

World Decade for Cultural Development

Tourism, Culture and Development in the Arab Region

*Supporting culture
to develop tourism,
developing tourism
to support culture*

Mohamed Berriane

This study has been carried out as part of the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997), by M. Mohamed Berriane, Docteur ès Lettres et sciences humaines (Geography), Professor at the Mohammed V University, Rabat (Morocco).

Monsieur M. Berriane made extensive use of the following studies:
“Culture, Tourism and Development”, the case of:

- *Egypt, by Mohamed Salah Derwy*
- *Jordan, by Leen A. Fakhoury*
- *Morocco, by Mohamed Berriane*
- *Oman, by Mohsin Bin Al-Balushi*
- *Palestine, by Questandi Shomali*
- *Syria, by Samir Abdulac*
- *Tunisia, by Jellah Abdelkaft*
- *Yemen, by Hussein Mohammed Abdulla*

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PREFACE

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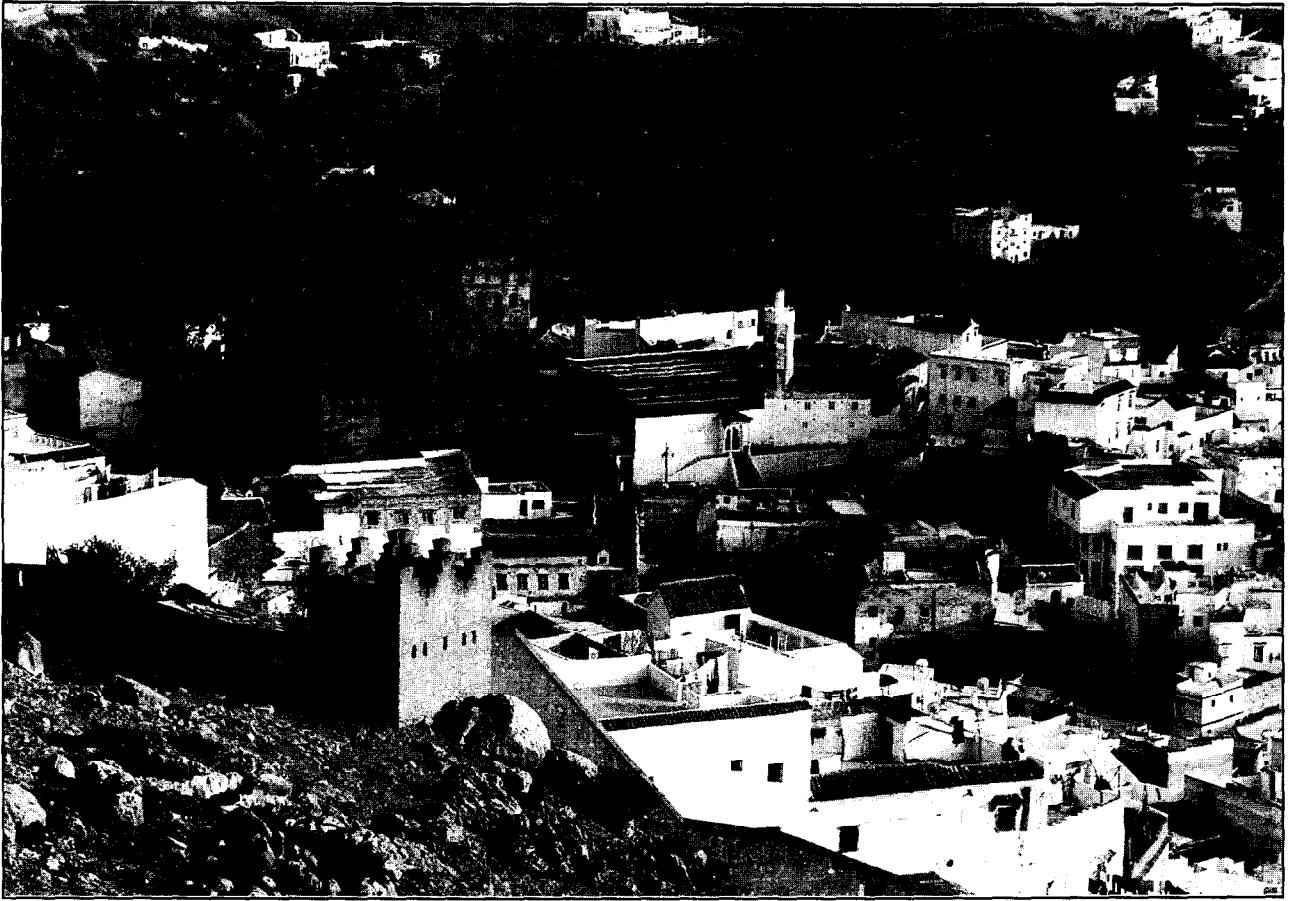
THE southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the Arab world in general, have been acquainted with tourism, or, to use another term, travel, for a very long time, particularly in the form of trade caravans and pilgrimages. Occasionally, a voyage of discovery would combine with these motives, as is evidenced by the extraordinary journeys of Sinbad the Sailor or those of Ibn Battutah of Tangier, the Marco Polo of the Arab world, who, in the Middle Ages, set out from Mecca and travelled all the way to China, spurred on by the irresistible spirit of discovery.

Tourism is therefore an age-old practice in the Arab world, which, over recent years, has seen, as has the rest of the globe, the emergence of new forms of tourism that have modified the links between the worlds of culture and development. In the space of some 15 years, thanks to strong and constant growth, tourism has become a major phenomenon economically, socially and culturally, and has brought both risks and opportunities for culture and development, depending on how it is managed.

UNESCO, the “house of cultures”, must take an interest in tourism, which is a necessary partner for culture, and in the complexity of relations between the two sectors. The context of the globalization of communications and of the economy meant that there was an urgent need to stop and think about tourism and its cultural dimension. The Arab world, which combined an age-old tradition of travel and intercultural exchanges with a heritage of buildings and exceptionally rich and varied living cultures, was a particularly welcome choice for such reflection.

As part of UNESCO’s World Decade for Cultural Development, eight high-quality studies have been carried out on the subject of “culture, tourism and development” with the aim of clarifying the relation between culture and development using specific case studies, such as craft industries, museums, mountain tourism, urban tourism, showpiece villages, cultural exchanges or culture-based discovery tourism. These eight studies have served as the basis for the brilliant work by Mohamed Berriane, who has summarized their findings and has furthermore managed to draw out the principles of a positive connection between culture and tourism. These scholars, working “in the field”, deserve every thanks for the contribution they have made to the exploration of the new regions that culture is opening up to development.

But these studies, and the present work which results from them, would be incomplete if they confined themselves to mere reflection. The proposals for innovative and stimulating projects in the last part of the work are a call for action from all the public and private players involved in cultural tourism, calling for a type of tourism that is controlled and respectful of heritage, of cultural identities and of the environment, and which promotes intercultural dialogue while at the same time enabling lasting solutions to be found for the development needs of the local communities.



Chefchaouen, the jewel of cultural tourism

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Introduction

Among the questions posed by the World Decade for Cultural Development, the question regarding the purpose of development and the effects it has on a nation's sociocultural character and identity directly concerns tourism. As a dynamic, modern activity, the tourist sector has a complex relationship with culture. This relationship ties in with the wider issue of the interaction between culture and development.

In fact, the triangular "**Tourism - Culture - Development**" relationship has from the very outset left its imprint on the emergence of tourism in developing countries. Indeed, when in the mid-1960s tourism made its appearance in southern destinations, it was proposed as an economic activity that could help those countries emerge from their underdevelopment, hence the **Tourism - Development** relationship.

Yet, at the same time, one of the key themes which underlay the development of international tourism in these countries has been the cultural dimension, since tourism was proposed at the time for the role it was supposed to play in the development of intercultural relations and in mutual understanding between peoples. Culture was already a factor, albeit a limited one, driving foreign travel, and it came to support the development of tourism, which tied in the **Tourism - Culture** relationship.

Nevertheless, a clear and explicit relationship between **Culture** and **Development** was still needed in order to complete the triangular relationship which exists today. The economic, and even commercial, side has prevailed and the cultural dimension has been quickly overshadowed. Nothing more was heard of the cultural dimension until towards the end of the 1970s when the joint UNESCO/IBRD "The Social and Cultural Impact of Tourism" was organized in Washington, D.C. in 1976. Putting to one side the economic and financial spin-offs of tourism, the seminar was concerned only with the social and cultural effects of economic growth. One of the questions participants had

to answer was the following: *Is tourism an effective and demonstrably useful vehicle and a source of cultural revitalization, or, on the contrary, could it be that it is a factor in the erosion of indigenous values and the spreading of an artificial form of culture?*

While, during the 1980s, there was no (or little) talk of culture in the context of international tourism, culture has now become one of the core elements of the tourist product offered by several countries. Resort tourism, which was heavily marketed during the 1970s because it was in great demand with tour operators and mass tourism, was showing signs of wear and tear. The emergence of new patterns of behaviour in consumer societies (alternative tourism, ecological tourism, discovery tourism, activity tourism, "environmentally friendly" tourism, etc.) would quickly be turned to the advantage of tour operators who increasingly offered a so-called "cultural" product. Hence, after more than two decades in which tourism has marketed culture, the question facing us at the turn of the century is the following: *Has tourist demand for the cultural product, a demand which is now impossible to ignore, led to the trivialization and spread of a second-rate mass-consumption cultural product? Can the culture/tourism connection contribute to safeguarding and protecting the cultural heritage and, as a consequence, participate in the general development effort?* Such questions are a direct outcome of the new approach to culture that came out of the Mexico Conference. Thus it is that the document introducing the World Decade for Cultural Development states that any economic and social development project that does not take into account both the natural and cultural environment of a population risks being doomed to failure. As a development-oriented economic activity, tourism is very much concerned by this statement, which is a reminder of the condition that is necessary for this tourism-driven development to be lasting. For that to happen, the restrictive idea of development needs to be abandoned and care needs

to be taken to make sure that human beings are no longer considered as agents of a kind of progress that is devoid of any quality. Above all, *what is needed is to return cultural and human values to a central position in economic and technological development.*¹

Within this general framework, tourism is an economic sector that lends itself well to a process of reflection which considers tourism within the cultural context of the host country. The participation of people from the host country in the development of tourism is not solely limited to employment or the sale of goods and services; it also covers the cultural identity of these populations which forms the basis of their vision of the world.

However, contrary to the connections which can arise between culture and other economic sectors, those relations linking tourism and culture are both complex and crucial. The promotion of culture can be realized through tourism whenever tourism reinforces culture by its financial and economic spin-offs. The clearest case is the craft industry sector, which benefits from tourist demand throughout the Arab world. Yet tourism itself can draw substantial benefit from culture when culture forms part of the commercial product. Tourism in the majority of Arab countries is first and foremost culturally based. Yet the very fact that, because of tourism, culture finds itself placed in the position of being a commercial product, represents a real danger to its authenticity.

The launch of this new concept by UNESCO as part of the World Decade for Cultural Development is above all aimed at raising awareness among the member States of this strongly dialectic relation. The ultimate goal could be the commitment to specific programmes at a national level to raise awareness among all the players involved in the fields of tourism and culture: local populations, elected representatives, relevant administrative bodies, hoteliers and tour operators.

The choice of the Arab region to carry out an analysis of the relationship between tourism, culture and development is rewarding on several levels. Steeped in history, the

countries and societies of the region are veritable cultural goldmines, tapped into by a tourist demand that, though still in its infancy, is sometimes quite well developed. Some of these countries already receive considerable tourist traffic and have already built up experience in the field. Others are only just opening up to tourism and can benefit from this experience, so avoiding a repeat of mistakes already made. For those countries that are already well established in the tourist market, their ageing product needs to be revitalized with the cultural dimension occupying pride of place. It is therefore wise to commence a process of reflection on tourism and culture so as to avoid errors and to assure sustainable development, since otherwise the desire merely to attract the maximum number of tourists by selling them culture might be prejudicial to cultural identities.

The association of the term culture with that of tourism can sometimes give rise to an ambiguity, with "cultural" being identified in this case with the term "cultural heritage", which is itself limited to sites and monuments of historical interest. Therefore, it is useful to stress the fact that culture is here to be understood in its widest sense. Indeed, from the outset we have been anxious for culture to be understood as being that which enables human beings to rise above nature or the way in which a people lives in society. The definition is therefore fairly broad, is not restricted to heritage alone and also incorporates the culture of the daily lived experience of whole peoples.

The tourism-culture-development project in the Arab region set out the following questions:

- ◆ Is there a culture-tourism-development relationship in the countries concerned?
- ◆ If there is, what are the forms of this tourism-culture interface?
- ◆ Have these relationships resulted in sustainable development?
- ◆ What measures are needed to optimize this relationship while at the same time preserving the cultural heritage of the host countries?

The search for answers to these questions involved an analysis, based on specific examples,

1. *Practical Guide to the World Decade for Cultural Development 1988-1997.* Paris, UNESCO, 1988.

of the links between tourism and culture in each of the countries studied. The goal of this analysis was to produce proposals aimed at supporting the setting up of culture-oriented tourism. This tourism could both help to protect and enrich the cultural and natural heritage and, by taking into account the sociocultural effects on the local people, constitute a lasting economic resource. Eight countries were studied: Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine, the Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan, Yemen and the Sultanate of Oman.

The approach that was adopted involved several different stages:

- ◆ An initial pilot study was carried out for Morocco and enabled the methodology to be tested. The results were presented and discussed in a symposium at Chefchaouen (Morocco) which brought together the experts who were to carry out the same study in seven other Arab countries.
- ◆ Eight studies were carried out using the same model, but taking into account the specific conditions of each of the countries.
- ◆ A closing symposium took place in Sana'a (Yemen), where all the studies were presented and discussed.

The present essay is a synopsis of eight reports, each relating to one of the eight countries that were selected.¹

This synopsis is more than an addition to the contributions and conclusions of the eight studies. It seeks to highlight the main lessons from the analysis of the tourism-culture-development relationships by closely following the content of each report.

The synopsis falls into four main sections. The first introduces the subject by briefly presenting the tourist situation in the eight countries that are in fact quite representative of the Arab world as a whole. It concludes that the cultural component predominates as the main tourist product. The second analyses this component by seeking to bring out the connections between tourism and culture through case studies by different experts. The third sets out to analyse in detail the selected proposals in order to make the connections explicit. Finally, the fourth section highlights the main problems that need to be resolved and the most serious obstacles that need to be removed in order to improve the connections between tourism and culture and to move towards sustainable development.

1. *The authors of the eight reports are: Mohamed Berriane, Morocco; Jellal Abdelkafi, Tunisia; Mohamed Salah Derwy, Egypt; Qustandi Shomali, Palestine; Samir Abdulac, Syrian Arab Republic; Leen A. Fakhoury, Jordan; Hussein Mohammed Abdulla, Yemen; Mohsin Bin Khamis Al Balushi, Oman.*

I. International tourism in its infancy but with a strong cultural component

Although they are situated within easy reach of Europe, which is the departure point for the majority of tourists, and although they enjoy significant potential for tourism, the Arab

countries as a whole receive little international tourist traffic. Nevertheless, the numbers are constantly rising and culture heads the reasons why people travel to Arab destinations.

International tourism is still weak but becoming increasingly well established

Tourist activity, which is becoming increasingly well established, is clearly visible in the Arab countries. It takes several different forms and is not confined only to international tourism.

The location of the Arab region, a sun-drenched geographic grouping with a rich and varied culture, within easy reach of a Europe that is the major world source of tourists, very quickly enabled Arab countries such as Morocco and Tunisia to play a leading and pioneering role among the developing countries as tourist destinations. These two countries, followed by Egypt, succeeded in entering the world tourist market in the mid to late 1960s, as the first waves of mass tourism hit the southern Mediterranean coastline. Nevertheless, and despite its proximity to the principal source of world tourism, the Arab world today only receives 2% to 3% of the income generated by world tourism. Indeed, despite their cultural riches and climate, which are ideal for resort tourism, the Arab countries of the Maghreb and the Mashriq, at the interface between Europe and the Eastern civilizations, are subject to very real tensions which explain the considerable and sudden fluctuations in the numbers of foreigners arriving in these countries. Notwithstanding this, international tourism, though weak, does today represent an important economic resource for certain Arab countries. This is the case in Morocco and Tunisia (which receive, respectively, 3 million and 4 million visitors and 11 million and 19 million overnight stays) and Egypt (17 million overnights). For other countries, tourism is still secondary (700,000 to 800,000 visitors per year for the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan and 40,000 to 70,000 visitors for Yemen).

Despite these low numbers of foreign tourists entering the Arab region, tourism is of great importance for these countries, both as an economic activity and as far as patterns of social behaviour are concerned. This importance can be underlined on four levels:

- ◆ Although relatively low, the number of arrivals of foreign tourists is constantly increasing since, apart from Morocco,¹ where the sector is experiencing difficulties, all the destinations for which we have statistics have recorded a rise in entry figures, as is shown by the following table:

Table 1: International tourist arrivals in selected Arab countries

Country	1993	1996
Morocco	4,027,000	2,693,000
Tunisia	3,656,000	3,885,000
Egypt	2,112,000	3,675,000
Bahrain	1,450,000	2,669,000
U.A.E.	1,088,000	1,763,000
Jordan	765,000	1,103,000
Syrian Arab Rep.	703,000	888,000
Oman	344,000	435,000
Qatar	160,000	263,000
Kuwait	73,000	75,000
Yemen	70,000	75,000
Lebanon	266,000	419,000

Source: World Tourism Organization

1. A significant recovery has been noted since 1997.

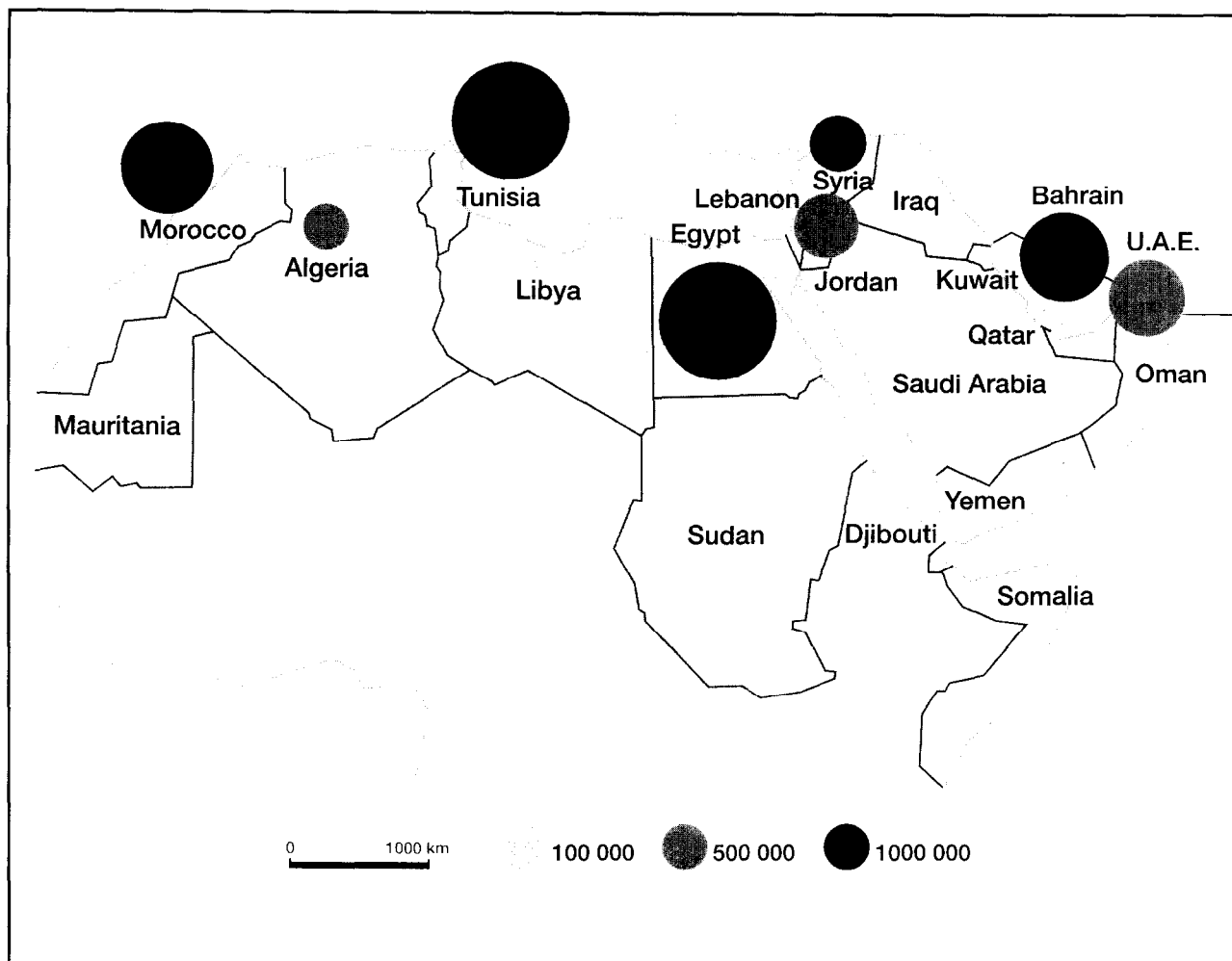
- ◆ Tourism is an economic sector that is becoming increasingly important for the national economies. For certain “first wave” countries, it has become an essential economic activity. In Morocco, tourist activity represents a priceless source of foreign currency contributing to maintaining the balance of payments. The 11 billion dirham (DH) it contributed in 1993 means that tourism is now the second largest source of foreign currency after the remittances from Moroccan citizens living abroad (17 billion DH). In 1990, tourism contributed 11% of the State’s foreign exchange receipts, compared to just 6.6% in 1980. For Tunisia, the dependence of the national economy on tourism is even clearer. Currency receipts from tourism represent 17% of the total exports of goods and services and covers between 40% and 50% of the trade deficit. The activity is also a very important generator of employment, since 61,000 people live directly off tourism and 150,000 indirectly, 40,000 of them in the craft industry alone.
- ◆ If the number of visitors from Western countries is still quite low, the traffic between Arab countries in the region is sometimes remarkable. Indeed, the economic growth of the countries in the area (especially those of the Mashriq) has strengthened the links between these countries and has increased economic cooperation among the various Arab countries or between Arab countries (Miossec, 1995) and non-Arab countries. The result of this is the development of unprecedented business tourism, and part of this traffic consists of Arab nationals. In addition, religious and sometimes cultural motives underlying movement between Arab countries also bring about tourist-like patterns of behaviour. Finally, the income differential between the oil-producing countries and the other Arab countries is a cause of major tourist movements. Thus, Arab nationals represented 53.3% of all tourist arrivals in the Syrian Arab Republic in 1993, 65.5% of visitors to Jordan in 1994 came from the Gulf region, and Arab countries comprised 36.1% of the total number of tourists who visited Egypt in the same year.
- ◆ Alongside this external demand, national demand is even more important, but it is not conveyed by official statistics. The importance of the urban middle classes in the Arab world very soon generated an internal and very clearly delineated tourist demand.

Among other things, this demand translated into a rediscovery of the cultural heritage on the part of the middle classes. However, rather than imitating the Western world, the tourist behaviour of Arab societies has its roots in Arab history and culture. Family ties persist, linking the rural areas, from which an important minority of semi-urban society originates, and the towns, which receive the influxes of people from the rural exodus. Together with the traditionally mobile nature of these societies and the incorporation of ancient pilgrimage centres into the modern leisure concept, family ties encourage movements that today can be defined as tourist movements (Berriane, 1992). Hence the numbers of Arab urban dwellers who go away on holiday are quite high, between 40% and 50% depending on the country. Added to this internal traffic are those people resident abroad whose return visits to their countries of origin are increasingly becoming tourist trips. These trips have the specific aim of giving the children of the second and third generations a taste of these countries. Whether in Morocco, Tunisia, the Syrian Arab Republic, or the Gulf States, observations and figures concur in showing that tourists from the country in question are in the majority.

The value of underlining the importance of these two types of clientele alongside the more classical and better known Western clientele is the very close link that exists between the creation of a tourist product and the behaviour and expectations of the tourists. These tourists are not a homogeneous group; they vary according to where the clientele comes from, hence the need to categorize that clientele. Thus, in Arab countries, it is necessary to take into account three, or possibly four, different categories of tourist:

- ◆ National tourism
- ◆ Inter-Arab tourism
- ◆ Western tourism
- ◆ Iranian tourism for the Mashriq countries.

These four types of tourist movement into Arab countries each have their own characteristic behaviour, but they are alike in the importance they attach to the cultural dimension as a motivation for their visits. For the Western tourist, the main motivation for travelling to the Arab region, which is steeped in history, the cradle of the great civilizations and the origin of the three monotheistic religions, is to discover the



Map 1: International tourist arrivals in Arab countries. (Source: World Tourism Organization (WTO) 1996)

places that witnessed the major advances in humanity in the course of centuries past. For “inter-Arab” tourists, travelling from one Arab country to another, and for Iranian tourists, the journey is above all underpinned by pilgrimage, which generates large numbers of tourist-pilgrims (1 million each year to Mecca and Medina). Finally, tourists from within the country, although they assign great importance to the pleasures of the resort, are not insensitive to the

possibility of rediscovering their heritage and visiting historic and religious monuments. The central position occupied by the cultural motive in tourist trips to or within Arab countries amply justifies this study.

It remains to be said that Arab countries in general, and those selected for this programme in particular, are not all affected to the same extent by tourism.

“First wave” destinations and those new on the scene

Except for the Arab countries such as Algeria, Libya (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) or Saudi Arabia, which in the past deliberately shut themselves off from international tourism, or countries such as Algeria or Iraq, which, despite their present desire to open up, are unable to do so, countries for which reports

have been produced may be divided into two groups:

- ◆ the “first wave” countries of Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt
- ◆ countries that are beginning to open up, namely the Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan, Palestine, Yemen and the Sultanate of Oman.

(a) "First wave" countries

The day after its independence, Morocco, with some 200 hotels totalling 7,300 beds, was far from being an established tourist destination. Yet, with the three-year plan of 1965-1967, the country (following the example of several other developing countries) initiated a new economic policy focusing on three priority sectors: agriculture, tourism and management training. Tourism was no longer considered a mere adjunct to help the balance of payments account; it was firmly considered to be a real driving force for development.

The State created companies and bodies in which it maintained the majority capital holding and which directed public investment. Examples are the Moroccan National Tourist Office, which, in addition to organizational and publicity work, played a development and management role, or the Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion (Public Investment and Management Organization) which set up tourist programmes and then handed them on to other management companies, or lastly the Crédit Immobilier et Hôtelier (Homebuyers' and Hoteliers' Bank) which granted loans to investors. The State also intervened with large-scale refurbishment operations as part of the national companies for tourist redevelopment, such as the Bay of Tangier operation (SNABT) and the Bay of Agadir operation (SONABA).

State intervention also manifested itself in the efforts made by the public authorities to attract private capital into the tourist sector from both within the country and from overseas, in return for subsidies and tax incentives. The whole range of incentives is contained in the different tourist investment Codes for 1965, 1973 and 1983. Finally, the State also intervened to create the general climate necessary for tourism to succeed: drafting hotel and tourism legislation, training management staff in the professional training schools, the organization of the travel agency sector, transport infrastructure, hotel classification and tourist promotion abroad.

With the three-year plan of 1978-1980, the State withdrew its direct investment effort in the tourist sector but continued to encourage the private sector. The transfer from the public to the private sector of State holdings in companies, a process begun in 1990, marked the

culmination of this process of withdrawal and also affected hotels wholly owned by the State or by public bodies.

Despite a difficult climate that translated into a substantial fall in tourist arrivals in the early 1990s, a clear recovery has been underway since 1997. Today, with a hotel capacity of more than 90,000 classified beds, tourist arrivals of around 2 million visitors and a total of more than 11 million overnight stays per year (1993 figures), Morocco is one of the main tourist destinations on the southern Mediterranean coast.

In **Tunisia**, tourism has been considered an economic sector and a factor in development since the early 1960s. It received special attention through the State Secretariat for Planning and Finance which, through the Tunisian Hoteliers and Tourist Company and the Cofitour finance company, soon launched the first hotel operations in the Hammamet region. In 1969, a Ministry for Land Use and Tourism was created. A multitude of State-run, private or joint bodies joined forces to equip, develop and provide amenities to priority tourist areas, especially along the coast. As was the case in Morocco, the State withdrew to concentrate its efforts on winning foreign markets and on playing a monitoring and supporting role.

A quarter of a century later, tourism has become a major economic activity in Tunisia, the hotel capacity having risen from 4,000 beds in 1962 to 150,000 beds in 1994. Commercially the success has been undeniable, with Tunisia standing today as a tourist destination which offers the cheapest packages and whose infrastructure facilities are the best adapted to the Western tourist market.

In **Egypt**, according to certain writers, the beginnings of international tourism followed Napoleon's expedition, which opened up the country and boosted research into the history and civilization of the Pharaohs. Without going so far back in time, it can be said that the interest shown in the heritage of ancient Egypt underpinned early tourist traffic, which was initially aristocratic, and in which cultural motives were central. Today, according to the WTO, the country receives more than 44% of the tourist traffic to Middle Eastern countries (or just over 2 million tourists) and has a capacity of 62,000 hotel rooms. More than with any other Arab country, the main motive behind tourist visits to

Egypt remains cultural, with 23% of tourists coming solely to visit the architectural heritage. The internal troubles which have primarily targeted Western tourists explain the dramatic fall in arrivals over recent years.

(b) The new countries on the scene

Jordan offers a wide variety of tourist sites and opened its doors to foreign visitors some time ago. However, the number of foreign tourists remains below its potential, owing to the conflict situation in the region. For this reason, tourism remains regional in Jordan since, of the 700,000 tourists who stayed in the country in 1993, 66% came from the Gulf States with only 23% coming from Europe. Hotel capacity is still limited and is at most 7,730 rooms. A consultation and deliberation effort has been carried out in recent years with the support of the IMF and USAID and the conclusions have been used to boost tourist activity.

The **Syrian Arab Republic** is one of the Arab countries which had shut themselves off from Western tourism, and which for several years now has demonstrated a clear willingness to develop international tourism as part of its 1992 policy to open up its economy.

The Syrian Arab Republic, in fact, used to receive heavy tourist traffic from Arab countries, attracted by its climate, its authenticity, its souks (markets), its cuisine and the memory of the golden age of Arab-Muslim civilization, as well as from tourist-pilgrims from Iran. Today, Jordanians (157,734 overnights) and Lebanese (135,330 overnights) are still the two largest Arab groupings, while Iranians alone make up 39% of the total number of overnights (1991).

Yet it is Western tourists who are targeted by the Syrian Arab Republic's recent tourist policy. Indeed, the move to open up the economy for tourism commenced as early as July 1985, when the Higher Council for Tourism decreed tax exemptions for investments in the tourist sector (construction taxes, customs duties, business taxes, income tax, etc.). It would be several years before these exemptions were applied to other economic sectors. Work was also carried out on tourist accommodation with the construction of five-star hotels, the setting up of a government-controlled company for tourist establishments (SYRITEL) and the launch of the CHAM hotel chain.

Today the total hotel capacity (all categories together) is 60,000 beds, of which 19,352 are classified. The 11 hotels of the CHAM chain cover the whole of the country with their locations in the big cities, in the main resorts and near important cultural heritage sites such as Safita (Krak des Chevaliers), Hamah, Bosra, Palmyra and Deir ez-Zor (Euphrates sites). The opening up of the economy and the efforts made to boost tourism mean that the Syrian Arab Republic is now a confirmed destination for cultural tourism.

Following the example of the Gulf emirates, the **Sultanate of Oman** has received business tourism since 1987, when the first official permits were given to this type of visitor. It was not until 1989 that a Department of Tourism was set up. Several years previously (1983), a development strategy for this kind of tourism was drawn up and the bulk of the hotel establishments were concentrated at Masqat. The decision to open up to international tourism was taken only in 1990, a year in which a study was commissioned from an international consulting firm in a bid to put together a national tourist development strategy based on the natural resources and cultural riches.

Today it receives some 200,000 visitors, 34% of whom are visitors on business trips and only 17% are regarded as genuine tourists by the immigration control services who issue visas to that effect.

The northern part of **Yemen**, which was developed during the 1970s and 1980s, was visited by a considerable number of the first wave of European tourists: in 1974, 33% of the 7,800 tourists it received were European visitors. Despite its cultural and in particular architectural riches, the south was completely closed to international tourism until reunification. Today, post reunification, the country is slowly opening up to international tourism and received 39,929 tourists in 1994, 67% of whom were Western tourists. Yet this recovery is very slight, the number of arrivals even having fallen since 1992, a year which saw a record 72,169 visits. Considerable effort will be required to support the recovery. Besides the fact that the 5,480 hotel rooms, 60% of which are concentrated in Sana'a and Aden, do not meet international hotel classification standards, other accompanying infrastructure (restaurants, entertainments, transport, etc.) are still largely absent.

The case is similar with **Palestine**. Gaza and the West Bank are regions that are rich in historical sites and are landmarks for followers of the three monotheistic religions. They also have a relatively varied collection of natural sites. The Palestinian Authority wishes to develop international tourism with a strong cultural slant and the 1993 Oslo Accords devoted a paragraph to tourism. To this effect, a Ministry of Tourism and a Higher Tourist Council have

been created. In all areas (training, basic infrastructure, accommodation and advertising), absolutely everything remains to be done to implement this policy. Yet, beside the financial and technical resources that need to be mobilized, it is the modification of the image of the region conveyed by the media and the evolution of the peace accords that will, at the end of the day, decide whether or not tourism takes off in Palestine.

Tourism with a strong cultural component

Except in Morocco, Tunisia and to a lesser extent in Egypt, where mass resort tourism has developed, tourist arrivals from the West have a strong cultural component. It is thus possible to distinguish three types of destination:

- ◆ Countries where the tourist product is culturally based and where there is a predominance of tours.

Basically, these are countries newly open to tourism and where there is still a low intensity of international tourism. The length of stay in a single place is limited often only one night. This type of tourism comprises a point of entry, a point of departure, and "looped" itineraries punctuated by sites to visit and towns for stopovers. They last on average 10 to 15 days. The Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen, Jordan and Palestine comprise this group.

Until recent years, access to the Syrian Arab Republic has been through Damascus airport and, a short time ago, through Aleppo. The country has been totally covered by the private hotel chain CHAM which has sprouted up wherever there are interesting sites to visit: Damascus, Bassora, Tadmor, Deir ez Zor, Aleppo, Jebel el Ala, the ruins at Ebla, Hamah, Lattakie, etc. This has allowed European tour operators to organize tours providing a full insight into the country's cultural wealth.

Jordan (entered through Amman) and Yemen (through Sana'a) also organize tours combining Petra in Jordan and Marib in Yemen. Entry to Palestine is through Tel Aviv airport, and the proposed tours pass through Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho and Nablus.

- ◆ Countries where the tourist product is based on one fixed point and where the cultural component is considerably reduced:

This is essentially the case in Tunisia. Tunisia had entered the world tourist market by the second half of the 1960s, and from the outset it targeted mass resort tourism. The country has therefore worked on opening up air access and has invested in the German markets. Hence it has a high number of beds and results have been satisfactory. Consequently, the coast now has more than 86% of the hotel capacity, leaving a minimal proportion to culturally-oriented destinations such as Tunis or the Nefzaoua and Jerid oases, where Saharan tourism has recently been launched.

- ◆ Countries where the tourist product is composed of both culturally-oriented tours and resort-dominated single-point tourism:

Morocco and Egypt both entered the international tourism market with a focus on tours. Morocco has long relied on the tried and tested classic itineraries such as the imperial cities or the casbah route, with a strong cultural orientation. Egypt, for its part, has marketed its Pharaonic sites through its Nile valley cruises.

Later, this kind of tour was complemented by coastal resort holidays. In Morocco, this saw the development of resorts along the Mediterranean coast and above all the launch and consolidation of the resort of Agadir, which now comprises almost a quarter of the country's hotel capacity. In Egypt, this tourism is represented at Hurghada on the Red Sea and at el Arish on the Sinai Mediterranean coast.

Although the Arab region has a low profile in the international tourism market, it is faced with quite a considerable tourist demand. Whether this demand is linked to the, albeit late, arrival of Western tourism, to internal traffic or to traffic between Arab countries, it is under-

pinned above all by cultural motives and is responding to a cultural potential that is rich and varied. Links are therefore being established between tourism and culture, and analysis of these links is revealing unexpected complexity and rich potential.

II. Tourism and culture in the arab countries: case studies

In destinations based on the cultural product alone and in those which combine a cultural attraction and resort tourism, the products which connect, or which could further connect, tourism and culture in the Arab countries are diverse and manifold. Using the methodology developed in the pilot study on Morocco, which was presented and discussed at the Chefchaouen seminar, the six studies carried out as part of the programme set out a description of these products, while avoiding the trap of merely producing a systematic catalogue. The studies selected certain cases, often three per country, to demonstrate the relationship between tourism and culture.

The following is a selection of the many case studies:

In Morocco, apart from the classic areas such as museums or the impressive image of the imperial cities, what has been promoted is the wealth of the craft industry and the role of cooperatives, exhibitions and festivals in the promotion of crafts; sub-Saharan mud brick architecture has likewise been promoted; mountain tourism has also been developed as a focus for the integrated development of the mountain, assisting a depressed mountain community to diversify its income, to remain in place and

thereby to consolidate its cultural originality. In the Syrian Arab Republic, we are talking about the craft *souks* and the network of museums, housed in new or restored buildings. In Yemen, it is the restoration projects in the towns of Sana'a and Shibam (UNESCO) and the creation of the National Centre for the Development of Crafts (UNDP). In Egypt, it is the sound and light performances at Gizeh, Aswan and Luxor. In Jordan, it is projects to transform the village of Dana into a tourist attraction. In the neighbouring countries of Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic, it is projects jointly creating itineraries linking diverse cultural sites and recreating the unity of Bilad ach Cham. Finally, in Palestine, it is various initiatives setting up traditional arts museums in an attempt to reconstitute the lost memory of a people.

In the analysis of these relationships, we have also preferred to group together the most significant and most frequent cases. Thus, in the last analysis, the different case studies may be placed in three main categories:

- ◆ tourism and the craft industry
- ◆ tourism and the architectural heritage
- ◆ tourism and the daily life of the different peoples.

Tourism and the craft industry

If there is one sector whose fate is intimately bound up with that of tourism, it is clearly that of the craft industry. Indeed, whatever the type of tourism (resort holiday tourism or tour holidays), the foreign visitor never fails to take home the obligatory souvenir. The majority of the reports that were undertaken make reference to, or describe in detail, the craft sector and its links to tourism. It must be said that the Arab countries are distinguished by their quality craft industry, which draws on an authentic

centuries-old tradition. In French, the origin of the words *damas*, *damasser*, *damasquiner* and *maroquinerie* originate in the strong influence exerted by this craft industry in the past. Yet, of all the countries studied, it is the Syrian Arab Republic, Morocco and Egypt that are the greatest homes of traditional Arab crafts, crafts which continue a glorious tradition. The analysis of the cases of Morocco and the Syrian Arab Republic is very detailed and they can serve here as typical examples. A comparison of the

two is also very interesting in that Morocco, because it opened up to the Western world at an early stage, has built up experience in the organization of the craft sector and in its integration into the tourist product, an experience which could be beneficial to the Syrian Arab Republic. In the sections that follow, aspects concerning problems and difficulties will be put to one side, to be treated in the final chapter.

(a) **A rich and ancient craft industry, whose connection to tourism is difficult to evaluate: the Syrian Arab Republic**

It is now beyond question that the Syrian craft industry goes far back in time. Its products, such as metalwork, glass and textiles, were already sought after by European courts at the time of the crusades. In the ninth and tenth centuries its quality wood-carving spread all the way to Morocco and Andalusia in the West and Iran and India in the East. The country's location at the crossroads of the great trade routes such as the Silk Road both facilitated export and also produced a very competitive climate and specialization in certain kinds of metalwork. Hierarchically organized and specialized production centres such as Aleppo and Damascus, and, to a lesser extent, Hamah, Homa and Deir-ez Zor, met the needs of city-dwellers, villagers and nomads with a variety of products.



Traditional dress in the Afrin area of the Syrian Arab Republic

Today, the Syrian craft industry seems to paint a picture of strong contrasts: in certain sectors, age-old know-how seems to be on an inexorable road to extinction, while other sectors are demonstrating a surprising capacity to adapt and are even launching successful commercial offensives into foreign markets. Wooden furniture with mother-of-pearl inlay or *mossaddaf*, and boxes and small items of furniture in walnut marquetry and hazel inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory and bone, are in demand and demonstrate remarkable adaptation to modern life. Glass production, which dates back some 4,000 years, is experiencing a real revival and production is increasing in response to the requirements of national and foreign buyers. Textiles, on the other hand, tell a rather different story. Brocade¹ has a hard time in the "off-the-peg" market, and despite attempts to adapt damask,² the outlook appears bleak. Meanwhile, *aghabani*³ is mainly sold within the country and exported to the Near East and even to Europe, and Hamah cloth, used in the past to make oat sacks, are now used for beachbags, bedspreads and curtains for visitors and foreign residents.

The survival of the craft industry, which is a key component of the living heritage and of culture in general, is vital in order to maintain this culture. This craft industry has long resisted modern industrial products, with its clientele remaining attached to its traditional ways. Today, with the modernization of society, it is crucial for the craft industry to adapt. The demand for craft products from neighbouring countries and from tourists, which involves a change in the way these products are used, has enabled certain sectors to remain in place.

The museums and exhibitions policy which has been constantly pushed by the public authorities in support of the craft industry (the Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions in Damascus and in Aleppo, specialized sections on popular arts and traditions in the other museums, a travelling exhibition of Syrian craft in European countries, craft stands at the Lattakie and Palmyra festivals and the Damascus international fair) helps bring this craft to a wider audience.

1. A silk-based material with gold or silver threads.
2. A woven material, where the decoration appears on the right side in satin on a woven background and on the reverse side as a woven design on a satin background.
3. A fabric embroidered with strands of silk in vegetable or geometric shapes.



Glassblower in the craft souk

The integration of the craft sector into the tourist policy occurs through a promotion formula initiated by the Ministry of Tourism. The craft *souks* are franchises awarded by the Ministry to traders who, in return for a symbolic rent, occupy premises where they produce, exhibit and sell craft products. These *souks* are located in historic monuments and enable the visitor who wishes to discover a different culture to observe artisans at work. In addition, those visitors with little time at their disposal are able to make all their purchases in the same place, which means they avoid having to seek out the production and sales points scattered around the old part of the city and not always easily accessible. There are two craft souks in Damascus and Aleppo and a third is being set up in Hamah.

Following all these efforts, the craft industry today clearly occupies an important place in the national economy with regard to employment, trade and, finally, the infusion of foreign currency. However, there are still no statistics available that might give precise figures about the economic importance of tourism for the craft industry. These craft products are valued and even sought out by visitors who discover them during a trip to the Syrian Arab Republic, but they are unknown in Europe. Yet

the reputation of this craft is better established within the Arab world and the clientele from neighbouring countries seems to be the most promising. The most highly considered products are mosaics, *aghabani*, brocades, copper, jewellery and Aleppo olive oil soap. Along with the craft *souks*, the workshops and shops that are most visited by tourists are to be found above all in the old quarters and in the *souks* of Damascus and Aleppo. As is the case everywhere, the big hotels also have their boutiques specializing in craft items. It should finally be added that Syrian products are also marketed to tourists visiting neighbouring countries.

There remains the ongoing problem of passing on the artisan's knowledge. As everywhere in the Arab countries, the craft trades are structured in a traditional way with a hierarchy of master, worker and apprentice. Knowledge comprises part of the secrets of the trade and is passed down from father to son. The State intervenes in the carpet and floral embroidery sectors, and craft centres are organized in units of production by the Ministry for Social Affairs. There is a real risk that certain trades may disappear in those cases where their secrets are known to only one person with no assurance that there will be someone to take over. State intervention is crucial to preserving these trades,

but is not always easy in a climate that is increasingly dominated by the free market. Yet the creation of vocational training centres and national *grandes écoles* (higher education institutions) is very much to be encouraged.

Also beneficial can be the experience that has been built up in other countries, such as Morocco, for example, with regard to cooperatives and professional training.

(b) A country with a rich craft industry, where there is considerable government involvement and links with tourism: Morocco

In the case of Morocco, craft products head the tourists' shopping lists. Even by the early 1970s, a survey organized at the request of the Ministry of Tourism¹ estimated that 54% of tourists' total daily expenditure went on craft items. Traditional arts and trades are, indeed, seen as key factors in cultural, economic and tourist spheres.

This craft industry is producing work in terracotta, wood, metals and textiles. For all of these arts, there are two versions, one rural and the other urban, with sometimes a third "mixed" version.

Terracotta art comprises pottery and mosaics. Urban pottery derives its ornate character from Islamic and Andalusian art; rural pottery is characterized by its purity and simplicity (few decorations), while mixed pottery is a mixture of the two. The art of the mosaic dates back to the fourteenth century. Together with plaster work and stone work, it helps to enrich traditional architecture, as does wood carving.

Metalworking dates back to the Almohad era, while damascening reached the Syrian Arab Republic from Andalusia. Gold and silver jewellery is found in both rural areas and in the cities, and gunsmiths very skilfully combine different materials such as wood, silver, iron and copper.

As the strong point of Moroccan crafts, textile work is best known abroad through carpets. Carpet production is very varied depending on whether one is in an old city (Rabat,

Fez) or a Berber environment. Yet carpets are only one of a range of textile products.

Public authority support for the development of the craft industry can be broadly categorized into three major types of intervention: training, investment incentives and the organization of cooperatives.

Training takes place in 200 centres including the National Leather and Textile Institute, which taught some 3,551 pupils in the academic year 1993-1994. There are two training systems. One is the so-called traditional system, which is based on on-the-job training with a Maalem (or master-artisan) who is responsible for the training of apprentices by instructing them to carry out increasingly complex tasks. This training takes place in craft cooperatives and centres. The other method is the so-called classical one, which takes place in traditional art schools and the national Institute at Fez. This training is on three levels. After two years' training, the apprentice specializes in wood and carpet-making. After three years' study in the Meknès, Rabat and Inezgane centres, the pupil qualifies as a Maalem in woodwork, textiles and metalwork. Finally, the National Leather and Textile Institute awards the title of technical expert to its successful candidates after two years' training.

Investment incentives are based on measures set out in the 1973 investment Code, which grant tax, customs duty and banking incentives to developers to encourage them to invest in the sector. For 1993, for instance, 100 investment programmes totalling 36,331,257 DH and creating 1,348 jobs were supported.

Grouping craftworkers together into craft cooperatives is quite an ancient practice in Moroccan society, which is encouraged by the supervisory Ministry. Cooperation is based on three fundamental principles, namely collective management, freedom of membership and redistribution of profits. Altogether, a figure of 429 cooperatives comprising nine associations and involving a total of 20,400 cooperative workers has been suggested. All these cooperatives enjoy aid and technical assistance from the Department of the Craft Industry.

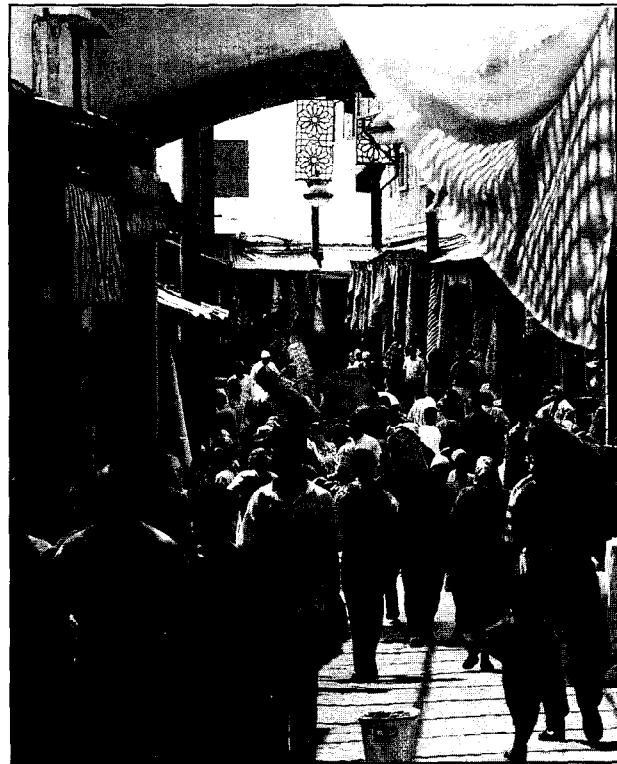
1. « Étude des conséquences du tourisme sur l'économie nationale » (Study of the consequences of tourism for the national economy), Maroc-Développement (1973). Since this survey, there have been few assessments of the effects of tourism on the craft industry.

Interministerial action attests to the interest accorded to the craft industry, to its role in encouraging tourism and in preserving the collective memory and national culture. To this end, a convention was signed in May 1994 between the Department of Culture and the Department of the Craft Industry. This agreement protocol focuses on the following goals:

- ◆ To preserve, perpetuate and transmit the artisan's knowledge to future generations by instituting systematic training of a theoretical and practical nature. To that end, it was decided to set up joint higher education institutions for training personnel specializing in traditional building skills, catering and the establishment of quality standards. The protocol also foresees the creation of vocational training schools which, while using modern educational methods, would preserve the traditional systems.
- ◆ To promote traditional arts and trades, to strengthen and expand their sphere of influence by the creation of specialized libraries, the use of already existing museums and the creation of others, and the implementation of a publishing policy.
- ◆ To revive certain trades that have been lost or are in danger of dying out (calligraphy, manufacture of stringed instruments, etc.).
- ◆ To catalogue, preserve and circulate everything concerned with traditional and heritage arts.



Tourist demand boosts carpet production: carpet auction in Rabat



A weaver in the Rue des Consuls

Although this interministerial action is recent and therefore still difficult to evaluate, it appears to be very worthwhile in that it demonstrates the coordination that needs to exist between the Ministry of Culture and the Administration of craft industries, in order to safeguard and protect this cultural heritage and to make it more widely known. It would have been desirable for a third partner, the Ministry of Tourism, to put its name to this convention.

Meanwhile, the links between tourism and the craft industry are clearly evident. Spin-offs from tourism for the craft industry can translate first of all into a very high consumption of these products by tourists. Professionals in the tourist industry suggest that, of the articles purchased within the country, more than 40% are purchased by tourists. Yet exports prompted by tourist demand bring in an appreciable amount of foreign currency. In 1993, carpets were the top exports, worth 227,245,000 DH, followed by clothing and blankets (55,202,009 DH) and leather goods (33,859,498 DH).

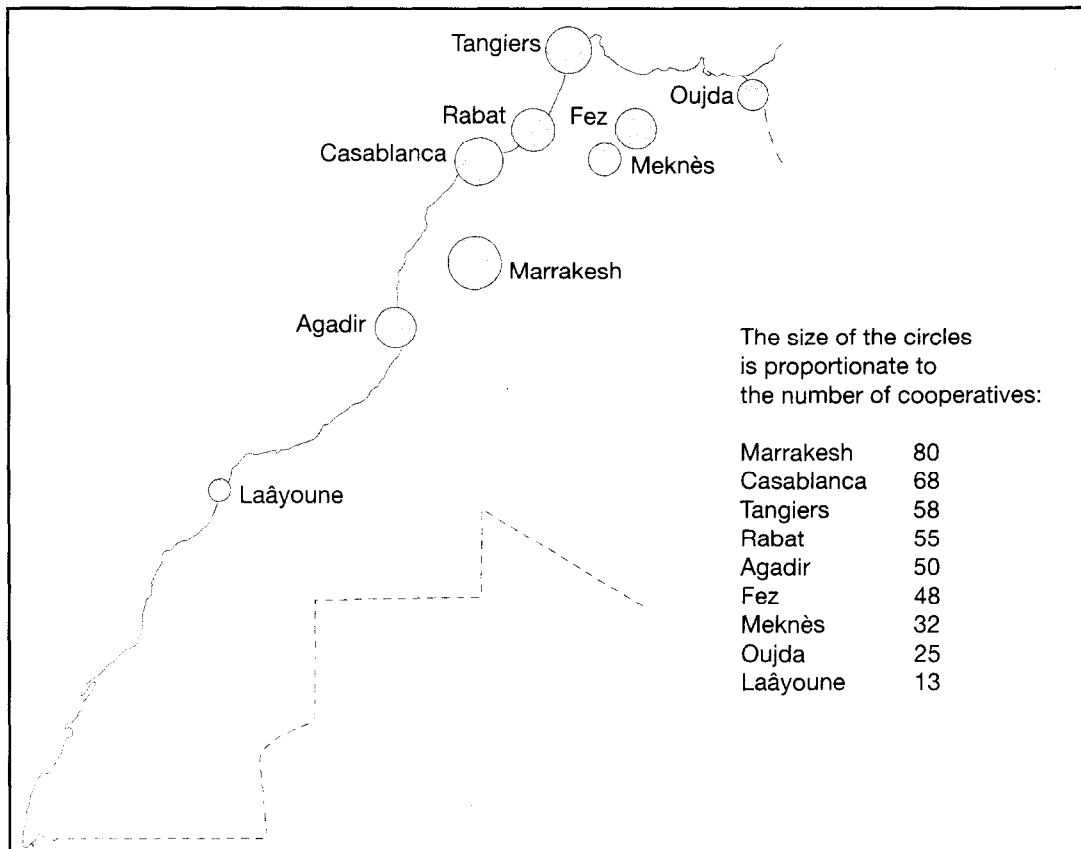
In this way, the craft industry contributes 8% of GNP and maintains on average one in three urban households and one in ten rural households. Yet spin-offs from the craft industry for tourism itself are not inconsiderable. The

products available to the tourist or potential visitor to Morocco are one of the most effective means of tourist promotion. In particular, one thinks of the 400,000 to 500,000 Moroccan carpets that are exported worldwide straight into people's homes. Another promotion is represented by Moroccan artisans who are increasingly in demand throughout the world to work on mosques and palaces (for example, the Morocco pavilion at Disney World, Orlando). Craft complexes have been set up in every region in Morocco, mainly visited by tourists who can observe artists at work in their workshops alongside exhibition and sales rooms; craft exhibitions and the regular organization of the Craft Industry Month, which is always the occasion for a variety of events, including exhibitions and promotional campaigns, are other attractions which bring in tourists, showing them the originality of the host country and society and offering an alternative product to the beach resort.

The link with the tourist sector appears upon analysing the geographical distribution of investments. It is the big cities with a strong craft and tourist orientation, such as Fez,

Agadir, Sale or Marrakesh, which receive the core of this investment. The geographical distribution of cooperatives and their members also displays the links that exist between tourism and the craft industry since tourist-oriented cities such as Marrakesh, Tangier, Agadir and Fez contain 30% of the cooperatives and more than 70% of the members. The most significant case is represented by Agadir, which, although it is a new city following its reconstruction and no longer enjoys the age-old craft structures, contains some 50 cooperatives totalling 2,043 members. Tourism has been a major attraction here for craft activities, thanks to strong demand for the country's premier tourist destination (more than 3 million overnight stays per year).

In conclusion, it can be said that the relationships woven between tourism on the one hand and the craft industry on the other are both real and encouraged by the governmental authorities. By making the most of the quality and diversity of the craft industry, tourism is improving its brand image, while tourist demand for craft items energizes the craft industry.



Map 2:
Geographical distribution of craft cooperatives in Morocco

All the studies have linked the development of tourism and the protection of the craft sector in the other countries.

Yet this relationship is not always positive and we shall later return to its negative aspects.¹

Tourism and the architectural heritage

It is well known that the architectural heritage of the Arab countries is characterized by a wealth and diversity that make for an outstanding heritage. There is a very wide variety of architecture, ranging from ancient times to the different historical periods before and after Islam. Several ancient cities, such as Damascus, Sana'a, Fez and Marrakesh, are still active today and are sometimes important regional centres or even national capitals. The links which this architectural heritage maintains with tourism and, conversely, those which the tourist sector is seeking to establish with the attraction of an architecture that sometimes dates back thousands of years, are manifold. These links are an astounding illustration of the way the two sectors can come to depend on each other. For analytical purposes they can be divided into three groups:

- ◆ This rich and varied heritage is often utilized by tourism, but, in several cases, integration of a high-quality cultural component into the tourist product occurs spontaneously and without any proper planning.
- ◆ Promotion of this heritage also requires quite costly, but essential, intervention, and there is sometimes very active international support for renovation projects.
- ◆ Tourist use of this heritage in fact assumes several forms.

(a) The wealth of the Arab architectural heritage

The eight reports paid lengthy attention to the description of the architectural heritage.

This architectural heritage sometimes stretches far back in time, since remains of the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and even from prehistoric times are to be found in the Arab countries that were studied. In **Oman**, the sites at Bat in the Dhahira region (stone towers and tombs), Lizq in the Sharquya region and Ubar in the Dhofar contain important bronze and iron age remains as well as traces of Greek

and Roman civilizations. In the Dhofar there is also the fortress at Sumguram, founded in the first century by Yemeni sailors for the collection and distribution of incense.

Yemen now enjoys an international reputation for its original city architecture. A city such as Sana'a, the capital of Yemen, with its famous tower dwellings, its functional and carefully planned architecture, its many gardens inside and outside the ramparts, and its efficient water supply from its wells, was a real jewel in the crown of Arab city planning until 1970, when the urban explosion began. Different types of houses can be distinguished, depending on the different regional constraints (the climate and the construction materials that were available in the area): houses made of mud brick covered in decorated gypsum in the hot, humid valleys of Tehama; multi-storey buildings (sometimes up to eight storeys high) of the central cities such as Shibam-Hadramout; two- to three-storey stone houses of the central highlands, and finally other stone houses of the western plateau, which can be up to three or four storeys high and where the use of gypsum is designed to counter the heat.

The **Syrian Arab Republic** offers a very wide-ranging heritage of urban architectural sites, from towns dating back to the second and third millennia BC (Ebla, Mari and Ugarit), or the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Apamee, Basra and Palmyra) to the cities of the golden age of Arab civilization (Damascus with its Omayyad mosque, its gates and ramparts, palaces, citadel, etc.), and its architecture from the Byzantine era (the sanctuary of Saint Simeon), the crusades (Tartus cathedral) and the Ottoman era (Tekiyeh and Souleymanieh). The wealth of the architectural heritage of Egypt needs no advertisement. It is best known for the monuments of the Pharaohs, for example the ancient capital Luxor and its wealth of ruins (temples and tombs) all along the Nile, the

1. See final chapter.

pyramids of Saqqara and the ruins in the Valley of the Kings, all of which are major cultural tourist attractions. The Coptic and Islamic periods also left highly interesting traces. In this respect, the city of Cairo is a veritable living museum, where Coptic churches and cathedrals stand side by side with Muslim mosques and citadels.

Although Tunisia is above all oriented towards resort tourism, it has considerable cultural riches, which are insufficiently well presented and are under-utilized. The country has an exceptionally rich architectural heritage, some of whose sites, such as the Medina at Tunis, the archaeological site at Carthage, the amphitheatre at El Djem and Kairouan are World Heritage sites.

In Morocco, diversity and originality are the norm. This is the case for all architectural styles and periods. These range from ancient architecture to the architecture of the different dynasties which left their imprint on the history of the country with urban, military and religious buildings; it also includes traditional rural buildings and modern urban architecture, both turn-of-the-century colonial and today's modernist style. The cultural resources, in part well utilized, are impressive. The old cities or *medinas* (Fez, Meknès, Marrakesh and Rabat) abound in palaces and mosques and are surrounded by ramparts that are still in good condition. Less well-known is the mud brick architecture on the edge of the Sahara. Reflecting a powerful social organization and laden with an undeniable cultural wealth, the *ksar* (fortified village) and the *casbah* (fortified house) are traditional forms of building that are under severe threat. It is an environment that seems to owe its form to a variety of influences, Saharan, Eastern and pre-Islamic Mediterranean, together with a black African influence, and was taken over wholesale by the spread of Islamic culture from the Mashriq.

The *casbah*, a patriarchal single-family house, is characterized by its fortified architecture (four corner towers), by the decoration of the upper floors and the exclusive use of earth on two or three levels, and by earthen roof-terraces on date-palm beams. The *ksar* may contain several *casbahs* and in the past was a model of organization for subsistence and self-defence at a time and in an environment that were fraught with danger and where the survival of the group depended on remarkable social organization.

An enclosed space, surrounded by ramparts and built of adobe, the *ksar* (plural *ksour*) was the result of the cultural contribution of the various groups of people of different origins who settled in the oasis environment, but it also responded to the imperatives of the natural environment and of the society which organized itself there. Seen from the outside, it reflects the cohesion of the group in its defensive structure (fortified walls, defensive angles, a single fortified gate) and is organized so as to respond to the demands of community life while at the same time respecting the social segmentation of the group. Thus, the *ksar* was generally divided into two areas: one for the use of the group (communal building, central food stores, mosque, and outbuildings for the use of guests and meetings), the other area planned as individual dwellings, organized according to the social status of the inhabitants, a status that was itself underpinned by genealogical affinities and blood ties.

Alongside the defensive organization, this dwelling space had another function, which was to counter local climatic conditions: protection against the mountain cold and against the oppressive summer sun of the Saharan regions.

The *ksar* is one of the most attractive architectural features and most highly charged cultural symbols, and it attracted the attention of the first European visitors. However, it is built of mud brick, which means that it is fragile and offers little resistance to erosion by time and weather. Hence the life expectancy of the *ksar* is extremely limited, and after one or two hundred years it was generally abandoned by the whole group and a new one built. Nowadays, the socio-economic evolution of the country in general and of pre-Saharan Morocco in particular means that this perpetual renaissance of the *ksour* is in jeopardy.

However, as will be seen later in this work, tourism can save some of these fortified villages just as it can benefit from their integration to diversify its product and make it rather more sustainable. In order for this to happen, the architectural heritage of all these countries requires urgent aid for restoration work.

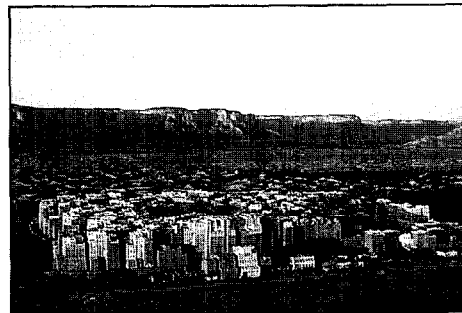
(b) Protecting and safeguarding the architectural heritage

Protection measures are implemented by the governments of the Arab countries by means of

laws protecting antiquities and classifying various sites. In the majority of the countries studied there are sites that appear in the list of World Heritage Sites: the Medina in Fez in Morocco, several sites in Tunisia, the remains of the age of the Pharaohs in Egypt, Sana'a, Shebam and Zabeed in Yemen, Aleppo, Basra and Damascus in the Syrian Arab Republic.

Being added to the list of World Heritage sites allows international aid to be mobilized under the aegis of UNESCO. This aid comprises financial assistance and expertise, which, together with funds from the governments themselves, makes possible the restoration and above all the protection of the monuments that are in danger. This is the case of the work carried out in the *medina* in Fez, which is supported by UNESCO, the Moroccan Government and the mobilization of numerous sponsors in the city who are contributing to financing the restoration of old *medersas* (colleges), *foundouks* (*caravanserais*) and city gates. In the Syrian Arab Republic, countless numbers of restoration projects have been carried out on dozens of monuments throughout the country, including the ancient cities of Apamee, Basra and Palmyra, the theatre at Jableh, the Qasr al Hayr al Gaharbi and al Charki palaces, the mosque of the Omayyads, the sanctuary of Saint Simeon, Tartus cathedral, the Krak des Chevaliers fortress and the citadel at Aleppo.

In **Yemen**, the three historic cities of Sana'a, Shebam and Zabeed have on many occasions received aid coordinated by the General Department for the Protection of Historic Cities and have enjoyed multilateral international funding. UNESCO's appeals to all Member States inviting them to participate in the protection work have elicited very positive responses. As the capital of the country and a real jewel of ancient urban civilization, Sana'a has benefited from the major thrust of these efforts following an appeal in 1983 by UNESCO's Director-General, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Organization's 21st General Conference. The present-day heart of the city comprises the historic Arab city with 42,000 inhabitants, 40 mosques (of the 106 that initially stood), the most famous of which is the Great Mosque, and 40 specialist markets. Following the urban explosion that the city experienced from 1970 onwards, vast areas on the outskirts attracted a large number of the inhabitants of the historical centre, which was no longer able to meet people's requirements in



General view of the historic town of Shebam (Hadramaut)



General view of Sana'a

terms of modern living conditions and which was threatened by serious deterioration. The programme that was implemented commenced with the identification of sectors in need of urgent action and sources of funding. It was then developed between 1987 and 1991. It involved the restoration of various parts of the city, including old town houses, the ramparts and the city gates, for a total cost of \$7 million. Alongside Sana'a, programmes have also begun in the two cities of Shebam and Zabeed. Shebam is an ancient city with a prestigious past. It has 500 houses and eight mosques surrounded by a 7-9 metre-high city wall. It suffers from a serious lack of basic amenities and the houses, increasingly abandoned by their occupants, are falling down. At Zabid, the oldest city of the coastal Tihama region, there is one of the first Islamic schools (twelfth century) as well as a very old university. It suffers from the same problems found in the other historic cities. The two cities require international aid coordinated by UNESCO. At Shibam, for instance, Greece and Japan are funding the restoration of old houses, UNESCO is financing the setting up of a special training school and the Government of Yemen is funding a signposted tourist circuit.

In **Morocco**, the Saharan architecture, already at risk owing to the construction materials used, is also suffering from the disintegration of pre-Saharan societies. If the difficulties of the *ksour* and their societies had already commenced by the eighteenth century following the end of the caravan trade and the exhaustion of their social systems, the confrontation between two cultures, one traditional and the other modern, has in fact been the main reason that has caused serious breakdowns in oasis culture instead of helping it to develop. The replacement of inter-tribal and inter-clan disputes by the central authority, first of the protectorate and then of the independent nation-state, has led to the disappearance of the main factor that in times gone by necessitated a fortified living environment. Yet it was with colonization, which, in order to control the populations of the south, set up military camps in the areas around some of the *ksour*, that the appearance and then development of an area of housing outside the city walls signalled the progressive abandonment of the *ksar*. Subsequently, the move gained pace following the sociocultural transformations in oasis society.

Emigration in particular led to the break-up of hierarchical family structures and social relations within the society of the *ksar*. Work in cities and abroad is a source of income and promotes social reclassification, with new social distinctions within the same hierarchical structure or same family. Thus, for the ex-tenant farmers, who left the *ksar* to work elsewhere, building their own house outside the confines of the *ksar* is a symbol of independence from the old notables or big landowners for whom they previously worked. In addition, when these emigrants return to the village, they are heavily influenced by the urban way of life with its values and convenience which they can only achieve away from the *ksar*. The process which we have quickly sketched here is certainly far more complex in reality, since other factors intervene to explain why people leave the *ksar*. Yet the result remains the same: the *ksour* are abandoned en *masse* and are left to the poor and the animals; a modern living environment (administrative districts, housing estates and relocation districts) has ended up right beside the crumbling traditional environment.

It was with the aim of saving this environment that a *project for the preservation of the southern casbahs* was launched by the Ministry of Culture with the support of UNDP, UNESCO and the WTO (project UNDP/MOR/90/003). It is a vast programme looking into the possibilities of maintaining and restoring the southern *ksour* and casbahs. Yet the immediate objectives were fairly modest at the outset. They were:

- ◆ The setting up of the Centre for the Conservation and Rehabilitation of the Casbahs of the South, under the Ministry of Culture and housed in the Taourit *casbah*, in Ouarzazate, which was partially restored and opened in 1989.
- ◆ First-phase restoration of the village of Aït Ben Haddou, which was added to UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1987; by channelling its efforts into the restoration of this village, the Centre took the opportunity to fine-tune its methods.
- ◆ The integration of this village and other *casbahs* into the regional tourist product. This was attempted by developing tourist routes centred on the main attractions of the *ksour* and *casbahs*, by reinforcing and improving the tourist image of the main accommodation centres and by contributing to the tourist promotion of the Aït Ben Haddou pilot project.¹

1. According to the national director of the project, this aspect of the issue has been momentarily sidelined; but this in no way detracts from the value of the example. We shall return to this issue later.

- ◆ On the institutional level, the premises behind this operation go back to the years 1973-1977, a time when the Ministry of Cultural Affairs carried out a preliminary inventory of some 300 buildings in the province of Ouarzazate through the "Centre d'inventoriage du patrimoine culturel" (Centre for the cataloguing of the cultural heritage) project (project UNDP/UNESCO MOR 74/005). This first inventory would serve as the basis for the resumption of the project 10 years later by providing, in particular, the information that was required for the application for the Aït Ben Haddou *ksar* to become a World Heritage Site. The application was successful in 1987. This village comprises six *casbahs* and approximately 50 houses, which were all in ruins and abandoned by the inhabitants, who had moved to a new village on the other side of the river beside the main road.

The project is complex and multi-faceted, as it is not just a question of restoring buildings, since restoration would serve only to keep them standing for a few more years at most; it is more a question of bringing the historical *ksar* back to life. Indeed, to revive the Aït Ben Haddou *ksar*, abandoned by its inhabitants for a new village, the inhabitants need to be brought back, since it is accepted that if this building is to be protected, it must be permanently occupied. For that to happen, satisfactory living conditions need to be recreated in this *ksar*. Therefore, the project is not the sole preserve of the Ministry of Culture; it also requires the participation of several other players. It above all presupposes the support of the populations concerned.

That requires the involvement of various government departments. For example, the Ministry of Planning should participate in resolving the fundamental problem of access to the village, which is impracticable when the water level rises steeply. Two solutions (a traditional bridge, based on the model of the Almohad bridge that crosses the Tensift river at Marrakesh, or a concrete ford) were drawn up. The Ministry of Education has approved the building of a Koranic school in the *ksar*, while awaiting sufficient numbers of pupils to enable a primary school to be set up. Other measures are planned by representatives of the Ministries of Youth and Sport, Housing, Health, Tourism, etc. The ONE (National Energy Organization) representative in particular has advised that the energy needs of the village should be met by solar power. All these proposals were

formulated at various meetings in Ouarzazate during 1990 and were to lead to the drawing up of a blueprint which would serve both as an instrument for renovating the *ksar* and as a publicity brochure to mobilize the necessary funds.

From the various minutes of meetings it emerges that various players are interested in this project. Indeed, besides the international bodies (UNDP-UNESCO-WTO), the Ministry of Culture (the director of the project and the administrator monitoring the Centre) and the local authorities and bodies make a contribution to the project, each according to their own means. The relations with the Ouarzazate City Council are governed by a convention that was passed with the Centre: the City Council made the area of the Taourit *casbah* available to the centre. It also committed itself to establishing a roadway suitable for vehicles along the southern city wall, allowing access to the Centre. It is planned to provide the Centre with the necessary equipment and staff to set up a database for the architectural heritage of the south.

Work has been carried out by the Centre to clean up and partially protect the site of the Aït Ben Haddou *ksar*, despite the Centre's having been established only recently and clearly lacking financial resources. Architectural details of houses in the village have been collected as a step to creating a land map of the site, which will at first be provisional but which will, it is planned, later be followed up and complemented by photogrammetric data. Noteworthy among the measures already implemented are the following: alleyways have been cobbled, the banks for the river have been protected, a footbridge has been constructed across the river giving access to the village, the covered walkways have been restored or renovated, street-facing facades have been repaired, and the mosque has been completely restored. At present, work is going on to strengthen and restore the towers and the most richly decorated parts of the upper structures.

(c) Architectural heritage and tourism: mutual dependence

The links that the architectural heritage maintains with tourism and, conversely, the links that the tourist sector is seeking to establish with the kind of attraction represented by an architecture that dates back sometimes thousands of years, are manifold. They illustrate in a remarkable fashion the mutual dependence that can spring up

between the two sectors. Indeed, one of the requirements of international tourism today is the diversity of its product and the very specific nature of the supply. This diversity is, however, under constant threat by the power of mass international tourism to bring everything to the same level. Hence it is crucial for Arab countries such as Morocco and Tunisia, which are threatened by the predominance of resort tourism, consistently to come up with imaginative ways of renewing and diversifying their product. For the other countries, it is also crucial to position themselves in the cultural product market by developing and intelligently utilizing their architectural heritage.

There is mutual dependence between tourism and the architectural heritage. The latter needs tourism which can justify restoration, maintenance or renovation work. In exchange, tourism needs the architectural heritage to enrich and diversify its product and offer something that is unique to the region.

There are many ways in which tourism intervenes and utilizes the architectural heritage in the Arab countries. Those which have been reported in the various studies can be placed in three main categories: specific **adaptation projects** allowing ruins to be utilized, **buildings put to a new use** to host tourist activities, such as accommodation, restaurants or shops, and the use of historical monuments as backdrops for the **organization of various festivals**.

The problems of adaptation

The first kind of adaptation is equipping monuments so that they can be floodlit at night. This applies to the majority of the most prominent monuments: the ramparts of the *medinas* (old cities) in Morocco or Tunisia, the citadel at Aleppo in the Syrian Arab Republic, and the monuments of the Pharaohs in Egypt. A second, more elaborate, kind of adaptation concerns the facilities aimed at hosting sound and light shows, and these are to be found in the pyramids, at the temple of Karnak in Luxor and on the ramparts of the *medina* in Fez. But this kind of adaptation is not to be found everywhere. The ancient Syrian monuments, for instance, although they lend themselves to this type of event, have no facilities of this type.

There is another kind of development which is crucial for cultural tourism but which is remarkable by its absence in Arab countries - there are no information panels with maps, sketches or explana-

tions for independent tourists wishing to visit without a guide. There is a similar absence of sign-posted roads indicating the way to a particular monument. The absence of these aids, which do not actually require substantial investment, does cultural tourism a disservice. Walking around the *medina* in Fez to visit all its monuments is a real nightmare for the tourist who wishes to do without the services of a guide. The most popular architectural sites would also gain by being fitted out with clean toilets and at least basic refreshment facilities.

In certain countries, the studies have strongly stressed the paradox that exists between a remarkable wealth of monuments and the scarcity, or even total lack, of facilities that would allow these monuments to be incorporated into the growing or already established tourist product. In Yemen, this point has been well illustrated by the case of Sana'a. Despite its cultural wealth, the city only has two five-star hotels, one four-star hotel, and 14 three-star hotels, the majority of which do not meet average international tourism standards. In the old city there are only four hotel establishments, located in old houses and with extremely limited capacity and amenities. This district does not have a single restaurant or café for the visitor. In addition, the city has not a single theatre or other facility that would allow shows or other entertainment to be put on for foreign visitors. Promotion of the hidden cultural resources of the city by means of its architecture and town planning requires development and investment to train guides, to produce appropriate advertising material, to raise public awareness of the benefits that tourism can bring to the city, and to support and encourage the craft industry and private investment in the sector. In addition, the lack of facilities and the lack of supervision of visits threatens the very future of the heritage which is to be promoted. This is the case, for example, in the **Sultanate of Oman**, where the archaeological sites at Khawr Rawi are receiving increasing numbers of visitors despite the lack of infrastructure to receive, accommodate and supervise them. Thus, whether it is archaeological remains or natural sites providing a habitat for large colonies of migratory birds, the balance is seriously threatened.

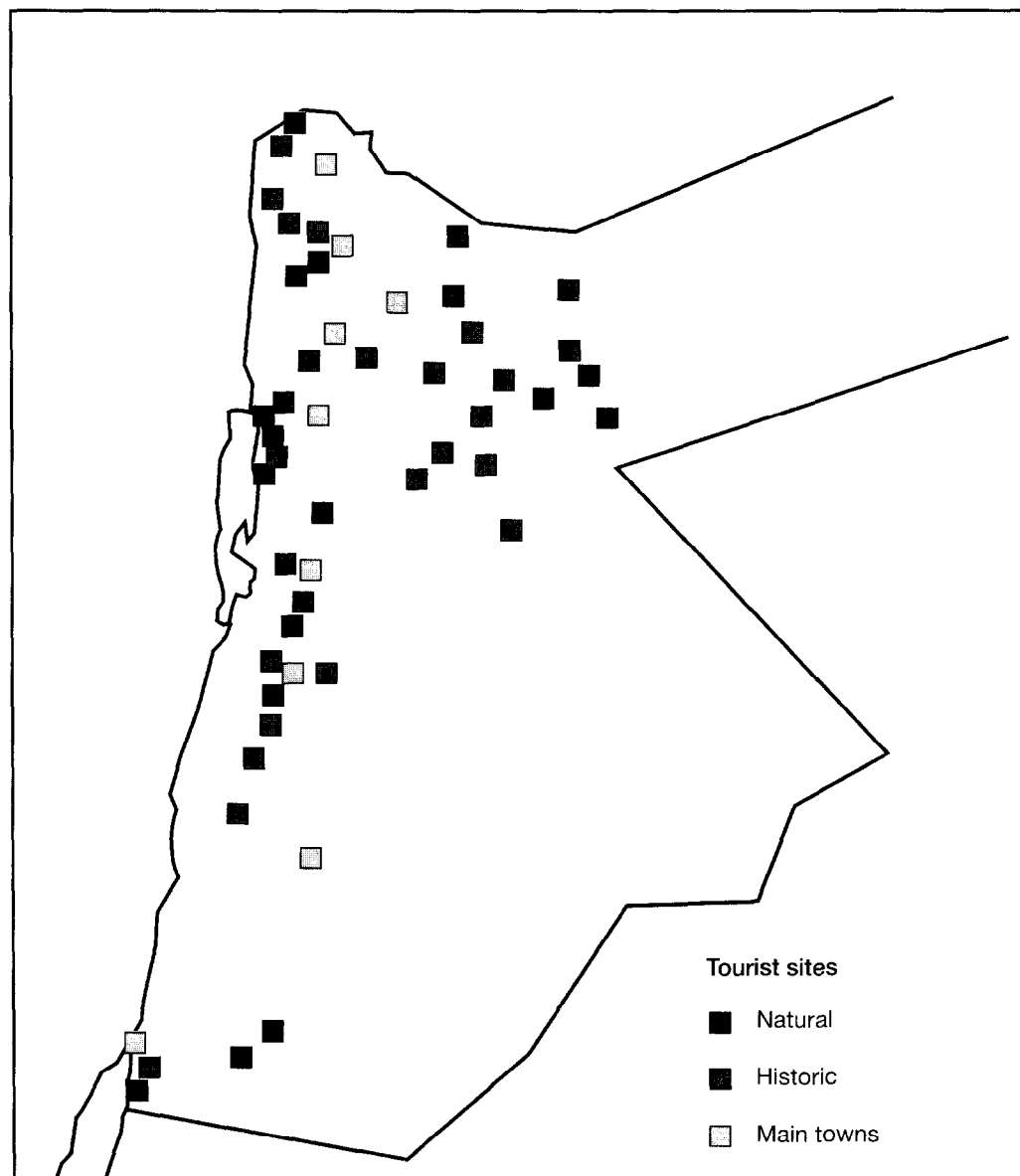
In other cases, adaptation projects have been carried out which, in spite of certain errors, have avoided the worst. Two projects upgrading villages for tourist use have been reported in Jordan and a series of localized projects in the Syrian Arab Republic. Often the aim of these projects is to reuse the buildings for tourism.

The reuse of old buildings

This reuse takes several forms. Old buildings can be recovered to serve a new purpose compatible with their heritage value. They house museums or serve as a setting for artistic events, as at Rabat and Fez in Morocco. However, the Syrian Arab Republic is the country where the highest number of examples have been reported of museums located inside old houses. At Damascus, the Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions has been set up in an old palace (Assaad Pacha el Azem), the Museum of Medicine in an old hospital (Bimaristan al Nouri), the manuscripts of the National Library are housed in a *medersa* palace (Adiliya), the Museum of Arab Calligraphy is to be found in another *medersa* (Jaqmaqia) and the Military Museum is housed in a Tekiyeh (al Suleymanieh). In the Syrian Arab Republic there have also been some quite original restorations of

old *hammams* (bathhouses) which have been returned to their original uses. Furthermore, the Syrian Ministry of Tourism has renovated tourist souks in the Madrasa al Salimiyeh in Damascus (1972), the Khan el Chouneh at Aleppo (in the 1980s) and the Khan Rustom Pacha in Hamah (under way). Other projects by the same Ministry aim to refurbish and convert the al Matbakh al ajami monument at Aleppo and the Khan el Riz in Damascus into restaurants and shops for tourists. As a rule, the will exists within the Ministry of Tourism to restore historical buildings in conjunction with the Ministry of Culture and to put them to use in the tourist industry as hotels, restaurants and cafés.

Finally, several instances were noted of initiatives by private individuals to convert old houses into restaurants or hotels. Yet these initiatives do not always preserve architectural authenticity.



Map 3:
Tourist attractions
in Jordan

In addition to the reuse of individual buildings, there are attempts to convert whole villages that are considered to be of heritage value. In Oman, there is a project to convert six villages that were abandoned by their inhabitants after the sociocultural upheavals in the country. This project plans to convert old residences into accommodation units. In Jordan, the project in the ancient village of Taibet Zamman is much more advanced. Nine kilometres south of the ancient city of Petra, the village of Taibet Zimman (4,289 inhabitants) represents, with its layout and the nature of its rural environment, a typical traditional Jordanian mountain village; it is also located in a region which has a rich and varied potential for tourism. Following a request by the mayor of the village to a private company, the Jordan Tourist Investment Company, for a contribution to the restoration of the old centre, the company provided assistance with a view to converting the centre into a tourist village. The concept was based on the idea of bringing an old rural village back to life by restoring the old buildings and equipping them with modern conveniences such as sanitation, drinking water, lighting and air conditioning. In exchange, the company was to be able to use the tourist facilities, according to a very specific list of conditions. The work took place between 1992 and 1994 and employed local labour. This created some 200 jobs for the duration of the construction work and approximately 125 permanent posts to run the complex. By this means, several abandoned houses were restored and converted to create 98 hotel rooms, in addition to several restaurants, a Turkish bath, a swimming pool, a community centre and a multi-purpose hall. In parallel with this construction work, a hotel business training programme and skills update courses in various branches of craftwork targeted the women and young people of the village.

Much can be learned from the Taibet Zamman experiment. Thanks to the conversion of the village, tourism has developed to some extent in the region and there have been some positive spin-offs: jobs have been created, professional training programmes have been run and there has been a noticeable increase in household income. Yet this same rise in the standard of living has led to an increase in the number of building projects, in rents and in land taxes. In addition, the improvement in the employment situation and in the income of the

inhabitants of the village presents the great risk of encouraging country people to stop working the land and go off to the tourism sector. Finally, the acceleration in the number of building projects in the village of Taibet is being accompanied by a deterioration in the architectural style which no longer takes account of local characteristics, the quality of construction materials or the architectural design. This represents a deterioration of the very heritage that initiated the tourist demand.

It therefore appears that the conversion of the architectural heritage, even if it achieves some success, in the long term does not always result in a lasting relationship between tourism and culture. The integration of cultural elements (in this case the architectural heritage) into the tourist product requires very careful thought to avoid harmful effects. This is probably why the mud brick building restoration project in pre-Saharan Morocco has deliberately postponed the inclusion of that restored environment in tourist schedules, even if there is some urgency for such inclusion.

In fact, faced with the threat of a levelling down of the tourist product in Morocco, a policy to diversify this product has been in operation for some years. The tour operators participate in this diversification effort for commercial reasons, since travel, like any other consumer product, requires constant renewal. One of the major cornerstones of this renewal is represented by Saharan and pre-Saharan tourism.

That explains the spectacular transformation of the small city of Ouarzazate, where hotel capacity will have risen from 320 beds in 1975 (1,211 beds in 1988) to 6,714 beds by the time the present building work is completed. For a small city which was known in the 1970s only as a mere staging post for tours to the south, and which now boasts an international airport with direct flights to the European capitals, this transformation has been quite remarkable.

Yet, for the foreign tourists visiting Morocco, the "Great Moroccan South" product is not only about immersing themselves in the immensity of the desert; it is also about seeing fortified houses built of adobe, sometimes majestically perched on rocky peaks and richly decorated; it is also about visiting some of these houses, to discover the lives of their inhabitants

and to get a taste of the mystery behind the thick walls and dark alleyways.

This is therefore an ideal area for cooperation between tourism and culture, and studies on the tourism-oriented development programmes for the southern regions have already underlined the possibilities of transforming the *casbahs* and have formulated different scenarios that it would be interesting to analyse. These proposals range from the possibility of turning the small *casbahs* into attractions (on the lines of museums located in old houses, craft complexes and cultural centres, or even tea rooms or guesthouses with rooms for rent) to converting the grander residences into hotels or art galleries for both tourists and locals, as well as the idea of a chain of casbah-hotels linked to certain carefully chosen sites.

It is worth noting that some 1,000 *casbahs* of varying size and beauty have been catalogued, of which 300 are in the Ouarzazate region alone.

The project to preserve the southern *casbahs* that was detailed above also involved some consideration of the possible tourist use of the *ksar*. It seems that the thinking in this area is not as far advanced as was the case for the *casbahs*; those in charge of the project have temporarily shelved the tourist dimension. This means not only that tourist use of the *ksar* has been postponed, but also that the studies that have been carried out are no longer to consider ways of integrating this heritage with the tourist product. Nevertheless, considerable thought was given to this aspect of the question during the first phase, and it seems to us that this project would be shorn of one of the key elements behind its inception. Accordingly, we shall now return to some of the ideas emerging from this first phase as well as observations suggested by the initial version of the project.

First of all, let us remember that the *ksar* and the *casbah* can help reinforce the image of the south as a tourist attraction. Their integration into the tourist product can take a variety of forms.

The recommendations of the various experts who have worked on this issue can be summarized as follows:

- ◆ Attempt whenever possible to ensure that the *casbahs* retain their original functions as private and public buildings.

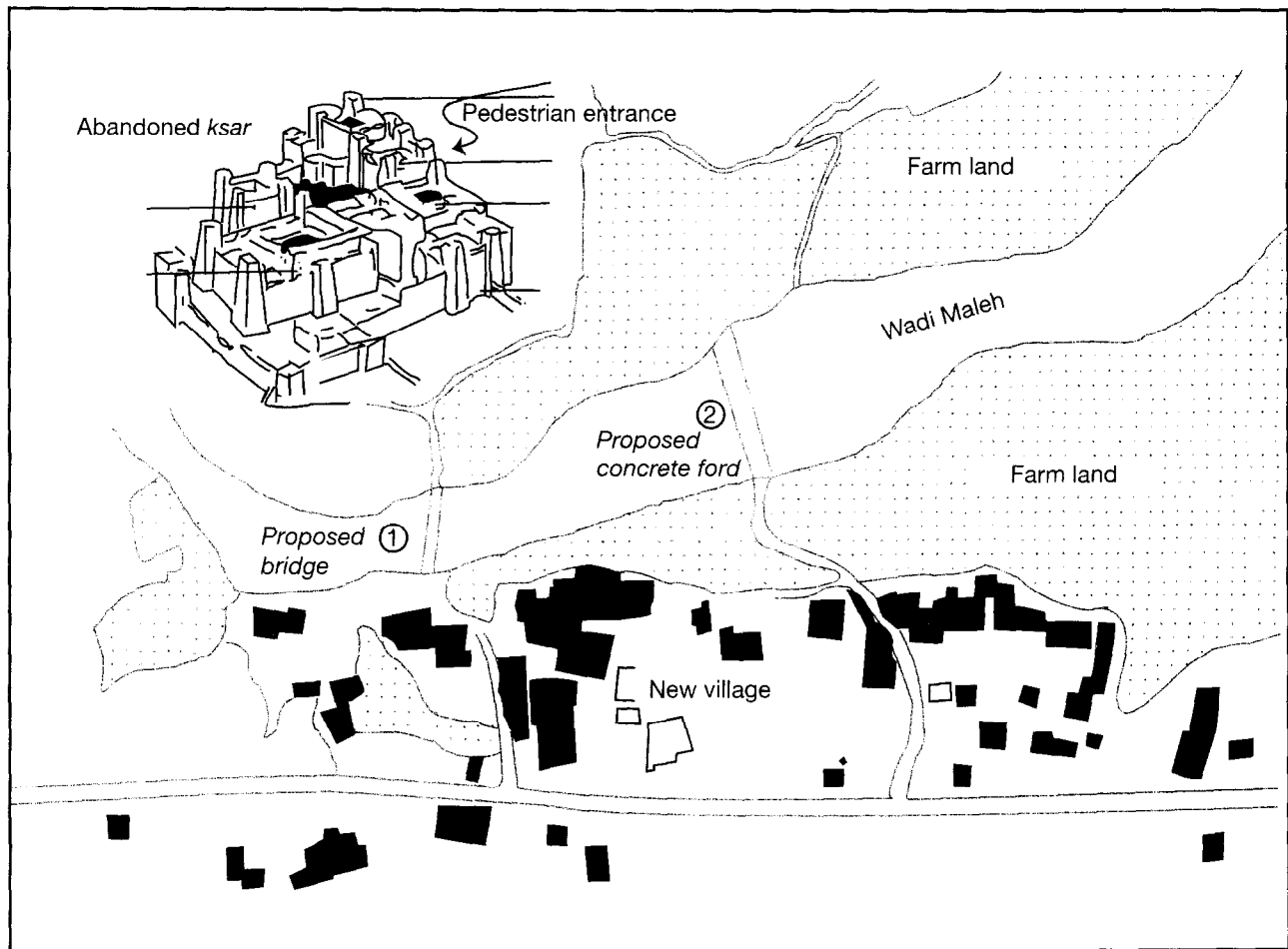
- ◆ Make the *casbahs* into attractions by turning them into the local museum, a craft centre, a museum-house, function rooms and small guesthouses with a few rooms, etc.
- ◆ Choose a small number of the most important *casbahs*, which, owing to their size, accessibility and exceptional location, would lend themselves to restoration projects, either after prior purchase or in cooperation with their owners. The development of these residences in a neo-traditional style and with international-quality service could turn them into a luxury hotel chain that could be marketed by a hotel chain that is already well established on the international market.
- ◆ Turning the *casbahs* into restaurants for group tours should be avoided. Large-scale catering requires many facilities (toilets, kitchens, storerooms, rubbish disposal, etc.) which are ill-suited to very fragile buildings.

As regards the ancient village of Aït Ben Haddou, the following proposals have been put forward:

- ◆ Turn it into a site-village, which would be an obligatory stop on the southern tourist circuit. The visitor could admire it while learning about the daily lives of its inhabitants.
- ◆ Turn some carefully chosen casbahs into museum-houses, museums depicting the history of the village, or tea-rooms, etc.
- ◆ Encourage the inhabitants to convert part of their rooms to guest rooms for independent travellers.
- ◆ Overall, the introduction of tourist activities needs to be environmentally friendly. Large-scale programmes involving work endangering the fragile buildings should be avoided.

Finally, as far as the new village is concerned, the recommendations focus on two points:

- ◆ Put together an adaptation plan so that the development is not anarchic and does not spoil the appearance of the site.
- ◆ Implement a programme to provide a small-scale shopping infrastructure for passing tourists as well as accommodation possibilities (a few guest rooms to rent) with local inhabitants. Small-scale restaurants should be planned, while large-scale hotels and restaurants should be avoided.



Map 4: Reoccupation of the Ait Ben Haddou *ksar*

In this particular case, it is in fact very difficult to manage the links between the tourist and cultural aspects without falling into the trap of having inadequate restaurant facilities. It is equally difficult to safeguard the authenticity of the cultural product by marketing it as a mass tourist product, since its very authenticity is what makes it marketable. Finally, it is difficult to redevelop these *casbahs* into guesthouses or restaurants without disfiguring their overall layout or their façades. Nevertheless, such an operation cannot be successfully achieved if tourism is *completely* ignored. Indeed, the first of the former inhabitants returning to the old village of Ait Ben Haddou are already opening tourist shops.

Organization of festivals

One of the ways of utilizing the architectural heritage that appears most often in the studies is the use of the often grandiose setting of the various monuments for festivals that can attract large crowds of foreign and local tourists.

In the **Syrian Arab Republic**, the architectural heritage plays an undeniable role in the organization of popular festivals. The Basra festival, which has run every two years since 1966, takes place in the ancient theatre, which can hold up to 15,000 spectators, while the capacity of the largest modern festival hall in the country does not exceed 3,000. As well as its incomparable decor, this ancient theatre has preserved all its tiers of seats, and its acoustics are excellent. The ancient site serves as a setting for plays, song and musical events, and it is a very popular venue. The Basra festival has enjoyed unparalleled popular success and enables several sectors of Syrian society to reconnect with their cultures, as the ancient monument is now experienced as a piece of the heritage in the hearts and minds of large numbers of people.

A more recent event is the Palmyra desert festival, which was only set up in 1993. Taking place in April, it offers quite a varied programme: horse and camel racing, traditional folklore events, exhibitions and sales of craftwork. The events are held at the racecourse, the

temple of Bel and the ancient theatre. Interaction between local people and tourists is actively sought. The festival is also a huge success with the people, although attendance by international tourists is not what it could be. Indeed, it is curious that tour operators do not mention either of these festivals in their schedules. Improved publicity and coordination would be desirable to create better interaction between these cultural festivals and international tourist attendance.

However, other festivals see better interaction with international tourism. In **Morocco**, the el Badia palace in Marrakesh was used for several years for the popular arts festival, which now has a worldwide reputation, although unfortunately it is currently suspended. Once a year, the prestigious palace put on performances of traditional dance and song of the different tribes. Interaction with tourism was clear, since the hotels in Marrakesh, the second most important tourist city in the country after Agadir and a prime cultural tourist attraction, are busiest in the spring, when the festival is on. The festival attracts primarily international visitors. After a gap of several years, the Ministry of Tourism seems set on relaunching it.¹ Sometimes, these events develop thanks to initiatives from local bodies or professional associations. The international festival in the small city of Asilah, with its summer university and its strongly cultural dimension, now has a worldwide reputation. A very recent initiative based on the city of Ouarzazate deserves promotion. The city, which is increasingly specializing in discovery tourism (exploring the desert and the oasis communities) organizes the "Desert Symphony", with the participation of a large philharmonic orchestra, and classical music concerts held in the outstanding architectural setting of the southern casbahs. The sacred music festival organized at Fez belongs to the same category.

In **Tunisia**, the Ministry of Culture is responsible for the organization of festivals and cultural events. Two of these events have an international dimension and are perfectly integrated with the country's tourist product. These are the Carthage festival, held each year in the Roman amphitheatre from mid-July to mid-August, and the festival of the Hammamet

international cultural centre, where the open-air drama is world-famous.

In **Egypt**, the grandiose setting of the monuments of the Pharaohs is used for sound and light shows, and the entrance to the ancient temples has been used on two occasions for performances of the opera *Aida*. These two types of event are already hugely successful and attract spectators who come especially from Europe to attend them.

Jordan organizes four festivals in different historic sites. These are the festivals of Fuheis (at Fuheis), Qasr Shabib (at Zarqa), al Azraq (at al Azraq) and Jerash (at Jerash). Jerash is the perfect example of a cultural event, making use of the architectural heritage while at the same time having an eye to international tourism. The Roman city of Gerasa is 48 km from Amman and is separated from the modern town of Jerash by the water course of the same name. The Roman site is relatively well preserved and its ruins are set off by the events. The first of these took place in 1981 with more than 100,000 spectators attending the performances by different artistic and traditional folk groups from Jordan, other Arab countries and overseas. Such was the success that the private sector was encouraged to continue providing financial support for the festival organization. An estimated 10,000 people per day visit the festival, for an event that lasts three weeks. In the absence of accurate statistics for the numbers attending the festival, it is thought that the majority of visitors are Jordanian or from the Arab Gulf states. The festival would therefore benefit from more effective publicity directed at Western tourist operators. It is also still cut off from the present city of Jares, on the opposite bank. The only link the inhabitants of Jares have with the festival are the few services they provide during the period it is held: car park surveillance and small-scale refreshment facilities. In the city itself, few tourism-linked activities can be seen and the financial spin-offs for the local community are extremely limited. The only financial returns come from entrance fees to the performances or the historic sites, and these go directly to the Ministry of Finance. In addition, the absence of an adaptation plan for the area of the historic sites in connection with the festival represents a

1. The performances of the Marrakesh Festival were relaunched in 1999.

grave danger for the archaeological ruins, which can hold only a limited number of people. With the festival having achieved a good many of its original aims, which are artistic objectives, it would now seem time to take

stock of its design, taking into the account the twofold need to safeguard the site and to integrate the festival more with the local communities, which will ensure lasting tourist development.

Tourism in discovering another culture

The craft industry and the architectural heritage, two key areas adopted by the eight studies as items that allow a judgement to be made on the interaction between culture and tourism in the Arab countries, are in reality merely aspects of a new way of practising tourism. This new way no longer consists in travelling to stay in an exclusive holiday club or at the seaside and mixing with other similar tourists. Instead, it involves going in search of the other culture through the craft production and architectural heritage of the country and also through the food, customs and authentic daily life of the people. That is why visits to old but still living cities, visits to museums, trekking holidays and time spent in local people's houses are increasingly becoming a central component of foreign tourism in Arab countries.

The launch of this new product corresponds to the development in Europe of a new tourist market in conjunction with the developing trends of the industrialized societies, trends that were already taking shape in the 1970s and found expression in the rise of individualism, the cult of freedom to do as one likes, and the promotion of individual success. Consumer society, which had become too comfortable and no longer offered sufficient excitement, aroused a need to escape and discover the pleasure of riskier adventures. The travel agencies, always on the look-out for new products, then realized that a new market was on offer, and they set about marketing adventure holidays and sports tourism. The 1980s and 1990s saw the rise of ecological awareness in Europe, and travel agencies turned to more "environmentally friendly" products in which discovery (especially the discovery of the Other) was given prominence. From that point on, the cultural product was promoted and discovery travel attracted more and more takers.

In order to demonstrate this new trend, we shall focus on a sample selection from the

numerous case studies. These are the role played by Syrian museums in this discovery of the other culture, the experience of developing rural tourism in the Moroccan mountains and the renovation of a rural village in Jordan.

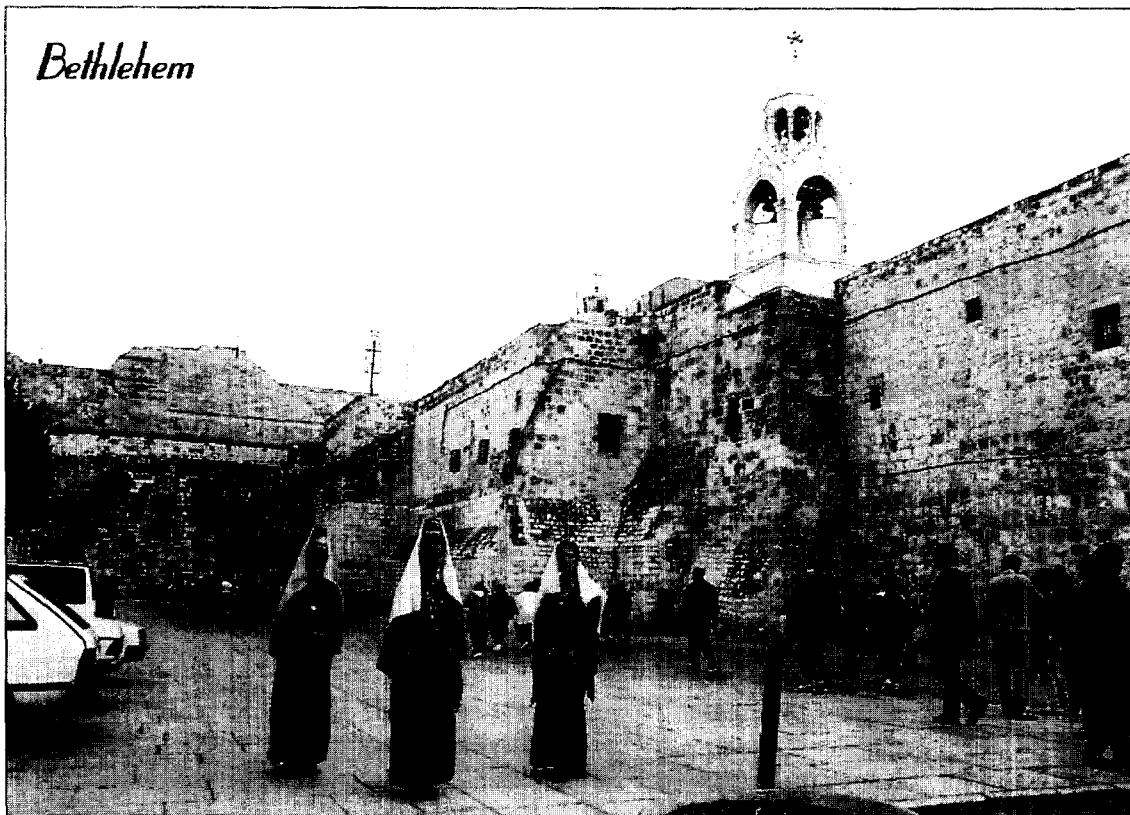
(a) The role played by museums

It is possible to go in search of the Other through their heritage and their authentic daily life, thanks to the concentration of valuable objects to be found in museums. That is especially the case in museums specializing in popular arts and traditions. Yet national museums are able to combine different themes and show scenes from daily life alongside historical and archaeological themes. Each of the eight countries studied has a number of fairly specialized museums focusing in part on popular arts and traditions.

For the **Palestinian Authority**, the development of museums has great significance, since they represent an effective way to safeguard the identity of a people that is under threat. There has been work in this area since 1962, when the Jordanian administration made the first attempt to set up a folk museum. Since then, the organization of travelling exhibitions of items representing everyday Palestinian family life (traditional costume, jewellery, food utensils, agricultural implements) has been an ongoing programme adopted by the Palestinian Authority. Today, this heritage has been collected in various museums – that is to say, the Centre for Palestinian Folklore in the Museum of Childhood, The Traditional House in Bethlehem, The Museum for the Promotion of the Family and the Folklore Museum at Beit Sahour. Set up with the aim of supporting a hoped-for growth in tourism, these museums continue to play their role in safeguarding the identity of a people. This represents another interesting case of coordination between tourism and culture.



*Traditional
Palestinian
costumes:
safeguarding
the identity
of a people*



Bethlehem

*Traditional
Palestinian
costumes:
safeguarding
the identity
of a people*

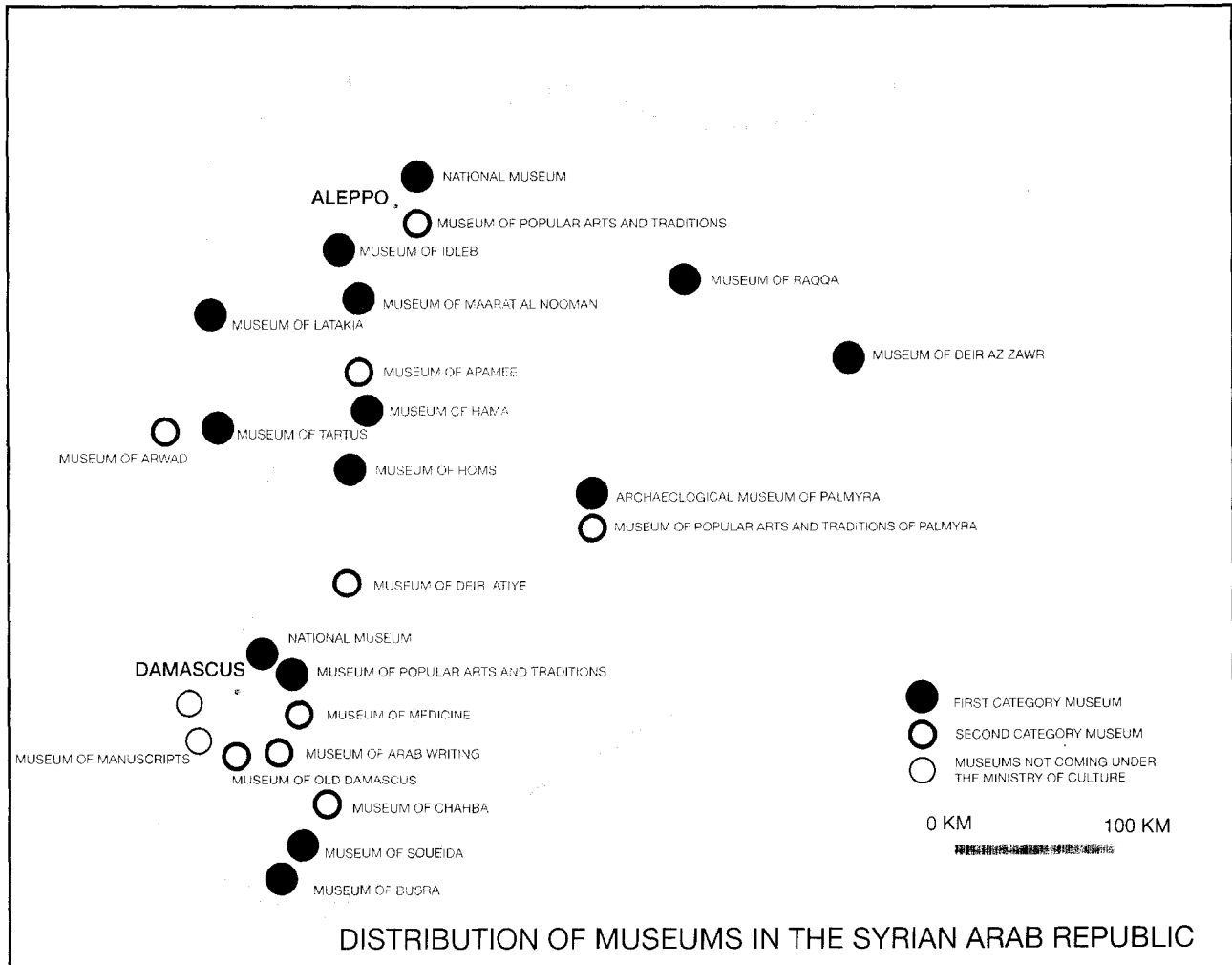
The considerable work carried out by the **Syrian Arab Republic** as regards museums can serve as an example here. The country has a whole network of 25 museums. This network is dense and diverse and remains an exception in

the region; it conveys the deep attachment the country feels for the originality and rich complexity of its past. The majority of these museums are run by the Ministry of Culture (only the military museum and the museum of

manuscripts do not come under this Ministry) and are scattered all around the country. Since only three museums were inherited from the colonial period,¹ this means that a new museum has been created on average every two years, which represents a considerable effort and financial outlay. Some of the museums are located in new purpose-built buildings such as the national museums of Damascus and Aleppo and the museums of Chahba, Idleb, Palmyra and Soueida. Others have reused old buildings,

such as those in Apamee, Arouad, Basra, Deir Atiye, Homs, Lattakie, Maarat al Nooman and Tartus, and the museums of Popular Arts and Traditions in Aleppo, Damascus and Palmyra. Other cases involving the reuse of old buildings are the military and history museums and the museums of Arab Writing and Medicine in Damascus.

Covering a broad range of Syrian daily culture, these museums are not always perfectly



Map 5: Museums in the Syrian Arab Republic

coordinated with tourism. Although the museums bring in experts and specialists to ensure quality presentation of the exhibits, they were created before the arrival of organized tourism and so pose problems for group visits: it is not easy for all the members of the group to visit the exhibition rooms at the same time, there is insufficient lighting, the acoustics are sometimes

poor, there is a lack of seats for elderly visitors, there are inadequate articles for sale at the end of the visit, etc. This last observation also goes for the other countries where the museums are sometimes little suited to international or national tourists who arrive on package tours. There is a need for a refurbishment and upgrading effort in this respect.

1. Since then, those three have in fact been either enlarged or refurbished.

(b) The renovation of rural villages for exploring everyday culture

We have already mentioned the renovation of old rural villages which have been converted into tourist attractions. In this section, we shall look at another aim of renovation. The goal is to revive villages that are of interest so that they can be a living setting in which to explore another. The idea exists in the majority of countries, such as the Syrian Arab Republic with its forgotten villages, Oman with the conversion of the abandoned villages, Morocco with the restoration of the fortified adobe villages, etc.

With the renovation of the village of Dana, **Jordan** offers an interesting example of this type. Located in the Governorate of Tafila, four kilometres from the new village of Qadisieh, the site of the village of Dana has been occupied since 4,000 BC. The importance of the village probably arises from the proximity of copper mines. With its architecture and the raw material that was used in its buildings, its layout and the numerous gardens that surround it, this village is reminiscent of the traditional mountain villages and is of great tourist interest. It has nevertheless suffered from the depression and saw its population fall to just 30 families in 1993, following extensive migration towards the new village of Qadisieh. This movement led to the abandonment of a large number of the traditional houses and the gardens and fields surrounding the village, to the extent that a 1990 study concluded that 28% of the houses were dilapidated and should be evacuated, while 70% were in urgent need of restoration.

Today, this village has been integrated into the Dana National Reserve, which was mapped out in 1993 by the Royal Society for Nature Conservation. One of the results of setting up this reserve was the creation of an NGO, Friends of Dana, whose main aim is to breathe life back into the village. The originality of the project lies in this approach which accords great importance to involving local people, and a village council has been set up specifically to work alongside the two associations. Work began in 1991 and has led to the restoration of 65 houses, with an electricity supply for the village, the construction of a mosque and the provision of a

protective cover for the spring that supplies the village with drinking water.

Although this programme is not perfect, it has enabled a village that had almost disappeared to be revived, all thanks to the demand from tourism. Such demand cannot, of course, solve all the socio-economic problems of the village, but it does contribute to maintaining rural communities that are under threat, and consequently to maintaining their cultures. Nevertheless, it should be noted here and now that there are risks of negative effects, and we shall return to these later.¹ These risks increase with the scale of the project, as we can begin to see in the far more elaborate experience of rural tourism development in Morocco.

(c) The emergence of rural tourism in Morocco

Along with Yemen, Morocco is one of the Arab countries where trekking holidays are most developed. This new form of tourism corresponds exactly to the model of cultural tourism where the motive for travel is above all based on discovering other people in their daily lives and in the places where they live.

The High Atlas mountains lend themselves well to this type of tourism, which is based on the search for both physical activity and the exploration of different cultures. For many travel agencies and many tourists, the High Atlas mountains are quite attractive for trekking tours because of their isolation, which has allowed them to preserve their breathtaking natural beauty and to safeguard the old way of life of the Berber communities that hug these mountainsides; also because of the huge expanse of these mountains, which enables agencies to offer totally new itineraries; also because of a certain lack of comfort (tourists are required to follow tracks that are sometimes in a very poor state of repair and to reach isolated villages along mule trails), a key element and an "initiation test" with this type of product; and, finally, because of their closeness to Europe, which makes the prices quite attractive and places the High Atlas Mountains in the "democratic" destination category. To sum up, the Moroccan High Atlas mountains lend themselves well to the preferred type of trip for

1. See final chapter.

today's clientele, as the mountains place more emphasis on sporting activities, nature and culture and link in with the concept of discovery of the self and of others through group living and physical activity.

On the other hand, this high mountain range is experiencing the same problems that affect all high mountain ranges: it is the site of rural depression (the mass exodus of the dynamic elements of the population), which also appears to take the form of an impoverishment of a rich and varied mountain culture. Among the numerous schemes aimed at developing and promoting mountain economies, tourism is for the first time emerging as a leading force in the integrated development programme of the Moroccan mountains called the *Projet Haut Atlas Central (PHAC)* (Central High Atlas Programme), implemented in the pilot area of the Azilal province.

Various players are involved in the implementation of this scheme as part of an interministerial programme and of a Franco-Moroccan cooperation package, the programme being piloted by the Office for Rural Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior in close collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism. Among the other actors are *Centre Régional et Européen du Tourisme (CRET)* (Regional and European Tourism Centre), which is responsible for the centre for training in mountain trades and the *Grande Traversée des Alpes (GTA)* (Long Distance Alps Trail), which was charged with setting up a network of approved footpaths and refuges under the new *Grande Traversée de l'Atlas Marocain (GTAM)* (Long Distance Atlas Mountains Trail) concept.

Although it is only in its infancy, this form of tourism already stands out because of the diversification of its product and quite clear economic and social spin-offs. Of a total of 100 products offered by tour operators in their brochures, an overwhelming proportion can be seen to relate to walking and hiking tours (85% of the activity days), alongside a whole series of products such as ski trekking (1%), mountain biking (4%), climbing (0.1%), and theme-based stays such as sketching or meeting the local women (0.7%), etc.

As far as the kind of activities available to tourists is concerned, it should be noted that these are essentially activities involving travel

across or around the mountains (trekking) and not fixed-point activities such as climbing. While fixed-point activities restrict the tourist's contact to the natural environment alone, trekking theoretically enables the tourist to meet and discover the mountain community. Tour operators appear to prefer this activity for scenic, commercial and technical reasons. Indeed, the variety of landscapes and climates in this mountain range allow trekking holidays to be organized practically all year round. Likewise, the absence or scarcity of other activities can be explained (according to the tour operators) by local technical difficulties (lack of equipment such as mountain bikes on site, absence of specialists in technical activities such as canoeing or kayaking).

However, products such as theme-based stays, which do not require sophisticated technical support and which are capable of providing a "discovering the Other" experience, especially as regards the local culture, are still very rare.

One of the innovations introduced by this programme concerns the use of accommodation in local people's houses. That is indeed a novelty for Morocco, which has stood out until recent years because of the predominance of the classic types of accommodation category. A guest room classification system has been set up by the GTA, with the establishment of specific GTAM standards, enabling the selected guest rooms to use the GTAM sign.

This concerted intervention also demonstrates interaction on a tourism/culture/development level, with tourism deriving benefit from culture (in this case, the mountain community) and the mountain community benefiting from the spin-offs from tourism. Indeed, the tourist product is revitalized thanks to a **product based on the discovery of a different natural environment and culture and on self-discovery and the discovery of others** through group living. That allows Morocco to diversify its tourist attractions so that it no longer depends solely on the resort product. In this way, it will be able to expand its client base by attracting people who are responding to the new norms of modern tourism. The tour operators, constantly endeavouring to find fresh products to market, have reacted rapidly to this new product by regularly including the Moroccan mountains in their schedules since

the early 1980s.¹ Yet this tourist product, which emphasizes the cultural dimension, can also help a depressed mountain community to diversify its income, to remain in place and thereby to consolidate its cultural originality.

Tourism acts in this way first of all through the anticipated economic and social spin-offs. The question still remains as to whether this new mountain tourism, which sees itself as tourism that is popularized by hiking trips and overnight stays in local people's houses, will generate appreciable economic and social spin-offs, thereby helping the long isolated mountain communities to diversify their income and remain in place.

It is clear that a number of jobs are created, bringing a solution to the unemployment problems suffered by young people in the mountains who are the first to be tempted to leave. Working as tour support staff in the mountains (as muleteers, porters, guides, cooks or lodge supervisors) allows some families to restructure their rural activities and to benefit from new sources of income.

The Centre for the Training in Mountain Trades opened in 1985. It has already produced 159 qualified guides and each year accepts 20 to 30 trainees. The Centre has been successful with young people in the region, as between 1987 and 1993 the total number of applicants rose from 141 to 344, while the total number of graduates climbed from 18 to 160. To these figures may be added some 30 rural lodge supervisors or refuge wardens and around 40 artisans. The integration of the training centre into the local environment is clear from the fact that the overwhelming majority of recruits are local mountain people. Since 1989, the Centre has diversified its qualifications and these now also comprise, in addition to tour support, abseiling (20 have qualified), climbing (11) and cross-country skiing (81).

In addition, in this programme tourism and the craft industry are perceived as indis-

pensable underpinnings for the survival of the mountain economies and cultures. Accordingly, the training in the Centre aimed not only to teach mountain trades and support work, but also crafts (carpentry, other types of woodwork, weaving) and agriculture (beekeeping).

Since this programme is still in its early stages, there are no statistics yet available to allow precise evaluation of the spin-offs. The number of local people providing guest lodges or rooms is already around 20, and it is reasonable to suggest that guides in charge of a group give employment to a further 10 people around them, in a variety of jobs such as muleteers and cooks. A sample survey of households benefiting from this activity has permitted an estimate of the annual income per guide or lodge supervisor.

Totalling 45% of the total income, the contribution of activities linked to mountain tourism is considerable. The number of lodges or lodge projects is also seen to be increasing, especially around Imelghas, which suggests that the local people are aware of the financial spin-offs for household income. Finally, it should be noted that the development of this number of lodges offers a great many days' work to builders in the valley.

The spin-offs from the project are therefore very real and can help this mountain community preserve its cohesion and culture. This is why, in the last analysis, mountain tourism, with its cultural dimension, deserves particular attention, and for three major reasons:

- ◆ As far as the brand image of the country is concerned, it allows tourism in general to be revitalized by offering a product that is not resort-based. Seen from this angle, the mountain society benefits the national tourism industry.
- ◆ As far as the organization of the country is concerned, it enables the growing imbalance to be checked between the coast, where the majority of tourist infrastructure is to be found, and the relatively empty inland regions.

1. Yet tourists have been coming to the Moroccan mountains since the 1920s (1923: the *Club alpin français* (the French Mountaineering Club) was founded in Casablanca. 1920-1928: the club built huts and refuges in the Toubkal. 1959: the first commercial walking and skiing packages were seen. 1960s and 1970s: the local mountain people began taking the first steps to meeting the needs of French aid workers in Morocco who were interested in mountain trekking. 1970s: the first organized groups arrived as part of programmes put together by the tour operators.

- ◆ As far as the sociocultural aspect is concerned, it can make some contribution, along with other programmes, to solving the problems experienced by the mountain environment. It can thereby help to maintain rich and age-old cultures.

Nevertheless, care needs to be taken when evaluating the experiment, because there are clear signs of errors having been made, and in the final chapter we shall return to some of the problems that have emerged from the Moroccan experience of rural tourism.

The craft industry, the architectural heritage and contact with the other culture are three aspects which have been selected here to illustrate the many links between tourism and culture. These three aspects sum up the immense potential of the cultural resources of the Arab countries which are still under-utilized by tourism. In order to move forward and get closer to this fusion between the two sectors, several suggestions and recommendations have been put forward, with in some cases innovative projects together with complex amalgamated proposals. The analysis of these projects is the subject of the next chapter.

III. Specific innovative projects

Once the actual or desired links between tourism and culture had been analysed, the reports by the eight experts were intended to respond to specific terms of reference by formulating concrete proposals conducive to a dynamic process of sustainable development, avoiding any deterioration of natural or cultural resources.

To highlight the relevance of these personal recommendations, we shall first of all summarize the strengths of these proposals and then review the main proposed projects country by country before focusing on a slightly more detailed analysis of several large pilot projects.

Specific recommendations

The recommendations put together by the programme aim first of all to improve the existing product before suggesting the creation of new products.

(a) Improving the tourist potential of existing products

With regard to the craft industry

Because of its social importance, the craft sector is the subject of the most numerous and the most pertinent recommendations. First of all, the sector needs to be supported by an appropriate policy for training, for the organization of the artisans, for the promotion of their products, and for the establishment of their products as an integral part of the tourist industry. To do this, it is suggested that there should be different funding formulae for the training centres, that permanent exhibitions should be organized, that encouragement should be given to the artisans by holding competitions with prizes for the best artisan, and that grants should be provided for artisans to purchase the raw materials at a discount. There is concern to preserve the knowledge and trade secrets which individual artisans possess, and the decision-makers are invited to promote studies and research into the craft industry, to encourage the collection of film recordings showing all kind of crafts being made, which could later be used as archives if certain skills were to disappear. Along the same

lines, it is proposed that a number of talented artisans should be commissioned to reproduce works of art from previous centuries which are currently exhibited in museums. Once certified, these reproductions could be marketed to collectors in certain museums. Apart from re-launching the sector, this practice could reduce the trafficking in ancient works of art which are not in museums and which are fought over by wealthy collectors.

An exchange programme between vocational training centres in the Arab countries needs to be developed; the experience of countries like Morocco in training, design, production, promotion and the organization of cooperatives could be useful for other countries.

As far as better coordination with tourism is concerned, the proposals stress the need for stricter quality control of articles sold in the *souks* and bazaars. The proposals also tackle the problem of the attitude of the tourist towards the craft industry. Programmes implemented thus far have gone down the road of promoting the products and putting tourists in contact with the artisans in the different market complexes, where tourists can at one and the same time visit exhibition rooms, watch the artisans at work and purchase which items they like. It would be desirable to step up these programmes. It will be a matter of creating the conditions whereby tourists who so wish can

move from a passive to an active role. With this end in view, a programme that enabled four different actors to be brought together could facilitate such tourist participation by setting up **introductory courses in the arts and crafts**.

A tradition of practical short courses for tourists should be organized by the Ministry of Tourism and the craft monitoring bodies, as well as the tour operators who devise schedules for the country in which it would be desirable to bring together the relevant local organizations. Theme-based workshop holidays can be marketed by the travel agencies and can cover a variety of trades: pottery, weaving, wood painting, metalwork, embroidery, etc. This type of product, which is still non-existent in the Arab countries, would correspond perfectly to the new forms of tourism that have emerged in Europe. One of the structures that could be taken on board to help develop this type of product are the vocational training centres for the arts and crafts. They can easily add teacher-training type courses to the training that is already on offer in order to enable some of their graduates to run the short holiday courses. It would also be easy to devise collaboration between these institutions and the hotel business schools under the aegis of the various Ministries of Tourism, so that these hotel schools could include introductory arts and crafts classes in their syllabi.

By extension, it would be possible to devise the same type of holiday course on traditional cuisine that varies considerably from one country to the next. Initiatives of this kind might also promote the rich and varied patisserie of Arab countries such as Morocco, Tunisia and the Syrian Arab Republic. Once more, launching this product entails collective action by tour operators, vocational training schools, caterers, local bodies, etc.

With regard to the architectural heritage

The recommendations concern improving the visibility of monuments. For this to happen, it is necessary to improve road access to sites and above all to put in place a systematic series of road signs enabling independent travellers and visitors to reach and visit the monuments. Excavation and restoration work must be rounded off by an attempt to promote the monuments and to boost their attraction.

Adapting some of these historic buildings to tourist use must not overshadow the need to protect them. Sites must be strictly protected against any tourist or hotel facility being located nearby which could, because of its proximity, adversely affect the size or visibility of the site. Such protection may take the form of institutional monitoring of all private or public projects that entail converting old residences into accommodation or restaurant facilities. Above all, with a forecast growth in tourist numbers, a master plan will be needed for each of the historic sites, establishing the conditions for their use by tourists. This plan should establish strict and precise regulatory protection for the area around the sites, car parking regulations and the access and itineraries for group visits. It should also allocate guard duties and specify security patrols. It should specify the use of the land adjacent to the site, the location of excavation or restoration work, and what service buildings (ticket offices, security office, shops, cafeterias, toilets) and other facilities (information panels, signs, wastepaper bins) are necessary.

The coordination of historic sites with tourism requires thorough studies to devise the best way of preparing them to function in conjunction with tourism. The use of ancient buildings for artistic events or for organizing festivals is a beneficial use of ruins, allowing them to be brought back to life. Two preconditions need to be stressed here: a saturation point must be determined and avoided to prevent damage to the monuments, and international tour operators must be involved so that they can feed the festival dates into their scheduling. For this to happen, these dates need to be fixed and the travel agencies notified well in advance. Among the most frequent recommendations are those relating to the organization of sound and light shows, which are relatively rare in Arab countries.

Finally, these recommendations include certain precautions that need to be observed to avoid damage to the ancient buildings. Indeed, if it is planned to convert the *ksour*, *casbahs*, old palaces, communal granary and *fandouks* or *caravanserais* into accommodation amenities or restaurant outlets, these renovations must be environmentally friendly and small-scale. These old buildings cannot withstand very large numbers of people and can provide only small-scale accommodation facilities.

Exploring everyday life

Here we are talking about enabling the tourist to discover the Arab peoples in their real daily lives. Many steps are needed to achieve this goal. Firstly, the museums of popular art can be improved. This operation must focus on the gradual upgrading of the existing exhibition cases, starting with the least suitable ones. Particular effort needs to be devoted to producing large information panels and labels concerning the geographical, historical and cultural context of the exhibits. The lighting is often of an insufficient standard and the acoustics need to be improved.

The historic quarters of the Syrian, Yemeni or Moroccan cities often represent a very valuable tourist attraction. In order to increase the numbers they attract, several improvements are required. Here we shall not revisit the classic and already rehearsed issue of safeguarding the historic quarters; we shall limit ourselves to the action necessary to encourage visitors to stay in these centres longer than the couple of hours they generally spend at present. Besides signposting to facilitate visits without a guide, these old centres require measures to improve the environment. Alongside large-scale intervention to install new equipment and services, there is fairly often a call for support from the local people. It is suggested that clean-up campaigns involving local people be organized. These would take the form of competitions with prizes for the best-kept street or house. Locally organized competitions will also reward the best-preserved houses or those where restoration has best kept faith with the traditional architecture. In order to encourage tourists to prolong their visits to the historic centres, some buildings should be reserved for artistic entertainment. Private investment should also be welcomed to create small classified hotels, and traditional (but also international standard) cafés and restaurants in these areas.

In the rural areas, the proposals note the development of trekking holidays on which tourists stay in local people's houses as a means of cultural discovery. This kind of tourism, with a particular preference for mountain areas, can also be seen as a priority focus of an integrated development plan for depressed mountain areas by helping the isolated mountain communities to diversify their income, to

remain in place and thereby to consolidate the originality of their cultures.

(b) Creating new products

This supply of culturally oriented tourist products, either already in place or else desired by the decision-makers, who lack the financial resources to put them into practice, can be further broadened and enriched by pinpointing new products. The different studies all highlight concrete and innovative proposals that would enrich the tourist product in a sustainable way. It is very clear that there are more proposals from experts who have worked in countries that are beginning to open up to tourism than from those experts in countries that are already well established in the tourist market. Yemen, Palestine and the Syrian Arab Republic thus fall into the former group and Morocco, Egypt and Jordan into the latter. As a country almost exclusively geared to resort tourism, Tunisia is a case apart in that it poses the fundamental question about the relative position of cultural tourism compared to the resort product.

In countries that have newly opened up to tourism, everything remains to be done and the proposals are ambitious

In the **Syrian Arab Republic**, a country that is right now opening up to tourism and is keen to forge a position for itself in the world tourist market, the list of proposals is quite lengthy. The list comprises innovative projects. Although the Syrian Arab Republic has contributed in a major way to human civilization, it has no monuments or ruins that bear concrete witness to that contribution. In a bid to illustrate the 12,000 years of major advances by humanity that have taken place in the country and in Bilad al Cham, it is proposed to create a museum based on the "cradle of civilizations" theme for the beginning of the third millennium.

Unlike other museums, where a tiny label explains the era or location of the exhibits, such a museum would be conceived thematically. Thus, even the smallest exhibit would in fact illustrate important visual or graphic messages. Enlarged illustrations would compare, for instance, prehistoric ears of wheat with the first cultivated wheat and all the varieties to be found in modern-day the Syrian Arab Republic, Europe and America. The plan of the Mosque of

*the Omayyads would be compared to that of the mosque of Cordoba and many others. To be successful, this museum would need to be of a high scientific quality and have sophisticated technical presentation.*¹

Given the theme chosen, the scope of such a museum goes beyond the Syrian Arab Republic itself and encompasses all the other countries corresponding to ancient Cham and could be the subject of collaborative work in the region and internationally.

Another proposal is for an archaeological park to be established around the so-called forgotten villages, to which we shall return later. The project would benefit from involving the local population by adding an economic dimension.

To support the craft industry, a craft research centre is planned, which would need to become active in the areas of documentation, research, training and promotion.

Original ideas relating to new forms of accommodation such as stays in Bedouin tents, domed "sugarloaf" houses in the Djezireh desert or in areas bordering the desert, networks of rural huts run by local people for trekking holidays, and guest lodge schemes are well advanced. New forms of travel are proposed for tours, such as the new "Orient Express" project, a luxury train running between Aleppo and Damascus; a series of trails through the rocky and archaeologically-rich mountains of the north or south of the country, in the coastal mountain ranges, with their abundance of medieval fortresses, and in the mountainous regions of the Qalamoun; canoeing trips; off-road vehicle trips into the volcanic regions, which avoid the archaeological sites; and balloon trips.

In **Palestine**, considerable effort is required, and the projects that have been identified encompass every area. They involve first of all the creation of a centre for traditional costume which will work to produce and market clothes and traditional cooking utensils and a craft trade school for working in olive wood, and producing items made of shell, pottery, glass and embroidery. Subsequently, it is

proposed to create a tourist village bringing together the artisans, salesrooms for their products and tourist amenities. It will be located in the region of Bait Sahour, one kilometre from Bethlehem, where there is a strong concentration of olive wood workshops. The site of the King Solomon pools, mentioned in the Old Testament, can be upgraded for tourism by creating a hotel unit and turning the Turkish fortress into a museum. A large museum of popular arts could be created at Bethlehem to bring together the exhibits that are currently on display in the two small museums. The city of Hebron, the fourth holiest Islamic site, contains remains that are venerated by the three monotheistic religions and it receives a large number of pilgrims. The restoration of the old town could comprise the restoration of all the historic monuments, especially the area around al Haram al Ibrahimy, the establishment of an Islamic museum and the construction of infrastructure for tourism. Other plans, in addition to the restoration of monuments, are the introduction of a tourism course at the University of Bethlehem, the opening of a traditional arts school and the preparation of the "Bethlehem 2000" project.

Finally, in **Yemen**, the proposals involve protecting the archaeological and natural heritage, particularly along the coast, training craftworkers and above all setting up the "Incense Route", which would link Qana and Gaza.

In the "first wave" countries, the proposals are geared to improving the existing provision, correcting errors and optimizing products

In **Morocco**, several plans are listed. The promotion of the craft industry and of the gastronomic riches of the country has led to the idea of organizing short courses and training workshops in pottery and Moroccan cuisine. The juxtaposition of culturally rich regions and the very busy resort areas suggests the combination of resort holidays and hiking tours in the Rif mountains, for example. The proximity of Andalusia and the existence of regional initiatives to salvage, recognize and promote Andalusian heritage, pleads the case for a common regional product based on the theme of

Andalusian civilization. It is possible to devise tours linking Granada and Seville with Marrakesh, passing through Tetouan and Fez.

In **Egypt**, the proposals are focused on revitalizing the marketing of the heritage of the Pharaohs, such as the upgrading of the site at Luxor, by diversifying its functions, remodeling its layout and creating an archaeological park. The site of the old city of Cairo, with its accumulation of historic and cultural heritage, has also been taken into consideration and an environmental improvement programme is suggested.

For **Jordan**, which is halfway between the two categories of countries, the reconstruction of the old Hedjaz line is proposed. This old railway line, which was completed in 1908 and destroyed soon afterwards by Lawrence, is being considered by the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism with a view to restoring the stretch which crosses the country. This would be accompanied by the establishment of a railway museum. It is worth recalling that this old rail line linked Damascus in the Syrian Arab Republic with Medina on the Arabian peninsula and promoting it now could likewise become a regional cooperation project. Restoring the historic centre of the city of Fuheis is also one of the Jordanian projects.

In Tunisia, setting up new products poses the problem of relations between cultural and coastal resort tourism

The Tunisian tourist product is characterized by the predominance of resort-motivated tourism. It is typical of those packages that have long been marketed in the Mediterranean and which are based on an all-in price, covering transport, accommodation and meals. However, in the face of stiff competition, the ONTT (Tunisian National Tourist Office), which is mainly responsible for the "Tunisia" tourist label, has launched publicity campaigns that refer to culture, while also committing itself to the necessary diversification; this raises the problem of the prominence considered desirable for the cultural product.

It is important to know if cultural tourism needs to be seen as an autonomous product compared to resort tourism or as a complementary product that enables resort tourism to be sold. The report concludes that there is a need

to seek integration, which means that the tourist areas need to be adequately defined. This reasoning leads to the proposal to create a product known as "cultural and natural tourism" which does not currently exist in Tunisia. Depending on the opportunities, this new product can be either independent of, or complementary to, resort tourism.

The creation of this product would progress through different phases and would require different types of promoters to be defined. These promoters must take on five different roles ranging from running hotels all the way to producing advertising material and including the organization of events and the running and utilization of the monuments that form part of the heritage. Promoters of the new product would have to carve out a niche for it in the existing market and yet at the same time take as few risks as possible.

As far as the clientele is concerned, they should not only be overseas visitors, as is the case with resort tourism, 95% of whose clients non-residents. While also addressing that clientele, cultural and environmental tourism should consider nationals of the country in question, who, as tourists, are first and foremost interested in the culture and natural beauty of their country. The national clientele in Arab countries has a strong presence, as we have already seen, and is very receptive to cultural tourism. Foreign visitors will no doubt have to be attracted within the present system of packages organized by travel agencies. Nevertheless, a not inconsiderable section of the potential clientele for cultural tourism balks at the idea of travelling in a large group. It will therefore be necessary to think about responding to the demand of this specific clientele by developing flight offers to compete with the best competitive conditions offered by air carriers, combining flights with original accommodation offers in local people's houses or in small hotels, and with meals in popular establishments.

The next stage of product creation is the identification of the key themes and activities. Ten such themes have been identified, encompassing a wide range of cultural resources:

- ◆ Exploring prehistoric sites and introduction to the Capsian and Protol Libyan civilizations.
- ◆ Exploring archaeological sites and introduction to the Punic, Roman, Numidian and Byzantine civilizations.

- ◆ Exploring medinas and historic cities and introduction to the Muslim-Arab civilization and the civilization of the Jewish and Christian communities.
- ◆ Exploring traditional villages and introduction to the popular customs, arts and traditions.
- ◆ Exploring the Saharan and oases areas and introduction to the art of living in the desert, and the customs of the date palm country.
- ◆ Exploring the steppes and introduction to the life of the nomads.
- ◆ Exploring the countryside and introduction to the customs of the country people.
- ◆ Exploring the landscape and sites of natural beauty and introduction to horse-riding, mountaineering and hunting.
- ◆ Exploring the sea and the islands and introduction to the customs of the fishing communities and sailors.
- ◆ Exploring the modern cities and introduction to Arabist and modern architecture.

Based on the themes that have been identified above, cultural and nature-focused tourist products will be created, varying according to the expectations of the market and what is likely to sell. The choice will obey criteria linked to the key theme of the moment and to the geographical conditions surrounding its development. Examples of what is to be avoided are marathon itineraries that give a very rushed presentation of cultural aspects and programmes that concentrate on a single tourist attraction. Since the cultural theme is not a tourist product in its own right, it needs to be worked on and made into a saleable tourist product. This will entail determining the potential clientele, designing the product to match the wishes of this clientele, determining the price, canvassing travel agencies, launching the promotional campaign and analysing the results, remodelling the product if need be.

This approach has been used to put together details of original projects. They form part of the innovative pilot projects below.

(c) Proposals for innovative pilot projects

We have made a small selection from the numerous proposals for projects that are designed to produce real coordination between tourism, culture and development in the countries studied. These will be analysed in detail. This choice in no way implies that others that have not been

selected are less relevant. Rather, since space constraints prohibit a review of all the projects, it seemed useful to select a few which are representative of the diversity of the projects that were put forward. Thus, of the countries new to the international tourist market, the **Syrian Arab Republic** is representative of destinations which, after years of isolation from tourism, are now hoping to develop the sector and which have some of the richest cultural resources. In the same category are **Yemen** and **Palestine**, which provide examples of new destinations where original tourist products can be created from raw cultural material. Of the “first wave” countries, the **Tunisia** proposal illustrates the case of a country which, though firmly established in the international tourist market, gives only very limited attention to the cultural dimension, despite its wealth. Hence the need for a degree of imagination to afford an appreciable place to the cultural aspect. In the same category of country is **Morocco**, where cultural tourism exists side by side with resort tourism without overlapping it. The project we have highlighted simply attempts to bring together the two components in one and the same product.

The “forgotten villages” project in the Syrian Arab Republic

*A region which has a rich past,
but is marginalized today*

At an average height of 500 to 600 metres, the limestone massif of northern the Syrian Arab Republic is a region of plateaux stretching 100 kilometres or so from the Turkish border in the north to Apamee in the south, and is around 30 kilometres from east to west. The villages experienced noticeable population growth from the second century up to about the year 250. Although the cultivable area comprises only uneven plots of land, with occupation based on a Mediterranean crop system which accords pride of place to olive trees, there was intense cultivation of vines and fruit trees. In Antiquity, this massif was at the heart of one of the most heavily urbanized regions in the Mediterranean world and was bordered by the cities of Antioch, Apamee, Chalcis, Beroea (Aleppo) and Cyrrhus.

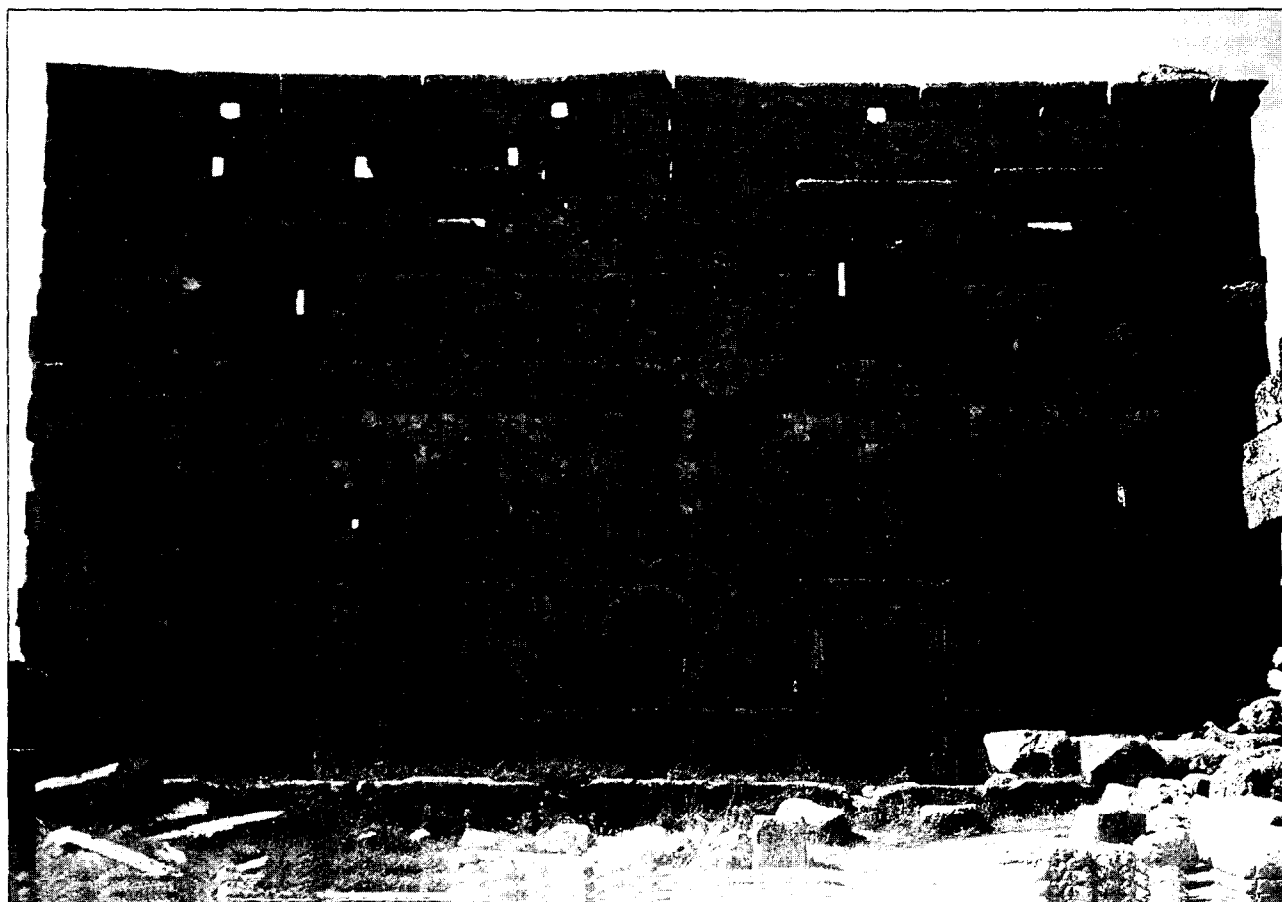
A rural Mediterranean civilization developed around houses, villas, water deposits, olive presses, ovens, baths, inns and other meeting places. The different religions succeeded one another, leaving behind them burial monu-

ments, pagan temples, churches, monasteries and mosques. The wealth of the economy and the abundance of stone mean that these buildings have a monumental feel to them. The houses, often two storeys high, were crowned by a sloping tiled roof with a walled courtyard in front. Archaeologists stress the region's contribution to the different architectural styles that grew up in the Middle East. The first examples of Christian basilicas, in whose construction the Syrian Arab Republic played a key role, still stand in the limestone massif. They are reminiscent of the apses of the European Romanesque churches that can still be admired in Deir Samaan. It is thanks to such architectural "laboratories" that Omayyad Islamic art would emerge in the Syrian Arab Republic and would spread to India and Andalusia.

After a series of wars between the Byzantine and Sassanid empires, and a succession of earthquakes and epidemics during the fourth century, the region went into a decline which continued throughout the following centuries, after the troubles and wars that accompanied the weakening and fall of the Omayyad

caliphate (eighth century) and the reoccupation of Antioch by the Byzantines, which led to the last inhabitants coming down to the surrounding plains as they fled the fighting. The massif remained more or less uninhabited until the beginning of the twentieth century, when there was a strong agricultural revival.

From its prosperous past, the region has retained numerous testimonies of a rich and refined agricultural civilization, with some 60 villages still containing many buildings dating from earlier centuries. While, in the majority of cases, modern villages now occupy the sites of the old ones, many of the old villages, known as "forgotten villages", are still deserted and intact and are in fact quite impressive monuments in their own right. The most impressive of these monuments are the Martyrion of Saint Simeon, which has become Qalaat Samaan, dating from 470-480, and the church of Qalb Lozeh. Both have been restored and complemented by three regional museums set up on the immediate borders of the region (Apamee, Idleb, Maaret el Noomane). In addition, several ancient villages are currently being classified.



Architecture of the "forgotten villages" (Syrian Arab Republic)

An original product, adapted to the region and promoting its heritage

Although it has undeniable historical and cultural riches, the region is not in fact promoted. Qallat Saaman is the only site that attracts visitors in considerable numbers, while the other sites are reached only by motivated groups of young people on horseback. The half-day or day excursions leave from Aleppo. The spin-offs for the local populations are therefore very limited.

The project is conceived as an attempt to promote this heritage and it attempts to bring together two elements: on the one hand the interest in the progressive exploration of and introduction to an exciting civilization and rural economy, and, on the other, the kind of physical activity that is increasingly sought by Western hikers. The project therefore proposes the launch of trekking holidays initially aimed at foreign visitors but which would then be broadened out to include tourists from the country itself.

The first step is a technical study that should identify a series of one-day "looped" treks that could be combined to make trails lasting several days using different forms of transport (on foot, horseback, mule and bicycle).

The infrastructure investment required to set up these trails is not very high and would merely involve marking and signposting the paths, refuse collection and disposal and the production and publishing of a detailed tourist map. Accommodation can be provided in basic hostels located in old hostel buildings or houses that are not listed as historic monuments. The restoration of these houses and their conversion to provide accommodation must be supervised by specialists in the architecture of the periods from which the houses date, because the initial conversions will determine how the rest of the project develops. Each hostel will have to be fitted out to accommodate around 15 people. As a whole, these hostels will form a network of stopover lodges which could be run by a mixed-capital hotel company or local cooperatives. Twenty or so horses or mules for use on the treks need to be permanently available with country people in the area, and local bodies or a travel agency could hire out mountain bikes to groups or independent travellers.

As far as possible, local inhabitants and groups should be the first port of call. Guides, for example, will need to be chosen from young people in the massif and will need to have a knowledge of the area, its history and its civilization. The cooperation of local bodies is likewise essential.

This project, if it goes ahead, will have several advantages. It first of all requires very little large-scale investment. The resulting product will be original and unique in the region and is bound to attract a quality clientele. It will be able to make the most of both a rich heritage and a depressed rural civilization. Finally, it will have no harmful effects on the environment. As a cultural and ecological tourism product, it will comply with Article 12 of the 1995 Charter for Sustainable World Tourism which states that *The promotion of alternative forms of tourism that are comparable with the principles of sustainable development, together with the encouragement of diversification, participate in medium- and long-term sustainability.*

An archaeological park

It is absolutely essential that this project be accompanied by measures to protect the ancient villages, which are under threat from the development both of the modern built environment and the natural appearance of certain sites. The customary protection and intervention procedures based on prohibitions and stiff penalties are difficult to apply over a long period of time and are thus not very effective. What needs to be done is to develop strategies that appeal to the local people for their cooperation and consent. Protection of the cultural and natural heritage will need to be combined with the development of modern housing and economic activities. The creation of a regional natural park, along the lines of regional parks that have been created all over the world, would be the appropriate solution. Such a park, covering an area with a rich but fragile heritage, could provide protection and sustainable development for that heritage by being organized around a project, in this case cultural tourism. It will therefore be necessary to set up an authority whose specific role will be its ability to steer the different partners and put them in contact with one another, to coordinate programmes, to set up projects and to think up innovative programmes.

Establishment of such a body requires an approach that is methodical and can mobilize people to act. An essential step is a feasibility study which must achieve the following:

- ◆ It must gather and analyse all the information available on the Massif and relating to the natural and human environment.
- ◆ On the basis of this information, it must consider the development prospects for the region.
- ◆ It must propose an action plan to set up an archaeological, tourist and agricultural park.
- ◆ It must delineate the limits of the park and its sensitive areas.

Although a possible feasibility study has yet to be carried out, the report already proposes the following general outline for an action plan:

- ◆ The rebuilding of the terrace crop areas and the improvement of production techniques;
- ◆ support for the relaunch of the local craft industry.
- ◆ The development of tourist information, accommodation and service structures.
- ◆ A boost to public services.
- ◆ Studies concerning the protection and restoration of the local heritage.
- ◆ Incorporation into school syllabi of cultural material related to the history of the region.
- ◆ The training of guides selected from the local population.
- ◆ In order to raise the profile of the “forgotten villages” region both worldwide and with tour operators and to facilitate the quest for the necessary loans to set up the project, it would be desirable to take immediate and initial steps to having the region accepted as a World Heritage Site.

The Incense Road in Yemen

The conclusion of the well-researched report on Yemen presents a special recommendation that is highly original, although at present only an outline proposal. This report appeals to UNESCO to work to revitalize the historic rubber and incense route. This trail, which starts out from the ancient port of Qena (nowadays known by the name of Bir Ali) on the Arabian Sea, traverses the Arabian peninsula, passing through a string of towns to emerge at the city of Gaza on the shores of the Mediterranean.

This ancient road has played a key role in the history of the region and has historical,

cultural, social and economic importance for the region as a whole.

Despite the current geopolitical situation, this project could have various spin-offs. It will allow the historical and cultural heritage to be promoted through tourism with a view to development. The road itself is a large economic undertaking, since it will link different countries together. It will be able to connect into a whole network of secondary routes in the various countries through which it passes as well as into maritime routes heading for India and Europe and into routes that link different historical and cultural sites.

The “Bethlehem 2000” project in Palestine

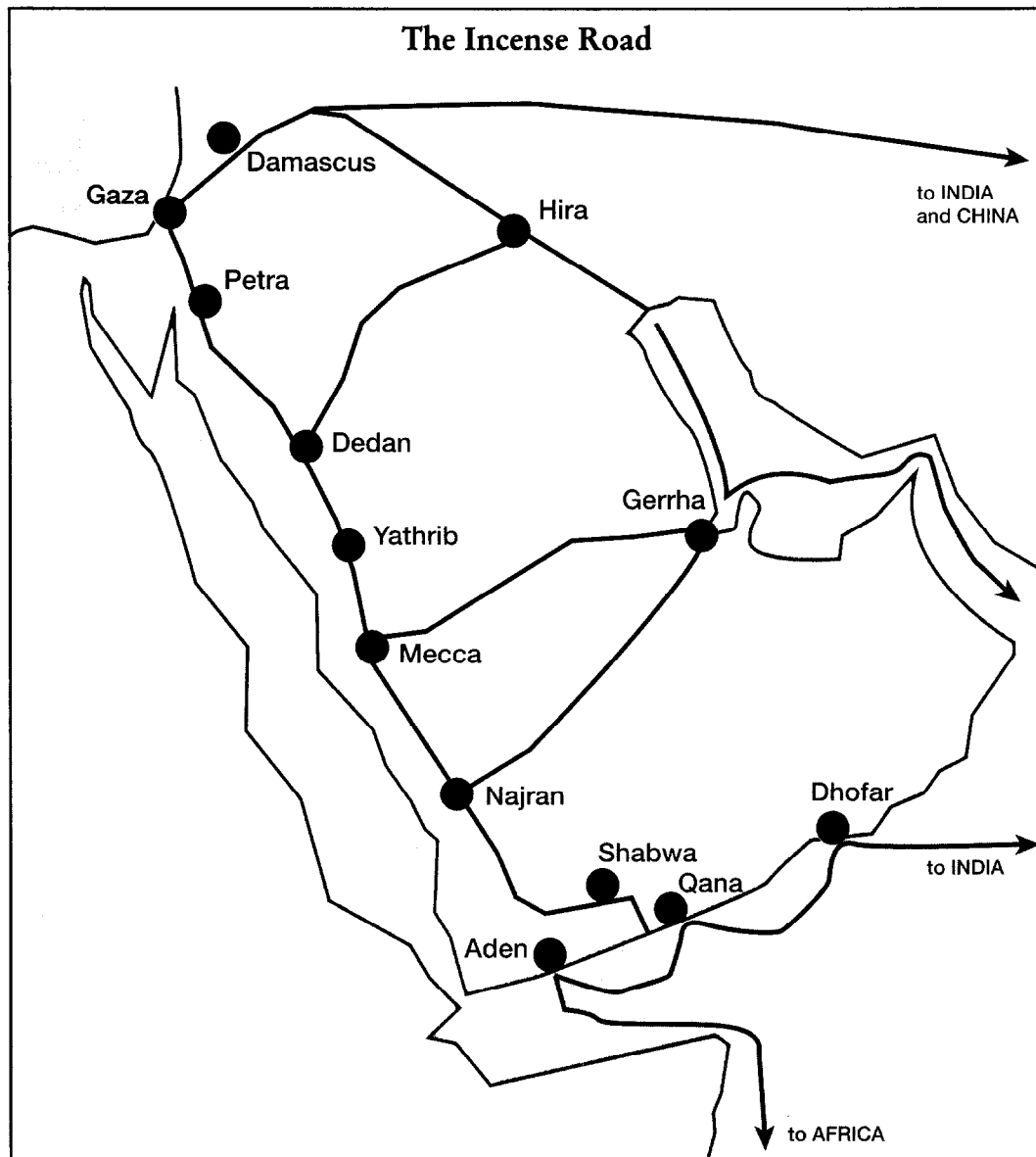
As the birthplace of Christ, the town of Bethlehem has profound spiritual value for all Christians. It is rich in heritage resources with its centuries-old houses, its churches, its religious institutions, its historic quarter and its urban architecture. Marking the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of Christ, the year 2000 is an important event for the whole of humanity. UNESCO has decided to commemorate it through different initiatives, one of which is the Bethlehem 2000 project. This pilot project, it is seen as an opportunity to apply a town-wide policy based on a programme of restoration of some of the public spaces in the historic centre, the creation of a workshop to safeguard and promote the cultural heritage and other urban regeneration projects.

This programme to regenerate and restore the whole town targets a number of objectives, among which are:

- ◆ The protection and safeguarding of the historic monuments.
- ◆ The restoration of the old quarters to increase their attraction for tourism and to improve the quality of life for their inhabitants.
- ◆ The training of sufficient numbers of specialists in tourism, conservation and the restoration of ancient monuments.

The first phase might focus on:

- ◆ Delineating the action zone in the historic quarter of the town.
- ◆ Restoring the main monuments within that area.
- ◆ Pedestrianizing the main square in the old centre.
- ◆ Developing car and tourist coach parks.



CAO - M. Berriane

- ◆ Improving the street network and pedestrianizing part of it.
- ◆ Maintaining the street lighting system.
- ◆ Turning the souk square into a tourist attraction.
- ◆ Restoring and converting old residences for tourist use (museums, exhibitions, arts centres).

Tunisia, where there is a need to build an original cultural product alongside the dominant resort tourism

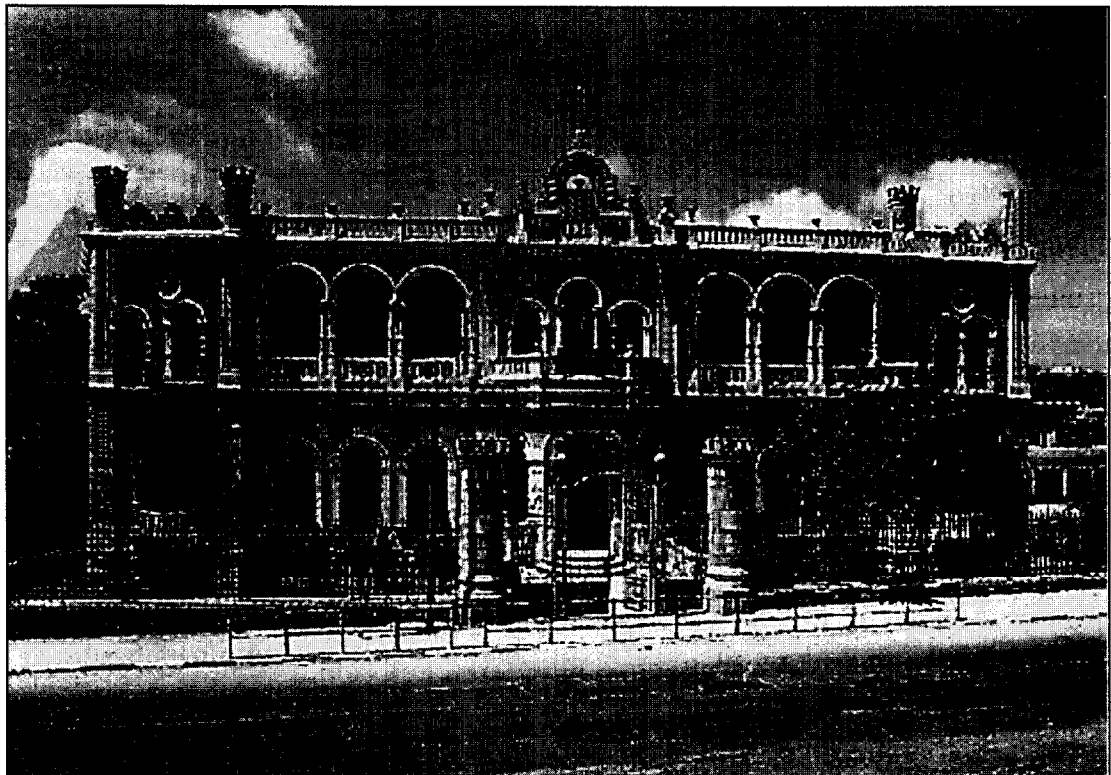
Drawing on the plan described above, the Tunisian report comes up with a project for cultural and environmental tourism designed to allow the average tourist in Tunisia to escape the protected environment of the hotel, where the majority of the stay is spent. Contrary to what is generally supposed, tourists are curious to see

more of Tunisia than the airport or hotel. The most effective and most agreeable way of introducing foreign tourists to Muslim-Arab culture is to offer them the possibility of experiencing Tunisia through other contexts, where they can rub shoulders with Tunisians in their daily lives.

Living in a medina will enable them to understand how a Muslim-Arab city is organized, discover the heritage, appreciate the arts and crafts, take part in popular traditions and festivals, listen to Tunisian and Arab music, try Tunisian food and, for those who choose, learn the Arabic language. Tourist accommodation would be provided not in a hotel but in traditional houses carefully selected for the quality of their architecture and their location in the medina. These houses would possibly be restored, and would be refurbished on traditional lines and with all modern conveniences.



The Church of the Nativity



The Palace of Jacir

Travelling independently or in a small group, the clientele targeted by this product will arrive on different types of holidays:

- ◆ weekend or one-week leisure trips or breaks
- ◆ two- or three-week language-learning holidays
- ◆ study trips for small groups.

The exploration of archaeological remains or of the life of small towns such as Sidi Bou Saïd, for example, must be promoted. This should also be done for the capital, Tunis, an important tourist destination before the development of the Tunisian resorts. Today, Tunis is a city which international tourism avoids, despite the cultural wealth of its hinterland and its

sizeable hotel capacity. The sites of Carthage and Sidi Bou Saïd, which are located together in a protected park, are not promoted. The proposal consists of using these two sites to create a product that would offer an introduction to Tunisian life and to the Punic and Roman civilizations. Accommodation could be provided at Sidi Bou Saïd in a "castle" type of hotel structure, which would boast all modern services as it would be designed to receive a demanding clientele that was prepared to pay top prices.

Based in Tunis, tourists can choose among several varied and coherent routes, visiting sites that need to be upgraded to receive visitors and improved to provide the necessary explanatory information. Several routes are proposed:

- ◆ Tunis-Thuburbo Majus-Zaghouan-Tunis
- ◆ Tunis-Dougga-Tunis
- ◆ Tunis-Bulla Regia-Tunis
- ◆ Tunis-Kerkouan-Tunis.

As both a holy city and a city of art, Kairouan is the perfect example of cultural tourism. Yet the present lightning tour of the city, devoting the majority of the time to carpet traders, omits the centres of cultural interest. The proposal stresses the need to organize visits of the city and the mosque for a carefully selected segment of tourists, who will be accommodated on site in a 300-bed hotel. The promoter, who at the same time also runs the hotel, needs to offer a top-of-the-range cultural tourism product.

Exploring the Roman and Islamic civilizations at the sites of el Djem and Kairouan can also take place by means of organized excursions which will be available to hoteliers in Sousse-Monastire and Mahdia-La Chebba, as long as the whole thrust of the trips is informative and the tourists are not herded off to the carpet dealers. The el Djem site, which already has a museum and which offers exciting attractions such as the Coliseum and numerous Roman villas, would benefit from further development and being provided with a motel.

Exploration of the customs and popular arts and traditions through the traditional village concept can be achieved through the village of Takrouma. A mountain-top village, offering a fantastic view over the whole plain, Takrouma, together with the neighbouring villages of Zriba and Jeradou, can be a hiking destination. At Takrouma, accommodation can be provided in

guest houses (a dozen or so houses can be converted to accommodate sixty people). Longer stays can be encouraged by organizing introductory courses in crafts (weaving, for example). Dominated by the Jbel Ressas, the plain of Mornag offers stunning sites and scenery. It attracts Tunisians on weekend breaks, while the Club Alpin Tunis (Tunis Mountaineering Club) organizes excursions and climbs to the Jbel Ressas. Rural hostel type accommodation could produce longer stays among the present clientele and could be integrated as a stopover for the tours that are already on offer.

Other unexpected themes can be developed in Tunisia:

- ◆ Trips into the forest are possible in the Cap Bon region. In addition to gardens and orchards, this region has scrubland and forest countryside that are well suited to walking holidays. The starting point for these tours could be a resort hotel (Sidi Raïs or Korbus) and the tour could cross Cape Bon from west to east in the direction of Kelibia. Forest lodges need to be set up to cater for small groups of walkers.
- ◆ Sea-based holidays can help promote resort holidays by offering tourists the chance to live at sea on a sports-oriented holiday (sailing and water sports) and excursions to explore the coastal scenery. Sidi Bou Saïd and Kelibia are well suited to stays and Zembra could become a main centre for water sports. Excursions would go to Tabarka and Port Kantaoui. To set up this programme, the developer requires a small fleet of pleasure craft, two 120-bed stop-over hotels at Sidi Bou Saïd and Kelibia, and one resort hotel in Zembra.
- ◆ Mountain oasis trips are leading to an enhancement of Saharan tourism, which is beginning to emerge in Tunisia and which is still restricted to long-distance trips in off-road vehicles. This kind of tourism could become further consolidated in Tunisia if it is extended to include stays experiencing the rhythms of oasis life. The renovation of the abandoned village of Tamezra will provide accommodation opportunities and a base from which tourists will be able to undertake excursions by mule and stay in tents with the nomads.

These diversified projects creating new products geared to cultural tourism in Tunisia attest to the wealth of cultural resources of the

country, resources which have still not been tapped, the country having chosen to prioritize resort tourism. The way forward will certainly not be to adopt and develop all the projects at once, but instead to select a chosen few according to their feasibility and the expectations of the clientele and tour operators. For that to happen, it is essential that there should be a clear will on the part of those in charge and interministerial consultation defining action plans and agreement protocols. Only in this way will private promoters be able to follow through these proposals, make their voices heard and set up their projects.

In Morocco: rural tourism hand in hand with resort tourism

Tourist activity is not a novelty for northern Morocco

As early as the mid-1960s, the Mediterranean coast and the bay of Tangiers were prioritized by decision-makers who were seduced by the regeneration opportunities offered by tourism for a region that was already in the economic and social doldrums. Yet, after more than 25 years of solely resort-based tourism, the only conclusion is that tourism has failed to fulfil its expected role as a driving force behind local development.

Today, while northern Morocco is back on the front pages with the prioritization of its economic and social development, tourism is again being mentioned as one of the possible solutions to help regenerate the region. That involves analysing the reasons for the failure of this policy to define a new form of tourism. The form of the first phase, centred around resort holiday tourism, had serious drawbacks owing to:

Little integration of tourist establishments into the local economic environment

During the first phase, the overwhelming majority of establishments on the Mediterranean coast (64%) were part of holiday villages (the national average was 14% in 1978), while only 10.8% of beds were reserved for hotels. Thus, besides the fact that this region was ill prepared economically to carry out such activity, the structures that were chosen favoured establishments that were exclusive clubs, large-scale and foreign-run. This meant that the

industry, in addition very seasonal by nature, was unable to play the anticipated role of stimulating the local economy of the region. The tourist complexes, because of their large scale (1,400 beds in the al Hoceïma tourist village alone) and, consequently, their huge requirements, need to turn to other regions (especially Casablanca) for their purchases. These other regions provide the core of their provisions, local purchases being limited to fruit and vegetables and a few cleansing and maintenance products and representing only 25 to 30% of the value of their expenditure. These establishments are, furthermore, characterized by having very little contact with the local environment, and within the complex itself they provide their clients with all the sporting and entertainment facilities as well as a considerable proportion of the shops and services they need. The result is a strikingly low number of employment opportunities.

Climate limitations

Moreover, after the first euphoric years, the Mediterranean coast was soon abandoned by international agencies, which turned towards southern destinations. There are several explanations for the tour operators' change in attitude towards the northern coast to the benefit of Agadir. These were the need to launch new destinations on the market on a regular basis, the growing success of the "winter product", the commercial advantages of a year-round resort (such as Agadir) and the absence of spontaneous life and vitality in a rural environment where the tourist establishments are isolated. With the main attractions of the region for this kind of tourism being sun and sea, it is possible to understand that, in fact, these two climatic assets are only really to be found in tandem towards the east coast from al Hoceïma onwards. On the Tetouan and Tangier coast (where there has been most investment), the classic Mediterranean attractions are less prominent. The water is warmer than the Atlantic only during the months of July and August. This relative coolness of the water explains in part the very dense coastal mist and fog and relatively weak sunshine that occur in the region.

Linear development along the coast

Tourism in the Moroccan Mediterranean region in fact means tourism along the Mediterranean seaboard alone, where the majority of beds

and tourists are concentrated: 90.4% of the 13,000 beds in the north are located along the coastal fringe. This localized capacity, especially along the coastline, is unevenly distributed, since the bulk are concentrated in Tangier and along the Tetouan coast (82.4% of the capacity of the Mediterranean shoreline). To be precise, all along the coastline can be seen localized strip developments. The developments are exclusively on the coast and are often isolated from the villages or towns that predated them. The linear nature of the developments is explained by the need to have a sea view and by the route taken by the coast road. The second phase of tourist development along the northern beaches, which coincided with strong national demand, saw this linear nature confirmed and reinforced. However, the tourist potential of northern Morocco is not confined to the coastline. The mountainous interior can be utilized for tourism, which will thereby be able to escape from seasonal constraints.

The shift towards property promotion

Following the failure of international tourism in northern Morocco, there was a spectacular shift towards property promotion with a strong trend towards a new type of accommodation based on second homes, new sales drives targeted at Moroccan citizens and the growing preference for having one's own residential accommodation (apartments or villas), with the hotel and its attached services (leisure and restaurant facilities) seemingly necessary only as an excuse to justify the "tourism" tag.

Environmental problems and the deterioration in the quality of life

With an increasingly wide range of resort destinations to choose from, because of the revolution in air transport and the rise in the numbers of countries receiving tourists, the international, and especially European, clients are becoming increasingly demanding when it comes to the quality of the environment for their holiday stay. Thus, the high density of people on the coastline and the serious errors that were committed when this section of the northern Moroccan coast was developed for tourism, mean that its environment is suffering increasing damage.

On the strength of this analysis, it seems that the tourist development of northern

Morocco needs to be completely rethought by diversifying its components and by promoting assets other than sun and sea. The supervisory authorities are aware of this and a new approach is being prepared. Without completely abandoning the choice of resort tourism, the approach seeks to complement it with the development of rural tourism with a strong cultural connotation.

Diversification and complete remodelling of the product

To support this change, the region has considerable potential inland (the cultural dimension, ecological tourism, hunting, hiking, etc.). It is therefore possible to devise tourist developments along the coast, but which are nevertheless focused on the inland areas, that can be promoted for tourism. Behind the concept of remodelling lie numerous possibilities for northern Morocco. With a little imagination, tourist developments might be devised, for example, along the still unspoilt stretch of sand of the Bou Areg lagoon, combined with hunting and hiking trips perhaps all the way to the Zegzel gorges. With the Jbala region, its souks, its nature reserve and the neighbouring city of Chefchaouen, the Tetouan coastline can easily be drawn out of its isolation and opened up more towards the inland areas. Finally, the al Hoceïma coastline can be beneficially linked to the beautiful cedar grove at Ketama. That will reduce the pressure on the coastline and lead to job creation (and not only summer jobs) which will be able to restrain migration towards the coast to some extent.

The pilot project

Rural tourism is defined here as tourism which heads for rural areas, forests or natural landscapes that are untouched or little touched by human activity. Rural tourism seeks outdoor sporting activities (hiking, climbing, kayaking, cross-country skiing, hang-gliding, etc.), activities exploring the environment, either passive (admiring the landscapes) or active (meeting the local people and exploring their cultures, courses on the natural, social, historical and cultural environment of the region) and relaxing activities, involving a change of surroundings, etc.

From this definition, it can be seen that the region in question has a natural and cultural heritage that is not utilized by the resort

tourism confined to the coast. The Rif is a curved mountain range, 360 km long and 80 km across, reaching considerable heights (2,452 m) and with ridges, numerous valleys and spectacular relief features (gorges, a natural bridge) and has undeniable natural beauty. The area has numerous high-quality sites from the point of view of its biology and ecology (the Talassemtan and Tazzeka Parks). The Rif landscapes, most of which have been moulded by human activity, in that they result from permanent interaction between humans, space and nature, are astoundingly rich (for their built heritage, sociological heritage, physical heritage, history, popular customs and traditions). This natural and cultural heritage is under threat from the growing demographic pressure on the environment (excessive tree clearance, the need for firewood, overgrazing) and the region is already affected by cannabis cultivation, which is altering the agricultural use of the land and the traditional village and family social structures. There is an urgent need to launch an activity that can promote heritage and suggest alternative ways of making a living. Rural tourism can play its part in its regeneration.

After the work to identify the most promising sites, a pilot area was chosen around the traditional city of Chefchaouen. An ancient city founded by the Andalusians and the only traditional Moroccan settlement in the mountain area, this city is a real jewel in the middle of the Rif mountains and has several points of interest. It is surrounded by several cultural attractions, such as the built heritage of Jbel Kelt, the natural landscape of Akchour, the village of el Kelaa, the nearby coast, etc. The choice of this pilot area arises from a three-pronged strategy: to concentrate efforts and available means on a single site that offers reasonable chances of success, to demonstrate to tour operators, supervisory authorities, local bodies and the private sector what it is possible to do, and to minimize the risk of failure in a small area.

The concept rests on the notion of the “tourist country”, a coherent geographical area comprising a network of sites and products linked to a capital (Chefchaouen), with its own character and with an image that bears the stamp of quality. The launch and management

of this tourist country depend on the “Tourist Zone Committee”, a body with a range of members including representatives of the supervisory authorities, the local bodies and representatives of the local population. Far from merely reproducing the Atlas-style model of tourism,¹ the Rif product should be much more rural than solely mountain in nature, with priority given to the idea of exploring a typical mountain with all its cultural and scenic components. The product will be more diversified and will be able, for example, to support itself on resort tourism, the cultural component and the experience of everyday life of the Rif people. The keywords will be flexibility, diversity and adaptability. Flexibility involves the implementation of programmes that are not fixed and can be adapted according to the clientele targeted. Diversity concerns the basic products that are devised and which can be combined at will so as to customize each holiday. In this way, it is possible to adapt different holidays from a core of basic products, and according to the demand. It will be possible, for instance, to devise products involving escorting a visitor as part of an organized and tightly controlled package tour. Yet other products could be aimed at independent visitors who will organize their hiking tour on the spot, using the town of Chefchaouen as a starting point. At the same time, the “sedentary” tourist, who is seeking a relaxing holiday as a family or group, could be targeted; and then there is the escorted sporting activity holiday, an invigorating break in a health resort, or even cultural holidays based in workshops with courses in pottery, weaving or local cookery.

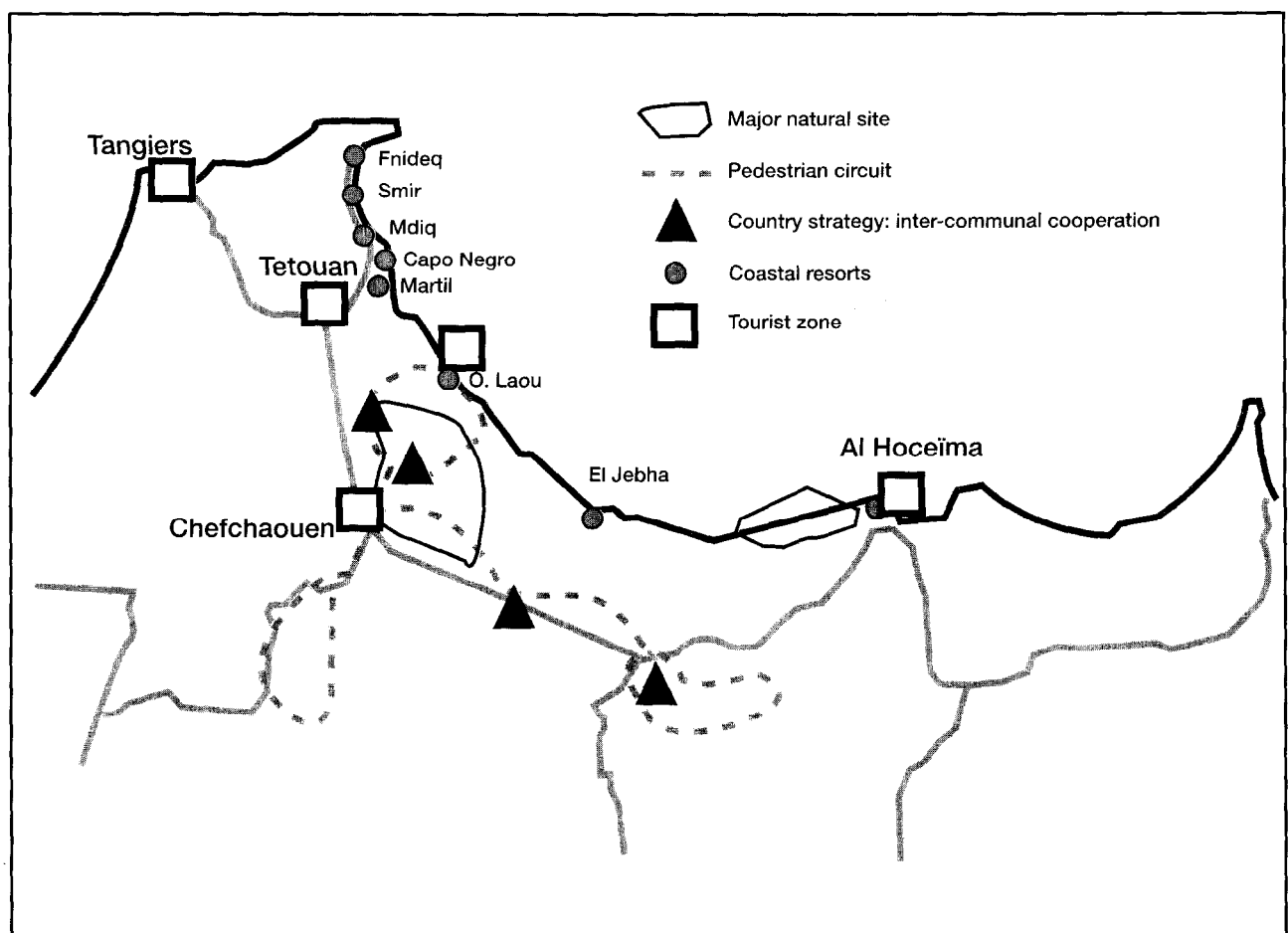
The clientele targeted by this project is varied and is not just restricted to an international clientele. The latter must be first be sought among the visitors who are loyal to the northern resorts, such as the British or the Spanish. A way into the market may be by persuading tour operators to schedule stays at Tangiers together with the Tetouan coast. Likewise, prototypes of the first products can be introduced in hotels where tourists stay (either tourists spending their whole holiday there or those who are just passing through); the hotels may thus be able to encourage their clients to stay longer by offering two or three types of walking trips in the surrounding area. In addition to this new clientele, there are those

1. See Chapter III.

who visit the coastal resorts in the summer. The urban upper middle classes and the well-to-do have taken to acquiring comfortable or luxury second homes on the Rif coasts of the area studied. They have their own transport and substantial financial resources, take lengthy breaks in these houses and consequently need activities to occupy their leisure time. They are also taking an interest in new forms of tourism. The third potential clientele is represented by people from the cities and foreign residents of the big cities who can visit the region at any time throughout the year for a weekend break. Finally, mention must also be made of a new category of tourist: people who have emigrated abroad. The region of northern Morocco is one of the main areas of overseas emigration, and each summer it receives large numbers of people coming from abroad to spend their holidays in their home country. The second and third generations are particular potential targets for this new rural tourism.

All-in tourist products can be planned for these different clienteles, comprising:

- ◆ Theme-based itineraries on foot or by car (famous people, historic events, heritage buildings, Marabout sites, forest ecosystems).
- ◆ Adventure and discovery tourism based at first on walking holidays but evolving towards other forms such as cycling, climbing, potholing, abseiling, hang-gliding, cross-country skiing, hunting and fishing.
- ◆ Rural tourism allowing the tourist to branch out from accommodation consisting of rooms in people's homes, farm holidays, self-catering or furnished flats, campsites, etc.
- ◆ Specialized nature/culture tourism based on discovering the flora and fauna and the forest ecosystems, and also on experiencing and understanding the way of life of the people of the inland Rif.
- ◆ Eco-tourism encourages and plays a role in protecting natural sites and benefits the local people. It is based on a partnership and on contributions of a financial, intellectual and environmental nature. Another possibility is that of stays or hikes for eco-volunteers.



- ◆ Resort tourism. This is almost the only type of tourism in the region, but it is experiencing serious problems. Nevertheless, it may benefit from the development of rural tourism. This would require cooperation between the different communities on the coast and in the mountains and between different professionals working in the tourist trade. The participation of such professionals is essential, in that they must agree to market a mixed product, which is something that does not exist anywhere in Morocco or elsewhere in the Arab world.

The creation and launch of this product is a complex step and involves a strategic approach supported by a series of measures. After a "Tourist Zone Committee" is set up, vital work needs to be done to rally local players (local authorities and experts, elected representatives, professionals, hoteliers, potential guides) and raise their awareness. This will be followed by the signing of a series of partnership agreements between different ministries (Tourism, Culture, Agriculture, the Interior) and between local bodies and professionals (hoteliers' association) as well as with the banking sector (measures to encourage investment in rural self-catering and bed-and-breakfast accommodation and through micro-credits). At the same time, important steering structures must be set up. The training of guides chosen from among the qualified young unemployed of the region must be supplemented by the training of the people who will operate in the communities. Promotion of the product will lastly take place through a market research survey, the targeting of specific clienteles and the creation of a database of tour operators. In the medium term, prototype products

will be set up which will need to be tried out. Particular attention must be accorded to the production of guide maps for hikers, and guide-books and brochures presenting the product. In the long term, according to the success that is achieved and when the "Rural Tourism in the Rif" product is sufficiently well known, large-scale tourist support facilities will gradually be able to be planned (rural holiday villages, horse-riding or sports centres). The region will be provided with a permanent rural tourism trade training centre, of regional importance and with the possibility of becoming a national centre.

Such a set-up already exists at the level of preliminary studies that are nearing completion. It merely remains for funding to be found to launch the initial phases.

All the cases presented demonstrate a proliferation of ideas and proposals that are both original and feasible. The possibilities of coordinating tourism and culture with a view to sustainable development are numerous and can be further reinforced if some of these projects are realized. Yet, while it might be straightforward to design the projects, putting them into action is no easy matter. Besides the financial resources that must be found, there is sometimes a lack of real will due to inertia. Creating new cultural tourism products really does involve new approaches to management with the key terms being partnership and the participation of local people, while the State takes a back seat. In fact, producing better coordination between tourism, culture and development is not without its problems and the fourth chapter examines the main obstacles and risks that have been encountered in these experiments.

IV. Problems giving cause for concern

Connections between tourism and culture in its widest sense certainly exist in reality. Unfortunately, they are not always positive. The reports highlighted several negative aspects of the relationship between tourism and culture which basically concern the dangers of damage to the craft industry and to historic monuments, and

the risk of breakdown of rural communities. In addition, a series of obstacles sometimes prevents the implementation of projects that are based on relevant ideas and which could lead to a better coordination of tourism and culture. These obstacles are examples of dysfunctional institutions level and problems of funding.

Risks of deterioration of the cultural product

(a) Deterioration of the craft industry

A massive demand from tourism for craft items can have harmful effects. The craft industry, while benefiting from the demand from tourism, loses out on quality because this demand sometimes goes hand in hand with a dramatic degeneration of the finished product.

This “degeneration” of the craft industry is certainly not due to tourism and, in the case of the **Syrian Arab Republic**, it has even been noted that the demand from tourism has had beneficial effects for the preservation of the craft heritage. Indeed, it would seem that, as far as aghabani tablecloths and blown glass are concerned, Western tourists prefer simple designs and sober colours, which means a return to an earlier style before local fashion caused the products to develop. Yet it is very likely that this beneficial effect was linked to the low demand from a tourism that was very much in its infancy and whose impact was still scarcely noted. In **Morocco**, for example, where the pressure of tourism is older and stronger, the negative effects on the craft industry are more noticeable. The rapid decline in the quality of the finished craft products, which occurred more on the artistic level (colours and designs) than in quality, is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of production. Pressured by orders from a trader in a bazaar or from a large holiday village, and limited by the tastes which mass production imposes on them, artisans turn

to mass-producing valueless objects with which they no longer identify. It is also important to think about the artisans’ attitude and how they perceive this new state of affairs. The following words from one artisan, reported by Fatima Mernissi, need no further comment: *Not only are we very poorly paid for long hours of work, but the work itself is not interesting; we don’t make the traditional designs we so patiently learned with the Maalma, we make the designs the Germans want. Our factory works together with Germans. They have very poor taste, a pale rug, without any colour or mystery, and it’s always the same. They’ve been asking for the same rug for years, white with strange yellowish designs. And you’ve no idea just what Latifa and myself are capable of doing. We make Rabat carpets and very fine stuff... It’s the Germans who buy Moroccan carpets, but they want carpets that are a horrible mixture, this bit German, that bit Moroccan... and we have to keep all this vital energy cooped up inside us, thousands of designs, and colours which will never see the light of day, which no one ever asks for.*

The massive commercialization of craft production leads inevitably to this feeling of frustration on the part of the artisan, who is far from being the principal beneficiary of this demand, since the second negative effect remains the appearance of a host of intermediaries. The stallholder in the bazaar, a new type of trader, now occupies the top of the social

ladder in the medina.¹ The stallholder rarely lives in this area and does not run the shop himself. It is an activity that requires quite considerable capital, since an old house or palace to display the goods needs to be rented or purchased, four or five employees need to be paid, trips abroad organized, and above all considerable liquid assets are required to build up a stock of carpets and other products and to run a network picking up old items and jewellery in the countryside. The location of these sales points is a new factor in the urban geography of the old districts of Arab cities. In all the *medinas* and old centres, the main arteries are being completely transformed to meet the tourist demand with an upsurge of bazaars and shops selling souvenirs. The originality and cohesion of the old Moroccan and Arab towns used to be characterized by each street specializing in a particular activity. This is now disappearing, partly because of tourism.

Another effect of tourism on the craft industry that has been noted in **Morocco** is the systematic buying up of craft items (which are sometimes real masterpieces of the national heritage) that goes on in the mountain and remote areas. In the same vein, it needs pointing out that the rock carvings of the south have been plundered and disfigured, with sometimes whole blocks of sandstone weighing several tonnes disappearing. This also happens with urban artwork: antique carpets, ceramics dating from previous centuries, carved and painted woodwork that decorated the old residences, with whole panels sometimes being torn off, sold and exported. In the **Syrian Arab Republic**, prestigious monuments have been officially plundered since the beginning of the century, when in 1905 Sultan Abdulhamid II offered a palace to Wilhelm II of Germany on a visit the latter made to the East. This palace was transported and partly reconstructed in the Berlin Museum. Von Oppenheim, a German archaeologist, dismantled the main façade of the Tell Hallaf temple to ship it to Germany. The ship carrying it went down in the waters off Alexandria before the First World War.

(b) Deterioration of monuments

The urban and rural architectural heritage is suffering obvious damage as well as a lack of

resources to restore or renovate it. When that heritage is put to uncontrolled tourist use, there is a great risk of increased damage. The kind of use that can lead to deterioration ranges from just ordinary visits to rampant urbanization, the organization of festivals or the change of use of a monument for accommodation or catering purposes.

The first type of deterioration is illustrated by the case of **Egypt**. The monuments there, while benefiting tourism, tend to suffer damage caused by the pressure of the heavy tourist numbers. Thus, the prestigious monuments of the Pharaohs, and the monuments at Gizeh, suffer considerably from this pressure. As well as direct vehicle access spoiling the site, graffiti, cracking and the increase in humidity levels inside the pyramids are some of the management problems posed by the huge numbers coming to the monuments.

The historic sites are not sufficiently protected against invasive urbanization. In the **Syrian Arab Republic**, the 200 m area around Krak des Chevaliers where new building is prohibited seems insufficient to safeguard the site and its majesty. At Palmyra, the original village that now has a population of 50,000 has been moved outside the site, but the national Damascus to Deir El Zor highway that passes through the ruins poses a serious problem. Dozens of lorries, including petrol tankers, speed by the ancient great arch every day. A bypass on the northern side is planned. On the same site at Palmyra, tourist pressure manifested itself as early as the 1930s by, among other things, a small hotel establishment being built right in the middle of the ruins; this building has even been renovated. A large 250-bed hotel built by the Meridian chain west of the Camp of Diocletian is too close to the site and it would be a pity for the aesthetic and cultural value of the site and its attractiveness to tourists if tourist amenities were to spoil the hills near the ancient site. Finally, a gigantic resort development (13,600 beds in a total of 32 hotels) is planned near the Phoenician site of Amrit on the coast south of Tartus. It would be desirable to conduct an impact study on the implications of this project for the archaeological site.

1. The ancient medina quarter where the bulk of the workshops producing craft items are to be found, and which are in old restored houses and the *fandouk* (caravanserai).

The formula of organizing festivals on the site of the ruins also involves serious risk of damage. **Jordan**, with its Jerash festival, and the **Syrian Arab Republic**, with festivals at Bassora and Palmyra, illustrate this type of threat. In all three cases, the large numbers of visitors, who are mostly from the country in question, threaten the conservation of the ruins. There is an absence of specific facilities and guidelines to tailor the use of the areas of these sites for the different festival activities, depending on their fragility, and to deal with the influx of people attending them. This has meant that these vulnerable sites have been forced to suffer very heavy use.

Turning part of this heritage over to tourist use can help bring in valuable funds, but such tourist use sometimes leads to irreversible damage to heritage sites. For this reason, the project to safeguard the mud brick architecture of southern Morocco described earlier has deliberately chosen to ignore the tourist dimension, even though initially the cultural and tourist aspects had been given very careful consideration. There are arguments in favour of this position adopted by the project leaders. With such a project, it is very difficult to manage the relationship between the tourist and the cultural side without making restoration errors. It is also difficult to safeguard the authenticity of the cultural product by marketing it as a mass tourism product, when it is its very authenticity that creates its marketable value. Finally, it is difficult to redevelop these *casbahs* into guesthouses or restaurants without disfiguring their whole layout or their façades. Nevertheless, this particular restoration operation cannot be successful if tourism is completely ignored. The first people returning to the ancient village of Aït Ben Haddou are in fact doing so to open shops for tourists. It is possible to consider the conversion of the *ksour*, *casbahs*, old palaces, communal granaries and *fandouks* into accommodation facilities, but great care needs to be taken. This recovery work needs to be small-scale and “environmentally friendly”. These old buildings cannot withstand heavy use and can provide only small-scale accommodation facilities.

(c) **Dislocation of the socio-economic structures of the rural communities**

In **Morocco** and **Yemen**, but also in the other Arab countries, trekking holidays are tending to penetrate more and more into remote and more

or less isolated areas. However, the cultural communities that are visited are very fragile and any sudden change caused by these areas opening up too rapidly is likely to lead to serious imbalances. Despite its very real spin-offs, tourism alone will never be able to solve the problems of these environments. Sometimes it can even bring in its wake factors that actually create imbalances. In addition, the pollution of the natural environment, caused by rubbish discarded by hikers along the most popular paths or dumped near the refuges, is very real in places.

It is also important to consider the extent to which these cultures of mountain or desert people (the architecture, heritage, sociocultural behaviour in general) can resist the culture shock that is suddenly introduced by this type of travel tourism.

These general considerations can be illustrated by evaluating the mountain tourism development project in **Morocco**. We have already stressed that there are real spin-offs from the project which can help this depressed mountain community preserve its cohesion and culture. Nevertheless, it is important to be cautious in the evaluation of the experiment because there are clear signs of errors having been made. Consideration needs to be given to the rather anarchic growth of rural self-catering accommodation and the risks that competition between them might develop in future years. This could have repercussions on the income generated and the success of the experiment. Likewise, while one of the aims of launching tourism in these mountains was the diversification of the activities of the valleys, tourism being conceived as a mere complementary activity, there has been a progressive shift to a single activity economy. Indeed, successful owners of such accommodation are now hiring one or two workers to do their farming work for them. It could be argued that this general trend to a single activity economy is threatening the traditional life and the social cohesion of the mountain people.

In addition, the idea that this new form of tourism has beneficial effects for the local economies needs serious rethinking. Thus, the purchase of fixtures for the self-catering huts (toilets, furniture) and sometimes even of food (tinned foodstuffs) are made outside the mountain area. Likewise, purchases made by the hikers

themselves are very limited. Apart from the fact that there are very few sales points in the mountains, tourists on walking excursions lasting several days do not load themselves down with souvenirs (carpets or other items).

The launch of mountain tourism based on discovering the other culture brings us back to the issue of tourism-culture relations. This tourism has from the outset been presented as a means of bringing different peoples together, promoting an understanding of differences and raising levels of tolerance. Thus, discovery and adventure tourism in the High Atlas valleys can be considered as one of the prime movers of this closer connection. Indeed, it is based on meeting the local people of the high valleys and is "environmentally friendly" tourism achieved in small, unobtrusive groups, passing inconspicuously through the villages and inspired by a desire to understand the different ways that other people live. This way of encountering the local people also occurs, as we have seen, by arranging for accommodation in people's houses and by escorted tours.

Here too, however, theory is not quite the same as reality. Thus, Le Roux (1993) stresses that *paradoxically, adventure and discovery tourism, which bases its communication on contact with local people, appears to avoid opportunities to initiate this relationship*. This can be seen, for example, in the choice of accommodation, and one tour operator has even stressed that stopover guest lodges should have been built outside of villages. Managers of travel agencies deplore the gradual disappearance of the initial desire to have contact with local people. Originally considered to be one of the main elements of the new product, this contact is now sometimes reduced to merely "seeing" people who are different from the tourist. In addition, the continuous travelling involved in hiking tours, the short time the groups spend in villages and the language barriers limit possibilities

of contact and deeper ties with the local population. This contact that is so much desired may thus be a mere myth employed by the discourse of advertising.

The attitude of the local population towards this contact itself suffers from evident ambiguity. The country owners of self-catering huts or the guides certainly rely on the income from this new activity, but the local inhabitants do not understand what these tourists who spend their time marching up and down mountainsides are seeking. The reaction can be one of rejection, especially of the way the tourists dress. Tourists who are keen to discover an unspoilt and timeless mountain and who even go so far as to complain about electricity cables getting in the way of their photographs are sometimes perceived as being anti-progress and holding up development of the infrastructure in the mountains.¹ *The High Atlas is going to come into the modern world. There'll be asphalt and electricity and that's fine. But it's not good for tourism; tourists want tracks, they don't like electricity, TV and cars. Guest lodges need to be modern on the inside (with showers, toilets) but not on the outside*. This reflection by a guide summarizes the issue of discovery-based mountain tourism, which, if it is to continue developing, will demand that the highlands remain to a certain extent underdeveloped. Finally, contact with these foreign groups whose cultural values are very different risks distancing those mountain people who rub shoulders with the tourists from their local cultural markers. This is sometimes the case with guides who thus suffer rejection from their families and neighbours.²

In addition, we still need to analyse the extent to which the kind of tourism proposed for the valleys of the High Atlas can develop in an integrated and sustainable fashion without creating new imbalances from the clash of cultures. Although they have underlined the fact

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1. See the case of a protest march by villagers campaigning for a road in place of a track, whereas the track better suited the needs of discovery tourism. This episode was reported by Le Roux (1993).
 2. Several comments have been reported and are good illustrations of this attitude: "There are some people who have refused to fit out a self-catering hut, even if they get help from the State. Money's a disease. People want to hold on to their tradition of giving a natural welcome to tourists. Then there are some tourists who think they can do anything they want. Because they're paying, they don't take off their shoes when they go into a house any more", says a student, reported by Le Roux. The uncle of this student is a chef, and as such he sometimes accompanies groups of tourists. The student adds, concerning his uncle: "I don't think it's a very good job. It takes up a lot of his time and it's very poorly paid. He neglects the work in the fields."

that tourism and the craft industry are perceived in this programme as “essential accompaniments for the survival of mountain economies because of the resources they bring in from outside” the promoters of the programme themselves stress the fact that tourism can *generate disproportionate income compared to agriculture, can be a factor for social imbalance and become a risk for the environment; it is therefore important that the mountain populations retain control over it so that it should not be disruptive to the cultural and natural heritage and so as to avoid a tourist industry where the spin-offs would largely escape the valleys.*¹

In particular, care should be taken to put in place mechanisms to redistribute the manna from tourism within the mountain community. At present, the redistribution of profits from guide work and accommodation activities is a function of the networks of family relations conditioning the movements of the groups of tourists. The guide, various members of whose family are able to provide accommodation at various points on the trek he is escorting, in this way always gives work to the same team, while other well-equipped villages have fewer visitors because they have no guides. It is therefore imperative to make the spin-offs of this new activity available to the whole community (organization of portage or escort trips) if the sociocultural balance of mountain life is to be maintained.

The reports analysed certain cultural tourism development projects where the local

population has been asked to participate. This corresponds to one of the most fashionable development concepts. Sometimes, however, the desired participation remains merely a good intention or else involves only one sector of the population. Thus, the operation to restore the village of Dana in Jordan² has aimed for sustainable development by relying on the participation of the local people. To do this, the operation has set up a village council to support the Friends of Dana Association and the Royal Society for the Protection of Nature. Yet the observer is struck by the lack of interest shown by the local population in a project that remains foreign to them. One of the explanations put forward for this situation is that, from the outset, interest was almost entirely centred on the nature reserve and only later transferred to the village. Participation should have been requested at the very beginning of the project and through all the stages from planning to execution. In the regeneration project for the village of Taibet Zamman, the population has been involved from the start, since the revitalization of the abandoned village has been accompanied by training programmes in catering and hotel skills and craft trades such as pottery. Yet these new activities very quickly proved to have a strong attraction for young people in the region to the detriment of agriculture. Agriculture is losing a large proportion of its work force and is going to suffer a real recession. The success of this cultural tourism project has bought about a new imbalance in the socio-economic structure of the region.

The problem of the ways institutions operate

Of all the items the various experts were asked to analyse, the role played by institutions in optimizing the Culture/Tourism partnership was high on the agenda. The majority of the reports highlighted decision-makers' awareness of the cultural goal. The interest of culture here is that it does not merely benefit from tourism without giving anything in return: while craft products, the architectural heritage and certain

cultural communities do indeed gain considerably from the development of tourism, tourism itself increasingly needs these values in order to diversify its product in the face of a clientele that is demanding new products all the time. The various departments in charge of tourism and culture are increasingly aware of this development and they are introducing more and more initiatives in order to coordinate tourism

1. « Promotion des économies montagnardes et protection de l'environnement dans le Haut Atlas », the Azilal workshop, summary, 13-26 March 1991.

2. See Chapter II.

with culture and to move towards general sustainable development that will take into account local particularities while at the same time enlisting the participation of the local people.

The analysis of the situation in the different countries first of all uncovers the diversity of state, professional and local institutions involved in the tourism-culture relationship. This relationship is often taken into account by these institutions and outline partnership policies emerge. Yet often this partnership has difficulty in getting beyond the stage of good intentions or agreements that are then not implemented.

(a) The diversity of institutions involved in the tourism-culture relationship

The establishment and implementation of a tourism policy generally depend on the government tourism department. This department establishes development plans, chooses among a range of options, encourages investment in the sectors and regions that are identified, organizes professionals working in the sector and monitors them. However, as soon as tourist activity is expanded to cover culture, the number of institutions involved becomes formidable.

Cultural affairs are usually run by a ministry which, on the whole, is older than the Ministry of Tourism. Tourism will not always have had its own ministry; instead, it will more likely be covered by a department of the Ministry of Information, Commerce and Industry or sometimes even of the Ministry of Culture. In the last eventuality, the two areas of tourism and culture come under the same ministry, as in Jordan, with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, and Yemen, where there has been a Ministry of Tourism and Culture since 1991. Sometimes, one aspect of culture is combined with tourism, as in Tunisia, with the Ministry of Tourism and the Craft Industry. This demonstrates recognition of the existing or potential interaction between the two sectors.

Generally, the existence of a Ministry of Tourism is relatively recent (1989 in Tunisia). In the first wave of countries, such as Morocco and Tunisia, the tourist sector has often been run by different departments (Industry, Commerce,

Housing, Land Use, Economic Affairs) before becoming a ministry in its own right.

Besides the two Ministries of Tourism and Culture, various organizations are cited as being actively involved in tourism and culture. Examples are Tourist Offices (Morocco and Tunisia), agencies for the safeguarding of the heritage (Yemen), agencies and NGOs for the protection of the environment, professional associations, etc. Everywhere, in fact, laws and regulatory codes govern both tourist activity and the cultural sector. The cases of Tunisia and the Syrian Arab Republic may serve to illustrate, in the case of Tunisia, a first wave country, and in the case of the Syrian Arab Republic, a new destination.

In Tunisia, the institutional apparatus for tourism and culture is as follows:

- ◆ The Ministry of Tourism and the Craft Industry has covered both these sectors since 1989, a fact which indicates the concern to integrate tourism into the socio-economic life of the country, since some 40,000 artisans live indirectly off tourism.
- ◆ The mission of the Tunisian National Tourist Office is to plan and develop tourist areas through the Agence foncière touristique (Tourist Land Agency). It also has a mission to regulate hotel construction and to protect sites.
- ◆ The National Office of the Craft Industry at first assumed the task of directing craft production, but later became a producer and seller.
- ◆ The Ministry of Culture is occupied with heritage through the National Heritage Institute and the National Agency for the Promotion and Utilization of the Archaeological and Historical Heritage. The Ministry is also in charge of the organization of cultural festivals and events.
- ◆ The Ministry of the Environment and Land Use has the task of correcting the effects of the pressures of urbanization and the disparities that can arise, especially those between inland Tunisia and the coast. It is also charged with creating the conditions of managing land use with respect to the environment. For this role, it has at its disposal the General Office for Land Use, the National Agency for the Protection of the Environment and the Agency for the Protection and Development of the Coast.
- ◆ Professional Associations such as the Tunisian Hoteliers' Federation and the

Tunisian Federation of Travel Agencies are endeavouring to promote their respective sectors.

- ◆ The associations to save and protect the cultural and natural heritage play a notable support role. The Association to Save the Medina in Tunis (1967) succeeded in mobilizing public opinion behind the *medina* and garnering financial support to save it. This has given rise to other associations campaigning to save other *medinas*. The Tunisian Association for the Protection of Nature and the Environment brings together everyone concerned with nature.

Alongside these institutions, three laws form the legal framework for tourist operations. These are the Tourist Investment Code, the Heritage Code and the Land Use and Town Planning Code.

In the **Syrian Arab Republic**, the Ministry of Tourism was created only relatively recently, but followed on from the General Office of Tourism that was set up in 1966. Alongside this Ministry is a Higher Council for Tourism, directed by the President of the Council. Comprising the Ministries of Tourism, Culture, National Planning, Food and Imports, Local Administration, the Interior, Finance, the Economy and Exports, Transport and Information, it reflects the will of the decision-makers to establish effective coordination between the Ministry of Tourism and the various other government departments. It is interesting to note that one of the decrees of this Council broadens investment incentives in the tourist sector to cover the repair and restoration of ancient buildings which are to be used for tourist purposes such as accommodation, restaurants and entertainments.

The Ministry of Culture and National Planning is older (dating from the late 1950s). It has a wide remit and the activities of two of its services directly concern cultural tourism. The office responsible for theatres created the Oumayya popular arts group in 1964 and the Zenoubia popular arts group in 1985. The performances of these two groups at international tourist fairs abroad helps to reinforce the Syrian Arab Republic's reputation. The Office for Antiquities and Museums is responsible for archaeological excavations, the restoration of ancient artefacts, museums, the protection and restoration of ancient monuments, the promo-

tion of the graphic arts, etc. It is in large part their support that led to the creation of the Syrian tourist products now on the market.

In **Morocco**, programmes implemented by the public authorities and the various national associations are increasingly being taken over by local bodies. Numerous initiatives have been instigated by local councils. These have tended to revolve around organizing local cultural and tourist activities by setting up or modernizing local festivals. These public festivals, which attract a large number of people, are above all based on heritage, which has a core cultural component. These festivals could quite easily be integrated into the tourist product for the overseas visitor.

Sometimes, the initiative of the local group or professional associations can go further and originate a whole international festival. We have already cited the international festival in the small town of Asilah with its summer university and its strongly cultural dimension, as well as the initiative promoted by the city of Ouarzazate with the "Desert Symphony". The city of Fez also boasts an international festival of sacred music and, from 1997, a festival of culinary art. The theme of the first culinary festival is the gastronomy of Andalusia.

The multitude and diversity of players in the fields of tourism and culture demonstrate the growing interest accorded to the two sectors, but this poses problems when it comes to coordinating the different actors.

**(b) Coming to terms
with this relationship:
towards a politics of partnership**

The compartmentalization of the work practices of the different administrative bodies reduces the efficiency of these institutions. This is why the partnership initiative noted in Morocco is so noteworthy. In addition to the agreement signed between the Ministry of Culture and the Department of the Craft Industry which we have already described, there is another convention between the Ministries of Culture and Tourism. This has its origins in the declarations made by the Minister at the time, who expressed the intention of combining the cultural development that he was seeking with the development of tourism: *I do not believe at all in the illusion of a kind of tourism that would sail off on its*

own, ignorant of our cultural assets.¹ This cooperation is doubly justified since it is supposed to serve both tourism and culture. Tourism will benefit from renewed interest in the country, and consequently from continued renewal of its client base: *What will guarantee success are our traditional arts, our contemporary arts as well as a sensible use of our collective memory in all its dimensions and the judicious presentation of that memory.*² In exchange, the programme of cultural development will likewise be able to profit from this cooperation, because, the Minister adds: "The tourist sector can be a way of regenerating some of our cultural assets and monuments and can provide an opportunity to learn about and experience Moroccan work in one or other of the areas of the fine arts".

The programme agreed between the two ministries has given rise to a coordination and culture-tourism protocol which was signed by the heads of the two departments in July 1993. This convention rests on five main points that can be summarized as follows:

- ◆ To safeguard and promote the architectural heritage, the two Departments have agreed:
 - to establish an exhaustive inventory and a national atlas of historic sites and monuments that are of real tourist interest;
 - to develop and adapt the architectural heritage for uses compatible with its specific characteristics;
 - to implement action plans for the restoration and protection of historic monuments in conjunction with local bodies, the outreach services of the two Departments, professionals and specialists in the regions concerned;
 - and to establish and intensify, together with the partners mentioned above, advertising programmes promoting the rational use of the architectural heritage:
 - for tourist purposes (guided visits, information, sound and light shows, etc.)
 - for artistic purposes (illustrated books, films, etc.)
 - for research purposes (reports, theses, etc.).
- ◆ To integrate the cultural development plan into the general development plan for the economy and for tourism in particular, the two departments have agreed:
 - to put in place regional structures whose responsibility is to organize different types of cultural and artistic events. These structures will be formed by representatives of various organizations: the outreach services of the Ministries of Culture and of Tourism, local bodies, tourist offices, regional associations and the university;
 - to reinforce the development of cultural and artistic events by encouraging and overseeing private initiatives and by calling upon the assistance of the regional structures mentioned above;
 - to encourage initiatives for the cataloguing, research and promotion of the arts and artistic expression. This can be achieved by awarding research grants, by giving support to film documentary and audio recording projects and by organizing field visits;
 - to organize cultural and artistic events and thematic cultural tourism itineraries, as part of a pre-arranged annual programme;
 - to support events designed to promote local or regional aspects of cultural and artistic expression, especially festivals, moussems (religious festivities), conferences and seminars;
 - and to monitor local popular arts groups with a view to assuring the quality of their work and to defending their material interests and their reputation.
- ◆ This promotion of culture and tourism requires a satisfactory communication strategy and the two departments have agreed :
 - to work closely together on publications (art books, tourist and culinary guides, monographs, etc.) as regards both editorial content and illustrations by setting up editorial and/or readers' committees. This collaboration will take into account the encouragement and promotion of printing and publishing activities in Morocco;

1. Declaration of the Minister of Culture.

2. *Idem.*

- to participate jointly in tourist events of a cultural, artistic and international nature (trade shows, fairs, exhibitions, etc.);
 - as far as possible and whenever necessary, to offer the structures and personnel of the foreign-based offices of the Ministry of Tourism to support permanent or individual promotional events organized by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and to maintain contact with foreign partners (mailshots, notices, public relations, etc.).
- ◆ In order to raise the cultural and scientific level of their training programmes and adapt them better to the needs of the market, the two departments have agreed:
 - to organize regular exchanges of information and documentation;
 - to instigate periodic consultation meetings between their training personnel in order to devise training programmes and courses;
 - to encourage exchanges of teaching staff and training officers;
 - and jointly to organize integrated training programmes, seminars, retraining sessions and skills update courses for certain categories of employees or professionals in the training centres of one or other of the departments.
 - ◆ In order to implement the content of this protocol it has been decided to create:
 - a monitoring Committee to meet twice a year with the task of producing a list of priority actions, evaluating each session, drawing up the annual action plan, setting a budget, seeking sources of funding, developing a decentralized approach and implementing a communication strategy;
 - four working parties to meet at least once every three months: these working parties will be for heritage, cultural and artistic organization, communication and training.

If we have been at pains to reproduce here the basic outline of this agreement protocol, it is because it is the first of its kind which clearly and explicitly aims at interministerial cooperation for a concerted development of tourism and culture. It is proof of the fact that the country's decision-makers are aware, firstly, of the relevance of establishing close links between the

two areas, secondly, of the mutual dependence that exists between these areas; and, thirdly, of their relationship to development in general.

(c) Difficulties in putting the partnership into practice

However, it remains to be seen how effective such a convention will be and to what extent it will be applied. We have merely noted a few joint actions that mark the beginning of the application of this convention. One joint operation by the two ministries has consisted in identifying the *casbahs* and the *ksour* in the provinces of Ouarzazate, Taroudannt and Agadir, which are likely to be suitable for use by tourism once renovation work has been done. This preliminary work should prepare the mud brick architecture for tourist use, but that use should not involve a massive influx of visitors.

In fact, if awareness really has been raised, the accompanying measures seem still to be no more than good intentions. Even in countries where the two departments are headed by the same ministry, coordination problems exist. In Yemen, demarcation disputes have been noted between the General Authority for Antiquities and the General Authority for Historic Sites, and these have placed serious obstacles in the way of several projects. In addition, and in the same country, neither the General Authority for Antiquities nor the General Authority for Historic Sites, nor the Ministry of Development and Planning are represented in the General Authority for Tourism. Law 22/1992, concerning the creation of a General Investment Authority, has excluded the General Authority for Tourism. No collaboration on any project brings together the Department of Tourism and the Department of Culture in an attempt to implement common measures for the utilization of the historic and archaeological sites for cultural tourism. A certain degree of collaboration was indeed instigated between the Government department for tourism and other players such as Yemen Airways, certain travel agencies and the three-, four- and five-star hotels in Sana'a. Together set up a committee to promote tourism. That committee functioned between 1984 and 1985, only to see its activities terminated once and for all in 1990.

In the case of the project to restore the mud brick architecture of southern Morocco,

one of the most serious hurdles concerns the coordination between the different ministries. This project failed to achieve its objectives owing to the absence of a coherent policy between the three ministries involved in the project. Those ministries were the Ministries of Culture, Housing and Tourism. So far, the only collaboration that has been noted is among the provincial services and local bodies and authorities. The financial and technical resources needed to raise these buildings from the rubble are considerable and can only be undertaken by the public authorities. It so happens that the watchword in recent years has been non-intervention by the State, and it would seem high time that the professionals in the tourist sector who are the first to benefit from such projects should also participate in their funding.

There are also legal hurdles which relate to another type of collaboration with local people. The *casbahs* are often private property and,

following the rural exodus that affected the region, the owners of a *casbah* are often several heirs who are nowadays scattered among several cities in Morocco or even overseas. Hence the legal obstacles facing any intervention aimed at restoring or converting these buildings. This touches upon the main condition for the success of this kind of operation. It involves obtaining the support of the people and their willingness to participate. In the case of Aït Ben Haddou, it would seem that the willingness to participate in the restoration of the ksar has manifested itself in the creation of an association called the "Aït Aïssa for Culture and Development", the link between culture and local development being underlined here. This association closely monitors the restoration work and attends the meetings.

In fact, the problems of coordination between the various Government departments often stems from funding difficulties.

The problem of funding

While there may be agreement on the need for a partnership between the different departments, disagreements emerge as soon as budgetary problems are tackled. The authorities in charge of culture are convinced that the museums, archaeological sites and events that they run at great cost benefit tourism primarily because they all represent attractions that pull in tourists. Their view is that the authorities in charge of tourism should pay all or part of the running and maintenance costs of these attractions. Yet the authorities in charge of tourism point to the paucity of resources generally allocated to these ministries, and for their part demand that these costs be covered by entrance fees. They also demand the right to participate partially or totally in running these cultural sites.

The problem concerns the raising of sufficient funds to finance excavations, restoration work and management costs by government departments whose budgets are often low. Faced with a State which is tending to distance itself more and more from loss-making ventures, they need to give thought to reasonable

and effective solutions for bearing the costs of cultural projects. In order to enable tourism to help to fund culture, the proposals favour a cautious contribution from the private sector (patronage, sponsorship, reuse of the architectural heritage by private companies for tourist purposes such as accommodation and restaurant facilities) and the setting up of funds for regenerating and restoring heritage sites. Such funds would receive the money collected from entrance fees. It is also proposed to raise entrance fees to certain historic sites.

(a) Entrance fees for museums and historic sites

The first solution envisaged concerns recovering the entrance fees. These can be quite substantial. In the Syrian Arab Republic, these fees amounted to 9.6 million Syrian pounds in 1994. In 1995, an increase in these fees raised the amount collected from entrance fees to museums and monuments to 120 million Syrian pounds,¹ which is quite a substantial sum. But the problem lies in the impossibility of recovering part or all of these entrance fees, because

1. US \$1 = 45 Syrian pounds.

they go straight into the State's coffers. Since it felt that the cultural heritage was not only a source of expenditure for the State, but also a source of income, the Popular Assembly had, by 1994, already adopted the recommendation that part of the profits received from visits to museums and monuments be devoted to their restoration, conservation and security. Yet, in the same year, a letter from the Ministry of Finance made reference to the basic law of finance, which does not allow a specific item of income to be allocated to a specific item of expenditure, adding that, since the General Office for Antiquities and Museums was a public administrative body, its entire expenditure and income should be included in the budget of the State. Yet, while the total income of 120 million Syrian pounds in 1996 went to the State, the annual base budget of the General Office for Antiquities rose in just a few years from 40 million to 120 million Syrian pounds in 1996. There are thus grounds for thinking that the growth in income from entrance fees has noticeably strengthened the Office's position in its negotiations with the Ministry of Finance. There would seem to be a solution there which would enable tourism to contribute more or less directly to funding heritage and culture. It is still necessary to raise entrance fees slightly, but not excessively, otherwise a reduction in numbers might ensue, and to negotiate the allocation of part of this money in one way or another to the culture budget.

(b) Sponsorship

The second solution put forward relates to the possibilities of sponsorship. We have already made a point of mentioning the role of sponsorship especially in the renovation of the medina at Fez. Foundations linked to banking or financial organizations have also restored old monuments (the casbah in Tinmel in the High Atlas) and supported modern art production (galleries exhibiting modern painting). In the Syrian Arab Republic, the General Office for Antiquities benefited at a very early stage from a traditional

form of patronage from individuals who bequeathed it some of their assets (benefits include the decoration of the eastern room of the national museum, the Jaqmaqia *madrassa*, the Azem house containing the museum of the old city of Damascus and the ceiling of the throne room of the citadel in Aleppo). More recently, international commercial sponsorship has taken the form of Total's funding of large information panels in the new museum at Soueida. National sponsorship has been seen with the rebuilding of the colonnade in Apamee. For that project, links were established between tourism and culture, since the foundation in question is part of the Cham Palace Hotel chain. A 40-strong team led by an engineer and assisted by several foremen was paid for by this sponsorship. The team carried out several operations to re-erect a total of 196 columns, at the same time undertaking additional work on the paving and on the façades of adjacent buildings. However, the works were placed under the authority and the active control of the director of antiquities at Hamah. The same foundation paid for the lighting of the tomb of the three brothers in Palmyra. It is also completing restoration work at the citadel in Aleppo and is interested in new projects in Basra and Damascus. It is clear that this kind of sponsorship is interested in the commercial spin-offs for the hotel industry, but if this interest works to the advantage of the culture of the country, there is no reason why this type of operation should not be developed in the other Arab countries.

Other possible solutions can also be envisaged, such as inducing the tourist to participate directly in this effort. This could take the form of deducting a small and symbolic sum through the travel agencies on each sale of a tourist trip. These sums would go directly to a fund to care for the monuments. Provision also needs to be made for an information campaign, with brochures explaining to the tourists how exactly the funds are to be spent and giving technical descriptions of the monuments that are to be protected.

Conclusion

At this stage of the analysis, the main lessons to be drawn from the overall picture of tourism and culture in the Arab region are the following:

- ◆ In general terms, intervention by the public authorities in the sphere of tourism has three motives: a social motive, an economic motive and a land-use motive. Depending on the country, one or other of these motives is prioritized, the ideal being a balanced tourist policy that takes into account each of these three motives. So far, it is the economic motive that has been the most prominent in the Arab States. Indeed, the social motive is still absent from the concerns of those in charge of Arab tourism, in that, although there certainly are tourists from the country itself, they still do not benefit from well thought-out and goal-oriented action. As far as the regional distribution of tourist installations is concerned, it seems to be inspired above all by the economic motive, since the regions benefiting from the greatest investments are those that most closely match the characteristics of the product that is in highest demand internationally. The land-use motive, that is to say the decisions concerning the location of tourist developments according to a preconceived and well thought-out policy of land management, is rarely to be found. The evolution of tourism that has been described above has meant that a fourth motive, the cultural motive, is gradually beginning to take shape. Unlike the first three motives, the cultural motive is not confined to helping tourism and receiving nothing in return. If, as is the case, craft products, the architectural heritage and certain communities gain considerably from the development of tourism, tourism increasingly needs these values to diversify its product in the face of a clientele demanding a constantly revamped product.
- ◆ Despite the advances achieved by certain “first wave” destinations, advances that nevertheless are still fragile, the Arab States have fallen a long way behind the other

Mediterranean countries in regard to tourism. However, these States are strongly committed to developing tourism. The potential is considerable, the institutions have a sound structure, and the services and infrastructure are currently being put in place. One of the major assets of the region is its proximity to Europe, which is the largest source of tourists in the world and which has long expressed a huge fascination with everything eastern. Yet this very proximity pits the Arab countries against the giants of mass tourism such as Spain and Italy, followed by emerging tourist powers such as Greece and Turkey. Even tiny islands such as Cyprus and Malta are serious competitors in the Mediterranean area. The Arab States must therefore see off stiff competition, with the European client becoming increasingly demanding.

- ◆ To meet the challenges presented by this competition, it is imperative that the Arab States show that they are distinct from the Mediterranean destinations. It would be difficult for these destinations to attempt to base their tourist products on needs that the European tourist could more easily satisfy elsewhere. Indeed, one can hardly see the Syrian Arab Republic or Egypt carving themselves a place in the European tourist market in terms of resort tourism or winter tourism with their liberal lifestyles, just as one can hardly imagine Morocco wanting to compete with the Alpine resorts by attempting to set up ski resorts in the High Atlas. Tunisia, which has based its tourism almost exclusively on resort tourism, has fully realized the need for some diversification of its product in order to avoid its becoming stale. To be competitive, the Arab countries ought therefore to define specific tourist products based on attractions that are only to be found in those countries. In this search for specific products, culture represents a major asset for the Arab countries compared to Western tourism.

- ◆ The majority of Arab States already base their tourism on their cultural riches, and the developments described above have certainly promoted utilization of the cultural element. Yet this is above all a very classic use of culture, which gives pride of place to rushed visits of museums, archaeological sites and the old quarters of historic cities. The drawback of this classic promotion of culture is that it involves short stays and there is the risk of saturation from repeated visits to the same sites. Thus, the main lesson that can be drawn from the various studies carried out in this programme is precisely the need to show imagination in developing new cultural products, taking into account both the way tourist behaviour is evolving in the tourists' home countries and the expectations of the tourists themselves. Market research ought, in principle, to provide information on the expectations of different segments of the European clientele; it ought to help determine what is likely to be attractive to these clients and it ought to help to put together tailor-made products. However, it should not be forgotten that the clientele that seeks cultural tourism is far more demanding in terms of quality of comfort, services and organization than the usual resort clientele.
- ◆ It is not only tourism that will benefit from this approach. Indeed, cultural tourism remains one of the best means of teaching people about and giving them access to culture. It thereby allows cultural education to be made available to the greatest number of people and helps to provide a pleasant and comfortable means of getting to know the culture and identity of another people. It is thus in the interests of the players in the areas of tourism and culture to work jointly. Here again, the reports pointed out the need for partnership and the numerous difficulties and obstacles that arise if there is poor collaboration among those concerned. Coordination between tourism and culture must not rely exclusively on the action of the public authorities. Professionals in the sector, regional and professional associations and local bodies can also take initiatives, both individually and collectively. The role of the State should be limited to raising awareness among the players concerned.
- ◆ This kind of tourism, even cultural tourism, can lead to excesses and can risk damaging a heritage that is difficult to restore. It is therefore a question of surrounding this promotion of culture with all the necessary forms of protection to avoid causing irreparable damage and to meet the need for sustainability for any programme in the area. In order to achieve this, it would be wise to bear in mind the spirit of the World Charter for Sustainable Tourism, Article 1 of which states as follows: *Tourism Development shall be based on criteria of sustainability, which means that it must be ecologically bearable in the long term as well as economically viable, and ethically and socially equitable for local communities. Sustainable development is a guided process which envisages global management of resources so as to ensure their viability, thus enabling our natural and cultural capital, including protected areas, to be preserved.*

The launch by UNESCO of the "Tourism, Culture, Development" concept as part of the World Decade for Cultural Development is an appropriate response to these concerns, and it above all seeks to raise awareness among Member States of this strongly dialectical relationship. The ultimate goal could be the undertaking of programmes at a national level to raise awareness among all the players in the fields of tourism and culture: the people, the elected representatives, the administrations concerned, the professionals involved in accommodation and the tour operators. The present document brings out the strengths of this tourism/culture/development relationship in the Arab countries and, on the basis of expert reports, suggests practical recommendations and provides detailed analysis of projects which are in quite an advanced state of preparation but which still require financial and technical support. By this, the present document may help to spread this concept and raise awareness among a wide readership.

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