating impact of political unrest. Statistics showing that one is more likely to die from lightning or in a bathtub than from political violence do not dispel the concern that deflects travel decisions away from controversial destinations. Any political instability can cause tourism arrivals and receipts to decrease.

In developed countries, where there is plenty of diversity in their economies, the tourist sector is protected by domestic markets which may continue to do well, even if international arrivals decline. Moreover, business travel is likely to be more resilient than discretionary travel. The developed country is likely to see in-bound tourism as a desirable component in the balance of trade but, even if it is an important source of revenue, it may, nonetheless, represent a small part of the GDP. 37

Developing countries on the other hand, have far fewer resources with which to cope. A developing country is likely to be much more dependent on tourism as a means of engineering its own development. It is likely to be less diversified, with tourism as the leading industry rather than one among many; tourism revenues are

less likely to stay in the country resulting in leakage occurring; and there is rarely a domestic base for tourism to cushion seasonality or to fall back upon if international tourism falters.³⁸[Refer to chapter6]

If political instability occurs, the developing country's ability to cope is much less assured. International loans for the tourist industry become difficult to finance for there is usually no alternative use for luxury resorts when political dislocation of the market occurs, as destinations such as China, Sri Lanka and Fiji discovered. Fortunately, tourism often recovers from political dislocation quite quickly as China and Fiji demonstrated, However, some were too remote, too lavish, too energy dependent, and too costly to maintain for alteration to be feasible. ³⁹

Depending on the source of political instability, a developed nation may be able to exercise effective damage control or contain the political upheaval so that tourists are safe and unaware of any problems. Richter (1992) offers the example of conflicts among linguistic groups in places such as Belgium and Canada. ⁴⁰ For developed countries it is easier to deal with a number of such problems, since the ownership and control of air, train and sea links are in their hands and therefore tourist traffic can be redirected.

The tourism of developing countries is often dependent upon the timetables and routes of other country's airlines or cruise ships. If those other countries re-route, cut flights or avoid the ports of the developing country then the true political conditions within that

country are merely academic, for it may be months or even years before the bookings and tourist traffic regain their former momentum. Sri Lanka provides an example of a destination which, initially, on the basis of terrorist activity in a very confined area in the north of the country, suffered neglect from both the tour operators and the tourists.

Developing countries are also often unable to control events, contain mobs, put down guerrilla activity, or insulate tourists from the political strife that might be manageable for more developed countries, as the recent abduction of tourists in Kashmir and Irian Jaya demonstrate.

The actual political conditions prevailing within a country were said by Richter to be almost incidental to the perception of security when influencing potential travellers. The most bizarre linkage of tourism and political instability was between 1972 and 1980 in the Philippines, when President Marcos declared martial law while proceeding with an aggressive promotional drive to attract international tourism. As the actual unrest at the time was minimal, he managed to increase tourism from its pre-martial law levels. 41

Conversely, Hong Kong was a destination in which tourism had always thrived, with its superb location, excellent facilities and diversified economy. The shooting of pro-democracy supporters in China's Tiananmen Square in 1989 caused a huge drop in tourism to China, but it also badly damaged tourism to Hong Kong. In fact, it

was scenes of citizens in Hong Kong protesting about events in China which created an impression that Hong Kong too was volatile and dangerous. 42

Hence, Richter came to the conclusion that it is perception and not political events which govern travel decisions. This applies particularly to countries without well-defined images among the travelling public, as they are vulnerable to well-publicised strife in adjacent countries.

One of the most common problems of political instability affecting tourism is that violence or unrest which may be far removed from tourist areas can receive so much media attention that the impression is given that the whole region is engulfed in conflict. To compound the problem, ignorance of the geography of the region is often widespread among potential tourists, as few can discern conflict areas from non-conflict areas.

Developing countries are particularly susceptible to the effect of Western media coverage, as they are often ignored until disaster, war, *coups d'état* or revolution put them squarely in the headlines.43

THE MIDDLE EAST

Political instability in the Middle East has been a continual problem for several decades. In the seventies, the Arab-Israeli wars, and in

the eighties, the spectre of radical revolutionary groups seizing Western hostages, hijacking planes, and creating a reign of terrorism. Now in the nineties, the threat is of Islamic 'fundamentalists' striking anywhere and at any time. Taken together these events constitute an image of a dangerous, unstable region.

Many Arab countries have now learnt that tourism is built on fragile foundations, where a slight tremor in one part of the Arab world can cause the whole regional tourism industry to fall apart.

Most recently, in 1991 the Gulf War had a very unfortunate effect upon the tourism sectors of several Arab/Muslim countries, for although the war-zone was thousands of miles away from Tunisia and Morocco, the number of visitors to the former fell by a third, with some hotels only a quarter full, and revenue down by a fifth, while in the latter, at the height of the war hotels in Marrakesh were only nine per cent full. ⁴⁴

Turkish tourism also suffered heavily from cancellations, pushing many tourist operators to the brink of bankruptcy.

Once again these countries are bracing themselves against the latest threat ~ from Islamic Fundamentalism ~ to the region's political stability. Already there has been a dramatic upsurge in terrorist violence in Egypt, and there has been the same disastrous effect on Egyptian tourist numbers.

In 1985 tourists to Egypt stayed away after the Achille Lauro hijacking and again after riots in Cairo by police conscripts in 1986. No sooner had the industry recovered than the Gulf War had the same effect. This time, however, visitors are being deterred, not simply by general fears of the region's instability or volatility, but by a direct campaign against tourist targets. ⁴⁵

Islamic militant terrorists in Egypt, unlike some other groups, deliberately target the country's tourism industry as a means of damaging the Egyptian economy and hence the government. To the extent that tourism is Egypt's biggest foreign currency earner, terrorists may find that such attacks against foreign tourists and Pharaonic monuments are, as Richter suggests "useful and effective as tools for levering resources from and gaining political advantages over incumbent elites", in this case the government of Mr Hosni Mubarak.

The then Egyptian Minister of Tourism, Dr Fouad Sultan, admitted that "This is one of the few countries where tourists are now being targeted for being just that".

"The problem is we just don't know when this will stop," says Taher el-Sharif, Secretary General of the Egyptian Businessmen's Association, "unlike the Gulf War, when we knew there would eventually be an end." ⁴⁶

THE NATURE OF THE TERRORIST THREAT

Only a small minority of Arabs, Israelis, Europeans, Americans and others resort to terrorism. As David Lamb pointed out, these few do not represent the whole "any more than the more than 19,000 murders committed....in the United States make America a nation of killers." ⁴⁷

Nonetheless, terrorism exists and has been found to have a "decisive and crippling impact on travel patterns and the economies of particular locales." According to the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (RISCT), the onset of the Gulf War and the mortar bomb attack on Downing Street in 1991 led to a dramatic fall in Transatlantic travel in the first quarter of that year. In 1986 1.8 million Americans changed their plans for foreign travel overnight, following the American raids on Libya and terrorist attacks on several European airports. ⁴⁸ The risk of tourists being attacked by terrorists is, however, much smaller than the risk involved in staying at home. In 1991, for example, while American tourists cancelled trips abroad for fear of attack, 20,000 residents were murdered in the United States itself. The Times, 11 March 1993 said :

"The chances of being mugged in New York were considerably greater than being injured or killed by terrorist action while holidaying". ⁴⁹

However, although the perception of political instability can often be exaggerated by the coverage it gets in the media and hence in the minds of potential tourists, the recent growth in acts of terrorism directed towards Western visitors to some countries is such that an examination of the circumstances in which these terrorist acts are committed is vital.

Terrorism, according to Wilkinson (1988), is a specific method of struggle rather than a synonym for political violence or insurgency. However, in order to define what is meant by terrorism one must distinguish it from other forms of violence by recognising it, instead, as "the deliberate and systematic use of coercive intimidation".⁵⁰

Aron (1966) identified the psychological element as being the distinguishing factor when he observed that an "action of violence is labelled 'terrorist' when its psychological effects are out of proportion to its purely physical result".⁵¹

As a result, terrorism works, not through brute force, but through the fear aroused in potential victims, especially those not professionally trained to cope with violence. There is, therefore, a tendency to reserve the label not so much for the methods as for the purposes : 'terrorism' conveys a sense of legitimacy. Thus, to label a group 'terrorist' can constitute an ideological victory.

The use of terrorist violence can be interwoven with a wider range of unconventional warfare, but is most easily identifiable when used

by a weak and desperate minority surrounded by an otherwise peaceful society. A common feature of terrorist campaigns is that innocent civilians, sometimes foreigners who know nothing of the terrorist's political quarrel, are harmed.

The typical weapons of terrorism are explosive and incendiary bombings, shooting attacks and assassinations, hostage-taking and kidnapping, and hijackings. These can be used by a variety of bodies whether they be governments, political factions, criminal gangs, or religious movements and cults; they are not the monopoly of any particular one.

The object of politically motivated terrorism is to create a climate of fear among a wider target group than the immediate victims of the violence. Campaigns of terrorist violence can be used to publicise the terrorist's cause, as well as to coerce the wider target group to accede to the terrorists' aims.⁵²

TERRORISM AND THE MASS MEDIA

Terrorism as a political weapon can be used to great effect because of the mass media, whose coverage can give to a terrorist organisation an illusion of power and efficiency which is out of proportion to its real size.⁵³

The relationship between terrorism and the media has been

characterised as one of "symbiosis" in which terrorism's main aim is media coverage.⁵⁴ Success for the terrorist lies in the generation of publicity and not in the resolution of specific demands :

"Media recognition is absolutely crucial; the success of a terrorist act depends mainly on the media coverage it enjoys".⁵⁵

Bell carries this argument further, claiming not only that media coverage is crucial to the tactical success of a terrorist attack, but that "the quality of coverage is quite immaterial to the terrorists; only the intensity and quantity of coverage matter".⁵⁶

An act of terrorism may yet be considered "successful", in the publicity sense, even if in political and tactical terms it fails.

"Once a terror-event is launched before the camera, the drama by definition is a success. Operationally, all those involved may be killed....or captured and imprisoned.....Still, the impact exists; and in fact the impact may be greater because of the violent failure".⁵⁷

However, the motivations of terrorists are generally broader than merely obtaining access to the media. Schmid (1992) suggests that these are likely to be a tactical means of obtaining such strategic goals as the following : provoking the opponent into overreacting; preparing an opponent for submission by demoralising the opponent and/or the opponent's constituency; boosting the

terrorist's morale and that of the constituency which the terrorists claim to represent.

In the terrorist strategy, the media serve a variety of purposes some of which are outlined by Schmid :

1. They can offer a platform for the diffusion and amplification of armed propaganda.
2. They can aid in the gathering of information and intelligence on the outside world for an underground organisation.
3. They can redirect attribution of responsibility, leading to possible legitimization of terrorist violence by persuasive guilt transfers in terrorist communiques.
4. They can assist in the coercion and blackmail of a third party.

A more detailed breakdown of these can be found in *Terrorism and the Media*.⁵⁸

Terrorism as a Strategy

There are at least five groups involved in the process of terror :

1. The perpetrators of the violence.
2. The immediate victims.

3. The wider target group or society which the terrorists seek to intimidate.
4. The neutral bystanders within the society experiencing the terrorism.
5. International opinion.

Terrorism is a strategy of surprise. It is intended to be an economical method, in the sense of producing psychological and political effects far out of proportion to the magnitude of physical destruction. Crenshaw (1989) states that what is characteristic is that the physical victims of terrorism are not the targets :

"That they are terrorised is important only insofar as their terror is communicated to a watching audience whose emotions the terrorists seek to manipulate." 59

If terrorism is to be effective strategically, it must be capable of evoking a particular response. The response depends upon such factors as the victim's sense of vulnerability to the threat, the degree of protection and the extent of the countermeasures available, as well as the moral claims and legitimacy of those responsible for the terror. A strategy of terrorism is, therefore, one which seeks to influence an adversary's behaviour through the threat of the hurt which will be faced should he not comply with political demands.

Violence itself is not a necessary part of the strategy, as the mere threat of a bombing campaign may produce the desired results

without it being necessary to cause injury to anyone. If need be, a few well-placed and well-timed explosions can be used to emphasise the vulnerability of potential victims.

The particularly distinctive feature of strategic terrorism, as opposed to tactical terrorism, is its primary reliance on terror to achieve objectives ~ the belief that such methods can be decisive in themselves. Tactical terrorism, which is in practice more frequent, is employed as one of several instruments in pursuit of a broader strategy.

As a strategy, terrorism must have purpose, even if this is not always easy to discern. Freedman (1988) gives the example of the assassin of a political leader, who may have a severe personality disorder, a grudge against the leader as an individual, a fantasy about acquiring a place in history, or a belief that as a result of this assassination important political changes will take place. It is only the last factor that would give the act a strategic quality as opposed to pathological terrorism. IRA terrorism within Northern Ireland is more tactical than IRA campaigns in mainland Britain, which are more strategic in character.⁶⁰

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

International terrorism is an attack carried out across international frontiers or against a foreign target in the terrorist's state of origin,

and is distinct from internal terrorism which is largely confined within a single state. However, the international dimension often takes a more indirect form, as a terrorist group may seek foreign cash, weapons, political support or other resources. Its members and leaders may occasionally find safe havens abroad, or establish ad hoc cooperation with friendly foreign states and terrorist groups.

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There are at least five categories of international terrorists divided by reference to their main aims and motives :

1. Nationalist terrorists ~ These are groups who seek political self-determination.

2. Ideological terrorists ~ These tend to be groups whose declared intention is to change the whole nature of the existing political, social and economic system.

3. Religious fanatics ~ These are groups who employ international terrorism to undermine and ultimately overthrow a prevailing religious order which they regard as corrupt and evil. The best known example is probably the Islamic Jihad, a fundamentalist Shi'ite group who have been inspired by the Iranian Revolution and now challenge many of the Arab regimes.

4. Single-issue fanatics ~ Such groups are obsessed with desire to change a specific policy or practice within the target

society. An example would be 'animal rights' extremists.

5. State-sponsored international terrorists ~ These may be used as tools of domestic policy, as was the case when Libya's Colonel Qaddafi sent hit-squads abroad to murder dissidents, or as tools of foreign policy, as when the Soviet Union assisted Palestinian extremists in the 1970s and 1980s as a means of disrupting the Soviet Union's adversaries in the Middle East.

Whatever criteria are chosen for assessing the legitimacy of a terrorist group to speak on behalf of a particular constituency, ultimately the terrorists' claims to speak for even a bare majority of their 'own people' are, according to Wilkinson, "largely unsustainable". Those few terrorist groups that have, and take, the opportunity to form political parties and fight elections often achieve poor results.

However, the 'ideological' category, like the 'religious fanatics' are not constrained by such tests of legitimacy because they already believe that their belief-systems are superior to all others and these beliefs give them a "transcendental justification for imposing their will by violence".⁶² But, because ideological groups often lack a mass base, their resort to terrorism is often a substitute for the mobilisation of large numbers of supporters and is seen by many as resorting to the weapon of the weak.⁶³

Political Terrorism

Terrorist violence is often used most effectively against individuals who, while not necessarily in uniform, are nevertheless closely associated with the governing regime. It attracts most discredit when it deliberately puts non-combatants at risk.

Therefore, a distinction can be made between actions that are directed against repressive regimes, a category that effectively rules out more peaceful, alternative forms of pressure, and actions taken in those democratic countries where peaceful means of persuasion are available. Such arguments can be used to explain why the IRA should be denounced and the *Mujaahidun*, when they were in conflict with the Soviets, supported.

It seems that terrorism, along with other forms of political violence, often reflects a sense of desperation rather than a calculation of the optimum method for achieving goals. In democratic societies, only objectives that are hopelessly extreme force their proponents to adopt desperate strategies, while elsewhere there may be a lack of suitable means to obtain quite modest objectives. Both sets of circumstances, or a combination of the two, can result in terrorism.

In Egypt the resort to terrorism reflects the inability of opposition parties to gain any democratic power.

TOURISM'S VULNERABILITY TO TERRORISM

There is a logical connection between terrorism and tourism. Indeed travel has been associated with increased vulnerability to all types of crime, but throughout most of history tourists were individual victims of crime, not symbolic targets for major acts of political violence.

Nonetheless, the vulnerability of tourism to terrorist action was exemplified by the impact of the hijackings of the mid-1980s on the US market, when the level of transatlantic traffic fell by 20 per cent.

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The tourist industry is in fact doubly vulnerable, partly because of the economic importance of the industry and partly because an attack on travellers and tourist facilities is bound to command instant international attention.⁶⁵

Tourism is frequently an early casualty of internecine warfare, revolution, or even prolonged labour disputes. Even if the tourist areas are secure, tourism may decline dramatically when political conditions appear unsettled. Tourists simply choose alternative destinations because it is political serenity and not scenic or cultural attractions which constitute the first and central requirement of tourism.

The tourist's experience of the tourist-receiving zone can be a factor

in the decision whether or not to travel to a particular destination. This was highlighted by the fact that although travellers from the USA were reluctant to visit Europe during the period of action by Palestinian terrorist groups, the ETA campaign of the same period which involved the placing of bombs at a number of hotels in Spanish resorts had less effect upon the British market. In fact, the number of British tourists visiting Spain increased by 18 per cent. Ryan(1993) suggested that an important factor might have been that due warning was given and no loss of life occurred unlike the cases of the hijacking of aircraft or the attack on the Achille Lauro in 1985. However, he concluded that it may simply have been due to an existing British predisposition to visit Spain. Another factor might have been the close proximity of Spain to Britain compared with that of Britain to the USA. This suggests that the closer the proximity of a potential tourist destination, the less a risk may be perceived by the potential tourist and vice-versa. ⁶⁶

Tourism is an extremely fragile industry in societies with unstable politics or histories of ethnic, socioeconomic or regional tensions. Sometimes countries whose own conditions are calm find that their international tourist traffic is negatively affected by regional political conditions, including terrorism. Even Switzerland, which is often said to be a symbol of domestic tranquillity and political neutrality, once saw its tourist numbers decline as a consequence of terrorist attacks by the Red Brigade in Italy, France, Austria and Germany.

Tourism facilities very often afford opportunity and relative safety for terrorists to act. The convenience of transportation facilities, particularly international airports used by foreign tourists, provides means of escape and channels for transporting weapons. The large numbers of foreign tourists can provide cover for the terrorists, particularly if they too are on foreign soil.

The diverse populations and relatively free movement within tourist areas increase the freedom of operation of domestic terrorist groups. The large concentrations of people that are attracted to tourist areas and to tourist activities, such as festivals and cultural events, also provide both cover and a choice of targets. In such circumstances, tourists would generally be more vulnerable to attack, and less wary of suspicious activity.

Also the hesitancy of police to restrict the movement of tourists and other persons within an area militates against strong anti-terrorist operations and effective security arrangements. ⁶⁷

The terrorists may try to legitimise their political objectives by choosing to attack foreign tourists, since that is less likely to alienate popular support, rather than by attacking domestic targets. The favourite choices of terrorist targets in the Middle East are often the Americans, the Israelis and the British.

A further factor is that the presence of foreign tourists may be seen by terrorists as reinforcing the perception that the government is

still very much in control and that its actions are justified.

Attacks on tourist areas also assure global media coverage and limit the ability of incumbent authorities to control the content of reports about the events. Such reports and any propaganda messages are conveyed by the tourists themselves and by their home governments via consular facilities. Thus the publicity objective is achieved, even in nations which may effectively control the content of domestic news.

However, although the tourist industry is increasingly vulnerable to terrorism, the prospects for any particular area will depend upon individual circumstances, on the ideological, strategic and tactical objectives of the terrorist group and on the nature of the tourists and whether they are seen as a useful target. ⁶⁸

The resurgence of Islamic politics in the Middle East has been accompanied by terrorism in several countries. In Egypt, Algeria, Turkey and Tunisia various acts of terrorism have been directed against politicians, the police, foreigners in general and, in Egypt tourists in particular.

In the Middle East, terrorism is used by so-called religious groups ~ the *Gama'a Al Islamiyya* in Egypt, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria, *Al-Nahda* in Tunisia ~ and politically motivated groups such as the PKK in Turkey. However, these groups are all, ultimately, intent on political objectives, even if some are prepared

to use religious pretexts as a means of gaining their objectives.

In Algeria terrorism has been responsible for the deaths of more than 2000 people, including tourists, as the result of Islamist violence. Extremists took up arms after a military coup in January 1992 caused multi-party elections to be cancelled when it was seen that the FIS was winning. Since then the FIS have been banned, but in an attempt to raise the international profile of their struggle, and simultaneously weaken Algeria's fragile economy, Islamists began kidnapping and killing foreigners towards the end of 1993.

French intelligence claimed that three armed groups were responsible for the violence erupting across the country. These groups are largely made up of militants trained in the Afghan war, and are said to be heavily involved with similar fundamentalist movements in countries like Egypt, Tunisia and the Sudan. ⁶⁹

TERRORISM AS A BARRIER TO TRAVEL

Tourism is largely an intangible product which relies to a great extent on the sale of experiences. The market is segmented to appeal to different types of potential tourists on the basis of various factors, such as age, gender and income group. However, these factors also include psychographic characteristics such as the need for adventure or security. ⁷⁰

Most of the evidence concerning tourist motivations points to fear and insecurity as major barriers to travel and thus as major limitations on the growth of the industry. In addition to openly stated fear, there is often an expression of lack of interest in travel which, say Buckley and Klamm (1993), can mask an underlying fear. In these circumstances, the possibility of terrorism, however remote, will have an effect on the tourist demand of a large group of potential tourists. The extent to which this fear will affect actual and potential tourism demand will depend upon :

1. The socioeconomic and psychographic characteristics of tourists.
2. The nature of the terrorist threat to this particular group of tourists.
3. The attitudes and efficiency of the authorities in protecting the public and dealing with terrorist incidents.
4. Media coverage of terrorism in the area. 71

TERRORISM IN EGYPT

Although terrorism in Egypt takes place within the country itself, it may be defined as international due, firstly, to its targeting of foreigners and, secondly, to its alleged reliance on funding from other countries.

Since October 1992, when a young British tourist was killed, terrorist attacks made by Islamic militants against foreigners have targeted tourists in particular. Along with the attacks have been warnings to them to leave Egypt or face the consequences. More recently, foreigners investing in Egypt have been included in this threat.

The murder of the British tourist has been followed by that of other tourists, and the attempted murder of scores of others. Consequently, Egypt's tourist industry has suffered badly.

Traditionally one of the world's most "seductive" destinations, Egypt has, lately, been perceived through the world's newspapers to be more of a place of terrorist campaigns and violent confrontations than one of exotic appeal.⁷²

Egypt's tourism industry in its heyday at the end of 1992 represented a source of revenue of over US\$3 billion, with 3 million visitors. Since then tourist receipts have plummeted to US\$1.7 billion and there has been a decrease of about 28 per cent in the number of international tourists, and in the number of tourist nights. However, the impact on tourist revenue has been far greater, as the amount received is now fifty per cent of the figure for 1993. The reason for this difference is a reduced length of stay coupled with a drop in overall expenditure. (Refer to Chapter 6)

Terrorist action against tourism in Egypt has been justified by

Islamic groups on the grounds that :

1. State-sponsored tourism is symbolic of government, hence an attack on tourism is an attack on the government.
2. Tourism's large contribution to the economy, and hence to the government which is perceived as corrupt, makes it a target for weakening the position of the government, thereby leading to popular discontent.
3. Tourism revenue is not seen to benefit the poor directly.
4. Tourists represent Western culture, which is associated with neocolonialism.
5. Tourists indulge in pursuits such as gambling, drinking alcohol and eating food which is not permitted by Islam, and they behave and dress in a manner also perceived by Islam to be immoral.

Locational differences

The extent of terrorist activity in Egypt varies from one region to another. In Cairo, the capital of Egypt, where there is a high concentration of people living and working in extremely cramped conditions, the ability of the terrorists to commit a variety of violent acts is greater than in many other parts of the country. Here, the

terrorists have attempted to kill tourists, and in some cases have succeeded, by placing bombs under tour buses, throwing them at them in the street, and even trying to drop them from bridges .

By contrast, certain regions of the country which have tourism facilities, such as the Red Sea coast and Sinai, have not experienced any acts of terrorist violence. This 'neglect' by the extremists may be attributed to the greater ability of the Egyptian security services to police such regions. This can be achieved, first, because they have a sparse population and a much smaller concentration of buildings and infilling, thus allowing fewer opportunities for terrorists either to hide or to escape than other tourist locations which could be targeted. Second, due to the remoteness of the regions and the small number of permanent residents, who will, of course, be known to the local police, any visitors to the area can be easily identified.

In contrast, the area around Asyut, a city in upper Egypt, has for centuries been a hotbed of resentment against central authority. In this impoverished region, 400 kilometres south of Cairo, the unrest has often taken the form of small-scale peasant uprisings, exacerbated by the local tradition of blood vengeance. It is in this region, where three times as many people have died as a result of extremism as in all the rest of Egypt, that tourists are most likely to be attacked. It is here that Nile cruise boats and railway sleeping cars carrying tourists from Cairo to Luxor in Upper Egypt have been bombed or fired upon by the *Gama'a Islamiyya* group. As a means of trying to protect tourists, the government have provided armed

guards on the boats and armed police vehicles to accompany the tour buses.

The fact that terrorism is concentrated in this area may be attributed in part to its relative isolation from foreigners, especially foreign tourists. In such circumstances, the inhabitants may be more inward-looking and xenophobic than in other parts of the country where tourism prevails and where local people are keen to exploit potential for earning tourist revenue.

However, in a recent government squeeze on the extremists the effect has been to reduce the incidence of terrorism in Egypt as a whole and to confine it largely to the area around Asyut.

Measures to Combat Terrorism's Threat to Tourism

Urgent measures need to be taken by the Egyptian government to alleviate the negative effect which the present tourism crisis is having on the economy.

Because it is believed that the media coverage of terrorism has a contagion effect, the media are seen by many to have an important role to play in any effort to combat terrorism. By reducing, as far as possible, the coverage of their violent acts the terrorists will be denied the publicity which they appear to crave.⁷³

In America there has been alarm over the increase in the number of violent attacks against tourists which have had such a negative effect upon the tourism industry in Florida. The American response has been to deny these events full-page coverage and instead to relegate their reporting to obscure corners of the newspapers. ⁷⁴ Perhaps with this in mind, news reports in Egyptian newspapers have tried to play down the incidence of terrorist attacks against tourists.

However, the reporting of foreign acts of violence in Western newspapers has tended to show less willingness to impose constraints on what writers see as the facts. Furthermore, they view accurate and, as far as possible, impartial reporting of these facts as having an important part to play in informing the public of any potential threat to its safety whilst travelling abroad. Nevertheless, the actual content of some of the articles appearing in newspapers and some magazines often highlights the effect which these incidents are likely to have on tourist interests as much as the damage done to the victims of the acts.

Consequently, Egyptian government attempts to encourage tourism from Western countries are affected by the Western perception which is formed as a result of that reporting.

THE EGYPTIAN RESPONSE

Adel Hammouda wrote in in Rose Al-Youssef that :

"Terrorism is born out of Egypt's bowels; poverty, unemployment and frustration are all catalysts for terrorism. Most terrorists are poor, have nothing to lose and see no benefit in maintaining the status quo".⁷⁵

As part of the Egyptian response to extremism, the government are communicating with mass audiences in the country by broadcasting films and television serials which question radical Islamism and which challenge its revolutionary appeal. These are programmes which feature such subjects as the 'confessions' of repentant 'fundamentalists' narrating their life stories; how they were drawn into militant groups and why they have now turned against them. This current media offensive has already reduced public sympathy for the extremists.⁷⁶

Such a response to extremism in Egypt ought to benefit the tourism industry by encouraging those young people who might have been tempted to become involved with the terrorists to reconsider their motives.

Other measures which the government have adopted in the struggle to reduce terrorism have included intensified security anywhere tourists set foot. This has meant saturation policing, whereby all

strategically important places are heavily guarded at all times, policemen sit in the entrances of popular restaurants, the use of manned metal detectors has been introduced at the entrances to all museums and five-star hotels. The number of security personnel at the Egyptian Museum has been tripled since the outbreak of terrorism and at many hotels closed-circuit surveillance is now employed, bags are searched, and extra staff, over and above the usual security staff, have been drafted in to act as undercover agents and are encouraged to report anything suspicious. ⁷⁷

As well as the police, troops and helicopters have also been deployed in Upper Egypt, where the *Gama'a* began their campaign when they sprayed gunfire at tour buses from the cane-fields next to the Nileside roads.

The need to reassure visitors is also an important part of the strategy, as tourists feel safer if they see that security measures are not only in place, but also being properly used. Unfortunately, although the intentions behind the introduction of such security measures are admirable, in practice the implementation lacks any real commitment to security among those who can be observed by tourists, for example, those checking tourists' belongings on entry to museums and hotels. This may worry some visitors and cause them to question overall standards of security.

More reassuring is the knowledge that the authorities in Egypt have been quick and thorough in finding and bringing to trial the people

responsible for terrorist crimes. Military courts have been set up to deal with the terrorists as efficiently as possible and also to reduce the amount of publicity surrounding their trials, which might otherwise be used by other extremist elements to engender sympathy for the accused and provoke violent reprisals.

If there is no escalation of the extremists' campaign then it will be the success of the security forces' strategy upon which the restoration of Egypt's tourism industry will depend most.

CONCLUSION

The resurgence of Islamic fervour in the Middle East is not new, it has been growing for a number of years and has attracted a large following in many countries.

In Egypt the development of an Islamic identity, illustrated by the growing attendance at prayer, the greater readership of Islamic literature and a heightened opposition to secularism is also a manifestation, and a strengthening, of cultural/national identity and may be seen as a response to a decline in the political and economic system.

The extent of the following and how persuasive it is in influencing the majority of the population into believing that Western-style international tourism is an unIslamic pursuit is not known. However, the relationship between terrorism and tourism in Egypt is important because of the political and economic ramifications for the tourist industry which is such an important factor in the future prosperity of the country.

The terrorist threat which has become such a reality in Egypt, through its targeting of Western tourists in particular, must be eliminated if the tourists are to be encouraged to come back. There is, therefore, a need for continued vigilance if the fight against terrorism is to be successful.

Knowing that the terrorists are more inclined to target particular locations, and since there is now a greater choice of destinations within the country, it might be better if tours which pass through sensitive areas were temporarily discontinued, and individual tourists discouraged from visiting these areas. Missing out these locations would not only save lives but the subsequent drop in the number of terrorist incidents would reduce the wide media coverage which is engendered by these acts of extremism and which contributes so greatly to the country's present negative image.

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Chapter 3.

Dilemma of Tourism in Islamic Countries

Many advocates have looked at tourism as a panacea for solving an area's development problems; a soft option, with few negative effects :

"Tourists take nothing but photographs and leave nothing but footprints".¹

However, such a view can be unrealistic. Benefits can be accompanied by detrimental consequences, since tourism is more than an industry, but is also a form and agent of development and must be recognised as such. Lea (1989) describes the consequences as being the result of "imported" development which can have many physical and social repercussions for LDCs.²

According to Donaldson (1986) tourism can lead to "a revolution of rising expectations and Western consumerism", leading to a push for modernisation without, as stated earlier, the prior industrial phase experienced last century in Europe and North America.³

However, as Lickorish (1991) states, whether the social and cultural impacts of tourism cause changes, and whether these changes spread through society, will be influenced by a wide range of factors such as the size of the country, the general spread of tourism

activity, and its basic cultural and religious strengths. ⁴

For the Islamic countries of the Middle East the cost of achieving economic advancement by adopting international mass tourism must be measured against the loss of cultural identity which the people of many LDCs see happening as a result of the modernisation process. ⁵ Tourism is now a vital part of that modernisation process for many LDCs, and the consequences of its role as such must therefore be examined with regard to the Islamic countries, since, if left to chance, tourism can have negative social, cultural and environmental effects on the destination.

In order to avoid those effects, or at the least to lessen their impact, an integrated plan for tourism development is important. Such a planning approach will help to ensure that the type of development which results will be one suited to the community, whose needs and wishes should be taken into account as part of the planning process. ⁶

Din (1989), in the context of tourism in Islamic countries, describes the official response to tourism development as being "usually a political manifestation of public attitude". He states further that this "depends on the degree of influence religious groups command within a society". However, this "role" is thought to be capable of changing from time to time and may differ from place to place even within the same country. ⁷

de Kadt (1979) maintains that a review of tourism policies generally

suggests that the dimensions and results of tourism planning will be influenced most by the nation's ideology and its interpretation of overall social, political and economic goals. 8

IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS

Nearly all Muslim countries subscribe to membership of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) and most Arab countries are also members of the Arab Tourism Union (ATU), which suggests a desire on their part to promote tourism. (EIU:1985)⁹

Nonetheless, among the Muslim countries of the Middle East, it has been those countries with a 'secular' ideological orientation which have tended to view international mass tourism as an available option for economic development. Of those secular countries, Egypt, Turkey, Tunisia and Morocco and, to a lesser extent, Jordan have developed successful international tourism industries which encourage mass tourism.

Countries whose ideological orientation may be described as 'Traditional' and 'Radical Islamic', such as Saudi Arabia and Iran respectively, do not encourage Western-oriented international tourism, which they see as "hedonistic" in character. Radical Islamists are also likely to regard tourism as yet another form of imperialism, furthering the domination by, and subservience to, developed countries of the less developed countries. 10

Ritter (1975), in discussing the attitudes of Islamic countries towards foreign tourists, observed that Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq and a number of other southern Arab states were frankly not interested in having non-Islamic visitors.¹¹ Tourists tend to be viewed by them as unwelcome agents of cultural change. Ahmed (1992) refers to the dress of women, the use of alcohol and the mixing of the sexes as being particularly sensitive areas of potential influence. ¹²

However, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), which appear to have a traditional ideology, in recognising a need for diversification of their economy due to the drop in oil prices, are presently developing an international tourism industry.

According to Din, although tourism is ideologically compatible with Islam, international mass tourism may not be, for unlike mass tourism's aims of profit maximisation and customer satisfaction, the Islamic concept of tourism stresses instead the non-commercial goal of "submission to the ways of God". Din characterises the international mass tourism industry as one of "hedonism, permissiveness, lavishness, servitude and foreignness, with a lack of cross-cultural understanding and communication".

Dogan(1989) also emphasises the negative impact of tourists from the industrial nations on the people of the Third World and states that :

"Among the major negative consequences of tourism

are a decline in traditions, materialism, increase in crime rates, social conflicts, crowding, environmental deterioration, and dependency on the industrial countries". 13

Peppelenbosch and Tempelman (1989) also highlight the dangers of international tourism in Third World countries, by stating that "social structures are disrupted, behavioural patterns are changed overnight and for the worse, while customs and moral values are negatively affected". 14

Although the above indictments may coincide with the attitudes of the proponents of Radical Islamism (fundamentalism) towards international mass tourism, the views of those responsible for the ongoing development of such tourism in the secular Islamic countries, such as Egypt, seem to be much more tolerant.

However, because of the growing pressure which is being applied by militants in secular countries to introduce political and social reforms based upon fundamental Islamic values, it may be time for Muslim policymakers and planners to focus more attention on the impact of international mass tourism on their host communities and environments and perhaps reassess the part it plays in the development of those countries.

THE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON ISLAMIC COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Ideally, a type of tourism should be developed that is appropriate to the destination. It should take the culture, history and stage of economic development of the destination into account.

ACCULTURATION

Culture finds expression in such things as the history, language, religion, education, traditions, work, dress, architecture, handicrafts, leisure activities, art, music and gastronomy of a people. However, Matheson and Wall define the constituents of culture in a "deeper anthropological sense" so as to include "patterns, norms, rules and standards which find expression in behaviour, social relations and artifacts". They further define culture as the "conditioning elements of behaviour and the products of that behaviour". Mill clarifies the definition of culture by stating that :

"The culture of a people consists of the beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours that are shared by a society and which are passed on from one generation to another".¹⁵

Consequently, when tourism impacts upon the 'culture' of a country

or a people, it is in fact impacting upon their values, norms and identity.

Although cultures evolve and change naturally as a host culture adapts to a changing world, tourism is thought to accelerate that process because it introduces contact between two societies with different cultures. In the process both societies are thought to change.

Matheson and Wall describe the ensuing cultural changes as “occurring primarily to the indigenous society’s traditions, customs and values rather than to the visiting group”, and as “leading to a gradual homogenization of cultures in which the local identity is being assimilated into the stronger visiting culture”.¹⁶

Acculturation theory asserts that when two cultures come into contact of any duration, each becomes somewhat like the other through a process of borrowing.¹⁷ However, borrowing is not symmetrical and is largely influenced by the nature of the contact situation, the socioeconomic profiles of interacting individuals or groups, and the numerical differences in the populations.

The increasing presence of international tourists in the Third World is accepted by anthropologists as an important element in the process of acculturation. But the presence of the ‘stronger’ Western ideas and practices which are often introduced by tourism, means that the process is largely one of assimilation of the ‘weaker’ host

culture. 18

Peppelenbosch and Tempelman, on the other hand, see tourism as having the propensity to contribute to a local population's broader outlook on world perspectives, and to encourage development-mindedness in the hope that an inclination for change may occur. Hence the fact that tourism has such a "disposition to innovate" should lead to the evolution of identity rather than its loss.

Indeed, Harrison (1992) expresses the view that there is something quite patronising in the suggestion that the culture of many LDCs may be weak and in dire need of protection from outside :

"In fact the cultures of tourist-receiving societies may possess some kind of 'deep structure' which allows them to adapt to new influences yet retain their vitality and coherence". 19

This has been apparent to me on many occasions in Egypt when interacting with a broad range of tourism sector workers, from tour guides to various hotel staff. Dealing with foreigners who now frequently show interest in the local religion and culture seems to inculcate within many such people a great sense of pride.

TOURISM'S PLACE IN CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION

It has been argued that the contact between different social groups,

nationalities and cultures may contribute to the removal of social or national prejudices and the promotion of better understanding and positive social change.

The goal of tourism in Islam is to promote cross-cultural understanding, which is, for pious Muslims, a prerequisite of the unity of the *Ummah* (Islamic community). They set great store by the conduct of the Prophet Muhammad, both as host and guest, who enjoins traits of humility, compassion, and a great degree of tolerance among believers :

“Travellers must be accorded the most selfless generosity”.²⁰

Pilgrimage, which is the most common form of Islamic ‘tourism’, is, moreover, one of the five pillars of the Islamic religion, along with a belief in God and the Prophet Muhammed, prayer, fasting and the bestowing of charity. The role of pilgrimage as a vehicle of cross-cultural understanding is inherent in the directions of the Qu’ran to its proponents when it advises them to communicate and exchange experiences with those with whom they interact.

Tourist-resident interaction is said by Pearce to be “a specific but diverse example of cross-cultural interaction”, but one whose effects are mediated on the one hand by the tourists’ affluence, motivation, transience and sociological status in the host community, and on the other by the size and technological sophistication of the host community. Together these can have a crucial role in determining

the impact of tourism and the nature of the tourist-host contact.

Tourists are thought to have maximum social and psychological impact on their hosts when the host communities are small, unsophisticated and isolated. However, their impact is likely to be affected by the quality of the tourists themselves.

There are many types of tourists with specific motivational and attitudinal profiles. Some are intensely interested in interacting with residents while for others the local people are little more than a part of the scenery. Moreover, many tourists from developed countries are ill-prepared for their visits to LDCs and are unable to interpret their impressions adequately, often coming home with more prejudices than when they left. ²¹

Tourists on vacation often feel less inhibited than they do at home where they are subject to censure of the community in which they live. Freed from such constraints, they are sometimes capable of uncharacteristic behaviour, sometimes verging on the bizarre such as in the case of a couple arrested in Greece for indulging in sexual intercourse in the street! However, although tourists often behave differently on holiday, all that the locals see is their vacation behaviour.²² This can contribute to the creation of stereotypes on both sides.

Pearce differentiates between direct and indirect contact between residents and guests, and states that direct contact often generates

discord, exploitation and social problems. 23

Evans (1976) emphasises the importance of the quality of the cross-cultural contact if it is to contribute to the promotion of understanding between tourists and their hosts, and notes that it could be related to a number of factors including (1) the type of tourist, (2) the context in which the contact takes place, and (3) the role of the culture broker. 24

1. The Type of Tourist.

Different categories of tourists in the third world are reflected in the kinds of interaction they have with local people. A number of tourist types are identified by Smith (1985) :

1. Explorers are very limited in numbers and usually travel independently. They are generally appreciative of the local culture and may seek involvement in it for a period of time.
2. Elite tourists prefer special, individually tailored visits to exotic places. They also want 'true experiences' and come in small numbers, but like everything to be pre-arranged.
3. Off-beat tourists want to get away from the 'normal' attractions. They are fairly flexible and adapt quite well to the local culture.

5. Incipient mass tourists comprise a steady flow who travel as individuals or in small groups. They prefer popular sites and familiar surroundings such as international standard hotels.

6. Mass tourists form a continuous influx who prefer their holidays to be packaged into room, board and guided tours. Their large numbers and tendency to seasonality often lead to the formation of tourist enclaves. 25

Each of these categories has a corresponding range of impacts on the host society and destination. 26 Teo (1994) points out that the number of tourists increases from the explorer type to the mass tourist, with progressively more intense effects being felt. Motivations change and similarly the ability and desire to tolerate the host culture.

Explorers, who seek to understand the host culture, are few in number. Although mass tourists prefer to be surrounded by the familiar and may remain spatially and socially segregated, their greater numbers and tendency to be intolerant of new and unfamiliar things can have a considerable impact upon the host culture. 26

Wickens (1994) defines a category of tourists whom Cohen merely describes as 'pleasure' tourists under the umbrella of 'institutionalised' tourism. 27 The pleasure tourists were observed by Wickens in Greek resorts and emerged as a number of distinct

sub-groups which she further categorises as :

1. Cultural heritage - those in search of the ancient culture of Greece
2. Ravers - predominantly males who were attracted by cheap prices and the opportunity to indulge themselves.
3. Shirley Valentines - women who wished to escape the perceived mundaneness of their life in search of romance.
4. Heliolatrous - those who were there for the sun and for whom the identity of the destination was irrelevant.
5. Lord Byron - described as 'hybrid' traditional these were attracted to the perceived or 'pseudo taverna' culture of the resort, returning time and time again.

The feature common to all of these pleasure sub-groups is that they appear to be escaping from the reality of life under the grey skies of Northern Europe, in search of various dimensions of pleasure.

Many of these pleasures can be translated into the Islamic vocabulary as forms of hedonism associated with Western culture and values. Although such pursuits are more often acceptable to the elite classes of most Arab countries, whose attitudes are sometimes similar to those of the Westerners mentioned, among poor people,

who are under the influence of the Islamists, there might be a negative reaction. In my experience, however, interaction between the hedonistic or pleasure tourists and the local poor is often fleeting, as the majority travel in 'packaged' groups and are accommodated in enclaves. Therefore confrontation between the rural poor and the perceived excesses of the Western tourists is minimal.

However another group who do tend to have closer interaction with the rural poor are the individual tourists, usually the 'backpackers'. They have little money, do not use four and five-star hotels, and do not dress expensively. As tourists they do not contribute much to the economy and may behave in a more permissive way than the mass tourists. This group has been perceived by a growing number of commentators in Egypt as one which should not be encouraged.

2. The Context in Which the Contact Takes Place.

Factors such as length of stay, the environment under which the contact occurs, and language ability will help to determine the depth of communication which takes place. The sheer variety of tourist categories ensures that tourist-host encounters will be equally varied and will depend on the level of development of the tourist industry at a particular destination.

According to a UNESCO report published in 1976 mass tourism

gives rise to four main visitor-host relationships characterised as :

- a) Transitory encounters,
- b) Time and space constraints,
- c) A lack of spontaneity, and
- d) Unequal and unbalanced relationships. 28

Transitory encounters are a feature of most temporary tourist visits and are often viewed very differently by the host and the guest. For the guest the visit is a unique experience, one which he may not be able to afford a second time; he is mobile, relaxed, free-spending, enjoying his leisure and absorbing the experience of being in a different place. By contrast, the host is relatively stationary and, if employed in the tourist industry, the encounter is routine and involves spending much of his time catering to the needs and desires of the visitor. Such interactions may occur only once and consequently have little opportunity to develop beyond a superficial level.

Secondly, time and space constraints have the effect of compressing and intensifying the encounter in order to meet tight travel deadlines. If the interaction takes place at a frenetic pace then only minimal cross-cultural communication is able to take place.

A third feature is the lack of spontaneity which often occurs when the encounter is preplanned and formalised to fit in with tour schedules and usually involves financial transactions.

Finally, unequal and unbalanced relationships tend to characterise tourist-host encounters in LDCs because of the wide disparities in wealth which are often manifest in tourist spending and attitudes and may give rise to different levels of satisfaction gained from meetings between the parties. Hosts sometimes feel inferior and, to compensate for this, exploit the tourist's apparent wealth.

In fact, Hassan (1975) found that contemporary tourism seldom generates strong intercultural relationships. Many forms of tourism, particularly mass tourism, offer only incidental opportunities to learn about the social, cultural and political conditions of the destinations visited. ²⁹

3. The Role of the Culture Broker.

The role of cultural brokers, an intermediary occupational group such as interpreters and tour guides, is responsible for much of the contact which takes place between tour groups and locals. Their activities are thought to have a considerable effect on the manner and speed with which new ideas and influences are transmitted.

SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS

Among the major changes caused by mass tourism Dogan (1989) cites "a decline in traditions".

"It has frequently been asserted that the traditions of many host countries are weakened under the influence of international mass tourism". 30

Bisilliat (1979) comes to a similar conclusion when he states that tourism "weakens mutual help and cooperation based on traditional norms, increases intergenerational conflicts, and destroys intimate, personal and friendly relations". Forster (1964) associates "the disruption of intimate and personal relations" with commercialisation and materialism, leading to the replacement of a value system by one based, not on moral values, but on money. 31

de Kadt (1979) described a transformation taking place in human relationships whereby they were becoming merely a source of economic gain, and ultimately a decrease in the proportion of noneconomic relationships. 32

Egypt's mass tourist destinations often reflect the unequal and unbalanced relationships which characterise tourist-host encounters in the Third World. Because of the disparities in wealth and in levels of satisfaction gained from meetings between the parties, resentments build up and result in attempts to gain financially from

brief encounters by setting a specially inflated price for tourists. Taxi-rides, hairdressing services, and a variety of other services bought by tourists in Egypt are regularly sold on a two-tier scale, with one price for locals and one for foreigners, irrespective of quality or standards of service.

In addition to this, there is a tendency in Egypt to ask for 'baksheesh' for some trivial service such as telling someone the time or giving directions, for which no payment would be expected in most tourists' home environment. 'Baksheesh', which originally meant 'share the wealth', and which was given as a payment for some small service performed, has in many cases come to mean a demand for money without service ~ in short, begging.

These could be seen as examples of how tourism may be responsible for the disruption of traditional concepts of help and cooperation which has come to be associated with commercialisation and materialism in normal human interactions.³³ Commercialisation has come to signify the demanding of money for services which were once provided free, so that "a value system based on moral values is replaced by one based on money" : Forster : 1964. ³⁴

DEMONSTRATION EFFECT

Host-guest relations can be congenial when each is sensitive to the other's feelings and needs. However, tourism may be accompanied

by undesirable consequences in the form of “unwarranted demonstration effects” caused by the desire of the host members, especially youths, to emulate the appearance of the richer tourists (de Kadt, 1979), who generally possess greater financial and leisure-time affluence, so that their vacations are a time of conspicuous consumption. ³⁵ Boudhiba, who studied the effects of tourism on traditional values and attitudes in Tunisia, states that :

“Tourism injects the behaviour of a wasteful society in the midst of a society of wants”. ³⁶

On visiting developing countries foreigners often bring with them an exposure to different standards of living and ways of behaving. This can have a positive effect on local people by encouraging them to work hard and strive for the things they imagine they lack. However, the result is often said to be one of discontent among these locals, because they soon realise that they are unlikely to be able to aspire to the same standard of living.³⁷ Ostentatious expenditure and consumption patterns, as well as the behaviour of the tourists, may in fact undermine the zest for work and thrift among the local population.

The demonstration effect has also been cited by Haulot (1974), who attributes the loss of authenticity and identity of the traditional cultures to “the inhabitant’s tendency to imitate tourists who represent for them a respected and higher civilisation”. ³⁸

Inevitably, tourism is associated with what may be seen by some as the threat of the Westernisation of local youth. In fact a growing number of youths, often acting as middlemen, such as guides or even hustlers, view 'instrumental' marriages with tourists as a way of escaping not so much from "the shackles of religious sanctions", as Cohen (1971) has stated, but from the threat of living in poverty for the rest of their lives. ³⁹

TOURISM AND MORALITY

It has been suggested that tourism is closely related to increases in prostitution, organised gambling and crime of various kinds, and it has in fact been blamed for much of the spread of these types of permissive behaviour and for other misdemeanours. Archer (1978) believed that one of the least desirable by-products of tourism was its effect on the moral standards of the host population. ⁴⁰

Sexual permissiveness, indulgence in alcohol, gambling, drugs, pornography, and voyeurism are not tolerated in Islam. However, in Muslim countries many people are highly tolerant of the needs of the Western tourist. Nevertheless, in some situations their "cosmopolitan needs" can appear in stark contrast to the orthodox Islamic values of the host society. ⁴¹

With regard to prostitution, the oldest profession in the world, the generally relaxed attitude to sex in some Third World countries has

been deemed responsible for "the growth of a sexual dimension to travel" which dates back to the accounts of early European adventurers. This image has persisted in the marketing of some exotic destinations, like Tahiti and Thailand, and according to Lea demands for such services now include almost everywhere affected by mass tourism.

The general increase in prostitution in many tourist resorts may be attributed to :

1. Locations and environments in which tourism thrives attracting prostitutes and their clients.
2. Tourists' freedom from the moral constraints of home, assured anonymity, and increased capacity for hedonistic spending.
3. Opportunities for 'employment' becoming available as a result of tourism numbers.
4. Aspirations of local women - and men - for Western economic status.

Tourism may also be used as a scapegoat for a change in standards of personal morality. ⁴²

In spite of these hypotheses, no particular link has yet been demonstrated between tourism and prostitution, but the

development of exploitative advertising, which by the use of erotic pictures emphasises a link between sun, sand, sea and easy sex, may contribute to tourists having heightened expectations of what is available in tourism destinations.

However, due to the strict code of sexual ethics which Islam lays down for its followers the availability of such services is likely to be more limited in countries in the Middle East. This may account in part for the much lower incidence of Aids in the region. Experts at the World Health Organisation estimate that between 75,000 and 100,000 people, out of a population of around 400 million, are HIV positive in the Middle East region, compared with the 500,000 to 600,000 in Europe, which has a roughly equivalent population. 43

Regarding crime, it is often alleged that a relationship exists between crime and tourism.⁴⁴ The existence of large numbers of people with lots of money to spend tends, unsurprisingly, to attract criminal elements. The main effects seem to be in the areas of robbery, burglary, vandalism, drug abuse and alcohol-related disorderly behaviour. The incidence of these crimes increases where there are heavy concentrations of tourists. 45

Lin and Loeb (1977) considered the following three factors to be critical in influencing relationships between tourism and crime :

1. The population density during the tourist season;

2. The location of the resort in relation to an international border;
3. The per capita incomes of hosts and tourists, as large differences between them tend to encourage robbery. ⁴⁶

However, unlike many Western countries Egypt has a remarkably low incidence of crime. There must be few cities in the world where women, in particular, can move around in such safety as in Cairo. Nor in Egypt is that due to a fear of the draconian penalties imposed in other Islamic countries.

Gambling

There are nine legal and licensed hotel gambling casinos in Egypt - seven in Cairo and two in Upper Egypt - which are regarded as a means of generating tourist activity, and therefore local employment and economic activity. It is also able to increase income by expanding the tax base. As is the case with other businesses, the government taxes all profits - 50 per cent of the monthly profits - and of that, 25 per cent goes to the Ministry of Finance and 25 per cent to the Ministry of Tourism. In addition, the government taxes 30 per cent of the annual profit at the end of the fiscal year.

The imported gaming and surveillance equipment, including playing tables, slot machines, cameras and audio equipment, is also subject to 150 per cent import duty, and to that is added a 30 per cent sales tax.

Gambling, like prostitution, is not endemic to tourism, but it is associated with the fame or notoriety of such tourist destinations as Monte Carlo, Las Vegas and Sun City.

The social and psychological effects of gambling are highlighted by Matheson and Wall together with the implications for host attitudes and values; the potential created for the emergence of prostitution, crime and violence; and the extent to which gambling can grow before the market is saturated or steps are needed to restrict further growth.

Gambling in Islam is *haram* or religiously unlawful, to gain money which is not rightfully earned. "O ye who believe!" says Pikhthall's translation of Verse 90, Surah 5, in the '*Meaning of the Glorious Quran*' . "Strong drink and games of chance, idols and the driving arrows are only an infamy of Satan's handiwork. Leave it alone in order that ye may succeed."

The Egyptian authorities have been both strict and moderate concerning the regulation of gambling, for although it is forbidden in Islam, they have adopted a double-standard policy whereby gambling is open to foreigners (foreign passport holders) but not to Egyptians. The availability of gambling is also restricted to large five-star hotels which are associated with foreigners and where it is removed from the sphere of the general public. Casinos are deliberately low-key, simply marked by a brass name-plate and the Casino emblem.

Although there is a connection between tourism and these issues of morality, the role played by tourism is difficult to determine, especially when one considers that similar issues arise in countries such as Nigeria, where tourist numbers are very low. In view of this, Lea asserts that it is wrong to make tourism the scapegoat for changes which result from increasing modernisation, unless they are directly attributable to the industry. ⁴⁷

MEASURING SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS

It was suggested by Doxey (1976) that the existence of reciprocal impacts between residents and visitors to a destination was the source of varying degrees of resident irritation. However, he further suggested that the responses of residents in different destinations will vary and that these responses will through time change in a predictable sequence comparable to that of the resort cycle described by Butler (1980), Noronha (1976), Plog (1977), and Stansfield (1978). ^{48.49.50.51.}

By devising an "index of tourist irritation" he was able to show that the location of the destination on the index makes it possible to 'measure' the social impact of tourism :

Euphoria : At first, local people are thrilled by tourist development and the opportunities it creates. They are welcoming and both tourists and money are in abundance.

Apathy : With the expansion of the industry, the novelty wears thin and the tourist is seen merely as a source of profit.

Irritation : This occurs when the industry is reaching a point of near saturation and subsequently there is a need for expanded facilities.

Antagonism : By now irritations are overt, tourists are blamed for a variety of social and economic troubles, mutual politeness gives way to antagonism, and tourists get 'ripped off'.

Final Level : The original environment which first drew the tourist to the destination is now diminished and appeals to a very different type. It may well continue to thrive if big enough to cope with mass tourism. 52

Matheson and Wall maintain that the level of irritation arising from contacts between residents and tourists is dependent on their mutual compatibility. Ultimately, however compatible the groups might seem to be, in spite of factors such as differences in colour, culture, economic status and nationality, such irritations are likely to have their origins in the number of tourists and the consequent threat which they pose to the way of life of permanent residents.

The carrying capacity of a site is defined by Matheson and Wall as :

"The maximum number of people who can use a

site without an unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by the visitors". 53

The carrying capacity also has meaning for the resident population.

WTO literature (WTO, 1983) refers to the capacity that can be achieved without resulting in damage to the physical environment, natural or manmade, and generating sociocultural and economic problems to the local community, and maintaining the proper balance between development and conservation. Exceeding saturation levels may lead to either permanent damage to the physical environment or socioeconomic and cultural problems, or both.

The more that governments are driven by materialistic motives to maximise tourism's earning potential the more the local inhabitants may build up a resentment of tourists.

Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) found that the attitudes and behaviour of groups or individuals to tourism may be either positive or negative, and active or passive respectively. 54

However, although all four forms may occur in any community at any one time, the number of residents in any one category need not remain constant.

Canestrelli and Costa (1991) distinguish between the tourist-dependent and the nontourist-dependent populations. While the former population may be ready to put up with many of the costs of tourism in order to maximise the touristic benefits "to the upper limit of the objective function", the latter will try to keep tourist carrying capacity at a level which ensures the conservation of nonreproducible resources, and ensures that unwanted costs are kept to a minimum. The "fuzzy" solution arrived at is one where levels of tourist use will be contingent upon "possible degrees of violation of the opposing aspiration levels". 55

INCOME INEQUALITIES

In an article about the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, Dogan argues that tourism has aggravated income inequalities. He stresses the need to differentiate between various host population groups, most notably between those who are better off and tend to get more out of tourism, and the poor, whose lifestyle and culture are less like those of the tourists, and who stand to gain fewer benefits from it.

While the position of individuals and the nature of their involvement in the tourism industry varies considerably, most Third World governments tend to assist more expensive developments and either fail to encourage, or actively discourage, grass roots activities ; to tourism planners and policymakers, the poor are often just a

nuisance.⁵⁶ The economic gains that remain within the less developed countries are rarely distributed equally and tend to flow to the governing elites.⁵⁷ Consequently, the poor have to use their limited resources to try to tap into this flow.

Hostility to tourism among people in LDCs often centres on the alleged increase in this inequality across the classes, but if all participants in tourism obtain some benefit then, according to Britton, increased inequality is not necessarily a problem.⁵⁸

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) asserts that governments should assist all those in urban regions who have had to rely on their "wit, chances and kin assistance" to create work for themselves

Many people attracted to towns in search of work find few full-time jobs in the formal job market. In response, an informal job sector has developed where this "underemployed residue" of people engage in a mixture of legitimate and illegal activities such as trading in goods at stalls and roadside booths, or hawking, laundering, removing night soil, and a range of other trading and service activities.⁵⁹

The "informal sector" (Tokman,1978)⁶⁰ has been regarded by Henry(1982) as having rich entrepreneurial potential "despite the odds stacked against them".⁶¹ The ILO argues that any government should encourage rather than check the informal sector because in it

may be the growth, vitality and source of a new strategy of development.

COMMODITISATION OF CULTURE

In order to help ensure tourism's acceptance among local residents of Third World destinations, Richter states that planning the level, pace and type of tourism ought to be congruent with indigenous resources. ⁶²

Of those indigenous resources of the Middle East, local cultural tradition can be an important constituent whose "strength and resilience" are highlighted by Dieke (1989) as being one of several features pertaining to a country's stage or level of development which play a key role in the direction which a country's tourism takes. ⁶³

Nevertheless, tourism is said by Greenwood (1977) to lead to "commoditisation" of areas in the life of a community which, prior to its penetration, were not regarded as goods for sale and were therefore outwith the domain of the market. ⁶⁴ Local culture generally serves as the principal example of such commoditisation when it comes to be performed or produced for tourist consumption. Commoditisation has been charged with changing the meaning of both cultural products and human relations, and according to Cohen (1988), in time it can cause them to lose their meaning altogether. ⁶⁵

Furthermore, since local culture can be commoditised by anyone without the consent of the participants, it can be expropriated and the local people can be exploited in order to provide it.

“We already know from worldwide experience that local culture.....is altered and often destroyed by the treatment of it as a touristic attraction. It is made meaningless to the people who once believed in it.....” (Greenwood 1977)

In viewing the tourist industry ‘as a vast school for the modernisation of people’s values’, Greenwood had alleged that the Alarde, a major ritual in Fuenterrabia in Spain, had degenerated into a mere tourist show; by being commoditised, it was no longer regarded as significant by the town’s inhabitants. However, later, he retracted this position and conceded that the ritual held considerable political significance for the local townspeople.

Marketing tourism in LDCs often consists of promoting the cultural attractions of holidaying in an exotic environment, and although this process is sometimes criticised for commoditising cultural events it is also responsible for the flow of funds into many local activities. In that way tourism may be responsible for the resurrection of traditional skills and handicrafts which might otherwise have died out.

Although the production of souvenirs for tourists, sometimes known as ‘airport art’, can have a cheapening effect, what is produced is

not necessarily less 'authentic' as a consequence. Harrison states that what is deemed authentic in fact depends upon the perspective of producer and buyer rather than the judgment of the 'objective' social scientist.

African producers of popular art studied by Jules-Rosette (1984), although constrained by the need to standardise and simplify their products, nevertheless searched "for new designs, innovative combinations of styles, and bolder artistic messages".⁶⁶ With regard to Egyptian arts and crafts, the quality and variety of designs which are often based on original Pharaonic and Islamic patterns is consistently high. Like other African producers, Egyptian craftsmen too are continually producing new and innovative artifacts, often achieving surprisingly high standards of workmanship using traditional, painstaking and time-consuming methods which have, in many cases, been overtaken by the use of technology in the West. By supplying the tourist demand for original local art these traditional skills are able to be preserved and passed on to others.

Of course, the pressure of demand created by a ready market for handicrafts can also lead to a fall in the quality of the workmanship and to the manufacture of cheap imitations, which are thought by some observers to degrade traditional designs and which may in time cause the old skills to decline.⁶⁷

However, with regard to what tourists will buy, "Tradition", states Harrison, "is not a fixed entity.....especially when it is being

portrayed by the tourist industry". Material artifacts, whether produced for decoration or everyday use, for sale or for the producer, are tangible reflections and expressions of culture, even if in some cases they have little to do with the country and much to do with what it is hoped that tourists will buy.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

As far as the cultural and environmental aspects of international tourism to developing countries are concerned, it has been suggested that tourism leads to both preservation and degradation.

To visit some of the majestic historical monuments such as Abu Simbel in Egypt or Borobudur in Java may be a major motivation to visit a developing country. In fact, the enormous flow of gifts for the conservation of such monuments is partly due to the value attached to them by potential visitors. Egypt with its pyramids and temples is an example of a country which attracts this type of visitor and has used the relics of a glorious past to form the basis of its tourism development.

Many developing countries have in this way become aware of their unique histories and have put a lot of effort into the preservation of the historic remains of these, both for the pleasure of the tourist but also for their own future generations.

The same may apply to a country's cultural heritage, which without the catalyst of international tourism might not have experienced such a revival of interest. Due at least in part to the interest shown by the tourist, the population of many developing countries has begun to discover its own past and cultural history.

However it is possible for a country to 'kill the goose which laid the golden egg'. A massive influx of tourists to monuments can be a threat to those very monuments, and in some cases may cause their irrevocable damage. It is easy for governments to be driven by materialistic motives aimed at the maximisation of tourism's earning potential, but this should not be at the expense of the environment, and especially of its historical environment.

In the Valley of the Kings, during the high season, over 3,000 tourists visited the tomb of Tutankhamun every day before it was decided to have it closed to the public. These tourists left behind an estimated 25 litres of perspiration, which condensed on the walls of the small, cool tomb chamber. The continuous procession of tourists passing through the chamber is believed to have been responsible for the spread of a brown fungus across the delicate wall paintings which in time would have obliterated them.⁶⁸

This and many other tombs in Egypt had been left untouched for hundreds of years. They were in a closed micro-climate, without light and changes in temperature. In addition, bacteria had consumed much of the the original oxygen in the chambers,

rendering the air particularly nitrogen-rich and therefore providing an ideal environment for the preservation of their contents. Now that they are open to tourists it is easy to see why they are deteriorating. Tourism has brought lights, vibration, noise and direct physical damage as visitors brush against the walls in the confined spaces.

While tourism alone cannot be held responsible for the deterioration of a great number of historic buildings, it undoubtedly contributes to the problem. Cairo's Islamic architectural treasures, like its Pharaonic monuments, are under threat today as never before, not only from the radical Islamists, but from the high level of pollution which exists as a result of the millions of cars whose exhaust fumes are largely responsible for the degree of deterioration they have experienced.

The 'Index of Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo', published by the Survey of Egypt in 1951, lists 622 different monuments or fragments of historic interest. ⁶⁹ Since 1951 many of these buildings have disappeared, while others which are not on the index are also under threat. The government has been criticised in the past for focusing funds on Pharaonic attractions and ignoring the Islamic heritage, and it is now being criticised by Islamic radicals for concentrating its funding on the preservation and maintenance of those mosques which tourists are most likely to visit !

Nevertheless, whatever the motives of the government, the results

of its funding policy are likely to benefit local people, not just by improving their environment but also by increasing the amount of tourist revenue which can then be generated locally and which might otherwise have gone elsewhere.

Community environments are often enhanced by the addition of the new amenities resulting from tourist incentives. The new Cairo Conference Centre in Nasr City, or the planned new museum which will house antiquities, are possible because tourism has provided the motivation and also the revenues to pay for them. Moreover, all such improvements are likely to be reflected in the quality of life of the local residents.

TOURISM : TAKING THE BLAME OR THE CREDIT FOR MODERNISATION ?

It is easy to overrate the influence of tourism and so to perceive it as the principal cause of the degeneration of a large part of the developing world, thereby exaggerating the negative impacts arising from it.

Texts such as Turner and Ash (1975), Smith (1977), de Kadt (1979) paint a rather depressing picture of the negative impacts of tourism, citing changed cultural values and the decay of native languages and customs. Instead, it should be asked whether tourism is the "main malefactor in provoking the dissolution of traditional social

structures". 71

Modern influences can penetrate a society in many ways, making change almost inevitable. The introduction of advanced technology, such as global satellite television - CNN and MTV to mention but two which are now available to the Third World - video tapes, modems, and the ability of the inhabitants of LDCs who work abroad to bring back new consumer goods and new ideas, good and bad, have considerable potential for inducing sociocultural change. Even although in rural villages in Upper Egypt, few people own television sets, everyone has access to television viewing and is therefore accessible to programmes such as *The Young and the Restless*, or *Dallas*. These depict a way of life which, even by Western standards, is hard to aspire to. Likewise there is the advertising of 'hedonistic' goods which most viewers in these regions can only dream of.

Although satellite television is available in hundreds of countries, some of these, including Iran and Saudi Arabia with their radical Islamic and traditional Islamic ideologies, have tried to prevent their citizens from receiving the transmission of foreign programmes. As the hardliners of Iran put it :

"There is a war going on in which our youths are being felled by cultural bullets". 72

However, resistance to foreign influence on culture or attitudes is

not confined to the more isolationist countries of the Third World. The French government, afraid of the adoption of English words into their language - known colloquially as 'Franglaise' - and perhaps afraid of the decline in their own culture in general, have banned the use of many English words from their vocabulary.

Such agents of change, however, may be difficult to ban for ever. Even in the radical Islamic atmosphere of Iran, where hardliners are trying to resist political and cultural influences, it is proving hard to retain and to enforce a ban on the circulation of 'unsuitable' foreign films on video.

Ultimately, what has to be considered is the strength or resilience of the host culture. Whether the host culture can withstand changes brought about by another dominant culture depends very much on how deeply rooted that culture is and whether it is widely supported. If the host culture does not practise many of its beliefs and traditions, and does not have a long history to anchor it, it is likely to be absorbed by the dominant culture of the tourists.

Two possibilities can occur : cultural assimilation in which there is replacement of a set of cultural traits or values with another; or cultural drift in which there is phenotypic behaviour, which describes a visible change in behaviour resulting from interaction between host and guest. If interaction is not continuous, and takes place over a specified time and place then, when the guests leave, the host adjusts back to the original lifestyle. However if the contact is

continuous, genotypic behaviour which involves permanent change is likely to occur. ⁷³

In Egypt, the interaction between host and Western guest is often fleeting, tending to be for the purposes of small business transactions and is, overall, of a seasonal nature, although this is becoming less the case as more people are prepared to travel in the hot months of the Egyptian summer. In such circumstances the strong traditional religious culture of the local people, including the rural *fellahayn*, is hardly touched. From my own experience, the prevailing feature of many people's attitude to Western foreigners appears to be that in spite of their material poverty there is a tendency to feel sorry for the Westerner's ignorance of Islam and its benefits, and a further quiet confidence that suggests that although we Westerners have material advantages in this life, in the next, it will be they, the Muslim pious, who will have all the advantages.

In their resentment of cultural domination some of those who oppose Western, mainstream development play down the very real poverty of hundreds of millions in the Third World when they pronounce upon their plight in terms such as this :

"The culturally conceived poverty based on non-western modes of consumption is often mistaken to be misery". ⁷⁴

Given the opportunity the poor of the Third World would gladly exchange their "culturally conceived" lot for the basic needs of the

modern variety if they were available. 75

Harrison sees no inherent value in every aspect of 'traditional' culture, such as the extended family for example, which may just as often be a source of repression and autocratic control as one of security and freedom. Similarly, the superiority of traditional dress over blue jeans may be affirmed, but ultimately is a matter of taste.

The relevance of the debate concerning tourism's 'modernising' effect, whereby the people of LDCs are in receipt of a transfer of capital, technology, expertise, and 'modern' values from the West, is illustrated by reference to the people of Borocay, a tiny island in the Philippines, who have experienced the negative aspects of international tourism. Smith (1988) describes in a paper the invasion of so-called 'drifter' tourists which reduced the numbers of the more middle-class and family-oriented tourists and increased pollution and the amount of garbage. Discotheques and neon lighting also increased, and the young came to treat such tourists as role models. Drunkenness, drugs and prostitution were imported to the island, and natural resources were further depleted. In spite of these horrors, Smith remarks at the end of the paper :

"Yet the people of Borocay, like all rural Filipinos, would enjoy having the infrastructure that is needed to support tourism, because it would make their lives easier, pleasanter and safer. And they certainly want the income generated by tourism, in the form of cash with which to

buy goods and services including better education for their children. They appreciate the employment that is enabling their young people to stay on the island, or to return home to Borocay from the squalor of big cities, and be with their families. In the eyes of most villagers, tourism has been very positive - and the sins of the 'drifter' tourists can be temporarily overlooked in the face of their largesse". 76

The dilemma for a developing country is in being confronted with two contradictory possibilities as a result of tourism development which lead to the same conclusion : not to choose tourism amounts to eventual death according to economists, but to choose tourism is also death according to anthropologists :

"The touristic dilemma is clear: to freeze or not to freeze, to maintain boundaries or to remove them.....the sword cuts both ways" Jafari (1984). 77

This double-edged sword, according to Lanfant and Graburn (1992), illustrates the gulf between tourism as seen by outside agents and by the local society. In Egypt the local inhabitants are far too shrewd to reject tourism for cultural reasons, as natural traders their only complaint would be if they were deprived of the chance to sell something !

ALTERNATIVE TOURISM

The disjunction between the economic and the cultural is the dilemma which underlies the argument for the development of 'Alternative Tourism'. But Alternative Tourism has been seen by some as an easy way of avoiding the decision of whether to reject tourism completely or to accept it unconditionally. Alternative Tourism has been compared with other "Alternative Movements" which arose in the 1960s in Germany and the US. These wanted to promote a counterculture by rejecting the consumer society. Alternative Tourism, in rejecting mass tourism, is seen as a similar radical attempt to transform social relations and thus as part of a larger movement.

The real value of alternative tourism, states Cohen (1989), in a brief critique of the subject, lies in aiding more realistic attempts to ameliorate the problems of conventional tourism rather than trying to do away with mass tourism and to replace it with something else.

78

At the World Tourism Organisation Seminar on Alternative Tourism in Tamanrasset, Algeria, in 1989, the participants voted to replace the term with 'Responsible Tourism', which would relate to all forms of tourism which respect the host, the natural, built, and cultural environment and the interests of all parties concerned, that is, hosts, guests, visitors, tourist industry and government. ⁷⁹

RESPONSIBLE TOURISM FOR ISLAMIC DESTINATIONS

The process of tourism policy formulation starts, in theory, with an identification by politicians and planners of the needs of the host society. This group decides whether tourism can contribute towards fulfilling societal needs based upon "certain context-specific planning criteria." (Din, 1988) ⁸⁰ Once accepted, the needs of the tourist industry, including those of the tourists, are identified. However, these are most likely to be based on the advice of foreign consultants whose recommendations are influenced by a set of globally accepted planning criteria, from which a particular mode of tourism development is derived.

As regards the tourist-resident interaction process, Pearce (op cit) asserts that generalisations should be guarded against, even if they may seem persuasive at the global level; there are always examples from particular situations which can be cited in support of other positions. Jenkins (1994) has described the subsequent mode of tourism which has developed in many LDCs as being "a by-product of the experience of the developed countries". ⁸¹

Therefore any attempt to identify the mode of tourism development that is appropriate to a particular country must first define the criteria which can be considered appropriate, because every destination is arguably different, both in terms of resource capabilities, needs and priorities.

Defining the Criteria

Because Egypt still has, largely, a centrally planned economy in which much of industry and commerce has been nationalised, the government has played a central role in the formulation of tourist development policy and planning.

Now that pressure has been put on Egypt from the World Bank and the IMF to liberalise its sluggish economy and move towards a more market sensitive economy, the result has been the creation of opportunities for those in the profit-driven private sector who have gained confidence from the sector's recent 1991/92 success, and who can now provide resources for further tourist investment.

In defining the criteria for the further development of the sector, the Egyptian government defers more and more to this expanding private sector whose market sensitivity is so essential to its future success.

Economic vs Non-economic Benefits

Although the private sector is concerned with increasing the economic benefits of tourism in LDCs, this priority has, in the past, tended to be emphasised at the expense of the host communities to whom little attention was given. As Jenkins states, planning was essentially for foreign tourists and to meet the demands of the foreign markets. These demands catered to the expectations of

tourists from advanced countries, where the provision of high quality facilities is a priority in attracting the requisite volume of tourists to an LDC. However, this situation can contribute to social and political discontent as experienced in Egypt.

The problem is not eased when governments and national tourist organisations fail to enlighten their people of the comparative advantages of tourism over other investment options. This may then lead to tourism in LDCs being perceived as “a foreigners’ industry creating facilities for a priveleged elite which indigenious people would never likely be able to afford.” The outcome of such a scenario is that “ignorance of tourism often breeds suspicion and misunderstanding.” 82

Suspicion and misunderstanding ?

Based on Islamic standards of propriety which are deemed to be ‘contextually specific’ to Muslim countries, Din identifies objections to tourism as a non-Islamic pursuit. They include :

“Muslim participation in the handicraft trade and.....the concept of graven images, the desacrilisation of sacred grounds, espionage and proselytising, the nonchalant conduct of normal tourist catering during hours of Friday prayers and during Ramadan [the Islamic holy month], and the issue of pork and unkoshered meat”. 83

He states that “such violations of Islamic norms are likely to be opposed by the conservative section of the Muslim community”. In fact opposition is already manifest, because as part of their attempt to damage the tourism industry in Egypt Islamic Radicals have claimed that the images created by pre-Islamic peoples, namely the Pharaonic monuments and their contemporary reproduction in the form of tourist souvenirs, constitute a category of art which is forbidden to Muslims (*haram*). Among their threats has been the possible destruction of these monuments which are condemned as pagan shrines generating unclean money. Particularly at risk would be those depicting characters with whom tourists are especially familiar, such as the Sphinx, King Ramses or Tutankhamun, as Islam specifically forbids the depiction of the human form.

In another attempt to undermine the industry, a number of banks whose services are available to tourists have been the target of radical Islamist bombs. The banks chosen were also among those which use the Western system of usury, that is, providing interest-bearing accounts, which is also forbidden in Islam.

Of course, the most direct threat to the industry has been in the deliberate attempts which have been made over the past two years to murder or maim Western tourists on holiday in Egypt. Over this period a number of tourists have already been killed, and such attempts are still being made. However, though these and other acts which are committed against the tourist industry in the name of Islam purport to reflect the views of the Muslim population of

Egypt, clearly they do not. In no way can they be attributed to the teachings of the Islamic religion nor are they likely to be condoned by the overwhelming mass of the population.

There is a growing realisation that tourism, if it is to be sustainable in the long-term, must become more acceptable to the host community. According to Pearce (1994), the idea that tourism can simply be imposed on a country or a region has now been largely rejected in favour of a much more balanced approach to the needs of visitors and hosts.

RESPONSES TO SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS

The effects of socio-cultural impacts may be 'real' in the sense that objective data can be collected to verify their existence, or 'perceived', where a view emerges which may be difficult to demonstrate. However, when assessing community feeling, real and perceived impacts, states Pearce, are equally important. If residents believe that an impact exists, then their behaviour will be altered irrespective of the accuracy of the perception. Therefore it is wise to establish whether the impacts are objectively verifiable or subjectively felt, as the tactics employed to prevent or deal with each may be different.

For example, perceived impacts may be changed by the processes of education and community information, whereas this may not apply

to objectively verifiable impacts, such as problems of access to an attraction. ⁸⁵

Since many of the negative tourist-resident impacts of tourism are perceived impacts, that is, the result of judgments of individuals by others, the possibility of mistakes and errors of interpretation is obvious. Better information on each other's normal way of life would be an important step to take in preventing social frictions between residents and guests, as well as among the residents themselves. ⁸⁶

The impact of tourism may also create discontent among the poorest inhabitants of a destination if the industry is perceived to be successful while their standard of living appears to be unaffected.

Although revenue from tourism may be used for further development of the industry, such as the building of the huge conference centre in Egypt which has been highly successful in attracting more people to the country, those who do not benefit directly from the industry are not always aware of its indirect benefits to the economy, or of the nature of the economy itself. Consequently they may perceive the priority given to a conference centre as neglect of their own situation.

Furthermore the effect of this lack of knowledge of the way the economy is managed may also cause them to perceive other tourist development projects, which may come about as the result of foreign

aid, as also being against their interests. An example of this is the building of the National Cultural Centre in Cairo which was in fact funded by the Japanese.

EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

A community which receives more detailed education in the field of tourism will be better able to understand the impacts that are specifically tourism-related, and will gain a fuller appreciation of both the negative and positive consequences of development.

Accordingly, better dialogue between the government and the people, particularly the least well-off groups, would be beneficial towards a greater understanding of the overall economy and would contribute enormously to the harmonious continuance of the industry.

Such dialogue could be articulated through the Local Community Development Association (LCDA), a non-governmental body which has local community-based representation in all of the country's Governorates (administrative regions of the country), and deals with community issues. However, these boards tend to be ineffectual as they are often badly managed and consisting of individuals who lack adequate training. There is a tendency for them to implement government policies but not to set policies and take decisions.

In developed countries, where there is universal literacy, dialogue is often achieved by way of the newspapers. In Egypt, however, the official literacy rate lies at 48 per cent, therefore the culture is largely an oral one and, as a result, the press have little influence on the majority of people. Moreover those people who do read the newspapers tend not to trust either the national or the opposition press. ⁸⁷ In spite of this, calls are often made by newspapers for public solidarity against terrorists who target the tourism industry, not only to remind people of the importance of tourism to the economy, but to counter the attacks made by radical Islamists who proclaim that tourism is non-Islamic.

The key then to influencing people is through the visual media. The introduction of non-trivial information campaigns about tourism, tourist habits, and cultural differences offers another line of attack for improving tourist-resident relationships.

Children could be taught about the important part which tourism plays in the national income. In Spain children participate in festivals and exhibitions and consider themselves to be an integral part of the promotion of tourism. In Egypt, programmes to increase tourist awareness among school children have already begun in some areas. This is achieved by schools teaching youngsters about the benefits of tourism, and by having radio programmes which highlight the achievements of the industry. ⁸⁸

Richter (1992) recommends the availability of pre-arrival

information for tourists concerning culture and customs in order to make tourism "less controversial".⁸⁹

The Ceylon Tourist Board have gone some way towards dealing with this problem by having a small pamphlet produced which briefly outlines some of the social aspects of daily life in Sri Lanka which they value. Such advance briefing may lead visitors to a greater appreciation and understanding of the culture into which they are to be introduced.

For that reason it may be advisable for Egypt and other Muslim countries, whose tourists are under a degree of threat from the Islamic radicals, to take similar steps to explain the prevailing attitudes of the local people towards dress, particularly women's, where the concept of modesty is an important part of the Islamic religion; the behaviour of men and women towards each other in public; the significance to Muslims of fasting during Ramadan; the importance of Friday prayers, and attitudes towards the consumption of alcohol and any food containing pork products, both of which are forbidden by Islam (*haram*).

Such explanations of local attitudes, although referred to in the travel literature which tends to be targeted at the individual tourist, could be given more prominence in the travel brochures used by the vast majority of mass tourists. This will be referred to in a later chapter.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

In order to avoid the economic and political repercussions which international evidence has indicated can result when negative impacts are ignored, Mill emphasises the importance of determining the prevailing attitudes of people in the community towards the development of tourism. ⁹⁰

Since the publication of Murphy's *Tourism : A Community Approach* the view that tourism development and planning should take into account the wishes of local residents is now well supported. Getz and Jamal refer to the 'environment-community symbiosis,' ⁹² with maximum involvement of the local community called for by Inskip ⁹³. Clark (1988) reports the findings of the Pacific Area Travel Association, based on research in several countries, which state that "for long-term stability of the industry, residential input and positive residential attitudes are essential [and that] local attractions [should] only be promoted when endorsed by residents."

⁹⁴

Murphy asserts that tourism development is a local issue because that is the level where the action takes place. ⁹¹ And although the local community or the groups representing community interests are not necessarily experts in tourism planning, their right to comment on proposals should not be ignored. It has also been pointed out that the very act of expressing opinions is often therapeutic and constructive. ⁹⁵

If there is an overwhelmingly negative attitude towards international mass tourism, it might be unrealistic to plan for its further development. If partially negative attitudes emerge, this might suggest the need for an educational programme which focuses on the benefits to the community.

In the democratic world there has for a long time been political support for increased public participation in a wide range of planning issues. According to Murphy, local involvement can control the pace of development, integrate tourism in the economy and produce a more 'individualistic tourist product.'

Ideally, at the planning stage whole communities should be given the opportunity to compare two or three alternative proposals for development in a region or location. Zube (1980) found that people make much better decisions and judgments in situations involving a comparison.⁹⁶ Faced with specific models of alternative developments for a region, communities can list the requirements to which they feel priority ought to be given by developers. This would provide advance warning to the industry of community concerns.

A number of resolutions recommended by Pearce (1994) could provide important guidelines for the forecasting, preventing and managing of socio-cultural impacts. These include that :

1. Overall development goals and priorities are in harmony with those of the residents.

2. The promotion of local attractions is subject to resident endorsement.
3. Local people are closely involved with the development process in order to respect their social needs.
4. There is broad-based community participation in tourist events and activities.
5. Destination areas adopt or refine themes and events that reflect their history, location, and geographic setting.

The limitation of negative social impacts could also be achieved by control of tourism facilities through ownership by community groups as well as by substantial community representation on management committees. Yet another means would be to try to maximise the use of local capital, entrepreneurial ability and labour in tourism developments, because where local people have the impression that tourism is in the hands of outsiders more negative attitudes are likely to follow. ⁹⁷

Jenkins draws attention to a new approach which is emerging whereby priorities are re-ordered and greater emphasis is placed on the indigenisation of ownership and operation within the tourism sector, but without necessarily changing the planning dimensions applied to tourism.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN EGYPT

Ultimately, to be sustainable in the long-term, tourism has to be acceptable to the community within which it takes place. However, in the absence of the kind of democracy usually found in most Western countries, involvement at the community level has to be achieved by gaining the support of the local people. In the case of Egypt, this is done through the non-governmental LCDA.

Consequently, when the government planned to build a visitor centre on the east bank of the River Nile, community involvement was sought at the village council level by the Egyptian government who asked the local people for their approval of the proposed project.

The centre's function was to help relieve the pressure of the 5,000-7,000 tourists per day plus tour buses who were going directly to the Valley of the Kings on the west side of the Nile and causing overcrowding and potential damage to the fragile tombs. The people endorsed the idea and the go-ahead for the project was duly given.

However, doubt has been expressed in Egypt as to the efficacy of such community involvement in tourism, because five years later, on completion of the visitor centre, the local community raised objections to it. These were apparently puzzling at first, until it was decided that the objections were being made on behalf of the many

vendors and stall-holders who wanted to have freer access to the large crowds of tourists to whom they could sell their wares.

As a result of the objections it was decided, subsequently, by governmental decree, to turn the visitor centre into a museum, thus giving way to local pressure.

This pressure on the Egyptian government to change their plans has prompted them to ask whether the local community should have been involved in decisions which, indirectly, affect the overall interests of the country and which in this case pertain to the future of the environment. ⁹⁸

However, Pearce states that many of the problems associated with socio-cultural effects might be mitigated if economic benefits remained largely within the community. It might then be advantageous for all concerned if the government, when planning or making changes to a site, took into consideration all the interests of the community and allowed them a choice of development proposals, thus enabling the local people to feel that they could benefit from 'their' tourist product. Then both the interests of the local community and those of the country in general might be better served.

THE HERITAGE FACTOR

Murphy agrees with the view that participation on a mass scale is

an idealistic dream. However, to achieve the benefits that tourism can bring he states that there must be a sufficiently shared vision among local people about their community and its future. This, he states, can be achieved “by focusing on the community’s heritage and culture in the development of the tourism product.” It would require the residents to be a part of, perhaps essential to, the hospitality atmosphere, and would mark the community as being worthy of a visit by tourists.

In order to utilise this shared vision, the government, and/or the private sector, have to involve the community in projects which give them a feeling of pride in ‘their product.’ An example of an Egyptian heritage product which could benefit the community is dealt with in chapter seven.

CONCLUSION

The development of a tourist industry has been very successful as a means of building the economy of many countries. However, in order to ensure that the tourist development of a potential destination, or the further development of an established destination, is capable of sustained long-term success, those responsible for planning should be fully aware of the socio-cultural background of its people.

In the Arab world, the socio-cultural background against which the development of international mass tourism is taking place is predominantly Islamic in character, which means that religion plays a significant part in the lives of most of those on whom tourism might impinge. The degree to which Islam influences their lives can vary between one person and another, and between the countries which make up the region. This affects their attitudes to tourism :

“The position taken by Islamic societies ranges from discouragement, through to isolation, accommodation and *laissez faire*”. (Din,1989)

In Egypt, this range of attitudes is to be found among individuals, but in general the prevailing attitude is one of “*laissez faire*,” which is a product of Egypt’s current secular Islamic ideology. This contributes towards an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding of the needs of the tourism industry.

International mass tourism is thought to be responsible for a number of negative socio-cultural impacts which might undermine the traditional way of life of many LDCs. These negative impacts, however, can also be experienced as a result of a growing number of other factors. Some of these, particularly where advanced technology is involved, may be impossible to prevent and are likely to have an even more influential socio-cultural impact on LDCs, particularly amongst the young.

In the case of Egypt, a large country where tourism is widely spread; where the Islamic culture is deeply ingrained in the population; where technology is to the forefront; and which has been playing host to foreign tourists since the early nineteenth century, there is less likelihood of negative influences attributed to tourism affecting the values of the local people to any great extent.

The possibility of negative attitudes towards international tourism, which may have been fostered by radical Islamist propaganda, influencing local perceptions of the tourist industry and foreigners, makes more education and greater community involvement important as a means of redressing the balance. Tourism must be made more acceptable at a lower level by imparting a better understanding of its benefits and by providing greater opportunities for the private sector, to enable more local people to have a direct stake in the industry.

Regard must also be had to the informal sector of the economy, in

which tourism may provide employment and income to poorer local people who, due to lack of education, may find it difficult to benefit from tourism's formal sector.

It is up to planners to take into consideration the position of the poor by recognising the existence of the informal sector and finding better ways of allowing them to participate unhindered in the benefits of tourism, while trying simultaneously to eliminate its negative impacts on such people.

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Chapter 4.

Image as a Factor of Motivation

From the point of view of the planners and marketers of a destination, it is important to recognise that the holiday is seen by the individual as a very desirable product, enjoying a high ranking in their future budget, and increasingly becoming a consumer priority.

Goodall (1988) emphasises this when he states that :

“Holidays are a mainstay of behaviour patterns in advanced western societies and any survey of holiday intentions will lend support to the importance attached to holidaymaking.”¹

Tourism is a highly competitive industry characterised among other factors by the increasing choice available to potential tourists. As a result, tourists have high expectations of their choice of holiday, and will favour those holidays which offer the fullest realisation of these expectations.

Consequently, it is necessary to realise that the motivations, attitudes, needs and values of potential tourists are of crucial importance in contributing to their decision-making processes.

Motivations to travel are related to expectations, needs and wants. These in turn reflect tourists' personalities and socioeconomic

profiles. More specifically, Goodall believes that the decision to travel stems from both needs and desires. The potential tourist hopes and believes that by taking a holiday he will satisfy various needs and desires :

“Needs are intrinsic, an innate condition arising from a lack of something necessary to the individual’s well-being, and reflect emotional, spiritual, and physical, drives.”

While desires are described as :

“extrinsic, a feeling that the individual would get pleasure or satisfaction from doing something, and are acquired through and dependent on the value system prevalent in society”.

He then goes on to say that needs and desires determine motivation. Therefore the view of tourist motivation as a satisfier of those needs and desires is crucial.

Mill and Morrison (1992) describe the phenomenon as :

“the difference between seeing a collection of palm trees and hotel rooms for the tourist and seeing it as a means of satisfying the needs and wants of tourists. It is the difference between those travel agents who see themselves as sellers of airline seats and those who view themselves as ‘dealers in dreams’ “. 2

When the potential tourist takes a holiday decision he does so in the hope of satisfying some need of which he himself may be only partially aware.

The difference between a need and a desire is one of awareness and it is the task of the marketer to translate needs into desires by making the individual aware of his need deficiencies.

Mill and Morrison give the examples of a person's need for affection, but his desire to visit friends and relatives, or his need for esteem from others but his desire for a Mediterranean cruise. In so doing, they highlight the possibilities of making people aware of how to satisfy their needs by the use of advertising. But this can only be achieved if and when the person becomes motivated.

Maslow(1979) identified five sets of basic needs and arranged them into a vertical "hierarchy of needs" model. ³

An examination of the tourism literature shows that travel motivations can be adapted to this model :

1. Survival ~ hunger, thirst, rest, activity.
2. Safety ~ security, freedom from fear and anxiety.
3. Belonging and love ~ affection, giving and receiving love.

4. Esteem ~ self-esteem and esteem from others.

5. Self-actualisation ~ personal self-fulfilment.

The lower-level needs suggest that they would demand greater attention and satisfaction from a potential customer than the higher-level needs; while the sizes of these needs illustrate their value in relation to one another. To the above list of needs were later added :

6) To know and understand ~ acquiring knowledge.

7) Aesthetics ~ appreciation of beauty.

The relationship between needs, motives and references taken from the travel literature is shown below :

Table 4.1. Maslow's Needs and Motivations as listed in the travel literature :

<u>Need:</u>	<u>Motive:</u>	<u>Tourism References:</u>
Physiological	Relaxation	Escape Relaxation Relief of tension Sunlust Physical Mental relaxation of tension

Safety	Security	Health Recreation Keep oneself active and healthy
Belonging	Love	Family togetherness Enhancement of kinship relations Companionship Facilitation of social interaction Maintenance of personal ties Interpersonal relations Roots Ethnic Show one's affection for family Maintain social contacts
Esteem	Achievement of status	Convince oneself of one's achievements Show one's importance to others Prestige Social recognition Ego-enhancement Professional/business Personal development Status and prestige
Self-actualisation	True to one's nature	Exploration and evaluation of self Self-discovery Satisfaction of inner desires

To know and understand	Knowledge	Cultural Education Wanderlust Interest in foreign areas
Aesthetics	Appreciation of beauty	Environmental Scenery

Source : The Tourism System - R C Mill and A M Morrison

Those who say they travel 'to escape' can be seen as seeking to satisfy the basic survival or physiological need. Such motivation may in fact be for physical or mental relaxation. Likewise, travelling for health reasons could be interpreted as a way of trying to satisfy one's safety needs, for by caring for the body (or the mind) we are protecting ourselves in order to help assure our own longevity.

Of course, the motivation for taking a holiday, may be as 'a break from routine', which can be obtained by decorating the house or laying out a garden, and 'good health' can also be obtained by other means. From this it can be seen that there is competition not only with other destinations but also with other activities for the consumer's time and money, which would be invested in better gardening or sports equipment.

Consequently, research into the potential tourist's needs should be one of the cornerstones of tourism marketing strategy. It becomes

the marketer's job to convince the potential tourist that what he is selling is not only the best, but the only way to satisfy those needs. His success in this will be the extent to which individuals are motivated to buy.

TRAVEL MOTIVATIONS

There are three factors by which an individual is motivated to satisfy a particular need in a particular way, such as by taking a holiday. First, the individual must perceive that a particular purchase will satisfy his needs; if he imagines that by taking a cruise he will feel more relaxed and refreshed then he is likely to take it.

Second, a particular action is more likely to be taken if the individual has learned that that action will satisfy those needs; if the benefits of the cruise are positive then he will be more likely to take it again.

Third, the decision to act in a particular way in order to satisfy a particular need must be taken with regard to the constraints of the individual's external environment. For although a cruise may be perceived as the need satisfier, it has to be one which can be afforded in terms of time and money, and also one which is socially and culturally desirable.

Important determinants of the decision of whether or not to take a holiday are listed by van Raaij (1984) as being, "household net or discretionary income; family lifecycle; ownership of such holiday

durables as a caravan or a boat; and household lifestyle and values. He gives the examples of older and lower-income people as being “more likely to forego a holiday while younger and middle-income tend to be active holidaymakers”.⁴

He goes on to say that “vacation trips may be differentially valued for different consumers, even within a family,” and that they may involve “social comparison” in terms of maintaining status and prestige by taking a holiday. Lastly he notes that the inherent preparation and memories of the experience are also popular conversational topics with relatives, friends and colleagues.

Many writers have argued that a strong link exists between tourism and urbanisation. Dann (1981) noted that city dwellers are often motivated to travel in order to ‘escape’ an artificial, monotonous life.⁵

However, Ryan (1991) reminds us that tourism is essentially an intangible purchase which he describes as “a means by which the holidaymaker acquires experiences and fulfils dreams.”⁶

It is in fact the very lack of tangible acquisitions which differentiates it from other purchases, for at the end of the holiday the purchaser has gained little in the way of physical possessions. Those which do exist, such as souvenirs and photographs, serve mainly for “evocation of memory.”

THE DESTINATION CHOICE PROCESS

Matheson and Wall (1982) assert that if the individual has become sufficiently motivated to take a holiday then he is aware of its potential benefits as the means of satisfying his needs and wants. These factors may influence his propensity to travel but not necessarily his choice of destination :

“Potential tourists may be motivated to travel but, unless they are informed of what opportunities are available they may be unaware of the means of meeting their requirement”.⁷

Crompton (1977) conceptualises destination choice in two phases. First, the generic phase, which deals with the initial question of whether or not to have a holiday, and second, the decision of where to go on holiday - the destination choice.⁸

Um and Crompton (1990) developed a framework of travel destination choice which identifies and integrates five sets of processes in the form of flows.⁹ :

1. Belief formation - where the beliefs of the individual concerning the destination attributes are formed in the awareness set, as a result of passive information exposure or incidental learning.
2. Initiation of choice - a decision to undertake a pleasure trip

which includes consideration of situational constraints.

3. Evolution of an evoked set - whereby an evoked set is derived from the awareness set of destinations.

4. Belief formation - subjective beliefs are formed about the destination attributes of each alternative in the evoked set of destinations, as a result of active solicitation of information.

5. Destination selection - selection of a specific travel destination.

In order to influence an individual's choice of destination, his motivations must be converted into a holiday trip. This, says Goodall, requires the identification of *a*) the tourist's preferences and *b*) a knowledge of holiday opportunities.

CONSTRAINTS ON TRAVEL

Tourism involves a substantial outlay, mostly without having had any previous "site or sight" experience. Ryan points out that even when a previous visit has been made to the destination there is no guarantee that the second experience will replicate the first.

A number of reasons exist why people do not travel extensively. McIntosh and Goeldner (1990) list six broad categories into which barriers to travel fall :

1. Cost - as travel has to compete with other purchases, cost is given as the principal constraint, but this may be used to cover a lack of interest.
2. Lack of time - the responsibilities of many occupations preclude long holidays.
3. Health limitations - many people are unable to travel due to poor health and physical limitations.
4. Family stage - different stages involve different constraints. Young parents may find it difficult travelling with children while widows and singles may not like travelling alone.
5. Lack of interest - being unaware of the pleasures of travel may constrain interest.
6. Fear for safety - fear of the unknown or even the known, such as threats of contracting disease, war, unrest, and terrorism, can act as a deterrent to travel, as can negative publicity about a particular region. ¹⁰

Of the above constraints, 'fear for safety' is the one which overrides all others. Countries such as Sri Lanka or Egypt can testify to the fact that, if there is any doubt about his individual safety, a potential tourist will simply go elsewhere. In view of this, a country's image is of immense importance in the choice process.

A region may contain tourist resources which are diverse and of a high quality but if the image formed of the region by potential visitors is a negative or distorted one, then the potential use and “optimum economic development” may not be fully realised : Hunt (1975). 11

In examining regional images and regional travel behaviour, Mayo (1973) indicated that “the image of a destination area wasa critical factor in the destination choice process”. 12 While La Page and Cormier (1977), noted that :

“In many cases it is probably the image more than the factual information that produces a tourist’s decision on where to travel”. 13

As one of the established determinants of travel behaviour, it is therefore important to understand how destination images are formed.

THE FORGING OF AN IMAGE

The best way of gaining knowledge about a region and its people is by having direct contact with them. This first-hand experience enables the formation of a set of ideas and beliefs about them. More commonly, however, images seem to be developed without this contact with either the destination or its people. Instead, they are

often the product of the culture and subculture in which they are developed.

A large part of what is often referred to as an individual's "cognitive map", regarding his own and other cultures, is passed down through generations from parents to children. There are also many sources of information and images outside the family, especially in complex societies with extremely diverse communication systems. Such sources include the mass media, school-teachers, textbooks, fiction, political parties and religious teachings, as well as other people, and particularly travellers who recount their experiences. Each can be a powerful source of a potential visitor's knowledge and perceptions : Gunn (1972).¹⁴

WESTERN PERCEPTIONS OF ISLAM

The largest and most influential group of tourists in the world are those from Western Europe and North America. They are in a position to make or break a country's tourist industry. If that country is also a developing country which relies heavily on its earnings from tourism, then the effect of the travel decisions of those Western Europeans and North Americans (Westerners) is crucial.

In trying to show the influences which have contributed towards contemporary Western perceptions of the Muslim world, it is

necessary to trace the evidence provided by early travellers, writers and painters ~ known collectively as the Orientalists ~ together with that found in the media. It is the Orientalist vision which has helped create the kind of image which the West now holds of Islam and Muslims, and which may colour many economic decisions that have a bearing on the development of the Middle East region, including the tourist's decision of whether or not to visit it.

EARLY TRAVELLERS' PERCEPTIONS

The idea of travel as a means of gathering and recording information is commonly found in societies which exercise a high degree of political power. The traveller from such a society is sustained by its economic, intellectual and military strength and is inspired to record his observations, aware that he will have an interested audience back home. This awareness "affects his perception, and influences him to select certain kinds of information or to stress aspects of a country that will strike a chord in the culture of his own nation.": Kabbani (1987)

Descriptions of faraway lands inhabited by fantastic beings have always abounded as one dominant group became able to forge images of the 'alien' by imposing its own "self-perpetuating categories and deviations from the norm." The popularity of Pliny's *Natural History* in Mediaeval Europe lay mainly in the fact that it catalogued beliefs about obscure races which were then prevalent,

reinforcing commonly held ideas.

In the same way Mediaeval and Renaissance travel accounts came deliberately to depict strange voyages in order to cater to sedentary audiences who wanted to hear about the extraordinary. The traveller “introduced horizons, negotiated with ancient cultures, solidified the data of geographical and ethnographical enquiry, and was the agent of the superior civilisation”.¹⁵

‘Lewd Saracens’

In order to understand the image that has been formed of the Muslim/Arab people in the consciousness of the Western world it is necessary to trace the origins of these perceptions.

Christians had known about the Saracens, or Arabs, long before the rise of Islam, and at first the Saracens’ conversion to Islam went virtually unnoticed. Only scholars theorised about the origins of the name Saracen, which was believed to have come from Sarah the wife of Abraham.

A fourth-century description of the world stated that the Saracens got “by bow and plunder all they required to live.” There was, apparently, no need to know any more about them.¹⁶

With the launch of an assault on Byzantium in the third decade of the

seventh century, the newly Islamicised armies of Arabia changed the status of the Mediterranean from being a channel of commercial and cultural exchange into a barrier to movement of most kinds. Islam had become established as the dominant religion on its Eastern and Southern coasts.

At this time the Carolingian Empire was emerging, creating a new focus and a new sense of identity for the races of Northern Europe. Consequently the Mediterranean came to be remote to them and the East came to be more and more the enemy.

Throughout the conquered lands of the East derogatory and abusive myths about the Saracens were widespread among the Christians and the Jews. But these myths were mixed with more reliable impressions based on actual daily contact. Legends growing out of popular folklore, classical literature, Byzantine texts on Islam, and viciously distorted tales from Muslim sources embellished this image.

A psychological barrier between the Christian Occident and the Muslim Orient was thus established. The West came to view the East as "a dangerous region where Islam flourished and monstrous races were to be encountered". The Saracens or Muslims were portrayed as "black, dog-headed and ugly".¹⁷

The Western image of the Muslim world came into sharper focus in the eleventh century, because with the conversion to Christianity of

the Normans, the Hungarians and the Slavs, the Muslim world remained alone as the principal enemy of Christendom. This hostility produced an anti-Islamic polemic which, although sought from authentic information, was intended to attack the Islamic claim to be the true revelation of God, thus making it possible to protect the minds of Christians against apostasy : Southern. ¹⁸

One of the strategies of this polemic was to ridicule Mohammed, who was described as an arch-seducer, who wore purple, coloured his lips and took delight in scented things and coition : Daniel (1960)

It was believed that he invoked God in warranting his own sexual indulgences. Gerald of Wales, writing in the twelfth century, thought that Mohammed's teachings tended to concentrate on lust, which was particularly suitable for Orientals, since they lived in a climate of great natural heat. ¹⁹ A popular tradition attributed to Mohammed a general sexual profligacy as an instrument for the destruction of Christianity. ²⁰

The Latin Christian world's gradually developing ideological unity brought an even sharper image of the enemy and with it the energies of the West became focused upon the Crusades which provided the first direct contact with Muslims. Thereafter, a more defined and accurate image of Islam began to take shape. ²¹

The European understanding of the Islamic world was discernible in three general areas : it was a hostile political and ideological system;

it was also an utterly different civilisation; and it was a remote and foreign economic sphere.

Although Christian statesmen in the East such as Jean de Joinville (1224-1317), the French chronicler and translator, knew much about the organisation of the Mamluk empire from direct experience, the wealth and knowledge gathered by them did not reach the rest of the world. Western missions drew from it only what was necessary for their Eastern policy. ²²

Although there was no particular interest in making a more detailed examination of Islamic political history, the Crusades created a huge market among the general public for a comprehensive, entertaining image of the enemy's ideology, but one which would show the abhorrent side of Islam. ²³

Mediaeval Secular Literature

Mediaeval secular literature tended to reflect the convictions of earlier religious polemic. In the chansons de gestes the Muslims appear regularly as villains often accused of idolatrous worship. ²⁴

In the *Song of Roland* the Saracens were depicted as worshipping the Antichrist, Lucifer, Termagant and Diana among other idols, thus providing a foil for the heroism of the Christian knights who always killed them. ²⁵

In the Middle English Romances, the ideals of chivalry gave way to politics and religion. The ideal became the triumph of Christianity over Islam and not courtly love or perfect knighthood. These romances tended to contain "wish-fulfilling embodiments" such as the Saracen giant killed by a Christian hero; the defeated emir; the converted Saracen; and most importantly, the Saracen princess in love with the Christian knight. ²⁶

In the *Romance of Sir Bevis Hampton* the Saracen princess is ready to serve her knight with slavish devotion. He inspires in her ardent desires, suggesting that she is inherently lustful. Such women are prepared to forsake their very religion for love of a virtuous knight. Once converted, she becomes a 'good' Saracen. In contrast to the Muslim princess who is represented as treacherous, lewd and selfish, the Christian heroine of the Romances is self-sacrificing and virtuous. ²⁷

In the *Romance of Floris and Blancheflur*, there is one of the first descriptions of a harem, guarded by eunuchs, and of the merchants who supply the sultan with beautiful female slaves. It was in such ways that the image of the East as a land that "traded in voluptuousness", a land where sexual desires could be fully gratified, was forged. ²⁸

In order to support the idea of a voluptuous East, the West emphasised the Qur'anic idea of Paradise, arguing that Muslims were not only lewd in everyday life, but had conceived of a heaven

that would permit endless sensual gratification. This notion of the carnal delights of the Islamic heaven was sharply contrasted with the angelic Christian idea of Paradise. ²⁹

Thus it was that a pattern of stereotyping emerged.

Elizabethan England

Although European observation of Islam was supported by the testimony of travellers such as Alexander Mandeville, or Marco Polo, the mediaeval stereotyped image which was inherited by Renaissance England from the Middle Ages was "replete with errors that were wilful" and contained "a high degree of mythomania." ³⁰

The antique notion of the rich East of Cicero and Horace was revived and confirmed by such traditions as the three Magi and the Queen of Sheba, and tended to be linked in Elizabethan England with erotica. The luxury of wealth is often associated with libidinousness and idleness, and Easterners were seen as decadent, languishing in rich harems and never exerting themselves.

As the power of the East became centred in Constantinople, the inherited fear of the Saracens, and hence the focus of attention, was also drawn there. In 1598, Thomas Dallam, before returning from a visit to the Turkish Sultan, on behalf of Queen Elizabeth I, was able

to catch a glimpse of the seraglio, and wrote :

“When I came to the grate the wall was very thick, and grated on both sides with iron very strongly; but through that grate I did see thirty of the grand Grand Sinyor’s concubines that were playing with a ball in another court. At the first sight of them I thought they had been young men, but when I saw the hair on their heads hang down on their backs, plaited together with a tassel of small pearls hanging in the lower end of it, and other plain tokens, I did know them to be women, and very pretty ones indeed.....I stood so long looking upon them that he which showed me all his kindness began to be very angry with me. He made a wry mouth, and stamped with his foot to make me give over looking; the which I was very loathe to do, for that sight did please me wondrous well.”³¹

This anecdotal account became typical of the works of travellers whose descriptions were repeated and copied again and again, as they were so popular with Western audiences. After a time a distinctive genre of sexuality and despotism was created, resulting in an image which became a “metaphor for the whole East.”³²

Kabbani (1987) maintains that travellers such as Sir George Courthorpe, writing in the seventeenth century, could not resist adding details which made their accounts of such places as the

'Grand Turk's' Court more fabulous. Such scenarios tended to reflect the prevailing Western image of the East as a "sexual lieu, a despotic and capricious one to boot." ³³

The Elizabethan stage drew heavily on the stock of Eastern characters so vivid in the public imagination. The source of these characters lay with travellers, whose accounts did nothing to change inherited notions of what the East was like but merely confirmed that Easterners were "fanatical, violent and lusty souls." The Saracen, the Turk, the Moor, the Blackamoor and the Jew were often the key villains in the drama of the period. Shakespeare's *Othello the Moor*, although acceptable when depicted as a soldier fighting for a Christian power and a killer of Turks, is still seen as a somewhat "noble savage." ³⁴ He is flawed by his excitable nature and his passionate instincts.

"His jealousy recalls a long tradition of Eastern jealousy, his revenge a confirmed consequence of that tradition." ³⁵

In 1704, a prototype of Eastern sensuality captured the Western imagination ~ Scheherezade. She was the central character of a collection of stories called *The Thousand and One Nights* ~ 'alf layla wa Layla'. ³⁶ *The Arabian Nights* as they came to be known, were an 18th century translation of stories which emerged from the oral, folkloric tradition central to India, Persia, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. They were narrated by itinerant storytellers or *hakawatieh*, who "augmented their content, elaborated their plot structures, and

larded them with anecdotes or verses which reflected their respective tastes". Ironically, when they were mentioned by such figures as Al-Mas'udi in *Muruaj al-Dahab* or by Ibn al-Nadim, writing in the 10th century, it was with disdain for the inferior entertainment which they were considered to offer. ³⁷

The Frenchman, Antoine Galland, created a text out of these Arab stories and made a monumental contribution to the growing mystique of the Orient. Thereafter, the Islamic world no longer appeared "the province of the Antichrist, but rather as an exotic, picturesque world where fantastic genies could do good or evil" : Rodinson (1988) ³⁸

The Romantic Movement

The Romantic movement perceived the Orient as a world "so different from the neoclassic, so unrationalistic, so coloured in its imaginative freedom, sensuousness and fatalism." ³⁹ However the Orient of the Romantic was conspicuously lacking in descriptions of the reality of the East. There were never any depictions of urban scenery or social misery. Poverty appears to have been supplanted with what Chateaubriand described as "bains, parfums, danses, delices de l'Asie." ⁴⁰ Instead, the Romantics provided a somewhat hazy, indistinct Oriental backdrop against which their characters could be illustrated, while indulging in their favourite theme ~ that of travel.

Shelley's heroes in *Alastor* and *The Revolt of Islam* pass through Persia and Arabia, travel along the Valley of the Nile, visit ancient ruins, and even climb the Himalayas. It was Keats who wrote :

"O to arrive each Monday morn from Ind,
To land each Tuesday from the rich Levant." 41

The pre-Romantic trend begun by Antoine Galland, towards the fascination with the exotic and enchanting Islamic East, continued to hold the public imagination. It produced masterpieces like William Beckford's Arabian tale *Vathek*, published in 1781. However, *Vathek* portrayed a dark, sinister and macabre Orient, and was a precursor of the kind of Oriental narrative produced by the 19th century Decadents.

Lord Byron was attracted to *Vathek's* excesses, and of all his books it was *Vathek* which accompanied him on his travels to Greece in 1823. 42

It was Byron who inspired Thomas Moore in 1813 to write *Lallah Rookh* (1817). The romance contained somewhat fanciful descriptions, such as that of the beautiful scenery along the road that Lallah Rookh travels on her way to meet her bridegroom, and contained stock details of how the East was imagined to be :

"doe-eyed women in abundance, languishing with love
and expiring of desire, wicked men who kept them in

captivity, rich banquets, gorgeous brocades and cashmeres, jewels, perfumes, music, dance and poetry.”

Also reappearing are references to Mohammed as impostor, magician and sensualist, and as Moore’s Persian fireworshipper puts it :

“A wretch who shrines his lust in heav’n,
And makes a pander of his God.”

However, although a financial success, *Lallah Rook* was criticised by the traveller Victor Jaquemont, who wrote:

“Thomas Moore is not only a perfumer, but a liar to boot. I am pursuing the same route as Lallah Rookh formerly did and I have scarcely seen a tree since I left Delhi”.⁴⁴

The *Arabian Nights* became the focus of a 19th century preoccupation. They were seen as a source of cultural data, and became important not only as a diverting narrative but also as a sociological document. Henry Torrens, in the preface to his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, described his intention as “less to give the incident of a tale, than the manners of a people.”⁴⁵

E W Lane’s translation, in keeping with the spirit of the time, had made an effort to place the stories in a historical and sociological framework by appending extensive notes to them. However Lane

tended to choose images of depravity which made the East into a "living tableau of queerness" 46 :

"Some women step over the body of a decapitated man seven times, without speaking, to become pregnant; and some, with the same desire, dip in the blood a piece of cotton wool, of which they afterwards make use in a manner I must decline mentioning." 47

He stressed the promiscuity of Egyptian women, and their "uncontrollable licentiousness," while Egyptians in general were characterised as being sexually inflammable and easily excited to quarrel. They were also incapable of telling the truth :

"Constant veracity is a virtue extremely rare in modern Egypt." 48

Altogether, when depicting the Egyptian, Lane is inclined to fall back on a strong tradition of portraying the native as a liar and a cheat.

The picture of the Orient fared no better under Sir Richard Burton. Something of an anarchist in his social behaviour, he nonetheless retained the prevailing view of women as being either whorish, or caring companions in the home untinged by sexual ardour, and if all women were thought to be inferior to men, Eastern women were doubly so, being women and Eastern !

His erotic 'translations' were privately printed and circulated among a male audience of subscribers who desired titillation. What he felt unable to say about European women, he could unabashedly say about Eastern ones : Hellerstein, Hume and Offen (1981). 49

After deciding in 1886 that he was dissatisfied with his translation of *The Perfumed Garden*, Burton decided to re-issue it, and to add extensive notes which would be "a marvellous repertory of Eastern wisdom, how Eunuchs are made, and are married, what they do in marriage; female circumcision, the Fellaah (Egyptian peasant) copulating with crocodiles, etc." 50

Kabbani concludes that by "Eastern wisdom" Burton perceived only sexual wisdom, and by dwelling on the erotic he chose to present the sum of his experience in the East in one specific mode. By doing so he was merely embellishing, and hence confirming, the myth of the erotic East.

Said (1978) asserts that the colonially inspired images of native peoples were accepted as accurate by the Western world because of the power of the written word, described by him as a "textual attitude." He goes on to argue that many people prefer the "schematic authority" of a text to the actual encounter.

Hence, once accepted as fact, these textual stereotypes are often employed by the tourism industry to promote particular destinations. 51 (Refer to Chapter 5).

Orientalist Painting

Europeans had by the late 19th century developed a taste for the growing number of traveller's tales and especially for *The Arabian Nights*. They had been offered a sumptuous array of caliphs, viziers, slaves, genies, lamps and fabulous happenings, which have contributed to the store of words and images which Westerners use to embrace the Islamic world. For some, this world became an exotic realm in which they could explore new possibilities :

“An imaginary harem which promised an escape from the self, and from the dictates of the bourgeois morality of the metropolis” 52

The eroticism that the East promised tended to be mysterious and tinged with hints of violence. The harem and its delights were frequently used as a resort for the imagination of 19th century painters, who like the neoclassical painters before them, depicted explicit sensuality by placing it in a setting which was removed from their contemporary surroundings. This setting, the painted East, appealed to a bourgeois public keen on exoticism.

The Orientalist painters portrayed an opulent East using imported bric-a-brac which served as props in their studios. There they recreated such images as the cave of Ali Baba, which they had probably read about as children. Often they added objects of violence in order to depict what they imagined to be a particularly

violent East. 53

In *Massacre at Chios* (1824), the earliest example of Orientalist painting, by Eugene Delacroix, the image is characterised by fierce and lavish scenes in a wild array of colours; harems and seraglios; decapitated bodies; women hurled into the Bosphorus in sacks; fellucas and brigantines displaying the Crescent flag; round turquoise domes and soaring white minarets; eunuchs, viziers and odalisques; refreshing springs under palm trees; men with their throats cut; and captive women forced into submission by their lustful captors.

The poet Heine (1797-1856) observed that such a colourful painting catered to the bourgeois European's baser instincts; that when Westerners travelled to the East, it was this image which they were really seeking; and as a result, they chose sights with a merciless disregard for whatever did not conform to their predetermined vision of the world. 54

Violent narrative is a central theme in Eugene Delacroix's *La Mort de Sardanapale* (1827) which, along with *Massacre at Chios*, was painted before he had actually travelled to the East. It contains the, by now, typical images of Europe's Orient, culled from Byron's popular poem of that name : An Oriental despot sits detached amidst the destruction of his earthly possessions. His naked concubines are being stabbed to death by three dark villains, while his horse is dragged away. All is chaos, but the opulence of the East

is manifest in the profusion of heavily bejewelled women. Their dying is an exotic spectacle, as they are made to take on positions of languor and sexual abandon while in the throes of death, to the voyeuristic satisfaction of both Sardanapalus and the onlooker.

In 1832 Delacroix visited Morocco, which inspired a series of paintings, among them the *Femmes d'Alger*. Nonetheless, it was the literary Orient which continued to provide Delacroix with his subject-matter even after he had come into actual contact with the East.

An image that occurs again and again in Orientalist painting is the figure of the guard, usually black and guarding the entrance to the harem, the palace or the mosque. Gerome's *Le Garde du Serail*, painted in 1859, is a dramatic example of this sort of depiction. The expression on the face of the guard is unsympathetic and brutal. His dagger, axe and pistol give warning of the consequences of coming too near the door of the *seraglio* (harem) as does the colour of his fiery robe.

This is a European image of the harem, where women wait, never to be seen, let alone touched : "the dead hand of jealousy without and the potential for endless pleasure within." 55

Slave-market scenes of varying kinds were a favourite theme of the Orientalist painters. One of the most famous is Gerome's *Le Marché d'Esclaves* (no date) which appears to be largely a pretext

for the portrayal of female nudity. This takes the form of a nude slave-girl who is seen as an insignificant victim of this East where life is cheap. ⁵⁶

Another painting, by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, painted in his atelier in 1862, is a work entitled *Le Bain Turc*, which portrays twenty-six nude women sampling the varied pleasures of a fantastic Turkish bath. The painting conveys the endless potential for erotic gratification in its depiction of perfumes, incense, music and the hint of lesbianism.

Such portraits, in wishing to convey an image of the East, may in fact, have more accurately described Europe; they illustrated the repressiveness of its social codes, and the heavy hand of its bourgeois morality :

“The gaze into the Orient had turned, as in a convex mirror, to reflect the Occident that had produced it.” ⁵⁷

Although there was a wealth of images available to European artists, very few of the Orientalist painters offered a narrative-free depiction of the scenes they encountered. William Makepeace Thackeray, when in Cairo on his extended Grand Tour, was convinced of the former :

“There is a fortune to be made for painters in Cairo.....I never saw such a variety of architecture, of life, of picturesqueness, of brilliant colour of light and shade.

There is a picture in every street, and at every bazaar stall." 58

WESTERN PERCEPTIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

As we have seen, Western Orientalists since the early 19th century have taken an ethnocentric, dominant, highly polarised 'we - they' view of the Islamic world, and in particular of the Middle East.

Until this century the United States experience in the Middle East was limited, but Americans too soon adopted the ethnocentrism of the European Orientalists.

In 1922, Walter Lippman wrote in 'Opinions' that :

"The subtlest and most pervasive of all influences are those which create and maintain the repertory of stereotypes. We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And those perceptionsgovern deeply the whole process of perception." 59

Lippman's observations were elaborated upon by Joseph Boskin (1980), a professor of history and Afro-American studies at Boston University :

"A stereotype is basically a standardised mental picture or series

of pictures, representing an oversimplified opinion.....that is staggeringly tenacious in its hold over national thinking.” 60

Boskin goes on to say that a stereotype “gains its force by repetitive play, often presented in different guises so that the image it projects becomes firmly embedded in reactive levels of thought and action.....Once implanted in popular lore, an image attached to a group, an issue or events tends to pervade the deepest senses and profoundly affects behavioural action.”

The stereotype is thus an enduring phenomenon often capable of defying all evidence to the contrary.

A common stereotype, hostile to Muslims and Arabs, which until recently was commonplace, was that they were “indolent, prone to violence, deceptive, dirty, and given to excesses, whether of a sexual, financial or rhetorical nature” : Christison (1987) 61

Of no other ethnic group could one have written with impunity, as Leon Uris did in 1985 of Palestinians, that they were a “people who don’t have the dignity to get up and better their own living conditions but are satisfied to live off the scrapings of charity and whose main thrust is the perpetuation of hatred.” 62

Los Angeles Times correspondent David Lamb has offered an explanation for the preconceived images of Arabs in the West :

“In lifestyle, traditions and beliefs, the Arabs are ‘different’ and any ethnic group that is ‘different’ tends to be stereotyped.” 63

These conditions were identified by Henry Seigman, executive vice-chairman of the American-Jewish Congress :

“When Americans look at the surrounding Arab societies, they do not generally experience a similar sense of ‘empathy and likeness’. To the contrary, these societies, their cultures and their values, evoke a sense of strangeness, of otherness, in most Americans.”

The foreign service officer, Laurence Pope, has agreed with Seigman and has noted further that “one consequence is that Arabs and Muslims, their cultures and their values are fair game for racial stereotyping and bigotry of the crudest kind.” 64

The results of a nationwide poll revealing American perceptions of Arabs were published by the Washington-based Middle East Journal “barbaric and cruel,” “treacherous,” “warlike,” “rich,” and “mistreaters of women” were descriptions frequently used. Americans tend to lump together the diverse peoples and cultures of the area ; they retain biases obtained “from European ancestors, from biased teachers, from bad books, from folk-lore.” Many of their biases are “superficial ~ simply the residue of poisonous entertainment.” 65

The Role of the Mass Media

For most of us, the branches of our cultural apparatus which have been responsible for drawing Islam to our attention have largely been radio and television, the daily newspapers and the mass circulation news magazines, while films too play a part in forming our visual pictures of history and distant lands.

This concentration of mass media is said by Edward Said, Professor of English at Columbia University, to constitute a “communal core of interpretations” which provides us with a particular picture or image of Islam. This image is seen in the overall context, of its setting, its place in reality, the values implicit in it and, not least, the kind of attitudes it promotes in the beholder.

Thus, if the Iranian crisis was regularly depicted by television pictures of chanting Islamic mobs accompanied by a commentary about anti-Americanism, then the distance, unfamiliarity and threatening quality of the spectacle would limit ‘Islam’ to those characteristics. This then gives rise to a feeling that something basically unattractive and negative confronts us.⁶⁶

Perceptions acquired from pictures and words have far-reaching implications. Cohen (1963) maintained that :

“the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in

telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling people what to think about.”

He went on to observe :

“If we do not see a story in the newspapers (or catch it on the radio or television), it effectively has not happened so far as we are concerned.”⁶⁷

Despite the variety and the differences, Said states that what the media produce is neither spontaneous nor completely ‘free.’ Like all modes of communication, television, radio, and newspapers observe certain rules and conventions in order to get things across intelligibly, and it is these, often more than the reality being conveyed, that shape the material delivered by the media.

The media are, in the main, profit-seeking corporations, and understandably have an interest in promoting some images of reality rather than others.

Aims of the press such as objectivity, factuality, realistic coverage, and accuracy are highly relative terms, and may in fact express intentions rather than realistic goals. The reality is that journalists, news agencies and networks consciously make decisions, such as what is to be portrayed, how it is to be portrayed, and so on. This makes news a “complex process of selection and expression.”⁶⁸

Various studies have been made of the way in which the major news-gathering and news-disseminating systems work in the West. These represent differing standpoints but, nonetheless, affirm the extent to which the formation and dissemination of news, and the subsequent formation of opinion in the society at large operate “according to rules, within frameworks and by means of conventions that give the whole process an unmistakable overall identity” :

“Like every human being, the reporter assumes that certain things are normal ; values are internalised and need not always be tested, just as the habits of one’s society are taken for granted; one’s education and religion are not forgotten as foreign societies and cultures are described ; the consciousness of a professional code of ethics and a way of doing things are involved in what one says, how one says it, and who one feels it is said for.” 69

Robert Darnton comments in his essay *Writing News and Telling Stories* that reporters “bring more to the events they cover than they take away from them.” 70

Walter Lippman noted that a reporter’s opinion is “in some vital measure constructed out of his own stereotypes, according to his own code, and by the urgency of his own interest. He knows that he is seeing the world through subjective lenses.” Ultimately, therefore, it is the reporter who delivers his own perspective of an event or situation. 71

After the first major battle in the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973, the American correspondent for the *Today* television programme Garrick Utley, appeared with the Israelis wearing a battle jacket with 'Utley' stitched over one pocket and 'NBC News' over the other. The camera then revealed Israeli soldiers praying quietly in trenches on the Sabbath. It then showed a film of Egyptians waving guns in the air and yelling "Allah Akbar !" Such images are likely to influence the Western public's perception of Muslims as war-hungry people. ⁷²

Programmes on the three major television networks and articles in *US News and World Report* painted as terrorists the Lebanese in occupied Lebanon who fought those who had seized and occupied their land, while Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, when engaged in any conflict with Israelis, are also called terrorists. ⁷³

The former American President Carter observed that "there is a stigma attached to Palestinians by many Israelis because [the Palestinians] are equated with terrorists....This is obviously one of the obstacles before us." ⁷⁴

The Middle East International reported :

"Scores of Shi'ite Moslems have been killed during the raids on villages in South Lebanon. Several times the Israeli army has invaded a village and then later withdrawn, claiming to have

killed 20 or 30 'terrorists.' It is only when the bodies are inspected afterwards that so many 'terrorists' turn out to be young girls or old shepherds or families trying to flee by car." 75

The labelling of a people as 'terrorists' is indicative of the double standards which seem to apply to the Palestinians. Journalists did not label the Afghanis as terrorists when they fought to rid their land of the Soviet invaders. 76

The author Frances Fitzgerald, a regular contributor to the *New Yorker* noted that :

"The American Press has no obligation to tell the truth about anything Nothing prevents a publisher [or broadcaster] from buying a newspaper [or magazine, or television, or radio station] and turning it into a vehicle of political propaganda for one side or the other."

An example of this, as regards the effect on the image of the Arab/Muslim, is the unquestioning defence given to Israel by the *New Republic*. Ronald Steele, a contributing editor, said "Criticism is a no-no," while a former editor, Christopher Hitchens, accused the owner and editor-in-chief, Martin Peretz, of having an "obsession with conservatism in one country (Israel) [that] has infected the whole magazine." 77

False perceptions may also be the result of the omission of information. President Jimmy Carter has given the following

example :

“We hear the Israeli position in our country quite consistently, and we rarely hear the countervailing arguments. Any time you present to the public, as accurately as possible, the policy of Syria, or the Palestinians in particular, it’s almost inevitable you’re going to be accused of being anti-Israel.” ⁷⁸

Correspondent Georgie Ann Geyer found that if she wrote rationally about the Palestinian question and criticised Israel’s treatment of the Palestinians, she was labelled an anti-Semite. An Israeli government news agency officer told her :

“We’ve been watching you as you went round the Arab world. You certainly are an Arab lover.” ⁷⁹

It was reported by Bob Adams in June 1982 that Israel had invaded Lebanon in order to drive out the PLO ; that as a result more than 500 Israelis had died, and more than 240 US marines had been blown up. ⁸⁰ As regards Lebanese casualties, Adams simply stated that :

“Thousands of Lebanese were killed.”

The Christian Monitor gave a far more tragic, but accurate, account based on statistics reported to them by the Lebanese Police. Casualties occurring “between June 4 and August 31, 1982, a period ranging from the first Israeli bombing raids until completion of the

Palestinian withdrawal, [were] 19,085 killed and 30,302.....wounded. In Beirut alone 6,775 died ~ 84% of them civilians ~ so the police reported.” 81

Several American newspapers printed an Associated Press report from Jerusalem on 5 May 1984 which stated :

“Israeli officials rejected what is believed to be the first public offer for mutual recognition and direct negotiations on the future of the Israeli occupied West Bank. [But] the Israeli officials..... reaffirmed Israel’s long-standing refusal to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation, calling it a terrorist organisation.”

However, the influential *New York Times* neither reported the initiative of Yasser Arafat, nor had any comment to make. 82

“There is no such thing as public opinion,” wrote Winston Churchill. “There is only published opinion.” These words of almost 50 years ago are still relevant today if the press decides whose opinions are to be heard and in what context. 83

'POISONOUS ENTERTAINMENT'

The Television Image.

The stereotyping of Arabs/Muslims has regularly been found in media designed to entertain. Communications specialist Eric Barnouw has pointed out that "the aura surrounding the word [entertainment] is important because it tends to lull critical faculties.....This enables entertainment to play a leading role in shaping attitudes and ideas, including political ideas." ⁸⁴

Poet and playwright Archibald McLeish has suggested that images in entertainment programmes are even more influential than information delivered in serious programmes. ⁸⁵ Many myths perpetuated by writers for television and films, novelists, cartoonists and others have promoted false perceptions of Muslims/Arabs. Images on television and motion pictures convey powerful messages :

"On the screen the whole process of observing, describing, reporting and then imagining, has been accomplished for you.....The shadowy idea becomes vivid ; your hazy notion.....takes vivid shape..... Historically it may be the wrong shape; morally it may be a pernicious shape." ⁸⁶

Research has shown that "there is hardly a prime-time television show without several episodes of patently racist and insulting

caricatures of Muslims, all of whom tend to be represented in unqualified, categorical and generic terms : one Muslim is therefore seen to be typical of all Muslims and of Islam in general.”⁸⁷

In an article in the *New Straits Times* concerning American television, it was pointed out that virtually the only images of Arabs ever seen were those of “billionaires, bombers and belly-dancers.” For decades Arabs/Muslims were lumped into stereotypical groupings when seen on television. When depicting Arabs writers were found to adopt what Shaheen (1987) called an “instant Arab kit.” This included “belly-dancers’ outfits, black veils, head-dresses, flowing gowns and robes, evil mysticism, oil wells, limousines, and camels.” Television producers then employed an “Arabland” backdrop, which offered “sheikhs in sun-glasses abducting women in glittering Rolls Royces while Arab ‘terrorists’ destroy the White House.”⁸⁸

In general, television promoted stark stereotypes of either bad Arabs or less bad Arabs. In programmes which had nothing to do with Arabs/Muslims, distortions often appeared, as in the soap-opera *Dallas*, which was seen by millions of people all over the world. The leading character, JR, refers to Saudis as “damn tent-dwellers.” In *Cagney and Lacey* an Arab murdered his sister because she was dating an American. In *The Equaliser* Arab terrorists killed innocents at a wedding party. In *Scarecrow and Mrs King*, Washington DC’s water becomes polluted and Arab ‘terrorists’ then seek to purchase the formula that endangered the water system. In

another episode Mrs King shoots at an Arab ~ and misses ~ as part of her training : learning to kill enemies of the United States.⁸⁹

Television wrestling also offered *Insane Abdul* and *Abdullah the Butcher*, who used pointed shoes, *Akbar the Great*, *The Sheikh* and *The Iron Sheikh*. This choice of names suggests a relationship between Muslims and violence, and thereby reinforces such a perception.⁹⁰

The most impressionable viewers - children - watch television for more than 30 hours a week. The National Institute of Mental Health's Behavioural Sciences Research Bureau states that children spend one fifth of their waking hours in front of a television set. Before many children reach school, their attitudes about ethnic groups, "including prejudices and stereotypes", will be well formed. They further believe that television has a particularly powerful impact "often outweighing personal experience."⁹¹

The Motion Picture Image

Cinemagoers in 130 international markets regularly view American films. The Arab/Muslim stereotype in these films is subsequently viewed on video cassettes and via cable systems and private television networks.

The motion picture image of Arabs portrayed in the 1980s was that

of a serious threat to the world and was seen in such films as *Network*, *The Formula*, *Rollover*, *Wrong is Right* and *Protocol*. In *Network* actor Peter Finch warns that Arabs are "going to own what you read and what you see. There's not a single law in the land to stop them." *The Formula* reveals that ex-Nazis, the oil companies, and Arabs rule the world. In *Rollover* Arabs destroy the American way of life by causing a worldwide depression. In *Wrong is Right* scores of Arabs willingly kill themselves in the name of a terrorist organisation, while in *Protocol*, actress Goldie Hawn warns that Arabs threaten America's security.

Another cinematic theme ~ that Arabs are sexually depraved ~ is promoted in films such as *Bolero*, *Protocol*, and *Sahara*. In *Bolero* the actress Bo Derek's would-be seducer is described as a sheikh, although he is thought to be 'counterfeit'.⁹² Arabs ogle Goldie Hawn in *Protocol* and Brooke Shields in *Sahara* : one having blonde hair, the other blue eyes. As Shaheen (1985) observes, the audience is persuaded that "Arabs are so depraved that they will do anything for a sexy blonde or a blue-eyed nymph."

Many other films depict the Arabs as less than human. In *Things are Tough All Over* the depraved Arab, Habib, has sexual intercourse with a camel. Later in the film his character is depicted by his use of the same knife to clean his toe-nails and to eat his meal.⁹³

One accepts that individually such images of Arabs or Muslims might do little harm to the overall perception which is formed of

them, but collectively these images reinforce already negative attitudes of Arabs/Muslims and hence Islam.

Images in Novels

Novels are thought by Kathleen Christison to “flesh-out and crystallise” the general impressions created by the media, and thereby gain substance. The impact of novels is greater too, both because they are targeted at the widest possible audience, and because of their dramatic presentation, which holds the attention of the audience. ⁹⁴

A novel which profoundly influenced popular attitudes was Leon Uris' *Exodus*, published in 1958. It was a best seller and was subsequently made into a film. In it, use was made of crude negative stereotypes of Arab villains in black hats, and equally stereotyped images of Israelis in white hats. ⁹⁵ Christison comments :

“Uris capitalised on an existing vague prejudice, gave it shape and substance, intensified it by juxtaposing grossly overdrawn pictures of Arab degradation with similarly exaggerated pictures of Israeli heroism, and spawned a passel of imitators.” ⁹⁶

Fiction in the latter half of the twentieth century, when dealing with the Middle East, has generally contained several standard ingredients : faceless Arab characters with no individuality, driven by hatred and a desire for revenge ; or merely driven, “so stupid or

ignorant that they have no incentive or motivation whatsoever," and Israeli characters who are depicted as being compassionate, long-suffering, hard-working, and somehow almost always blonde and blue-eyed, which Christison thinks may be accounted for by author-oversensitivity to past anti-Jewish caricatures.

Novelists have also consistently depicted Arabs/Muslims in large numbers ; as groups rather than as individuals. ⁹⁷

Muslims are treated as if they are universally prone to having brutal, extremist tendencies ~ brutal punishments, autocratic and theocratic rule, and mediaeval practices which a great many Muslims themselves oppose. ⁹⁸

In another book, *The Haj*, Uris embraces all the stereotypes; his Palestinians are poor, completely insensitive, and ignorant; they are violent by nature, sexually overactive, and deviant. There are orgies, rapes, and enthusiastic Arab women who regularly visit a cave to service Uris' Israeli hero. Evil is, once again, ascribed to Islam. "Arabs", he writes, "are a decadent, savage people controlled by a religion that has stripped them of all human ambition..... except for the few cruel enough to command them as one commands a mob of sheep.....[They are] a mad society." ⁹⁹

Uris then, incredibly, attributes the 1948 massacre at Deir Yassin, not to the Jews who carried it out, but to "the cruelty, the evil that emanates from the Moslem world."

In Gloria Goldreich's *This Burning Harvest* (1983), and in *A Forbidden Love*, by Chayyim Yeddic, Arab stereotypes abound. Arab cities in the former run with filth, the Arab characters, other than the romantic hero, are either wealthy and dissolute or poor and disease-ridden. A cousin of Ahmed's who has trachoma is described as having "sticky yellow pus" running from his eyes. 'Forbidden Love' lectures about Arab hatred and speaks of "hundreds of years of Arab hatred" and that Arabs "just like to hate."

In both books tragic love affairs between Arabs and Jews produce sympathetic Arab romantic heroes, but in both cases they are depicted as untypical; as being vastly different in temperament, philosophy, and even personal habits from the run-of-the-mill Arab; and as devoid of any specific Arab identity. 100, 101

Although there has been a marked shift in attitudes towards Arabs/Muslims in the last decade or so leading to a greater degree of understanding and balance in perceptions, anti-Arab/Muslim bias has been slow to change in the press and among the general public, while in fiction it has been even slower. The publication of John le Carré's novel, *The Little Drummer Girl*, in 1983, marked the beginning of this new and somewhat more favourable trend, but even this novel reproduced many of the old biases. 102

THE ISLAMIC THREAT ?

For more than a decade the vision of Islam as a threat to the West has gripped the imagination of Western governments and the media.

Khomeini's denunciation of America as the "Great Satan," chants of "Death to America," the condemnation of Salman Rushdie and his book, *The Satanic Verses*, and Saddam Hussein's call for a *jihad* against foreign infidels : all are familiar images on our television sets and in our newspapers, and have come to be synonymous with the perception we have of Islam.

No event demonstrated more dramatically the power of the Islamic resurgence than the Iranian revolution of 1978/79. The powerful, modernising and Western-oriented regime of the Shah was utterly defeated. The Western reaction to this challenge to what was seen as the Shah's enlightened development of his "backward" nation, and the resurrection of "an anachronistic, irrational mediaeval force that threatened to send modern Iran back to the Middle Ages," was one of incredulity.¹⁰³

Nothing symbolised this belief more than the black-robed, bearded mullahs and the dour countenance of their leader, the Ayatollah Khomeini. His image and presence were taken over by the media, who depicted him as "obdurate, powerful and deeply angry at the United States," reinforcing in Western minds a conviction of the

irrational nature of the entire movement. ¹⁰⁴

This was an oil-rich Iran whose wealth had been used to build the best equipped military machine in the Middle East ~ next to Israel's ~ and to support an ambitious modernisation programme, known as the Shah's *White Revolution*. Iran had been regarded by America as its most stable ally in the Muslim world. During the Islamic revolution the American consumer was given a sustained diet of information about the people, the culture, and the religion which were always represented as militant, dangerous and anti-American. According to Edward Said, from the enormous amount of information generated as a result of the revolution, and the subsequent capture of the US Embassy in Tehran with its many Western hostages, a dual image emerged :

"It seemed that 'we' in the West were normal and democratic, and with 'us' was rational order, while out there was Islam writhing in self-provoked frenzy and whose particular manifestation ~ Iran~ was seen as disturbingly neurotic." ¹⁰⁵

Time magazine ran a prominent article entitled "An Ideology of Martyrdom", about Iranian Shi'a Islam. Concurrently, *Newsweek*, in the same mould, featured a page entitled "Iran's Martyr Complex." There seemed to be plenty of evidence around for that. ^{106,107} An expert was quoted in the *St Louis Post Dispatch* as saying that "the loss of Iran to an Islamic form of government was the greatest setback the United States had had in recent years." Islam, in

other words, was by definition inimical to United States' interests. ¹⁰⁸ *The Wall Street Journal* editorialised that "civilisation receding" came from "the decline of the Western powers that spread these [civilised] ideals to begin with," as if not to be Western was not to have civilised ideals. ¹⁰⁹ *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* announced "Militant Islam : The Historic Whirlwind", and in the *New Republic* an article was entitled "The Islam Explosion." Both essays purported to reveal that "wherever there has been murder, war, protracted conflict involving special horrors, Islam clearly played an important part." ¹¹⁰

Rodinson (1988) has compared the historic, polarised relationship between Christianity and Islam to the more recent worldwide competition of capitalism and communism :

"From a political and an ideological perspective, if one compares the attitudes of Christianity towards Islam with those of Western capitalism and communism today the parallels are clear. In each grouping, two systems are at odds : yet within each system, a single dominant ideology unites divisive and hostile factions." ¹¹¹

The attitudes of the West towards communism seem, at times, to have been transferred to the new threat, of Islam, whose most visible manifestation in the West is Islamic Fundamentalism or Islamism.

The effect of this polarisation is expressed in the prevailing tendency

of governments in the Muslim world and the West, the media, and many analysts, to conclude that Islamism is inherently a major global threat. ¹¹² According to many Western commentators, Islam is a triple threat: political, demographic, and socioreligious. For some, the nature of the Islamic threat is intensified by the linkage of the political and the demographic. Buchanan (1989) wrote that, while the West finds itself negotiating for hostages “with *Shi’ite* radicals who hate and detest us,” their Muslim brothers are populating Western countries. The Muslim threat is global in nature, as Muslims in Europe, the Soviet Union and America “proliferate and prosper.” ¹¹³

Other observers such as Charles Krauthammer, during the break-up of the Soviet Union, spoke of a global Islamic uprising, a vision of Muslims in the heartland and on the periphery of the Muslim world rising up in revolt :

“a new ‘arc of crisis’ ~ another great movement is going on as well, unnoticed but just as portentous : a global intifada.” ¹¹⁴

A Conflict of Outlook

At the heart of what Esposito (1990) describes as “Western misinterpretation, stereotyping and exaggerated fears of Islam” is a clash of viewpoints. Western fears and antipathy are fed, not only by media reports and recent events, but also by an outlook on life

which is often antithetical to that of Islamic activists. ¹¹⁵ Such fear and disdain coupled with European ethnocentrism has produced distorted images of Islam and Muslims, and dissuaded scholars from serious study of Islam's contributions to Western thought. ¹¹⁶

“It was not until the years between the two World Wars that a serious effort was made to understand the contribution of Islam to the development of Western thought, and the effect on Western society of the neighbourhood of Islam”. ¹¹⁷

Until then the image of Islam as both a potential threat to the Christian West and a retrogressive force, and thus a source of Muslim backwardness and decline, dominated the European view. The British spoke of the “white man's burden” and the French of their “mission to civilise.” The perception they gained was that if Christianity was inherently favourable to progress, then Islam must, by its nature, encourage cultural and developmental stagnation. ¹¹⁸

The post-enlightenment tendency to define religion as a system of personal belief rather than a way of life has hampered our ability to understand the nature of Islam. Such a definition makes an Islam that is “comprehensive in scope, with religion integral to politics and society, ‘abnormal’, in so far as it departs from an accepted ‘modern’ norm, and nonsensical. Thus Islam becomes incomprehensible, irrational, extremist, threatening” ¹¹⁹

The result of this, from a modern secular perspective, is that the

mixing of religion and politics is regarded as retrogressive and prone to fanaticism, and is perceived to be a potential threat. Thus, when secular-minded people, who may be government officials, political analysts, or the general public in the West, encounter Muslim individuals and groups who speak of Islam as a comprehensive way of life, they immediately label them as “fundamentalist” with the connotation that these are backward-looking zealots who generate obstacles to change.

Images of militant mullahs and the violent actions of some individuals and groups are then taken as representative, and, as proof of, the inherent danger of mixing religion and politics. ¹²⁰

IMPACT OF THE ORGANIC IMAGE ON TOURISM

Crick (1988) and Urry (1990a; 1990b) regard tourism as, among other things, an exercise in fantasy, whereby the purchase of a holiday becomes an attempt to realise “the dramas experienced in the imagination.” ¹²¹

If the fantasies which are evoked in the mind of the potential tourist to the Middle East are formed as a result of the organic image, which owes its origins to the legacy of Orientalism and colonialism then, although the colonial era no longer exists, the prejudices which are thought to have been part of its underlying ideology may still have an impact on the tourists’ and the locals’ perceptions of each

other. Moreover, Muslim countries associated with negative, colonially, inspired images and stereotypes, together with the later images of Islamic extremism, may find these organic images still lingering in the minds of potential tourists and contributing to the slow rate of growth in tourism in Islamic countries compared with non-Islamic destinations. Even in 1992, the year of greatest success for tourism in Egypt, the country's share of the international tourist market was only 0.80 per cent.

Table 4.2 World Arrivals, 1995

<u>Region</u>	<u>Arrivals('000)</u>	<u>% Change 1994/5</u>
Africa	18 800	1.0
Americas	111 844	4.4
E Asia & Pacific	83 674	8.6
Europe	337 240	2.3
Middle East	11 041	11.9
<u>S Asia</u>	<u>3 709</u>	<u>7.0</u>
World	567 000	3.8

Source : Preliminary 1995 Results, WTO

1994 saw a downturn of 4 per cent in arrivals to the Middle East region, but due to a tremendous effort to improve the safety image, arrivals improved in 1995 by 11.8 per cent. However, this only represented about 2 per cent of the world's total arrivals.(WTO,1995).

The influence of the organic image is particularly pertinent in the case of Egypt, which is visited by four out of every five tourists to the Middle East, and has an enormous tourism potential, possessing as it does a large part of the world's ancient cultural heritage, and an attractive Mediterranean climate throughout the year (Refer to Chapter 6).

The influence of the Orientalist/colonialist world view is likely to decrease over time, but this is hampered by the number of negative news reports and articles which appear in the media as a result of the Islamic resurgence in the region and which are undoubtedly responsible for the decline in tourist arrivals to Egypt.

TAKING CONTROL OF THE ORGANIC IMAGE

Although the media are blamed in large part for the recent negative contribution to the image of Egypt, they can also be one of the greatest allies in creating a positive and well-focused image of a tourism destination. "Good media coverage," states WTO press and communications consultant, Deborah Luhrman, "is probably the most cost-effective means of communication ever devised. The price of reaching a journalist with a useful press release or even bringing a reporter to your country to write an article is significantly less than advertising. The results are undeniably more credible and influential." ¹²²

Speaking in Cairo recently at a workshop for tourism officials entitled "Shining in the Media Spotlight," Cynthia Fontayne, president of The Fontayne Group, a tourism communications company in California, stated that successful communications are necessary, and communications programmes are ultimately designed to do one thing : change behaviour. She went on to say that doing that involves taking stock of current perceptions or opinions of a destination and changing them. This is best achieved by way of a plan which includes establishing goals, conducting or compiling research, identifying key audiences, defining messages, targeting media and developing creative, cost-effective ways to combine all these components to maximum effect.

Because of the negative effect that a crisis, such as that in Egypt, can have on a country's tourism arrivals, it is important to understand that the media will cover the story with or without the help of government bodies. It is therefore important to have a plan formulated in the event of a tourism crisis.

The chairman of Burston-Marsteller International, Robert Leaf, another contributor to the Cairo workshop, admits that, although very little can be done to control a violent happening, such as the killing of a tourist, a lot can be done to lessen the damage to the country in the short and the long-term.

Leaf states that "A major problem is the lack of proper planning and another is the internal politics which exist in all countries." When a

crisis arises and impacts on more than one ministry it is then possible to have all of these ~ Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Security ~ trying to control the flow of information. Government bodies, moreover, do not move as quickly as the press, and negative news tends to be more interesting to readers than positive news. Therefore it is important that a country which experiences a crisis should be prepared with a 'crisis plan' which can be set in motion at once using an inter-ministerial team. ¹²³

If there is a continuing story, an information centre should be set up where the media can have access to up-to-date news, otherwise a vacuum may be filled by inaccurate information, by exaggeration, or worse, by interviews with those who might have a reason to portray the ministry or the government in an unfavourable light.

As the media are more interested in news-gathering than ever before, it is wise to use this media spotlight to get favourable publicity which highlight positive facts about the country's tourism sector and reflect the long-term strategy.

Robert Leaf outlined a number of basic rules to follow in the event of a crisis, which can be referred to in the new WTO publication "Shining in the Media Spotlight : A Communications Handbook for Tourism Professionals."

CONCLUSION

Hunt (1975) stated that, "whether perceptions are right or wrong is not as important as what potential visitors believe", and in the first part of this chapter the view of Islam that emerges from Western art, literature, and thought tends to reflect the long-term negative effect of events in Christian-Muslim history.

An examination of the development of what has come to be known as Orientalism ~ a perspective based on the assumption that the people of the 'Orient' are not like those of the West ~ demonstrates how the image of Islam as both a potential threat to the Christian West and a retrogressive force, and thus a source of Muslim backwardness and decline, dominated the worldview of European colonialism.

An examination of the stereotyping of Islam and Muslims which is to be found in the media and entertainment may contribute to a greater understanding of the evolution of the prejudice to which the Islamic Middle East and its inhabitants have often been subject.

It has been noted by scholars, such as Hourani, that such prejudice is "still present in the consciousness of Western Europe, still feared and still, in general, misunderstood." 124 If this legacy of fear and distrust still has a substantial influence upon contemporary Western perceptions of the Islamic Middle East then, together with the recent acts of unrest and terrorism, it could also have a negative influence

on the overall image which is formed by potential tourists of the region as a holiday destination

Moreover, in view of the emphasis which potential tourists place upon their personal safety, the role of the organic image in the perception of the Muslim countries, and Egypt, in particular, with its huge investment in tourist infrastructure, must be taken seriously by planners or marketers, especially if an expensive induced image is being considered.

It is necessary, therefore, that tourism destination planners realise the important role that the media can play in influencing the organic image of their country or region, and hence the future success of the tourism industry.

Instead of fearing the media, it is important to learn how to deal with them appropriately in order to minimise a negative image of a destination, or the damaging effects of a crisis on tourist arrivals to that destination.

It is equally important to know how to take advantage of the potential the media has for positive publicity. This can be achieved by providing them with access to positive news about the destination, with the knowledge that it will reach the same markets as any negative reports and, hopefully, attract the tourists back. The aim of planners should be to persuade as well as inform the media. In the next chapter the role of the induced image is explored.

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Chapter 5.

Image and Destination Choice

The image of a destination area is dependent upon the perceptions held by potential visitors about it and may have significant influences upon the viability of that area as a tourist recreation region. Consequently, it is very important to understand not only the nature of these perceptions and how they can influence the decision-making process but, also, how to confront the perceptions with appropriate marketing.

THE CONCEPT OF IMAGE

One dictionary definition of image is a “mental conception, perception or idea” and is reminiscent of Murphy (1985) in his examination of tourist demand when he equates images to “mental maps of the world” and argues that they constitute perceptions.¹

Lawson and Baud-Bovey (1977) consider image to be “the expression of all objective knowledge, impressions, prejudice, imagination, and emotional thoughts that an individual or group have of a particular object or place”.² This led Stabler (1988) to conclude that “images therefore form part of a consumer’s decision-making process” in that they will influence the choices made by the consumer.³ According to Lancaster (1966) consumers (tourists) do

not choose goods, they choose attributes which the goods possess, and it is the consumer's perceptions of these attributes which are used to judge the efficacy of a particular choice. ⁴

Generally, potential travellers have a limited knowledge of the attributes of a destination which they have not visited before. Consequently, the image and attitude "dimensions" of a place as a travel destination are likely to be essential elements in the destination choice process, irrespective of whether they are true representations of the utilities of the place. Mayo (1979) makes a similar point when he states that.

"Whether or not an image is, in fact, a true representation of what any given region has to offer the tourist, what is important is the image that exists in the mind of the vacationer." ⁵

The concept of image is considered by Gunn (1972) to be the product of two levels of image evolution. He refers to the first as the "organic image" which derives from "a history of non-touristic directed communication", whose content may result in strong implications for tourism but is not particularly intended to influence the potential tourist. ⁶ As areas come into the news, they are brought to our attention, and thus we learn of many of their characteristics. In a report of tourism in Alaska, in which image development was discussed, it was thought that many of the impressions formed, and information gathered by tourists, had been

“quietly assimilated” over a number of years. ⁷

Many of these perceptions are thought to come from written materials such as reports of world events in newspapers and periodicals, and geography books, whether fictional or non-fictional. In the last chapter we explored the broad spectrum of perceptions which can influence the organic image held by a potential tourist to an Islamic destination. In this chapter we shall look at the “second level” of the destination image, which Gunn calls the “induced image.”

THE INDUCED IMAGE

The induced image derives from “a conscious effort of development, promotion, advertising, and publicity” on the part of the tourist industry.

Gartner (1989) sees Gunn’s notion of image as a continuum with organic and induced images anchoring each end. But the reason given by Gunn for drawing a distinction between the two levels of image of destination regions is to separate that area which is within the power of “designers and developers” from that which is not. ⁸

However, before the induced image can be fully exploited or an attempt can be made to alter it, the individual or body responsible for marketing the tourist product must first understand the potential

consumer's behaviour in the market.

EVALUATIVE IMAGE

According to van Raaij, tourist preferences regarding a choice of destination are dependent upon what is available on the market and on what he describes as "ideal" products or services. The latter may be a combination of the best attributes of previous holidays or it may be a nonexistent ideal consisting of such attributes as perfect service, climate and scenery. He concludes that tourist preferences are "strongly influenced by market offerings and are adapted from earlier experience." ⁹

Together these form what Goodall calls "the preferential image" ~ an idealised holiday image. This conditions an individual's expectations and so imposes an "evaluative image" against which a potential image is then compared. ¹⁰

When evaluating potential alternatives, Schiffman and Kanuk state that consumers tend to use two types of information : first, a 'list' of brands from which they plan to make their selection, known as 'the evoked set', and second, the criteria they will use to evaluate each brand.¹¹

The evoked set is, generally, a subset of all the brands (destinations) of which the consumer is aware ~ the 'awareness set' ~ which, in

itself, may constitute only a small portion of all the brand possibilities on the market.

Evaluative criteria are described by Hawkins et al as “the product features or attributes associated with either benefits desired by customers or costs they must incur.”¹²

The types of evaluative criteria a consumer uses in a decision can vary from tangibles, such as cost and performance features, to intangibles, such as style, taste, prestige, and brand image: Hallaq and Pettit (1983).¹³

The number of evaluative criteria used depends on the product, the consumer, and the situation. Fishbein (1975) maintained that the number of criteria used could be as high as nine depending on the product.¹⁴ Usually, the number used in low-involvement products will be smaller than the number used in high-involvement products. Characteristics of the individual, such as time pressure, also influence the number of evaluative criteria considered : Schellinch (1983).¹⁵

It can be difficult to determine which criteria a consumer is using in a particular choice of destination, because consumers may not put into words the criteria they have used. It also makes it difficult to determine the relative importance they attach to each evaluative criterion. But, according to Kotler (1991), they tend to give more attention to those attributes which have some bearing on their

needs.¹⁶

Examples of the product attributes that consumers might use as criteria in the evaluation of holiday destinations can be found in various studies, such as that by Var, Beck and Loftus (1977) on British Columbia; Crompton(1979) on Mexico, and Goodrich (1978a).^{17 18 19}

In the latter study, Goodrich used ten attributes in his evaluation of attractiveness of the tourist destinations of the Bahamas, Barbados, California, Florida, Hawaii, Jamaica, Mexico, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. He then ranked the relative importance of each attribute in the respondent's choice of one or more of the regions as tourist destinations :

1. Scenic beauty.
2. Favourable attitudes of the local inhabitants.
3. Accommodation suitability and availability.
4. Rest and relaxation opportunities.
5. Historical and cultural interest.
6. Food.
7. Water sports facilities.
8. Shopping facilities.
9. Entertainment.
10. Sports facilities.

The consumer's selection from alternative brands is based upon their relative performance, in terms of the relevant evaluation criteria

provided by appropriate information sources. The two main sources from which the consumer selects his chosen destination are the commercial environment and the social environment. These sources provide the “standards and specifications” by which consumers compare and evaluate alternative products (and brands):Engel et al (1986).²⁰

On receiving information, Mills and Morrison (1992) state that the tourist’s evaluative criteria will be influenced in the direction in which the information is perceived. To illustrate this point he gives the example of a tourist looking for the lowest-priced hotel. If he perceives information that suggests that if a little more were paid it would be better value, and if he perceives this to be true, then the evaluative criterion of “lowest cost” may change. ²¹

INFORMATION SOURCES

Having a knowledge of how people search for information can enable marketers to segment the market. They can then develop specific strategies, based on people’s search behaviour, which will appeal to and reach each segment.

In order that this should happen, there must be a sufficiently large number of people involved in a particular form of search behaviour. Therefore it is important to discover the extent to which different segments of the market use different types of information sources.

The nature of a holiday is such that it is perceived to be a high-risk purchase. Its inherent "service untouched and sight unseen : Jenkins (1989), and the fact that it involves both time and money, cause people to rely heavily on secondary information. ²²

This secondary information forms the evaluative criteria upon which a destination choice is based, and emanates from two main sources - the formal or commercial environment and the informal or social environment : Goodall (1989); Mill and Morrison (1985).

The commercial environment refers to information available from travel agents, brochures, travelogs, travel guide-books, and maps, together with information programmes on television, information seen on teletext services, videos shown in travel agencies, and printed information in magazines and newspapers : Burkhart and Medlik (1981).²³

In particular, the design, distribution, and use of printed items is one of the features that distinguishes the marketing of travel and tourism from other forms of consumer marketing.

"Whereas all producers of consumer products use advertising and PR, sales promotion, merchandising, and personal selling, few producers of physical goods use print to anything like the extent found in tourism" : Middleton (1988). ²⁴

Essentially, the commercial environment carries out an informing

function, that is, telling people what is available on the market. Of course, it should always be remembered that, being commercial in nature, the organisations responsible for these products have a vested interest in persuading the consumer to buy their product.

The social environment is provided by such sources as cultural background, media, recommendations from friends and family, peer groups and personal experiences with the product. ²⁵

Any information from either the social or commercial environment tends to be moulded into an image through our perceptual processes. Consequently, the resultant image is less a function of the promotional message of a destination than of our individual perception of that message.

PERCEPTION OF THE MESSAGE

Goodrich (1978) reminds us that it is well known in marketing, psychology and sociology that perceptions of an idea, product or service play an important role in an individual's choice ~ "the more favourable the perception, the greater the likelihood of choice from among similar alternatives".

If an individual's perception plays such a crucial part in his response to an idea, product or service, and hence his choice of destination, an examination of the perception process is relevant. It may also be

helpful in changing an individual's negative perception of a destination and may consequently increase the likelihood of that individual visiting the destination.

Schiffman and Kanuk define perception as "the process by which an individual selects, organises, and interprets stimuli into a meaningful and coherent picture of the world."

De Lozier (1976) states that perception is formed by a decoding process which, when begun, translates message stimuli into thought.

"The decoding process involves matching signals with the appropriate referents contained within a receiver's perceptual field." 26

As the message signals are in the form of physical stimuli, the receiver must possess some mechanical sensors capable of detecting different kinds of stimuli presented through different channels.

The managing director of Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Limited, states:

"The perception of messages by an individual is an active process, rather than a passive reception of stimuli. The reaction to the message can take an infinite variety of forms, according to how it fits in with the recipient's background, environment, interests, and preoccupations." 27

According to Hovland and Sears, when an individual's view of the world - or cognitive set - is studied, it must be noted that :

"The cognitive map of the individual is not then a photographic representation of the physical world, it is rather, a partial personal construction in which certain objects, selected out by the individual for a major role, are perceived in an individual manner. Every perceiver is, as it were, to some degree a nonrepresentational artist painting a picture of the world that expresses his individual view of reality." 28

The consumer's perception is thought by Schiffman and Kanuk to be the result of different kinds of inputs which interact to form the personal pictures that each individual experiences. They distinguish between two kinds of inputs - the physical stimuli from the external environment, and the input which emanates from the receiver himself in the form of certain predispositions such as expectations, needs, attitudes and learning based on previous experiences. It was added that "the combination of these two types of inputs produces for each individual a very unique perceptual picture of the world"

THE MESSAGE

The message has been defined as “the thought, idea, attitude, image or other information that the sender wishes to convey to the intended audience”.²⁹ It should not be confused with the term “text”, which, according to O’Sullivan et al (1982), usually refers to a message that has a physical existence of its own, independent of its sender or receiver, and thus composed of representational codes, such as books, letters or records. In contrast, a gesture or facial expression may send a message but does not produce a text : Aakers and Myers (1982).

In trying to encode the message, the sender must take into account the audience’s ability to understand its precise meaning, and so he must clearly recognise exactly what he is trying to say, and why he is saying it. In other words, what his objectives are and what he expects the message to accomplish.

The message is seen by Schramm (1979) as :

“merely a collection of signs intended to evoke certain culturally learned responses, it being understood that the responses will be powerfully affected by the cultural experience, the psychological make-up and the situation of any receiver.”³⁰

Schramm proposes four major prerequisites which a message must possess if it is to succeed in evoking its intended response :

1. The message must be designed and delivered in such a way that it gains the attention of the intended group.
2. The message must use signs which refer to experiences common to both sender (marketer) and receiver in order to establish a shared meaning.
3. The message must address itself to the needs of the receiver and suggest some means of meeting those needs.
4. The message must suggest a means of satisfying those needs which is sympathetic to the group in which the receiver finds himself at the time of his response.

As the impact of a message may be different depending on the vehicle used to deliver that message, the choice of an appropriate medium is very important.

THE MEDIUM

The effective use of each medium or channel, whether it is press, television or other mass media depends upon the nature of the information and the characteristics of the audience. ³¹

According to Klapper (1960) :

“Research indicates that oral presentation through the broadcast

media, produces greater retention of simple material than does print (visual presentation), especially among the less educated and less intelligent” 32

However, print is said to be superior to an oral presentation when complex factual material is to be retained.

In order to evaluate a medium, Baker (1979) suggests four factors which ought to be considered :

1. The character of the medium

This may be determined by the geographical coverage of the medium; the socio-economic composition of the audience; the demographic distribution of the audience; the physical characteristics of the medium, such as whether it is visual or oral; the frequency of publication, and the power to reach special groups.

2. The atmosphere of the medium

This is difficult to define as it is based upon a subjective evaluation of the medium content and presentation.

3. The coverage of the medium

This refers to the number of individuals exposed to the medium, and made aware of its contents.

4. The cost of the medium 33

The choice of media types is wide. Middleton (1988) noted fifteen types commonly used in travel and tourism :

TV ~ national or regional,

Radio ~ local

National press (daily/Sunday newspapers and magazine supplements),

Regional and local press,

Consumer magazines (quarterly, monthly, weeklies)

Cinema advertising,

Trade press and magazines (eg Travel News and Travel Trade Gazette),

Outdoor ~ transport sites (underground, airport, rail stations)

~ poster sites in general locations,

Tourist board brochures and guides (selling space to operators),

Commercial consumer guides (hotels, campsites),

Directories and yellow pages,

Exhibitions (display space on stands),

In-house magazines (eg airlines or hotel magazines, selling space to other operators),

Direct mail (using purchased address lists),

Door to door distribution (an alternative to direct mail).

Middleton believes that the nature of service products, especially those which are relatively expensive and infrequently bought, confers a "particular significance on printed communications as an integral part of the marketing process, which has no parallel in marketing physical goods."

McLuhan (1971) emphasised the importance associated with the media selection decision when he stated that "the medium is the message".³⁴

From this statement it can be concluded that consumers are exposed to the message and the medium as a unit - they do not differentiate between the two. It is therefore necessary to understand everything which has preceded and contributed to the development of the message itself. Hence the message should be selected first, in order to help identify the most appropriate medium to reach the target audience.³⁵

THE STIMULUS

The structure and nature of stimuli to which the individual responds, whether it is the product, the package, the advertisement, or the sales promotion, can have a major impact upon the individual's mental processes and on the final meaning assigned to the message :
Edell and Staelin (1983).³⁶

The physical characteristics of the stimulus tend to attract our attention independently of our individual characteristics (predisposition) and consist of the following :

Size and Intensity

A full-page advertisement is more likely to be noticed than a half-

page, because the size of the stimulus influences the probability of it attracting attention. It was also found by Soley, 1986 that the number of times that the same advertisement appears in the same issue of a magazine has an effect similar to advertisement size. Three insertions generate more than twice the impact of one while the intensity ~ for example loudness or brightness ~ operates similarly to size. ³⁷

Colour and movement

Both colour and movement serve to attract attention, with brightly coloured and moving items being more noticeable. A study on the impact of colour in newspaper advertising concluded that median sales gains (on reduced priced items) of approximately forty-one per cent may be generated by the addition of one colour to black and white in retail newspaper advertising. ^{37b} However, if all the advertisements in a magazine were in colour, then a black and white advertisement may draw substantial attention.

Position

Position refers to the placement of an object in a person's visual field. Those placed near the centre of the visual field are more likely to be noticed than those near the edge of the field. Also, advertisements on the right-hand side of a page receive more attention than those on the left.

Isolation

Isolation is the separation of a stimulus object from other objects. The use of white space whereby a brief message may be placed in the centre of an otherwise blank or white advertisement.

Format

Format refers to the manner in which the message is presented. In general, simple, straightforward presentations receive more attention than complex ones. Elements in the message that increase the effort required to process the message tend to decrease attention. Advertisements that lack a clear visual point of reference or have inappropriate movement - too fast, too slow, or 'jumpy' - increase the processing effort and decrease attention.

Compressed messages

The speeding up of a message was thought to increase attention, hence the name. Thirty second commercials were reduced to twenty four seconds via a device that does not produce sound distortions. These commercials were found to be more interesting and to generate at least the same level of product recall as standard commercials.

Information quantity

Information quantity relates more to the total stimulus field than to any particular item. Consumers have varied, though limited

capacities to process information. If consumers are confronted with so much information that they cannot or will not attend to all of it, then they become frustrated and either postpone or give up making a decision, make a random choice, or utilise a 'suboptimal' portion of the total information available : Hawkins et al (1992)

PERCEPTUAL SELECTION

Perception of the message is of course selective, as consumers filter out information which is of no interest to them.

Messages which consumers find pleasant or are sympathetic towards, are sought out, whereas those which are painful or threatening are avoided. Consumers will therefore selectively expose themselves to advertisements which reassure them of the wisdom of their purchase decision. The kind of information, the form of the message, and the type of medium, are also of interest in varying degrees to different consumers and are subject to the same discrimination. Consequently, only a portion of information, whether from the social or commercial environment, comes through this screen, because much adds nothing to their knowledge, and although some is informative, it may well conflict with the consumer's knowledge or beliefs.

An individual's perception of information can be influenced by a number of characteristics such as his needs, moods, attitudes,

personality traits and values.

Both his physiological and psychological needs influence how he perceives stimuli. In general there is a heightened awareness of stimuli that are relevant to one's needs and interests and a decreased awareness of stimuli that are irrelevant to those needs, as people tend to perceive things they need or want. ³⁸

Krech et al (1962) found that each person has a unique image of the world because his image is the product of the following determinants ~ his physical environment; his physiological structure; his wants and goals; and his past experiences. ⁴⁰

The consumer's selection of stimuli is said by Schiffman and Kanuk to be based on the interaction of expectations and motives with the stimulus itself. Either factor can increase or decrease the likelihood of the stimulus being perceived.

Expectations are usually the product of an individual's familiarity, previous experience, or preconditioned set. In a marketing context, products and product attributes tend to be perceived according to these expectations. A potential tourist who has been told that the local inhabitants of a particular destination are unfriendly, will be more likely to perceive them as such. ⁴¹

SELF-IMAGE

Each individual has a perceived image of himself as a certain kind of person, with certain personality traits, habits, possessions, relationships and ways of behaving. ⁴³

Consumers have a tendency to select things that have attributes consistent with their perceived image or 'self-image'.

This self-image is unique, a product of that person's background and experience, and is developed through interactions with other people.

Schiffman and Kanuk state that products and brands have symbolic value for individuals, who evaluate them on the basis of how consistent they are with their personal picture of themselves. Three different self-image constructs have been identified :

The ideal self-concept, which is how consumers would like to see themselves.

The actual self-concept, which is how they do in fact see themselves.

The expected self-concept, which is how they expect to see themselves at some specified future time.

It was noted that as self-concept changes from actual self-image to

some future or expected self-image, product and brand preference also change. ⁴⁴

According to Sirgy (1982a,1982b,1985), a consumer's "value-laden self-image belief" interacts with a corresponding "value-laden product-image perception", in terms of the typical user image in a product purchase. ⁴⁵

The results of such an interaction were found by Sirgy to occur in the form of four congruity conditions :

1. A "positive self-image congruity" occurs when a product image matches up to one's actual self-image as well as to one's ideal self-image. By identifying with a particular product (or buying it) the consumer would "reach an emotional state that enhances his self-esteem motive and reinforces his self-consistency motive". The individual whose ideal is to be a person of education and culture and that, in fact, is how he sees himself, chooses a holiday which enables him to pursue these interests, such as the study of the art and antiquities of the ancient world.

2. A "positive self-image incongruity" occurs when there is a high discrepancy between one's actual self-image and the product image, but a low discrepancy between one's ideal self-image and the product . Here the individual may be motivated to purchase the product because it would enhance

his self-esteem motive, but his satisfaction level would be moderate because his self-esteem motive would be in conflict with his self-consistency motive. An example of this might be a tourist who visits an up-market resort where he finds himself out of his depth socially.

3. A “negative self-image incongruity”, being the opposite of the second, exists when there is a low discrepancy between one’s actual self-image and the product image, but a high discrepancy between the product image and one’s ideal self-image.

In this situation, a moderate level of satisfaction would result because the individual’s self-consistency motive would conflict with his self-esteem motive. Such an individual might feel that he fitted into the intellectually undemanding life aboard a cruise liner in the Caribbean, but his satisfaction would be lessened if his ideal image of himself was as a man of learning and culture.

4. A “negative self-image congruity” occurs when a high discrepancy exists between one’s actual self-image and the product image, as well as a high discrepancy between one’s ideal self-image and the product image.

This situation would have the lowest level of satisfaction because the holiday would maintain neither the tourist’s self-esteem nor his self-consistency motive. The tourists here may be an elderly couple who have taken a holiday at a Club Mediterranee hotel which specialises in activity holidays, with discotheques at night. This holiday would neither reflect

their self-image nor their ideal image of themselves.

PERCEPTUAL DISTORTIONS

Individuals are subject to a number of influences that may distort their perceptions, especially when confronted with information from the commercial environment. Although their information-receiving process may control the amount of information taken in, the quality of information received can be distorted by the way in which it is received. ⁴⁶ And although information from both the commercial and social environments can be distorted, information received from personal sources is less subject to perceptual bias. This is because information from the social environment is said by Mill and Morrison to be regarded more favourably by the individual receiving the information.

However, they go on to remind us that information which emanates from friends and relatives has already been distorted to meet their own value-systems. Hence a recommendation given by the friend or relative concerning a holiday destination has first to have met his particular criteria of what determines a worthwhile product. This, of course, will depend upon whether or not the product was perceived to satisfy the friend or relative's otherwise unmet needs.

In a situation where information is actively sought there is also liable to be less distortion. When the tourist is unsure of which

vacation will result in a more satisfying experience, and therefore preference for a particular destination is low, there will, consequently, be less bias in the way in which the information is perceived. Depending upon the extent to which the tourist is influenced by the social group of which he is a part, his motives will also be influenced by information from his social environment. In addition, there will be greater reliance upon the social environment for information if the tourist is unsure of alternatives, particularly where experience is lacking. This will also be the case if the purchase is an important one. ⁴⁸

PERCEIVED RISK

Because of the consequences of making a decision or decisions in his choice of destination, a potential tourist is often uncertain, because in making a purchase decision he faces a certain degree of risk. Perceived risk is defined by Schiffman and Kanuk as "the uncertainty that consumers face when they cannot foresee the consequences of their purchase decisions." The important factors here are uncertainty and consequences.

The choice of product is therefore affected by the degree of risk that consumers perceive and their individual tolerance of risk taking. The important point to be emphasised here is that consumers are only influenced by the risk that they perceive, irrespective of whether or not such risk actually exists.

Risk which is not perceived, however real or dangerous, will not influence consumer behaviour.

In making decisions concerning proposed products (destinations), consumers (tourists) may perceive risk because they have little or no experience of the product or product category (for instance long-haul destinations) which they are considering. They may never have been to the destination before; they may never have been on a long-haul holiday before; the destination may be a 'new' one, and therefore little is known about it as a tourist destination; or they may have had an unsatisfactory experience with other destinations in the same region (or offering a similar product), and are concerned about making a similar mistake. Finally, they may feel that they have a limited knowledge on which to base a decision, or they may lack confidence in their ability to make the right decision. ⁴⁹

There are a number of major types of risk which are perceived by the customer and can be adapted to the tourist destination decision :

1. Functional risk - the risk that the destination facilities will not be adequate, particularly for a disabled tourist.
2. Physical risk - the risk involved in travelling to a 'high risk' region such as the Middle East, with the threats to personal safety which this may involve, such as the threat of civil unrest, terrorism, or illness.

3. Financial risk - the risk that the product will not be worth the amount of money spent on it, particularly if the destination is far away.

4. Social risk - the risk that a poor product choice may lead to embarrassment. A tourist may find himself in a social environment in which he feels completely out of place, for example, an elderly couple in a hotel frequented by very young people who enjoy active pursuits.

5. Psychological risk - the risk that a poor choice of holiday destination will dent the ego of the tourist if it turns out to be less prestigious than he had perceived it to be.

6. Time risk - the risk that time spent both on product search and on travelling to the destination will not be worthwhile, and the destination will turn out to be disappointing.

Insofar as it is practical, it is important that the marketer of a destination, especially of more exotic locations such as Egypt, ensure that the maximum information is made available to potential tourists, and if possible, that travel agents understand the nature of the holidays they are selling and can, therefore, advise the consumer on the basis of their needs.

It may be possible to devise a questionnaire for the potential tourist, which would help to ascertain just what they hope to gain from a

holiday, thus reducing the risk of making a mistake in their choice of holiday destination, and also making it easier for the travel agent to give the appropriate advice.

PRODUCT POSITIONING

A consumer's perception of a product (destination) can be used as a guide to the position which that product holds in the mind of the consumer.

At its inception as a new marketing concept, 'positioning' was defined by the advertising executives Reis and Trout (1972) as "what you do to the mind of the prospect."⁵⁰ Other authors elaborated on this original definition; Lewis and Chambers saw positioning as "the consumer's mental perception of a product, which may or may not differ from the actual characteristics of a product or brand."⁵¹

Most experts, according to Mills and Morrison, agree that the purpose of positioning is "to create a perception or image ~ to establish a position in the targeted customer's mind." This shows a clear linkage to the psychological dimensions of perception discussed earlier.

Marketers try to position their products so that they are perceived by the consumer to fit a distinctive niche in the market, that is, a

niche or position occupied by no other product. In order to achieve this they try to differentiate their products by telling consumers that their products possess attributes that will fulfil their needs better than competing brands (or destinations).

Schiffman and Kanuk suggest that "a product's ultimate success is probably due more to its positioning in the mind of the consumer than to its actual characteristics."

In order to use positioning successfully, a marketer must establish whether or not a position exists in the potential visitor's mind, and if it does, then what that position is. This involves having an idea of the nature of the organic image already held by the potential tourist. To discover the true position requires detailed consumer research, because the flow of information to tourists may not be perfect and it would be an error to assume that they have an accurate image or perception of the destination.

Middleton (1988) believes that national tourist organisations (NTOs) have a vital function to perform for their destinations in this area by choosing the

"unique, single-minded communication propositions (messages and symbols) which may serve to identify and position their countries in the minds of prospective visitors, and differentiate them from all others."

It is only after extensive research that it will be possible to determine whether the visitor's perception, or image, needs to be established, changed or reinforced. In a study by Kale and Weir (1986) of India as a travel destination, two significant misperceptions were highlighted - not many people in India speak English, and it has few first-class hotels. ⁵²

Mills and Morrison suggest two forms of positioning which could be used. The first is objective positioning, whereby :

“the destination or organisation attempts to tailor-make its services and products to match the needs and wants of a selected target market or markets specifically.”

An example would be a destination which decides to pursue the scuba-diving market. It would then need to add dive shops, dive boats, dive maps, dive instructors and any other services required by this specialised target market. After altering the attributes to suit the target market, these have to be communicated to it.

The second is subjective positioning, and is :

“an attempt to form, reinforce, or change the potential visitor's image without altering the physical characteristics of the services and products offered by the tourism destination or organisation.” ⁵³

Subjective positioning is often used when research shows that there are misperceptions about a destination, perhaps it has an unjustified reputation concerning violence on the streets, or when a negative image has developed through adverse publicity, such as the newspaper reports of acts of violence against tourists in Egypt, or for other reasons.

Positioning strategy conveys the concept, or meaning of the product, and how it can fulfil consumer needs, rather than just describing the physical properties of the product. If different consumer meanings can be assigned to the same product, it can be positioned differently for different audiences. A holiday in Egypt, for example, can be positioned to attract the high-spending tourist by emphasising the luxury facilities available in 5-star hotels or floating hotels, while the same product may be advertised as an inexpensive holiday when using charter flights and lower priced hotels.

A product can also be repositioned for the same audience without being physically changed, by creating product distinctiveness, perhaps by highlighting the close proximity of Egypt's beach attractions compared with an alternative product further afield, such as in the Caribbean, in order to attract the winter sunseekers.

Schiffman and Kanuk assert that successful consumer positioning should build on consumer reality and familiarity founded on prior knowledge and experience; and that this should be achieved in a simple and familiar way.

IMAGE AND THE BROCHURE

TRAVEL-TRADE INTERMEDIARIES

Organisations that operate between the providers of tourism services and travellers can have a strong influence on the latter's decisions to purchase. A major role of these intermediaries is the 'packaging' of services and products for which, since the 1960s, there has been an increasing demand. This demand has been met by tour operators who put together low-cost package holidays, or tours, comprising components such as airline seats, hotel rooms, meals, transfers, sightseeing, and car rentals. Their aim is to create an attractive product using those destinations that will have maximum appeal for the potential consumer and will also yield a profit for the tour operator.

Direct selling is an increasingly popular option for the air package tour market, especially for specialist tour operators faced with a low demand for their product. From the busy consumer's point of view, it can be a convenient option. It may also be more convenient for the consumer who knows exactly what he wants such as the repeat customer. Nonetheless, retail travel agents provide the majority of package tours, or their individual components and, according to Critchley (1992), tour operators have yet to find a more convenient point of distribution.

The main role of the retail travel agent is to provide a convenient location for the purchase of the travel products, and at these locations they act as booking agents as well as a source of information and advice on travel services. A consumer would probably wish to deal with a travel agent for the choice that can be provided; for their knowledge and experience of the variety of travel products on the market; and because they can offer unbiased professional assistance in selecting from available alternatives.

This lack of bias on the part of the travel agent can be explained by the fact that tour operators cannot offer incentives to travel retail staff individually, such as a monetary reward for selling the company holiday, so there is little or no incentive for them to promote specific destinations or have a particular brand loyalty to any one product or company. However, travel staff can be rewarded with educational trips which could act as a spur to selling that product. 53b

There has been a large increase in the number travel agency outlets in the UK ~ from 4398 in the year 1980 to over 7000 by the year 1994~ with a resulting increase in competition between the shops.

There has also been an increase in vertical integration by tour operators such as Thomas Cook and Lunn Poly, with the latter moving towards a target of 700 shops. This gives these groups greater sales potential through total product control provided by the power of the chain. They can provide their staff with incentives in

order to push their own products. With earnings in the travel industry being notoriously low, potential tourists may not be able to rely on the formerly unbiased advice of those staff wanting to push up their earnings.

Although the role played by travel agents is significant, the initial encounter with a particular destination is often made through the pictures and language of the travel brochure. Largely produced by the tour operator it has a powerful role to play in influencing the final choice of the potential tourist.

As the number of brochure racking spaces in a travel agency is limited, the policy of 'product discrimination' employed by the major multiples for many years has been to display the brochures of the most reliable, reputable suppliers whose products sell well and who provides effective sales support. However, recently, some agents complained of having been refused brochure supplies on the basis of the positive business relationship they enjoyed with a competitor. Once again this limits the choice available to the potential tourist and reduces the chance of obtaining unbiased advice.

THE BROCHURE AS PRODUCT

As most holidays are booked away from the "place of production", brochures perform a product substitute role. The marketing importance of such a role is impossible to over-emphasise : the

brochure is the product at the point of purchase, especially for first-time buyers. It establishes expectations of quality, value for money, product image and status.

Brochures, such as those provided by tour operators, are said by Middleton (op cit) to be designed to stimulate customers and motivate them to buy.

“They identify needs, demonstrate in pictures and words the image and positioning of products and organisations, and carry the key messages.”

In this role they have a similar function to advertising.

FORMATION OF PRODUCT IMAGES

In a study of travel brochures among British tourists on out-going holidays, Manfield (1987) found that brochures had become a “major information source”, to some extent replacing the travel agent, with just over fifty per cent of tourists interviewed basing their choice of destination solely on the information provided in travel brochures. ⁵⁴

Dilley (1986) recognises the importance of the tourist brochure as a means of shaping people’s perceptions :

“there seems little reason to doubt that for many people, tourist

brochures...play a major role in forming their images.”

He emphasises the fact that it is those brochures obtained from travel agencies or from official government tourist bureaux, rather than similar brochures only seen on arrival, which have most influence on image formation. ⁵⁵

The importance of the brochure in image formation was asserted by Bryant (1992) in a conference paper concerning the power of images. In it, she stated that because the tourist product is an intangible product, promotional literature, and in particular the holiday destination brochure, is tourism's most important marketing device.⁵⁶

Gilbert and Houghton (1991) found that consumer use of brochures is dependent upon several factors which may influence the comprehension of the stimuli which the potential consumer receives. These were thought to be : the service provided by the travel consultant, which varies according to the size of the agency and how busy the travel staff are; the physical display of brochures in the travel agency ; and the way in which information is transmitted by the brochure front cover. ⁵⁷

In the latter, information is extracted by consumer 'filtering' of the information provided on the front cover of travel brochures based on the visual perceptions created by different designs.

On investigating brochure front covers, Gilbert and Houghton grouped them into various categories as a means of distinguishing target groups. Their choice of groupings was as follows :

Family market

This category consisted of portrayals of stereotypical images of family groups or children, with the use of props such as beach balls being used to communicate a sense of family. Generally inexpensive holidays were associated with the budgeting which many families find necessary in order to afford a holiday.

Youth Market

Here, cover-images created associations with youth by the use of images such as "a young man and woman set in a free form layout which was associated with young, modern magazines. This youthful image was reinforced by fresh and vibrant colours," and a lower-case typeface which was perceived as being young. Some brochures, aimed at families, were perceived as being for the youth market as they depicted activities such as wind-surfing which tended to be associated with younger non-family groups. Another finding was that an unconventional or informal front cover was also associated with youthfulness rather than families.

Luxury Market

“Simple design set against a wide, plain, black border,” and “colourful but not gaudy”, were two of the descriptions associated with a more expensive, luxury product. A brand name entitled “Gold,” was thought to provide “contextual semiotic clues” as to the products position, and, in addition, composite images of “a liner, swimming pool, a couple being attentively served and ‘exotic’ drinks,” reinforced the overall message. Attention to minute details was apparent among research respondents, who associated these with a more ‘upmarket’ holiday. In addition, the brand name was both muted in colour and bore a crown design, which together suggested that the product was associated with luxury. A third example which transmitted a ‘luxury’ message featured a “more formal layout with a restrained use of colour.” Also the use of an uncluttered cover depicting peaceful, uncrowded destinations reinforced the overall image. Finally the glossy paper and the thinness of the brochure influenced respondents’ acceptance of a luxury market position for the brochure.

Less Expensive Market

Brochures in this category were recognised by promotional messages which offered price guarantees or children’s discounts, as well as their brochure design, which tended to make use of bright, primary colours, models wearing ordinary clothes, family images, crowds and crowded locations. It was also thought that unsophisticated-looking locations were categorised as less

expensive because they were associated with a market leader such as Thomson. It was thought that such a name would have the ability to offer cheaper holidays. The association of cheapness with a down-market image was thought, in one example, to have been created by the interpretation of the brochure's line drawing which was seen as artificial and crude, and associated with cheap newspapers and magazines. The overall image was emphasised by the use of strong colours and promotional flashes.

Relaxation and Activity

This category was thought to have been selected mainly due to the 'mood' generated by either the colours or the scene. Brochures tended to represent uncrowded scenes, such as couples sitting alone drinking at dusk.

The researchers found that consumers tend to filter information provided on the brochure front cover in relation to the brand name, the graphic design format, the clarity of the communication, and the quality of the paper. ⁵⁸

Middleton emphasises the importance of matching chosen images to selected target audiences and in addition to the above by the choice of colours, density of copy, and the style and density of photography. He gives the examples of up-market target groups responding better to heavier quality paper, lower density per page, pastel colours, and thematic photographs, while down-market target

groups are more influenced by bold colours and direct and straightforward copy, and are not put off by greater density per page.

A comparison between the merits of three different holiday brochure formats was made by McCullough (1977). These included :

- (1) largely written, with only one photograph;
- (2) largely photographic, coloured; and
- (3) largely photographic, black and white.

The writing in format (1) reproduced as far as possible the information otherwise conveyed in the photographs of formats (2) and (3).

Results showed that the least differentiation was made between black and white photographic material, and the most was made between written descriptions. Although the superiority of the written descriptions did not apply overall, since it was clear that photographs were able to convey certain categories of information to users, such as those concerning hotel facilities for children, nonetheless, there was a dislike of the monotone quality of the largely black and white photographic material, while the importance of the exact composition of the photographs, especially of the hotel, was highlighted. ⁵⁹

BROCHURE THEMES

Brochures include two mediums for the purposes of communication : the photographic image and the printed word or text.

Dilley (1986) reminds us of the cliché that a picture is worth a thousand words, and on reviewing the content of twenty-one national tourist brochures he found that more than half of them had given over seventy-five per cent of their space to illustrations, with only one having more text than space.

The information conveyed by each illustration took the form of a message which extolled some attraction or aspect of a particular destination to the tourist. Over one hundred individual messages could be identified, and these he grouped into four major categories on the basis of their underlying themes.

Landscape Themes

These, which amounted to just under one third of the total, stressed the scenic attractiveness of the countryside, with coastal and mountain scenes predominating. Some included flora and fauna which the tourist might hope to see.

Cultural Themes

This was the largest category, with over one third of the total related to local history, art and architecture, remains of earlier

civilisations, old buildings, castles, museums and art galleries. This category also included illustrations of local economic life, such as colourful fishing boats, local crafts, speciality agriculture, or industrial products. Many brochures included local characters and a variety of local entertainment. The emphasis tended to be on human cultural activity past and present.

Recreational Themes

Recreation as a theme represented more than one in six of the total illustrations. These pictures showed the reader what an attractive and satisfying setting was available to him for the enjoyment of his favourite recreation, whether that was something energetic or just sunbathing. A few pictures encouraged participation as a spectator in sports such as cricket or bull-fighting.

Service Themes

Services, the final category, also represented one in six of the total illustrations, and covered two kinds of picture. The first attracts tourists to unique or very high quality services, such as banquets in mediaeval castles, or colourful open markets. The second reassures the reader that the level of comfort is high, that "foreign does not necessarily mean primitive," and that the cost will not be exorbitant.

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BROCHURE IMAGERY

The images featured in package holiday advertisements are said by

Uzzell (1984) to be functioning on at least three levels. The most obvious level is the one at which the holiday brochure tries to sell 'sun, sand, sea and sex'. But these overt images, with which everyone is familiar, should not be underestimated, as they include an important semiotic function.

The second function is provided for by the first, in that the images which form a surface structure produce an attractive setting in which to market "those attributes which may contribute to any identity which the tourist may wish to adopt." It has been suggested that advertisers ought to focus on those qualities which are described as "probably more desirable, less imageable, but no less tangible commodities", as well as the qualities of the location.

"The potential tourist on picking up a holiday brochure is confronted with the means to create his own fantasies and meanings, and by so doing he creates himself." 61

The tools of the "creation" are the association of people, objects, and ideas in advertisements which, when used in conjunction with a variety of meaning systems, cause the individual to participate in an ideology, and according to Uzzell, he 'becomes' the product like any other.

Uzzell points out the unique position held by the photographic image, as it appears ~ but for scale ~ to reproduce reality exactly. It thus gives the impression of being a message without a code, which

gives people the feeling that they are free to interpret the photographic image as they see fit.

DECEPTION IN DESTINATION IMAGE

The image of a destination can be affected by the degree of deception which might exist in its promotion and advertising. The problems associated with the definition and measurement of such deception are also closely associated with the perception process.

Deceptiveness has been defined by social critics as any false and misleading statement, but also as any false impression conveyed, whether intentional or unintentional. If deceptiveness in advertising is capable of conveying a false impression, then the image formed by a potential tourist concerning a possible holiday destination may also be false, or at least distorted.

Greyser (1972) stated that :

“While we know that the public has a high tolerance of puffery in advertising, the atmosphere in recent years has become one of increasing public scepticism with regard to whether advertisements generally present a true picture of the products advertised.”⁶²

After careful investigation of the extent of truthfulness in the

content of advertising, Greyser introduced four subcategories of truth :

1. Literal truth, where claim substantiation is the issue.
2. True impression, which deals with the extent to which the conclusions drawn from advertising are true.
3. Discernible exaggeration, which involves the degree of exaggeration in an advertisement's claim.
4. False impression, which questions whether the claim is deliberately misleading or not, that is, whether or not it is intended to create a false impression.

Aakers and Myers saw deception as a perceptual process when found in advertising :

“Deception exists when an advertisement is introduced into the perceptual process of some audiences, and the output of that perceptual process (1) differs from the reality of the situation, and (2) affects buyer behaviour to the detriment of the consumer.” 63

The implications of this kind of deception will be dealt with in the next section in the context of Third World tourism destinations, where potential tourists are confronted with images which imply

standards or circumstances which are unrealistic.

THIRD WORLD DESTINATION IMAGES

Britton (1979) draws attention to the manipulation of Third World tourism marketing where promotional expenditure is "substantial"; expenditures for design space or broadcasting time are obviously seldom made within the destination; and American advertising and public relations firms are the "image engineering contractors".⁶⁴

Consumer travel media or tourism advertisements portray destinations as they might manufactured goods and services ~ in a highly favourable and glossy manner, but the promotion of a society, as Britton reminds us, should not be tackled in the same way, even if travel has become highly commoditised.

A number of writers including Adams (1984), Weightman (1987), Garcia (1988), and Selwyn (1993) have noted how tourist brochures can distort destination images. Adams, on considering images of local culture, concludes that the ethnic stereotype in some tourist literature is often based on a reworking of existing, indigenous ethnic markers, although at times these may be permuted almost beyond recognition.⁶⁵

Britton has highlighted several areas where a disparity exists between the advertised image and reality. In the first theme, urban

and industrial images are carefully avoided in order to maintain "the pastoral myth", and it is seldom, if ever, that tall hotels or crowded beaches are depicted in promotional literature or advertisements. The promise of paradise tends to ignore the traffic jams, prostitutes and other baggage that arrive with mass tourism. This can be seen in brochures depicting Cairo, where the Pyramids are perennially photographed in a way which suggests their location is far into the desert and hence far from the city. In reality the city lies at their feet and has to be restrained from encroaching upon them.

The next theme suggests that foreignness is minimised in order to offset the perceived image of a place as too exotic or perhaps uncomfortable, and to allay fears about service. In order to remedy the perception of foreignness, assurances are given to the potential tourist that of course English is spoken, that the food is cooked by Europeans, and that the hotel likewise is run by them.

The minimisation of foreignness also precludes the illustration of local residents. If they are included in an advertisement it is often in a stereotyped role. Egyptians, for example, when they are featured, are usually from the poorest group and dressed in peasant costume. These, according to Uzzell, stimulate associations of ideas and in this case signify 'authenticity'. Advertisers, however, often prefer images of the sophisticated and 'Western', such as swimming pools, casinos, or cocktails.

In a recent report of the Institute of Geographers, the annual conference was told by Holcolme (1993) that holiday brochures for the Caribbean usually use images of young, slim, white couples and that :

“Local people are mainly smiling servants or sexual lures. The history of plantations and slavery is silenced in favour of nostalgic romance.”⁶⁶

A related theme implies that destinations ought to be “appropriated for tourists’ enjoyment,” with a number of adverts suggesting that these locations are vast “play-pens” and the locals but funmakers. References to local people, when unavoidable, are usually romanticised along with their poverty and lifestyle.⁶⁷

In many parts of Egypt poverty is endemic and tourist brochures which depict a view of the country and the people as merely window dressing are encouraging potential tourists to behave without regard to local sensibilities.

Such descriptions may be acceptable when trying to attract people to a tourist enclave, such as in Sinai in Egypt, where very few local people live and where an overtly hedonistic and Western style of holidaying may be enjoyed without the likelihood of giving offence. However, such descriptions are to be discouraged from being applied to Third World countries in general.

Another theme refers to promotional images couched in sexual innuendo, suggesting the possibility of a sexual liaison with the locals. It is noted that sexual suggestion is a staple of much advertising, such as the inferences to be found in some advertising pertaining to The Seychelles (Wilson 1994). In the case of an Islamic destination like Egypt such innuendo would be counter-productive, as it would be largely unacceptable to the local population, who value their religion and its strictures and would frown upon the promotion of 'unlawful' sexual relations. ⁶⁸

Lastly, disregard for any 'local sense of place' is visible in much marketing, where one exotic destination boasts the characteristics of another, although the other may be 1000 miles away.

Several reasons have been put forward for the unreality and distortion found in many of the advertised images of the Third World which the tourist industry tends to portray. The first is that they are used as a way of overcompensating for the overt poverty which is widespread. Second, they are used in order to deal with growing competition between destinations which appear to offer similar products, and therefore are thought to be readily substitutable. Third, the dominant themes used in Third World promotional images are often combined to form a general image which suggests that poor countries are not 'real' places. Instead, the exotic nature of these destinations is emphasised by the use of such words as 'sensuous', 'untouched', 'unspoiled' and, in particular, 'paradise'. Lowenthal summed up these idealised images as "the

distorting lens of the picturesque".⁶⁹

THE IMPACT OF DECEPTIVE DESTINATION IMAGES

Proponents of the argument which maintains that it is impossible to include everything about a destination in one advertisement often justify the selling of Third World destinations in terms of images of paradise. Promoting this kind of imagery, however, can negatively affect both the indigenous population and the transient tourists.

Britton highlights the perpetuation of distorted travel industry images as being originally advanced by the colonialists, whose cultural stereotypes (See last chapter) were specifically generated so that particular cultures could be observed and identified by others, in this case the tourists.

Picard (1991) draws our attention to the tourism industry's manipulation of the myths and stereotypes of Balinese history in order to package the country as a tourist destination. ⁶⁹ Such myths and stereotypes often reinforce the adverse effects of the colonial experience on the personality and outlook of Third World peoples and contribute to :^{70,71}

"The expectation that colonised people conform to dictated roles, contempt for nearly everything indigenous, and a belief that real places exist only in the 'civilised' world".

By its “contempt for things local, omission of the host milieu, and the distortion of sense of place”, travel information can extend the feeling of place inferiority and can also militate against the emergence of national identity.⁷² The images chosen to “sell” a destination must inevitably affect how tourists are presented with and behave in a destination. ⁷³

Holcomb feels that tourists in the Caribbean treat the islands as if they are still colonies and enjoy the idea of going back to the “happy colonial days” without any sense of remorse :

“They come for sun, sand, sea and sex and see the indigenous people as servile, there to cater to every whim.”

The difficulty is how to separate those images that conjure up negative stereotypes of the past from more positive ones that present the local population as they are today. ⁷⁴

As has been shown, the tourist’s behaviour and opinions are formed on the basis of what he reads, “knows” or imagines, rather than on the reality of what really exists. Consequently many tourists look for that which, for them, represents the nature of the indigenous people of a destination, such as :

“.....the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes....” (Urry, 1990b) ⁷⁵

Linton (1976) in response to the prevailing image of the Caribbean, called for a more realistic “status-enhancing” image which would make significant reference to the indigenous culture, activities, and true social history of the region. ⁷⁶

Regarding the latter, Malta faces the dilemma of having been endowed with a substantial heritage of direct relevance to its major foreign tourism market, but one based principally upon its past colonial roles, whether under British, French, or Knights Hospitaller rule.⁷⁷

Egypt too suffers from this problem of identity, for it is visited largely on the basis of its Pharaonic image. However, the indigenous Muslims, who make up ninety per cent of the population, have an Islamic heritage of which they are proud. Like the Maltese, the difficulty here is in the use of more ancient history to reinforce the later history which is more acceptable to the people themselves ~ to establish, for the Maltese, a distinctly national post-independence identity, and for the Egyptians an Islamic identity.

A heritage image acceptable for local consumption stresses linguistic and historic distinctiveness, but this may be irrelevant to the visitor, and may in fact conflict with the perceptions which he had already formed about the destination.

The possibility of a heritage product which would have local Egyptian appeal is discussed in the next chapter.

BROCHURES WHICH INCLUDE EGYPT AS A DESTINATION

An examination was made of ten representative 1995/96 travel brochures which include package holidays to Egyptian destinations.

These are listed below :

- a) Bales Worldwide 1996
- b) Bales Egypt 1995/96 (October 95-Dec 96)
- c) Hayes and Jarvis Holidays Worldwide 1995/6
- d) Kuoni Worldwide 1996
- e) Somak Holidays (November 1995 -December 1996)
- f) Thomas Cook Holidays : Egypt (Apr 1995-Jan 1996)
- g) Thomson Summer Sun 1996 (April-October)
- h) Tradewinds (Nov 1995-Oct 1996)
- j) Skytours 1996 (April-October)
- k) Skytours Winter Sun 1996 (October-April)

With the increase in the number of Egyptian destinations now available, the majority of these brochures are able to offer a greater variety of holidays to Egypt.

The brochures can be divided into summer, winter and year-round, with each focusing on a selection of holidays thought to be appropriate to each category.

The majority of the brochures cater for holidays in Egypt which can

be taken at any time of the year. These include the well established Nile cruise which is still the most important attraction in the year-round brochures and is an integral component of Pharaonic culture-based holidays in Upper Egypt.

There is now a great variety of boats available for cruising between Luxor and Aswan, with never the same boat appearing in any brochure more than once. Noticeably absent though is the opportunity to cruise on the Nile between Luxor and Cairo. This reflects the precautions which are being taken to safeguard tourists from the terrorism which can be encountered in parts of Upper Egypt.

A wide choice of holidays is now available in the comparatively new resorts of the Red Sea and Sinai which provide year-round, beach-oriented and activity holidays. Of these destinations, Hurghada is most often featured, followed by Sharm el-Sheikh and Nuweiba.

These holidays have in many cases out-numbered the culture-based ones in many of the year-round brochures, especially now that there is an increase in the number of packages which offer a combination of two or more destinations. Such combinations are available either within Egypt itself, where cultural and activity holidays can be combined, or together with destinations in other countries, such as Israel, Jordan, Kenya or even Thailand.

The two summer brochures, g) and j), which deal with holidays taken

between April to October, reveal, however, that a number of tour operators are not reflecting the full range of holiday options now available in Egypt. It is understandable that only four out of 535 pages in *Thomson's Summer Sun* brochure are devoted to holidays in Upper Egypt ~ after all, it can be extremely hot there in the summer months, with temperatures sometimes reaching the high forties ~ but the attractions now available on the Red Sea and in Sinai, where the temperatures are lower than in Upper Egypt, cater for the same visitor who might presently take a summer holiday in a Tunisian or Turkish beach resort.

In spite of the comparable prices ~ where a seven night holiday to Hurghada can be as little as £249 ~ and comparable attractions, no holiday on the Red Sea or in Sinai is featured in this, one the largest tour operator's brochures, nor in the *Skytours 1996* summer brochure, where there are a very few holidays to Upper Egypt but no mention of the Red Sea or Sinai.

Brochures which cover travel between October and April are, together with the year-round ones, likely to be the most widely used by those holidaying in Egypt, because tourist numbers tend to be greatest during this period. In *Skytours Winter Sun* there is an increase in the number of beach/activity holidays on the Red Sea and in Sinai and a correspondingly smaller proportion of culture-based Pharaonic holidays which were previously the main winter tourist product.

Many of the brochures focus on the variety of activities available in Egypt, along with a range of incentives to encourage travel in the low-season. (See Next Chapter)

Brochures are, in general, becoming more adventurous in the creation of new products which utilise previously neglected aspects of Egyptian culture : Bales' "Grand Hotels of Egypt Tour" highlights the splendid hotels built earlier this century; Kuoni's "The Road to Petra" includes the biblical attractions of the Sinai peninsula together with two days in Jordan; and the "Lake Nasser Cruise" explores beyond the Aswan High Dam in a new ship built especially for touring Lake Nasser.

BROCHURE IMAGERY

In the more up-market brochures which include Egypt, such as *Tradewinds* or *Somak*, the covers tend to be less 'flash' and there are more discreet special offers. Photography is more subtle, both in its choice of image and in its use of colour, and in some cases use has been made of a heavier quality of paper than is found in the less expensive brochures.

In general, the photographs currently used to depict Egypt employ less obvious images of the country. Until recently, brochure photographs tended to be mainly of stereotypical images, such as the Pyramids and the Sphinx. These were becoming over-used and, if

that had continued, it would have led to a somewhat stale image of the country emerging. Now there has been an introduction of interesting lesser-known images of Egypt, and when photographs of the well-known attractions are used they tend to be shown in a fresh context, such as when taken from an unusual perspective, or with a change in the quality of the light, they are made to harmonise with the overall theme and colouring of the brochure. Such subjective repositioning of the product encourages potential tourists to take another look.

An example of this is found in the *Thomas Cook : Egypt* brochure, where sepia-tinted brochure imagery, reminiscent of old photographs, arouses in a potential visitor nostalgia for the pre-war days of 'the traveller', thus associating the product with the lifestyle of a period when only the rich could travel to Egypt, probably on a Cook's Tour. In this brochure a prominent place is given to that company's newly-built ship for cruising on Lake Nasser ~ a ship designed, decorated and furnished in the style of "La Belle Epoque."

Although the brochures give a generally realistic picture of Egypt's tourist attractions, those seeking a sense of authenticity might be disappointed, for the overall image depicted is idealised, often using careful photography which has incorporated isolated palm trees to suggest lushness in otherwise barren places.

BROCHURE IMAGE AND ISLAM

Even on a brief perusal of the brochures it is remarkable just how little there is pertaining to Islamic Egypt. The brochures seldom, if ever, depict its Islamic character, although this is the contemporary identity of the country, and has been since the seventh century. When Muslims do appear in the brochures they are usually depicted as benign peasants wearing gallabiyyas, waiters keen to serve, or colourful but poor Bedouin women or children.

If the brochures that describe and depict the country emphasise the Orientalists' view of an inferior Islam ~ a stereotype implicit in much of their highly influential literary and artistic output (See last chapter) ~ rather than a civilised, contemporary society, then the tourist reacts to the destination and its people on the basis of these images. As a result the indigenous people are unable to shed the myths and stereotypes propagated under the influence of the Orientalists.

Egyptians are seldom depicted as the contemporary Muslim people they are ~ religious in an unthreatening way, family-oriented, and exceptionally friendly. It may well be, however, that the high moral overtones of such an image would conflict too much with the Orientalist myth upon whose image the producers of the brochures may instinctively rely ~ that of Eastern sensuality. It is interesting that where such an image might be considered politically incorrect when featuring an Islamic country like Egypt, one brochure, unable

to use real people, has opted for the photograph of an ancient, nude stone-carving ~ perhaps lest we forget the image.

Portraying the indigenous people as they themselves wish to be seen and not as others wish to portray them might also encourage those local people who see tourism as being in the hands of foreigners (Refer to Chapter 3) to accept the industry more readily.

If brochures were to include a greater proportion of positive and realistic images of Islamic Egypt, showing people as they really are, there is a likelihood that there would be an improvement in the potential tourist's true perception of the nature of the country and its people. This might also encourage visitors to behave and dress more appropriately.

Some of the brochures give good practical advice about what to expect of local service : delays, overbooking of domestic flights, the varying quality of food in hotels, and, in general, that people should expect to have to use patience, especially during the holy month of Ramadan. However, concerning Muslim values and standards of dress and behaviour when travelling in Egypt, no advice is given in any of the brochures. By contrast, in *Bales 1996 Worldwide* brochure a small section is included for those contemplating an escorted tour of The Islamic Republic of Iran, which offers the following guidance to women visitors :

“Ladies are expected to attire themselves in such a way as not

to offend the religious codes of conduct and this will entail dressing in local style; our agents in Iran will supply suitable garments on arrival in Tehran.”

Mathews (1978) found that the largest group of tourists to visit Third World destinations under an illusion as to the true identity of the local people are the mass tourists ~ those on low or moderate incomes. In view of the aims of this group, which tend to be sun, sand, sea and sex, and the nature of the country and its ideology, it might be more prudent to include more ‘moral’ Islamic images in the parts of the brochures which are designed to attract people to the culture-oriented tours of Upper Egypt where there is more contact with local people. The brochures could then restrict the images most conducive to mass tourism to the enclaves of Sinai and the Red Sea, where the indigenous locals are few, where the majority of these are working in the tourism industry, and where the Western ‘lifestyle’ of the mass tourist could be more easily accommodated. 78

CONCLUSION

Perception deals with the way we see things and the perception or image of a destination can be strongly influenced by the use which marketers make of the various elements which contribute to its formation.

Only by understanding the nature of the image of the destination already held by the target market is it possible to exploit or change that image.

Such an image may be an organic image, described in the last chapter; it may be the result of exposure to a previous commercially induced image; or it may be a combination of the two. Therefore, in order to inspire potential tourists to visit the destination, the induced image has to be tailored to the needs and expectations of the groups being targeted.

In the case of a destination such as Egypt, which already has a strong, distinctive image, this may be achieved, first, by emphasising the most positive features, such as the Pharaonic culture; second, by redirecting the marketing focus away from any negative images, such as visits to areas in Upper Egypt which are likely to be associated with terrorist attacks (See Chapter 2); and third, by exploiting new or altered products.

These can be combined with other elements of the marketing mix,

such as favourable prices, new holiday packages, and selective promotion campaigns. Together these will help to create a favourable induced image of that destination.

However, it should be kept in mind that in some cases the image induced by the marketers can be a distortion of the true nature of the destination, its people or the other elements which comprise the tourist product. Such a distorted image in the mind of the potential tourist may be counterproductive to the future of the destination if the tourist feels that he or she has been misled.

A distorted image of a destination can also harm the local perception of tourism and tourists. This may exacerbate feelings of hostility towards tourists and the industry itself and, in the case of Egypt, may play into the hands of the Islamic extremists. In view of the attempts by the Egyptian government to counter extremism by encouraging moderate Islam, it is important that the impact of tourism on moderate Muslims should not be unfavourable. The induced image of a country and its people, which is promoted by the marketers, must, therefore, be a reflection of their true nature, and not a distortion which it is believed will have more appeal to the mass market.

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Chapter 6.

Tourism Development in Egypt

TOURISM AS A DEVELOPMENT OPTION

International tourism in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) has been a key element in modernisation. Its pursuit as a strategy of development is often an attempt by governments, particularly of LDCs, who may be faced with constraints such as chronic poverty, a narrow resource base, population pressures, indebtedness and dependency, to promote economic growth and development.

Mill (1992) gives several reasons why governments might opt for such a policy alternative. First, in the developed countries, there is an increasing demand for international travel. Second, as incomes in the developed countries increase, the income elasticity of demand for international travel will mean that it will increase at a faster pace. Third, LDCs need foreign exchange earnings to assist their own economic development in order to satisfy the increasing expectations of their growing populations.¹

SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

LDCs have tended to rely upon agriculture and other primary industries for economic growth. According to the World Bank,

between 50 and 70 per cent of the population of middle and low-income developing countries are directly dependent on agriculture. 2 However, developing countries which rely on agricultural development can easily become too dependent on a few primary products. The income from these primary products is often unpredictable and dependent upon such variables as weather, disease and prices on world markets.

Most LDCs are now committed to transforming or changing their rural-based agricultural economies to urban-based industrial ones. This commitment to industrialisation has been made as a result of their realisation that it is inextricably linked to development and that, because of the absence of any other demonstrable model of development, industrialisation is the only path. Indeed, Chandra(1992) maintains that there is almost no 'developed' country which has not gone through an industrial transformation. 3

However, the development of the manufacturing sector is not always a viable option and Mill lists the inherent problems :

1. Processing of raw materials is related directly to the base amount available in an area, and possible projects are likely to be few for all but the most richly endowed countries.
2. For industries aimed at import substitution the comparatively small size of many domestic markets is a hindrance to growth.

3. Developing countries tend to be characterised by a chronic shortage of skilled labour.

4. For export-oriented industries, their products are exposed to full international competition in terms of price and quality, as well as in terms of marketing techniques adopted.

Chandra, too, reminds us that LDCs face a major obstacle in their attempts to industrialise because of their dependence on developed countries in most major areas. This dependence can be seen in technology, trade, foreign investment, human resources, military hardware, aid, and information flows and technology. 4

In order to finance their development, LDCs need to generate foreign exchange, but their traditional or colonially established industries are often primary industries, for instance, growing cash crops or producing minerals for export, and just as often these cannot be exported profitably to the developed or core countries. This can be due to falling demand or low prices, or to rising production or transportation costs, or there may be difficulties in penetrating core markets through protectionist quotas or tariffs. Under such circumstances the ability of LDCs to break out of peripheral status is not easy.

Krapf (1961), one of the pioneers of the economic theory of tourism, in a paper presented to the Association Internationale d'Experts Scientifiques du Tourisme (AIEST), advanced the then revolutionary

idea that developing nations could benefit from tourism as a development option. 5

It was reasoned that, though planting a luxury industry in such poor countries might seem shocking, the LDCs had few resources other than an abundance of natural and cultural riches and a cheap, underemployed workforce. Not long after that, the United Nations Conference on Tourism and International Travel proclaimed that :

“Tourism makes a vital contribution to the economic development of Developing Nations”. (United Nations 1963)

Since the 1960s, LDCs have been persuaded to open themselves to international tourism and to give it a favoured place in their economies. Many countries responded enthusiastically, hoping to solve their problems of endemic poverty. Between 1969 and 1979 the World Bank supported 24 projects in 18 countries. 6

Of the LDCs which have chosen to develop a tourism industry, many decided to do so on the basis that tourism provides another channel through which economic development can be achieved. Some considered tourism development as a means of reducing the gap which exists between the DCs and the LDCs (core and peripheral).

Krapf, having asked many searching questions regarding tourism's role in development, concluded that it had a 'special function' in

developing countries which he defined in a series of 'economic imperatives' ~ exploitation of the countries' natural resources, international competitiveness due to favourable terms of trade, ability to provide many goods and services internally, improved balance of payments, employment generation and multiplier effect, and balanced growth.⁷

Jenkins (1991) outlines the following reasons why governments support tourism as part of their development strategies :

i) Growth potential ~ As a growth sector in the world economy, tourism compares favourably with other exports. For example, in 1988 receipts from tourism accounted for approximately 7 per cent of world trade in goods and services.

ii) Hard currency earner ~ Most tourists come from the DCs, and tourism, therefore, is often a major generator of hard currency, thus permitting the purchase of international goods and services which facilitate further economic development of LDCs.

iii) Free from quotas and tariffs ~ Tourism has a competitive advantage as an export in that the product is consumed *in situ* hence avoiding the limitations imposed by many countries on the amounts of certain imports allowed into the country, or the levels of duty imposed on imports. Also governments in the DCs are now unlikely for political and social reasons to impose limitations on citizens' rights to travel overseas to where they wish to go, and on

how much they wish to spend.

iv) Catalyst for development ~ The above benefits of tourism are enhanced by the opportunities, created by the presence of tourists in the destination country, for employment and income which will induce a multiplier effect, and so enhance these benefits. In addition most LDCs have high rates of population growth, high levels of unemployment and underemployment, and a great need to find jobs for a growing labour force. Tourism as a relatively labour-intensive activity can often provide a rapid means of employing low-skilled people.

v) Resource-substitution possibilities ~ Tourism's labour intensity can be increased in many LDCs by the substitution of 'labour for capital' whereby jobs are created from activities which utilise the cheap and plentiful labour often available in LDCs. Jobs such as shoe-cleaning, tea-making or door-opening would usually be mechanised in DCs, involving the use of capital for the purchase of the various machines involved. One of the advantages to the service-oriented tourist industry in LDCs is the high level of personal attention which can be achieved cheaply.

vi) Natural infrastructure ~ Resources such as scenery, environment or culture, which might have limited or no alternative use, can be exploited for their economic value. However, these are not inexhaustible resources and have to be used sensibly in order to prolong their 'lives.'

vii) Long-term development potential ~ In the main generating countries travel, especially by air, is getting cheaper. Disposable incomes are increasing with more being spent on international tourism as people view holidays as a normal expectation in their life. Barriers to international travel are being reduced with more governments and inter-governmental organisations making a greater effort to facilitate this movement.

Together these reasons illustrate the considerable advantages that tourism can have for many LDCs. However it is worth remembering that tourism is more than an economic activity. It is a massive interaction of people, demanding a wide range of services, facilities, and inputs which generate opportunities and challenges to host countries.

As a development option then, tourism may not necessarily be the panacea that it might at first seem. It has to be carefully evaluated and below are some of the main problems with which it is often associated :

a) High rates of growth are not always achievable. The dislocation caused by often unexpected acts of violence can have a severe effect on tourism's success in a region; meanwhile investment is in tourist facilities which are not easily utilised for other purposes. Egypt has many large well-equipped 5-star hotels which are now half empty and unable to assume a different identity.

b) Much hard currency can *leak* out of the economy of a country as a result of trying to attract much-needed foreign investment and consequent debt-repayment which can impose long-term problems for some countries. The expected benefits of investment in tourism will then accrue to foreign interests.

c) The apparent development advantage bestowed upon a country by tourism's labour intensity is advantageous to many LDCs, however a country must educate and train its workforce for senior management jobs.

d) Also much tourist infrastructure is highly specific and although roads, water or sewerage can be used by non-tourists, if tourists themselves stay away, then much of the foreign exchange earnings potential of the investment is lost although debt-servicing must continue.

e) The lack of unique attractions in many countries coupled with increasing competition between them makes many tourist destinations substitutable to both tourists and tour operators. Long-haul destinations which are further afield, and where the air-fare is a considerable part of the destination price, are more disadvantaged by any rise in the price of aviation fuel. They then become less price competitive even if domestic prices remain stable.

Why Muslim Countries in the Middle East opt for Tourism as a Development Strategy.

The reasons why secular Muslim countries in the Middle East opt for tourism as a strategy for their development vary from one country to another. Reasons are based on each country's resources, level of development, economic structure and performance, geographic size, income and wealth distribution, and tourism attractions. But most of these countries share the belief that the pursuit of tourism as a development strategy is a way of promoting economic growth, income redistribution and general development, and ultimately of improving living standards.

Because tourism can play such an important role in the economy, a number of countries have already established international tourism industries. The secular Islamic countries of Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia and Egypt count tourism among their most vital sources of foreign exchange and have invested heavily in the industry, often regardless of the social and environmental impacts. (See Chapter 3)

In the Moroccan economy foreign exchange earnings accounted for by tourism receipts amounted to US\$1,360 million in 1992 compared with US\$397 million in 1980; Turkey's tourist receipts for the same year were US\$3,639 million (US\$327 million in 1980) while Tunisia's tourism receipts for 1992 were US\$1,074 million (US\$601 million in 1980). The growth of tourist industry contributions to their respective GDPs between 1980 and 1992 illustrates the sector's

importance within their economies. (1995 WTO Figures)

Meanwhile, tourism in Egypt became, for a time, the most important of the main foreign exchange earners, overtaking expatriate workers' remittances, Suez Canal revenues, agriculture and petroleum. 8

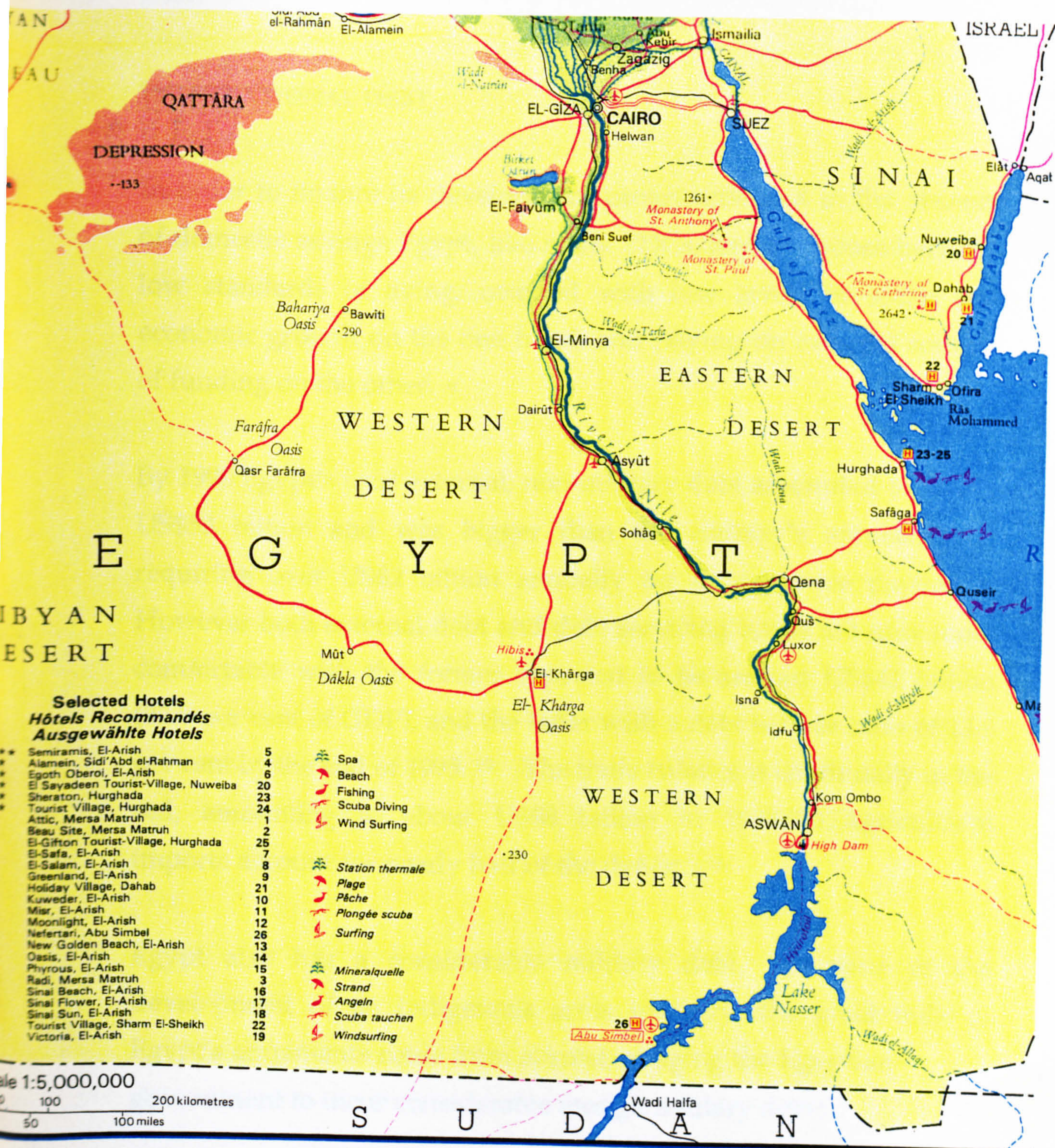
Of particular concern to these countries is international debt repayment and the servicing of loans, the shortage of foreign currency to pay for imported goods, a growing population and a large unskilled labour force, the resultant unemployment and underemployment, and increasing urbanisation.

THE CASE OF EGYPT

Egypt's history of wars against Israel led to heavy military expenditure and the neglect of investment in infrastructure. Consequently, the infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity, water, sewerage, housing and telephone systems) became badly run down, and between 1960 and 1980 both the socialist state and the public sector borrowed heavily. The borrowing costs are now a burden on the present generation to whom the accumulated debts have been handed down.

As a result of these years of neglect, the need has arisen to introduce a radical economic reform programme, which is currently being

**TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE**



**Selected Hotels
Hôtels Recommandés
Ausgewählte Hotels**

- 5 Semiramis, El-Arish
- 4 Alamein, Sidi' Abd el-Rahman
- 6 Egoth Oberoi, El-Arish
- 20 El Sayadeen Tourist-Village, Nuweiba
- 23 Sheraton, Hurghada
- 24 Tourist Village, Hurghada
- 1 Attic, Mersa Matruh
- 2 Beau Site, Mersa Matruh
- 25 El-Gifton Tourist-Village, Hurghada
- 7 El-Salam, El-Arish
- 8 Greenland, El-Arish
- 9 Holiday Village, Dahab
- 21 Kuweder, El-Arish
- 10 Mitr, El-Arish
- 11 Moonlight, El-Arish
- 26 Nefertari, Abu Simbel
- 13 New Golden Beach, El-Arish
- 14 Oasis, El-Arish
- 15 Phyrrous, El-Arish
- 3 Radi, Mersa Matruh
- 16 Sinai Beach, El-Arish
- 17 Sinai Flower, El-Arish
- 18 Sinai Sun, El-Arish
- 22 Tourist Village, Sharm El-Sheikh
- 19 Victoria, El-Arish

- Spa
- Beach
- Fishing
- Scuba Diving
- Wind Surfing
- Station thermale
- Plage
- Pêche
- Plongée scuba
- Surfing
- Mineralquelle
- Strand
- Angeln
- Scuba tauchen
- Windsurfing

Scale 1:5,000,000
 100 200 kilometres
 50 100 miles

S U D A N

implemented, and in which the reduction of the high level of accumulated international debt has been a key factor.

INTERNATIONAL DEBT

In order to finance its development programme and in the absence of domestic savings Egypt, like many LDCs, had to choose between low standards of living, coupled with low levels of social and economic growth on the one hand, and relying on external sources of funding on the other. ⁹

By 1990 Egypt's total external, non-military debt amounted to nearly US\$50 billion and was bigger than the country's annual GNP, requiring over US\$2 billion annually for debt service payments. However both external debt and debt servicing levels are now more comfortable with the former expected to be around US\$41 billion (82.8 per cent of GDP), and the latter with a debt service ratio of 13.5 per cent by the end of 1995. ¹⁰ The trade balance is continually in the red, amounting to about US\$8 billion in 1989/90.(Agricultural imports account for nearly half of the deficit.) ¹¹

Egypt also has a considerable military debt. In spite of the development of an indigenous arms industry, the great bulk of Egypt's armaments come from abroad, obliging the Egyptian government to incur considerable foreign military debts.

This military debt, in particular to the United States, became an addition to the overall economic burden on the government and also a symbolic issue on which the political opposition could focus its criticism of the "meagre" rewards of the alliance with the United States. However, recognition of Egypt's strategic value to the West, highlighted by Cairo's "staunch role as shepherd of the Arab allies" during the Gulf War of 1991, won Egypt exceptional debt relief both through the write-off of US and Gulf debts totalling nearly US\$13bn, and through the staged forgiveness of its then US\$20bn Paris Club debts. ¹²

LACK OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Egypt has five main earners of foreign currency - oil, cotton, tourism, the remittances of the estimated three and a half million Egyptians working abroad, and Suez Canal dues. During 1989/90 these brought in roughly US\$7billion in foreign exchange. However, since 1990 all of these have been shown to be vulnerable to developments over which the Egyptian government has no control. ¹³

The revenues derived from the export of oil are threatened by their susceptibility to swings in world prices. Prior to the Gulf War they suffered from the collapse in the price of oil. There have also been sharp increases in Egypt's domestic consumption, which is heavily subsidised. The government is trying to improve the structure of the

balance of payments in order to have less reliance on oil (60-65% of exports) by increasing manufactured exports, import substitution, reducing subsidies and the imposition of import duties.

The main cash crop, cotton, of which Egypt is one of the world's foremost producers, is under threat from the flood of synthetic fibres on the world market and from the increased production of cotton in neighbouring Sudan and elsewhere.

Workers' remittances, which at one time were Egypt's largest source of hard currency, have in the past been drastically affected by external events such as the Gulf War, and before that by the aftermath of the Iran/Iraq war, when jobs done during the war by Egyptians were reclaimed by men demobilised from the army.

Revenues from the Suez Canal have also proved to be vulnerable to regional conflict. During the Gulf War the volume of shipping passing through it was greatly reduced, although the canal itself was far from the actual theatre of war. The Suez Canal is also of limited potential in the long term.

The role of aid, particularly US aid (military aid alone stands at \$US1.3 billion), is a critical factor in keeping the Egyptian economy afloat, but it is said by critics that "there is little evidence that the massive infusions.....have done much to correct its fundamental productive capacity". ¹⁴

Tourism by comparison is the only area where there can be real growth.

The uncertainties of the present Egyptian crisis ~ especially the threats from militant Islamists to foreigners and foreign interests in Egypt ~ have led to a sharp drop in tourism, which was for a time the largest of these sources of foreign exchange. In spite of these uncertainties the local and foreign business community see its tourist industry as Egypt's most promising economic prospect. ¹⁵

POPULATION PRESSURE

In 1993 the Middle East contained some 265 million people, with one of the highest population growth rates in the world, and by the year 2025 the population is expected to more than double, to 567 million. In general the population has increased faster than the expansion in the land and water resources utilised and the intensification of their utilisation.

The population of Egypt, estimated to be around 59 million (1995),¹⁶ is now increasing at the rate of about one million every ten months, and at current rates it will take only 30 years for it to double. With 98 per cent of the population living on only 4 per cent of the land Egypt's present resources are coming under too much pressure.

The biggest block to progress is in rural areas where tradition and

poverty combine to hinder the progress of the government's campaign to reduce the fertility rate. Poor education, particularly among women, and the tradition of marrying young are widespread.

URBANISATION

Urbanisation, where the countryside is drained of a substantial number of people, confronts most Arab countries as "an accelerated, but unguided, force" that is impeding socioeconomic development and retarding their ability to catch up with the more advanced nations. ¹⁷ In the larger countries of the region ~ Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Turkey ~ from two fifths to over a half of the population live in cities, with the largest, Cairo, holding over 12 million inhabitants, making it as large as New York.

The wide gap which exists between cities and villages in most Arab countries is not improved by the flight of the most talented, educated and ambitious individuals from the small communities to the big cities where there are opportunities more commensurate with their talents. This has made future plans to develop the countryside more difficult.

The diversification of the tourist industry, whereby more opportunities for socio-economic development were to be created in the rural areas, would help to discourage people from leaving.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The rate of urban growth in the Arab world from both natural increase and rural migration has been estimated to be twice that of new job opportunities. Development in the region has not been particularly successful in providing increased employment opportunities, even with a large proportion of dependants : 55 per cent of the population are under 20 years of age; the number of old people has increased considerably, and there is a low participation of women in the workforce. In addition, the number of skilled people is limited due to the low levels of education and training available in the region. ¹⁸ There is a large reservoir of unemployed men and women, many of whom are not only short of skills but have a minimum level of functional literacy so that it is also difficult to teach them skills.

Egypt's economy needs to be rejuvenated, preferably by the private sector, to produce up to 500,000 new jobs a year for its young and still fast-growing population. However, such figures, says Said el-Naggar, a former executive director of the World Bank, ignore the massive underemployment in the sprawling public sector where too many are crammed into already "fat, half-paralysed government bureaucracies." He, in fact, believes the figure to be nearer 900,000 jobs yearly, implying the need for high annual growth rates of 8 per cent. ¹⁹

Faced with such constraints on their development, it is only to be

expected that a country like Egypt with a high amenability to Western ideas and people should want to exploit its potential for international tourism development, in order to promote its general economic development.

BENEFITS OF TOURISM TO EGYPT

Faced with limitations on its traditional exports, Egypt, like many LDCs, is pressured into earning foreign exchange, and tourism, as a fast earner of foreign exchange, can be an attractive option. ¹⁹

Tourism had become one of the most dynamic sectors of the Egyptian economy. In the twelve months to June 1992, tourism's total contribution to the economy was estimated to be US\$3.2 billion, (World Bank Atlas, 1994) from 3 million tourists and represented an all-time high. Officials estimated that 1993 would be a record-breaking year for Egyptian tourism and would earn the country receipts of close to US\$4 billion from an expected 4 million tourists.

However that was until the commencement of the Islamist (Fundamentalist) campaign of violence which included the targeting of foreign tourists and sharply reduced their numbers by 22 per cent in 1993. ²¹

TOURISM AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The greater part of Egypt's tourism is centred on Pharaonic culture and includes many of the traditional historic sites situated along the Nile Valley particularly between Luxor, Aswan and Abu Simbel in the south.

More recently newly developed sites on the west coast of the Red Sea, in the Sinai Peninsula, and at the various oases of the Western Desert have transformed these into regions capable of drawing international tourists, and have meant that tourism projects are now more widely distributed throughout Egypt, with the northwest coast and northern Sinai coast reserved for mainly domestic tourism. ²²

However, the government is keen to create more job opportunities in Upper Egypt, where it is thought that much of the discontent which has led to violence against tourists and the police is due to the lack of opportunities, especially for the young.

TOURISM AND EMPLOYMENT

The present problems of domestic underemployment, and the reduced market for export labour mean that satisfying Egypt's employment needs is contingent upon the development of a vigorous and expanding economy. In 1989 the number working directly and

indirectly in the tourism sector was said by the Ministry of Tourism to be about 12 per cent of the total workforce. Included in this was a labour force of 60,603 employees in hotels, floating hotels and holiday villages, servicing 47,559 rooms. The number of employees in public tourist establishments, including restaurants, cafeterias, and entertainment facilities was 14,968, while the number of tour guides was 1812; more than double the number employed in 1981. 23

The establishment and rapid development of new areas earmarked for tourism development creates a need for more labour and expertise in the managing and staffing of various enterprises, thereby increasing the number of direct and indirect jobs in tourism. At present the tourism industry offers one in 15 jobs, and it is anticipated that this will rise to one in 10 after the envisaged expansion of the industry. 24

A high number of regional tourism jobs are taken up by people from the cities. This may be explained by the large number of people who migrate to the cities, some intent upon a university education. Among such people there is a tendency to choose traditional subjects, such as medicine, law or engineering, with tourism a less popular option. However, a high rate of unemployment exists among graduates in these subjects and induces many to seek employment in the tourist industry as waiters or room attendants in the tourist hotels where they can often earn considerably more than in their chosen careers.

If more people from the regions chose to study tourism-oriented subjects there might be less need to import much of the labour force from the urban centres hence assuaging much of the criticism.

In Sinai, the largest of the regions, hotel employees are almost exclusively Egyptians from the Nile Valley, and not the indigenous people of Sinai ~ The Tarabiin Bedouin ~ most of whom are not sufficiently well educated for such work, However, many Bedouin have become self-employed and run coffee shops, provide camel treks into the mountains and offer huts and camping facilities for tourists. 25

TOURISM IN EGYPT

Egypt provides an example of the important role that tourism can play in the economy of the Middle East, where it has been successfully built up into a multi-million dollar industry.

The Minister of Tourism, Dr. Mamduh el-Beltagui, recently described the tourism industry as Egypt's "development engine", which has undoubtedly shown itself to be a highly significant catalyst for the Egyptian economy. 26 He went on to say in Al Ahram, that :

"Tourism is the most valuable commodity we can export. We cannot compete with Japan in manufacturing electronics, or with

Germany in industrialisation, but we can compete with the whole world in tourism. It is an inexhaustible commodity which is kept alive for the coming generations" 27

Tourism in Egypt has been largely shaped by its history, geographical location, economy, and sociocultural traditions. Each of these factors has a role to play in determining the extent and type of tourism to be found in Egypt and its significance in the economy.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

In 3,000 BC the kingdoms of Lower and Upper Egypt became one under the Pharaohs, marking the establishment of the Egyptian state. Egypt was then ruled for 2,800 years by a succession of Pharaonic dynasties - 31 altogether - which built the pyramids and the Sphinx, and were responsible for the myriads of tombs, temples and monuments found throughout upper and parts of lower Egypt.

A period of Hellenic rule began in 332 BC after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great. This was followed by a period of rule by Rome, from 30 BC to AD 324, and then by the Byzantine Empire.

Egypt was invaded by Arabs in AD 640, and as a result became a province of the Eastern Caliphate. In 1517 the country was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, under which it remained until early in the nineteenth century.

During this period various Muslim dynasties, including the Fatimids, the Mamluks, and the Ottoman Turks, left a rich and varied Islamic cultural heritage, particularly in Cairo.

A British protectorate over Egypt was declared in 1914, which lasted until 1922, when Sultan Ahmed Fuad was proclaimed king. He was succeeded by King Farouk, but in 1952, following a military coup d'état, King Farouk abdicated in favour of his infant son, who became Ahmed Fuad II. However, in June 1953 the young king was deposed by the military council of General Neguib and Egypt became a republic.

In 1956, as a result of Egypt's trade agreements with communist countries, Britain and the USA withdrew offers of financial aid, and in retaliation President Nasser seized the assets of the Suez Canal Company and nationalised it.

In the same year the Egyptian occupation of the Suez Canal zone in defence against an Israeli invasion provoked military action by Britain and France in support of their Suez Canal Company interests. Subsequently a ceasefire and an Anglo-French withdrawal were negotiated by the United Nations (UN).

The Israeli invasion overran the Sinai Peninsula but six months later Israel withdrew and a UN peacekeeping force was established in the area. However, mounting tension culminated in a second invasion of Sinai - the Six Day War of June 1967 - and in the occupation of the

peninsula by Israel. Egypt's attempt to recapture the territory, in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, was unsuccessful, but Sinai was returned to Egypt in April 1982, under the treaty of 1979 which resulted from the Camp David talks between President Sadat and Mr Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister.

President Hosni Mubarak came to power on 13 October 1981 after the assassination of President Sadat by Muslim Fundamentalists.

EGYPT'S GEOGRAPHY

Egypt occupies a total area of 1,001,449 square km, only 3 per cent of which is cultivated land. Its territory comprises three distinct parts :

1. Egypt proper, forming the north-east corner of the African continent and divided into :
 - a) the valley and delta of the Nile,
 - b) the Western Desert,
 - c) the Arabian or Eastern Desert;
2. The peninsula of Sinai, forming part of the continent of Asia.
3. A number of islands in the gulf of Suez and the Red Sea, of which the principal are Jubal, Shadwan, Gafatin and Zeberged

(or St John's Island).

The northern boundary is the Mediterranean Sea, and in the south Egypt and Sudan have a common boundary. The western boundary runs from a point on the coast 10 kilometres north-west of Solluum to the latitude of Siwa and thence due south along the 25th meridian. The eastern boundary follows a line drawn from Rafa on the Mediterranean to the head of the Gulf of Aqaba.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF EGYPT

The country is mainly flat, but there are mountainous areas in the south-west, along the Red Sea coast and in the south of the Sinai Peninsula, rising in some places to peaks of over 6,000 ft. The highest mountain in Egypt is Mount Catherine (8,668 ft) in Sinai.

Most of the land is desert but the Nile valley and delta are covered by fertile soil 20-30 feet deep, and areas of desert are increasingly being reclaimed by irrigation and fertilisation.

The Nile has a total length of 4,145 miles. In the 960 miles of its course through Egypt it receives not a single tributary stream. The river formerly had a regular yearly rise and fall of about 13 feet at Cairo, but since the completion of the Aswan High Dam in 1965 there has been no flood downstream of the dam and the water level remains almost constant throughout the year making it an ideal

river for cruising.

The area of fertile land, a 5 to 15 mile wide strip in the Nile valley and some 6,000 square miles of the Nile delta, has been increased by the building of the Aswan High Dam. This has allowed the reclamation of about 1,300,000 acres, and a further 700,000 acres have been converted from basin to perennial irrigation.

Westward from the Nile valley stretches the Western Desert, containing some depressions, whose springs irrigate small areas known as oases, of which the principal, from south-east to north-west, are known as Kharga, Dakhla, Farafra, Baharia and Siwa.

In the Eastern Desert, between the Nile and the mountains along the Red Sea coast, are plateaus of sandstone and limestone dissected by wadis (dry water-courses) often of great length and depth, with some wild vegetation and occasional wells and springs.

THE EGYPTIAN CLIMATE

Egypt is an extremely arid country on the whole, with summer temperatures reading 38C to 43C at times and even 50C in the deserts. The Mediterranean coast has cooler conditions, with a maximum of 32C. Winters are generally warm with very occasional rain, but cold spells can occur. Alexandria is the wettest part, but receives only 200 mm of rain annually, and most of the south has 80

mm or less. In spring a hot, dry wind called the Khamsin blows, and can cause disruption to internal flights. It has been known for the temperature to rise by 20C in two hours, and for the wind to reach 150 km per hour.

THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE

There are three distinct elements in the native population. The largest, or 'Egyptian' element, is a Hamito-Semitic race known in the rural districts as Fellahin. A second element are the Bedouin, or nomadic Arabs, of the Western and Arabian Deserts, of whom about one-seventh are real nomads, the remainder being semi-sedentary tent-dwellers on the outskirts of the cultivated areas of the Nile valley, the Sinai peninsula and the Fayum. The third element are the Nubians of the Nile valley between Aswan and Wadi Halfa, who are of mixed Arab and Negro blood. Over 90 per cent of the population are Muslims of the Sunni denomination and the remaining ten per cent are Coptic Christians. 28

EXTENT OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM IN EGYPT

Policymakers in Egypt have tended to be enamoured of the role of international tourism as a vehicle of economic development. It is an earner of foreign exchange, a growth industry with a built-in competitive advantage; a provider of government revenue and an

instrument of regional development. However in order to appreciate its developmental role fully, it is necessary to look at the extent and characteristics of international tourism in Egypt.

Data on international tourism traffic to Egypt are collected regularly by the Central Agency for Mobilisation and Statistics on behalf of the Ministry of Tourism. The data are based on the World Tourism Organisation(WTO) definition of tourists, who are categorised by nationality, month of arrival, modes of transport, type of accommodation used and bank transfers. Although collected by the Central Agency these statistics are analysed and distributed by the Ministry of Tourism. The Egyptian General Authority for the Promotion of Tourism (EGAPT) publishes a yearly statistical report containing all relevant data on foreign tourist arrivals in Egypt. ²⁹

Nationality of Visitors to Egypt

International tourists in Egypt, in accordance with the definitions adopted by the United Nations (UN) and the World Tourist Organisation (WTO), consist of all travellers visiting a country other than their own, for a period of at least 24 hours.

Visitors to Egypt can be divided broadly into two groups. Arrivals from countries which are members of the OECD form the first group and include those from France, Germany, United Kingdom (UK), Scandinavia, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Greece, Spain, Benelux, United States of America (USA), Canada, Australia, Japan,

Turkey and Portugal. Arrivals from OECD countries, in particular from Europe and America, visit Egypt in the main for its cultural and historical attractions, and until the most recent crisis, accounted for more than 50 per cent of total overseas traffic.

The other significant group of visitors to Egypt is from the Arab countries of Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya and others. Arab arrivals in 1989 represented 38 per cent of total visitors to Egypt. They came for a variety of reasons but chiefly for the attractions to be found in cities. The remaining 10 per cent of arrivals are referred to as 'other' tourists.³⁰

Volume of Tourism

1992 was regarded by the Ministry of Tourism as a peak year for the tourism industry in Egypt, with around three million visitors. However, in 1993 the number of arrivals had dropped by 21 per cent. Egypt dropped by 21.9 per cent when the country experienced the effects of the extremist attacks against tourists which first began in October 1992.

In 1992 the number of visitors to Egypt was at an all-time high of 3,000,000 while in 1993 the number of visitors had dropped to 2,300,000. (WTO,1995)³² Between January and October 1993 Europeans registered the most dramatic drop in tourist numbers, with only 126,383 visiting Egypt compared with 1,182,308 over the same period in 1992. The number of North American tourists was

reduced to 159,947, a drop of 14 per cent from the same period in the previous year, when the number was 186,053.

However, the first half of 1995 saw a rise of 19 per cent in tourist numbers over the same period in 1994. According to the Ministry of Tourism, the European market has increased by 41 per cent following advertising campaigns targeting Italy, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. In the first six months of 1995, the number of Italian visitors increased by 76 per cent, French by 46 per cent, Germans by 20 per cent, and British by 16 per cent.

Arab tourists amounted to 58,509, compared with 72,183 over the same six month period in 1992, Libyans being the most common visitors, with 23 per cent, followed by tourists from Saudi Arabia with 21 per cent, Palestine with 10 per cent, Sudan with 9 per cent, and Syria with 8 per cent.

Between January and September of 1994, Saudi Arabians made up the largest group. Another new trend is the large increase in the number of Israelis who are visiting Egypt, and who now make up the fourth largest group. Tourists from Asia and the Pacific Rim reached 130,095 while the Japanese constituted over 27 per cent of all visitors from the Far East. 46

Table 6.1 Tourist Arrivals on selected years ('000s)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Arab</u>	<u>Euro</u>	<u>Amer</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1988	660	935	164	210	1969
1989	952	1067	200	284	2503
1990	114	1048	179	233	2600
1991	1082	770	120	242	2214
1992	1103	1555	224	325	3200
1993					2300
1994	819	1249	1829	1609	2581
1995	741	1811	2288	2194	3133

Source : Adapted from Ministry of Tourism Reports

From 1994, the above regional groupings became known as Middle East, Eastern and Western Europe, North and South America, and East Asia and Pacific.

LENGTH OF STAY

The average length of stay has declined from almost one month in the 1950s to about a fortnight in the 1960s. In 1985 the average length of stay was only 5.9 nights, but that had increased to 9.1 nights by 1988. So far in the 1990s it has been around one week. A visit to the Pyramids plus a cruise on the river Nile can now be completed quite easily in that time.

Between 1988 and 1992 there was a 22 per cent increase in the total number of tourist nights spent in Egypt, with the biggest increase occurring in the number of European tourist nights, which increased by 38.9 per cent, followed by American visitor nights with an increase of 25.4 per cent.

Table 6.2 Number of Tourist Nights (000s) 1988-1992

	1988	1990	1991	1992	% Change
All Nations	17864	19942	16231	21836	22.2
Middle East	7643	9600	9124	8306	8.7
Europe	7508	7484	4996	10432	38.9
America	1048	1178	709	1314	25.4
Others	1665	1677	1402	1784	7.0

Source : Ministry of Tourism

SEASONALITY

Statistics from 1985 to 1989 show that the highest average number of foreign arrivals in Egypt was in the month of July and the lowest number in February. Arab arrivals were highest in July (16.7%), August (13.2%) and June (11.5%). Their lowest number was in April (4.8%). The high Arab arrivals in June, July and August can be accounted for by the the school holiday period in the Gulf countries. It is also a popular time to visit Cairo, which is hot, but compared

with the Gulf countries is cooler and therefore a welcome destination.

OECD arrivals were highest in March (11.1%) followed by October (10.3%) and April(10.2%), with the lowest number in June (5.3%).

March and April are popular months for most Western tourists to visit Egypt because it coincides with the Easter holiday and the weather is still cool enough for comfort. In October is similar.

Table 6.3 Mean Percentage for the Period 1985 - 1989

	<u>Arab</u>	<u>OECD</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total Mean</u>
January	6.9	7.2	6.3	7.0
February	5.2	8.2	5.7	6.7
March	5.4	11.1	8.1	8.5
April	4.8	10.2	10.0	8.1
May	6.3	7.7	7.7	7.1
June	11.5	5.3	6.1	7.8
July	16.7	6.4	8.4	10.6
August	13.2	7.2	8.0	10.0
September	8.6	8.3	9.0	8.5
October	7.4	10.3	11.8	9.5
November	6.4	8.8	10.2	7.8
<u>December</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>8.6</u>
Total	100	100	100	100

Source : Egyptian Tourist Authority

Although July saw the highest number of arrivals in Egypt during this period, the number of tourist nights was consistently highest in August, but the lowest number fluctuated between different months.

MODE OF ARRIVAL

During the period between 1988-92, 68.5 per cent of tourist traffic to Egypt travelled by air; 21 per cent by road, and the remaining 10.5 per cent by sea.

Table 6.4 : Tourists Arriving in Egypt in '000s

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	%Change
All Modes of Arrival	1969	2503	2600	2214	3207	62.9
<u>By Air</u>	1515	1708	1706	1446	2180	43.9
<u>By Sea</u>	212	230	290	219	385	81.6
<u>By Land</u>	242	565	604	549	642	165.3

Source : Egyptian Tourist Authority

Of the two major groups to visit Egypt, 78.1 per cent of OECD arrivals came by air, 12.6 per cent by sea and 9.3 per cent by road, while 71 per cent of Arab arrivals came by air, 22.5 per cent by road and only 6.5 per cent by sea.

The majority of OECD visitors come to Egypt by package tour and air travel is an inherent part of the package, therefore, there has been no significant change in the mode of their arrival over the same period.

The Egyptian government has recently granted permission for any charter flights to use its airports at Luxor, Aswan, the Red Sea, and Sharm el-Sheikh. However, Cairo International Airport will accept scheduled flights only. Such a step, together with the growing number of hotel rooms in the regional development zones, will increase the number of less expensive holidays available and will encourage more tourism directly to these areas.

It also reflects the increased interest in tourism other than Pharaonic, demand for which can be catered to without the need to use Cairo International Airport (CIA) as the gateway. Moreover, CIA will benefit too by releasing more carrying capacity for business traffic and conference tourism.

Over this period, Arabs arriving by air have decreased by 16.1 per cent due to the effects of the Gulf War, while those arriving by road have increased by 15.2 per cent. The increase by road can be

accounted for by the reopening of the border in 1989 between Egypt and Libya, which had been closed for ten years, and then by the number of Arabs who, because of the sanctions on air travel from Benghazi, are now driving from Libya into Egypt to use Cairo's international airport.

Also more Israelis and Palestinians are driving to Egypt for a visit via Rafah on the border with Gaza and at Taba, on the Israeli border.

EVALUATION OF THE EGYPTIAN TOURIST PRODUCT

From the point of view of the tourist, the product which he buys is an amalgam of the main components of his experience from the time he sets out on his journey until he returns home. These include the attractions, the facilities and the accessibility of the destination.

Attractions largely determine a tourist's choice of destination. They may be naturally occurring scenic beauty, or man-made, such as the Pyramids; they may be cultural, perhaps based on religion or history, or they may be social and influenced by the way of life of the resident population. Facilities enable tourists to stay at a destination, and in other ways enjoy and participate in the attractions, and include such things as accommodation, food and drink, shopping, and support services, which might include banking, security, or the use of a tour guide. Accessibility includes those elements which affect the price,

speed and convenience with which a traveller may reach his destination. These are the infrastructure; the quality of public transport and its operational features, and governmental restrictions over its operations.

Although these factors are important, what the tourist is also purchasing when he buys the product amalgam, or package, are, firstly, image and expectations, which must conform with his perception of the product, and, secondly, the price, which varies by season, choice of activities, distance travelled, mode of transport, exchange rates and the choice of facilities and service. Together these five areas make up the total experience, known as the total tourist product. ³⁴

1. ATTRACTIONS

The main attraction of the Egyptian tourist product is the antiquities. These are concentrated along the Nile valley in four main areas : Cairo, Luxor, Aswan and Abu Simbel.

In each of these areas the principle Pharaonic ruins can be seen satisfactorily, if somewhat superficially, in one day. Together with travelling time, a tour can be fitted easily into a one week package, while a more leisurely tour coupled with a four-day Nile cruise between Luxor and Aswan can be completed in two weeks.

Cairo

Cairo has the attraction of being a historic city. Here many facets of Islam and the pre-Islamic Christian era contrast with ancient Egypt. Mediaeval Cairo was one of the cities of the Thousand and One Nights, and many of its mediaeval structures are still standing. The Islamic quarter lies at the foot of the Citadel of Muhammad Ali, where the mosques, the Khan-el-Kalili bazaar, and the Citadel itself form secondary tourist attractions. Old Cairo, the predominantly Coptic quarter to the south of the town centre, is rich in evidence of the pre-Islamic Christian era.

Cairo is in fact an unequalled treasure-house of Islamic architecture and has scores of buildings from the Middle Ages to rival those of any European City. 48

On the outskirts of the city lie the Pyramids of Giza and the Sphinx, and further south the yet older pyramid, the Step Pyramid of Saqqara. The city is also home to the world-famous contents of the tomb of King Tutankhamen, part of the permanent collection of Pharaonic Art at the Egyptian Museum of the Antiquities. It also boasts the less well known Museum of the Islamic Arts, together with the Museum of Coptic Christian Art.

Although often overlooked in tour brochures, an essential feature of Cairo is its location on the Nile, where the dramatic picture it presents is highlighted by its ever-changing nature.

Luxor

At Luxor the main attractions are the great temples of Luxor and Karnak on the east bank of the river and the tombs of the Pharaohs in the Valley of the Kings, the Colossi of Memnon, and the magnificent funerary temple of Queen Hatshepsut on the west. The scenery too is an attraction, with the town's dramatic setting on the Nile in the foreground and the mountains of the Western Desert escarpment in the background.

Aswan

At Aswan a belt of granite lies across the Nile to form the First Cataract, which is the border between Mediterranean Egypt and African Nubia, and which was the southern limit of the Roman Empire. As a result of its setting Aswan has spectacular scenery, which provides one of its main attractions. This scenery was depicted in the film of Agatha Christie's "Death on the Nile", along with the famous Old Cataract Hotel. Another of the main attractions of Aswan is its excellent winter climate. Nearby there are several notable antiquities. These include the temple of Philae, which for many years lay half submerged by the waters behind the original Aswan Dam, until it was moved, stone by stone, to its present setting. Among other attractions are the Aswan High Dam, a vast engineering feat constructed with Russian assistance. 36

Abu Simbel

Aswan also provides the main point of access to Abu Simbel, with its temples carved out of the solid rock of a mountain, part of which was moved to its present site in order to save the temples from the waters of Lake Nasser as they rose behind the Aswan High Dam. The four colossal statues of Ramses II carved on the face of the main temple are among the most impressive monuments from Egypt's past.

Red Sea, Sinai and the Oases

With the aim of spreading tourism more evenly throughout the country, rather than concentrating too heavily on the traditional historic sites of the Nile valley, the decision was taken to develop the Red Sea and Sinai for international visitors. It had been noted that the Israeli government had had considerable success with its development of Eilat, at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba.

Five new centres were then created which would form alternative tourist products. These alternative products were 'virgin' areas previously and were quite separate from the main tourist sites of Upper Egypt. They are :

1. Red Sea Coast ~ The government set aside two locations south of Hurghada where land was offered for sale with no restrictions on the level of foreign ownership.

**TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE**

When it was decided to develop tourism based on beach activity and water sports, Hurghada was selected as the most suitable starting point because its development was not politically contentious and because of its attractive coral reefs and convenient access. Although the first major development was the government-owned, four star Sheraton Hotel, it soon became clear that the lack of basic infrastructure, and the high cost of providing infrastructure, indicated that a particular form of development was needed : low capital 'holiday villages'

In order to encourage development of the area, a government agency developed the first such project ~ Magawich Village. The 400 feddan village includes 314 chalets, and a convention centre for up to 1,100 people. There are several restaurants, playgrounds, gyms, sailing and diving complexes, and a decompression chamber. ³⁷ The project took advantage of government incentives by building the village on land provided at nominal cost and supported by substantial tax holidays. As a result of this policy significant development has taken place at Hurghada, including hotels, villages, diving centres, youth hostels and camps. ³⁸ South of Hurghada areas are being leased on a long-term basis to the private sector, after water supplies and drainage have been installed, which will be sufficient for 7,000 rooms.

2. South Sinai ~ Two areas have been developed by the government. Both are on the Gulf of Aqaba. One stretches from Taba, near the Israeli border, to Nuweiba, 60 kilometres to the south. The other is

centred on Sharm-el-Sheikh near the southern tip of Sinai.

Development began moving forward on the Red Sea after a number of changes occurred on the Gulf of Aqaba. First, there was an improvement in transport infrastructure; secondly, the border dispute with Israel over the status of Taba was resolved, and thirdly, Saudi Arabia agreed to finance the construction of a toll road bridge across the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba. Although some years ahead, this proposal caused a great deal of interest among developers, particularly at the southern end of Sinai, at Sharm-el-Sheikh, where the coral formations and the water conditions are considered to be exceptional.

Four holiday villages were built between Taba and Nuweiba, and a number of new projects were undertaken at Sharm-el-Sheikh, which included the construction of several new hotels, including the Hilton Holiday Village, and the Moevenpick, at Naama Bay. There are now forty such hotels.

Plentiful opportunities for diving exist around the many coral reefs to see the exotic underwater life at such destinations as Ras Mohammed, Sharm-el-Sheikh, Dahab and Nuweiba on the Gulf of Aqaba in South Sinai and at Hurghada on the Red Sea. Specialist diving centres have been set up in major resorts in the two regions which offer equipment and training facilities. The conditions in both areas are excellent for windsurfing and other forms of sailing, and in Sinai camel-trekking is proving to be an increasingly popular

form of adventure activity.

3. Siwa and the New Valley ~ This area includes the Western Desert oases of Kharga, Dakhla, Baharia and Farafra, which are famous for their hot springs and mineral waters, and which, together with the oasis of Siwa, have warm sunny winters.

In the oases of the New Valley and Siwa, with the improvements to the infrastructure and the roads which connect them, the way was open for the development of tourism there. The oases, which are as yet little known to foreign tourists, provide an opportunity to view the type of scene so often associated in Western minds with Arabs and life in the desert, as has been romanticised in countless novels and films, but they offer more than limpid pools under waving palms. Those at Siwa, and at Kharga, Dakhla and Bahariya in the New Valley, are of considerable extent, with many different wells and springs, including hot and mineral springs. They are the sites of ancient temples, mosques and Coptic churches and monasteries, as well as mud-brick houses typical of those in which people there have lived for a thousand years.

4. North Sinai ~ Here the government has studied the possibilities of new tourist developments on the Mediterranean coast, east and west of El-Arish. Foreign investors are sought here, although they are restricted to a maximum of 49 per cent in any development.

The North Sinai is at present used by the domestic market and

although it may be possible to develop the area for foreign tourists in the future, at present it lacks the kind of attractions and facilities which are widely available throughout the Mediterranean, and which would be needed to attract visitors so far east.

5. North-West Coast ~ At present the location of much domestic tourism but new hotel and tourist village projects are being considered.

In addition to those mentioned, Egypt has planned to encourage tourist development in Minya and Sohag in Upper Egypt, at Rosetta on the Mediterranean coast near Alexandria, and in areas near the Sudanese border in the south. ³⁹

Another priority is to increase visitors' length of stay in Egypt, and with the activities available in the Red Sea and Sinai areas there is more opportunity to extend an antiquity-based holiday which, formerly, might include a Nile cruise but offered little scope for water-based activity.

In order to encourage increased lengths of stay, a decision was taken to open various tombs of ancient royalty which were previously unknown to the public. The government's decision to open these tombs was also in response to the large decrease in the numbers of tourists visiting Egypt as a result of the activities of Islamic extremists.

Egypt is now able to offer potential tourists not only year-round culture but also beach and activity holidaying. Such attractions as its low humidity, even temperature, hours of sunshine and speed and direction of winds allow the Red Sea coast at Hurghada and the Gulf of Aqaba to be developed as all-year-round resorts with a strong emphasis on activity.

THE IMAGE OF EGYPT

A potential tourist's image of a destination is conceived after interpreting a variety of information about the tourist product. The quality and range of services may be similar in a number of destinations but their images may differ. These differences may be decisive factors in the final choice. ⁴⁰

The image of Egypt as a holiday destination among Western travellers is largely of a cultural nature, with the emphasis firmly on history. Arab visitors too recognise this image but they are more aware of Egypt as a regional metropolis containing the sophistications inherently associated with the big city, and to a lesser extent the attractions of the seaside.

Egypt's image also has a downside. The country is often perceived by potential tourists to be fraught with the kind of troubles associated with Islamic fundamentalism, fear of extremist acts of violence, and more insidiously, the negative stereotyping of Muslims. (Refer to Chapter 4).

Price

Different touristic destinations will appeal differently to various income groups and social classes, who will have different patterns of spending, length of stay, and different price sensitivities.

Before currency liberalisation Egypt was considered expensive; the cost of scheduled air travel was high and this was reflected in the total tour price. However, for some time now it has been possible to fly by charter directly to the resorts of Luxor and Hurghada, and to enjoy the same facilities and cover the same tour itinerary as those using the more expensive scheduled services to Cairo.

In order to maximise the benefits of the high seasons, prices are more expensive than during less popular times, with highest prices coinciding with Christmas or Easter holidays, when a supplementary charge is added. Conversely, various discounts are offered to potential tourists in order to encourage them to visit Egypt during the hotels' quiet periods.

II. FACILITIES

A tourist, while away from his usual place of residence, needs a variety of services in order to sustain him, as well as to make his touristic experience a pleasure, and one which he will remember. These services or facilities are within the destination or linked to it.

ACCOMMODATION SUB-SECTOR

Hotel Sub-sector

When President Sadat introduced his 'open-door' policy in 1974, all but a few major hotels were still owned and managed by the public sector, whose poor industrial relations made standards of service difficult to maintain. Since then the government has been transferring the management of state-owned properties to the private sector.

By encouraging this process of privatisation, both international and local management companies have been persuaded to take an increasing interest in the Egyptian hotel sub-sector. The government has handed over the management of some of Egypt's grand historic hotels to international hotel chains in exchange for undertakings that these groups will invest in upgrading the hotels.

The Egyptian Hotels Company, for instance, signed agreements with a number of management groups to take over the running of hotels such as the famous Shepherds in Cairo, the Palestine in Alexandria and the Cataract in Aswan. The hope was that under new management these hotels would once again become profitable after years of operating at a loss.

Although the response to the selling off of the hotel stock was favourable, efforts to privatise hotels completely have come up

against stiff opposition from the vested interests of many of those involved in the public sector.

Hotel Capacity

Since the steady withdrawal of government from hotel management began, Egypt's stock of hotels has increased enormously. Combined with the government's readiness to invest, and encourage investment, in new projects, the outcome has been a doubling in the number of hotels during the 1980s, with a total of 1379 in 1992.

Over the same decade total room capacity almost trebled due to an increase in the average size of the units, and since 1987 has increased by almost 25 per cent to 60,647 rooms in 1992.

The scale of present investment in the industry anticipates the annual number of tourist nights in Egypt doubling to 45 million from the present 22 million. Already, some US\$10 billion has been committed by the private sector to add new hotel rooms and attendant infrastructure. This should have added at least 25,000 rooms to the country's stock by the end of 1994. The boost given by the private sector to the overall investment in hotels has been particularly marked in the Red Sea resorts, and in the case of floating hotels. 41

Table 6.5 : Number of Hotels, Rooms, and Beds by Sector and Year

	1988-92					
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	%Change
All Sectors :						
Hotels	1295	1316	1346	1365	1379	6.5
Rooms	48654	50850	55905	60544	60647	24.6
Beds	97447	101165	109003	121062	121240	24.4
Public Sector :						
Hotels	30	31	36	39	39	30.0
Rooms	5679	5505	6636	9147	9147	61.1
Beds	10304	10616	12357	17540	17540	70.2
Private Sector :						
Hotels	1265	1285	1310	1326	1340	5.9
Rooms	42975	45345	49269	51397	51500	19.8
Beds	87143	90549	96646	103522	103700	19.0

Source : Ministry of Tourism

Floating Hotels

Included in the above figures are floating hotels, or cruise boats, which cruise on the Nile. Because of the appeal of Nile cruising, the number of boats rose from 86 to around 200 in the space of a year, with 130 more constructed in 1993, making a total of 330. However, the number of available moorings as well as other services necessary

for this number of boats is as yet inadequate.

The part of the Nile between Luxor and Aswan, which is most used by cruise boats, is only 200 km long, and is plied by boats with a total capacity of about 2,345 tourists. To these must be added the large number of *feluccas* which are used by young people from all over the world to sail the same route.

A large number of tourist enterprises depend on the Nile, but the river is overcrowded and lacks adequate navigational services and aids. Furthermore, the situation is confused by the number of different ministries and organisations which make decisions regarding its supervision. With these problems in mind, the Ministry of Tourism introduced a project to further develop Nile tourism, which represents about 25 per cent of tourism activity in Egypt. The project involves : improving and developing the existing Nile cruise boat moorings, which number around 106, and establishing a navigational control centre and a rescue centre for cruise boats; establishing a cruise boat repair yard on 35 feddans in Qena at a cost of LE 7.5million; constructing 34 new moorings in the stretch between Dendera and Sohag at a cost of LE86 million.

They further aim to control and facilitate navigation on the Nile by providing adequate signs, illuminated buoys and a communication system on board the cruise boats. 42

Conference Trade

Egypt has excellent conference facilities in many of its 5-star hotels. For example, up to 1,500 people can be seated in the Mena House Oberoi Hotel at Giza.

Business travel is considered to be a major growth opportunity for world tourism, and the expansion of international organisations, associations and multinational corporations has created a demand for increased communications and interrelations at all levels. It was in response to this that the Cairo International Convention Centre was built. It has three main conference halls which can hold 2,500, 800 and 600 people respectively. The Egyptian Hotel Association describes conference tourism as a “highly attractive market segment” and hopes to explore this form of tourism further.

Support Services

In order to attract tourists and make their stay comfortable, a variety of support services are necessary, and Egypt provides a range of these including medical, security, banking and exchange, communication and secretarial services, and guiding.

The crime rate in Egypt is low, particularly when compared with Western cities and most areas are safe for travellers at any time of day or night. However Egypt provides a special force of Tourist

Police who often know a foreign language. Most large hotels are equipped with direct dial telephones, fax, and telex facilities; while some offer a range of other business services including simultaneous translation facilities. Egypt has a very good stock of tour guides able to cope with many languages, with some speaking more than one. Since 1981 the overall number of guides has more than doubled, reflecting the huge increase of foreign tourists to Egypt.

III. ACCESSIBILITY

By Air

Cairo is the crossroads for air travel between Africa, Asia, and Europe. Most international airlines therefore stop regularly at Cairo International Airport. In 1989 it handled 7.5 million passengers from 79,000 flights, which was almost three-quarters of the 10.9 million visitors (from 131,703 flights) in and out of all Egyptian resorts.

After the introduction in Egypt of the "open skies" liberalisation policy, which allowed charter flights to operate, the number of visitors increased by 100 per cent between 1986 and 1987. This was due in part to the new policy but also to a general recovery in Middle East tourism. By mid-1990 charter operations made up a third of all traffic to and from Egypt, according to a spokesman for the Ministry of Tourism. 44

Internal air travel

Egyptair, Air Sinai and ZAS operate scheduled domestic flights to the Red Sea, Sinai, Alexandria, Luxor, Aswan and Abu Simbel. Internal flights can be heavily booked during the high season, which means that flight reservations may be changed. This can be a difficulty for highly organised group travel, which makes up much of the travel to Egypt.

By Rail

Egypt's railway network offers an inexpensive alternative form of transport and operates from Sallom on the Libyan border to Alexandria and Cairo, and along the Nile up to Luxor and Aswan, with links to Port Said and Suez. There are frequent trains from Cairo to Alexandria, and also several air-conditioned day and night trains with sleeping and restaurant cars from Cairo to Luxor and Aswan. ⁴⁵

By Land and Ferry

There are three ways of entering Egypt : from the sea-ports by ferry; overland, from Israel in the east, from Libya in the west, and from the Sudan in the south. In general, the quality of the major roads is good, but driving in Egypt can be dangerous, particularly at night.

There are good roads into Egypt from Israel via Rafah ; or Eilat then Taba, on which bus services operate. These carry passengers to the Sinai beaches of Nuweiba, Dahab, and Sharm-el-Sheikh. From the Sudan it is necessary to take a steamer which takes cars from Wadi Halfa to Aswan in Upper Egypt. Between Tripoli in Libya and Alexandria on the north coast there is a good road, which for some time has had to carry heavy traffic due to the international sanctions which have been applied to flights out of Libya. From Cairo there is a network of long-distance, air-conditioned buses which offer services to the Nile Delta, the Sinai peninsula, and Upper Egypt.

Ferries

Car and passenger ferries from many Mediterranean and Black Sea ports connect with Alexandria, and on the Red Sea there are also ferries connecting Suez to Jeddah, Aqaba and Port Sudan and a daily service between Aqaba and Nuweiba in Sinai. 46

COMPETTIVENESS

As well as those elements which make up the total tourist product, the attributes of the product are demonstrated by the demand they engender when in competition with other products. These attributes are determined by a product's uniqueness, quality and quantity, and price.

Seasonality

In general, international tourism is seasonal. This is the result of traditional holiday patterns in generating countries and, in spite of the publicity efforts made by host countries, the pattern has altered very little.

This pattern affects international tourism to Egypt but, because the varying market segments largely arrive and depart at different times of the year (from each other), this 'problem' is in fact an advantage. With one of the highest occupancy rates in the world under normal circumstances, of 75-80 per cent all year round, the infrastructure and superstructure are not only utilised during each season but are never under the strain which they would otherwise be under if all arrivals were from the same generating area and had the same motivations for visiting Egypt.

Pricing Policy

Pricing policy derives much from the satisfaction gained by tourists from the tourist product - whether tangible or intangible. It would seem that the greater the satisfaction afforded by the product, while keeping the price as high as the market will bear, the higher the profit.

Generally, in tourism two methods of pricing tend to be used :

cost-oriented and market-oriented. The former is based on fixed and variable costs, whereas the latter is influenced by the market, where competitive, psychological, and promotional pricing techniques are all mustered in order to achieve an optimum price structure. ⁴⁷

Ultimately, therefore, each method of pricing must take into account the other's pricing criteria; market-oriented pricing must allow for the need to cover costs, while cost-oriented pricing must have regard to prevailing market conditions.

Tourism demand, in general, is characterised by its sensitivity to price. The degree of response to changes in prices or changes in various economic conditions in the market will affect a potential tourist's decision to purchase a holiday. Consequently it is important when dividing the total market into segments to take account of price elasticity, in order that any marketing activity is cost-effective.

Those factors which encourage tourism demand and have allowed the middle classes to travel further and further afield for a holiday ~ "increased disposable incomes, longer holidays, and the increase in scope of charter travel to more long-haul destinations", also bring onto the medium-haul market lower income groups for whom a foreign holiday was previously restricted to short-haul destinations. Jenkins (1982) notes that,

“The development of inclusive tours and cheap charter flights continues, together with an increasing range of promotional fares made available by airlines”. 48

Egypt's decision in 1987 to allow a degree of freedom to charter flights contributed to the increase in the numbers of tourists to Egypt which had occurred before the recent collapse in the industry. Foreign charter operators had been flying tourists into the major tourist destinations of Hurghada on the Red Sea and Luxor in Upper Egypt, and had thereby provided the opportunity for a greater number of people to visit Egypt at considerably lower prices. However, with the increased departure rates in long-haul travel seen in major generating countries, it would seem that the long-haul tourist is less price sensitive than other mass tourists. This trend is favourable as far as Egypt's non-charter, antiquity-based tourism is concerned, and bodes well for its future.

From the major tourist generating countries of Western Europe Egypt is a medium-haul destination, but it is more often than not featured in those tourist operators' brochures which deal largely with long-haul destinations and may well be perceived as such by the potential tourist.

The country tends to have the attractions often associated with longer haul destinations, such as all-year round good weather and a particularly exotic image, which captures all the allure and magic of the East, but which is now available at considerably lower prices

than the long-haul destinations. For example, travelling by charter flight from London, for seven nights in the resort of Luxor in Egypt, can cost as little as £299, compared with £499 for the same number of nights in Mombasa in Kenya, or Mexico.

Table 6.6 : Price Comparisons Ex London 1994/95

<u>Destination</u>	<u>Prices (£) from</u>
Egypt	299
Goa	399
Mombasa	499
<u>Mexico</u>	<u>499</u>

Source : Kuoni Three Brochure, 1995

A holiday in Egypt can also be an up-market affair ~ seven nights in a five-star hotel in Cairo or Sharm-el-Sheikh can cost £650 or more. However, in order to encourage tourism during quieter periods of the year, various offers are made available to potential tourists. Some of these include dispensing with the single room supplement; free sports; offering those on honeymoon, or celebrating an anniversary, room upgrades to suites, with free wine, fruit and flowers, a sunset sail on a felucca or a horse-drawn carriage ride; and sometimes refunds of US\$20 if it rains for more than five consecutive minutes! 49

Uniqueness

Egypt must capitalise on its unique and diverse attractions which include the Pharaonic antiquities peculiar to the Nile valley, where the composition and character of the population has changed little over thousands of years. During this time the Pyramids and Sphinx, which have come to symbolise the Egyptian cultural product, were conceived and erected. A Nile cruise, although substitutable to a limited extent by cruising on the River Rhine or the Danube, has an inherent charm and exotic beauty, and is closely identified with the history and mythology of ancient Egypt.

Unique too are the long coastlines on the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and Sinai, which can be used for recreation and sports all year round. Here is the opportunity to experience the more unconventional types of tourism such as desert safaris, hill-climbing and scuba-diving. In order to find sub-aqua conditions of the same quality elsewhere necessary for good diving, tourists from Western Europe would have to travel much further afield to, destinations such as the Maldives or Australia. Only at Eilat (in Israel) at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba are there comparable conditions, all-be-it on a relatively smaller scale.

Also unique is the mediaeval Islamic heritage of Cairo, made up of monuments which go back as far as the seventh century. The number and variety of these are such that, if greater use was made of them, they might form an important additional attraction to tourists.

Quality and Quantity

Egypt as a tourist destination is seen in a favourable light generally. The infrastructure is of a quality which is adequate to enable travellers to move around the country easily. Major roads are good; public transport is of reasonable quality, if somewhat crowded at a local level; internal flights are frequent even if they are subject to delay or cancellation at short notice.

Hotels are plentiful throughout the country, with four and five-star hotels of a high quality. However, in cheaper hotels, the standard of hygiene required by the international traveller is not always met.

The quality of relations between locals and tourists is generally excellent. The majority of Egyptians are Muslims and are very tolerant towards the lifestyle of foreigners, even when it is contrary to their own religious beliefs. The difference in economic levels between the affluent tourists and the subsisting locals is often great, but this distinction between them has existed for decades and has seldom given rise to resentment. The present troubles in Egypt do not appear to have had any detrimental effect upon this relationship.

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The decision to develop tourism or to expand present tourism development in a country, a region or a community must be carefully

studied. With the right combination of attractions, whether natural or manmade, the socioeconomic benefits of tourism can be great for both developed and developing countries.

Tourism is a growth industry, and the expected continued growth in world tourist numbers is based on continually rising per capita incomes, lower travel costs, increased leisure time, and changes in consumers' tastes and preferences in travel, recreation and leisure, as well as goods and services. ⁵⁰

ORGANISATION OF TOURISM IN EGYPT

Government involvement in tourism in Egypt dates back to 1934 when the government Office of Tourism was established. This developed into the State Tourist Administration, with an undersecretary of state at its head, and in 1967 into a fully-fledged Ministry of Tourism. ⁵¹

The Ministry was established by governmental decree ~ No 1441. It was subsequently modified in 1981, when a new organisational structure and a number of objectives were agreed upon. These were contained in decree No. 712, and are as follows : to contribute to the development of the national economy; to consolidate relationships with different peoples and countries; to make the Egyptian public aware of their heritage; to set up comprehensive plans for tourism development; to create coordination between the different bodies

involved in the tourist industry. ⁵¹

The ministry is thus responsible for production, promotion, marketing, financing, coordination and management in the tourism sector. These functions are performed through a number of administrative bodies.

FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Egypt has a centrally planned economy, and detailed statements of economic policies are to be found in the country's various five-year development plans extending from 1952, when Egypt became a republic, to the present. These plans lay down government policy. They give details of the major accomplishments of the previous plan and they outline development objectives, as well as demonstrating the application of public sector investment funds.

The present development plan is this government's Third Five-Year Development Plan, which covers the period from 1992 to 1997 and is concerned with the following areas :

- ~ placing emphasis on increased production and refraining from contracting foreign loans, except in cases of great necessity;

- ~ safeguarding the security of the nation and its citizens and promoting stability;

- ~ devoting special attention to social justice by acting to raise the living standards of limited-income groups;
- ~ increasing efforts to deal with the unemployment problem and creating new job opportunities;
- ~ continuing the education reform programme at all levels;
- ~ dealing with population growth so that society may direct its capabilities and resources into development;
- ~ making greater efforts to eradicate bureaucracy, so that state services are made available to citizens with the minimum of complications and in the shortest time possible.

The continuing development of the tourism sector can help to realise some of the overall developmental objectives, as can be seen in the tourist objectives contained in the plan, which are :

- ~ to increase the rate of growth of international tourism to Egypt by 1997 to 4,000,000 visitors;
- ~ to vary the tourist product to include monuments, culture, conference, religious and medical tourism in order to attract new tourists;
- ~ to overcome obstacles such as terrorism which hinder the

development of tourism in Egypt;

~ to encourage domestic tourism,

However, since the plan was formulated, the Minister of Tourism has announced specific measures (1994/95) which are to be taken as part of a new promotional plan for the further development of tourism. ⁵² This plan will be implemented in the following ways :

~ by encouraging private sector investment and giving greater opportunity to foreign investors to participate;

~ by targeting the traditional tourist generating markets of the OECD countries;

~ by developing new markets such as South Africa and East Asia;

~ by concentrating more on the Arab market which now makes up about 40 per cent of arrivals to Egypt, such as through delegations and cultural exhibitions which highlight their common language and demonstrate the similarity in their cultural activities ;

~ by a planned advertising campaign to improve the image of Egypt abroad, and one which concentrates on the best aspects of the country, such as the hospitality of the Egyptian people and their love of foreigners, and the low crime rate in the country;

~ by preparing larger amounts of information on tourism,

to a higher standard and in a greater number of languages;

~ by developing medical tourism;

~ by enlightening the local population as to the importance of tourism as one of Egypt's main sources of revenue, and also by improving training programmes for those who work in the tourism sector in order to create the kind of atmosphere and level of service (from travel agents, tour guides, hotel/restaurant staff, and managers) in which tourism will flourish.

~ by encouraging those Egyptian people who holiday abroad to take a holiday in Egypt. Also by encouraging the local people to make more use of the available cultural facilities;

~ by increasing variation in tourist activities, for example, organising cultural, musical, religious and historic festivals nationwide to attract tourists to different parts of the country;

~ by continuing tourist development through the expansion of the supply factor, particularly in Sinai, the Red Sea and the New Valley; improvement of the infrastructure in the Northern Coast for both foreigners and domestic tourists (establishing a new airport between Alexandria and Mersa Matruh);

~ by conserving the environment. 53. 54

In addition, the government has set aside the sum of LE12,700,000 (about £2,500,000) for a number of projects which include : the development of the UN protected zone which includes Abu Ramad, Halib, Shalatin and Mount Elba and which is an area of natural beauty and includes coral reefs, rare animals, birds and flora. The funding is also for the study of tourism in new areas; for the study of pollution; and for the establishment of new tourist offices and the renewal of existing ones which promote tourism to Egypt; and, finally, for the completion of the Cairo Conference Centre. ⁵⁵

DEVELOPMENT INCENTIVES

The need to offer development incentives as a means of encouraging investment in developing country tourism projects can arise for a number of reasons. First, as international-standard accommodation and facilities may have to be financed or managed by foreign companies, development often becomes dependent on external sources of finance being available. It is only when tourism becomes a well-established and profitable activity that indigenous entrepreneurs are attracted to the industry.

Secondly, there is often a social or political need for the scale of a proposed project to be larger than may be appropriate on purely financial grounds.

Thirdly, most tourists to developing countries come from developed

countries and most of them “transpose to the host country well-established lifestyles and expectations relating to accommodation, food, service, hygiene etc” (Jenkins, 1982).⁵⁶

Cohen (1972) called this phenomenon the “environmental bubble”, which is often responsible for planners deciding that the various elements which constitute the tourist product ought to be of international rather than local standards.⁵⁷ Salah Wahab in his book, *Tourism Management*, sheds more light on the situation :

“The tourist country should be sufficiently different to be exciting and diversified, offering the tourist the novelty and escape he seeks, but sufficiently similar in comfort and security conditions to the tourist’s own country to make him feel relaxed and at ease.”⁵⁸

Egypt as a developing country with a centrally-planned economy has suffered from a lack of private sector investment. However, in order to encourage both private domestic and foreign capital investment, Egypt began a transition to a market economy as far back as 1974, and that is still in progress. The government’s monopoly of trade and finance was discontinued, the exchange regime considerably liberalised, and the special investment encouragement law ~ law 43 ~ enacted.

This commitment by the government to liberalise the economy has for some years been half-hearted and poorly implemented, but the

IMF and the World Bank have now put pressure on Egypt to carry out the promised reforms. These reforms, along with Egypt's success in the field of tourism in recent years, and the fact that tourism had for a time become its chief earner of foreign exchange, are encouraging further private sector investment in the tourist industry.

In order to attract further investment in the tourist sector, whether foreign or local, Egypt has developed a number of concessions. Firstly, tax "holidays" for potential investors, where very low or no tax is payable for periods of five, eight or ten years, have been offered, depending on the proposed project. Secondly, land has been offered at attractive prices, again depending on the location. In some cases, land could be acquired for as little as US\$1 per acre if the proposed development was to be a regional site, as was the case in the Red Sea/Sinai area. This arrangement requires that the potential investor provides the necessary infrastructure within an overall planning framework. 59

In trying to promote investment, the government has announced special incentives for investors in the south of the country, known as Upper Egypt, which had previously been starved of resources, and where much of the political unrest has taken place.

According to the new incentives, projects in Upper Egypt up to the value of LE50 million (US\$14.7 million) no longer have to be registered with the General Organisation for Investment, which has

been described as cumbersome. Furthermore, the government issued a decree in January 1995, cancelling the LE50,000 fee that foreign investors had to pay before embarking on new projects in Egypt. ⁶⁰ The incentives will apply to an area stretching from Beni Suef, 120km south of Cairo, to the Sudanese border, so long as the projects are established in designated zones in Beni Suef, Minya, Sohag, Assyut, Luxor and Aswan.

PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENT IN TOURISM

In 1991 the Tourist Development Authority (TDA) was created to oversee the development of Egypt's priority development zones. Its role is to help investors identify and pursue the various opportunities for tourist development. They provide information and assistance from the earliest stages of project identification through to execution and operation.

The priority zones include the two coastal strips of The Red Sea and The Gulf of Aqaba in Sinai. Within these regions three smaller areas are earmarked for immediate development because they are near existing tourist centres and are therefore easily accessible. These are : 47km of coastline south of Taba; 100km from Ras Mohammed to Naqab; and 50km between Hurghada and Safaga.

In order to develop the area the TDA is parcelling out the land to Integrated Development Companies (IDC) which control the

development and management of their designated areas. The IDCs are consortiums of private companies which buy the land from the government at a nominal rate. They are then responsible for providing the infrastructure and basic services like roads and sewage plants, and for drawing up outline plans which must be approved by the TDA. After this groundwork is done, IDCs sell off individual plots to private investors and split the profit with the Authority.

A boom in the expansion of tourist facilities is now taking place in the priority development zones of the Red Sea and Sinai and appears to be one of the largest tourist development projects Egypt has seen : championship golf courses, marinas, tourist villages, five star hotels, luxury villas, diving centres and camp sites are part of the multi-million pound plans which also include new roads, desalination plants and workers' accommodation.

Planners for each priority zone choose a flagship project to provide investors with an example of the envisaged development. The IDC which is responsible for the Taba zone is, for example, currently submitting designs for its pilot project, a resort called the Riviera Centre, 28km south of Taba. This will cover about 1,600 acres, divided into three sections, each with motels, villages, villas, town houses and upmarket hotels. It will include a golf course, country club and a marina.

Projects planned for other zones are also close to becoming a reality.

The Montazah Company bought 3.5 million square metres of land at Mersa El-Dekheila, near Sharm-el-Sheikh. Plans for the Dekheila resort include a 400-bed five-star hotel, luxury villas, a campsite and a commercial centre. ⁶¹

Just north of Dahab, on the Gulf of Aqaba (another of the five IDCs) The Dahab Company intends to start construction soon on a pilot resort called New Asala which will concentrate on attracting incentive tourism, particularly from the Far East. The village, which at present stretches for more than 2km along the shore, will also have centres for water sports and riding, restaurants, playgrounds, a campsite and an outdoor arena. The company's vision for the whole strip is for 15,000 beds, which will cater for all levels of tourism, from the up-market to the budget tourist. ⁶² Three large-scale projects in these areas could account for as much as US\$3 billion of investment over the next few years.

Projects at present include that by the Sahel Hashish Coast Development Company who won approval for a US\$750 million scheme to build a tourist village on the Red Sea coast zone between Safaga and Hurghada; and a project by a consortium of investors, led by the Egyptian Finance Company, which is investing an initial US\$150million in the development of a tourist complex to the south of Hurghada. ⁶³

Although the political unrest in Egypt has cost the country dearly in tourist receipts, its adverse effect on foreign investment in the

tourism sector has been limited. With an optimistic view of the industry's future, more than US\$10 billion worth of investment has been committed by the private sector.

It is anticipated that some of these developments will add at least 25,000 hotel rooms by 1995 to the country's 1992 stock of 60,647 rooms. Hotel occupancy too is expected to increase by 50,000, with some 100,000 employment opportunities being created. ⁶⁴

So far, none of the projects has been damaged directly by either the recent spate of terrorist attacks or by the climate of uncertainty that they have provoked. Although some smaller investors have pulled out of at least one project they have been quickly replaced by other investors, which shows a certain confidence in the future of the tourism industry in Egypt. Confidence has also been shown in the industry by the lending of US\$130 million by the World Bank towards the provision of funding of a number of private sector developments worth US\$785 million. ⁶⁵

Nonetheless, the risk involved in investing in the tourism industry in a country where political instability exists is highlighted by the many tourism and hotel companies which recently suffered heavy financial losses and found themselves unable to repay previously contracted bank loans estimated at LE80 million (US\$25 million).

Future Development Projects

In a recent TDA report new areas of high demand were pinpointed as being inland of the Aqaba Gulf, and areas to the south of Hurghada from Quseir to Mersa Alam, Ain Sokhna, and Ras Sidr in the Gulf of Suez.

The town of Bernice, south of Mersa Alam, has been selected as a “world-class international resort” and, having been thought to have a wider appeal than other Red Sea resorts, is to be aimed at up-market tourists. The site for the proposed development encompasses a peninsula known as Ras Banas and the ruins of an ancient Ptolomaic city founded in 275 BC. To the south of Bernice is Gebel Elba, a lush area of tropical vegetation. This natural reserve is home to mountain lions, ostriches, monkeys and gazelles, with emerald mines and historic ruins in the mountains nearby. ⁶⁶

Other areas are being studied as potential sites for international standard year-round resorts. Three zones, in particular, have come under the spotlight : Sidi Abdel-Rahman, Ras Al-Hekma and Bagoush. Ras Al-Hekma ~ a peninsula and secluded bay ~ is a particularly attractive location and plans are underway to develop it into a distinguished holiday resort for high-class tourists, while Bagoush will be developed as a caravan site.

BARRIERS TO DEVELOPMENT

The benefits of tourism can be accompanied by a variety of obstacles which can act as barriers to individual travel or constraints on the development of a country's tourism product. As tourism is considered a non-essential purchase, its success lies in the management of those problems which may inhibit its development.

Health and Hygiene

Public health conditions in a destination have an important bearing upon the quality of the tourist product and experience, and the interests of the tourist and the destination area are best served by the provision of high quality health facilities. Visitors' satisfaction and the likelihood of their return to a destination are contributed to by the quality of public health facilities. An informal poll of medical practitioners in the UK showed odds of 60-90 per cent on the likelihood of visitors to the Nile region being laid low by 'Gippy Tummy' or travellers' diarrhoea. This reflects a widely held view that visiting Egypt is "an invitation to act as host to alien strains of E. Coli," the common cause of a range of such ailments. According to a 1992 "Which?" magazine report on holiday health, Egypt headed the destinations in which illness among travellers was greatest. 67

In order to reassure the travelling public, poor standards of hygiene must be overcome. This could be achieved by stressing the

importance of the problem to those who will work in the tourism sector, and by emphasising the standards of hygiene required as part of their education and training.

The Environment and Carrying Capacity

The close relationship between tourism and the environment and the importance to tourism of environmental planning are now recognised throughout the world. The Manila Declaration of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) emphasises the importance of both natural and cultural resources and the need for conservation to benefit both tourism and the residents of the destination.

The increased expansion of tourism is likely to result in increased pressure on the environment unless appropriate measures are taken by governments and the private sector, and unless tourism is used as a positive force in the conservation of the environment (WTO 1983a).

Recognition by the Egyptian government of the economic benefits of tourism has produced a corresponding realisation of the need for the conservation of its ancient monuments. Tourism can provide both the incentive for conservation and the economic means by which such measures can be carried out. It can also stimulate the rehabilitation of existing sites, buildings and monuments.

Egypt's tourism potential, although it has now diversified into the beach and recreation market, is still dependent upon the dominant antiquities-based market. This market is motivated by an interest in

the ancient culture of Egypt, but the monuments of that culture are under threat, not only from pollution but from the large crowds of tourists.

The decision to control the number of visitors who are allowed into the Valley of the Kings on the west bank of the Nile at Luxor at any given time will, therefore, go a long way to reduce the overcrowding which is threatening the monuments. While the opening of the new replica tombs should help to relieve the pressure on the more popular ones that everyone wants to see.

However, local resistance to the moves to reduce overcrowding highlights the issue of community involvement and could present a threat to the environment and to good relations between government and the people. (Refer to Chapter 3)

The government could, however, enable the local people to better participate in the tourist industry by upgrading their facilities, laying on water, and granting them the right to the ground on which their stalls stand.

High Cost of Infrastructure

Another barrier to further development is the high cost of the necessary infrastructure for the development of new attractions on the Red Sea, the Sinai peninsula and the Gulf of Suez. For example, the laying on of electric power, water, sewage, and street lighting are expensive in such remote areas.

Until recently the Red Sea and Sinai areas tended to attract a rather special type of tourist whose interests were mainly in water sports and, in particular, in diving and the undersea exploration of the coral reefs and their varied and colourful marine life. To many such tourists the lack of more sophisticated, manmade attractions is of comparatively little importance. The number of these tourists is, however, limited. In order to appeal to a larger market, something more is required in the way of attractions and amenities.

With a high daily average of hours of sunshine, and with fine beaches and warm, clear water, these tourist areas have the potential to attract the same kind of tourist who at present heads for the sun, sand and sea resorts of the Mediterranean. A high proportion of these tourists also look for and expect the kind of attractions which they associate with the more popular Mediterranean resorts, such as an attractive natural environment and the night-time entertainment provided by a variety of bars, restaurants and discotheques. Although things are improving, there is still a need for greater variety.

As far as the natural environment is concerned, the scenery on the Red Sea coast is, in the main, barren and uninteresting. It has little in the way of the natural features which distinguish South Sinai, where the combination of desert and stark, jagged mountains creates a scene which for some people is one of great natural beauty but which is not likely to appeal to the mass market.

To appeal to a wider market further development will be necessary in each area and in the new tourist developments which are

underway elsewhere in the region.

Public Awareness

The government regards tourism as a very important development tool which will improve the overall economy. However it is important that the indigenous people are also convinced. At present tourism is not generally perceived to be benefitting the vast majority of people. Although the government has tried to raise people's awareness of the benefits of tourism through education and the media, there is a need for a more prolonged attempt to increase knowledge of the direct and the indirect benefits of the industry. This could be achieved by introducing an ongoing media campaign which would act as a constant reminder to people that tourism is good for them. Education about the importance of the tourist industry to the country's economy could also be incorporated into the school curriculum.

Image in Western Tourist Generating Countries

The Western image of the Islamic region and its people may, through education and less negative exposure in the media, evolve to a point where it is perceived to be a more familiar, less hostile region for tourists to visit. However, until Egypt's political uncertainties can be resolved, the threat of religious extremism will continue to unsettle the peace of mind of many potential tourists who, having a large choice of alternative destinations, can avoid

visiting the country or the region. (Refer to Previous Chapter)

Islamic Threats and Investment

Risk is inherent in any tourist investment decision. As Jenkins (1995) has stated "short-term economic gains may be submerged by long-term social and environmental problems." ⁶⁸ With this in mind it is worth remembering that the threat by Islamist terrorists to tourists and foreign investors may not currently be highlighted in the media, but the circumstances which led to the instability have still not been resolved.

CRITIQUE OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

A financial deregulation programme has been undertaken as one of the conditions set by the IMF in 1993, but the government has been too timid in its implementation of the much-needed reforms of the public sector, being fearful of the social unrest which could be precipitated by the removal of subsidies and the ensuing unemployment. Subsidies are available on commodities such as certain foodstuffs, petrol, and electricity.

Included in these proposed reforms is the privatisation of many tourist facilities, such as hotels, restaurants and tour operations, of which relatively few have yet been sold off. Efforts by the present Minister of Tourism to privatise various tourist outlets have come

up against stiff opposition from the vested interests of many of those involved in the public sector. Such outlets tend to be over-manned, but in many cases are still badly run. For example, hotels can be dirty, with the staff either unable or unwilling to upgrade standards to an accepted international level. Another example is in the state-run domestic flights, which are used largely by foreign tourists, but which are inefficiently managed and unreliable.

Egyptian industrialists comment that the restrictive, regulatory environment which exists in Egypt means that industry cannot prosper to the full. There is still a lack of private sector growth, which has been blamed upon high domestic taxes and excessive bureaucracy, where authorisation to build a hotel can take anything up to five years to obtain. There is discontent concerning the tax payable on the replacement of imported capital equipment, such as air-conditioning units. Initially a five per cent tax holiday is allowed on customs charges but this cannot be claimed on replacement.

Often, official restrictions and regulations bear most heavily on smaller businesses whose owners have little influence with politicians and bureaucrats. Such businesses are already handicapped by the difficulty of obtaining adequate start-up finance in an economy which lacks highly-developed financial markets. Much might be achieved by the creation of bodies similar to Scottish Enterprise and Highland Enterprise which could assist in providing finance for small tourism businesses in the early stages of their development.

CONCLUSION

Tourism as a strategy of development has been recognised by a number of Arab countries in the Middle East. In Egypt tourism has shown that it can be the most dynamic sector of the economy, with the potential to exceed all other major sectors as a means of development. Under the right circumstances the tourism industry could be counted upon to provide an important source of income which would in time provide a higher standard of living for many more people.

The original Egyptian tourist product was centred on the ancient culture of the Nile Valley and was relatively expensive. However, with the introduction of charter flights and hence lower prices, coupled with the demand for destinations further afield than was previously the case, the market has grown enormously, and the Egyptians have responded by increasing the provision of high quality hotel accommodation.

With the development of resorts such as those on the Red Sea, including Sinai, Egypt can also offer beach-oriented and activity holidays as well as its long-established cultural attractions. Accordingly, Egypt is now better able to cater for the year-round visitor.

Investment in tourism is still continuing especially in the coastal strips, where a number of ambitious projects are taking place, and in

the country as a whole there is still potential for further development, especially in some of the rural areas where unemployment is high. In such areas sensitive, new development is likely to give local people an incentive to reject Islamist extremism.

The government must endeavour to increase the speed at which reforms of the public sector are implemented. While more help must be given to small businesses by the removal of obstacles to their development.

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Chapter 7.

Egypt : Potential Markets and Products

MARKET SEGMENTATION

In order to establish a strategy for tourism, the tourist market in general must be analysed, and demand and supply examined. Secondly, the way in which tourists behave in this market should be investigated, and, thirdly, the major segments which make up the market must be closely studied, so that target markets can be determined :

“The segmentation process is necessary in order to divide the potential market into manageable sub-groups, or segments, of the whole. Its purpose is to facilitate more cost-effective marketing, through the design, promotion, and delivery of purpose-built products aimed at satisfying the identified needs of these target groups. It is justified on the grounds of achieving greater efficiency in the supply of products to meet identified demand, and in the marketing process”. 1

These segments have particular needs which a producer may feel especially competent to satisfy with relevant products. Middleton (1988) describes the optimum objective where “market segmentation and product formation are mirror images if they are correctly matched”. 2

At present the principal markets for Egyptian tourism are the OECD and the Arab markets.

1. THE OECD MARKET

Of the OECD market the greater part is European. That part of the market can be divided into three major segments. These are the antiquities-based, the recreation-based and the business segments.

Antiquities-based

The antiquities-based segment is characterised by its interest in the history and culture of ancient Egypt. Most of this group travel on a package tour, normally for two weeks, less often one. Although traditionally concentrated into the winter season, from September to May, there is an increasing tendency for them to come in the summer when prices can be considerably lower, although temperatures are generally extremely high. Several days are spent in both Cairo and Luxor, while Aswan and Abu Simbel are less often visited, and the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba are seldom visited. A Nile cruise is often taken, of four days duration, between Luxor and Aswan, and less often between Aswan and Cairo.

This group is predominantly middle-aged or retired and its stay is invariably in four or five star hotels, with travel within Egypt by air,

although a significant number travel by rail (usually by overnight sleepers provided by Wagon Lits).

Recreation-based

The recreation-based segment places its main emphasis on the beach activity. Many come by package tour, but there is also independent travel in small parties. The duration of these visits is usually two weeks, and travel to Egypt is either by direct charter flight or indirect scheduled services at heavily discounted fares.

Most of this group are either young or middle-aged, and many are attracted by the diving and other marine sports offered by the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. These offer the best coral formations within easy reach of Europe at the lowest cost. In this respect the only rival of the Egyptian resorts is at Eilat at the northern end of the Gulf of Aqaba.

These visitors are most likely to stay in a two or three star hotel in Cairo and in a holiday village (huts or tents) on the Red Sea or the Gulf of Aqaba. Their journey within Egypt is usually by air, but coach travel is also used.

Although they may visit the antiquities of Cairo, particularly the Pyramids and the Sphinx, and in Sinai the monastery of St Catherine, a low priority is attached by this group to the historic

sites of the Nile Valley. This group would be unlikely to take a conventional Nile cruise, but might explore the Nile by felucca.

Business - based

The final segment of the European market is business-based. It is usually male and middle-aged, with almost all travel being by air. Trips are usually of less than a week, with most of the time spent in Cairo in five-star hotels, although their stay is often extended by a weekend in order to 'see the sights', frequently in Luxor. Travel is year round, with a lull in numbers during mid-summer.

The distribution between the three European segments of the OECD market is estimated to be that half falls into the antiquities segment, a third into the business segment and the balance into other segments, of which the beach/recreation segment is the fastest growing and the one which is now gaining most in importance. 3

The Long-Haul Market

The other part of the OECD market for visitors to Egypt is a long-haul market. This is made up of visitors from the USA, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Among these, visitors from the USA predominate.

In the case of visitors from the USA there are several special aspects to consider. Many US visitors are there for official or semi-official business, often of a "quasi-diplomatic" nature, for which their expenses are paid. Although this segment is common to all tourism flows, in the case of Egypt it seems to be unusually strong. The large number of Americans visiting Egypt on USAID programmes is an example of this.⁴

Another feature of the long-haul US market is that a large number of Americans are resident in Egypt, and this attracts a continuing flow of 'Visiting Friends and Relatives' (VFR) travel. There is also a very large community of Americans living in Europe and the Middle East, most notably in Germany and Saudi Arabia, who generate as much travel to Egypt as those who travel directly from the USA.

Of the total number of US arrivals in Egypt, it can reasonably be assumed that only a minority are holidaymakers travelling from their homes in the USA. The members of this minority segment tend to be predominantly over 50 years of age, are on a tightly organised package tour, are primarily attracted by antiquities, have little or no interest in beaches, and view their Nile cruise as a once-in-a-lifetime trip.

It is this minority which makes the US market so sensitive to adverse conditions, as it is obviously inclined to defer any trip which places its special holiday dream in jeopardy. This sensitivity is kept to a minimum by the exceptionally strong marketing presence of Egypt in

the USA. Egyptair, the Egyptian Tourist Authority and the Egyptian travel trade are all very active in the USA. This is evident in their continuing high visibility in consumer and trade media and in the large number of travel trade personnel visiting Egypt on familiarisation trips.

The number of visitors from Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who make up the balance of the long-haul part of the OECD market, is in total less than the number from the USA.

However, Egypt has a strong marketing presence in Japan, where there is an innate interest in antiquities and where detailed coverage is given to ancient Egypt in school education. The number of Japanese visitors has grown steadily. Although their average length of stay is very short ~ only four nights ~ it is likely that, as the market matures, Japanese visitors will tend to stay longer. By contrast, Australian visitors stay for an exceptionally long period ~ an average of nine nights ~ and are often able therefore to combine an antiquities-based and a beach holiday. They tend to travel independently. 5

Although similar detailed information is not available for the New Zealand market, it is likely that its characteristics are similar.

II. THE ARAB MARKET

The Arab market for visitors to Egypt is different in character. Arab visitors to Egypt see Cairo as the most important Arab business centre, and it is seen as the cultural centre of the Arab world. It also offers a unique opportunity for recreation, entertainment and shopping, particularly to its near neighbours.

Since the early 1970s the nature of the Arab market has changed. Before that, most Arab visitors to Egypt were wealthy merchants with families, coming for an extended stay of several weeks, sometimes even for several months. These families usually came in mid-summer and stayed in private or leased apartments.

Another substantial group at that time consisted of young men from wealthy families who came to Cairo for the less publicised reasons of sampling the "enticing fleshpots of the big city".⁶

The first segment is still strong and the second still survives but, many of the latter group now go to more 'exciting' locations. In fact, both have been equalled by a new, third segment : the Arab middle-class, a group which hardly existed fifteen years ago.

This Arab middle-class segment is composed mainly of professional people ~ often civil servants ~ visiting Cairo with their wives and sometimes their children. Their choice of destination is often a result of features in Arabic language women's magazines or on television.

The Arab middle-class segment usually travel by air and stay in five star hotels. The main attractions for them are Cairo's entertainment, eating and shopping facilities. They are less interested in its historic sites, although a growing number are coming to appreciate the attractions of a Nile cruise.

More and more of this group, unlike many of their parents, have received a higher education, and may in time develop an interest in the history and culture of the countries they visit. "Higher levels of education", write Matheson and Wall, have "increased the desire of people to see and experience new things, people and places".⁷

Again, due to lack of reliable data, the distribution of the segments can only be estimated, but it would seem that the wealthy merchant and professional middle-class groups each account for about one third of the Arab market, with most of the remaining third comprising single males on short, and apparently genuine, business trips. This group will be considered in more detail later.

III. OTHER MARKETS

By comparison with the OECD and Arab markets for Egyptian tourism, the markets in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe including Russia, and other parts of the world, are at present of little significance. That is likely to remain so for some time, although political changes in Eastern Europe and South Africa

and economic progress in Latin America and elsewhere may make these markets increasingly important in the long term.

MARKETING OF TOURISM

Having identified, through market research and market information, the key segments which ought to be targeted, the product being formulated must be given "a unique identity to match that segment of the market for which it is intended".⁸ This will generally involve the character of the destination and its attractions being given a particular image, usually by the official tourist organisation, after which development of the product is then possible.

In recognition of the importance of the concept of image in the overall tourism product, the Ministry of Tourism decided that, in order to offset the country's tarnished image, the further promotion of Egypt had to focus on the country's positive features.

A report carried out by the Egyptian Tourist Authority made the following recommendations :

1. The employment of public relations methods in addition to the mass media "to help refute allegations raised over the country's security and stability."

2. Visits abroad by high-ranking Egyptian officials and government personnel should be utilised to organise meetings and seminars as a way of highlighting Egypt's achievements.
3. The utilisation of international and regional conferences to underline Egypt's stability and security.
4. The staging of an Egyptian tourist campaign in various countries which export tourists to Egypt.
5. Approval of campaigns jointly financed by the tourist sector and the airlines operating in Egypt.
6. Marketing of the motto "Taste of Egypt" during international meetings and conferences to increase the country's tourist revenue. 9

Marketing Egypt internationally has become a top financial priority for the government, and Mamduh el-Beltagui, the Minister of Tourism, recently announced that Egypt has boosted its promotion budget 14-fold, and has allocated US\$3.4 million for the promotion of tourism; a large proportion of which is to be used for the promotion of tourism in the UK. Britons had always been among the most enthusiastic visitors to Egypt and this decision was made to try to offset the large drop in the numbers visiting Egypt. 10

To implement the present marketing strategy the Ministry of

Tourism has already allocated US\$1.3 million for public relations and has commissioned various international public relations companies, such as Saatchi and Saatchi, to launch an international advertising and public relations campaign.

Saatchi and Saatchi's Cairo office was appointed to produce a television advertising campaign and a 25 minute documentary, half of which was funded by the American Chamber of Commerce's tourism committee. These were scheduled to be seen on the pan-European Super Channel in the autumn of 1993. Meanwhile, Cable News Network (CNN) pledged to donate free time for four spots a day for 15 days. After that period of grace, the Ministry of Tourism agreed to buy additional spots for two to three months. They also signed a one-year contract for videotext which has been shown on Super Channel. Videotext costs a fraction of the price of standard television advertising and allows advertisers to display written messages on the screen.

The strategy being employed by the agency focused on Egypt's image, and was intent upon creating an alternative image of the country which could co-exist alongside the world renowned Pharaonic image ~ that of the Pyramids of Giza and the Nile-side temples of Luxor and Aswan. The plan was to promote Egypt as a country for adventure, with desert safaris and scuba-diving at the Red Sea resorts in Sinai. The campaign also aimed at attracting businessmen who might take advantage of Egypt's modern conference centres and high-class hotels, and coincided with a

governmental decision to promote alternative touristic development in Egypt.

This was not the first time that the Egyptian government had turned to public relations experts to help boost tourism. After the Gulf War, Egypt's Ministry of Tourism initiated a publicity campaign under the banner "Back to Normal" in order to assure the world of the country's stability. Delegations of Egyptian diplomats and businessmen travelled to Europe as ambassadors of the country in a bid to attract the tourists back. Initially it worked and tourism grew by an average of 25 per cent, but when the first tourist was murdered the number of visitors plummeted, and as news of attacks against tourists appeared in the foreign press cancellations escalated.

The agencies employed by the Ministry have focused their attention on Western countries because European and American travellers together account for the majority of Egypt's visitors and money spent on promotion in these countries therefore achieves most.

While Saatchi's campaign has tried to attract tourists and at the same time has ignored terrorist attacks, Burson-Marsteller, another agency which has a long track-record of managing crises and disasters, has put on a simultaneous PR campaign based on playing down negative press coverage and promoting new archaeological discoveries, VIP visits and Egypt's positive political role in the Middle East. Burson included France, Germany, Italy,

Spain and the United Kingdom as well as five or six major US cities in its target markets.

Other tactics used by the company were to train Egyptian tourism and government representatives working overseas and to seek out positive press coverage. Egypt is also taking part in most of the international tourism exhibitions and conferences which provide an opportunity for the display of the country's considerable tourism potential and offer the chance to enter into competition with other important international destinations.

NEW MARKETS

A major aim of the promotion programme has been the opening up of new markets for the tourism industry by sending official delegations to newly emerging markets in order to organise publicity campaigns.

Among these new markets is South Africa, where attempts are being made to bridge the gap which has existed between it and other African countries as a result of many years of isolation. An Egyptian delegation, headed by the Minister of Tourism, visited South Africa to meet tourist officials and travel agency owners in a bid to attract more South Africans to Egypt.¹² For decades South Africans were not allowed to visit Egypt. Only those residents who had a foreign passport could come, and with no Egyptian embassy there, potential

visitors who required a visa had to apply to the nearest embassy which was, in fact, in Namibia. It was a lengthy procedure which did not encourage many to make the effort. In addition, there were no direct flights linking the two countries. Now both South African Airways and Egyptair operate a weekly link from Johannesburg to Cairo.

It is only since the Egyptian government relaxed the rules and visa restrictions which formed part of the trade boycott against South Africa's apartheid system that tourism has resumed. It is now among the few countries to whose nationals Egypt offers a free visa on arrival.

A company called Emeco has been appointed as agent for South African Airlines and expects to handle between 2,000 to 3,000 visitors this year.

A holiday in Egypt is cheaper for South Africans than it would be in Europe or America due to the shorter distance travelled, the cheaper air fare, and the lower cost of accommodation, food and entertainment once they get there. To those South Africans who have come to Egypt the most popular attractions have been Nile cruises and trips to Cairo, while many also want to visit El-Alamein, on the north-west coast, where they fought during the Second World War. However, most South Africans do not want to visit beach resorts when they come to Egypt in view of the fact that they have beautiful beaches of their own at home.

The majority of South African visitors so far have been the white middle classes, but Muslim residents on pilgrimage are also beginning to use Cairo as a stopping point en route to Mecca. Other agents are working within the country to promote trips to Egypt among the more affluent black South Africans.

One disadvantage for South African visitors which should be addressed is that they must change their own currency (Rands) into US dollars before being able to buy Egyptian pounds. As a result they have to pay two commissions. ¹³

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARAB MARKET

Another strategy adopted by Egypt is to increase the promotion of tourism in the Arab market.

In view of the vulnerable nature of the tourism industry in Egypt, where the number of Western tourists in particular is quickly reduced by acts of Islamist violence or by the perception of political instability in the Middle East region, concentrating on attracting the more 'politically correct' non-Western visitors from Arab countries is becoming more and more important.

The number of Arab tourists, especially from the Gulf States, has scarcely been affected at all by the Islamist campaign, and the Arab market is, moreover, a potentially lucrative one. Although it

accounts for only 36 per cent of tourists to Egypt, their financial importance is of much greater significance than their numbers. Compared with the Western package tourist, they bring and spend much more money, stay longer, and spread more of their spending beyond the souvenir stalls. ¹⁴

According to UK sources in the United Arab Emirates, and as reported in the Egyptian Gazette, tourists from nine Arab countries are thought to have spent more than 10 billion dollars while travelling abroad. However, the report does not mention over what period of time this spending took place. ¹⁵

ARAB TOURISM IN EGYPT

Arab tourism has been a feature of Egypt's summer season for many years and thrives from the beginning of the school holidays at the end of June until the end of August.

In contrast to the OECD travellers to Egypt who tend to spend much of their time touring the country's historic places, Arab holidaymakers have different needs and requirements which Egypt can fulfil.

Among these is the need to feel familiar. This is particularly important among the evaluative criteria of most Arab visitors and one which Western destinations would be unlikely to fulfil

satisfactorily. According to a report in *Al-Ahram* newspaper, many Arabs feel much more comfortable visiting Egypt than they do Western locations, where they tend to feel somewhat alien. In Egypt, they share many of the same traditions, food and atmosphere and therefore feel more relaxed and consequently better able to behave more naturally. This applies most obviously to the wearing of their traditional dress. In Egypt, where a variety of traditional non-Western clothing is commonplace, the Arabs don't attract unwarranted attention.

They are also able to worship in an unselfconscious way anywhere (literally) and at any time, and be virtually ignored by the locals. They are also able to hear the comforting familiarity of the Islamic call to prayer ~ the *Adan* ~ from the many mosques.

In food too, Arab visitors are assured that everything which is served to them will contain permitted (*Halal*) foods; non-permitted (*Haram*) food, such as ham, is available in some tourist hotels, but it is rare and clearly stated so that no possible mistake can be made. The fear often expressed among more pious Muslims when confronted with food in Western countries is about the nature of a particular dish whose invisible ingredients may not be obviously discernible, such as pork fat.

Another reason why Arab tourists feel comfortable on visiting Egypt, according to Egyptian Tourist Authority chairman Sayed Moussa, is because of their common language, which allows them to

communicate easily with local people and negotiate prices with shopkeepers and street vendors.

Arab women too may feel that holidaying in Egypt can offer them greater advantages than other locations. The knowledge that Cairo is one of the safest cities in the world for women in particular is likely to have a bearing on the choice of destination for the family.

Another factor which might make Egypt an attractive choice is that being a Muslim country there is great empathy with the needs of the Arab woman. Among these is her distinctively modest way of enjoying the seaside with her family. In contrast to her husband she will only enter the water if fully clothed, and in Egypt she is not afraid that she will be held up to ridicule as might be the case in Europe or America, where ideas of what constitutes modesty are very different.

For some Arab women, Egypt's comparatively relaxed attitudes to women's dress and behaviour, compared with some of the countries of the Gulf which have a 'traditional' ideology, hold an attraction. In Egypt Arab women are not burdened by the wearing of heavy black garments in public, which is often compulsory back home, and can, if they wish, wear Western clothing.

Activities

Arab visitors are, as a rule, not very interested in visiting museums or the Pharaonic tombs which are Egypt's major attraction for most

OECD tourists. Instead, they tend to be interested in attractions which are visited less often by the OECD groups, such as entertainment outlets, recreational parks and centres, and beaches.

With a growing Arab market in mind, a very new venture for Egypt ~ and in fact the Middle East ~ has been the opening of a water sports complex modelled on an existing one in Florida in America. The project is situated in *6 October City*, a new town about 12 kilometres from Cairo. It includes parks, swimming pools, including one with waves, 5-star restaurants, and a theatre where local pop singers hold parties for the young.

The Egyptian theatre is a popular attraction for many Arabs, who tend to be very fond of Egyptian actors, and are often prepared to watch the same performance several nights in succession. Certain shows are, as a result, tailor-made to appeal to the Arabs' taste in entertainment and are deliberately scheduled to be launched during the summer - the peak season for Arab tourism - in order to take advantage of the large audiences they provide.

One of the many attractions which Egypt holds for Arab tourists is its shopping facilities, and living in these districts also makes this easier for them, as the kind of shops which they like to frequent abound nearby. Many specialise in expensive gold and silver jewellery; leather goods and souvenirs; shoe shops, which by Western standards are like glittering Aladdin's caves; and clothes shops which in some cases provide an array of 'fashionable' Islamic

clothes for women.

Another of the places in Egypt much frequented by Arab tourists is *Nazlet el-Semman* village in Giza, with its famous stables, papyrus, perfume and leather shops. Arabs also like to ride and those who come to *Nazlet el-Semman* can do so on quality horses. Some of the wealthier visitors, such as members of the *Al-Saud* family and the families of sheikhs of the Arab Emirates keep their own horses here and visit the stables regularly.

In the village there are also numerous perfume shops whose perfumes are made from essences which are extracted from the roses and flowers which are grown on the farms nearby. Arab visitors are usually welcomed at a special reception at which samples are introduced and the process explained. It is known that they prefer strong aromatic perfumes which are often mixed especially for them and given names such as '*Cleopatra*' '*Arabian Nights*' '*and*' '*The Secret of the Nile*' '*while*' '*Dehn el-Uod*' , the preferred fragrance of the rich, is also among their collection and costs less than it would in the Gulf states. Egyptians find that it is more profitable to sell to Arabs, because they buy in such large quantities compared with most Europeans, who would usually buy only one small bottle.

Many Arabs have been educated in Egypt and often return as tourists after having established friendships with Egyptians whilst attending university. Sometimes football is the attraction for them

to travel to Egypt.

While many Western tourists like group travel and seek discounts and a sense of familiarity, most Arabs have until now preferred to come to Egypt individually, each with his own plans. Many of these Arab travellers are not in need of discounts because they tend to be well-off, and they do not have the problem of the Arabic language barrier which most Westerners face. However, following the initiative of some Egyptian travel agencies, Arabs have now been given an opportunity to visit Egypt in 'groups'.

Unlike their Western counterparts, however, many Arabs prefer to rent furnished apartments in the better districts of Cairo, such as *Mohandiseen*, *Zamalek* or *Dokki*, where they are able to mix with friends or family in a familiar environment. When they do decide to use the wide selection of four and five star hotels, Arabs, unlike many Western tourists, do not like to book in advance, but tend to make reservations on the spot. "They like to move from one hotel to another without being committed to an advanced reservation", said Mamoun el Shennawi, the sales director of the Semiramis Intercontinental Hotel. 16

PROMOTION OF ARAB TOURISM

Among the measures taken to increase the number of Arab tourists to Egypt, it was proposed by the Tourism Development Fund (TDF)

that Arab travellers coming to Egypt should be given special privileges. In order to facilitate speedier entry to the country, any citizen of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council (AGCC) should be able to visit without the necessity of holding an entry visa, and those who come via the Nuweiba road are to be permitted to have a six-month car licence which can be extended for another six months. (This, however, would not interfere with the greater security measures which have had to be implemented as a result of the recent threat of violence.) 17

Many travel agencies have begun publicity campaigns in the Gulf area, which were, according to Salah Attia in the Egyptian Gazette, deliberately ignored for many years. These campaigns were introduced because it appeared that the Gulf market included both Arab residents and foreigners working in the region. 18

In an attempt to enhance Egypt's image in the Arab countries, the Council of Veterans, a group consisting of former ministers of tourism, recently highlighted a proposal which seeks to operate travel caravans to tour the Arab countries promoting the country as a safe and attractive destination. 19

Another bid to promote greater tourism travel from the Gulf Emirates was made by Egyptair, which has established a new office in Dubai. The office will stock a range of tourist information for destinations like Sinai and the Red Sea and, in particular, will offer special deals for scuba divers. "One of the main missions of the

office is to give a clear view of the state of security in Egypt whenever needed", said Mazhar el-Kharboutli, the regional manager of Egyptair.

As a result of cooperation between Gulf and Egyptian travel agencies, the opportunity now exists for Arab tourists, following a visit to Egypt, to visit European countries by charter flights as part of one programme.

Hotels have also responded to the need to encourage more Arab tourism. Some five-star hotels offer special rates for Arab guests during the summer months. Some are encouraging those who book through agents, or who have already booked, by offering a 25 per cent discount. One hotel offered single and double rooms for the same price, and for every six nights the guests stay they receive one free night. A hotel spokesman said that, although some Arab guests are very well off, they still appreciate bargain offers. The Helnan Hotels group, which owns the famous Shepherds Hotel in Cairo, have introduced a scheme whereby any two of the group's luxury hotels can be linked, so that an Arab tourist and his family can continue their holiday in another part of the country.

In another effort to encourage more Arab travellers to visit other parts of Egypt, various regional events have been planned, such as that by the North Sinai governorate, who will host the Arab Festival of Bedouin Arts in *El-Arish*. On the margin of the festival a seminar will be held to discuss ways of preserving the Arab heritage with a

view to encouraging regular tourist traffic between Arab countries.

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One area of Arab tourism potential which is still not being fully exploited is in the Maghreb countries, where tourism traffic between Egypt and Morocco and Tunisia could readily be increased.

The Role of the Media

The increase in international tourism in general should be reflected in the amount of media space devoted to travel, and it has been suggested that a body which specialises in the dissemination of travel information should be formed along the lines of the Egyptian Travel Writers' Association, which contributes regular articles on tourism issues to the press, and as a result performs an important function in informing the public. 21

Magazines are one of the main sources of information for Arab tourists and several are published in the region. Tunisian and Moroccan magazines in French, and Egyptian and Gulf publications in Arabic, have undoubtedly played a part in promoting the region, but, according to Ahmed Hafez, editor-in-chief of the magazine *Al-Siyahiya* (Tourism), these magazines do not provide sufficient information to potential Arab travellers. Tourism and the idea of holidays are still relatively new concepts for most Arabs, and magazines have tended to be confined to tourist-related issues rather than helping people to plan their holidays. Hafez,

commenting on this said that "So long as it remains something new to them they choose destinations based on hearsay rather than knowledge, and they travel with no prior planning." The magazines could rectify the situation by informing Arabs about attractive destinations in Egypt, and by providing travel details which would guide them in their choices. 22

The international coverage of events of world interest, such as the Pharaoh's Rally, also has a large part to play in promoting Egypt as a destination. Not only is there the excitement of the events themselves but, through the coverage, people around the world can see the beauty of the country's scenery ~ in this case the desert ~ its ancient monuments, and its other attractions.

Importance should also be attached to the possibility of publicising Egypt's tourist attractions, such as its bazaars and Islamic sites, to the people of the Far Eastern countries of Malaysia and Indonesia, in view of their large Muslim populations.

MEDICAL TOURISM

As well as the established reasons for travelling to Egypt, namely for culture, shopping, or water-related pleasures, many tourists are now drawn by the low cost of medical treatment. Many come in search of low prices and specialised treatment which may be unavailable in their own countries. This is the case with those

coming from the Arab countries in the Gulf. Some come for dental treatment, others for an operation or a facelift, and while there they treat themselves to a cruise down the Nile, perhaps with the money they have saved.

Some 25 to 30 per cent of the patients seen by various dentists questioned in a report by '*Cairo Today*' were non-resident foreigners. However one dentist in *Mohandiseen* in Cairo has as many as 70 per cent of his patients coming from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, where dental charges are extremely high compared with those in Egypt. For example, a crown which costs LE500 in Egypt would cost between 1,200 and 2,000 *Saudi Riyals*.

Those who come to Egypt for cosmetic surgery or relatively uncomplicated operations, such as hernia repair or gall bladder removal, can often have that done without a lengthy hospital stay, and can recuperate in a modern luxury hotel, thus combining medical care with tourism.

The number of non-Egyptian medical patients treated in some private clinics varies between 25 and 30 per cent and includes Saudi Arabians, Yemenis, Kuwaitis, Jordanians, Syrians, Sudanese and Somalis. 23

Due to the number of highly qualified medical specialists and Egypt's strategic position, both geographically and in the Arab speaking world, the development of medical tourism is likely to serve a large

Arab market.

Egypt is well served by both regional and other international airlines making it possible in the future to target an even wider potential market.

HEALTH TOURISM

The promotion of new products in Egypt should include the potentially lucrative natural resources which can be harnessed for health tourism.

Areas of the country such as Aswan, Hurghada and Safaga are already locally renowned among sufferers from rheumatism and skin diseases. In the 1960s Safaga and Aswan hosted tourists who were buried in the warm sands to relieve their rheumatism, and who then caught the media's attention after their successful treatment. However, little has been done since then to promote this potentially lucrative attraction.

In Europe there are 15 million people suffering from these ailments, and at present many of these are attracted to Israel because it has been promoting the benefits of its environment. Hotels at the Dead Sea resorts in Israel have high occupancy rates because the water is known for its high mineral content and beneficial effects on rheumatism and skin diseases.

The Scientific Research Centre in Egypt has been monitoring hospitals and has come up with remarkable results. A research doctor told the IATM seminar in Cairo that villages beside the Red Sea have only a very small percentage of their population suffering from rheumatic ailments or skin diseases. 24

THE ISLAMIC HERITAGE PRODUCT

In the golden days before 1939, when Egypt still had grand hotels and a Season running from October to May, the main attractions for foreign visitors were not the Pharaonic monuments or the water sports of the Red Sea, but the climate and the city of Cairo. Many Northern Europeans and Americans spent the entire winter there, well-heeled refugees from the cold of London or New York.

Apart from its glamorous social life, Cairo's main prewar attraction was its picturesque historic zone : the rundown mediaeval Islamic quarters that once formed the physical and the moral core of the city and have given it a unique architectural identity.

This area contains most of the remarkable remnants of those centuries of power and glory between AD 642 and 1517 when Cairo grew into the largest city in the world west of China, with a high street 13 kilometres long. What is left is still an area larger than Venice, though much of it is ruinous and nearly all of it is given over to slums. Nonetheless, hundreds of monumental buildings, most of

them intact to a striking degree, still line thoroughfares laid out in the 14th century at the latest.

By the end of the Second World War the historic zone seems to have been virtually forgotten except by those who actually lived there. But after the war tourism returned to Egypt very slowly and no important new hotel was built in Cairo until 1959.²⁵ Meanwhile the nature of tourism itself had changed. Nowadays, the tourism industry in Egypt largely exploits the Pharaonic culture, knowing that it is this aspect of Egypt's heritage that is going to attract the biggest number of Western tourists and consequently earn the largest economic return. The historic Islamic zone now sees only a few foreign visitors every year, mostly low-budget individuals or architectural experts with particular objectives.

The Local Hosts

Egyptians know that Western tourists who come for culture most often visit the Pharaonic monuments. However, because they perceive it as having no real meaning for them, the locals seldom have any particular feelings of pride in their Pharaonic heritage. Consequently, they are less likely to welcome Western cultural tourists with the degree of enthusiasm and pride which they would be likely to show to those tourists who demonstrated a desire to understand more about the Islamic culture with which the locals so closely identify.

Dalibard (1987) has written of the importance of local hosts being able to feel proud of what they can offer to tourists :

“The members of the community must want tourism not only because of the financial benefit it brings them but because they are proud of what they have and they want to share it. This approach to tourism might seem radical. It is, in fact, based on age-old human emotions and needs : pride and sharing. If tourism is approached from this point of view, the community will make the best use of its resources and offer visitors a meaningful and pleasant experience”. 26

HERITAGE TOURISM AS A CULTURAL BRIDGE

It can be argued that there is a very natural interdependence between tourism and the culture and environment of a country. This concept was most eloquently addressed in a speech by the President of India, Giani Zail Singh, before the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organisation in New Delhi on October 3, 1993. 27 He said :

“Tourism can become a vehicle for the realisation of man’s highest aspiration in the quest for knowledge, education, understanding, acceptance and affirmation of the originality of cultures, and respect for the moral heritage of different peoples. I feel that it is these spiritual values of tourism that are significant....Tourism has also made it possible for nations to develop strategies for the conservation of the natural and cultural heritage of mankind. Planning for

economic growth and development must go hand in hand with the protection of environment, enhancement of cultural life, and maintenance of rich traditions which contribute so greatly to the quality of life and character of a nation".

As a rule, both hosts and guests in any society can learn from each other. Unfortunately, the Islamic culture is often underestimated or rejected by Western tourists. First, their perceptions of Islam may have been coloured by the various influences which were discussed in an earlier chapter, and second, they may have been convinced in a number of ways that in order to know Egypt the tourist only needs to visit the Pharaonic monuments, such as the Pyramids or the Sphinx.

Beneficial social contact and planned visits to observe local life and culture do much to build appreciation for an indigenous culture. At the same time, the visitors' interest in their way of life increases the local people's respect for these visitors and gives them a feeling of pride in their own accomplishments. ²⁸

One-to-one interaction between hosts and guests can break down stereotypes, or the act of categorising groups of people based on a single dimension. By labelling people, often erroneously, individualism can be lost. When a visitor gets to know people personally and is aware of their problems, and hopes, and the ways in which they are making life more pleasant, that visitor becomes much more sensitive to the "universality of humankind."²⁹ It is much easier to distrust and dislike indistinguishable groups of people than

individuals one has come to know personally.

Heritage tourism appears to be gaining widespread acceptance both as a part of the overall tourism effort and separately as a special attraction. Like other aspects of sociocultural tourism, heritage tourism often creates a source of community pride which helps to ease resentment towards visitors and to prevent displacement of residents' businesses, particularly in downtown areas which often need economic revitalisation and present an opportunity for cultural enrichment.

Egypt is often thought of as a single visit destination for those who are interested in seeing only the Pharaonic culture. Some may return for the outdoor activity attractions of the Red Sea and Sinai, but those who are of a more cultural persuasion may not. For tourists of this type, the development and marketing of the unique mediaeval Islamic heritage product would provide a focus for a return visit, or an extension of their first holiday in Egypt.

A Readymade Market?

The recent desire to encourage more Arab tourists to Egypt is another reason why tourism planners should recognise the potential benefits of more investment in the mediaeval Islamic heritage product.

Ethnic, religious, or nostalgic associations which some tourists have for particular places can be the reason for travel to those destinations and should be recognised as a type of attraction associated with specific tourist markets. Ethnic associations often relate to the ancestral origin of the tourists, for instance, the Irish-Americans visiting Ireland or the overseas ethnic Chinese visiting China.

The Arab heritage is largely an Islamic heritage. However, there is a dearth of historic Islamic architecture, mosques and artifacts in many of the Arab countries when compared with the profusion which is to be found in Egypt. This is particularly the case in the countries of the Arabian Gulf from which many of the Arab visitors to Egypt come.

Judging by the large sums of money which change hands when historic Islamic artifacts are auctioned in the art markets of London and Paris, an increasing interest in the Islamic heritage is developing. Much of this interest now comes from rich Arabs and Turks, where once it was the preserve of rich Western collectors.³⁰ In the case of Arabs, this interest could be attributed to the oil-rich countries of the Gulf having become established in their wealth, and consequently developing a better education system which encourages people to find out more about their roots. As a result those people are in a better position to appreciate their Islamic heritage and in some cases to spend their money collecting historic examples of it.

Such an interest could also be channelled into visiting the sites of a large part of their common cultural heritage. Therefore the importance of nostalgic tourism should be recognised and such tourism should be promoted.³¹ With appropriate advertising, Arab tourists may be encouraged to visit the many *Fatimid* and *Mamluk* buildings, monuments and museums in Cairo which are a large part of the Muslim cultural heritage.³²

THE ISLAMIC PRODUCT AND THE ENVIRONMENT

In recent years interest in the impact of tourism on the environment has been increasing. However, the discussion has dwelt more on the environmental degradation caused by tourism than on its positive aspects, with many conservationists feeling that tourism can present a major environmental threat.³³

The environment is the indispensable basis and the main attraction for tourism, for without an attractive environment there would be no tourism. Therefore the interests of tourism demand that there be protection of the scenic and historic heritage. After all, the offer in the travel brochure must be genuine.³⁴

In some countries, tourism is seen by those concerned with the protection of the environment as their powerful ally : The desire to gain national income from tourism can impel governments to protect monuments or natural areas they might otherwise have

neglected. Tourism, moreover, can directly assist active conservation by prompting contributions by others towards the conservation of famous places, such as Venice and Florence, while the entry fees of tourists can help to maintain historic structures and parks. Finally, tourist activity may also provide new uses for old buildings. ³⁵

From 1881 until the Egyptian revolution of 1952 Cairo's Mediaeval Islamic heritage was looked after by the *Comite de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*, which worked effectively within the international norms of the period. Meanwhile, the Cairo governorate remained responsible for infrastructure, while the Ministry of *Awqaf* (Mortmain Endowments) held the deeds to most of the buildings. After the second world war, but for the *Comite*, there was neglect of the area, and under the Republic the *Comite* was dissolved. Its responsibilities were vested in the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO) which admits that until 1979 it neglected the area and its monuments. That year the EAO requested that the entire zone be added to Unesco's World Heritage list, and official attention has been given to it ever since. Since then several important projects have been carried out, even having top EAO priority between 1983 and 1988. However, little was done to upgrade the infrastructure.

Outstanding among its monuments are the mosques and religious schools built by great patrons between the 7th century AD and the beginning of the 20th century. There are also caravanserais,

apartment blocks, workshops, and bustling markets, often no more than wide places in the road, where merchants of all kinds ~ stallkeepers, hawkers, tradeswomen ~ foregather, Oriental-style, to sell their wares. 36

Although it would be wholly inappropriate, it is said that there are some important elements in the government whose idea of preserving this heritage would be to turn the whole area into a kind of Islamo-Disneyland! It is also said that the ministries of tourism and culture would be delighted to herd crowds of foreign visitors around the mediaeval monuments of Cairo as has been done to the country's Pharaonic heritage but, in view of the non-renewable character of the mediaeval Islamic heritage, such large-scale tourism would undoubtedly be unwise. Instead, other forms, such as 'quality' tourism, should be considered.

Quality tourism implies highly controlled development and selective marketing which is aimed at attracting affluent tourists with high expenditure patterns so that economic benefits are generated without a large number of tourists visiting the area.

With a view to using the Islamic heritage site as a tourism product, the approach which should be adopted is a combination of physical planning for visitor facilities, conservation where needed of the attraction features, and careful organisation and management of visitor use of the features. 37

A long-term restoration programme has already been undertaken by the German Institute of Archaeology together with the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) to preserve 29 monuments in Islamic Cairo. So far they have successfully restored two monuments (*Sabil* Abdel-Rahman Katkhuda ~ 1744-1745 AD and *Madrasa* Salahyia - 1242 AD) and are ready to continue.

From the tourism point of view, the decision to start with these two buildings was probably taken because together they form the main points of attraction in the nucleus of Islamic Cairo. The *madrasa*, which was originally the site of a Fatamid palace, was used to teach Islamic law, and the foundations of the students' rooms are still intact, making it an ideal place for a tourist centre.

The need to provide local colour will be satisfied because the Islamic monuments of Cairo are still being used by ordinary citizens for prayers and meetings. The *sabil* contains a *kuttab* where children learn the *Qur'an* and it also houses a small orphanage which is still in use. The fact that these historic monuments continue to fulfil their original functions makes it twice as important to preserve them as 'living' buildings.

The Islamic Cairo master-plan also includes restoration of some local shops, but involves the removal of all the shops adjacent to the *madrasa* and placing them inside the building's compound in order to allow the coloured and engraved facade to be restored. As a result, the local marketers and shopkeepers are worried that they

may be moved out of the district altogether. This would be a mistake because these local people plying their trades in public are an indispensable part of the authentic character of the area which would be diminished by their absence.

With plans underway to continue the upgrading of this historic area, the maintenance of high standards are all-important. Some of the planned improvements involve reinforcing the character of this architecturally unique area, and will be achieved by installing historic details such as Islamic lanterns. ³⁸

Other proposed improvements of the area are to be the maintenance of a clean environment, for example it is proposed that the roads will be cleaned on a daily basis !

As in the other zones of development, the government must convince potential investors that the Islamic heritage area as a tourist attraction is a sound investment which is likely to make money. This involves minimising any project risk such as might arise from the provision of an inadequately upgraded infrastructure, or from poor environmental conservation, such as unsatisfactory renovation of the historic buildings on the site, or from any lapse in the present security measures taken to combat the threat of terrorism in the area.

LIMITATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT

While Egypt has 16 overseas tourist offices, this in itself is not enough to fully achieve the objectives of tourism expansion. These overseas offices lack the capabilities and contemporary technical and technological tools necessary for the achievement of their aspirations. The Ministry of Tourism in Egypt would need to engage in a comprehensive assessment of these offices in order to reach a more effective utilisation of their resources in view of the crisis of confidence in tourism in Egypt.

TOURISM PROMOTION BUDGET

Egypt's marketing and tourism budget is also insufficient to produce the desired results, particularly in view of the damage done to the country's image by terrorism. According to the Ministry of Tourism, a destination's tourist budget should not be less than one to three per cent of its tourist receipts, therefore, the amount spent by Egypt in 1992 ~ £E10.2 million (about US\$3 million) ~ is not thought to have been competitive in the world tourist market. The consensus at the ministry is that Egypt should have spent between US\$20 million and US\$40 million in 1992 and between US\$14million and US\$30 million in 1993. Consequently, there was a need to formulate a new and properly funded tourist promotion plan. (Refer to Chapter 6)

MARKETING

At a more immediate level, hotels in Egypt do not benefit greatly from the Arab arrivals, and Egyptian travel agents could play a more important role in encouraging Arab tourists to stay in hotels, rather than the less lucrative furnished flat, by providing more information for potential tourists. This could be designed to point out such benefits as travelling in groups in order to obtain reduced prices in hotels.

Unfortunately, some Egyptian travel agents have earned group travel a bad name by promising clients better services at cheaper prices, but deceiving them about the standard of the accommodation or the quality of the site or sights.

Arab tourism is lucrative, and when encouraging this group to stay in hotels it should be kept in mind that the more pious among them are sometimes upset if they are confronted by Westerners consuming alcohol in public areas of hotels during Ramadan. Those establishments which serve alcohol at all times may find it necessary to ban the consumption of alcohol in public parts of the hotels during the hour or two when Muslims celebrate *eid*, the breaking of their fast.

Arab tourists can sometimes be seen as a troublesome group due to the idiosyncratic behaviour of some of their number when staying in hotels. An example of this is the tendency of some to cook meals in

their room, which is not only a fire hazard but also creates strong smells and can be disconcerting to other hotel residents. Another example is the indulgent way in which they allow their children to use bicycles in the corridors and other public areas of the hotels.

ISLAMIC HERITAGE AND CONSERVATION

Due to the severe degree of pollution in Cairo, it is important that the restoration of the Islamic heritage zone, which is the only place in the world to house such a large number of mediaeval monuments in one district, should be achieved as quickly as possible.

Giani Zail Singh states that :

“The rapid and sometimes alarming deterioration of the environment due to pollution which is entirely man-made must be a matter for concern to all of us, who hold in trust on behalf of our peoples, the distinctive heritage of our respective countries.....” 39

The Islamic heritage zone was specifically excluded from the city's Wastewater Masterplan, which has been implemented since 1979 with US\$10 billion worth of foreign aid. Sanitary conditions in the zone leave much to be desired and have already caused some of the local residents to leave. Most experts believe that unless the historic zone is properly drained it is futile to pour money into further

restoration. 40

Since the earthquake of 1992 several foreign agencies have joined local contractors in making long-overdue repairs throughout the historic zone. They believe that it is time to galvanise both the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO) and the Cairo governorate into more effective, long-term action to preserve this heritage. Coordination and cooperation must, therefore, be encouraged between all the parties involved in the various development projects which require conservation or restoration, in order that the work is able to progress quickly and that there is a clear sense of direction. This work should not be allowed to suffer from the lack of cooperation between the relevant bodies that has dogged other restoration projects in Egypt.

The conservation of the unique historic site is also under threat from property developers who want to exploit it without regard to its inherent value as part of the national and international cultural heritage. Moreover, its value as a potential tourist heritage product is also compromised by the damage which would result from such action.

In one recent court case involving an important site, the EAO's argument for protection, based on current law, was rejected in favour of the right of a developer to do as he pleased. It is in such ways that aspects of traditional culture can virtually disappear during the early stages of modern development with little sense of

loss by society because of its eagerness for economic progress.

It is often only after the damage has been done, whether from ignorance or neglect, that it is realised that the unique character of historic cultures has been lost, and only then do those concerned try to revive aspects of their traditions. It is better, when possible, to manage cultural resources carefully and integrate them into modern development before they have become lost.

OVERCROWDING

Problems of overcrowding are to be found in many of the great cities of Europe such as Florence and Venice, which are permanently crowded with visitors throughout the peak tourist seasons.

Although this problem exists in the city of Cairo it is due to the pressure of the huge indigenous population. It does not follow, however, that the heritage zone in Cairo must suffer the same fate. Overcrowding in this area must therefore be addressed by planners, who ought to ensure that a systematic change takes place in the present state of congestion which is caused by the large amount of traffic and the many traders in the area. This can be achieved by creating a pedestrianised zone which should produce an atmosphere of greater calm and allow tourists to circulate more easily, while not banishing the traders.

As far as overcrowding due to tourism is concerned, tickets to the various historic attractions of the zone could be purchased in advance of travel from local tour operators or hotels. These would specify a date and time, thereby limiting the number of people who might visit the site at any one time. Pricing could reflect the quality of tourism aimed for.

Outline plans by the head of the SCA state that, on completion of the work being done to upgrade the area, car-parking will be banned and traffic will only be allowed to enter the area between 10pm and 5am.

CONCLUSION

Tourism in Egypt has in the past relied most on attracting visitors from Western countries. To increase Egypt's share of world tourism it should be possible to develop further the long-haul part of the market, particularly to the lucrative Japanese market. In time, with the growth of their economies, markets in Latin America, Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa, should also make a worthwhile contribution.

The Arab market is particularly important at present and offers scope for further development. While most Muslim tourists come from the Gulf States and other countries in that area, there may be opportunities for developing tourism from the countries of the Maghreb and the Muslim countries of the Far east, especially Malaysia and Indonesia.

When targeting existing and new markets an attempt must be made to counterbalance the effects of Islamist extremism by stressing Egypt's political stability and the generally high degree of safety which it can still offer to tourists.

The image to be created should also include alternatives to the antiquities-based Pharaonic heritage which is the major attraction for most Western tourists. That is particularly important if the potential for Arab tourism in Egypt is to be fully realised. Arab tourists in general have little interest in Pharaonic monuments and

relics, but tend to come mainly to Cairo for relaxation, entertainment and shopping.

The Arab market offers scope for the further development of medical tourism in Egypt, because of its central location in the Arab world, its well-developed medical facilities and its resources in highly-trained and skilled medical specialists.

In the further development of the tourist product greater emphasis should be laid on Egypt's Islamic heritage as an additional attraction for both Western and Arab and other Muslim tourists. In particular, more should be done to restore the mediaeval heart of Cairo and to improve the environment there. Putting greater stress on the Islamic element in the product would not only add something of value to what Egypt has to offer the tourist but would be likely to stimulate the pride of local people in their Islamic heritage and to foster their interest in, and support for, tourism.

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Chapter 8

Conclusion

The development of a tourist industry has been recognised in a number of 'secular' Muslim countries as playing an important role in their economic growth. In Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco and Turkey tourism has already been developed with considerable success.

In theory Islam is favourably disposed towards tourism, but it does not approve of many of the features of Western mass tourism, particularly the indulgence in what Muslims regard as *haram* or forbidden ~ such as the consumption of alcohol, gambling, sex outside marriage, the display of the body and other immodest behaviour.

Although Egypt already has a highly-developed tourism industry, it is nonetheless important that Muslim sensibilities should not be neglected. Both tourism planners and tourists themselves should keep in mind that even where *shari'ah* is not in force the people may still possess strong Islamic values. In order to reassure those local people who may be influenced by Islamic propaganda, tourists should be made more aware ~ perhaps by way of printed guidelines ~ of the religious character of the country they are visiting, as the failure to respect these values could exacerbate the unfavourable social impacts which are often associated with tourism.

Because it may not always be apparent to some of those who do not benefit directly, it is also important that the government should put more effort into convincing the Egyptian people of the economic advantages to everyone of a successful tourist industry. This could be achieved by introducing an ongoing public awareness programme on the benefits of tourism. The various segments of the population could be targeted by utilising the media, but in ways designed to reach the large percentage of the population who are illiterate, and through the school curriculum. The benefits to the individual of a tourism industry could then be highlighted, and advice could be given as to how to encourage tourists ~ for example, by advising people not to beg from them.

Although the rise of Islamist terrorism in Egypt has undoubtedly hindered the growth of tourist arrivals and hence the development of the industry, the government's handling of the situation has had considerable success in reducing the threat and attracting tourists back to the country. However, it is important to recognise that until Egypt's socio-economic problems are addressed, the appeal of the Islamist alternative could lead to a degree of instability which might undermine the endeavours of the tourist industry to foster an image of Egypt as a safe destination for the international tourist.

For the creation and maintenance of such an image effective planning and management are necessary. This can be achieved by countering Islamist attacks with good policing; giving priority to the protection of tourists through increased security, for example police escorts accompanying Nile cruise-boats; curtailing tourist activity in

the high-risk areas of Upper Egypt, and seeking to exercise a constructive influence on the information that is supplied to the media.

Despite the unfavourable reporting of Islamist extremism that Egypt has had in the foreign press, there has been a surprisingly high level of investment in the tourism industry by large-scale investors. This is particularly so in the development of tourism in the areas around the Red Sea and the Sinai peninsula, where a number of ambitious projects are under way. However more thought needs to be given to measures which would enable and facilitate a greater degree of participation by smaller-scale investors.

In view of the important role which image plays in the marketing of the Egyptian tourist product, it is important that planners and marketers ensure that the induced image, which is largely projected through advertising, and brochure advertising in particular, should be both honest and accurate, while those responsible for marketing tourism must be prepared to spend more on advertising internationally.

The strength of the organic image on the destination choice process in Middle Eastern destinations is founded on centuries of prejudice and misconceptions. This has led, in some cases, to a distortion of the truth regarding such elements as the overtly sensual or aggressive nature of the people, and a general perception that it is a high risk area. Compared with most Western countries, Egypt, in

fact, has a very low crime rate.

The image which is aimed for should, however, guard against attracting a predominantly hedonistic tourist, to whom the character of the destination is less relevant than the physical pleasures to be found there. Egyptian tourist planners must distinguish between pleasure tourists on the one hand, and activity and culture-based tourists on the other.

If Egyptian planners want to project the image of sun, sand and sea for the pleasure tourists, they should focus on the Red Sea and on Sinai, where the new airport will allow the creation of a kind of tourist enclave for Western mass tourists. There they will be largely free from the dangers of Islamist extremism, while the bulk of the population, which is predominantly Bedouin and is thinly spread, will not be exposed to any perceived offensive conduct.

With the present uncertainty surrounding the behaviour of Western markets, and perhaps as a result of 1995 having been designated the Arab Year of Tourism by the Middle East Commission of the World Tourism Organisation, the possibility of targeting the Arab tourist market to a greater extent is also worth pursuing.

Establishment of old Islamic Cairo as a tourist development zone would give a much-needed boost to the Islamic heritage, to tourist interest in the Arab countries and to the indigenous Muslim population.

Also of value in the further development of tourism is the fostering of medical and health tourism, which due to Egypt's pivotal position in the region can be marketed fairly widely.

In spite of the danger of relying too heavily on any one sector, the further development of tourism in Egypt is to be encouraged in view of the limited development potential of other economic sectors.

Part of such encouragement should include a tourism research agenda. For it is important to instigate objective research to balance both the cultural and historic parameters of tourism development with the economic realities. Egypt needs its tourist industry to support its economic development; tourism needs the support of the Egyptian people to make it sustainable.

There are many areas of current interest, such as community involvement, Arab tourism, and tourism and the environment, all of which could provide suitable research topics. Whatsmore some of the universities and academic institutions in Egypt have both staff and institutional capacity to develop such tourism research.

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