

**Case Study of Development of the Peripheral Coastal Area
Of South Sinai in Relation to its Bedouin Community**

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Keywords: Bedouins, South Sinai, marginalization, international tourism development in peripheral regions, land-use changes.

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(ABSTRACT)

The peripheral region of South Sinai in Egypt is experiencing large-scale tourism development on the Gulf of Aqaba coast. Its Bedouin community is facing great challenges in its struggle for livelihood and transformation from a pastoral and fishing community to an urbanized one. This case study employs a political ecology approach to examine development on the coast in relation to its Bedouin community. The study revealed that the contextual sources of rapid development beginning in 1986 included urban, economic, and national defense policies; increased integration within international tourism markets; and support from international aid agencies.

The study concluded that the tourism development boom contributes to Bedouin marginalization. Bedouin livelihood no longer depends on fishing and grazing as means of subsistence as expansion of tourism resorts along the coast has displaced other land-uses and denied Bedouin fishermen access to the sea. Tourism resorts and tourism operations controlled by multinational corporations leave little economic benefits to local Bedouins who engage in marginal tourism-related activities. Migrant entrepreneurs from other parts of Egypt compete with Bedouins over work opportunities. Regional and local plans point to increased tourism development and in-migration. This will result in further marginalization of Bedouins if development planning does not consider Bedouin interests. This research comes at a critical time to address some of the issues related to Bedouin marginalization and to recommend alternative development approaches and Bedouin community-based projects. It sets the stage for further research on regional development of South Sinai; the role of national parks in sustaining Bedouins; and future role of civil society.

Keywords: Bedouins, South Sinai, marginalization, international tourism development in peripheral regions, land-use changes.

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**CASE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERIPHERAL COASTAL AREA
OF SOUTH SINAI IN RELATION TO ITS BEDOUIN COMMUNITY**

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Preface

This research was initiated from my interest in the area of study dating back to the mid-1980s when I first visited Sinai. Over the years, I witnessed the tourism boom and rapid transformation of Sharm El Sheikh from a coastal town to a growing tourist city. Sharm El Sheikh and other towns along the Gulf of Aqaba coast in South Sinai had little to offer to travelers in terms of food and accommodations but a lot to offer in terms of spectacular deserts, secluded bays, coral reefs and marine wonders. Plans for expanding tourism resorts and urban centers raised my concerns for the area, which was a haven for nature lovers, and concerns for its native Bedouin community. I was interested in studying how development affected the Bedouin pastoral and fishing communities. With the advent of these changes, the Bedouins find themselves living and operating within different contexts.

Analytically, my research identified three interrelated and connected contexts which impose themselves on Bedouins living on the Gulf of Aqaba coast. These contexts are tourism activities, urbanization, and national parks. It is unfortunate that park plans were unavailable for analysis. The final part of the analysis deals only with the urban and tourism contexts. Further research is needed to analyze the context of national parks and evaluate their plans to determine their appropriateness for Bedouin welfare in order to provide a comprehensive view of the development on the coast in relation to Bedouins.

Development of the coast is part of a larger regional project for the development of Sinai for the next 20 years. Time constraints did not allow for a full analysis of the regional development plans but for analysis of the tourism sector plan only. Future research will be valuable in providing a more comprehensive analysis of regional development. The local level plan that I analyzed was the draft of the urban development plan for the city of Sharm El Sheikh for the year 2017. I chose to analyze this draft because the city, which is the major tourism hub in the region, represents a development model which will be copied in other cities along the coast.

The development problem involves numerous issues related to rights of indigenous communities. Unfortunately not all issues could be accommodated in depth due to the nature of a case study. Also time limitations and sensitivity of some of these issues impeded me from pursuing them further at this time. These issues need to be addressed fully in future research.

Research is needed in the areas of: regional development and Bedouin communities; the role of parks in Bedouin sustainability; Bedouin rights and land-uses; and future roles of community and civil society organizations.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of Study
2. Interest in Study Area
3. Research Significance
4. Organization of Thesis

1. Purpose of Study

This study investigates contextual sources of social and environmental changes in the peripheral region of South Sinai, Egypt. The study explains how growth in international tourism and spread of urbanization create conflict over local Bedouin access to coastal areas and resources. The study also highlights the urban context and the national park context within which Bedouins struggle for their livelihood. The study examines government proposed plans of urban and tourism development through a set of criteria based on Bedouin needs and interests and current literature on alternative tourism development to conclude the appropriateness of future urban and tourism development plans for Bedouin welfare.

2. Interest in Study Area

My interest in the area of study dates back to mid 1980s when I first visited Sinai. Over the years, I witnessed the rapid transformation of the coastal town of Sharm El Sheikh from a relaxed town with no more than three hotels to a growing city with more than forty hotels mostly located in the same bay. The issues at stake mixed with my own concerns for the Bedouin communities, with whom I established good relations during my work as a park ranger in the South Sinai National Parks, were the driving force behind undertaking this research. I was interested in studying how life for the Bedouins was changing and the forces that shaped these new contexts. I am aware that I bring into this research my own value judgements. But I believe that my initial concerns were confirmed after undertaking this research and after learning about similar cases in different parts of the world.

3. Research Significance

This research contributes to the understanding of contextual sources of social and environment changes in South Sinai, in particular the Gulf of Aqaba coast. It points to the current emerging problem of conflict over coastal resources in the South Sinai due to growth in tourism and increased urbanization. From a broader perspective, this case study could add to the body of work of political ecology in areas related to large-scale tourism development problems in peripheral regions.

4. Organization of Thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters including this introductory chapter. In chapter two, I provide the necessary setting for the South Sinai context where I describe the area of study, its inhabitants, and the recent historical events. In this chapter I present the current transformations

of the place through tourism development. Chapter three provides the analytical framework and research approach. In this chapter I discuss how modernization, state policies of most Third World countries, and international tourism create unfavorable conditions for communities in peripheral regions. I also establish the rationale for studying the issues leading to conflict over access to resources. Following that is a review of literature on alternative tourism development approaches which is used to derive criteria for evaluation of government development plans for the South Sinai. Chapter four presents the methods for data collection and analysis. Chapter five constitutes the analytical work in this document. It is divided into three research questions. In this section I formulate the criteria for evaluation of government documents. Chapter five provides the conclusions of the study and the final chapter my recommendations for future work and research.

CHAPTER II BACKGROUND

1. Introduction
2. History of Development Policies in Egypt
3. Spatial Context of Study Area
4. Bedouins
5. History of Development in South Sinai
 - a) Prior to 1967 War
 - b) Sinai under Israeli Occupation
 - c) The Development of South Sinai 1986-1995
6. Government Regional Development Plans till 2017
7. Institutional Context
 - a) Institutional Framework
 - b) Planning Process
 - c) Key Government Institutions
 - d) Civil Society
8. Summary

1. Introduction

This section outlines the peripheral nature of the South Sinai and its people through a review of its historical, spatial, and socioeconomic contexts. The development policies in Egypt are presented to provide an understanding of how they have led to the National Project for the Development of the Sinai. This section also provides the necessary background information on the governmental institutional framework and the process of development planning within it. It highlights the functions of local government and presents key government agencies involved in the development and planning of the South Sinai. And finally, it defines the capacity of civil society in Egypt with reference to the region.

2. History of Development Policies in Egypt

After Egypt gained independence from Great Britain in 1952 and under a strong nationalistic fervor, it embarked on grand development projects following the industrial patterns of growth of the industrial countries but mostly influenced by the Soviet Union.¹ Egypt adopted policies of 'import-substitute industrialization' supported by public sector investments² and sought to expand public services³ through socialist planning.⁴ It also sought to expand its agricultural land through massive reclamation and irrigation projects.⁵ Egypt's goal was to create growth in its Gross National Product (GNP) and to double its national income every ten years.⁶ During that phase which started in the early 1950s to late 1960s, the High Dam project was completed with Russian assistance;⁷ and regional planning for the Western Desert with Russian advising began.⁸ The state also initiated ambitious plans for tourism development and promotion during that phase.

¹ Malcom D. MacNair, "Egypt: Profusion of Plans, Poverty of Programs - A Consultant's Experience," (n.p., n.d.) 151-169.

² Raymond Heinnebusch, "The Politics of Economic Reform in Egypt," *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1993): 159 - 171.

Caglar Keyder and Ayse Oncu, "Introduction: Comparing Egypt and Turkey," in *Developmentalism and Beyond: Society and Politics in Egypt and Turkey*, edited by Sadd Eddin Ibrahim, Caglar Keyder, and Ayse Oncu (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 1994), 1- 15.

³ Heinnebusch, "The Politics of Economic Reform in Egypt," 1993, 159 -162.

Abdel Wahab Ibrahim, *Mustaqbal El Tanmiya fee Misr (The Future of Development in Egypt - in Arabic)* (Cairo, Egypt: Maktabat Nahadat El Sharq, Jami'at El Qahira, 1985).

⁴ Keyder and Oncu, "Introduction," 1994, 1-15.

⁵ MacNair, "Egypt: Profusion of Plans, Poverty of Programs."

⁶ Ibrahim, *Mustaqbal El Tanmiya fee Misr*, 1985.

⁷ Completed in 1970.

⁸ MacNair, "Egypt: Profusion of Plans, Poverty of Programs," 151-169.

Tourism development projects, which sought attractions other than Cairo and Upper Egypt's antiquities, began on the Red Sea coast in Hurghada and the Mediterranean coast.⁹(See map II.1.)

The late 1960s and early 1970s were years of transition. Egypt entered into the 1967 war with Israel and it was defeated. During this transitional period Egypt was witnessing rapid urbanization and there was a concern over arable land being converted into urban areas to absorb the growing population. The closing of the Suez Canal and the evacuation of the population living in that area as a result of the war put more pressure on Egypt's economy and its overcrowded major urban cities such as Cairo. Egypt pursued a policy of expansion into the desert to absorb excess population.¹⁰ Tourism was also affected greatly at that period. Tourism traffic to Egypt declined while other countries were competing fiercely on the international level.¹¹ This difficult period for Egypt, especially after its defeat in the war, sealed the fall of an 'etatist' state (i.e. state assuming the functions of capital accumulation and equitable distribution) and paved the way for '*Infitah*' or open-door policy.¹²

The second phase of development characterized by policies of '*Infitah*' marked the integration of Egypt into the regional and international economy. This phase began after the 1973 war between Egypt and Israel and continued until the mid 1980s. During this phase, Egypt leaned towards a market-oriented economy that replaced 'etatism' and encouraged Arab and domestic private capital, foreign investment, and foreign aid to flow in from western countries¹³ to be used as the main engines of development. However, this phase still witnessed an "omnipresent state apparatus which controlled resources and mediated access, with state franchises and monopolistic favors."¹⁴ '*Infitah*' produced an import and consumption boom,¹⁵ increased growth in production of consumer goods and services over industrial production, and expanded public services in the fields of education, health, and mass media.¹⁶

⁹ Salah E.A.Wahab, "Tourism Development in Egypt: Competitive Strategies and Implications," in *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research*, edited by C. Cooper, and A. Lockwood (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), 2:352.

¹⁰ MacNair, "Egypt: Profusion of Plans, Poverty of Programs."

¹¹ Wahab, "Tourism Development in Egypt," 1996.

¹² Keyder and Oncu, "Introduction," 1994, 1- 15.

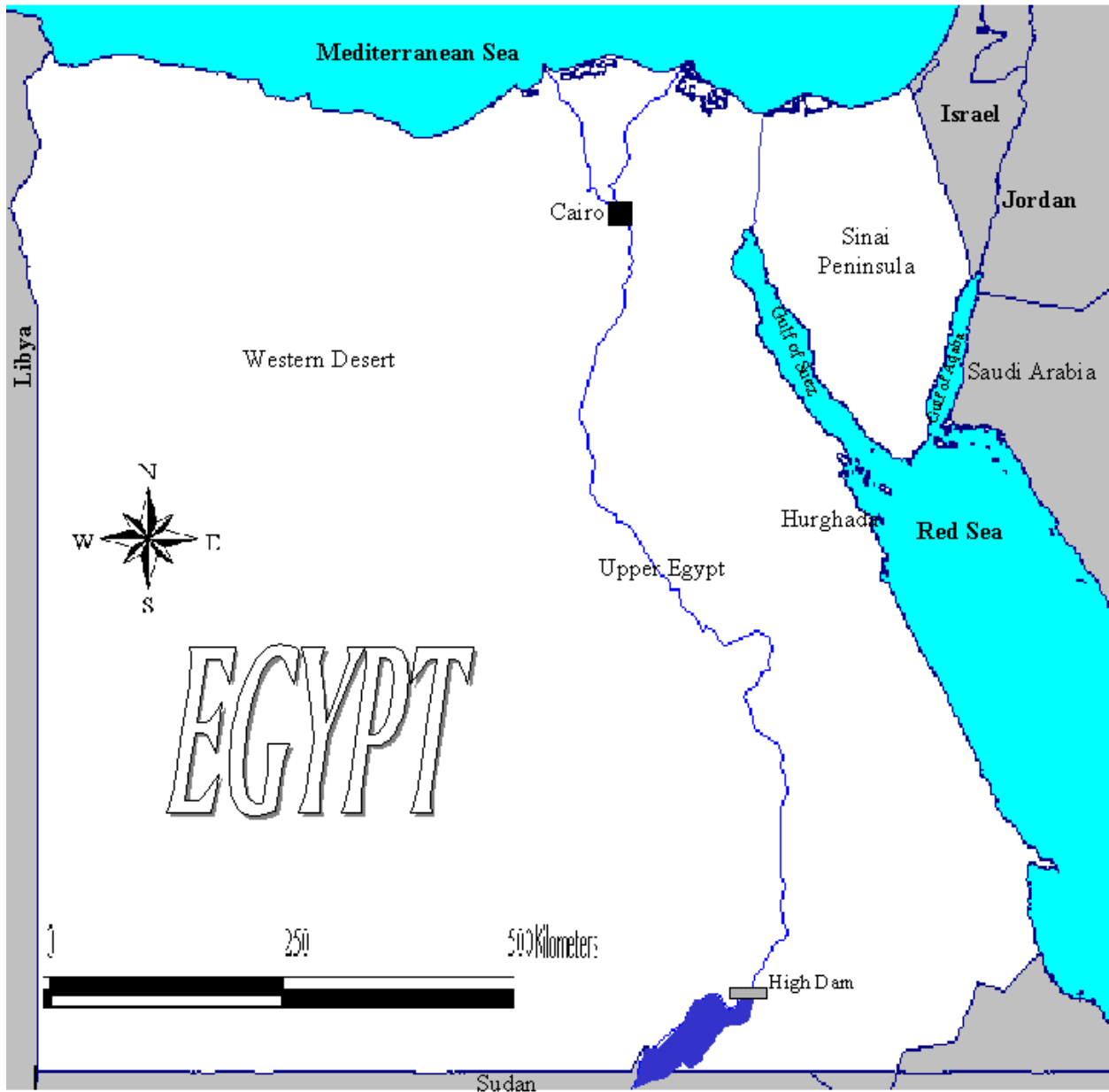
¹³ Heinnbusch, "The Politics of Economic Reform in Egypt," 1993.

Keyder and Oncu, "Introduction," 1994.

¹⁴ Keyder and Oncu "Introduction," 1994, 12.

¹⁵ Heinnbusch, "The Politics of Economic Reform in Egypt," 1993.

¹⁶ Ibrahim, *Mustaqbal El Tanmiya fee Misr*, 1985.



Map II.1. Arab Republic of Egypt

This period witnessed a revival in the tourism sector with growth in hotel construction in major tourism centers of Cairo and Upper Egypt.¹⁷

Egypt's accumulated capital encouraged spending and borrowing which resulted in a debt crisis. Lending agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had the leverage to push Egypt into economic reform.¹⁸ This marked the third phase of development in Egypt starting mid 1980s till the present. Economic reform aimed at structural adjustments. These adjustments included 'privatization' of the public sector¹⁹ and promotion of economic policies of export-oriented growth. This period witnessed the privatization of state-owned tourism projects and hotels and emphasis on tourism development as one of the primary sources of foreign exchange and income generation for Egypt. In light of these events, investment incentives were extended by law no. 230 of 1989, which encouraged longer tax holidays for tourism projects in remote areas (such as Sinai and the Red Sea coast) and allowed foreign investments to exceed a 49% share of invested capital.²⁰ Tourism is now considered the fastest growing sector in the Egyptian economy, but still its contribution to Gross Domestic Product is less than 3%.²¹ Economic reform is characterized as being "pro-market" and "anti-statist" and argued to be "political in its distribution of benefits in favour of capital and to the detriment of the have-nots."²²

South Sinai on the periphery

Development of South Sinai came much later in the 1980s due to several reasons. Sinai's geographical character as a peninsula as well as its remote location from the central administration in Cairo contributed to its isolation. Other factors such as instability in the region since 1948 and three wars in 1956, 1967, and 1973 with Sinai as the battlefield delayed the integration of South Sinai with the rest of Egypt. Since the beginning of the century Sinai has been under the rule of three different administrations. Turks controlled the Sinai and were followed by the British who ruled from 1940 till 1952. Egypt gained control over Sinai from 1952 until the 1956 War broke between Egypt and Britain, France, and Israel. Egypt won this war and Sinai remained under Egyptian control with United Nations' forces for preservation of

¹⁷ MacNair, "Egypt: Profusion of Plans, Poverty of Programs."

¹⁸ Heinnbusch, "The Politics of Economic Reform in Egypt," 1993.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Wahab, "Tourism Development in Egypt," 1996.

²¹ Ibid, 352.

²² Heinnbusch, "The Politics of Economic Reform in Egypt," 1993, 161.

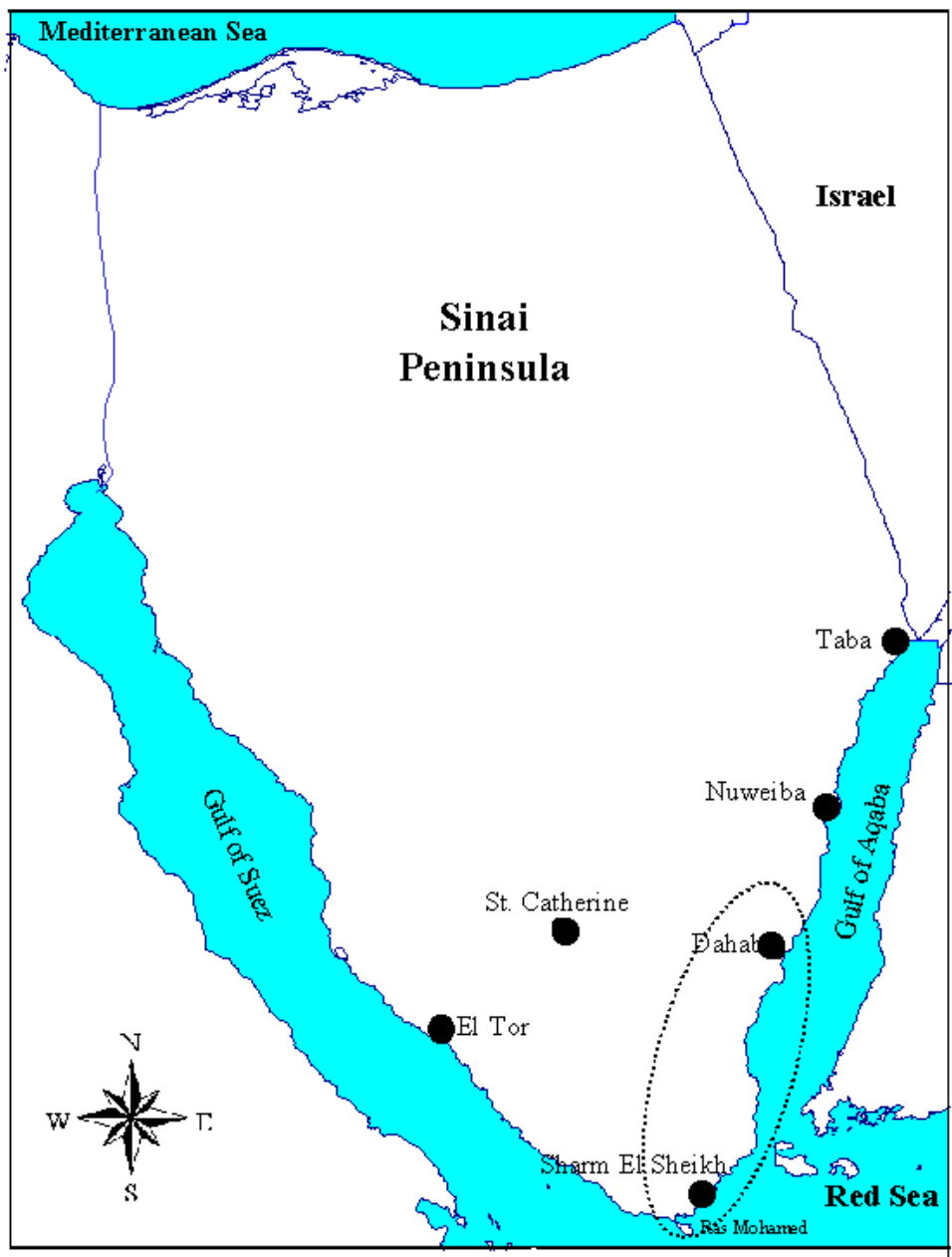
peace. Another war broke between Egypt and Israel in 1967 where Egypt was defeated and Sinai remained under Israeli occupation. The Israeli control over the entire Sinai continued until 1973 War. Egypt won the war in 1973 and Israel agreed to peace. According to the Camp David Agreement, Israeli troops gradually returned Sinai to the Egyptian government between 1975 till 1990.²³ As Sinai was gradually returned to Egypt in 1980s, the Egyptian government was moving towards development of the area to bridge the gap between Sinai and the rest of Egypt.

3. Spatial Context of Study Area

The study area is located on the Gulf of Aqaba coast in the Sinai Peninsula (see map II.2.). The Sinai Peninsula lies in the northeastern corner of Egypt surrounded by the Red Sea, bordered by the Mediterranean Sea in the north. Its climate is arid, except for the north, which receives more rain and enjoys a milder climate. The northern part is flat compared to the mountainous south. Sinai's ecosystems host endemic rare and endangered species of plants, and tropical marine life.²⁴

²³ Samdar Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1990).

²⁴ Malcom F. Baldwin, David Feurgeson, Kathryn Saterson, and I. Eugene Wallen, *The Biological Resources of the Arab Republic of Egypt: Status and Recommended Conservation Needs*, (Report for the USAID/Cairo, Chevy Chase, Maryland: The Conservation Treaty Support Fund, 1992).



Map II.2. Sinai Peninsula

The Gulf of Aqaba lies to the east of South Sinai extending from Ras Mohammed in the south to Taba in the north. It is about 250kms in length.²⁵ The Gulf of Aqaba and the coast host coral reefs, tropical marine life, and mangrove trees. The coastal plain is a narrow strip that is wedged between the sea and mountains. Grazing areas stretch from Ras Mohammed to Nuweiba along the coast and inland in the coastal mountains and valleys where runoff occurs. In this hyperarid region, vegetation depends mostly on erratic scarce rainfall.²⁶ Historically, Sinai was always sparsely populated due to its geographical location and the nature of its land and climate, which could not support large urban settlements.²⁷

4. Bedouins

Sinai has been inhabited by a number of Bedouin tribes. The study area includes two major tribes, the Muzayna and Tarabine who live on the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba (see map II.3.). The term 'Bedouin' refers to the person who dwells in the desert in the area of the Middle East except for parts in the west of the North African Desert. The term is derived from the Arabic word (*badu*) meaning Arab tribesmen living in the (*badia*) desert who are different from those living in urban settlements (*hadar*).²⁸

²⁵ S.Z.Heneidy, "Palatability and Nutritive Value of Some Common Plant Species from the Aqaba Gulf Area of Sinai, Egypt," *Journal of Arid Environments* 34 (1996): 115 - 123.

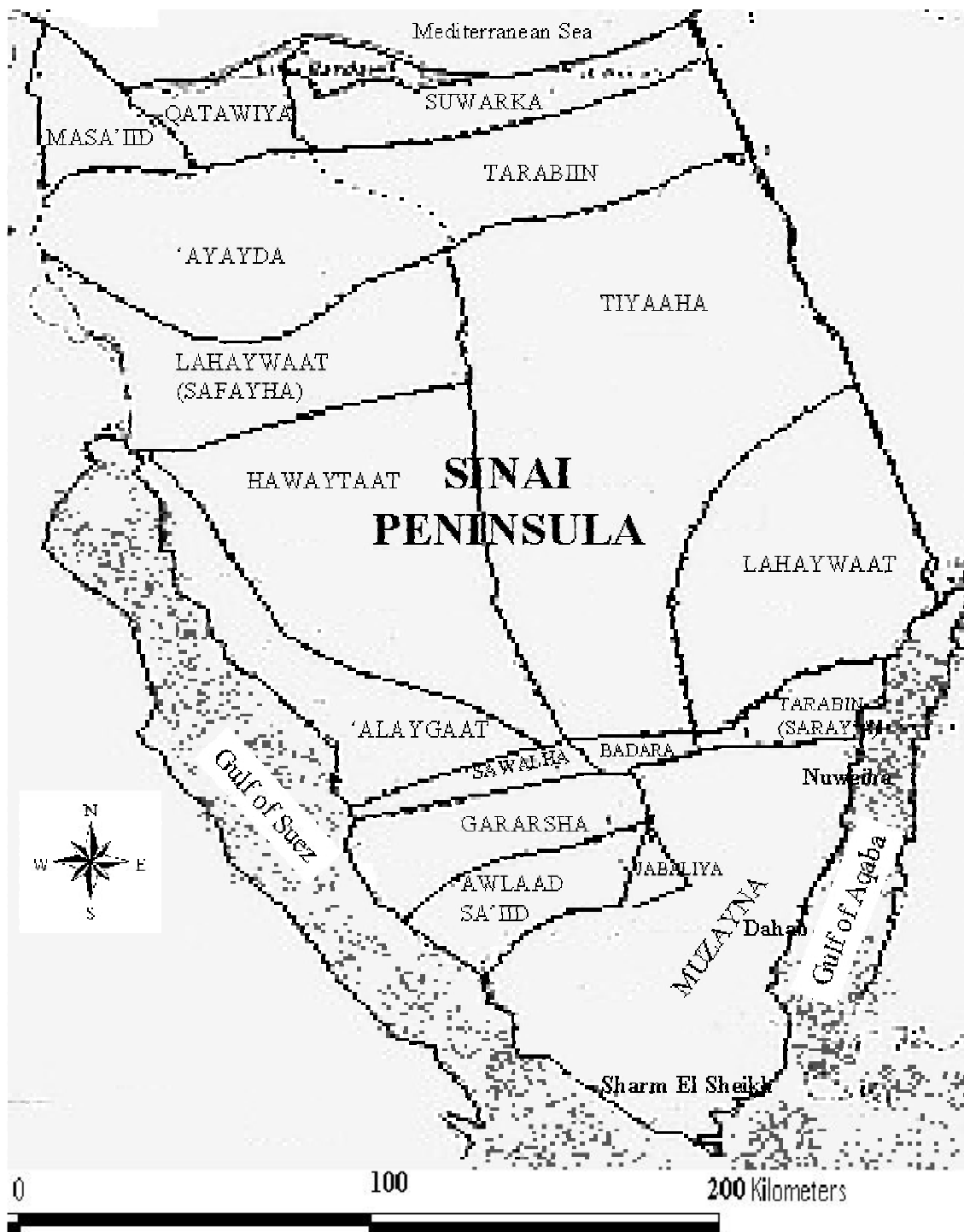
²⁶Ibid.

²⁷ Naom Bek Shoqeir, *Tarikh Sina Alqadeem wa Al Hadeeth wa Goghrufeyataha (Sinai's History: Past and Present with its Geography* - in Arabic) (first written in 1916) Beirut, Lebanon: Dar El Geel, 1991.

²⁸ Andrew E. Manzardo, "Bedouins in Agriculture," Madison, WI: Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, 1980.

Motoko Katakura, *Bedouin Village: A Study of a Sinai Arabian People in Transition* (Tokyo, Japan: University of Tokyo, 1978).

UNESCO, *Nomadic Population in Selected Countries in the Middle East and Related Issues of Sedentarization and Settlement* (Beirut, Lebanon: United Nations Economic and Social Offices in Beirut, 1970).



Map II.3. The Bedouin Tribal Territories in the Sinai. Source: Adapted from Joseph Hobbs, "Speaking with People in Egypt's St. Katherine National Park," *The Geographical Review* 86, no. 1 (Jan. 1996):7.

Another explanation of the term (*badu*) relates it to the old Arabic classical word meaning 'original' or 'aboriginal'.²⁹ The Sinai Bedouins are traced to pure Arabian ancestry.³⁰

The Bedouin social structure is segmentary³¹ which means that small independent and closely related families can join to form larger organized and cooperative groups, which then form tribes. The tribes at the higher levels join other groups on the same level to form alliances. The Muzayna tribe falls under the alliance of El Tawara, and that of the Tarabine falls under the alliance of El Teyaha.³² The land of the Muzayna tribe starts south of El Tor and extends along the coast around Ras Mohammed to Nuweiba.³³ They are known to be poor but peaceful and honest.³⁴ They used to live on making charcoal and on fishing.³⁵ Bedouins who live in Nuweiba up to Taba are part of the Tarabine tribe. They trace their forefather to the lineage of the Prophet Mohammed's grandchildren.³⁶ Bedouins of Sinai in general are known for their hospitality, generosity, respect for the rights of others, love for justice and freedom, consultation in public matters, caring and providing for camels, and pride.³⁷ Bedouins in general keep a very tight social circle among themselves. Due to that, they have been regarded with suspicion by those who are non-Bedouins, and in response they viewed others as lacking honorable Bedouin qualities and traditions. The reason behind that stems from the fact that “sedentary people have seldom recognized the advantages of nomadic existence and by coercion and enticement have tried to settle nomads.”³⁸ Bedouins lived a different life from those living in the Nile Valley where they adapted their way of life to be able to survive in the harsh desert environment. Hobbs (1989: 31) explains the misconceptions regarding Bedouins,

“A common misperception among sedentary people is that there are “true” nomads who lead their lives in the wilderness, avoiding all contact with “civilization.” In reality no pastoral nomads have ever been entirely independent of settled communities. The pastoral nomadic livelihood depends upon a symbiotic relationship between the nomads and farming people: the nomads supply livestock and other desert produce to villages and

²⁹ Austin Kennett, *Bedouin Justice: Law and Customs among the Egyptian Bedouin* 2nd edition (London, Great Britain: Frank Cass & Co., LTD, 1968), 1.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 1.

³¹ Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

³² Shoqeir, *Tarikh Sina*, 1991.

³³ *Ibid*.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 112.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 112.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 116.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 367.

³⁸ Joseph Hobbs, *Bedouin Life in the Egyptian Wilderness* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1989), 31.

towns, and markets in these settlements provide the nomads with goods that cannot be produced in the desert, such as tea, sugar, flour, rice, lentils, and cloth.”

Bedouin tribes have known territorial boundaries.³⁹ Each tribal territory is land-marked based on prominent natural features⁴⁰ such as mountains. Historically, in areas where there were no natural features they used to place piles of rock as a demarcation.⁴¹ For each tribe there are grazing areas and sources of water that are known. Grazing areas and water were common for all to use. No tribe prevented another from using these resources.⁴² The sea was also considered common property for all to use.⁴³ Only agricultural land was treated as private property.⁴⁴ Bedouins had a tradition of sharing benefits among themselves. According to written agreements (in 1909) that were arranged among Bedouin tribes and witnessed by administrative officials, tribes shared benefits from renting their camels for officials visiting the area and for tourists.⁴⁵

The Bedouin community of South Sinai is a combination of semi-nomadic pastoralists and settled tribes.⁴⁶ Most of them live in small villages, either of built or shanty structures. The traditional ‘tent’ was used when they went grazing or fishing on the coast. Some migrated along fixed routes on a cyclical annual basis for grazing, or fishing, or visiting elderly members residing inland in the mountains. Almost all Bedouins of South Sinai have a permanent living place, where they reside most of the year, and another place where they spend some time during summer or winter. Bedouins living on the coast live in fishing settlements, especially in Dahab and Nuweiba. They traditionally have lived a life of subsistence on fishing and grazing. Until the beginning of 1980s, the main source of livelihood for 80 per cent of coastal Bedouin communities was fishing.⁴⁷ They used fish for household consumption and to be dried and exchanged with Bedouins who lived inland in the areas of St. Catherine and the surrounding oases.⁴⁸

³⁹ see map II.3.

⁴⁰ Shoqeir, *Tarikh Sina*, 1991, 404.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 404.

⁴² *Ibid*, 404.

⁴³ Guma [pesud.], interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, June 1997, South Sinai, Egypt.

⁴⁴ Shoqeir, *Tarikh Sina*, 404.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

⁴⁶ Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

⁴⁷ Salem [pesud.], interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, June 1997, South Sinai, Egypt.

⁴⁸ Guma, interview, 1997.

Some authorities feel that the nomads must "catch up with the caravan of modern civilization by becoming farmers and industrial workers."⁴⁹ Governments in the Middle East sought to sedentarize Bedouins for reasons of raising their living standards and for controlling them.⁵⁰ These policies resulted in the decline in Bedouin communities and culture in the whole region of the Middle East.

5. History of Development in South Sinai

a) Prior to 1967 War

South Sinai was not a developed area until recently. The area was visited by government officers and pilgrims but there were no large urban settlements. Between 1952 and 1967, when Sinai was under Egyptian rule during Gamal Abdel Nasser's tenure, government distributed food aid in an attempt to attract Bedouin communities to settle on the western side of the Peninsula. The government wanted to curtail Bedouin activities in smuggling narcotics and thus it provided some services on the western side of the Peninsula.⁵¹ However, this policy did not attract too many Bedouins because sheikhs chosen by the government to distribute this aid made personal benefits out of it and sold it for their own profit. At that time, excavation for oil in the Gulf of Suez was just starting, and jobs were largely taken by Egyptians from the Nile Valley and Sudanese workers and thus not very many Bedouins were attracted to settle in that part of the Peninsula.⁵²

b) Sinai under Israeli Occupation

During the Israeli occupation between 1967 and late 1970s the Israeli government started creating some settlements in South Sinai in Nuweiba, Dahab, and near Sharm El Sheikh⁵³ and established a system of natural reserves along the coast of Gulf of Aqaba.⁵⁴ Organized tourism activities controlled by Israelis⁵⁵ were introduced in the area around these settlements and in the surrounding deserts. Vacationers from Israel and school trips visited the Sinai.⁵⁶ Bedouins who

⁴⁹ Hobbs, *Bedouin Life in the Egyptian Wilderness*, 1989, 31.

⁵⁰ Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

Manzardo, *Bedouins in Agriculture*, 1980.

⁵¹ Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ See map II.2.

⁵⁴ Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*.

⁵⁵ Salem, interview, 1997.

Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

⁵⁶ Salem, interview, 1997.

Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

settled near these small settlements worked as tourist guides, taxi drivers, and as workers in these settlements. In the reserves Bedouins were employed as guards, laborers, and garbage collectors.⁵⁷ Large-scale commercial fishing by Bedouin fishermen was prohibited and individuals had to have permits to continue fishing. Wood cutting for making charcoal was stopped and violators were punished. The occupying force tightly restricted movement along the coast and inland. Deprived of maintaining their usual livelihood patterns, the Bedouins were forced to take jobs provided to them, rather than lead a life completely dependent on grazing and fishing.⁵⁸

The construction of a road between Taba and Sharm El Sheikh in Sinai brought more development and tourism which resulted in more sedentarization of Bedouins on the Gulf of Aqaba to accommodate the influx of Israeli and international tourists.⁵⁹ Bedouin tourist villages consisting of simple straw huts extended between Dahab, Nuweiba, and Nabeq, where Bedouins lived in huts and shacks built out of scrap metal and cardboard replicating a scene of a primitive culture untouched by development.⁶⁰

The period between 1979 and 1990 saw a gradual return of Sinai to Egyptian rule. The restoration of peace and normalization of life in Sinai during Hossni Mubarak's tenure paved the way for expansion and large-scale development in Sinai. Major development plans were the expansion of agricultural land in the north, mining, oil drilling and tourism in the south.⁶¹

c) The Development of South Sinai 1986-1995

South Sinai's development depended on its spectacular natural resources of marine life and coral reefs. Tourism development on the Gulf of Aqaba coast progressed rapidly between the years 1988 and 1995. Many hotels were constructed along the coast especially in Sharm El Sheikh (see figs.II.1. and II.2.). As a result of hotel construction on the coast in Sharm El Sheikh, the shore was not accessible for the public including Bedouin fisherman who used to fish off the reef from shore. Hotels that were built in these spots denied fisherman from using the beach or fishing by boat in front of the hotels.

⁵⁷ Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

⁵⁸ Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, 1990.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqrir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, Regular 16th Session, 1000-1995 S-22066, 1995.

Year	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
No. Hotels	5	7	8	15	18	27	36	40
No. Rooms	565	694	805	1,492	1,662	2,578	4,050	6,124
No. Beds	1,030	1,276	1,358	2,906	3,306	5,190	8,234	12,248
*Public Shore Access	22	22	18	14	10	6	4	1

Fig.II.1. Tourism Development Trends in Sharm El Sheikh. Source: Michael Pearson, "The Role of Marine Parks and Reserves as a Mechanism for Large Scale Management of Coastal Resources," (Paper presented to Egyptian Government, date unknown).

Note: Rate of increase in rooms averaged 2,178 between 1990-95 ranging from 400 in 1991-92, to 4,012 during 1994-95.

*Refers to spots along the shore that were used by divers and others fo access to the sea.

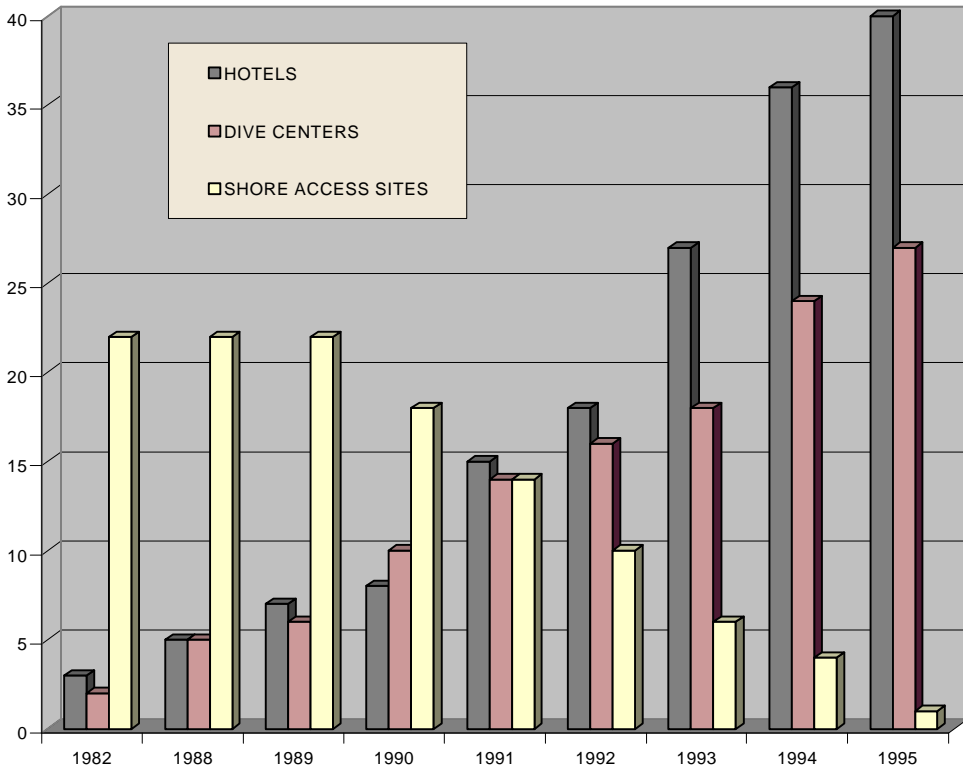
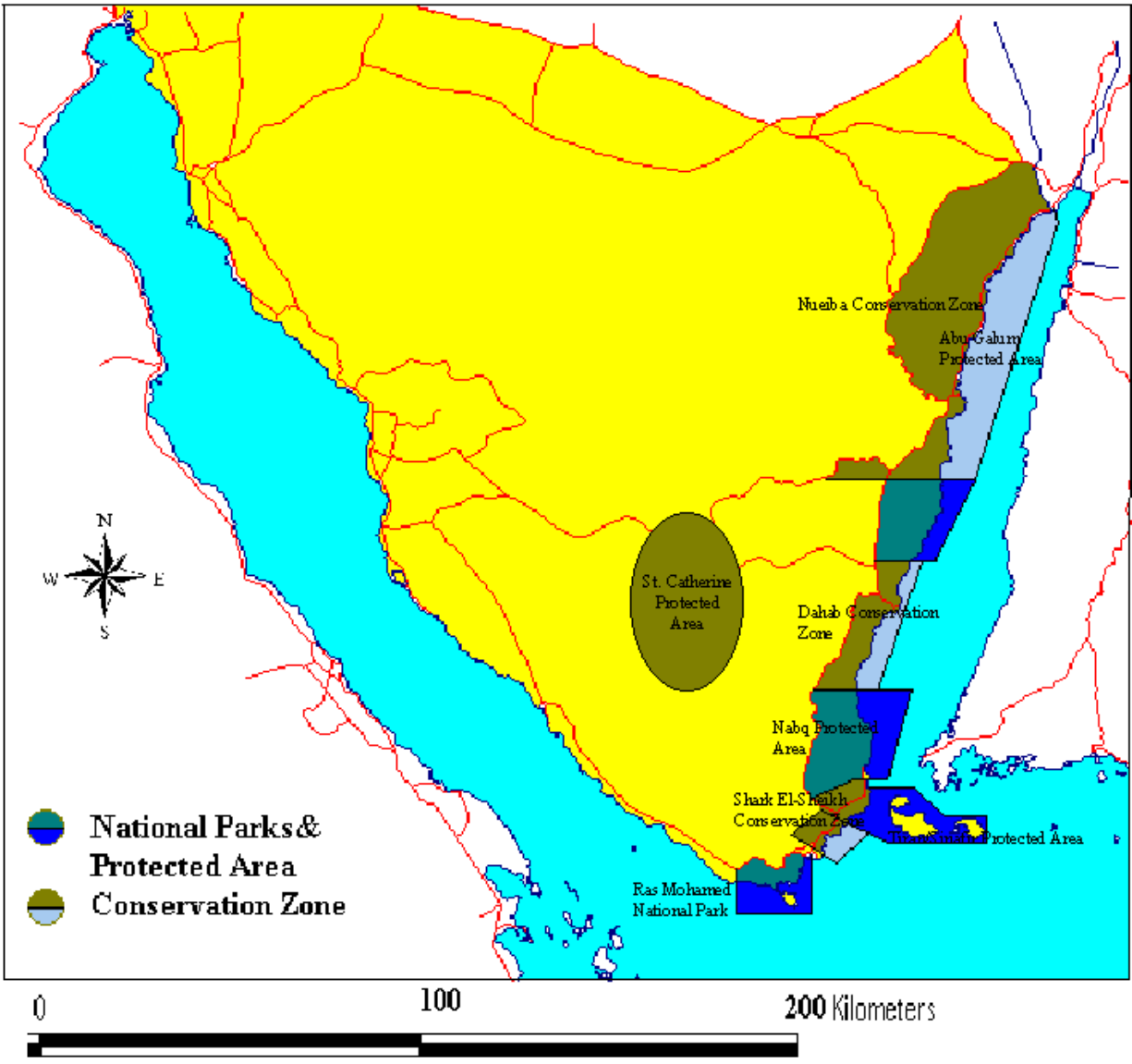


Fig.II.2. Hotel Construction and Public Shore Access in Sharm El Sheikh 1982 -1995

The government realized that the great tourism potential of South Sinai could be threatened by exploitation of the very resources that make this area an attractive tourism destination. Therefore the government with assistance from the European Union established the Ras Mohammed National Park (97km² and 0.6% of the Egyptian littoral on the Gulf of Aqaba).⁶² Two more parks were established on the Gulf of Aqaba: Nabeq and Abu Gallum (see map II.4.).

⁶² Michael Pearson, "The Role of Marine Parks and Reserves as a Mechanism for Large Scale Management of Coastal Resources," Paper presented to the Egyptian Government, n.d.



Map II.4. National Parks, Protected Areas, and Conservation Zones in South Sinai.

The Bedouin population on the Gulf coast resides inside the latter two parks and inside the newly urbanized areas of Sharm El Sheikh, Dahab, Nuweiba, and Taba (see fig.II.3.). Their livelihood depends mainly on tourism where they engage in guiding, renting camels, and transporting tourists. Bedouins still fish and graze, but as access to natural resources dwindles with the expansion of tourism and urbanization they can no longer depend on these traditional activities to support themselves.

Location	Total Population	Bedouin Population	% Bedouin
El Tor	7,855	1,427	18.2
Abu Zenima	3,613	2,207	61.1
Abu Rudies	6,155	2,156	35.0
St. Catherine	4,037	3,031	75.1
Sharm El Sheikh	1,673	330	19.7
Dahab	1,917	915	47.7
Nuweiba	2,975	1,018	34.2
Total	28,225	11,084	39.3%

Fig.II.3. Population Composition in South Sinai 1993. Source: St. Catherine National Park Office. Note: The shaded areas represent population centers on the Gulf of Aqaba. Figures for Bedouin population residing permanently inside the parks was not available.

6. Government Regional Development Plans till 2017

The National Project for Development of Sinai initiated in the early 1990s is one of the most important and largest projects for economic and social development in Egypt. Implementation of the Project will extend until the year 2017 with investments reaching up to L.E.75 billion.⁶³ The most important strategic goals as stated by the Project are to create new urban communities that would attract three million people from of the Nile Valley and provide around one million job opportunities (see fig.II.4.). The following table shows the increase in population and job opportunities in Sinai until the year 2017:

⁶³ Majlis El Shoura, *El Taqir El Nihaii an Al Mashrou Al Qaumi Ltanmiyat Sina*, 1995.

Population/ Employment	1994/95 to 1996/97	1997/98 to 2001/02	2002/03 to 2016/17	Total by 2017
Population (1000)	230	850	1820	2900
Employment (1000)	60	220	520	800

Fig. II.4. Target Population and Employment in Sinai by 2017. Source: Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqrir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066, p.159.

The distribution of population in urban and rural⁶⁴ centers in South Sinai in 1994 as compared to the target population in 2017 shows tremendous growth in population sizes. On the Gulf of Aqaba the government wishes to increase population from 7,507 (1994) to 335,995 by year 2017 (see fig.II.5.).

Urban and Rural Centers	Population (1994)	Population (2017)
Abu Rudeis	4,316	6,026
Ras Sudr	7,480	21,9778
El Tor	8,919	110,023
St. Catherine	4,603	17,378
Nuweiba	3,165	91,384
Sharm El Sheikh	2,014	131,847
Dahab	2,302	90,143
Taba	26	22,621
Total of Coastal Population	7,507	335,995

Fig. II.5. Distribution of the Existing and Target Population in South Sinai. Source: Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqrir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066, p.159. Note: The shaded areas represent population centers on the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Egyptian government with help from private sector investments wishes to expand the agricultural, industrial, and tourism sectors and urban development in Sinai.⁶⁵ The plan

⁶⁴ "Rural" is the term used in the document.

⁶⁵ See also Anthony Muehlberger, "Sinai Economic Profile," (International Market Insight Series) (Cairo, Egypt, 1996 [cited 23 April 1998]); available on Internet, at <http://www.tradeport.org/ts/countries/egypt/mrr/mark0101.shtml>

identifies different types of economic activities for different regions of Sinai. The northern Sinai coast on the Mediterranean will depend on agriculture, fishing, and tourism. The Suez Canal coast will be developed to become a major trade and industrial center. The western coast on the Gulf of Suez will depend on mining, oil drilling, and tourism. The central part will depend on cottage industries, grazing, agriculture and, mining. The eastern coast on the Gulf of Aqaba will depend on tourism. Government also plans on increasing the number of schools and number of hospital beds both in public and private sector, and on building libraries and increasing the number of local media stations.⁶⁶

7. Institutional Context

a) Institutional Framework

The government consists of different ministries (Departments) that are headed by the Cabinet of Ministers. These ministries are responsible for preparing national and regional sectoral plans, for example, tourism, energy, agriculture, industry...etc. Every ministry consists of a group of general (public) and subordinate agencies. These agencies are tied to the central government through the ministerial central offices in Cairo. Every ministry is represented in the local government by a unit which receives directions from that ministry and forwards locality needs, relevant to that ministry's functions, to superiors. This unit is connected to the ministry through the agencies, or directly to the central office, or both. In addition to the traditional line agencies, special executive agencies reporting directly to the Cabinet of Ministers were created such as the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA). (See fig.II.6.)

⁶⁶ Majlis El Shoura, *El Taqirir El Nihaii an Al Mashrou Al Qaumi Ltanmiyat Sina*, 1995.

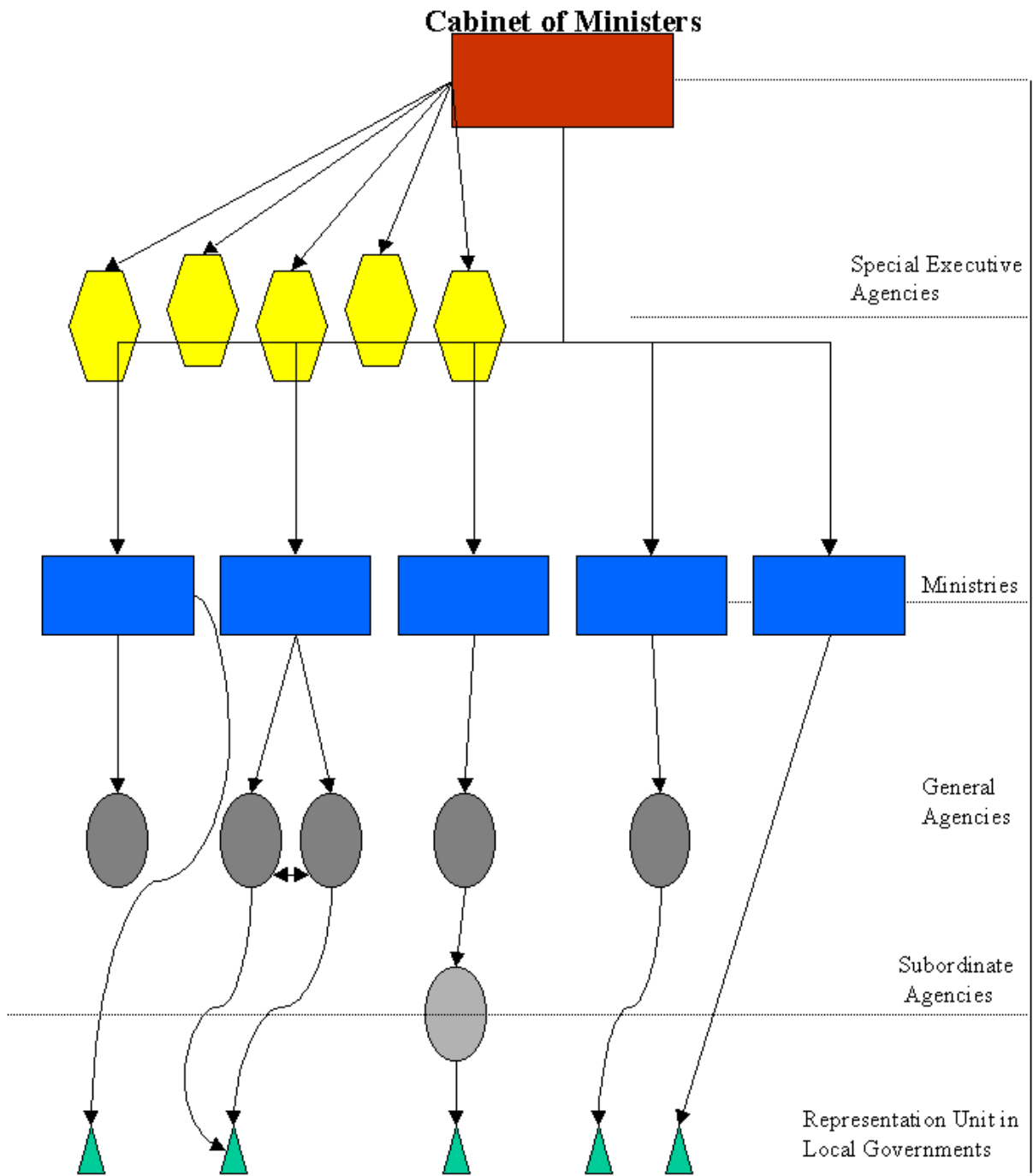


Fig. II.6. Institutional Framework showing different levels of government.

This organizational setup cuts across bureaucratic channels and gives these executive agencies the flexibility, creativity, and authority to be able to plan, coordinate, implement, and supervise special projects of national interest. These agencies can operate in the jurisdiction of any ministry with a higher authority to coordinate efforts to get projects done.

b) Planning Process

National goals and policies approved by *Majlis El Shaab* or Peoples' Assembly⁶⁷ (Parliament) are forwarded to the Ministry of Planning which is responsible for the preparation of the national and regional plans. The National Project for the Development of the Sinai (NPDS) was prepared by the Ministry of Planning in September 1994 and was then approved by the Cabinet of Ministers. The NPDS was then reviewed by *Majlis El Shoura* -which serves as a consultative body to the People's Assembly- and approved in 1995. The report used in this study was prepared by *Majlis El Shoura* and it included the NPDS. After the NPDS was approved, it was forwarded to the different ministries to be formulated into sectoral plans, for example tourism, social services, roads and telecommunications, industry, agriculture...etc.

Each ministry prepares a sectoral plan, through its general and subordinate agencies, with or without coordination with other ministries. These sectoral plans were forwarded to the Ministry of Housing, Public Utilities, and Urban Communities (MOHPUC) which through its General Agency for Urban Planning (GAUP) studies the different sectoral plans collectively (see fig.II.7). If conflicts between interests of different ministries emerge they are resolved through the Cabinet of Ministers. The GAUP responsibility lies in preparing the comprehensive regional urban development plans. The draft for the local urban development plan for the city of Sharm El Sheikh used in this study was prepared by the Third Region's office.

⁶⁷ The Peoples' Assembly which holds the legislative power, approves the general state policies, the general plan of economic and social development, and the general budget of the state.

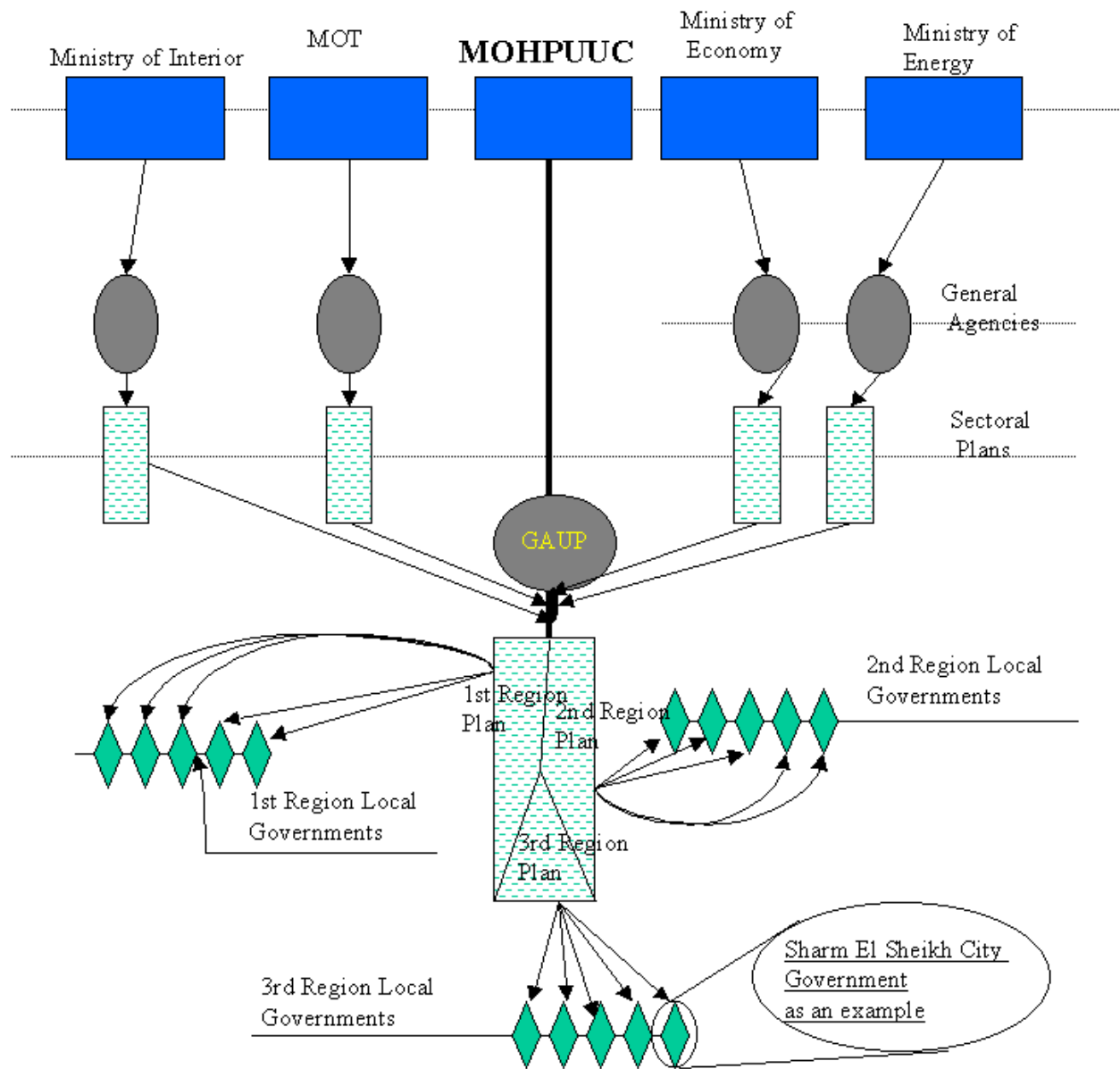


Fig. II.7. Planning Process

The local government then implements the urban development plan supervised by the units representing different ministries or agencies.

c) Key Government Institutions

Several different government agencies are involved in the planning process for the South Sinai. I am choosing to highlight the role of some of those government agencies that directly affect planning for the Gulf of Aqaba coast.

Ministry of Tourism (MOT):

Laws no.1 and no.2 (1973) assigned MOT the role of approving tourism projects and control over new areas which are designated for tourism development. MOT has the authority to do the following:⁶⁸

- Comprehensive planning for the reconstruction and utilization of designated tourism areas.
- Regulation of use of the designated tourism areas according to standards set by the MOT.
- Setting a timeframe for the preparation of tourism areas to be provided with all services, public utilities necessary for the reconstruction and use for tourism and coordinating with other agencies.

Since 1967 all tourism activities were overseen by the MOT, until the creation of the Tourism Development Authority (TDA) in 1991.⁶⁹ The TDA is a government agency that is responsible for tourism development projects and the coordination between different ministries.⁷⁰ The TDA assumes responsibility for tourism development outside city limits whereas inside the city it becomes the urban planning agency's responsibility.⁷¹

Ministry of Housing, Public Utilities, and Urban Communities (MOHPUUC):

The agency responsible for urban planning and development which belongs to this ministry is the General Agency for Urban Planning (GAUP):

General Agency for Urban Planning (GAUP) - Urban Planning Law no. 3 (1982) stated that GAUP is the responsible agency for drawing general urban planning policies and providing urban development plans on the national level. Article 2, section 2 of this law states that the General Plan determines the different land-uses that include residential, commercial, industrial,

⁶⁸ Salah E.A. Wahab, *Al- Tanmiya Al-Siyaheya (Tourism Development - in Arabic)* (Cairo, Egypt, 1994), 307-8.

⁶⁹ Wahab, "Tourism Development in Egypt," 1996, 354.

⁷⁰ First Deputy of Ministry of Tourism, interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, 5 June 1997, Cairo, Egypt.

⁷¹ Ibid.

tourism, recreation...etc which are suited for a particular area, the character of the city, its conditions, and its inhabitants' needs.⁷²

Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA):

The EEAA was established in 1983 to oversee the protection of natural resources and to promote measures of pollution control. The authority of the EEAA was given to it by the Cabinet of Ministries. This allowed the EEAA to avoid the traditional bureaucratic channels and move rapidly to establish and administer more than 16 protected areas in Egypt; formulate the Environmental Law which was passed in 1994; and follow up on the implementation of environmental regulations. The EEAA was integrated in 1997 within the first Ministry of Environment in Egypt. The EEAA requires that development projects in coastal areas submit an environmental impact assessment to ensure that projects comply with environmental standards set by the EEAA for the protection of the shoreline, coral reefs and marine life.

Local Government:

The Egyptian administrative system has been characterized as 'central.'⁷³ Local authorities have been established from 'above' and not from 'below.'⁷⁴ Present laws call for increased decentralization and local involvement in the decision making, yet "everyone [officials at local levels and locals] clearly regards the central organizations as having a legitimate and necessary role in planning and implementing local development activities."⁷⁵ In efforts to decentralize, Law no.52 (1975) concerning local government was established to create some degree of decentralization⁷⁶ which resulted in a "two-branch" system that created a dual capacity for local government.⁷⁷ The local government consists of two branches; one branch is "an elected local council whose task is to identify local needs, propose programs, and design budget compatible with the local interests;"⁷⁸ while the other branch is "an executive council representing the service ministries. The latter remains dominant because it still controls most of the resources and because its expertise in budget formulation and project management is essential to the elected

⁷² Wahab, *Al- Tanmiya Al-Siyaheya*, 1994, 309.

⁷³ Sobhi Moharram, "The Process of Controlled Decentralization in Egyptian Local Finance," *The Developing Economies* 30, no. 4 (Dec. 1992): 450 - 481.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 451.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 479.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 481.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 481.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 481.

council."⁷⁹ At the present, plans developed by local government (Governorate) are often "limited to budget allocation of the sector of the area-based needs and priorities [for example, electric power needs]. Thus the projects become an aggregation of separate activities selected by the field departments and popular councils of the towns or villages from the list of standard projects designed by the central ministries."⁸⁰

Decision-making at local levels is very minimal due to lack of decision-making and planning capacities and skills.⁸¹ Local governments send their requests for different needs for example roads, water and sewage networks...etc. to the ministries to be accommodated in the ministries' plans. Decisions are made at the ministerial levels and sent for localities to be implemented.⁸² Incompetence at the local level and the lack of clear demarcations of power and responsibilities makes decision-making at a local level very weak and reinforces the power of centralized ministries.⁸³

The overlap that exists between the different government agencies in terms of planning for the local level and the fragmented nature of planning whether among ministries and among different scales of government is a major drawback. This not only creates plans that are not holistic and well integrated; but also a "distortion of the citizen's understanding of local government and administration,"⁸⁴ and loss of responsibilities if plans are flawed; and slow responses to ameliorate problems.

d) Civil Society

With the emergence of modernization in Egypt in the early 19th century and with the expansion of education and industrialization, civil society in Egypt took a modern secular form. Modern civil society in Egypt is understood as,

"formal associations catering to the varied interests of citizens in general areas of their social activities; state-society relations in which the former respects a reasonable measure of autonomy of the latter; and acceptance of intellectual and political dissention as a legitimate right for minorities so long as it is bound by peaceful methods of individual and collective action."⁸⁵

⁷⁹Ibid, 481.

⁸⁰ Moharram, "The Process of Controlled Decentralization in Egyptian Local Finance," 480.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid, 477.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 453.

⁸⁵ Mustapha Al-Sayyid, "A Civil Society in Egypt?," *Middle East Journal* 47, no.2 (1993): 229.

The peripheral nature of South Sinai; its isolation from political and social life from the rest of Egypt; and the pastoral life led by its sparse population renders it immature and lacking of civil society institutions that could effectively promote Bedouin interests. Until the mid 1980s Bedouins living in South Sinai were isolated from the modern world and the professional and political spheres. They also lacked education. Thus the capacity to form civil organizations in the modern sense is non-existent in the Bedouin community until now. There are no active civil society organizations in South Sinai that embrace Bedouin issues and promote community development.⁸⁶

The rest of Egypt enjoys a large number of civil organizations going back to the 1920s. Around 1920s the political elite acquired the right to form professional associations for lawyers, doctors...etc., while trade unions came later in 1940s.⁸⁷ The state allowed such associations to exist and increase in number as it provided a venue for the state to have control over middle-class and workers. The number of these associations increased between the 1950s and 1960s.⁸⁸ Other organizations such as the Scouts and the Red Crescent provided social services on a national level. Voluntary organizations that serve localities are mostly associated with mosques and churches to provide medical and educational services to the lower income class.

In the mid 1980s the number of civil society organizations stagnated as authorities "viewed their expansion as politically risky,"⁸⁹ especially those that are profession-related which were being controlled by Islamists. Organizations that are business and industry related, representing powerful interests, have always worked closely with the state in protecting and promoting their interests.

Civil society organizations associated with disenfranchised social groups do not take on political and activist roles, as the case in Western countries for example, but rather provide assistance in community development programs. In 1991 there were over 10 thousand organizations that were providing social services among them are associations concerned with child care, social assistance, assistance for special categories of citizens, culture science, literary activities.⁹⁰ These organizations are mostly concentrated in Cairo, whose share exceeds its

⁸⁶ Adel Taher, interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, 1 June 1997, South Sinai, Egypt.

⁸⁷ Mustapha Al-Sayyid, "A Civil Society in Egypt?," 1993, 231.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 231.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

demographic weight, reflecting its political centrality,⁹¹ followed by Alexandria, being the two major urban cities in Egypt.

8. Summary

The peripheral nature of South Sinai due to its history of isolation and geographical location have kept its Bedouin nomads separated from the Egyptian modern state. Bedouins lived according to their customs and subsistence way of life which is adapted to the desert. Their often misperceived 'primitive' life began to change during the Israeli occupation and more change came as a result of the ambitious development plans set by the Egyptian government. The economic reform policies adopted by Egypt that favored capital and export-oriented growth set the conditions for the state initiated development plans for tourism expansion in South Sinai with help from private sector investments. With the expansion of tourism and urbanization along the Gulf of Aqaba coast, Bedouins access to resources declined and resulted in conflict over resources. Planning of the coast falls under the jurisdictions of three government agencies. The overlap that exists between the different government agencies and the fragmented nature of planning whether among ministries and among different scales of government is a major drawback. Incompetence at the local level and the lack of clear demarcations of power between local and central government responsibilities makes decision-making at a local level very weak and reinforces the power of centralized ministries. Lack of ability and capacity to shape development through true participation in the centralized top bottom decision making process and lack of civil organizations in the South Sinai undermines the Bedouins and puts their interests are at stake.

⁹¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER III ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Introduction
2. Research Questions
 - a) First Question - What are the contextual sources of change in South Sinai?
 - b) Second Question - How do tourism development, urbanization, and national parks affect Bedouin access to resources on the Gulf of Aqaba?
 - a) Third Question - Do development plans create favorable conditions for Bedouins' welfare and interests?
3. Political Ecology Approach
4. Contextual Sources of Change
 - a) Development phases in Egypt corresponding to general Third World models
 - b) Critical literature on modernization
 - c) International tourism
 - d) Role of the state in tourism development
 - e) Regional development as it relates to tourism in the Third World
 - f) Critical literature on regional development strategies relating to tourism development in culturally and ecologically sensitive areas
5. Rationale for Case Study of Conflict over Resources in South Sinai
6. Criteria for evaluation of tourism development plans
 - a) Alternative Development Approaches
 - b) Criteria for evaluation of tourism development plans
7. Summary

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analytical framework of the study using a political ecology approach and the literature reviewed. The political ecology approach examines contextual sources of change that lead to conflict over resources in peripheral regions. The analytical framework outlines three major contextual sources of change: state policies, international relations, and the global economy. It demonstrates how large-scale tourism development activities in peripheral regions create conflict over access to resources and lead to marginalization of the local community. Alternative approaches to development are reviewed to develop criteria for evaluation of development plans to determine their appropriateness for the welfare of local marginalized communities.

2. Research Questions

a) First Question - What are the contextual sources of change in South Sinai?

This question allows me to present the contextual sources of social and environmental changes in South Sinai as a point of departure.

b) Second Question - How do tourism development, urbanization, and national parks affect Bedouin access to resources on the Gulf of Aqaba?

This question enables me to explain how tourism development, urban development, and the national parks affect Bedouin access to coastal areas and resources, and how these forces create some unfavorable social and environmental changes as perceived by Bedouins. It also allows me to bring out the complex dynamics that exist between Bedouins and other stakeholders in their struggle for survival and transformation into an urban modern community and to frame the problem of Bedouin marginalization.

c) Third Question - Do development plans create favorable conditions for Bedouins' welfare and interests?

It is necessary to follow a series of inquiries to be able to conclude an answer for this question. The inquiries I pursued were, What are the criteria with which we can determine if plans are favorable? Do plans reflect these criteria? If plans do not reflect these criteria, then what do they reflect?

3. Political Ecology Approach

The political ecology approach provided the framework for research. Political ecology approaches, which emerged in the 1980s, "employ an interdisciplinary approach for analyzing

human-environment interactions, especially those associated with economic development in the Third World."⁹² These approaches attempt to understand social and environmental changes in terms of environmental and political contexts.⁹³ The political ecology approach, defined by Blaikie and Brookfield (1987, 17), is the "consensus of ecology and a broadly defined political economy. Together this encompasses the constantly shifting dialectic between society and land-based resources, and also within classes and groups within society itself."

It is essential that political ecology research work embraces three areas of inquiry: the contextual sources of environmental change; conflict over resources; and political ramifications of environmental change.⁹⁴ Using this framework, researchers seek to understand ecological problems in the context of political realities and political change in the context of change in ecological conditions.

This research investigates the contextual sources of change in South Sinai in these areas: ideologies of 'modernization' that shape development directions; foreign interests that influence state development policies; international relations in the Middle East; and the international tourism industry and its influence on Third World countries. The context of South Sinai requires a historical perspective to understand how these forces created change in a newly developing peripheral region.

The research then links these forces to changes taking place at a local level where powerful interests of industry and state come in conflict with local communities' economic, social and environmental needs. This often manifests itself in conflict over access to resources and alienation of local communities.

To investigate the implications of these changes on the local Bedouin community the research evaluates proposed tourism and urban development plans. I use relevant literature on alternative development approaches to develop criteria for analysis and evaluation to determine the appropriateness of proposed development plans for South Sinai and their implications on the coastal Bedouin community.

⁹² Susan C. Stonich, "Political Ecology of Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 1 (1998): 28.

⁹³ Raymond L. Bryant, "Political Ecology: An Emerging Agenda in Third World Studies," *Political Geography* 11, no.1 (January 1992):12-36.

⁹⁴ Bryant, "Political Ecology," 1992.

4. Contextual Sources of Change

The study of development in Third World countries requires that one address it in context. To understand the development process; the phenomena of change; and who benefits from tourism development in a region such as South Sinai in Egypt several issues need to be considered. The contextual sources of change require taking account of the historical forces that shape development and influence state policies in context of the global economy. Economic, social, and environmental changes influenced by tourism development strategies in peripheral regions as in the case of South Sinai need to be considered to reach a better understanding of how development contributes to change.

a) Development phases in Egypt corresponding to general Third World models

Development understood from 'modernization' and 'economic growth' perspectives often evokes a certain image of advancing, improving, and growing. Walt Rostow's classical economic development model outlines five major stages. The first stage is that of 'traditional societies' of most Third World countries where societies live a life of subsistence. The second is the 'precondition for take-off' stage where changes occur due to introduction of a stimulus whether scientific, political, or economic. The third is the 'take-off' stage where all obstacles, such as traditions, to take-off have been overcome and the necessary capital, resources, and technology have been mobilized to raise investments in industry and agriculture to increase national income. The fourth is the 'drive to maturity' stage where economic growth spreads to other sectors, the country's domestic market strengthens and exports increase. The fifth is the 'age of high mass consumption' stage where living standards are raised and the country's economic growth occurs with a predictable pattern.⁹⁵

Development, if used synonymously with modernization, transforms traditional cultures, social structures, economy, and governance into industrial models.⁹⁶ Modernization paradigms strive for industrialization, capital accumulation, economic growth, and urbanization.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Alvin Y. So, *Social Change and Development: Modernization, Dependency, and World System Theories*, (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Library of Social Research, 1990)

John Isbister, *Promises Not Kept: The Betrayal of Social Change in the Third World*, 2d ed, (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1993).

⁹⁶ Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

So, *Social Change and Development*, 1990.

Donald W. Attwood, Thomas C. Bruneau, and John G. Galaty, eds., *Introduction to Power and Poverty: Development and Development Projects in the Third World*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1988).

⁹⁷ Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 1995.

Many Third World countries have adopted modernist development paradigms in their quest for progress. Their developmentalism is described in terms of three general historical phases, which also reflect development policies in Egypt over recent history.⁹⁸ These phases are summarized as follows:

1. A primary-product export-oriented growth phase, and hence a certain internationalization, often coinciding with periods of colonization;
2. An industrialization phase, based upon an inward-oriented import substitution strategy, often involving massive state intervention in the economy;
3. A re-internationalization phase, in which industrial growth becomes contingent upon foreign capital and technology provided by multinational corporations, and the state actively intervenes to restructure the power relations that prevailed during the previous regime. (Farah 1994, 137)

Export-oriented economic policies, structural adjustment, economic reform, and globalization characterize the third phase which started in Egypt in the 1980s.⁹⁹ These shifts came about as an aftermath to the debt crisis.¹⁰⁰ In Egypt, foreign lending agencies offered these policies as a way out for Egypt's debt problems which occurred during the mid 1980s. Continued access to loans was contingent upon structural changes that ensured less state economic intervention and more

George Dalton, ed., "Theoretical Issues in Economic Anthropology," in *Economic Development and Social Change: The Modernization of Village Communities*, (Garden City, NY: The Natural History Press, 1971).

Herman E. Daly, and John B. Cobb, Jr., *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future*, (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1989).

Helena Norberg-Hodge and Peter Georing, Introduction in *The Future of Progress: Reflections on Environment and Development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Martin Khor, Helena Norberg-Hodge, Vandana Shiva and others, Rev. Edition (Berkeley, CA: Green Books in association with the International Society of Ecology and Culture, 1995).

Thomas R. Shannon, *An Introduction to the World-System Perspective*, 2d ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Alan Thomas, and David Potter, "Development, Capitalism and the Nation State," in *Poverty and Development in the 1990s*, edited by Tim Allen, and Alan Thomas (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Hazel Henderson, *Creating Alternative Futures: The End of Economics*, (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1978)

Isbister, *Promises Not Kept*, 1993.

John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1996)

David Harrison, ed., "International Tourism and the Less Developed Countries: The Background," in *Tourism and the Less Developed Countries*, (London, UK: Belhaven Press, 1992).

⁹⁸ Abdel Monem Said Aly, "The International System and State Policies: The Case of Egypt," in *Developmentalism and Beyond: Society and Politics in Egypt and Turkey*, edited by Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Caglar Keyeder, and Ayse Oncu, (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 1994).

Nadia Ramsis Farah, "Political Regimes and Social Performance: The Case of Egypt," in *Developmentalism and Beyond: Society and Politics in Egypt and Turkey*, edited by Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Caglar Keyeder, and Ayse Oncu, (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 1994).

⁹⁹ Rapley, *Understanding Development*, 1996.

¹⁰⁰ Isbister, *Promises Not Kept*, 1993.

emphasis on the role of global markets in development.¹⁰¹ This shift to outward-oriented growth stimulated an expansion into sectors like international tourism.¹⁰² In Egypt, the economic liberalization policies and encouragement of private enterprise created a favorable atmosphere for the expansion of the tourism industry.¹⁰³

b) Critical literature on modernization

Tourism can be seen as "a form of modernization, transferring capital, technology, expertise, and 'modern' values from the west" to the Third World.¹⁰⁴ It is clear that modernization in general and its proponents who argue for development based on international tourism are both focused primarily on economics. The study of tourism and its promotion by governments and industry is often in terms of marketing and economic planning.¹⁰⁵ Critics of modernist paradigms reject the western industrial model as a prototype for Third World development. Different critics points to different problems with these paradigms some modernization for its 'Eurocentricity'; some for its tendency to overvalue commercialization while ignoring distribution issues and environmental costs (in many cases seen as creating inequalities and ecological damage); some for its perpetuation of dependency of Third World countries on the affluent and powerful West; and some for its tendency to break up traditional communities, destroying indigenous cultures, which contributes to further marginalization and alienation of small communities in the developing world.¹⁰⁶ In the next section, I present the arguments and assumptions that support

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Rapley, *Understanding Development*, 1996.

John Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 (1996):48-70.

¹⁰² Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

¹⁰³ Salah E.A. Wahab, "Tourism Development in Egypt: Competitive Strategies an Implications," in *Progress in tourism and Hospitality Research*, edited by C. Cooper, and A. Lockwood, 2 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

¹⁰⁴ Harrison, "International Tourism and the Less Developed Countries," 1992, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Harry G. Matthews, and Linda K. Richter, "Political Science and Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 18 (1991):120-135

¹⁰⁶ Gerald Berthoud, "Market," in *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs, (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books Ltd., 1992).

Herman E. Daly, *Beyond Growth: The Economics of Sustainable Development*, (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996).

Daly, and Cobb , *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community*, 1989.

Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 1995

Henderson, *Creating Alternative Futures*, 1978.

Hazel Henderson, *Paradigms in Progress: Life Beyond Economics*, 2d ed., (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 1995).

Hazel Henderson, *Building a Win-Win World: Life Beyond Global Economic Warfare*, (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 1996).

international tourism development, as well as the critical literature on regional development strategies relating to tourism development in culturally and ecologically sensitive areas.

c) International tourism

Supporters of outward-oriented growth and international tourism base their argument in neoclassical economic theory. Neoliberal strategies of outward-oriented growth adopted by some governments and promoted by the tourism industry maintain that the processes of economic and political development prompt integration in the world system and international markets to make up for low levels of domestic demand.¹⁰⁷ International tourism is treated in the development literature as a 'nontraditional export growth sector' that is based on the concept of comparative advantage.¹⁰⁸ Some theorists regard tourism activity as a means for economic 'diversification' for low-income countries, a way to avoid too much reliance on the increasingly unstable traditional export industrial sector.¹⁰⁹

John Brohman ("New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 [1996]: 50) explains that proponents believe that multiplier effects through

Bjorn Hettne, *Development Theory and the Three Worlds: Towards and International Political Economy of Development*, 2d ed., (Essex, UK: Longman Scientific and Technical, 1995)

Isbister, *Promises Not Kept*, 1993.

S.M. Mohamed Idris, "The Third World: A Crisis of Development," in *The Future of Progress: Reflections on Environment and Development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Martin Khor, Helena Norberg-Hodge, Vandana Shiva and others, Rev. Edition (Berkeley, CA: Green Books in association with the International Society of Ecology and Culture, 1995).

David Korten, *When Corporations Rule the World*, (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 1995).

Helena Norberg-Hodge, "Pressure to Modernize," in *The Future of Progress: Reflections on Environment and Development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Martin Khor, Helena Norberg-Hodge, Vandana Shiva and others, Rev. Edition (Berkeley, CA: Green Books in association with the International Society of Ecology and Culture, 1995).

Norberg-Hodge, and Goering, Introduction in *The Future of Progress*, 1995.

Richard B. Norgaard, *Development Betrayed: The End of Progress and a Coevolutionary Revisioning of the Future*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994).

Shannon, *An Introduction to the World-System Perspective*, 1996.

So, *Social Change and Development*, 1990.

Wiert Wiertsema, "Paths to Sustainability," in *The Future of Progress: Reflections on Environment and Development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Martin Khor, Helena Norberg-Hodge, Vandana Shiva and others, Rev. Edition (Berkeley, CA: Green Books in association with the International Society of Ecology and Culture, 1995).

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*, 2d ed., (Paris, France: UNESCO, 1996).

¹⁰⁷ Matthews, and Richter, "Political Science and Tourism," 1991.

Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development."

¹⁰⁸ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

¹⁰⁹ Salah E.A. Wahab, *Takhteet-al Mawared al-Seyaheya (Tourism Resources Planning - in Arabic)*(Matabe Dar-Asharq Bel Qahirah, 1988).

Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

Andears Hohl, and Clem Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no.3 (1995): 517-534.

foreign trade and tourism will increase production and employment and thus ensure long-term growth. On a macro level, the increase in tourism earnings will result in a stable economy due to a better balance of trade, which would earn favorable ratings in an international financial market (to gain access to foreign loans). Proponents of international tourism maintain that it generates foreign exchange which is needed for buying capital goods needed in production.¹¹⁰ Third World governments often consider tourism development as a panacea for macroeconomic problems.¹¹¹

Some political scientists and dependency theorists believe that the integration of societies in the global tourism markets implies some inequalities between rich and poor, which is a matter often ignored in tourism development.¹¹² Dependency theory can offer an explanation for the disparities in the relationship between multinational travel and tourism corporations representing the 'core' and Third World countries representing the 'periphery'.¹¹³ According to Stephen Britton ("The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World," *Annals of Tourism Research* 9 [1982]) multinational corporations control the Third World by creating the demand for its tourism products through advertising; by being responsible for global wholesaling; by providing transportation modes; by providing accommodations, financial and banking services; and by supplying top level expatriate management. In fact, dependency of the 'periphery' on the multinational corporations involves, "the subordination of national economic autonomy to meet the interests of foreign pressure groups and privileged local classes rather than those development priorities arising from broader political consensus."¹¹⁴ He adds that this form of tourism often puts pressure on the resources of the 'periphery.' Third World countries, which often favor integration with foreign tourism capital, find themselves in a system which requires capital-intensive tourist facilities and infrastructure. Usually, this is required for the creation of luxurious, capital, and energy-intensive hotel resorts¹¹⁵ in areas which are particularly sensitive to change, "eg mountains, coasts, lakes, savanna...These locations are not only peripheral to the world economy in the traditional sense but also extremely vulnerable to environmental

¹¹⁰ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996, 50.

Stephen Britton, "The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World," *Annals of Tourism Research* 9 (1982): 331-358.

¹¹¹ Cevat Tosun, and C.L. Jenkins, "Regional Planning Approaches to Tourism Development: The Case of Turkey," *Annals of Tourism Research* 17, no.7 (1996): 519-531.

¹¹² Matthews and Richter, "Political Science and Tourism," 1991.

¹¹³ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

Britton "The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World," 1982.

¹¹⁴ Britton "The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World," 1982, 334.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

damage."¹¹⁶ Britton (1982: 345) adds that local counterparts (mainly elites) are often vehicles for the perpetuation of this system of dominance. Other local enterprises in tourism often provide services, "outside the commercial interest or competitive capacity of dominant sector firms." These local enterprises often provide services like taxi transportation, low budget food and accommodation, and other small-scale businesses. These limitations continue to keep them at the margin. Although *all* those involved in tourism profit, the distribution of these profits is unequal, with the biggest share going to the multinationals. This explanation reflects the magnitude of the multinationals' role in a global economy and sheds light on the marginalization of local people who share but a small part of the benefits from tourism development in 'peripheral' areas.

On a local and regional level, especially in peripheral areas, tourism development promises economic benefits when there is "little other alternative in the context of generally depressed economy."¹¹⁷ However, if the economy is solely based on tourism, this presents risks to the region's economic resilience, which could be affected by factors external to that region.¹¹⁸ Tourism 'enclaves' or resorts in many parts of the world -also common to the area of South Sinai- "have been linked to widening spatial inequalities (Britton 1980, 1982; Jenkins 1982; Pearce 1987)."¹¹⁹ This uneven economic distribution is attributed to the "high spatial concentration of the tourist's economic impact on the locality where they stay and spend money."¹²⁰

d) Role of the state in tourism development

The fact that international tourism enjoys high growth rates and argued to be the third largest industry after oil and vehicle production contributing 12% of global GNP¹²¹ makes international tourism very attractive for developing countries, although the North enjoys the bigger share according to World Tourism Organization figures of 1991. The area of tourism policy appears to promise rewards with few risks in creating conflicting interests.¹²² Moreover, it is often

¹¹⁶ Vincent May, "Tourism, Environment and Development: Values, Sustainability and Stewardship," *Tourism Management* 12, no.2 (1991): 114.

¹¹⁷ Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995, 519.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

Wahab, *Takhteet-al Mawared al-Seyaheya*, 1998.

¹¹⁹ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996, 57.

¹²⁰ P. Komilis, "Tourism and Sustainable Regional Development," in *Tourism: the State of the Art*, edited by A.V. Seaton, C.L.Jenkins, R.C. Wood, P.U.C. Dieke, M.M. Bennett, L.R. MacClellan, and R. Smith, (New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1994), 66.

¹²¹ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996, 52.

¹²² Linda Richter, "Tourism Politics and Political Service: A Case of not so Benign Neglect," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983).

considered as a "noncontroversial way to accrue foreign exchange without losing nonrenewable resources."¹²³ Evidently, tourism occupies an important place in the economies of some developing countries like Egypt¹²⁴ and in some places it has led "to direct improvements which have enhanced the quality of the environment for local people."¹²⁵ In Egypt, the state took interest in tourism as a productive sector, which has social, economic, psychological, and political benefits to the society.¹²⁶ The state assumes many responsibilities in tourism development. There are four major areas of state responsibility presented by Salah Wahab (*Al-Tanmiyah al-Seyaheya* (Tourism Development - in Arabic) [1994]) including appropriate legislation, coordination between different government bodies, finance, and planning which involves diversifying tourism products, motivating state agencies to work as a unified team in tourism development, and monitoring.¹²⁷ Physical development and marketing of tourist destinations has often been the main focus of tourism plans, which could be partially due to the "preoccupation with maximizing economic returns."¹²⁸ Planning and decision-making are often described to be top-down.¹²⁹

Many Third World countries are moving more and more towards privatization of tourism,¹³⁰ and we find many debates in the development literature as well as in the tourism literature over the roles of state and market. John Brohman ("New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 [1996]) contends that neither state nor market is "neutral." Among tourism scholars there are those who argue that government should intervene in tourism development and not depend totally on market forces in order to mitigate potential negative impacts because markets fail to address long-term distribution and environmental issues.¹³¹ But, there are other political scientists who argue that government

Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

Marion Joppe, "Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited," *Tourism Management* 17, no.7 (1996): 475-479.

¹²³ Richter, "Tourism Politics and Political Service: A Case of not so Benign Neglect," 1983, 318.

¹²⁴ Harrison, "International Tourism and the Less Developed Countries," 1992.

Wahab, *Takhteet-al Mawared al-Seyaheya*, 1982.

¹²⁵ May, "Tourism, Environment and Development," 1991.

¹²⁶ Salah E.A. Wahab, *Al Tanmiya al-Seyaheya* (Tourism Development - in Arabic), (Cairo, Egypt, 1994), 45.

¹²⁷ Wahab, *Al Tanmiya al-Seyaheya*, 1994.

¹²⁸ Dexter Choy, "National Tourism Planning in the Philippines," *Tourism Management* 12, no.4 (1991): 245.

¹²⁹ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

Joppe, "Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited," 1996.

¹³⁰ Wahab, *Al Tanmiya al-Seyaheya*, 1994.

¹³¹ Choy, "National Tourism Planning in the Philippines," 1991.

Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

intervention may exacerbate problems rather than avoid them.¹³² What seems to be decisive is the kind of role that the government plays¹³³ in achieving broader development objectives under the right mix of state intervention and market forces,¹³⁴ and in assuming "responsibilities related to social, cultural and environmental concerns."¹³⁵ Brohman (1996) explains that there is nothing inherently wrong with state promoted tourism development. However, it is how the state achieves the broader goals of development that makes it successful or not on the local level.¹³⁶

e) Regional development as it relates to tourism in the Third World

Most Third World countries are engaged in national development planning¹³⁷ which is implemented through regional plans to meet national goals.¹³⁸ Under this setup, usually decision-making is mostly top-down. In Egypt, macro level policies manifest themselves on the regional level.¹³⁹ The fields of regional development in general and tourism development in the Third World in particular have been influenced by multilateral and bilateral aid and donor agencies.¹⁴⁰ In many cases, foreign aid and donor agencies provide capital and technical assistance for the preparation and implementation of regional plans.¹⁴¹ In terms of tourism regional development, the tourist region is defined by Pearce (1989, 262) as a,

"region identified at the national level [which] will usually be defined in terms of the spatial association of attractions and associated facilities, or possibly in physical terms (a stretch of coast, a river system or a highland massif) or administrative ones, especially where tourism forms part of an overall regional strategy."

It is a sub-national area which is not necessarily defined by jurisdictional boundaries and could include more than one administrative unit.¹⁴² It has been noted that the place of tourism within regional development economic theories has been limited.¹⁴³ I find that the regional development

¹³² Linda K. Richter, and William Richter, "Policy Choices in South Asian Tourism Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, no.2 (1985): 201-217.

¹³³ Richter, and Richter, "Policy Choices in South Asian Tourism Development," 1985.

¹³⁴ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

¹³⁵ Choy, "National Tourism Planning in the Philippines," 1991, 245.

¹³⁶ Joppe, "Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited," 1996.

¹³⁷ Benjamin Higgins, and Donald J. Savoie, *Regional Development Theories and their Application*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publication, 1995).

¹³⁸ Wahab, *Takhteet-al Mawared al-Seyaheya*, 1988.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Stonich, "Political Ecology of Tourism," 1998, 25-54.

¹⁴¹ Wahab, *Al Tanmiya al-Seyaheya*, 1994.

Higgins, and Savoie, *Regional Development Theories and their Application*, 1995.

¹⁴² Wahab, *Takhteet-al Mawared al-Seyaheya*, 1988.

¹⁴³ Komilis, "Tourism and Sustainable Regional Development," 1994.

literature offers the 'economic base' theory which can explain the rationale behind international tourism in terms of regional development. The theory states that:

"development of any region, and particularly the development of its urban centers, is a function of growth of its "base industries." These by definition are export industries. They are not attracted to a particular region or city in order to exploit the market of that region or city. They are attracted because the location provides a favourable base from which to export to other regions; the location promises a comparative advantage to the base industry."¹⁴⁴

f)Critical literature on regional development strategies relating to tourism development in culturally and ecologically sensitive areas

Studies note that "tourism is not necessarily a development panacea for a Third World country,"¹⁴⁵ and it should not be seen as the only solution to economic problems.¹⁴⁶ Tourism development in Third World countries has its shortcomings that aggravate numerous problems. These shortcomings include: overseas foreign exchange leakage; weak linkages with other domestic economic sectors; low spread of benefits from tourism 'enclaves'; dependency on global demand and its fluctuation; deepened socioeconomic inequality; ecological damage; and alienation and marginalization of local population due to conflict over scarce resources, perceived loss of culture and social identity.¹⁴⁷ Further, illustration on the subject will follow in section 5.

5. Rationale for Case Study of Conflict over Resources in South Sinai

In peripheral regions, tourism development particularly that associated with "large-scale, foreign-owned, enclave-type resorts"¹⁴⁸ affects both environment and communities that are vulnerable to major changes.¹⁴⁹ Ecological degradation and social problems of indigenous people oftentimes go hand in hand in these regions.¹⁵⁰ Ecological damage can be due to cumulative effects of incremental degradation over time. For example, tourism development can reduce freshwater supply in areas where water is scarce.¹⁵¹ In some coastal areas damage to shallow water corals and beach erosion have been identified as long-term problems associated with

¹⁴⁴ Higgins, and Savoie, *Regional Development Theories and their Application*, 1995, 65.

¹⁴⁵ Richter, "Tourism Politics and Political Service: A Case of not so Benign Neglect," 1983, 203.

¹⁴⁶ Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995.

¹⁴⁷ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996, 53-54.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 58.

¹⁴⁹ Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995, 518.

¹⁵⁰ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995.

¹⁵¹ Stonich, "Political Ecology of Tourism," 1998.

tourism growth.¹⁵² Tourism-related activities such as diving and snorkeling can also reduce the quality of marine life and health of a coral reef.¹⁵³ In other cases tourism can negatively affect the overall visual and aesthetic qualities of an area. For example, the natural heritage of the Cape York Peninsula region in Australia has been "sealed under the tarmac, polluted, and replaced by unsightly development" in the rush for short-term tourism economic benefits.¹⁵⁴ Cases of combined environmental and social problems also exist. Environmental violations by international five-star beach resorts on the former Portuguese colony of Goa have been accompanied by other social problems such as conflict over resources and the spread of drugs and promiscuity which threatened the welfare of the community.¹⁵⁵ Tourism development, which can damage natural resources in the rush for short-term gains¹⁵⁶ is coupled with conflicts over resources among different economic sectors and social groups where the needs of indigenous local people may be overlooked.¹⁵⁷ Although in the past many studies in the tourism literature have investigated the negative impacts of tourism on social, cultural, and environmental aspects in ecologically and culturally sensitive areas around the world, they failed to place these impacts in the "broader context of development,"¹⁵⁸ and lacked in discussions of "historical and political processes that determine development."¹⁵⁹ Tourism should be discussed within the context of the region where peripheral areas have unique mixes of political, social, cultural, environmental and economic contexts that should be treated with special attention.

Local governments in centralized systems (similar to Egypt) act as bureaucratic bodies for implementation of action plans handed down to them rather than being engaged in innovative planning.¹⁶⁰ Even when local governments enjoy some decentralization and delegation of power, in the face of rushed tourism development, "interests are not collectively organized, [and

¹⁵² May, "Tourism, Environment and Development," 1991, 115.

¹⁵³ Stonich, "Political Ecology of Tourism," 1998.

¹⁵⁴ Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995, 519.

¹⁵⁵ John Lea, "Tourism Development Ethics in the Third World," *Annals of Tourism* 20 (1993): 701-715.

¹⁵⁶ Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995.

¹⁵⁷ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996.

R. Poirier, and S. Wright, "The Political Economy of Tourism in Tunisia," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31 (1993).

Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995.

¹⁵⁸ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996, 57.

¹⁵⁹ Britton, "The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World," 1982.

¹⁶⁰ Joppe, "Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited," 1996.

therefore] the identification of legitimate stakeholders may itself be a contestable task."¹⁶¹ Even when stakeholders are identified, especially the marginalized, that does not necessarily mean that their interests will be served, especially in cases when local people's interests conflict with national goals, for example, the hunting rights of indigenous people and protection of endangered species.¹⁶² Many 'exogenous' factors affect local people, where they find themselves no longer in control over resources due to competing interests with developers, industry, and the state. Many authors feel that local governments have not yet realized that "struggle for control over local resources" is a crucial issue in tourism development, which needs proper attention.¹⁶³ Moreover, communities are usually viewed as a resource to be used either for creating cultural tourism¹⁶⁴ or for training as a labor force to serve in the tourism industry. These unfavorable conditions render tourism planning on the local level unsatisfactory and lacking in the areas of social equity and environmental protection, especially when related to disenfranchised communities.

If the goal for development is to meet human needs then it is necessary to elaborate on those needs.¹⁶⁵ It is necessary to take into consideration, "environmental and societal needs...[which implies] putting tourism within the wider context of development."¹⁶⁶ That it is why we need to formulate some community criteria -based on local needs and community interests- that could be useful in reviewing development plans and their implications in relation to local communities, such as those of the coastal Bedouin community on the Gulf of Aqaba in South Sinai.

6. Criteria for evaluation of tourism development plans

a) Alternative Development Approaches

It is clear that tourism development (whether on an international, national, regional, or local level) has been mainly concerned with the economic benefits that would accrue to state and industry and especially to meet national economic goals. What is fundamentally missing is the incorporation of the goals of environmental protection and social equity, especially that relating to the disadvantaged, into tourism development. Sustainability (irrespective of any particular

¹⁶¹ Maureen G.Reed, "Power Relations and Community-Based Tourism Planning," *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no.3 (1997): 556-591.

¹⁶² Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995.

¹⁶³ Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996, 55.

¹⁶⁴ Joppe, "Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited," 1996.

¹⁶⁵ Geoffrey Wall, "Is Ecotourism Sustainable?," *Environmental Management* 21, no.4 (1997): 483-491.

¹⁶⁶ Tej Vir Singh, H. Leo Theuns, and Frank Go, eds., *Towards Appropriate Tourism: The Case of Developing Countries*, (New York (NY): Peter Lang Publishing, 1989), 20-21.

definition) often tries to incorporate those three main elements, namely: economy, environment, and equity.¹⁶⁷

The concept of 'sustainability' in the context of development emerged during the 1980s. Much controversy was created over its exact meaning.¹⁶⁸ In the tourism literature many approaches were created as offshoots of 'sustainable development.' Terms that are used include sustainable tourism, ecotourism, alternative tourism, sustainable community tourism development, and others. Although these alternative development approaches share three common elements of sustainability which are community, environment, and economy they encompass different orientations. For purposes of clarification, definitions seem to be necessary. The term 'sustainable tourism' has been rejected by Butler (1993) to imply a balanced relationship between the three elements. Instead, he presents a definition of sustainable development in the context of tourism. He defines it as:

"tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and wellbeing of other activities and processes" (Butler 1993, 29).

This definition is development-oriented where the main concern is over the viability and continuity of this type of tourism over time.

The term 'ecotourism' which became popular in the late 1980s has been centered on natural resource conservation and wildlife preservation.¹⁶⁹ More recently it has shifted to include economic development related to conservation and the cultural and social dimensions of local communities.¹⁷⁰ The term ecotourism reflects "nature travel that advances conservation and sustainable development,"¹⁷¹ or "an enlightening nature travel experience, while respecting the integrity of host communities." This approach is mostly biocentric although it has been in some

¹⁶⁷ Komilis, "Tourism and Sustainable Regional Development," 1994.

¹⁶⁸ Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996.
Wall, "Is Ecotourism Sustainable?," 1997.

Colin Hunter, "Sustainable Tourism as an Adaptive Paradigm," *Annals of Tourism Research* (1997).

¹⁶⁹ C. Wild, "Issues in Ecotourism," in *Progress in Tourism Recreation and Hospitality Management* 6, edited by C. Cooper, and A. Lockwood, (New York (NY): John Wiley & Sons, 1994).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 12.

cases misused by the tourism industry that used 'eco' to sell its products as nature-friendly. A third interpretation of sustainable development as it relates to tourism frames the main issues as,

"how best to achieve equity of access to natural resources which create human-well being, and in the distribution of costs and benefits (social, economic, and environmental) which ensue from the utilization of resources...Equity implies attempting to meet all basic human needs and, perhaps the satisfaction of human wants, both now (intra-generational equity) and in the future (inter-generational equity). This means the avoidance of development which maintains, creates, or widens spatial or temporal differences in human well-being."¹⁷²

This perspective is clearly equity-oriented. The issue of equity in particular is of relevance to the context of tourism development in the South Sinai and issues of conflict over access to natural resources and equitable distribution of economic benefits. Most approaches that deal with the issue of equity fall under the term 'community-based approaches to tourism planning.' Proponents¹⁷³ of this approach stress that it is centered on community needs and interests. They explain that it seeks to identify those needs by strengthening institutional arrangements that involve local participation in the decision-making process to empower local communities. This approach respects local cultures and values. It emphasizes the quality of tourism, its pace, and spatial dimensions to ensure the appropriateness of development and the equitable distribution of resources, as well as costs and revenues.¹⁷⁴

From the above spectrum of interpretations and approaches to sustainable development as it relates to tourism, there can be no one definition or interpretation. Criteria for analysis and evaluation of development plans should include elements from those different approaches.

b) Criteria for evaluation of tourism development plans

The above literature on alternative approaches to development provides some criteria that can be used to evaluate tourism development plans. These criteria are by no means exhaustive. They will facilitate evaluation of South Sinai development plans. These criteria include the following concepts:

¹⁷² Hunter, "Sustainable Tourism as an Adaptive Paradigm," 1997, 2^d page (incomplete).

¹⁷³ Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996.

Malcolm S. Anderson, "Problems with Tourism Development in Canada's Eastern Arctic," *Tourism Management* 12, no. 3 (1991): 209-220.

David G. Simmons, "Community Participation in Tourism Planning," *Tourism Management* 15, no. 2 (1994): 98-108.

Wall, "Is Ecotourism Sustainable?," 1997.

¹⁷⁴ Anderson "Problems with Tourism Development in Canada's Eastern Arctic," 1991.

Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996.

- Local Community Needs: Management of tourism should be "according to the needs and interests of local communities...[as]... the principal criterion upon which development is evaluated,"¹⁷⁵ where tourism development should respond to the needs and interests of the local community.¹⁷⁶
- Participatory Approaches: Transparency, sharing of information,¹⁷⁷ and involving all stakeholders in the process, especially the underprivileged and marginalized¹⁷⁸ by adopting participatory planning approaches to "enable a local consensus or "social contract" to be constructed over how tourism and related development should proceed."¹⁷⁹ It is crucial that government adopts a participatory approach to development in order to ensure that tourism development falls within the broader context of development and that it meets economic, social, and ecological needs of the community.¹⁸⁰
- Local Culture: Development should maintain cultural integrity and preserve it.¹⁸¹
- Access to Resources: It is important to maintain local control over resources and to ensure local access to them¹⁸² so as to avoid spatial disparities among different community groups and the dominance of privileged entities over the use of resources.
- Equitable Distribution: "Tourism should be...assessed according to how it has been integrated into the broader development goals of existing local communities, as well as the ways in which tourism-related investments and revenues have been used to benefit those communities. Tourism development can indeed be positive for local communities if their needs and interests are given priority over the goals of the industry *per se*."¹⁸³

¹⁷⁵ Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management." 60.

¹⁷⁶ Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996.

Salah E.A. Wahab, interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, 4 June 1997, Cairo, Egypt.

Wall, "Is Ecotourism Sustainable?," 1997.

The Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life, 1996 *Caring for the Future: Report of the Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁷⁷ Simmons, "Community Participation in Tourism Planning," 1994.

Hohl, and Tisdell, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1995.

Hunter, "Sustainable Tourism as an Adaptive Paradigm," 1997.

¹⁷⁸ Robert G. Dyck, "Revisionist Views about Economics in Development," in *Self Transformation of the Forgotten Four-Fifths*, Robert G. Dyck, Matjaz Mulej and co-authors (Dubuque, Iowa: Kandell Hunt, 1998).

Wall, "Is Ecotourism Sustainable?," 1997.

¹⁷⁹ Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996, 61.

¹⁸⁰ Anderson, "Problems with Tourism Development in Canada's Eastern Arctic," 1991.

Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management."

¹⁸¹ Wall, "Is Ecotourism Sustainable?," 1997.

¹⁸² Hunter, "Sustainable Tourism as an Adaptive Paradigm," 1997.

¹⁸³ Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996, 60.

- Local Entrepreneurship:¹⁸⁴ "Local initiatives in developing attractions are seen as a first preference in product development...[This ensures that] tourism will be well integrated with local business."¹⁸⁵ In the case of nature tourism where it "encourages local employment and small business development [it] promotes higher multipliers and greater local economic development."¹⁸⁶
- Economic Diversity: Development should be encouraging economic diversity. For example tourism should not be the sole economic activity in a region due to its volatile and risky nature.¹⁸⁷ This means that other economic activities should be encouraged.
- Ownership and Local Management: It is important that local ownership of tourism resources and facilities is retained.¹⁸⁸
- Sustainable Environment: Development should seek to preserve the ecological integrity and should rely on sustainable use of resources.¹⁸⁹ Also the contextually of environmental problems calls for solutions that are formulated and implemented at the local level.¹⁹⁰

7. Summary

The political ecology approach provides the analytical structure to ask the three research questions: What are the contextual sources of change in South Sinai?, How do tourism development, urbanization, and national parks affect Bedouin access to resources on the Gulf of Aqaba?, Do future development plans create favorable conditions for Bedouins' welfare and interests?.

Literature on tourism development reveals that tourism is a fast growing international trade sector which is regarded by many developing countries as the solution to their economic problems. The study of tourism and its promotion by governments and industry is often in terms of marketing and economic planning. Many critics of international tourism policies point to the control of industry and the diminished role of state in achieving broader development objectives related to social, cultural and environmental concerns. Tourism development in Third World

¹⁸⁴ Robert G. Dyck, "Revisionist Views about Economics in Development," 1998.

¹⁸⁵ Simmons, "Community Participation in Tourism Planning," 1994, 106.

¹⁸⁶ Wild, "Issues in Ecotourism," 1994, 14.

¹⁸⁷ Wahab, interview, 1997.

¹⁸⁸ Simmons, "Community Participation in Tourism Planning," 1994.

Brohman, "Peripheral Tourism Development and Management," 1996.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Norgaard, *Development Betrayed*, 1994.

countries has its shortcomings that aggravate numerous problems. These shortcomings include: overseas foreign exchange leakage; weak linkages with other domestic economic sectors; low spread of benefits from tourism 'enclaves'; dependency on global demand and its fluctuation; deepened socioeconomic inequality; ecological damage; and alienation and marginalization of local population due to conflict over scarce resources, perceived loss of culture and social identity.¹⁹¹

Many authors feel that local governments have not yet realized that the struggle for control over local resources in peripheral areas. Local level tourism planning is unsatisfactory and lacking in the areas of social equity and environmental protection, especially when related to disenfranchised communities.

Alternative development tourism literature provides alternative approaches to tourism development that include ecotourism, community-based tourism, and sustainable development. These approaches provide us with the following criteria to ensure a more appropriate form of development for local indigenous communities. Development should satisfy local community needs through participatory approaches. It should promote and preserve local culture. Development should ensure the community's access to resources and the equitable distribution of tourism benefits. Development should not be based on tourism alone but expand the economic base. It should encourage local entrepreneurship and local ownership and management. Development should preserve the integrity of the environment and promote sustainable use of resources.

¹⁹¹ Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," 1996, 53-54.

CHAPTER IV METHODS AND PROCEDURES

1. Introduction
2. Methods and Procedures of Data Collection and Analysis
 - a) Case Study Research Method
 - b) Interviewing
 - c) Documents Review
 - d) Other Sources
3. Research Limitations

1. Introduction

This section outlines the research methods and procedures for data collection and analysis. It also points out the limitations of the research.

2. Methods and Procedures of Data Collection and Analysis

a) Case Study Research Method

The case study research method is an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary phenomena within its real-life context. Robert K. Yin (1993) highlights the appropriateness of using case studies when the phenomena under study are not readily distinguishable from their context.¹⁹² In the case of my research the phenomena of development are still happening and are at the same time the context for change. As Yin points out, the richness of data requires using more than one single data collection method. Building a case study on data from multiple sources enriches the work but can present a daunting task, especially when 'unstructured.' My case study proved to be a challenge as I began my study with a multitude of data that needed sifting and refining for me to be able to formulate it into empirical and conceptual categories. At the same time this proved helpful in providing flexibility and in creating an imperative for analysis.

Data were collected from interviews, review of government tourism and urban development planning documents, personal observations, visual material, and personal knowledge. This case represents a single case of an explanatory nature, which focuses on the development of the Gulf of Aqaba coast in South Sinai based on the political ecology approach and framework.¹⁹³ The study addresses the following: (a) contextual sources of change in South Sinai; (b) conflict over access by Bedouins to coastal resources and marginalization of the Bedouin community; and (c) implications of development plans for the Bedouin community of South Sinai.

b) Interviewing

My interviews were exploratory and informal.¹⁹⁴ My goal was to establish a relationship with the general issues discussed in the literature concerning tourism in peripheral areas. Prior to each interview, I prepared the interview questions based on the objectives of each interview. Before

¹⁹² Robert K. Yin, *Applications of Case Study Research*, (Applied Social Research Methods Series; v.34) (Newbury Park (CA): Sage, 1993).

¹⁹³ Please refer to Ch.III.2.

¹⁹⁴ See appendix C for list of interviewees. These interviews were conducted in Arabic. Some of the interviewees are given pseudonyms to protect their identity.

beginning each interview, interviewees were informed that its general purpose was "the study of development of the South Sinai," and permission to record was requested.

Data from interviews conducted with Bedouins will be used to develop categories of perceived development and changes in their lives. I have drawn from these interviews analytical categories describing favorable conditions and appropriate development where Bedouin interests are concerned in terms of South Sinai context. Data from interviewing government officials and others were necessary for me to understand the institutional context of South Sinai.

Interviews were conducted during the month of June 1997. Some of the interviewees were known to me and some were not. In case of the Bedouin interviewees, it was important that they had some familiarity with me in order for me to gain entry to the field and to establish some trust. Interviews with Bedouins were carried out in an informal setting. Structured formal questions would not have been appropriate for this setting since it would have invoked an authoritarian atmosphere that would have not been conducive for the interviews. The Bedouin interviewees were given pseudonyms in this text. Interviews with government top officials were conducted in a formal manner and probing was not used as much as it was used in the informal settings due to the setting (in the office during work hours, many interruptions and phone calls, and calculated responses).

c) Documents Review

The goals of my document review were to describe development plans for the South Sinai and to evaluate them using criteria developed from literature on alternative tourism development and grounded in the South Sinai context as it related to the interests of the coastal Bedouin community. The documents included in this study were:

- Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqrir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017*) *Meswedat Al Taqrir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017-* in Arabic), January 1997.

- Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqrir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai -* in Arabic), Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066.

These documents will be analyzed through interpretation of the data¹⁹⁵ to determine if these future plans create favorable conditions for Bedouins or not.

d) Other Sources

The goal of using other data is to support, complement and validate data collected from interviews and documents. These sources include:

1. Personal observations made at the study area which are used descriptively to support available data.
2. Visual material which include pictures of Sharm El Sheikh for some of the hotels and tourism constructions in Naama Bay.
3. Personal knowledge of the people and the place acquired from living in the area during 1994 and prior visits dating back to 1986, and information provided by my husband, Khaled Hassouna who was the first Egyptian ranger appointed by the EEAA to work in the Ras Mohammed National Park. He worked as a liaison between the park and the Bedouin community of South Sinai over a period of eight years. Both sources are used to complement and validate data gathered from other sources.

3. Research Limitations

The research has a number of limitations that include the following:

Interviews

- A limited number of Bedouin interviewees.
- Interviews were conducted with Bedouins from the Muzayna tribe only

Documents

- Lack of park planning documents which affect the comprehensiveness of the study.
- Lack of a detailed analysis for the regional sectoral plans for the regional development of Sinai which also affects the comprehensiveness of the study.

¹⁹⁵ Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, 2d ed., (Newsbury Park (CA): Sage Publications, Inc., 1990), 423, explains that interpretation involves: “going beyond the descriptive data. Interpretation means attaching significance to what was found, offering explanations, drawing conclusions, extrapolating lessons, making inferences, building linkages, attaching meanings, imposing order, and dealing with rival explanations...and data irregularities as part of testing the viability of an interpretation...This captures rather succinctly what stakeholders expect of evaluators: (1) to confirm what they know that is supported by data, (2) to disabuse them of misconceptions, and (3) to illuminate important things that they didn’t know but should know. Accomplish these three things and decision makers can take it from there.”

CHAPTER V ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

1. Introduction
2. First Question - What are the contextual sources of change in South Sinai?
3. Second Question - How do tourism development, urbanization, and national parks affect Bedouin access to resources on the Gulf of Aqaba?
4. Third Question - Do future development plans create favorable conditions for Bedouins' welfare and interests?
5. Criteria
6. Evaluation of the National Project for the Development of Sinai
7. Evaluation of the Draft for the General Plan for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017
8. Summary

1. Introduction:

The case study is built on answering these three main research questions:

- (1) What are the contextual sources of change in South Sinai?
- (2) How do tourism development, urbanization, and national parks affect Bedouin access to resources on the Gulf of Aqaba?
- (3) Do development plans create favorable conditions for Bedouins' welfare and interests?

In this section I explain how these contextual factors resulted in the rapid development of the peripheral region South Sinai. The externally imposed and induced tourism development and expansion in urbanization create challenges for the Bedouin tribes living in the coast. Finally, I analyze the regional plan for South Sinai and the local plan for Sharm El Sheikh to demonstrate the contribution of these plans to further marginalization of the Bedouin community.

2. First Question - What are the contextual sources of change in South Sinai?

The analysis process involved the investigation of forces that contributed to change in South Sinai. The sources of transformation of Sinai from a nomad's land to a modernized urban settlement site include state policies, international relations, and global capitalism.

State policies

A number of urban, economic, tourism and environmental development policies contributed to changes in Sinai over the past seventeen years after many years of being in seclusion. Egypt's growing urban centers along a narrow green strip of the Nile valley and Delta were diminishing scarce arable lands.¹⁹⁶ High birth rates and rural-urban migration created this situation.¹⁹⁷ The government envisioned a way to address this problem by absorbing the excess population in non-rural economic activities (such as industry, mining, and tourism) away from arable lands in new towns and urban centers.¹⁹⁸ The solution was to create urban settlements in the deserts of Egypt, and Sinai was one of these proposed regions. However, Sinai presented a challenge for urban development due to its remoteness and isolation from the Nile Valley. The cost of modernizing and providing basic infrastructure for development to this region would be a heavy burden on an already indebted Egypt. That is why Egypt sought to encourage investments in the area to

¹⁹⁶ Malcom D. MacNair, "Egypt: Profusion of Plans, Poverty of Programs - A Consultant's Experience," (n.p., n.d.) 151-169, and Sobhi Moharram, "The Process of Controlled Decentralization in Egyptian Local Finance," *The Developing Economies* 30, no. 4 (Dec. 1992): 450 - 481, estimate that 44 per cent of population live in urban communities.

¹⁹⁷ Peter Newsham, "A Desert Dilemma," *Geographical Magazine*, April 1993, 33-38.

¹⁹⁸ McNair, "Egypt: Profusion of Plans, Poverty of Programs - A Consultant's Experience."

finance development projects and urbanization process. Egypt's open-door policy, which was initiated in early-mid 70's, created the necessary atmosphere for foreign capital investments in such projects. At the time when Sinai was returned during mid 80s, government development policies prioritized tourism as an economic activity.¹⁹⁹ Tourism was perceived as a means for providing foreign exchange to fund development projects and improve public services.²⁰⁰ The government promoted its privatization and offered investment incentives for foreign capital in the form of a ten year tax break, very low custom taxes on imported equipment, and \$1 per square meter for the land with grace periods for repayment of the full value.²⁰¹

Factors that made South Sinai an attractive area for tourism development were its natural environmental conditions that attract nature lovers²⁰² and its remoteness.²⁰³ The seclusion of Sinai as a Peninsula offered a safer area for tourists who were being targeted in Upper Egypt by terrorists. This combination of a different tourism product²⁰⁴ and a safety factor made South Sinai a suitable area for tourism promotion.²⁰⁵ The natural environment of the Gulf of Aqaba, which was attracting many European nature lovers, had to be protected against misuse by both developers and tourists, as was the case in Hurghada.²⁰⁶ For that reason the newly created Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency sought to pass an environmental law to protect the coast and marine ecosystems.²⁰⁷ Environmental protection was established on the principle of

¹⁹⁹ Salah E.A.Wahab, "Tourism Development in Egypt: Competitive Strategies and Implications," in *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research*, edited by C. Cooper, and A. Lockwood, 2 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

²⁰⁰ Newsham, "A Desert Dilemma," 1993.

²⁰¹ First Deputy of Ministry of Tourism, interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, 5 June 1997, Cairo, Egypt.

²⁰² Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqrir 4: Tanmeyat Al Seyaha Fee Misr (Tourism Development in Egypt - in Arabic)* (Cairo, Egypt: Matabe Mo'assasat Dar El Shaab, 1992).

²⁰³ First Deputy of Ministry of Tourism, interview, 1997.

²⁰⁴ Different from the traditional cultural tourism products that were being associated with terrorist attacks.

²⁰⁵ Sinai is being promoted separately from the rest of Egypt, to avoid the negative image of Egypt. Some tourists do not even realize that they are in Egypt. First Deputy Minister, Ministry of Tourism (interview).

²⁰⁶ Hurghada was developed for tourism before Sinai returned to Egypt. Development was unplanned and the developers destroyed the coast and coral reefs to create sandy beaches and a larger beachfront. This was considered an 'environmental massacre' to be avoided in places along the Gulf of Aqaba coast. Wahab 1997 interview.

²⁰⁷ The concept of environmental protection is fairly new in Egypt and is slowly gaining momentum among government officials and decision-makers. During the discussions over passing the environment law in 1994, all cabinet members acknowledged the existence of environmental problems however did not perceive them to be a critical issue. Salwa Gomaa, ed, "The Politics Behind Egypt's New Environmental Law," in *Environmental Threats in Egypt: Perceptions and Actions*, (Cairo Papers in Social Science vol. 17, monograph 4, winter 1994/95, Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press): 40-50.

protection for economic return.²⁰⁸ The newly adopted policy resulted in the creation of three national parks along the Gulf.²⁰⁹ The parks were seen as closely linked to tourism development and providing economic opportunities for nature-based tourism.²¹⁰

International Tourism

Events taking place on the international scene have a direct influence on South Sinai. The tense relationship between Egypt and Israel, a legacy of previous wars that were fought in Sinai, was a major impetus for Sinai's development. This sparsely populated land and urban vacuum had to be populated and urbanized as a strategic defense mechanism.²¹¹ Now that there is peace between Egypt and Israel, and the effort to establish a Middle East economic center, many joint regional projects are being developed between Egypt, Israel, Palestine and Jordan in tourism development,²¹² telecommunications and transportation.²¹³

Other external factors that influence change in the area include foreign aid and other assistance. Egypt undertook the task of liberalizing its economy, privatizing its public sector, and joining the 'New World Economic Order' according to the requirements set by the International Monetary Fund that was overseeing the restructuring of Egypt's debts which began in the mid 1980s.²¹⁴ Egypt's economic profile had to be approved by donor countries in order for it to receive assistance or foreign loans. These countries provided foreign aid and technical assistance. Aid and assistance went to planning, tourism development, and environmental protection.²¹⁵

²⁰⁸ Walid Gamaleldin, "Economic Incentives for Environmental Management: A Survey," in *Environmental Threats in Egypt: Perceptions and Actions*, edited by Salwa Gomaa, (Cairo Papers in Social Science vol. 17, monograph 4, winter 1994/95, Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press): 51-65.

²⁰⁹ see map of national parks

²¹⁰ Michael Pearson, "The Role of Marine Parks and Reserves as a Mechanism for Large Scale Management of Coastal Resources," Paper presented to the Egyptian Government, n.d.

²¹¹ Gamal Hamdan, *Sina Fee El Strategeya wa Al Seyassa wa Al Goghrafiya (Sinai in The Strategy, Politics, and Geography - in Arabic)* (Cairo, Egypt: Impriemerie Atlas, 1993) (Reprint of *Shakhseyat Misr [Egypt's Identity - in Arabic, Part 2, 755-777, Cairo, 1981]*).

²¹² Robert Vitalis, "The Middle East on the Edge of the Pleasure Periphery," *Middle East Report no. 196, Tourism and the Business of Pleasure* (September-October 1995): 2-7.

Joseph Hobbs, "Speaking with People in Egypt's St. Katherine National Park," *The Geographical Review* 86, no. 1 (January 1996).

²¹³ "Countries are competing in marketing their projects: Report on the Cairo 1996 Economic Conference - in Arabic," *Al-Iqtessadi*, 18 November 1996, 32.

²¹⁴ Vitalis, "The Middle East on the Edge of the Pleasure Periphery," 1995.

²¹⁵ Salah E.A. Wahab, *Takhteeat-al Mawared al-Seyaheya (Tourism Resources Planning - in Arabic)* (Matabe Dar-Asharq Bel Qahirah, 1988).

First Deputy of Ministry of Tourism, interview, 1997.

Pearson, "The Role of Marine Parks and Reserves as a Mechanism for Large Scale Management of Coastal Resources," Paper presented to the Egyptian Government, n.d.

Other factors that create changes in South Sinai are related to international tourism demand. The government foresees that the creation of a unified Europe and the emergence of the new Eastern European countries pose a threat to the touristic competitiveness of Egypt. In order to counteract that the government perceives that it should utilize all its resources and dedicate them to increase the number of tourists visiting Egypt annually from two million to ten million.²¹⁶ This implies that government will ambitiously expand the infrastructure and exploitation of the natural resources to promote tourism in the Sinai.²¹⁷

Global Capitalism

Egypt realized that it could not compete in the global market for industrial or even agricultural products and thus ambitiously engaged in tourism where it is believed that it enjoyed an unmatched competitive advantage.²¹⁸ Tourism is closely entwined with the dominant capitalist production zones.²¹⁹ Multinational corporations control promotion, sales, transportation, accommodations, and operations of tourism. The creation of tourism enclaves along the Gulf of Aqaba, a common strategy in the Middle East known as '*cordon sanitaire* or containment model,²²⁰ have been adopted in South Sinai by the multinational luxury hotel chains.²²¹ These hotels (where top level management is European) create what is known as an enclave.²²² This term indicates that management of these hotels seeks to maximize profits by providing and monopolizing services to draw all tourists' expenditures within their establishments.²²³ As a result, tourism expenditures and ultimately foreign exchange leaks abroad. This domination by multinationals distances locals from tourism benefits.

²¹⁶ Majlis El Shoura, *El Taqrir 4: Tanmeyat Al Seyaha Fee Misr*, 1992.

²¹⁷ "deserts and oases that have not been exploited commercially yet require infrastructure, energy, and accomodation capacities." Ibid, 19.

²¹⁸ First Deputy of Ministry of Tourism, interview, 1997.

²¹⁹ Vitalis, "The Middle East on the Edge of the Pleasure Periphery," 1995.

²²⁰ Tourist activities are limited to specific areas usually outside the cities where tourists are isolated from the locals and the town. Susan Slyomovics "Tourist Containment" enclosed box in p.6 in "The Middle East on the Edge of the Pleasure Periphery," *Middle East Report no. 196, Tourism and the Business of Pleasure* (September-October 1995): 2-7," by Robert Vitalis.

²²¹ See fig.5 in appendix (A) for examples of 5-star hotels in Sharm El Sheikh and their capacities.

²²² Vitalis, "The Middle East on the Edge of the Pleasure Periphery," 1995.

²²³ Services that are offered by a five star international chain hotel include a diving center, diving/desert safari packages and tours to the national parks, fitness center, bars, swimming pool, a private beach, water sports center, more than one restaurant, shuttle services, banking, photoshops, souvenirshops and bookstores, clinic, casino, discotheque and nightclub.

3. Second Question - How do tourism development, urbanization, and national parks affect Bedouin access to resources on the Gulf of Aqaba?

This question frames the issue of conflict over resources in the context of tourism and urban development and establishment of national parks on the Gulf of Aqaba coast. Research involved listening to recordings of interviews that I conducted with Muzayna Bedouins and extracting phrases and comments that were relevant to these three aspects. For each interview, I created a title for every group of comments that could be empirically relevant, such as fishing, hotels and fishing, tourism and marketing. Finally, I reviewed all interviews searching for similar groups to construct analytical categories that are empirically relevant. These categories were then examined in relation to the literature to ground them theoretically.

From analyzing interview data, I realized that Bedouins, including the ones who used the term (*tanmiya*) development, made conceptual differentiation between (*siyaha*) tourism and (*'umran*²²⁴ and *bunyan*²²⁵) urbanization when I asked them to talk about the changes taking place in the area. In general, tourism is an economic activity that is viewed favorably by Bedouins while urbanization of the Gulf of Aqaba coast is seen to be in conflict with their interests. Conflict over land and sea represents the major issue outside park boundaries where it involves urbanization, tourism development and Bedouin livelihood.

In contrast, national parks on the Gulf of Aqaba that have been established during the past 10 years are seen by Bedouins as areas of multiple uses that include tourism, recreation, fishing, grazing...etc. Bedouins see that within the parks there is no separation between tourism and other uses as in the case outside the boundaries of the national parks.

For that reason I framed the research question in terms of tourism development, urbanization and national parks, bearing in mind the two different contexts in which they interact. This disentangles the complex relationships that exist among the three and highlights how their interaction in two different contexts creates favorable and unfavorable conditions that affect Bedouin livelihood.

²²⁴*Umran* implies populousness and buildings. From *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, p.643

²²⁵*Bunayan* is defined as physical structure; building; construction. From *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, P.78

Tourism Development

Tourism has become the primary source of income for most of the Bedouin coastal communities on the Gulf of Aqaba.²²⁶ It is the dominant economic activity to which all other means of livelihood are connected both directly and indirectly. Although Bedouins find work in hotels, these jobs are marginal, for example, gardening and collecting garbage.²²⁷ Moreover, the number of Bedouins who work in hotels is minimal.²²⁸ Most Bedouins make a living from informal tourism-related activities. These activities include rental of camels; guiding inside the desert; taxi transportation; preparing Bedouin meals;²²⁹ and selling souvenirs to tourists.²³⁰ Traditional activities such as fishing and grazing still survive until now not as means of subsistence but rather as means of earning money by selling these goods to hotels.²³¹

The importance of tourism development to the economic livelihood of Bedouins living on the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba in South Sinai is not contested. Nevertheless, Bedouins have expressed how the existence of many challenges can affect them negatively. These challenges are a mix of international, regional, and local forces. For example, during the Gulf War in 1990-91, many families 'suffered' financially due to the significant decrease in numbers of European tourists.²³² In that sense the coastal Bedouin communities have become very vulnerable due to their complete dependence on international tourism demand.

On a regional level, Bedouins are not fully incorporated into tourism development activities. They remain marginalized in terms of ownership of tourism facilities, management of tourism operations, and in generating benefits from international tourism. Most facilities are owned by non-Bedouin wealthy investors. Problems associated with Bedouin ownership include high prices of land²³³ and impeding financial and permit-granting regulations set by the Ministry of Tourism. The Ministry of Tourism requires high collateral and requires three to five star standard

²²⁶ Salem [pesud.], interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, June 1997, South Sinai, Egypt.

Goma [pesud.], interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, June 1997, South Sinai, Egypt.

²²⁷ Khaled Hassouna, conversation with Dina Ali, Blacksburg, VA, 28 March 1998.

²²⁸ "In the 5 star hotels you only find one or two Bedouins working there." Men from a Bedouin family, interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, June 1997, South Sinai, Egypt.

²²⁹ Goma, interview, 1997.

²³⁰ Women from Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

Hobbs, "Speaking with People in Egypt's St. Katherine National Park," 1996.

²³¹ Salem, interview, 1997.

Goma, interview, 1997.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ "it is not easy to acquire land...prices are high." Salem, interview, 1997.

"prices of land are very high." Men from a Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

hotels.²³⁴ Furthermore, most facilities are managed by foreign multinational corporations and outside companies that control marketing, tour operations, accommodations...etc, whereas Bedouins are only a part of the tour package.²³⁵ The existence of tourism enclaves and the nature of international tourism to South Sinai which is mostly chartered drains most of the revenues and leaves very little for the local economy as expenses are prepaid in Europe and other expenses go to the international tourism enclaves. Thus most profits are generated abroad and go to international corporations.²³⁶ For these reasons it is difficult for Bedouins to become entrepreneurs in the tourism business.

Tourism development is not equally distributed among different areas in South Sinai which creates disparities among Bedouins in those areas. Unequal tourism distribution exists among different urban settlements. A city such as Sharm El Sheikh is considered the primary tourism hub of South Sinai.²³⁷ Due to concentration of luxurious hotels and tourism facilities, Sharm El Sheikh has become the base for 5 star hotel travelers where they spend more time and money. By contrast, a city such as Dahab does not receive many wealthy tourists from overseas but travelers looking for a low-budget trip who come from Israel by bus or car.²³⁸ This situation has created uneven spatial economic distribution among Bedouin communities who live in these urban settlements and their vicinities and also in the adjacent national parks.²³⁹ Similarly, tourism among the national parks is not distributed equally either. For example, Bedouins who live in Nabeq Protectorate receive more tourists due to its proximity to Sharm El Sheikh and easy access while Abu Gallum Protectorate does not receive the same number or type of tourists due

²³⁴ Salem explained that the government required high collateral of L.E.5 million and a minimum of three star hotel facility according to international rating. Salem, interview, 1997.

The requirements set by the Ministry of Tourism include: a registered company with a commercial record; payment of an equivalent of 30% of the land's price as collateral; provision of infrastructure; investment capital should not be less than 50% of total estimated investment costs contingent upon review of the MOT for approval of accommodation and service units of the project according to the going prices at the time of implementation. "Report on Tourism Development for Gulf of Aqaba and South Sinai," prepared by the Tourism Development Agency, Ministry of Tourism, 1989, n.p.

²³⁵ "The Bedouin takes only what the company gives him for renting the camels or for guiding. The rest of the money is paid in Europe...everything is already paid for the 'hotel', 'trip to the parks', 'diving trips', 'camel ride,' and 'dinner in the desert' all of that is included in the tourist group's program...the company sells diving, Ras Mohammed, Dahab, Colored Canyon, camels, and dinner in the desert." Salem, interview, 1997.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ See map II.2. of Sinai.

²³⁸ "Sharm El Sheikh is different from Dahab or Nuweiba...all reservations are made in Europe, charter planes, and five star hotels... [whereas] in Dahab there are only camp grounds for trekkers to pay for a meal and accommodation around L.E.20." Salem, interview, 1997.

²³⁹ "In Wadi Mandar [which is on the outskirts of Sharm El Sheikh], there were a few camels. Now there are over a 1000 ones...while there are people here [in Nabeq Protectorate and vicinity] who don't even have one camel." Ibid.

to difficult access and its proximity to Dahab and Nuweiba where most low-budget travelers go.²⁴⁰

Bedouins face growing competition from the influx of non-Bedouin newcomers from the Nile Valley and Delta. Moreover, a tense relationship exists among the two groups due to long years of Sinai seclusion. Bedouins view the newcomers and especially those who hold government or public sector jobs as arrogant²⁴¹ while newcomers look at Bedouins as backward and ignorant²⁴² and without any 'true roots.'²⁴³ Newcomers compete with Bedouins in areas initially controlled by Bedouins such as taxi services,²⁴⁴ trade in Bedouin souvenirs²⁴⁵ and in desert safari guiding inside the parks especially those with 4x4 cars.²⁴⁶ And understandably they compete with Bedouins over jobs that require education and skills such as hotel-related jobs.²⁴⁷

Bedouins amongst themselves have cooperated with each to share benefits from tourism activities. They have successfully organized among themselves regionally with the help of local authorities and agreement with the tour operators to have some control over renting camels and employing Bedouin guides. This system has been operational since 15 years. Any tour operator who wishes to take a tourist group on a desert safari would have to go first to the Bedouin office and rent camels from there. This ensures that amongst the Bedouins all those who rent their camels get a turn and do not compete amongst each other.²⁴⁸ Such kinds of agreements have always existed among different Bedouin tribes for the regulation of camel rental and distribution of benefits among many clans and families.²⁴⁹

Other problems related to tourism include the commercialization of Bedouin culture²⁵⁰ where Bedouins are portrayed as part of the mysterious landscape of the Sinai. Every hotel advertises a 'Bedouin night' and 'camel ride' as part of its weekly program. In fact, Bedouin culture is being

²⁴⁰ Personal knowledge.

²⁴¹ Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁴² Hobbs, "Speaking with People in Egypt's St. Katherine National Park," 1996, 10.

²⁴³ "They tell us we are *shitani* [with no roots or as a weed]" Women and men from Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

²⁴⁴ Men and young men from a Bedouin family living in Dahab, Long interview by author, Tape recording, Dahab, South Sinai, Egypt, 1 June 1997.

²⁴⁵ "They shoo us off when we go near their shops." Women from a Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

²⁴⁶ Hobbs, "Speaking with People in Egypt's St. Katherine National Park," 1996.

²⁴⁷ Men and young men from a Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

²⁴⁸ Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁴⁹ See chapter II.

²⁵⁰ "Everybody now is marketing the same thing...The tourism companies in their programs are selling 'Bedouin night'...'Camel.' All is the same kind." Salem, interview, 1997.

sold to the tourist as a one-night entertainment spot to be consumed around a bonfire²⁵¹ or in a pseudo Bedouin tent²⁵² and in some cases hosted by non-Bedouins.²⁵³

Urbanization

Bedouins traditionally wandered over long distances and lived in temporary dwellings during different seasons in search for fish or places for grazing. Land²⁵⁴ used for grazing to the Bedouins is common property governed by Bedouin customary law.²⁵⁵ People from different tribes can share the sea and coast,²⁵⁶ grazing areas, and water. People can pass through different tribal territories without seeking permission.²⁵⁷ Only cultivated land is viewed by Bedouins to be private and requires permission from the owner. Bedouins on the coast did not cultivate land and thus all the coast was viewed as common land. South Sinai was not an urban area until the beginning of 1980s. When Sinai was returned to Egypt, Law 104 (1980) declared the whole Sinai as government property. This law was later amended to permit private land ownership.²⁵⁸ Bedouins moved constantly in search for scarce resources and water and therefore did not have a permanent place of residence. Even during the Israeli occupation when Bedouins were settled, they were not allowed to build any permanent dwellings²⁵⁹ and stayed in tents and in shanty structures. As a result many Bedouins could not claim private ownership of land where they maintained their livelihood. With the expansion of tourism resorts along the coast, excluding the

²⁵¹ Bonfires appeal to the European tourists unlike the Bedouin fires that are very small.

²⁵² "facilities included were not only wool tents but also brick and cement gateways, outbuildings, and parking areas that were unnecessary, unsightly, and unnatural." Hobbs, "Speaking with People in Egypt's St. Katherine National Park," 1996, 14.

²⁵³ Bedouin-imitation facilities "were false, because the people who were hosting tourists in them were not bedouin" Ibid, 14.

²⁵⁴ "Land out in the desert, whether comprising grazing rights or cultivation rights, is officially regarded as State Domains or Government Land. The process whereby a family or an individual many years ago staked a claim on a certain piece of land, and handed it down to their descendents who still claim rights over it, is known as "Wada al yed" or the "laying of the hand" over it." Austin Kennett, *Bedouin Justice: Law and Customs among the Egyptian Bedouin* 2nd edition (London, Great Britain: Frank Cass & Co., LTD, 1968), 89.

²⁵⁵ Naom Bek Shoqeir, *Tarikh Sina Alqadeem wa Al Hadeeth wa Goghrafeyataha (Sinai's History: Past and Present with its Geography* - in Arabic) (first written in 1916) Beirut, Lebanon: Dar El Geel, 1991.

²⁵⁶ Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁵⁷ "The tribal lands, grazing rights, and cultivation rights are usually universally known and respected, while the subdivisions of land, within the tribal area, of the different families and individuals are generally equally recognized...[Bedouins] realize that desert life is a struggle against circumstances of distance, lack of water, scarcity of grazing for their flocks, as well as exposure to heat, cold, wind and rain for themselves; and there is usually found innate among them the feeling that unless each other's boundaries, livestock, or women-folk are universally considered sacred and inviolate, life in the desert would be a very much harder thing than it is now, if not actually impossible." Kennett, *Bedouin Justice: Law and Customs among the Egyptian Bedouin*, 1968, 89.

²⁵⁸ Samdar Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation*, (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1990).

²⁵⁹ Salem, interview, 1997.

national parks, and increased urbanization conflict over access to resources (both land and sea) is becoming evident.

Before rapid urbanization and externally imposed tourism development along the coast, there was no pressure for Bedouins to dwell in urban settlements and acquire a piece of land, as they did not anticipate the pace and magnitude of urbanization.²⁶⁰ However, the situation changed after development, as land became a much-sought-after lucrative commodity.²⁶¹ Eventually, land became an issue and conflict over it rose. Land was sold to investors for tourism projects and those who could afford it, while Bedouins could not compete with either.²⁶² Consequently, Bedouin access to both land and sea turned to be a challenge.

One Bedouin fisherman said, "if it wasn't for tourism...[then he added] if it wasn't for tourism and fishing, the people [meaning Bedouins] would have died by now."²⁶³ This statement captures the importance of both activities to the Bedouins living on the coast. However it does not depict the conflict of interest between the two. Bedouins are caught between the importance of tourism as a source of income and the conflict it creates over access to land and sea. Hotel construction on the coast increased rapidly between the years 1990 and 1995.²⁶⁴ In a city like Sharm El Sheikh there is no longer any public access to the sea.²⁶⁵ Fisherman are not allowed by the hotels to fish in front of the hotel either on foot from land, or by boat from sea.²⁶⁶ As a result fisherman are concentrated in limited areas inside the park boundaries where fishing is allowed. Fisherman fear that in three of four years they will not be allowed to fish in front of areas being

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ "The development has an effect and a strong one on land prices." (emphasis added) Ibid.

²⁶² "As urban planning started they started saying this land is planned [meaning zoned]...for the *Mohafza* (Governorate) and the government the buyer is ready...if he tells him the meter is for 100L.E. he will buy because he is an investor and has money. But the Bedouin no. He [Bedouin] wants to buy because he wants to build a house." Ibid.

²⁶³ Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁶⁴ See chapter II (figs.II.1 and 2)

²⁶⁵ Personal observation.

²⁶⁶ "death would be better than living...if all the area was like Sharm all hotels where would we eat from." Goma, interview, 1997.

"You can't get near the hotels. If you come near they tell you it is not allowed. When there is a hotel they control the sea and the land...We used to go everywhere, now the lands are gone from us, gone forever.

The days of fishing are gone and we no longer have the freedom to fish wherever we please." Farag [pseud.], interview by Dina Ali, tape recording, June 1997, South Sinai, Egypt.

"Fishing is not permitted in front of the hotels whether on foot from the shore or by a small boat." Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

"There will be a problem when there will be construction all along the coast. The number of locations where fishing is allowed will drop." Salem, interview, 1997.

bought by investors to be turned into resorts and therefore they overfish²⁶⁷ and use non-traditional new fishing technologies and methods²⁶⁸ to capture whatever is existing of the dwindling fish stock.²⁶⁹ Clearly, this behavior is a self-defeating mechanism for survival as resources become scarce and chances for Bedouins become limited.

Rapid and intensive urbanization is also changing the character of the area as seen by Bedouins. Bedouin interviewees were dissatisfied with the transformation of the coast from a 'natural' looking place into a predominantly built environment that lacks any true connection to the character of the area. As one Bedouin interviewee explained "this kind of development is only one type, that you make buildings one right after the other of a specific standard. All these hotels that are being built in 20 years how will they find enough tourists to come to stay. They just wanted to sell it and without any proper planning. The designs are just weird shapes."²⁷⁰ Moreover, Bedouin-imitation tourism facilities are seen as false because they include, "not only wool tents but also brick and cement gateways, outbuildings, and parking areas that were unnecessary, unsightly, and unnatural."²⁷¹

National Parks

Within the parks' boundaries Bedouins "retain their traditional rights and continue to occupy their settlements."²⁷² Bedouins of South Sinai, especially those living on the coast believe that the national parks in the area are a success. All of those who were interviewed affirmed that, "it was a great day...when the park came,"²⁷³ "the best thing that the state did,"²⁷⁴ and even some wished that their city was part of the park.²⁷⁵

Perceived benefits provided by the parks include allowing Bedouins to fish and graze²⁷⁶ and to continue living inside the park. For others, especially those who live in urban settlements the

²⁶⁷ Salem explained that fisherman would say, "'before they prevent us from fishing we will fish here because 3 or 4 years from now we will not be able to enter it.'" Salem, interview, 1997.

"They collect more than what they need. Before fisherman would throw back into the water the fish which was not suitable for eating and also the juveniles but now they do not." Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁶⁸ Using wide plastic nets instead of silk ones, and fishing at greater depths. Salem, interview, 1997; Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁶⁹ All Bedouins interviewed expressed their concern over the decline in the fish stock, a matter they attributed to the increase in number of Bedouin people now living on the coast.

²⁷⁰ Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁷¹ Hobbs, "Speaking with People in Egypt's St. Katherine National Park," 1996, 14.

²⁷² Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency, "National Parks of Egypt: South Sinai Sector" brochure p.15.

²⁷³ Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁷⁴ Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁷⁵ Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

park holds a recreational value due to lack of any public spaces or free access to the coast inside the urban areas such as in Sharm El Sheikh.²⁷⁷ Parks also provide Bedouins with job opportunities to work as rangers or be employed as laborers for cleanups and garbage collection.²⁷⁸ However, the number of Bedouins either working in management positions or as permanent labor is very limited.²⁷⁹

Moreover, Bedouins value these parks because they preserve the place where it is left (*tabi'i*)²⁸⁰ natural.²⁸¹ As one Bedouin explained, "the Bedouin likes to live in the *tabi'a* [nature] because he was born in it."²⁸² Parks represent for the Bedouins "the only breathing space,"²⁸³ free of buildings and hotels.²⁸⁴ One can attribute this level of satisfaction with the parks to a comparison -between life inside parks versus outside them- that forces itself on these Bedouins. A more realistic picture should portray the difficulties that face Bedouins inside parks.

Initially when parks were first established, all Bedouins living inside the parks were going to be provided with identification cards, in order to ensure their usufructuary rights. However, this never transpired. As a result many Bedouins living outside came to the parks to fish and graze and to be near the booming tourism centers. This increase in Bedouin population whether living permanently or visiting during fishing and grazing seasons put pressure on the natural resources,²⁸⁵ and could be one of the factors contributing to the decline in reef fish catch along the coast.²⁸⁶ The park had to interfere and regulate these activities according to the carrying capacity of these places. But this meant the denial of some Bedouins the chance to fish and graze.²⁸⁷ Also in other cases, Bedouins were denied access to some areas where they regularly fished and grazed. These areas were closed off temporarily for study purposes but their opening

Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁷⁷ Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁷⁸ Personal knowledge.

²⁷⁹ Hassouna, conversation, 1998.

²⁸⁰ *Tabi'i* is defined as nature's, of nature, natural; innate, native; normal, ordinary. From *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, p.552.

²⁸¹ Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁸² Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

Goma, interview, 1997.

²⁸⁵ Hassouna, conversation, 1998.

²⁸⁶ Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

Goma, interview, 1997.

Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁸⁷ Hassouna, conversation, 1998.

to Bedouin access were delayed due to lack of financial funds in order to complete these studies.²⁸⁸ Although the park system in South Sinai took precedent in accommodating for Bedouins and the continuance of their way of life, the park did not provide means for the sustainability of Bedouin livelihood and the preservation of their culture.²⁸⁹

Bedouin values, culture and lifestyles

Tourism development and urbanization have brought changes to Bedouin lifestyle and culture. Bedouins see some of these changes as favorable and some as not. One of the favorable outcomes of development in South Sinai is the provision of education. Bedouins believe that education will grant them the opportunity to rise to higher status as one Bedouin explained that, "youth who get education will be like (equal to) those who are from the Nile Valley. They will be teachers, accountants, engineers and so on."²⁹⁰ Others look to provision of health services as another favorable outcome of development. However, the modernization process that accompanies this development has negative effects on Bedouin values, culture, and lifestyles. The effects include the perceived loss of Bedouin identity. All Bedouins who were interviewed seemed to believe that (*badawa*) Bedouin life is on the decline and that "'true' Bedouins no longer exist except for very few who live in the 'desert' in tents and do not have access to modern means such as electricity."²⁹¹ Although Bedouins still claim their Bedouin roots and tribal affiliation, many of the younger generations are abandoning the Bedouin way of life to a more urbanized lifestyle. Many of them prefer to wear western clothes and acquire other habits to be seen as equals to their counterparts from the Nile Valley. This gap between traditional Bedouin lifestyle and the modern one is leading to loss of Bedouin intergenerational continuum. Younger generations have lost touch with the older generations' way of life because they are growing up in a different atmosphere, being educated, and exposed to mass media.²⁹² Furthermore, signs of moral deterioration are evident to Bedouins and non-Bedouins due to exposure to tourism.²⁹³ Another ill effect of modernization is the loss of values that govern the Bedouins' relationship with nature. Bedouins' perceptions of land and sea are starting to change. New behavior such as

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Women from Bedouin family, interview, 1997.

²⁹³ Goma, interview, 1997.

Tarek Qanawaty, conversation with Dina Ali, South Sinai, Egypt, June 1997.

Adel Taher, conversation with Dina Ali, South Sinai, Egypt, June 1997.

overfishing, cutting of mangrove trees for wood,²⁹⁴ land speculation by some,²⁹⁵ are emerging in their struggle for survival and transformation into an urbanized modern community.

4. Third Question - Do future development plans create favorable conditions for Bedouins' welfare and interests?

Conceptually, the previous analytical sections identified three aspects of development in South Sinai: tourism development, urbanization, and national parks. This section will only deal with urbanization and tourism development. Park plans will not be analyzed due to unavailability of the necessary planning documents. It will be necessary in the future to conduct an analysis of park plans as well, in order to have a complete picture of the development of South Sinai and its implications for the Bedouin community.

Scales of analyses are different for tourism and urban development. I looked first at the tourism sector regional plan of the "National Project for the Development of the Sinai till year 2017" which was approved by *Majlis El Shoura* in 1995.²⁹⁶ For analysis of urban development, I looked at the draft for a local urban development plan for the "City of Sharm El Sheikh till year 2017," prepared by the Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates in January 1997.²⁹⁷

I have developed criteria for analysis to be able to evaluate proposed future urban and tourism plans and determine their appropriateness for the Bedouin community. I used these criteria to review both documents and evaluate the above plans. These criteria were a synthesis of data from interviews that I conducted with the Bedouins, together with literature recommendations mostly from the field of alternative tourism development that take into consideration social, economic, and environmental problems associated with international tourism in peripheral regions.

²⁹⁴ Bedouins were cutting mangrove trees to supply wood for tourist campfires. This phenomenon has now stopped. Hassouna, conversation, 1998.

²⁹⁵ Salem, interview, 1997.

²⁹⁶ *Majlis El Shoura*, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina* (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic), Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066. See chapter II.

²⁹⁷ Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017* (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic), January 1997. See chapter II.

5. Criteria

Often tourism development plans in Third World countries create unfavorable conditions for local communities where emphasis is given to profit generation while ignoring social and environmental dimensions. Shortcomings associated with development based on tourism can be summarized as follows: overseas foreign exchange leakage; weak linkages with other domestic economic sectors; low spread of benefits from tourism 'enclaves'; dependency on global demand and its fluctuation; deepened socioeconomic inequality; ecological damage; and alienation and marginalization of particular local populations due to conflict over scarce resources, perceived loss of culture and social identity.²⁹⁸

To evaluate development plans and determine if they create favorable conditions for Bedouins I identified three general criteria of analysis. I have classified criteria as ecological, socio-cultural, and economic. Each criterion is explained in terms of relevant desirable descriptions.

Ecological

- Preservation of ecosystem integrity:

Development plans must determine sensitive environmental areas such as the coast, and fragile desert habitats in order to limit growth in these areas and set strict environmental regulations for their use. In order to evaluate the urban plan of Sharm El Sheikh, I examined the physical appearance of the coastline using land-use maps and pictures. I also examined land-use regulations to look for environment protection guidelines and regulations.

- Sustainable use of resources:

Resource-intensive development, especially in fragile ecosystems puts pressure on the limited and sensitive resources. The unsustainable use of resources also bears social realities where disenfranchised groups are affected the most. Sustainable use of resources and use of alternative sources of renewable energy tapers the risk of resource crisis and offers disenfranchised communities with opportunities to have access to resources. In order to evaluate the urban plan of Sharm El Sheikh I examined the section on water consumption and proposed plans for extension of the water network. I also examined the section on energy uses in order to find out if the plan had any operational plans for utilizing alternative renewable energy sources.

²⁹⁸ John Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 (1996), 53-54.

Socio-cultural

- Satisfaction of needs and equitable allocation of resources:

Plans should satisfy needs of local Bedouins and allocate resources such as land and water equitably rather than favor a certain group over the expense of others. To evaluate the urban plan using this criterion, I examined the provision of basic needs and services which include: water, land for residential use, land for other uses, access to coast, roads, electricity, telecommunications, education, health, recreational services, and green spaces.

- Recognition of Bedouin usufructory rights:

Plans should also address the issue of conflict over use of resources. They should include Bedouin uses of land, sea, and water resources in order to protect Bedouin usufructory rights. To evaluate the urban plan for Sharm El Shaeikh I examined land-use maps, and number of hotels constructed on the beach.

- Promotion of culturally sound architectural designs and landscaping:

The plan should reflect culturally sound architectural designs and landscaping. Input from local Bedouins would be necessary to set aesthetic standards and regulations. To evaluate the urban plan for Sharm El Sheikh I examined the urban character guidelines listed in the plan to determine whether or not Bedouin culture is promoted.

Economic

- Encouragement of Bedouin individual or community entrepreneurship in alternative tourism development:

Development should encourage Bedouin individuals or community in entrepreneurial alternative tourism projects. For Bedouins to become an active group in society they need to have control of their economic livelihood. Since Bedouins no longer rely on grazing or fishing as primary means of livelihood but rather on tourism, they should be given the opportunity to own and manage their own tourism projects. For example, giving special considerations to Bedouins, in granting them permits for Bedouin-type lodging facilities that do not have to follow an international rating could, facilitate this. To evaluate the urban plan for Sharm El Sheikh I identified whether or not the municipality provided infrastructure to tourism projects. If the municipality did not provide such help for small businesses the costs for establishing any facility would be very high.

- Incorporation of informal economic activities:

Since the Bedouin community relies on informal multiple economic activities which include renting camels for tourists, transportation of tourists, preparation of Bedouin meals, selling souvenirs...etc for their livelihood, plans should recognize the informal exchange of economic activities between different groups and use this information to determine areas where Bedouins could be considered economic stakeholders. To evaluate the urban plan for Sharm El Sheikh I examined the land-use if it incorporates any of these informal activities such as places for camel rental.

- Equitable distribution of economic benefits from tourism revenues:

Economic benefits from major activities such as tourism have to be distributed equitably to benefit the local Bedouin community. Plans should recognize that and work for ensuring the welfare and protection of Bedouins' economic wellbeing. This criterion would not be addressed by the urban plan but rather by the economic plan for the city which is not available for review. However, this point was discussed in the regional plan.

- Providing job opportunities for Bedouins:

The plan should provide job opportunities for the local population including the Bedouins. To evaluate the urban plan for Sharm El Sheikh I examined sections on future economic activities and creation of job opportunities if there is any mention of priorities given to local Bedouins in these activities.

For the tourism regional sectoral plan, I only used the criterion without operationalizing them to a level of detail as I did for the urban plan. Also, note that I did not cover the other regional sectoral plans included in the "Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai."

Criteria for evaluation of development plans to determine their appropriateness for Bedouins at the regional and local levels are summarized as follows:

Ecological

- Preservation of ecosystem integrity.
- Sustainable use of resources.

Socio-cultural

- Participatory approach to planning and decision making.
- Response to Bedouin needs and interests.

- Consideration of socioeconomic changes from tourism development, urbanization, and influx of newcomers when planning for Bedouins.
- Recognition of Bedouin usufructory rights.
- Promotion of culturally sound architectural designs and landscaping

Economic

- Encouragement of Bedouin individual or community entrepreneurship in alternative tourism development.
- Incorporation of informal economic activities.
- Equitable distribution of economic benefits.
- Encouragement of economic diversity to ensure resilience of local Bedouin economy.

6. Evaluation of the National Project for the Development of Sinai

The "Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai" was prepared by the Ministry of Planning in 1994 and then approved by *Majlis El Shoura* in 1995.²⁹⁹ This section will only evaluate the tourism regional sectoral plan as outlined in the NPDS using the above criteria.³⁰⁰ Translated excerpts from the regional plan are provided in appendix A.

Ecological

- Preservation of ecosystem integrity:

The plan realizes the importance of protecting coral reefs from damage so as not to repeat the ecological damage done in Hurghada on the Red Sea coast. These unique natural resources are seen as economic resources to be exploited through tourism development.

- Sustainable use of resources:

The issue of sustainable use of resources was not addressed. In fact the ambitious plan to increase the number of rooms in the whole Sinai from 4567 to 42967 in 20 years. The plan points to the importance of extending infrastructure to the urban centers which serve as nuclei for tourism development. The extensive and resource intensive character of this development raises the issue of the physical and biological carrying capacity of these fragile ecosystems and the sustainable use of resources.

Socio-cultural

- Recognition of Bedouin usufructory rights:

The expansion of tourism activities along the coast in the different cities along the Gulf of Aqaba undermines the usufructory rights of the Bedouins living along the coast. Other criteria are not included because the sectoral plan does not address these issues.

Economic

- Encouragement of Bedouin individual or community entrepreneurship in alternative tourism development:

As the regional plan outlined, the preferred and expected type of tourism resorts, hotels for South Sinai are three to five star hotels (see fig.5. in appendix A). Big investments in the expansion of

²⁹⁹ Majlis El Shoura has to approve national projects such as the National Project for the Development of Sinai (NPDS). See chapter II.

The NPDS was attached as an appendix in *El Taqrir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, prepared by Majlis El Shoura of the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066.

³⁰⁰ Criteria used for evaluation are not as detailed as these used for the local urban plan.

infrastructure is provided by these establishments and also big tax returns are expected from them as indicated by the Minister of Tourism (see fig.4. in appendix A). This implies that the state wishes to attract big investors and corporations to own and manage these tourism facilities and not small groups with limited resources such as the Bedouins. The plan does not indicate in any way the desire to move into alternative tourism initiated by entrepreneurs who would also be lacking in tourism expertise.

- Incorporation of informal economic activities:

The plan mentioned only the direct employed labor in hotels and tourism that constitute the formal sector. No mention of the informal sector and its role in tourism development (see fig.2. in appendix A)

- Equitable distribution of economic benefits:

The statement made by the Minister of Tourism (see fig.4. in appendix A) identifies those who benefit from this kind of tourism development. Both private investors and the state are the major beneficiaries. It can be argued that the expansion of infrastructure by the investors is an indirect benefit to the community. However, the infrastructure mainly serves the tourism resorts and does not create the same economic benefits. It can be also argued that the creation of job opportunities benefits the community. As explained earlier disenfranchised Bedouins who lack the necessary skills and education cannot compete with newcomers for the Nile Valley and thus they do not benefit from these jobs.

7. Evaluation of the Draft for the General Plan for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017

The "Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017" was prepared in January 1997 by the Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, under the General Agency for Urban Planning, under the Egyptian Ministry of Housing, Public Utilities, and Urban Communities. The document includes the following:

- 1) Base studies covering demographics, economy, environment, and existing land-use.
- 2) Planning constraints and opportunities (see translated summary in appendix B)
- 3) Strategies of the plan (see translated summary in appendix B)
- 4) General land-use plan (see translated summary in appendix B)
- 5) Housing
- 6) Social Services
- 7) Infrastructure Studies

See below figure V.1. for analysis of draft according to the criteria and the operational dimensions highlighted in section 5.

Criterion	Analysis	Evaluation
<p>Ecological <u>Preservation of Ecosystem Integrity</u> Coastline</p>	<p>Ecological <u>Preservation of Ecosystem Integrity</u> Coastline The urban planning strategies outlined in the plan include the "Need to protect natural resources and environmental balance."(plan, p.39) (see fig.2.in appendix B) However, by looking at the proposed land use map (see map V.2.) we find that tourism hotels and resorts dominate the coastline of Sharm El Sheikh city. By looking at pictures (see figs.V.3. and 4) of the coastline and types of constructions and their density, we find that hotels and resorts create a belt of constructions along the beach. These constructions contributed to the erosion of some bays by means of obstructing airborne sand from being deposited on the beach. In addition, the link between terrestrial and marine ecosystems that occurs at the interface between land and water is not preserved.</p> <p>By reviewing land use regulations (plan, pp.49-51) or entire document, we do not find any environmental carrying capacity studies to determine building densities and number of users that could be sustained by the fragile marine ecosystem. Already damage to the coral reef has occurred from diving activities (Pearson, 1989).</p> <p>Although the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency established specifications for discharge of highly saline water from the desalination units used by hotels and resorts along the beach, the urban plan does not refer to any of these specifications, or set forth any indication that these activities are regulated and monitored carefully by another agency.</p> <p>Waste water from municipality or hotels is discharged into a sewage treatment station and in the future the hotels and resorts are expected to each have their own treatment units (Pearson, 1989: 3).</p> <p>The question of the role that urban planning assumes in environmental protection and planning of these areas still remains?</p>	<p>Ecological <u>Preservation of Ecosystem Integrity</u> Coastline Addressed (as strategy) Unsatisfactory (non-operational)</p>

<p>Ecological <u>Sustainable Use of Resources</u></p> <p>1. Water</p>	<p>Ecological <u>Sustainable Use of Resources</u></p> <p>1. Water Sources of freshwater in Sharm El Sheikh are three: two desalination units that serve the municipality and a water line coming from El Tor (plan, p.96). The plan has not addressed the issue of sustainable use of the water in this arid region</p>	<p>Ecological <u>Sustainable Use of Resources</u></p> <p>1. Water Not Addressed Unsatisfactory (it might become an area of conflict)</p>
<p>2. Energy</p>	<p>2. Energy The plan mentioned the possibility of using solar and wind energy for electric generation but did not pursue it further (plan, p.112)</p>	<p>2. Energy Addressed Unsatisfactory (did not operationalize)</p>
<p>Socio-cultural <u>Satisfaction of Needs and Equitable Allocation of Resources:</u></p> <p>1. Water</p>	<p>Socio-cultural <u>Satisfaction of Needs and Equitable Allocation of Resources:</u></p> <p>1. Water The plan states that both residents including Bedouins will have their share of freshwater. The plan shows that tourists staying in hotels and resorts and those using the touristic residential units consume an average of 500liters/person/day while residents (including Bedouin) consume an average of 150liters/person/day (plan, p.95).</p>	<p>Socio-cultural <u>Satisfaction of Needs and Equitable Allocation of Resources:</u></p> <p>1. Water Addressed Unsatisfactory (inequitable)</p>

<p>2. Land For residential use</p> <p>For other uses</p>	<p>2. Land For residential use: Looking at table of Land Areas Allotted for Residential Zones & Target Population Figures for year 2017 (see fig.8. in appendix B), we find that Bedouins' share of land for housing purposes is satisfactory where Bedouins' have a share of 0.04feddans/person, which exceeds the shares of tourism residence at 0.036feddans/person and permanent residence at 0.025feddans/person. For other uses: However, when looking at table of Land Areas Allotted for different Land Uses for year 2017 (see fig.9. in appendix B), we find that the tourism use occupies 40% of land which is the bigger share compared to other uses, noting that Bedouin uses of land and coastal area has not been included as an existing or proposed land use.</p>	<p>2. Land For residential use: Addressed Satisfactory (equitable)</p> <p>For other uses: Not addressed Unsatisfactory (inequitable)</p>
<p>3. Access to Coast</p>	<p>3. Access to Coast From table of Tourism Development Trends in Sharm EL Sheikh (see fig. II.1.) and graph of Hotel Construction and Shore Access in Sharm El Sheikh 1982-1995 (see fig. II.2.) and by looking at the proposed land use map for the year 2017 (see map V.2.) we find that shore access declined from 22 spots to 1 spot between 1988 and 1995. However the plan does not address this issue and thus does not indicate that there is a conflict over access where Bedouins are denied access to the coast and sea by hotels.</p>	<p>3. Access to Coast Not addressed Unsatisfactory (inequitable)</p>
<p>4. Roads</p>	<p>4. Roads By looking at the proposed land use map for the year 2017 (see map V.2.), we find that the Bedouin residential area is located on a major regional transportation route. Also the residential area is provided with a network of local roads.</p>	<p>4. Roads Addressed Satisfactory</p>
<p>5. Electricity</p>	<p>5. Electricity The plan indicates in table of Existing Electric Power Annual Consumption Patterns Per Person in Sharm El Sheikh (see fig.10. in appendix B) that Bedouins consumption share is the least as compared to other residents. Note also that in the proposed figures for the year 2017 the Bedouins were not included in table number (8/4/4/2) p.115 of the plan.</p>	<p>5. Electricity Addressed Unsatisfactory (no mention for year 2017)</p>

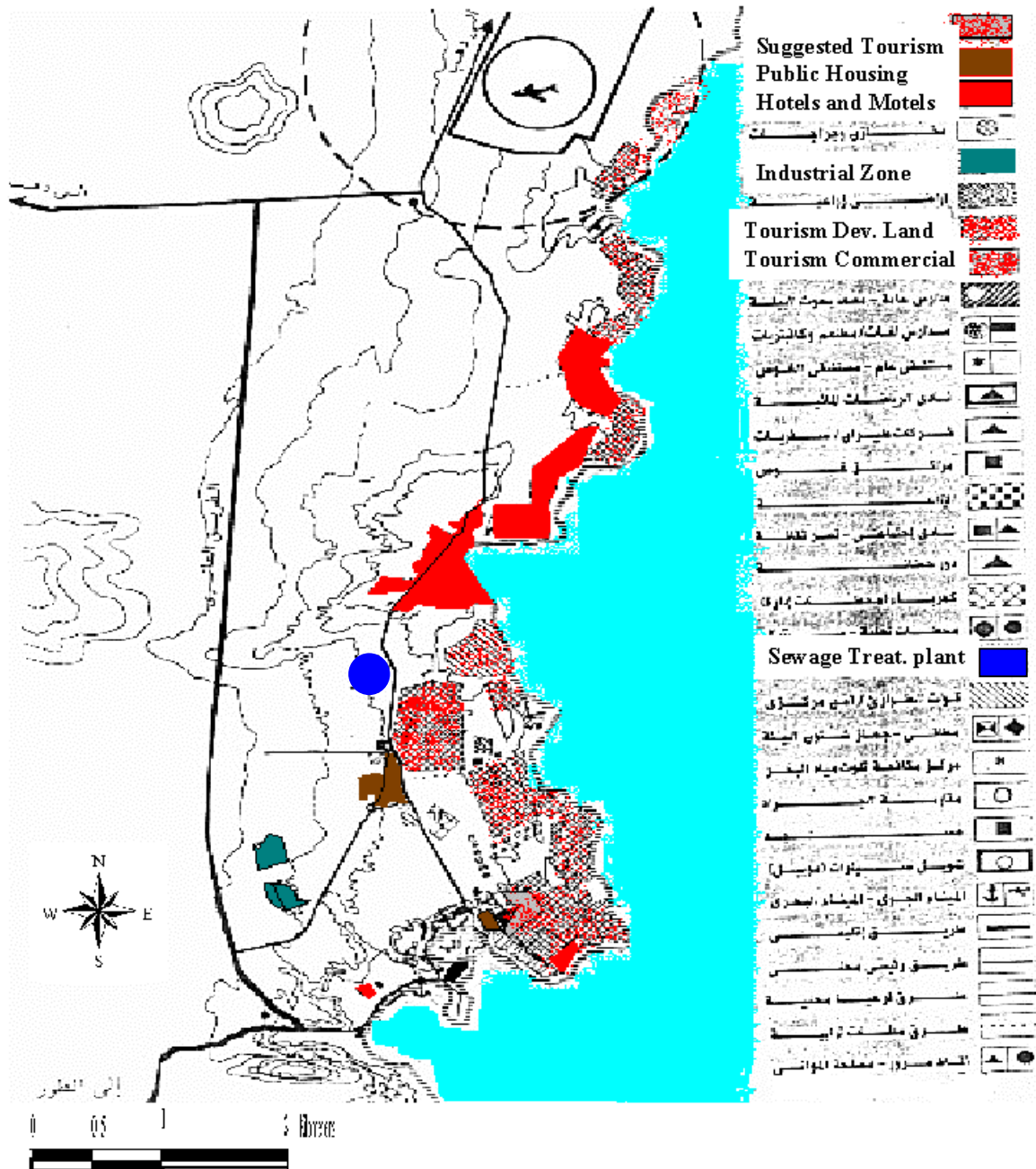
6. Telecommunications	6. Telecommunications From table of Telecommunications Services Needed for Different Types of Residential Units until 2017 (fig.11. in appendix B), we find that Bedouins are allocated the least number of lines where only 30% of Bedouin residential units until the year 2017 will be provided with telephone lines.	6. Telecommunications Addressed Unsatisfactory (inequitable)
7. Educational Services	7. Educational Services From table of Educational Services for Bedouin Residence for 2017 (see fig.12. in appendix B), we find that there will be one day care and one elementary school provided. It is important to note that the number of Bedouin families expected by year 2017 is 912 (plan, p.55) with an average size of 4.7 persons per family in 2017 (plan, p.54). Assuming that each family has one child the number of children in the community will be 912 which cannot be accommodated for with only one day care serving 80 children and one elementary school serving 70 students. Children from the Bedouin Residence would then have to use other schools in the city.	7. Educational Services Addressed Unsatisfactory (insufficient)
8. Health Services	8. Regional Health Services There is only one public hospital in Sharm El Sheikh with a capacity of 14 beds only. Proposals include increasing number of beds to reach 390 beds. Another public hospital is under construction with a capacity of 250 beds in addition to a proposed investment hospital (where medical expenses are expected to be higher than the public hospital. Another hospital exists for treatment of diving-related accidents (plan, p.68). Therefore there will be 4.9 beds/1000 persons if the population of Sharm and surrounding area becomes 130,000 by year 2017.	8. Health Services Addressed Unsatisfactory (because the number is very low)
9. Recreational	9. Recreational The plan indicated that cultural and art centers, a cinema theatre, and a theatre will be provided for the local population (plan, p.76). There is no mention in the plan if the cultural and art centers will promote local Bedouin culture or not.	9. Recreational Addressed Undecided (due to lack of details)

10. Green Spaces	10. Green Spaces Green spaces provided for the Bedouin Residence is 25.2 feddans which is higher when compared with the other residential units. (plan, p.76)	: 10. Green Spaces Addressed Satisfactory (equitable)
<u>Recognition of Bedouin Usufructory Rights of the Coast and Sea</u>	<u>Recognition of Bedouin Usufructory Rights of the Coast and Sea</u> By looking at the existing and proposed land-use maps (see maps V.1. and 2.) we find that there is no indication of Bedouin use of the surrounding area for grazing, or of beaches, or the sea for fishing. We find that the dominant use is for tourism, hotels and resorts and for other related tourism uses. In addition by looking at table of Tourism Development Trends in Sharm EL Sheikh (see fig. II.1.) and graph of Hotel Construction and Shore Access in Sharm El Sheikh 1982-1995 (see fig.II.2.), we find that shore access declined from 22 spots to 1 spot between 1988 and 1995. Moreover, as mentioned above the plan does not address this issue and thus does not recognize any conflict over resources where Bedouins are denied access to the coast and sea by the tourism hotels and by not being recognized in land-use maps.	<u>Recognition of Bedouin Usufructory Rights of the Coast and Sea</u> Not Addressed Not Satisfactory (This exacerbates the conflict)
<u>Promotion of Culturally Sound Architectural Designs and Landscaping</u>	<u>Promotion of Culturally Sound Architectural Designs and Landscaping</u> The plan's Urban Character Guidelines (see fig.7. in appendix B) do not specify or promote that the urban character be representative of local cultural characteristics. The plan promotes a Mediterranean/Nubian style characterized by white washed exteriors with domes. In addition from my observations of the tourism area in Naama Bay in Sharm El Sheikh, where most of the hotels and resorts are located, there is a mixture of architectural styles that does not present the local culture and thus the Bedouin character is not there, except in pseudo Bedouin tents.	<u>Promotion of Culturally Sound Architectural Designs and Landscaping</u> Not Addressed Unsatisfactory

<p>Economic <u>Encouragement of Bedouin Entrepreneurship in Alternative Tourism Development</u></p>	<p>Economic <u>Encouragement of Bedouin Entrepreneurship in Alternative Tourism Development</u> The plan points to the fact that tourism infrastructure serving the tourism areas will be provided by the developers and not the municipality. By reviewing the document, we find that the investment costs for a hotel bed in Sharm El Sheikh are L.E.118,800 (U.S.\$33,942.88) which is clearly beyond the limits for small businesses (plan, 125). This situation does not allow smaller tourism businesses by Bedouins or locals to start.</p>	<p>Economic <u>Encouragement of Bedouin Entrepreneurship in Alternative Tourism Development</u> Not Addressed Unsatisfactory conditions for smaller entrepreneurs</p>
<p><u>Incorporation of Informal Economic Activities</u></p>	<p><u>Incorporation of Informal Economic Activities</u> Most Bedouins work in the informal economic sector. The plan does not incorporate that in land use, or in allocation of resources, or in any other places in the document.</p>	<p><u>Incorporation of Informal Economic Activities</u> Not Addressed Unsatisfactory because it does not acknowledge that when it is the main source of livelihood for most Bedouins.</p>
<p><u>Equitable Distribution of Economic Benefits from Tourism Revenues</u></p>	<p><u>Equitable Distribution of Economic Benefits from Tourism Revenues</u> The issues of distribution of benefits would not be addressed by the urban plan but rather by the economic plan for the city which is not available for review.</p>	<p><u>Equitable Distribution of Economic Benefits from Tourism Revenues</u> Not Applicable</p>

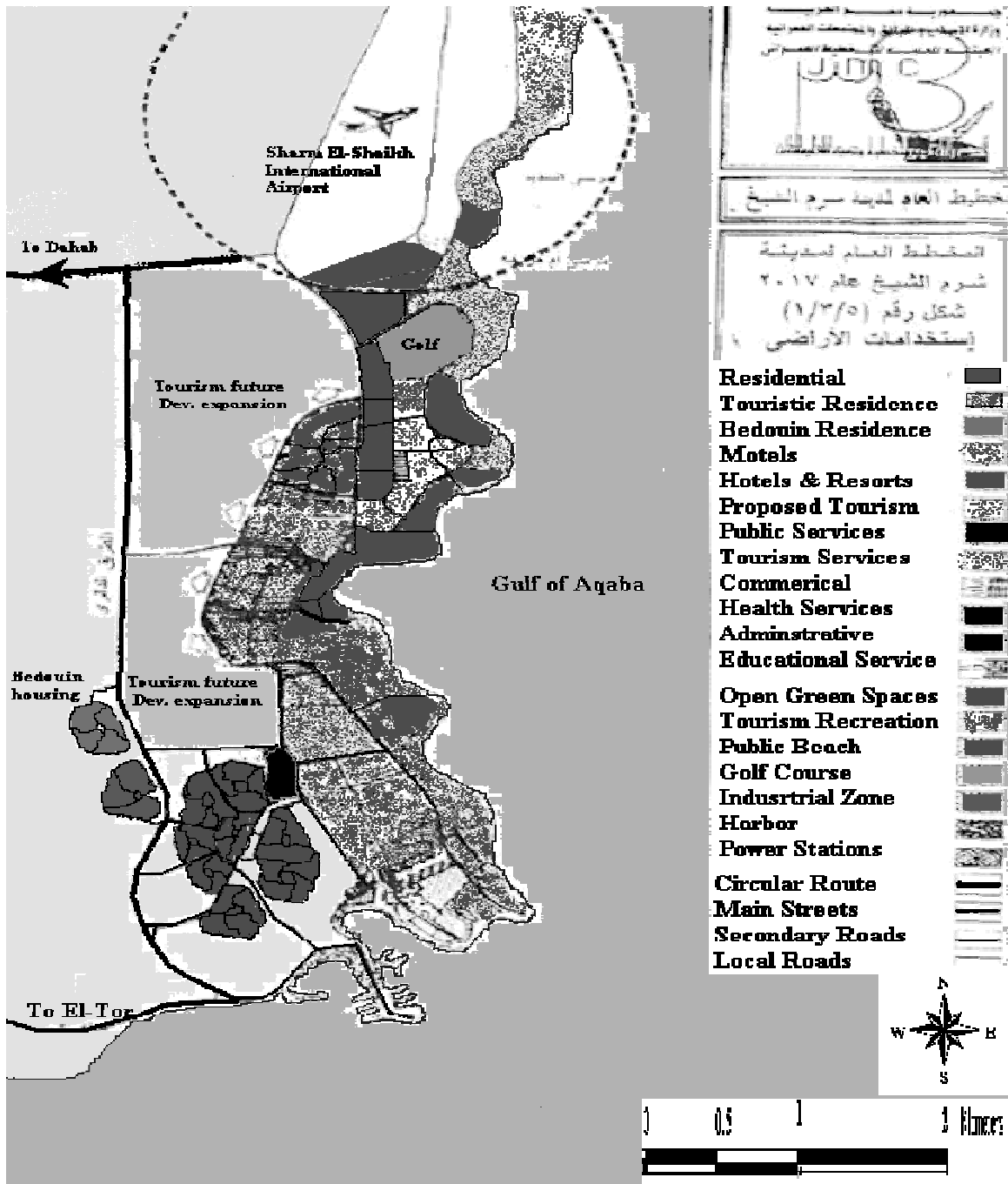
<p><u>Providing job opportunities for Bedouins</u></p>	<p><u>Providing job opportunities for Bedouins</u> The plan estimates that there will be 11,200 job opportunities in the tourism sector. The plan does not specify if Bedouins will be able to get a share of these jobs or not (plan, p.10). The plan also estimates that there will be 787 job opportunities in fishing activities due to increase in demand in the region, 482 of which will be the share of the city (plan, p.10). Again the plan does not specify if will be given to local Bedouin artisan fisherman or commercial fisherman from Suez, El Tor, or Hurghada. The plan includes industrial activities but it does not mention the share of Bedouins in these activities. Moreover, in the land -use plan (see fig.3. in appendix B) the plan mentions that industrial uses would include metal products such as Khan El Khalili souvenirs (Khan El Kahlili souvenirs are different from Bedouin handicrafts. They are usually of Ancient Egyptian character.) which gives preference to other cultural products from outside the area instead of promoting Bedouin handicrafts that could bring work opportunities to Bedouins.</p>	<p><u>Providing job opportunities for Bedouins</u> Addressed Unsatisfactory because it does set any priorities for Bedouins where the competition will be fierce.</p>
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Fig.V.1. Analysis of Draft for the for the General Plan for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017



Map V.1. Existing Land-use of Sharm El Sheikh

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqrir El Tharj: El Takhtet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017, Masweda Al Taqrir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City, year 2017 - in Arabic)*, January 1997, p.16.



Map V.2. Proposed Land-use of Sharm El Sheikh

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhass*

Al Am Imaadina Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017, Marsada Al Taqir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic), January 1997, p.41



Fig.V.3 Coastline of Naama Bay, Sharm El Sheikh Source: Isis Egypt, *Sinai and the Red Sea:Pictoral Guide and Souvenir*, Cairo 1996, p.14.



Fig.V.4. Hotel Construction on Beach in Naama Bay, Sharm El Sheikh Source: Isis Egypt, *Sinai and the Red Sea:Pictoral Guide and Souvenir*, Cairo 1996, p.25.

EVALUATION

Criterion	Addressed	Not Addressed	Satisfactory	Un-satisfactory
Ecological: <u>Preservation of Ecosystem Integrity Coastline</u>	[[
<u>Sustainable Use of Resources</u>				
1. Water		[[
2. Energy	[[
Socio-cultural: <u>Satisfaction of Needs and Equitable Allocation of Resources:</u>				
1. Water	[[
2. Land For residential use	[[
For other uses		[[
3. Access to Coast		[[
4. Roads	[[
5. Electricity	[[
6. Telecommunications	[[
7. Educational Services	[[
8. Health Services	[[
9. Recreational	[Unavail.
10. Green Spaces	[[
<u>Recognition of Bedouin Usufructory Rights of the Coast and Sea</u>		[[
<u>Promotion of Culturally Sound Architectural Designs and Landscaping</u>		[[
Economic <u>Encouragement of Bedouin Entrepreneurship in Alternative Tourism Development</u>		[[
<u>Incorporation of Informal Economic Activities</u>		[[
<u>Equitable Distribution of Economic Benefits from Tourism Revenues</u>	Not applic.			

<u>Providing job opportunities for Bedouins</u>	[[
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Fig.V.2. Draft for the General Plan for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017

We see that the plan addressed local needs including those of Bedouins (including water, housing, energy, and social services). However, resources were allocated unsatisfactorily. Bedouins were not allocated resources equitably compared to other local socioeconomic groups. Both Bedouins and other locals were allocated fewer resources when compared to tourism uses. The plan satisfies tourism needs and prioritizes them over local ones.

The plan did not recognize Bedouins usufructory rights and failed to address the issue of conflict over resources.

The plan did not promote a local Bedouin character for the city but borrows from other styles such as Mediterranean and Nubian. This leads to the loss of a local character and dilution of Bedouin culture.

Environmental protection and preservation of integrity of ecosystems were stated in the plan briefly, but no environmental planning or management studies or action are referred to in the document. Lack of environmental planning can be attributed to the fragmentation of these responsibilities among different government agencies.

The plan did not include economic development studies. Moreover, it did not consider economic activities of the local Bedouin communities whether in fishing or tourism which mostly falls under the informal sector. The plan has not addressed local entrepreneurship needs but instead it focused on providing new job opportunities for newcomers who compete with Bedouins. It also created favorable conditions for large tourism projects by allocation most, including premium resources, to developers and investors.

8. Summary

The development of South Sinai which is part of a grand national project was the result of many factors both internal and external to Egypt. Egypt's overpopulated cities and high unemployment rate required an expansion into new areas. With the return of Sinai, it presented the solution for Egypt's problems and provided the opportunity for Egypt to secure its borders with Israel. The integration of Egypt within the international

tourism market as a part of its export-oriented growth economic policies requires that Egypt increase its competitiveness. Egypt sought to diversify its tourism product in Sinai by exploiting the coastal natural resources.

This externally induced development changed the area and created challenges for its native Bedouin community. Tourism resorts displaced traditional land uses by denying Bedouins access to resources. Bedouin communities have become very vulnerable due to their complete dependence on international tourism for their livelihood where they engage in marginal tourism related activities. Bedouins are marginalized in terms of ownership and management of these development projects because of high prices of land and impeding financial and permit-granting regulations set by the Ministry of Tourism. Tourism in the area is controlled by powerful multinational chains which generate most of the profits and little goes to the local economy. In addition, Bedouins face growing competition from the influx of non-Bedouin newcomers from the Nile Valley and Delta who compete with them over the marginal activities that Bedouins have been engaged in. For these reasons it is difficult for Bedouins to become entrepreneurs in the tourism business.

Urban and tourism development plans on the local and regional levels prioritize tourism development over other uses and do not realize the conflict over resources that deny Bedouins their usufructory rights. Planning is mostly concerned with providing the necessary infrastructure to absorb the large numbers of newcomers who represent the tourism work force. Plans do not point to any opportunities for the disenfranchised Bedouin community. Plans do not address sustainable means for development whether on the local or regional levels. They encourage resource extensive projects and provide no guidance in controlling growth or preventing environmental damage.

The national parks present to Bedouins a favorable context where they are allowed to live according to their traditional way of life. Inside the parks Bedouins exercise their usufructory rights, while benefiting from tourism that does not encroach upon the shore, as the case outside the park boundaries. These conditions have attracted other Bedouins to the national parks, which can be threatening to the natural resources as pressures on them increase and ultimately affect subsistence Bedouins living inside the parks.

Unavailability of park plans limit the analysis only to the tourism and urban development

plans. The analysis of park plans is needed to shed light on the future of Bedouins on the coast.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSIONS

The peripheral region of South Sinai has been rapidly changing since mid 1980s. The area is witnessing a tourism development boom as a result of Egypt's increased integration in international tourism markets and search for attractive destinations to diversify its tourism product and to gain a bigger share of the international tourism market. Development of South Sinai is part of a grand national development project. Regional and local plans serve as instruments for implementation of national goals. An analysis of tourism and urban development plans reveal that they were oriented towards destination area development where they focus on physical planning for the area. The local plan especially lacked the comprehensiveness in relating urban development to social and economic local development needs. Instead it addressed tourism development needs and prioritized them over local ones. This indicates a strong link between state and private sector interests where local Bedouin community interests are overlooked. This approach threatens the welfare of disenfranchised groups such as the Bedouins. The centralized top-down nature of decision-making through numerous levels of bureaucracy and the existence of powerful industry interests stifle any true engagement by Bedouins in the development process. The lack of civil society groups that effectively represent Bedouin interests undermines the community's capacity to protect its interests and to actively participate in development. Overall, regional and local development plans are characterized as being fragmented, resource exploitative, economic growth oriented, and authoritarian.

The development paradigm adopted in the development of South Sinai corresponds to a 'very weak' sustainability position on the 'Sustainability Development Spectrum' as presented by Colin Hunter (in "Sustainable Tourism as an Adaptive Paradigm," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1997). The defining characteristics of a 'very weak' position are:

"Anthropocentric and utilitarian: growth oriented and resource exploitative; natural resources utilized at economically optimal rates through unfettered free markets operating to satisfy individual consumer choice; infinite substitution

possible between natural and human-made capital; continued well-being assessed through economic growth and technical innovation."

It also corresponds to the 'environmental protection' paradigm outlined by M.E. Colby (in "Environmental Management: The Evolution of Paradigms," World Bank Publications Department, 1991). Colby describes the dimensions of this paradigm as involving: fragmented responsibility of development and centralized management of resources and environment; a privatization-dominant property regime with some parks set aside; and 'End-of-the-Pipe-Clean-Up' or 'Business-as-Usual-Plus-a-Treatment-Plant' environmental management strategies.

As tourism became the main economic activity for the South Sinai it displaced other land and sea uses such as reef fishing which was the main source of livelihood for 80% of the coastal Bedouin community. Local authorities give the tourism industry top priority and act as facilitators for its expansion over the expense of smaller and weaker stakeholders such as the Bedouin fishermen. Reef fisherman are denied access to shore and sea and as a result the limited communal resources are put under pressure, leading to a decline in reef fish catches. The draft of the local plan for the city of Sharm El Sheikh for the year 2017 does not recognize Bedouin land and sea usufructory rights and fails to address the issue of conflict over resources, thus only exacerbating the problem.

The livelihood of most Bedouins now living on the coast depends on informal tourism-related activities such as camel rentals, taxi driving, selling of souvenirs...etc. Bedouins are marginalized in terms of ownership and management of tourism businesses. Most Bedouins cannot start their own businesses due to lack of funds and the impeding business entry conditions set by government, which encourage large investments in luxurious tourism resorts. Moreover, most profits go directly to developers and multinationals, while very little goes to the local Bedouin community. The draft for the Sharm El Sheikh urban plan creates favorable conditions for large tourism projects by allocating prime land resources for tourism development and by prioritizing tourists needs in all urban development decisions.

With urban growth and increases in the number of newcomers from other parts of Egypt, Bedouins face competition from these advantaged groups and find themselves marginalized further. The draft of the local plan does not formulate any economic

opportunities for the local Bedouin community, which is mostly engaged in the informal sector, but instead addresses the formal sector touristic employment needs of the newcomers.

The transformation of the Bedouins from a traditional pastoral society to a modern urbanized one is associated with loss of identity, culture, and traditional ways of life. The draft of the local urban plan does not preserve the character of the local Bedouin environment but instead alters the natural landscape to an unsightly and confusing mixture of different cultural themes, while promoting the production of outside cultural artifacts to be sold as souvenirs for tourists.

The presence of national parks along the coast creates a different context from that of the growing urban cities and overdeveloped beaches. Bedouins recognize the national parks in the area as a success. This can be attributed to the community oriented approach in park management that allows Bedouins to live, fish, and graze inside the parks. Both Bedouins living inside and outside the park view the parks as multiple-use zones where tourism activities take place without displacing them or conflicting with their traditional means of livelihood.

Many questions still remain, however, concerning the future of the Bedouins in relation to the national parks. Some of these questions include the following: What will be the relationship between Bedouins living inside the parks and those outside who are becoming increasingly urbanized? Will the parks accommodate modern facilities and dwellings for Bedouins living inside the park or not? Will Bedouins leave the parks in search of a modern urbanized life and use the parks only for recreational purposes? What will be the future of traditional Bedouin life and culture? How can Bedouins living inside the parks sustain their livelihood by traditional means, despite increasing pressures from tourism development on the natural resources and fragile ecosystems? Answers to these questions in future research work will be crucial in providing a comprehensive picture of the future of coastal Bedouin communities.

CHAPTER VII RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Introduction
2. Shift to Alternative Development Paradigms
3. Focus on 'People Development'
4. Promote Local Management of Coastal Resources
5. Promote Ownership and Management of Alternative Tourism Projects by Bedouins
6. Provide Local Community Projects to Satisfy Bedouin Needs and to Create a Resilient Economic Base
7. Initiate Agreements with Newcomers
8. Preserve Social, Cultural, Economic, and Environmental Integrity
9. Conduct Research

1. Introduction

My recommendations cover both macro and micro problems. The first two recommendations call for a shift in the development paradigm and a focus on people development by the different state agencies engaged in the development process. The rest of my recommendations offer examples of alternative development projects that are community-based and measures for improving development planning to ensure the inclusion of Bedouin interests. Finally, I point to areas where future research is needed.

2. Shift to Alternative Development Paradigms

There is a need for change in the tourism and urban development paradigms adopted by the state and industry in the development of South Sinai. The need for these shifts is not only limited to South Sinai or Egypt but is required on a broader international scale as well. Based on my analysis in chapter five and conclusions in chapter six, these paradigms have to shift:

- from 'destination-centered' to 'people-centered' to meet tourists' *and* locals' needs³⁰¹ and to accommodate the latter's interests that are at stake;
- from "consumption and pleasure driven [where] tourists are expecting the luxuries they are getting, to values driven [where] tourists are appreciative of what they are receiving and considering what they can give,"³⁰² to attract to South Sinai a "new type of tourist who is motivated primarily by nature rather than five star artificial facilities."³⁰³

³⁰¹ J.E.Rash and Ira Kaufman, "Managing Sustainable Tourism and Generating Profits," (paper presented at the Caribbean Conference on Sustainable Tourism Punta Cana Beach Resort, Dominican Republic, November 30, 1995) 3.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Hector Ceballos (environmental consultant) interviewed by Eleanor Curtis, in "Back to Nature," *Egypt Today*, June 1997, cited on 28 April 1998; available on Internet at <http://www.egypttoday.com/jun97.htm>

- from international mass tourism controlled by industry³⁰⁴ and markets to tourism development that involves all stakeholders: community, state, and industry.
- from a narrowly perceived 'environmental protection' paradigm to an 'eco-development' paradigm. The dimensions of an 'eco-development' paradigm involve: private and public institutional innovations and redefinition of roles; local common and private property regimes for intra and inter generational equity and stewardship; integration of social, economic, and ecological criteria for technology; community-based goals; and equitable distribution of land.³⁰⁵

3. Focus on 'People Development'

The strengthening of the role of civil society organizations in the South Sinai and creation of effective Bedouin community groups can protect Bedouin interests and provide a framework and means for Bedouin community development. There are numerous approaches to community development (CD) that can be appropriate to the South Sinai context and can serve the community's interests on different levels. Bedouin community problems and issues need to be addressed on a large scale involving state agencies and institutions, Egyptian and international non-governmental organizations, the voluntary sector, the private sector, and the Bedouin community. This approach can be described as a 'structural-functional' approach³⁰⁶ in which CD forms part of a larger policy framework. Another approach that aims at addressing social and economic problems of disadvantaged groups is known as 'categorical.'³⁰⁷ This approach is similar to one embraced by the Egyptian government in association with the extensive Economic

³⁰⁴ J.E.Rash and Ira Kaufman, "Managing Sustainable Tourism and Generating Profits," 3.

³⁰⁵ M.E. Colby, *Environmental Management: The Evolution of Paradigms*, (World Bank Publications Department, 1991).

Reform and Structural Adjustment Program. The Social Development Fund (SFD) was established in 1991 by a Presidential Decree to create a social safety net to serve low-income population groups, especially women and children, new graduates, unemployed youth, and small entrepreneurs.³⁰⁸ These approaches to community development can ensure that Bedouin problems and issues are recognized and addressed vertically by the different levels of government through the creation of different kinds of "intersectoral...functioning partnerships in which people's organizations come to play an equal part."³⁰⁹ Equally important is the development at the community level initiated by 'co-operative' and 'self-management' approaches which aim at "individual, social, and economic development based on mutual support, social action," and grassroots empowerment.³¹⁰ The existing Bedouin tribal structure provides the basis for community representation and leadership capacities that are necessary for the development of community organizations.

4. Promote Local Management of Coastal Resources

The 1987 United Nation's World Commission on Environment and Development report titled *Our Common Future* (or known as the Burntland Report) brought to attention the undermining effects of externally imposed development on the native communities in remote areas. It called for "the recognition and protection of traditional rights to land and the other resources that sustain their way of life."³¹¹ Lack of effective

³⁰⁶ Hubert Campffens, ed., *Community Development Around the World: Practice, Theory, Research, Training*, Toronto, (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 455.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Social Fund for Development, cited on 28 April 1998; available on Internet at <http://www.sfdegypt.org/bgground.htm>

³⁰⁹ Hubert Campffens, *Community Development Around the World*, 1997, 460.

³¹⁰ Ibid, 455.

³¹¹ World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 115.

Bedouin interest groups on local and regional levels undermines the Bedouins' capacity to call for recognition of usufructory rights and informal sea tenure. This requires the empowerment of civil groups and their participation in the decision making process. Local management of coastal resources built on communal and tribal structures has been documented in Third World countries such as Mexico, Caribbean, Brazil, India, and South Pacific countries.³¹² In addition, agreements between industry, Bedouins, and the local government should be initiated to ensure that Bedouins get an equitable share of the revenues from tourism hotels and resorts in return for restricting Bedouin use of the coastal area and negatively affecting their livelihood. In other places local communities have been successful in demanding and receiving remuneration from a leading international hotel chain for having been displaced from their resource base.

5. Promote Ownership and Management of Alternative Tourism Projects by Bedouins

Other types of tourism should be allowed and encouraged. Mass tourism in the conventional sense in Sinai has created a gap between the tourism industry and the local community. Problems associated with mass tourism in South Sinai are similar to those experienced by other communities in peripheral regions. Usually profits from tourism are generated outside the community; tourists stay in five star resorts and have little understanding or appreciation of the indigenous culture that they usually regard as primitive.³¹³ Alternatives can be: community-based; educational to tourists; less resource intensive; less damaging to the surrounding environment; and more 'appropriate' to the

³¹² Alpina Begossi, "Fishing Spots and Sea Tenure: Incipient Forms of Local Management in Atlantic Forest Coastal Communities," *Human Ecology* 23, no. 3 (1995), 388.

³¹³ Judith Mayer, "Everyone Wants to Get A Head: Environment and Cultural Tourism in the Borneo Interior." In *Converging Interests: Traders, Travelers, and Tourists in Southeast Asia*, edited by Jill

natural and cultural landscapes. A Bedouin tourism project, as indicated by one of the Bedouin interviewees, can attract tourists who come to the area for relaxation, seeking simple and natural surroundings rather than five-star artificial resorts. The idea of 'ecolodges'³¹⁴ is an attractive one that can capture a share in the ecotourism sector which is growing at 30% worldwide.³¹⁵ Ecotourists³¹⁶ who are estimated to be 10-15% of the 600 million tourists travelling the world each year, seek tourism facilities of such character.³¹⁷ The U.S. Travel Data Center in a study on Tourism and Environment indicated that ecotourists are generally affluent and spend more money per day as compared to traditional tourists.³¹⁸ In Egypt only two such projects exist³¹⁹ and in Jordan a similar idea has been implemented as part of a village restoration project and establishment of a nature reserve.³²⁰ Small-scale, community-based ecotourism projects can be profitable for the community and the government as well. Studies elsewhere have shown that large-scale, foreign-owned, highly concentrated tourism complexes are associated with lower

Forstee and Christina Fink (Berkeley, (CA): Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1998).

³¹⁴ 'Ecolodge' is the term used for hotels and resorts in the ecotourism industry. Ecolodges are defined by the Ecotourism Society as "small-scale facilities that provide visitors with a window to the natural and cultural world of their region. Their waste, water, and energy systems are all managed with conservation as a top priority." Cited on 28 April 1998; available on Internet at <http://www.ecotourism.org/textfiles/ecolcour.txt>

³¹⁵ M. L. Miller, and B.C. Kaaer, "Coastal and Marine Ecotourism: A Formula for Sustainable Development?," *Trends* 30, no. 2 (1993).

³¹⁶ There are four types of tourists who seek ecotourism. They are either 'Hard-core Naturalists' who are researchers or oriented towards education; or 'Dedicated Nature Tourists' who appreciate the natural and cultural history; or 'Mainstream Nature Tourists' who consider it an unusual experience; or 'Causal Nature Tourists' who are just part of a bigger trip. The tourists could be a combination of the different types. K. Lindenbergh, *Policies for Maximizing Nature Tourism Ecological and Economic Benefits*, Worlds Resources Institute, 1991.

³¹⁷ Eleanor Curtis, "Back to Nature," From *Egypt Today*, June 1997, cited on 28 April 1998; available on Internet at <http://www.egypttoday.com/jun97.htm>

³¹⁸ U.S. Travel Data Center, *Discover America, Tourism and Environment: A Guide to Challenges and Opportunities for Travel Industry Businesses*, (Travel Industry Association of Americas, 1992).

³¹⁹ Although these facilities are not owned by Bedouins but they do provide success stories that can be inspiring for the Bedouin community. For more details on these ecolodges see <http://www.egypttoday.com/jun97.htm>

³²⁰ Eleanor Curtis, "Back to Nature," 1997.

multipliers, while more dispersed, small-scale, locally-owned operations, of alternative forms of tourism have "been more successful in generating income, employment, and government revenue than larger, internationally-owned establishments."³²¹

Government support for entrepreneurial activities in alternative tourism projects is important. Support can be in the form of allocation of land without requiring high collateral, or provision of the infrastructure, which will not be a burden on the government due to the resource-conservative nature of these projects and costs that can be secured from taxes collected from five star hotels. Granting of permits by the Ministry of Tourism should be based on a different rating system than that used for conventional types of hotel facilities requiring luxurious standards. Support for funding and management can come from different sources. The government through programs offered by the SFD such as The Enterprise Development Program (EDP),³²² can provide technical support, business counseling, and access to credit through banks to help small entrepreneurial Bedouin initiatives. Other support can come from international non-profit agencies as well, such as the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN).

Other tourism related projects include handicraft production in which Bedouin women and children can be engaged. A pilot project will be created for the Bedouin community living in central Sinai in the St. Catherine National Park. Other projects for the Bedouins living on the coast should be initiated. These projects can be supported by the SFD through its Community Development Program (CDP) which provides small

³²¹ John Brohman, "New Directions in Tourism for Third World Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no.1 (1996), 56.

³²² Available on Internet at <http://www.sfdegypt.org/coreprg.htm#cdp>

funds for micro and cottage projects.³²³ Additional support can come from international NGOs such as the Institute of Cultural Affairs for Middle East and North Africa (MENA), which has been engaged in community development projects in other parts of Egypt.³²⁴

6. Provide Local Community Projects to Satisfy Bedouin Needs and to Create a Resilient Economic Base

This will require diversifying the economic activities in which Bedouins engage. Some of the projects can serve the local and regional population and not necessarily depend on tourism. Such projects can be in the areas of renewable energy production (for example, solar energy for residential uses in lighting and telecommunication³²⁵ and for small industrial uses).³²⁶ These projects have been carried out in other places in Africa³²⁷ and India³²⁸ to supply poor rural communities with alternative sources of energy. These projects require low capital investment while also providing employment opportunities³²⁹ for the Bedouin community. They can also serve the Bedouins' energy needs, which cannot be totally fulfilled by the municipality as indicated in the draft of the urban plan for the city of Sharm El Sheikh for the year 2017. These projects can be funded by the SFD through its Public Works Program (PWP)³³⁰ with other sponsors such

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Available on Internet at <http://www.icaworld.org/mena/index.html>

³²⁵ Hubert Aulich, "Small Economical PV Power Generation Systems to Provide Lighting, Communication and Water Supply to Rural Areas," (paper presented at the World Renewable Energy Congress, 15-21 June 1996, Denver, CO) in *Renewable Energy*, May-August 1996, 44-50.

³²⁶ Gordon Thompson and Dilawar Singh, "Implementation of Village Electrification Projects in Developing Countries: The Role of CASE," (paper presented at the World Renewable Energy Congress, 15-21 June 1996, Denver, CO) in *Renewable Energy*, May-August 1996, 447-451.

³²⁷ Hubert Aulich, "Small Economical PV Power Generation Systems," 1996.

³²⁸ Gordon Thompson and Dilawar Singh, "Implementation of Village Electrification Projects in Developing Countries," 1996.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ The Public Works Program attempts to improve the basic services and infrastructure in rural and low income urban areas. Posted on the internet at <http://www.sfdegypt.org/coreprg.htm>

as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) which administers programs for the promotion of renewable energy technology in developing countries through its International Centre for Application of Solar Energy (CASE).³³¹

Projects can be in other areas such as recycling of waste. Projects can replicate the Cairo '*Zabbaleen*' community project.³³² These projects can provide economic benefits to the Bedouin community and solutions to the waste problems that are already facing the coastal area as the number of tourists and size of population in the region increase.

Other projects can make use of sewage effluents for irrigation and aquaculture. The sewage treatment facilities can be turned into small farms similar to the farm that existed in Sharm El Sheikh. These farms can be used for growing fodder for goats and sheep for Bedouin herds, and for creating nurseries to serve the area. It can be also used for raising fish that have commercial value similar to the experience of the Mudialy Fishermen's Cooperative Society in Calcutta, India.³³³

Start-up capital can be provided by some of the above mentioned outside sources, but ultimately the community groups should be encouraged to form the basis for investment opportunities where individual contributors are treated as share holders.

7. Initiate Agreements with Newcomers

Agreements between Bedouins and newcomers should be also initiated in connection with shop ownership, in taxi driving, and tour operations, involving local government to

³³¹ Gordon Thompson and Dilawar Singh, "Implementation of Village Electrification Projects in Developing Countries," 1996.

³³² This is a successful example of a community group formed of the '*Zabbaleen*' or garbage collectors that collect, sort, sell domestic waste products for recycling factories in Cairo, and use them in manufacturing rugs. This community earned Cairo "international recognition for environmental development" in the Rio Earth Summit of 1992 (Steve Negus, "From Rags to Rio," *Cairo Today*, May 1993, 73).

³³³ Charlie Pye-Smith, Grazia Borrini Feyerabend with Richard Sandbook, *The Wealth of Communities: Stories of Success in Local Environmental Management*, (London, United Kingdom: Kumarian Press, 1994), 1-16.

ensure that Bedouins get an opportunity to engage in these activities without being crushed by competition from newcomers.

8. Preserve Social, Cultural, Economic, and Environmental Integrity

Urban and tourism development should initiate comprehensive planning that "is carefully designed to consider the affected individuals and groups. It includes a *common vision; a design for dealing with conflict; bringing forth possibilities; and incorporating subjective feelings and values of local people and tourists in evaluating possibilities.*"³³⁴

The preservation of social, cultural, economic, and environmental integrity requires the measurement and evaluation of social, cultural, economic and physical environmental impacts of tourism development on an ongoing basis.³³⁵ It also requires the establishment of physical, psychological, biological, and social carrying capacity levels where research is reported to suggest a 30/70 ratio of tourists to residents.³³⁶

9. Conduct Research

Future research is needed for the following: (a) to study the effect of regional development on the social, cultural, economic, environmental welfare of the Bedouin communities of South Sinai; (b) to record the threatened Bedouin culture and indigenous knowledge; (c) to support community-based enterprises such as ecotourism, renewable energy production, and recycling; (d) to explore innovative institutional partnerships between state, businesses, and community; (e) to develop community organizations and Bedouin advocacy groups; (f) to determine the role that national parks can play in

³³⁴ J.E.Rash, Ira Kaufman, and Robert Bentley. "Marketing of Natural Sites/Preserving Your Product: Sustainable Tourism Issues," (paper presented at the Middle East-European Tourism Workshop, Aqaba, Jordan, 23-25 January, 1995), 4.

³³⁵ J.E.Rash, Ira Kaufman, and Robert Bentley, "Marketing of Natural Sites/Preserving Your Product," 1995, 5.

³³⁶ Ibid.

sustaining Bedouin livelihood and culture; and (g) to support Bedouin traditional rights to land and sea resources and Bedouin involvement in planning and decision-making.

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APPENDICES

Appendix (A) Translated Excerpts for the Regional Plan

Appendix (B) Translated Excerpts for the Local Plan

Appendix (C) List of Interviewees

Appendix (A) Translated Excerpts for the Regional Plan

The following is a summary of the tourism activities and locations in Sinai:

<p>Summary of Tourism Activities and Locations in Sinai:</p> <p><u>Locations for Tourism Development:</u> The plan identified areas where tourism development in South Sinai should take place. These areas were Sharm El Sheikh, Dahab, Nuweiba, Salah El Din Bay, Pharon's Island, and Taba.</p> <p><u>Proposed Types of Tourism Activities and their locations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Water sports and diving along the GOA coast and inside the national parks.- Scientific and educational trips inside the national parks to study the fauna and flora.- Adventure travels involving hiking, mountain climbing, and desert safaris around the area of St. Catherine.- Religious Tours to St. Catherine.- Recreational/Beach Tourism in Sharm El Sheikh, Dahab, Nuweiba, and Taba. <p>The plan indicated that most tourism until now is recreational and religion-related and concentrated in South Sinai.</p>
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Fig.1. Summary of Tourism Activities and Locations in Sinai (translation by Dina Ali)
Source: Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqrir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066, pp.109-110.

The following is a summary of infrastructure and services that support tourism activities and target workforce figures:

<u>Infrastructure and Services:</u>			
The plan indicated that this increase in tourism accommodation capacities requires the establishment of desalination units and power generating stations; extending water and sewer networks; widening of roads; reinforcing flood channels; increasing the number of medical units; and providing emergency services with air transportation if needed (p.33).			
<u>Workforce:</u>			
Accommodation Capacity and Tourism Workforce (p.116)			
Classification/Year	1997	2002	2017
Number of Rooms	6467	21217	42967
Direct Hotel Workforce	9700	31825	64450
Direct Tourism workforce	7275	23870	48335
Total Workforce	16975	55695	112785

Fig.2. Summary of Infrastructure and Services and Workforce (translated by Dina Ali)
 Source: Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqir El Nihai An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066.

The following is the target tourism capacities for Sinai:

The number of hotel rooms is targeted to reach 43 thousand by the year 2017 compared to the 1992/93 number of 4568 rooms in Sinai. The following table indicates how the proposed distribution of hotel rooms in the different cities till year 2017

City	Years	Number of Rooms				Total
		1992-93	1994-97	1997-2002	2002-2017	
North Sinai:						
El Arish		556	0	1500	1500	3556
Rumana			0	500	1500	2000
South Sinai:						
Taba		426	80	4000	6000	10506
Nuweiba		595	0	2000	2000	4595
Dahab		241	0	1500	2500	4241
Sharm El Sheikh		2113	1600	3000	3000	9713
El Tor		78	0	500	500	1078
St. Catherine		227	0	250	250	727
Ras Sudr		331	220	1500	4500	6551
Total		4567	3797	14745	21735	42967

Fig.3. Summary of Target Tourism Capacities in Sinai (translated by Dina Ali)
Source: Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqirir El Nihaii An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066, p.112.

The document also included the Minister's of Tourism statement. The main points of that statement are highlighted below:

"The form of tourism development adopted by the MOT is different from traditional urban planning development. The Agency for Tourism Development prepared plans for the coastal areas (which are considered economic resources of great value) to create 'productive units' such as hotels, tourism resorts, and complete tourism centers. The goals are to attract inflowing income from inbound tourism; to provide job opportunities; and to supply income for the treasury in the form of tax returns. By doing so, natural resources are not wasted in residential settlements; Egyptian savings are not wasted in unproductive projects; and the state's resources are not drained in establishing the necessary infrastructure. As tourism investments depend totally on private investments."

"This form of development is done through an initial designation of land to be sold to a legal entity and investment group specialized in tourism development where selection of buyers is done according to an objective preference standards...his form of development does not involve only the selling of land but also a strategic future vision."

Fig.4. Highlighted Points from Statement by Minister of Tourism (translated by Dina Ali). Source: Majlis El Shoura, Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, *El Taqir El Nihai An Al Mashrou Al Qawmi Ltanmyat Sina (The Final Report on the National Project for the Development of Sinai - in Arabic)*, Regular 16th Session, 1995, 1000-1995 S-22066, p.200

Name/Standard	Year	Number of Rooms
Helnan Marina Sharm (3/4 stars)	1982	174
Hilton Fayrouz (4 stars)	1986	150
Hilton Residence (4 stars)	1985	110
Movenpick (5 stars)	1992	348
Marriott (5 stars)	1996	216
Intercontinental Resort (5 stars)	1996	256
Concord Hilton Resort (5 stars)	1997	4605

Fig.5. Hotel Standards and Capacities of some Hotels in Sharm El Sheikh
Source: Sharm El Sheikh Development Properties Survey, prepared by the Ras
Mohammed National Park Office, November 1996.

Appendix (B) Translated Excerpts for the Local Plan

The following is a summary and quotes of planning constraints and opportunities:

Summary of Planning Constraints and Opportunities:

Natural & Environmental Constraints:

- Beaches coral reefs, unique marine environment, and bays.
- Topography limits urban expansion inwards due to presence of mountains.
- Areas suitable for urban expansion are intersected by flood drainage channels.
- Soil quality limits vertical expansion.

Social Constraints:

- Small population and thus small work force to achieve the expected development on the local, regional, and national levels.

Economic Constraints:

- Since the leading economic activity is tourism, therefore urban expansion has to preserve the low densities needed for tourism development.

Urban Constraints:

- Most important are tourism uses which occupy the beach and what it dictates on urbanization in terms of densities of buildings, of population, and the level of services desired in an international tourism center.
- Other regional uses such as airports, and harbors occupy the best locations which are suitable for development.

Urban Development Opportunities:

- Due to stable and favorable climate conditions, construction of the city could extend more than nine months and thus it is possible to settle the tourism work force.
- The spread of international standard tourism projects due to the increased demand which will raise the social, economic, and urban standards of the city.
- Existence of utilities and road networks, which could be upgraded and used for the first stage of urban development.
- Existence of an airport and a harbor.
- Existence of the economic residential district which will be a nucleus for expansion.
- Spread of luxury and special residential units which raises the social, economic, and urban environment and helps in land-use planning and in creating a buffer between the tourism front and the economic and average residential districts.

Fig.1. Summary of Planning Constraints and Opportunities (translation by Dina Ali)
Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region
Governorates, *El Taqdir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am*
2017) Meswedat Al Taqdir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El
Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic), January 1997, pp.18-19.

The following is a summary and quotes of urban planning strategies:

Summary of Strategies for Urban Planning and Development:

- Development strategy is to create a primary function for the city which is tourism.
- Need to protect natural resources and environmental balance.
- Need to move toward diversifying the economic base.
- Need to specify different uses according to environmental evaluation of the site. It is proposed that the coastal zone be specified for tourism development with the inclusion of several points for local public tourism. Adjacent areas will be used as recreational zone and tourism residential districts.
- Low urban and population density to fit the tourism character of the city.
- Provision of regional services, such as airport.
- Relocation of environmentally hazardous sites such as the sewage treatment farm located on the coast, where other development uses could replace it.
- Relocation of other facilities away from the coast so that these sites be used for public uses.
- Importance of containing the existing population to improve its social, economic, and urban standards to benefit the touristic character of the city.
- Regional transportation should be transferred to the new circular route and the main existing road should serve as transportation route serving the tourism zone.

Fig.2. Summary of Urban Planning Strategies (translation by Dina Ali)

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region

Governorates, *El Taqrir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017) Meswedat Al Taqrir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic)*, January 1997, p.39.

The following is a summary and quotes of general land-use:

<p>Summary of proposed land-use plan:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ <u>Coastal Zone</u> - All land in the coastal zone should be designated to tourism use and establishment of hotel resorts.▪ <u>Recreational and Tourism Services Zone</u>- Zone bordering the coastal zone. Types of uses include golf courses, amusement park, and open space.▪ <u>Tourism Expansion Zone</u>- Zone bordering the recreational and tourism services zone that could be used for future expansion of tourism projects according to tourism demand.▪ <u>Residential Zones</u>- Divided into two types (a) touristic residential (b) permanent residential.<ul style="list-style-type: none">(a) <u>Touristic Residential Zone</u>: Zone adjacent to recreational and hotel resorts zones. Use for apartment and house rentals to vacationers.(b) <u>Permanent Residential Zone</u>: Zone is expansion of the existing residential district. Zone is classified into several socioeconomic districts: special, above average, average, economy, and Bedouin. The first four form the core of the residential area with services located in the center. The Bedouin is located west of the circular route.▪ <u>Industrial Zone</u>- Workshops are transferred west of the circular route "due to its negative interaction with the urban setup and the tourist area." (plan, p.43) Uses include construction material, furniture, textile, leather products, metal products such as Khan El Khalili souvenirs (plan, p.43), and food products.▪ <u>Transportation and Communication Routes</u>- Inter-cities transportation should be moved to the circular route. The main existing internal road should serve as the main internal transportation route serving the tourism zone.▪ <u>Services Zone</u>- Uses include commercial, social, recreational, cultural, regional, local, and tourism. "Since Sharm El Sheikh is a touristic city therefore special care should be given for the expansion of the tourism services so that it is developed according to international standards for serving the tourists." (plan, p.43) <p><u>Land areas were designated based on the following:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Existing uses.-Supplying land to satisfy the major economic function of the city based on natural and environmental capacities of the site. This makes tourism use the most common land use.

Fig.3. Summary of Land -Uses (translation by Dina Ali)

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region

Governorates, *El Taqrir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017*) *Meswedat Al Taqrir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017-* in Arabic), January 1997, pp.40-7.

The following is a summary and quotes of environmental regulations:

<p><u>Summary of Environmental Regulations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Use of alternative and renewable energy sources. For example, solar energy could be used in heating water and wind energy in generating electric power (under the condition that it is placed away from the tourism area due to noise inconveniences).-Air pollution could be avoided by placing filters.-No dumping of liquid waste in the sea directly or in the open wells inside the site.-No use of organic chemical fertilizers.-Mosquito abatement using non-polluting insecticides.-No use of glaring light.
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Fig.6. Summary of Environmental Regulations (translation by Dina Ali)
Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqirir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017) Meswedat Al Taqirir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017-* in Arabic), January 1997, p.49.

The following is a summary and quotes of proposed urban character guidelines and planning regulations:

<p><u>Summary of Proposed Urban Character Guidelines:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Main hotel buildings should be perpendicular to the coast in higher elevations.- Horizontal units such as bungalows should be perpendicular to the beach.- Green areas should separate horizontal and vertical forms.- Provision of a backdrop for the working area serving the yacht dock.- Traffic should not extend to the beach area. Parking lots should be closer to the main entrance.- Walking trails should be provided.- Creating a green belt that separates the resorts and tourism residential districts from the main road.- Enhancing natural features such as rocks, coastline, trees, panoramic views through landscape planning.- Use of local material and natural features of the mountainous chains in the background.- Consideration of human scale especially near the beach areas.- Use of one color preferably white.- Use of wood and natural material to decorate the exterior of buildings.- The project architectural features have to form one visual unit.- Use of domes and courts is permissible. <p><u>Summary of Planning Regulations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Buildings should not exceed 20% of total land area for tourism projects.- Buildings should not exceed 40% of total land area designated for motels.- Buildings should not exceed 65% of total land area for tourism residential sites.

Fig.7. Summary of Proposed Urban Character Guidelines and Planning Regulations (translation by Dina Ali)

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017) Meswedat Al Taqir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic)*, January 1997, pp.48-51.

Residential Zone	Target Population*	Designated Land Area (feddans)	% of Total Land Area
Touristim Residential	22,500	818	8.4
Permanent: Special, Above average, average, economy	52,850	1,340	13.7
Bedouin	4,000	160	1.6
Total	79,350	2,318	23.7

Fig.8. Land Areas allotted for Residential Zones & Target Population Figures for year 2017

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017) Meswedat Al Taqir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic)*, January 1997.

*Target total population figures in other places in the document were 85,000.

Land Uses		Area in feddans	% of total land-use proposed areas	Increase in area in feddans
Residential	Existing	71.9	15.3	1428.1
	Proposed	1500.0		
Touristic Residential	Existing	70.2	8.4	748.0
	Proposed	818.2		
Tourism	Existing	2406.0	40.9	1600.0
	Proposed	4006.0		
Services	Existing	91.5	9.9	879.5
	Proposed	971.0		
Industrial	Existing	11.7	1.0	88.4
	Proposed	100.0		
Open Space	Existing	15.0	12.3	1185.0
	Proposed	1200.0		
Roads	Existing	172.7	12.2	1017.3
	Proposed	1190.0		
Total		12624.2*	100	6946.3

Fig.9. Land Areas Allotted for different Land Uses for year 2017

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017) Meswedat Al Taqir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic)*, January 1997, p.45.

*This number is my calculation. The number shown in the document is 9785.2.

Use	Existing Electric Power Annual Consumption Patterns Per Person (Kilo Watt Hours/year/person)
Tourism Residence	17,000
Average	12,000
Economy	9,000
Bedouin	1,300

Fig.10. Existing Electric Power Annual Consumption Patterns Per Person in Sharm El Sheikh

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017) Meswedat Al Taqir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic)*, January 1997, p.114.

Type of Residential Unit	Percentage of Users	Number of Telephone Lines Needed
Tourism Residence & Special	100%	7,025
Above Average	80%	2,810
Average	60%	1,770
Economy	40%	2,240
Bedouin	30%	300
Total		14,145

Fig.11. Telecommunications Services Needed for Different Types of Residential Units until 2017 Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am 2017) Meswedat Al Taqir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic)*, January 1997, p.118.

Service	Description	Number of Units
Day Care	80 to 90 children	1
Elementary Education School	Ages 6 to 14 serves 70 students	1

Fig.12. Services for Bedouin Residence for 2017

Source: Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region

Governorates, *El Taqir El Thany: El Takhteet Al Am Lmadinat Sharm El Sheikh Am*

2017) Meswedat Al Taqir (Second Report: Draft for the General Planning for Sharm El Sheikh City year 2017- in Arabic), January 1997, p.75.

Appendix (C) List of Interviewees

Interviews were conducted during the month of June 1997 with the following interviewees in the locations identified:

1. An anthropologist working on the St. Catherine National Park project (Cairo)
2. A Bedouin family living in Dahab (Dahab, South Sinai)
3. Goma [pseud.], Bedouin fisherman (Nabeq Protectorate, South Sinai)
4. Farag [pseud.], Bedouin fisherman (Nabeq Protectorate, South Sinai)
5. Salem [pseud.], Bedouin (Nabeq Protectorate, South Sinai)
6. The director of the *medical unit for diving-related accidents* engaged in community work in South Sinai (Sharm El Sheikh, South Sinai)
7. The Director of the National Parks (Cairo)
8. The First Deputy of the Ministry of Tourism (Cairo)
9. The former Executive Chairman of the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA) (Cairo)
10. European Community Consultant (Cairo)
11. An international tourism consultant and adviser (Cairo)
12. The Park Manager of the South Sinai Sector (Sharm El Sheikh, South Sinai)
13. The project manager of the Regional Project for Planning and Development of the Third Region Governorates (Ismailia)
14. Senior ranger, South Sinai Park (Sharm El Sheikh, South Sinai).

Vita

Dina Ali is a native of Egypt. She was born in Cairo, Egypt on 31 December 1969 to Mohammed Fathi Mohammed Ali and Soheir El Baqary. She graduated from the American University in Cairo with a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration. After graduation, she worked as a marketing manager for Unilever Egypt between 1990 and 1991. She then joined the Fulbright Commission in Cairo as a program officer from 1991 till end of 1993. She got married to Khaled Hassouna in 1993 and moved to South Sinai where she worked as a park ranger in the Ras Mohammed National Park. She returned to Cairo and worked as a researcher for a consultancy office during 1995. She moved to the United States in 1996 where she pursued her Master's degree in urban and regional planning at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.