

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM INDUSTRIES
IN THE ARAB WORLD:**

**Trapped Between the Forces of Economic Globalization and
Cultural Commodification¹**

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Tourist Colonials

While the expansion of international tourism is a major feature of the process of globalization, the Arab world has long been a destination for western pilgrims, travelers, and adventurers. It was, in fact, upon the images and tales brought back by these early tourists that Thomas Cook and Son's in the 1860s was able to construct the first modern international tourism industry in Egypt by bringing British tourists on organized tours up the Nile.

In the years following, Western tourism became interwoven with Western colonialism. The development of Thomas Cook's steamer business in Egypt relied on support from British colonial officials and in the 1880s the firm was commissioned to transport the British Empire's troops through Egypt to suppress a rebellion in Sudan. Similarly, in the early 20th century, French colonial officials in North Africa sought to promote heritage preservation and tourism in the service of pacifying indigenous urban communities and drawing Europeans to settle the land. Moreover, tourism played a indirect role in

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shaping European views of the Arab world as travelogues became the dominant means for the transmission of representations of Arab peoples and places.

In the time since, tourism has grown as an international industry. It now represents one of the largest employers and items of trade in the global economy. While the bulk of this traffic is between the affluent societies of the industrialized North Atlantic, the 3% or so of the global flows which encompass the Arab world have had disproportional impact in enveloping the region in the global processes of tourism development.

The new religion, the new pollution

In the Arab world today, while Western tourists still come in search of the region's past, many governments are feverishly promoting tourism as a means to build their own economic futures. The argument posed by tourism boosters—such as state elites, private entrepreneurs and international bankers—is that the Arab world's warm climates, sunny beaches, vast deserts, historical monuments, and native hospitality are some of the most valuable resources of the region and they should be exploited for the means of generating new sources of wealth. This industry has been touted as a means to help their developing economies adjust to the ever more competitive pressures of the global marketplace.

Tourism with its roots in religious pilgrimages around the Eastern Mediterranean has a claim to be considered one of the oldest trades in the region. But, we must ask, what kind of future will tourism development offer? The choice is not simply whether to open or keep closed the borders. Tourism is a commodity. It is produced, shaped and valued by policy makers, investors, and hotel operators as well as archeologists and the tourists themselves. The "tourism product" is not simply a reflection of the existing state of the natural geography or the remaining historical monuments and ruins, but most of all it is a product of political and social constructions bounded by global economic processes.

The economic benefits of tourism require tradeoffs. Some of the trade off are economic—such as foregoing investment in other sectors—while other tradeoffs concern environmental degradation, the social segregation and privatization of public space, and how tourism acts to commodify culture and heritage and then project these to the world as the dominant representations of Arab society.

To understand these choices and dilemmas we need to look at both the economies of the industry as well as how it impacts the social lives, cultural heritage, and media representations of the Arab people.

Economic needs and tourist dreams

While images and myths of other cultures are often what drives tourists to travel, the development of tourism industries in host countries is shaped by economic factors and the pressures of globalization have only exaggerated them.

Since independence Arab governments have been charged with promoting economic development to satisfy the needs of their people and maintain political legitimacy. Even after the years of the oil boom, for most states, these challenges remained greater than ever.

Populations continue to expand requiring the importation of larger amounts of food and other goods. And with the majority of Arab populations below the age of 18 larger numbers than ever are coming into the labor market seeking jobs while most of the region's economies already have high unemployment.

In addition, greater amounts of imports from industrialized economies are continually needed to satisfy the demands of the upper class and the growing middle classes that have become hooked on Western consumer goods. Even efforts to promote local industries will require significant inputs from abroad. These combined with sizable debts in many oil poor states will absorb ever increasing amounts of foreign exchange.

Moreover, through most of the late 1980s and early 1990s most states had to meet the increasing demand for food, jobs, and hard currency while being challenged by declines in oil revenues and remittance flows. On top of this, many states also face pressures for economic reform and liberalization, often instituted as part of IMF loan packages, requiring decreases in government social spending and subsidies, currency devaluations, and the privatization of inefficient but job providing factories.

With its potential for providing jobs and hard currency, tourism has often been hoisted up as a way out of these problems. The promotion of tourism is not new to the Arab world and other developing countries. In the 1950 and 1960s many developing economies sought to promote tourism to decrease their dependence on primary sector exports (such as minerals) while diversify their economies. At the same time, tourism was generally viewed as a labor intensive industry able to provide many job not requiring extensive skill training or technology. It was also hoped that tourism revenues would provide a source of capital for industrial development.

Since the 1970s the logic has changed. Many boosters view tourism as an outward-oriented growth strategy, similar to those promoted by the East Asian tigers. Such strategies seek to promote a sector that is competitive in the global marketplace and does not require tariff protection nor extensive government intervention, as earlier strategies to create local industries to produce (often less efficiently) goods imported from industrial economies. Outward strategies are guided by a logic of microeconomic efficiency instead of national autonomy.

Additionally, in the 1990s , many argues that the time was ripe for the promotion of tourism. Developing countries, it seemed, were set to take advantage of the shifting product cycle: Many European tourists, who had long visited resorts and tourist sites in the northern Mediterranean, were now seeking to go farther a field to try new destinations.

This promotion of tourism is viewed by its boosters as having great potential to provide jobs and hard currency thus promoting macroeconomic stability. It was also

thought that through forward and backward linkages it could support other indigenous sectors such as food production and consumer goods. And as tourist zones could be set up in less urbanized areas this might also lead to more balanced regional development.

“Don’t you wish you could wake up one day and read that...”²

These arguments for tourism development also matched the economic situations of the local entrepreneurs and the state in the Arab World. International tourism was already a globally developed industry with airlines, tour operators, and tourists looking for new destinations. In the 1960s Arab states were able to join the industry by doing little more than building beach-side hotels and in some cases providing tours of archeological sites.

Hotel investments were viewed as being able to provide the quick, hassle and risk free returns most Arab investors wanted. In the 1950s and 1960s tourism sectors in places like Lebanon and Tunisia became refuge shelters for private capital escaping the socialist nationalization in places like Egypt and Tunisia.

With the oil boom and economic opening program of the mid 1970s, tourism in the Arab world expanded rapidly. Much of new Arab wealth that was invested regionally went into real estate and tourism and these investments were often matched by loans and outlays from local governments. A key input for these projects was land, which was usually already owned by the state or quickly acquired by it. Tourism development required much less state capacity for regulation and promotion than other more technologically or capital intensive/sophisticated industries booming in Southeast Asia.

When the IMF started requiring privatization in exchange for bailing out Arab states from currency and debt crises, hotels were and continue to be the first to go. Looking forward, it is also understood that tourism sectors will not face the same shock that say

² A quote from Edward Said made at an AAUG forum over 20 years ago. The rest goes... “plans are afoot to build a great Arab library instead of a new hotel?” [reprinted Said 1994, p. 229]

textiles will as Arab economies, such as those in North Africa lower their trade barriers to Europe.

More recently tourism has been viewed as linked to the “peace process” such that transnational tourism flows would be fostered by attaining peace, promoting peace would be a marker of stability and acceptability, and tourism development could provide economic stability for the regional economies.

The gifts of sun, sand, souks, and sites...

The results of these efforts are a complex mix of the tangible and intangible. In economic terms tourism is firmly established as a key economic sector in many states.

The shape and nature of tourism differs throughout the region, and thus I will have to make some very basic generalizations through this presentation to give an overall picture.

Tourism as an economic activity has traditionally been most dominant in Tunisia, Egypt, and Morocco. Tunisia has the longest history of the developed standardized package sea and sun resort tourism. Morocco and Egypt have developed such mass tourism sectors as well as tours which seek to take advantage of cultural and historical sites such as the souks of Marrakech and the temples of Luxor.

In these three countries tourism is big business and has been expanding rapidly. Between 1983 and the mid 1990s tourist arrivals in Tunisia and Egypt jumped past the crisis of the Gulf War to more than double from 1.5 million to about 4 million visits by non-residents to each country. Tourism receipts in Egypt amount to over 2 billion dollars or about 8% of GNP while Tunisia and Morocco each bring in about one billion dollars or representing 5-6% of their GNPs. These figures make tourism one of the top foreign exchange earners for these countries covering, for example, over 40% of Tunisia’s commercial trade deficit.

Most direct employment is in the hotel sector where; for example, over 50,000 are employed in Tunisia. Tourism likely employs indirectly about one out of every ten people in Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt.

Several other countries have been seeking to develop more modest tourist sectors mostly concentrating on cultural and luxury resort tourism. These states include Jordan, Syria, Oman, as well as the Palestinian authority and rebuilding is under way in Lebanon. Some Gulf states, in particular in the UAE and Bahrain, are seeking to develop an even more restrictive narrow band of lucrative luxury tourism.

The Arab world also includes states with minimal tourism levels such as Algeria, Libya, and Iraq. While these countries would like to attempt to expand their tourism³, Saudi Arabia has long been a state that is not open to foreign leisure tourism, though has for centuries hosted the mass Hajj pilgrimage.

Tourism's other myths

Tourism development has proven a relative success in advancing macroeconomic growth. I would argue, though, that this "success" is relative as the other development options seemed less feasible or more risky. The hard currency tourism brings in has made tourism so critical to the health of national economies and state budgets that for many governments the maintenance of tourism flows often now ranks with issues of national security. I don't suggest ending the promotion of tourism, but argue we should take a hard look at its effects and how it might be controlled and reshaped.

As noted above, the demand for job creation is a major pressure facing many Arab states. But tourism, as it is now structured, does not usually promote the jobs and skills these economies need to be creating. Tourism's seasonality makes most jobs, in and around hotels, temporary in nature. Nevertheless, the draw of this quick money has emptied large sections of agricultural land of its work force.

The full-time work is generally not high paying. The skill levels of the vast bulk of workers in the sector is very low as is their level of education (most workers have minimal education). In a places like Tunisia, where mass tourism dominate, the numbers show that very few workers have any real training, and the traditional tourism trade schools have usually only graduated a tiny fraction of the workers needed each year.

The truth is that the number directly employed is still not very large as a share of total employment and most of the rest supported by tourism are effectively in the informal sector. It would be a mistake, though, to assume that this sector can be viewed as a match for the less educated and lower skilled sections of the populations. Instead, we should view this along with one of the most common complaints from Western tourists which is that they feel constantly harassed by unofficial or false guides, who might offer an assortment of dubious services or simply tag on to you and seek to extract a commission from the shop owners on tourist purchases. More than anything this situation exposes the high unemployment rates in tourist areas where there are little for the young men to, while at the same time being exposed to conspicuous consumption by Western tourists.

The effects may go deeper. A Tunisian tourism consultant lamented to me the startling disparities in school attendance rates in the Hammamet area of Tunisia, a major tourism zone. It appears that boys were dropping out or not attending school in great numbers drawn by the lure of making money off tourists. Thus these boys are limiting their education and long term job opportunities. This consultant remarked further that he feared it may lead to exacerbating gender conflicts within the community.

Tourists drink first

³ At the Mediterranean Tourism Convention in Tunis 1997, the Libyan exhibit was by far the largest, and they passed out pamphlets with the statement from their leader: "Relations are between peoples, not governments".

Tourism development also eats up tremendous amount of land and resources. Along the Mediterranean large stretches of coastline have been turned into concrete, in effect privatizing what was once public space. Where locals once enjoyed the seaside, now only those who can afford the hotels come as tourists.

As the numbers that flock to the beaches grow, inevitably so does the pollution that they and the tourist facilities dump in the water. Some states such as Tunisia and Jordan have a stated goal of meeting best practice standards for environmental sustainability and awareness. But I wonder if this would be the case if environmental degradation and political were not viewed as major threats to the tourism product and its external image. Commenting on these development plans one analyst remarks “the government was seemingly more concerned with the environment’s impact on the tourism industry than the [impact of the tourism industry on the environment].” [Poirier 1997, p. 58]

As for those that don’t make it to the beach, the environmental effects of tourism development still harm the local population. In most areas water is a limited resource. It has become common-place to refer to the next Middle East conflict as one over water resource. Tourism only makes this situation worse as the tourist zones per person use up about 8 to 10 times per day the amount of water of the rest of the country.

The over exploitation of water draws it into conflict with agriculture which often still employs more of the local population. Only the high priced luxury tourism of the Gulf is able to offset tourist water demand with costly desalinated water. As a Moroccan geographer notes “A dwindling underground water table often coincides with the installation of major hotels. Nevertheless, tourist hotels have always been the last to suffer from water interruptions imposed by drought.” [Berriane 1997, pp. 249-250]

A beach of their own

The cause for the most grievous imbalances of resource use and urbanization has been a lack of planning. Without regulation hotels are often scattered in strings along

coastlines with little coordination or organized supplemental development. In parts of Tunisia, long stretches of roadside across from hotel developments have been left desolate and barren.

In the mid 1970s Tunisia and elsewhere shifted from such a “linear model” to a “nuclear model” consisting of integrated stations. The logic of such super-complexes, is similar to that of a shopping mall or Disneyland. The idea is to pack a number of huge luxury hotels, with sometimes over 1000+ beds per hotel, into a small area together with a series of restaurants, night clubs and other facilities such as sports clubs and condos. This compactness with higher bed per area densities supposedly reduces the impact on beach erosion and the cost of developing the accompanying infrastructure.

These projects require large amounts of financing and are often controlled by transnational hotel and development corporations. This model of development—the basis for complexes such as Port El Kantaoui north of Sousse in Tunisia and many development along the Red Sea coast of Egypt—has led to a whole new type of segregation producing hermetically sealed tourist experiences with their own isolated zones.

Rock the casbah

The move to the tourism complex model had political as well as economic motivations. In Egypt, the cultural and social tensions caused by the tourism flows have sparked open violent conflict over tourism and the future of an Arab society. Hotel development has been one of the leading sectors since the *infitah* (economic liberalization) of the 1970 and expanded greatly in the 1980s. It was during this period that Islamists who opposed to secular authoritarian rule were organizing against the state. In 1992 the Gama’*a* al-Islamiya began a campaign directed at foreign tourists with the goal of crippling the industry and thus the national economy. They hoped to destabilize the regime. This deadly campaign included bombing tour buses, firing at tour groups, cruise ships, hotels, and even the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

The number of attacks peaked in 1993-4, though the 1997 massacre at Luxor resulted in the most casualties of any single attack. These attacks have clearly focused on the very prominent role tourism plays in the economy. They are often represented by the militants as attacks on the extravagant luxury of Western tourists and rich Arabs who not only consume alcohol and violate the Islamists' sense of proper social conduct, but also clearly flaunt the existence of vast local and global economic inequalities.

The vulnerability of foreign tourists has led to calls for a further segregation of tourist spaces into isolated zones. The building of such developments have taken off along the Red Sea coast of Egypt. This segregation is well represented by a *New York Times* reporter, the chief of the Cairo desk, who described what he feels as the splendid isolation of a Sharm ash-Sheikh resort that "may have less in common with the Egypt of the Pyramids and the Pharaohs than with the ends of the earth." For him this is signaled by its clean airport and the best roads in Egypt, convivial pubs, and the relaxed dress of the German woman at the pool. [*New York Times* February 11, 1996]

The shortsightedness of this strategy is that it fails to address the heart of the political struggle in Egypt.

As Egyptian sociologist Heba Aziz points out, one of the first instances of attacks on tourists was carried out by a group of soldiers fulfilling their military service duty in a camp near Giza, located in proximity to the Pyramids and luxury five star hotels. These men, living in miserable conditions, set fire to several tourist establishments in the area.

Aziz goes on to note that, based on a statement by the Minister of Interior in mid 1994, in the previous 36 months only 12 tourists were killed while 125 members of the security forces were. Add to this that the Ibn Khaldoun Center reports that in 1993 alone, 111 members of Islamist groups were killed in clashes with the security forces we see the real scope of the conflict.

In other words, the tourists have become symbolic players in this struggle. On the one hand, in the eyes of the Islamists, the tourists have come to represent Western

decadence and power, while on the other hand as victims they present the government with further need and justification for harsher crackdowns and larger police presences throughout the country.

I present this not to give credence to any claims that the militants represent a legitimate form of political protest or opposition to the state, but to note that the strategy of both sides is leading the country faster, and faster in the wrong direction. A war fought over “tourism” will lead to only a further segregation of tourists into enclave resorts (with little cultural contact with Egypt and its heritage) were the state can still gain hard currency and the same time increasing repression.

In addition to similar measures in Tunisia, that government has pursued a curious path to negotiating its encounter between poverty and the new invasions of Western culture. It has developed a very public social welfare program--which includes such things and donating to it profits from state sponsored Michael Jackson concerts and the premier showing of the American blockbuster movie Independence Day.

Shopping mall airport oasis

It should be no surprise then the area with some of the most rapid success with the model of enclave tourism has been in the Gulf states such as Bahrain and the Emirates, which have already built up their economies and societies as high income enclaves. This was made possible with oil wealth, though now they are seeking to diversify their economies.

One of the ironies of these cases is that luxury hotel facilities were first developed in the Emirates as a response to business needs. The various emirates were competing for business against each other and built up grand hotels to promote their own prestige with hotel luxury and architectural sophistication and top notch international management teams. This led to a process of tourism development in reverse where tourist accommodations were built up before there was much concern about building tourist attractions [Ritter 1985, p. 174-5]. Dubai now has a concerted effort to promote

itself as a tourist zone, but note that as a senior tourism official stated: we seek “to give people what they want, but only attract who we want” [Laws 1995, p. 188].

The development in the UAE of mega-million dollar theme parks and tourist villages are far out pacing similar efforts elsewhere in the Arab world. Situated at a trade crossroads, Dubai has been able to attract shoppers from the Gulf and elsewhere. This is a totally different league than the Tunisians who struggle to squeeze out a mere \$50 per day. The pinnacle of these development is the post-Ramadan “Shopping Festival” compete with daily prizes of luxury automobiles.

Dubai has thus proved itself to be years ahead of the latest post-modern refashioning on going at New York’s JFK airport with the idea of creating an airport as a shopping mall-with-planes to be built by a Dutch company. As a *New York Times* reporter describes it “he basic idea is to move passengers from parking lot to check-in counter to airplane with such ease that they forget they are traveling and go on shopping binges instead” [*International Herald Tribune*, May 15, 1997].

Don't ever need to leave Las Vegas

This excess of consumption brings to life a possible future path for tourism development: As tourism further seeks to segregate itself into enclaves and as the Egyptians tombs continue to deteriorate from the humidity the tourists bring inside some are arguing that we need to create adjacent to them a theme park of replicas. The ultimate conclusion of this process might look like the Luxor gambling casino in Las Vegas which consists of a grand hotel in the shape of a pyramid, with an obelisk and sphinx out front. Inside the massive building contains tacky recreations of Egyptian artifacts and “brings to life” many Hollywood’s images in a “sanitized version of Egypt” such that a tourist from Kansas interviewed on TV concluded that she does not need to travel to Egypt anymore now that she has seen the Luxor, USA” [Gottschalk 1995, pp. 216-7].

I might present this example in jest, but the question is a very deep and sincere one. The concerns over the environmental and social impacts of tourism have even those debating the future of Israeli/Palestinian tourism speaking positively of the future “Disneyfication” of tourism there. It’s clean, it limits negative social contact, it makes money, thus for many, “it works.” [See discussion in Twite and Baskin 1994, *The Conversion of Dreams*]

No room at the inn

The original segregated tourism zone, in fact, is Palestine. As part of the autonomy arrangements with Israel, the Palestinian authority was able to develop its own Tourism council. In the late 1990s an official travel brochure was put together with help from the Spanish government. The writers of this document felt, with cause, that Palestinian society has been so invisible in the context of “Holy Land” tourism that they begin the document with the greeting “Welcome to Palestine, The Holy Land” and then inform the reader: “Do you know there are:” and goes on to list that there are such things as Palestinians Doctors, and Universities, and taxies, and artists. It nevertheless also states that the #1 reason to visit the Holy Land is for its connections to the Bible.

The invisibility of Palestinian society should seem striking if we are to believe those who suggest tourism can bring greater understanding between cultures. The fact of the matter is that the tourism industry is often more a reflections of geographies of power than a reflection of the geography of cultures.

After the 1967 war Holy Land tourism in Palestine became an Israeli product, such that a reporter can attempt to size up the state of the Israeli economy by noting that “there was plenty of elbow room Christmas week in Bethlehem’s Manger Square” [*New York Times* December 29, 1996]. While tourism has long been critical to the Israeli economy, much of the draw for most Western tourists is to visit sites which have long been home to Palestinian Arab communities. Most Holy Land tourists, however, stay only in Israeli accommodations while Israelis authorities and firms have long indirectly managed the sites. Even after the Oslo accords, the Israeli *army* would explain to the Palestinians how

they were required to manage the Christmas festivities in Bethlehem. A few years back when the Palestinians, in protest, called off Christmas celebrations, the Israeli government set about “bussing in Christian volunteers from kibbutzim to fill Manger Square and make Bethlehem appear as Christmas-like as possible” [Boston Globe, December 24, 1990].

The next question we must ask ourselves is if the peace process should be expected to bring a transformation of the situation. In the late 1990s When Netanyahu became the Prime Minister in Israel he set about restraining and then reversing the peace process. He allowed, under the cover of darkness, Israeli authorities to open a the tunnel along the western retaining wall which forms the platform for the Al-Aqsa mosque. This fight is not only over the Israelis being able to circulate more tourism through Jewish controlled Jerusalem so they can gain more revenues. Anthropologist Joel Bauman reports that as part of the underground tour of these tunnels the visitor is shown a model of the Temple Mount which peels successive historical layers of development to show a reconstruction of the Second Temple. While it might not be representative of the views of most Israelis, one guide explained to him “To get a sense of the real magnitude and grandeur of the Western Wall, we would have to get rid of the Muslims. But, for now, we can only tunnel under them.” [Bauman 1995, p. 23]

Remapping tourism, the state, and globalization

One of the many strange ironies of Oslo peace process concerns was how it sought to redraw maps of the region. Modern Middle East boundaries (and nation-states) have often been considered a hindrance for Arab peoples who fondly recalled being able to travel easily between Beirut, Jerusalem, and Damascus. Such flows were essential to the inter-weavings which formed Arab culture and society.

The creation of the Palestinian authority led to the reappearance on Western maps of a political space—often highly fragmented, but nevertheless labeled Palestine. At the same time, in the late 1990s a tourist could go to a travel agent who organizes trips to the Holy Land and see tourist maps without boards or labels between Egypt, Israel,

Jordan, and whatever Palestine is symbolizing the “New Middle East” that liberal Israeli politician Shimon Peres sought to create.

Meanwhile, many Arab destinations were seeking to removed themselves from the Middle East and Arab world to free themselves from the negative images many Western tourists associate with the region. They did this by claiming to be located in the heart of the Mediterranean (Tunisia) or in the Eastern Mediterranean (Egypt). I have also read newspaper reports that sometimes tourists think the Sinai is its own “country” and others who have never heard of Tunisia or think it no longer exists as a country.

Globalization then is not only about crossing boarders, it is often about forgetting them. But are they really gone?

The international tourist is one of the defining icons of the many facets of globalization. Through this figure we can observe the new mobility of people, information, commodities, and cultural trends constantly crossing national borders and reaching previously remote locations on all parts of the globe. The expanded conveniences the international tourist enjoys is a reflection of our globalized economy in which a typical tourist purchase might rely on a complex web of capital flows, currency exchanges and automated tellers. The tourist also can be thought of as embodying the realization of a “global culture” where particular national identities and diverse cultures give way to peaceful pluralistic personal interactions and cooperation between international organizations. [Waters 1995]

These images may provoke us to suggest that the experiences of the international tourist—through which one can view the dissolving of the limits of the nation-state and national economy—is an essential vantage-point from which we can gain insights for study the processes of globalization.

I suggest, however, that the tourist vantage point is critical to the study of globalization, but not for the reasons suggested above. Such an image is restricted to the perspective

of the *consumption* of tourism. It ignores, or better yet, it is willingly deceived about the dynamics of the *production* of tourism. It is in the contrast between the perspective of the globalist tourist and that of the administrative and economic system of tourism that allows her to jetset, that the real political nature of tourism is revealed.

This argument is suggested by considering such a contrast in the context of Walter Russell Mead's observation that while "the international airport is both an agent and a symbol of the new global economy that is eclipsing the nation-state," at the same time, "from passport and custom control to air traffic control and international aviation agreements, the airport is one of the places in our society where the nation-states' power is [or better, makes itself] most keenly felt" [Mead 1995/6, p. 13]. Put another way, while the consumption of tourism may breed globalist tourists, the production of tourism helps promote the regulatory powers of nation-states (and transnational corporations), and to some degree may foster a form of globalization "staged" for particular consumers while shutting or segregating out the "natives" as they might be called.

In conclusion, I would just like to suggest that tourism more often than not *reflects* and *reproduces* political and economic disparities, instead of being able to help *reduce* them. The only way that this process might be reversed is by including more community participation in the planning, building, and enjoyment of tourism development projects. This of course requires more popular participation in the economy and politics, first.

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