

THE REFLECTION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM CHANGE IN EGYPT ON THE TOURISM PUBLIC POLICY AFTER THE JANUARY, 25TH REVOLUTION

by

Ahmed M. Khodair

Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Menofia University,
Shibin El Kom, Egypt
Tel: 00201147074287, 00201061396019,
E-mail: ahmedkhodair@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

This study aims at tackling the impact of the 25th of January 2011 and the change of the political system on the tourism policy in Egypt. The study depended on to methodological tools: interview with a sample of the tourism policy experts, and interviews with the ministry of tourism officials, and the Egyptian tourism federation president. The study concludes the there is a negative impact of the change in the Egyptian political system after the 25th of January which resulted in the election of an Islamic government (Muslim brotherhood and Salafi). That bad impact goes back to obstacles of the implementation of the tourism policy resulted from the state of riots and strikes in Egypt. However the change in the political system doesn't have any impact on tourism policy making or evaluation. Thus tourism has no chance to achieve its benefits; this is due to the bad impact of the change in the political system on tourism policy implementation.

KEYWORDS

Tourism Policy, Political Change, 25th of January Revolution, Policy Change

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between politics and tourism in Egypt wasn't clear whether academically or in practice till the political developments followed the 25th revolution. Since the Islamists shaped the majority in the Egyptian parliament, fears have raised especially inside the tourism sector that the Islamic political system's policies will harm tourism and will be negatively reflected in a new tourism policy that work against the tourism sector.

Politically speaking, this study aims at examining to what extent the changes in the Egyptian political system affect the design of the new tourism policies. Thereby, this study will tackle the following issue: To what extend the political changes in the Egyptian political regime following the January, 25th revolution affected:

- The tourism policy making (guidelines, content, stakeholders, and decision making);
- The tourism policy implementation (tools requirements, and obstacles); and
- The tourism policy evaluation (ways, methods, and indicators).

The aim of the study: to asses the impact of the change in the Egyptian political system on the tourism policy weather it is negative or positive.

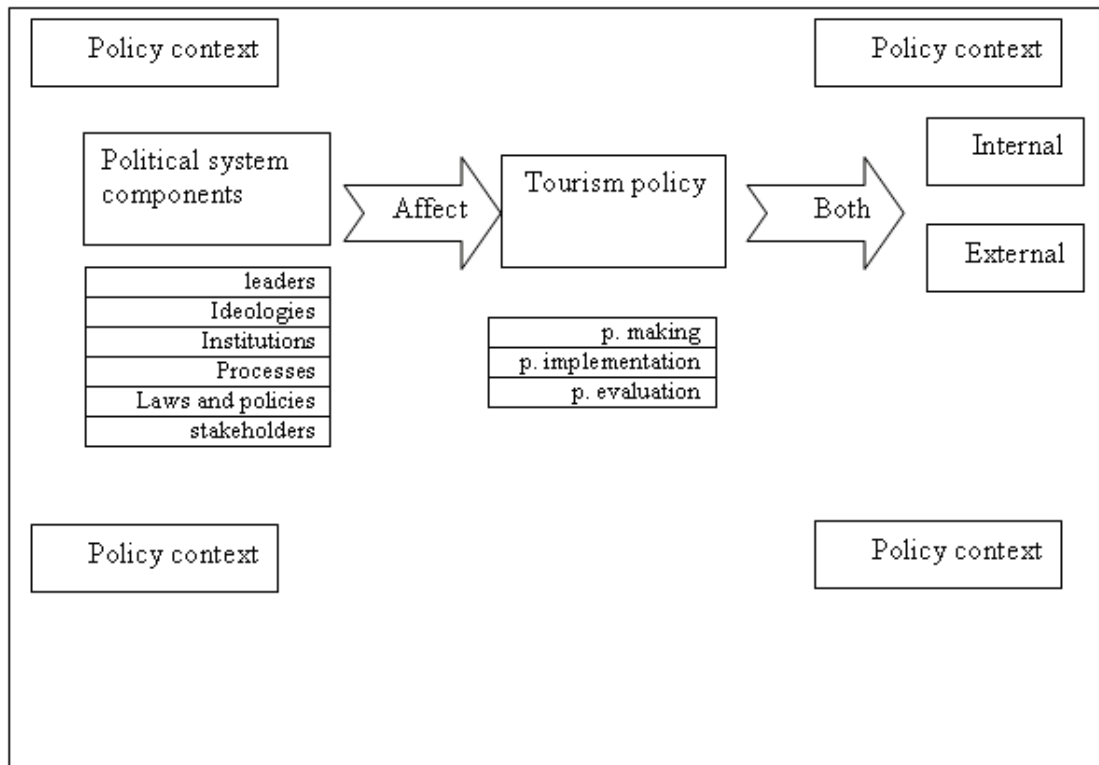
METHODOLOGY

The study is based on using the policy cycle approach. Additionally, it uses the Ecological method of the political context of the tourism policy in Egypt. Furthermore, the study depended on to methodological tools: interview with a sample of the tourism policy experts (30 respondent), and interviews with the ministry of tourism officials, and the Egyptian tourism federation president.

HYPOTHESIS

- 1- Hypothesis 1: There is no impact of the change in the Egyptian political regime after the 25th of January on the tourism policy making (policy content – policy formulation – decision making).
- 2- Hypothesis 2: There is negative impact of the change in the Egyptian political regime after the 25th of January on the tourism policy.
- 3- Hypothesis 3: There is no impact of the change in the Egyptian political regime after the 25th of January on the tourism policy evaluation
- 4- Hypothesis 4: Tourism can't play any role in achieving the slogans of the revolution.

**FIGURE 1
VIRTUAL MAP OF THE STUDY**



Study organization: The study will be divided into three parts. In part one, the study describes basic changes in the political regime (in the light of the new Islamic government) and its reflections on tourism policies. While in part two the study analysis main changes in tourism policy process: making – implementation – evaluation. In part three the study examines main theories of policy change most applicable to the Egyptian case.

The first part: Features shift in the Egyptian political system after the revolution of January 25, 2011 and The Islamists came to power

This study addresses the most important features of the transformation witnessed by the Egyptian political system the revolution of January 25, 2011 and its implications on tourism policy. These transformations are supposed to be reflected on the tourism policy making, implementation and evaluation. We can monitor changes in the Egyptian political system after the revolutions of January 25 are as follows

Leadership (political elite) : Since August 2012 ruled Egypt President Mohamed Morsi alone after getting rid of the military junta to implement his ideas, Brotherhood Muslims as a former president of the bayonet and Justice Party, which was founded on 6 June 2011 as a party with an Islamic reference"abdeltwab, 2012, p82". Under the rule of Morsi formed Ministry Hisham Qandil first and second to express Islamic orientation. Although many of the ministers representing the Islamic movement and the Muslim Brotherhood but The Ministry of Tourism has not vested in the

Minister of brothers, but he took the Minister technocrat specialist in tourism affairs which Hisham Zaazou, who served as assistant to the minister of tourism.

Political ideology : The ideology of the new elite and actress in the ideology of Freedom and Justice party political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood movement is Islamic religious ideology. The goals that the principles of Islamic Sharia is the main source of legislation and that the Shura is the essence of democracy and belief in the equality of all Egyptians (the principle of citizenship). With the approval of, non-Muslims of their right to resort to their legislation in matters of personal status. The party has adopted tourism program for tourism development in the fourth item of the third quarter on Urban Development Party came attention to tourism indirectly through national interest to projects as a project to develop the northern coast and improve education, health, transport, etc. as factors and determinants contribute to raising the competitiveness of the tourism sector.

Party adopted its Tourism occupies pride of place elements of tourism in Egypt of the cultural heritage and the richest Pharaoh and the Greek and Roman, Coptic and Islamic and temperate climate and the nature of the charming and good people hospitable.

The program looks for tourism from the perspective of its importance in providing job opportunities and foreign currency through " Program Freedom and Justice party":

- 1- Protection of tourist areas in ancient Egyptian cities, and on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea on the basis of modern tourist, and prevent the indiscriminate growth of buildings around these areas.
- 2- Encourage the private sector and attract foreign investment to mobilize more investments in the tourism sector.
- 3 - Directing all tourism-related service ministries such as: the Ministry of aviation, transport and media, culture, environment and other ministries and agencies involved in tourism activity in Egypt to support and promote tourism among the most important goals of its annual plans.
- 4 - Marketing tourism product on the Arab and international levels by acting on the Egyptian Tourism Authority in the main exporting markets, and the study of target markets and to open new markets.
- 5 - Double hotel capacity through the development of existing tourist destinations and target new tourist destinations, and with the diversification of tourism services and improves the quality of services provided.
- 6 - Provision of infrastructure for the development of a network of roads, water, electricity and wired and wireless connections, and airports, internal and external, while addressing various constraints that affect the tourist.
- 7 - To provide quality service to tourists from receiving through facilitating customs procedures, and moving to the appropriate hotel, hotel service is, programs are visits to tourist areas and even leaving Egypt.
- 8 - Establishing specialized hospitals on a high degree of efficiency to promote medical tourism.
- 9 - The lifting of all tariff barriers and visas among Arab countries.

So it is clear that the party has an integrated program for tourism is aware of the nature of the overall tourism does not exist in the party's program, which reflects the ideology impedes or restricts tourism. And on the ground, said representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood several times that things in the tourism sector will go as it was and that nothing will change. Even Salafis took after the success they have achieved in the elections distance from their previous positions on the prevention of mixing on the Egyptian shores.

We are also interested in reference to the ideology of the Alnour party as it came in his platform as the second partner in the dissolved parliament, where harvesting party members second only to the members of Freedom and Justice Party.

Although these Salafi party and tough he is the first party Salafi be established within the parties provided by the Salafist Preaching (Abdeltwab, 2012, P87).

Despite his emphasis on the importance of adhering to regulations legitimacy and the full commitment of public order and public morals of the State; and although he did not include in his platform mentions on tourism, But the transformation in the party's speech on tourism between tourism officials refused to call for tourism, but in the context of the commitment controls legitimacy and refused alcohol and nudity, while providing an alternative model for tourism through therapeutic attention to tourism, religious and environmental(Youssef, A newspaper article on the seventh day Thursday 19 January 2012).

.In the evolution of the party's speech from a political perspective, The spokesman of the party said the parliament busy health and education issues and not issues of alcohol and nudity, then at a later stage the spokesman of the party said Tourism need to require undo party ideas on tourism (Interview with Elhamy Alzayat,2013).

Political institutions: Egypt witnessed many institutional changes, both at the level of constitutional arrangements or at the level of political organizations that followed these constitutional amendments

Despite the approval of the Egyptian people on the new constitution, but this constitution has a flaw have to do with tourism. Although the Constitution does not provide expressly tourism But the Shura Council take over the functions of the legislation will affect tourism to the lack of representation of this Council to the people in large part the interests of the particular sector. And on the formation of a committee to establish a Constitution which was formed without representation of the Egyptian Federation of Chambers of Tourism, Making Union issued its statement in 12/11/2012 to announce the founding committee ignored the Constitution demands and union representation And were invited in this statement to the referendum on the constitution, which ignored their demands, making it a call for indirect vote rejected, This is what makes the representatives of the tourism industry are demanding the inclusion in Article Seventeen of the Constitution that talk about the industry and its role in the Egyptian economy. It should be noted that the Constitution of 2012 did not include within its articles 236 hindering tourism or incites action against him(Egyptian Constitution,2012).

In terms of political organizations, despite the elections of the People's Assembly and Shura Council, the parliament has been canceled by virtue of the Supreme Constitutional Court in 14.2.2012 and though the new President of his decision to return the Council again in 09/18/2012, but the Constitutional Court ruled again by issuing the rule dissolved in 22/9/2012. Given that the tourism was affected the judicial and constitutional crisis between the judiciary and the President of the Republic and the Council caused the postponement of the legislation in terms of tourism on the other hand, was undermined one of the most important tasks of the People's Assembly in the control of the executive branch on tourism representative in the Ministry of Tourism.

Laws, policies and related policies: the institutional instability of institutions legislation has made the issue of passing a law or a legislative amendment in tourism was impossible, especially since the tourism sector one of the sectors that suffer poverty legislative. And there are numerous complaints were repeated for legislative amendments or issue new laws in the field of tourism. And there are laws passed since 1956 and the laws issued in the Sadat era as a tourist company's law No. 38 of 1977 and Law No. 1 tourist facilities for the year 1977. What is the introduction of amendments to these laws, especially since the nineties of the twentieth century and these amendments were slightly modifying legal materials and limited as law No. 25 of 2005 amending the Companies Act replace the item only tourist in the law. Is usually offset by administrative decisions complementary organization or decisions to issue or amend the implementing regulations do not add new.

Meanwhile policies and their revolutionary did not register revolutionary policies in the field the tourism, revolutionary here is means gradually adopt policies vary tourism policies in the past Sector is interested in addressing the disruptions caused by tourist Revolutionary instability and factional demonstrations and demands more of its attention to take off about the prospects of new tourism. And this has justified that the tourism decision maker after the January 25 revolution was not interested in the restoration of the situation for what it is more than his ability or desire to move towards development. It is noted that whenever things stabilized since the January revolution for the benefit of tourism there are certain things that caused political sector in this disease and depletion causing the policy maker tourist development of policies to restore the activity rather than to launch and development.

But in the end raised the problematic issue policies after the revolution and under Islamist rule could affect tourism, for example, such as the law of non-foreign ownership of land in Sinai adversely in the presence of personalities can carry foreign nationality or the nationality of the foreign side of Egyptian nationality or marry foreign(Interview with Samya Maher,2013). Actors include actors, official and non-official: Egypt witnessed since the revolution of January 25 the emergence of a new actor is in what is called an active street Policies emerged tourist street in the demands of the workers in the field of tourism in the pressure to improve wages or pressure against layoffs tourist ... etc.. However this was not the pressure of the power compared to other groups. And in the opinion of the official view of the protests tourist right but must be regulated in the context of a specific and orderly.

Its true there is a need to express their positions in the whole world, and being that protest, demonstration or other, but must be organized so as to be in certain timing, and not to disrupt production or impede the functioning of daily life. I would ask that people pay attention to the negative impacts on the economy (Elmasry elyoum newspaper) in this context, the exploitation of the revolutionary situation of Egypt to provide categorical demands by workers in the tourism sector cause double negative situation of the tourism sector, for example, the demands of the tour guides (Younis,2012).

Political parties : Spread parties frequently during the January revolution to the point that he was publicizing parties every week, has exceeded the number of parties now 66 Party and its back to increase the number of parties after

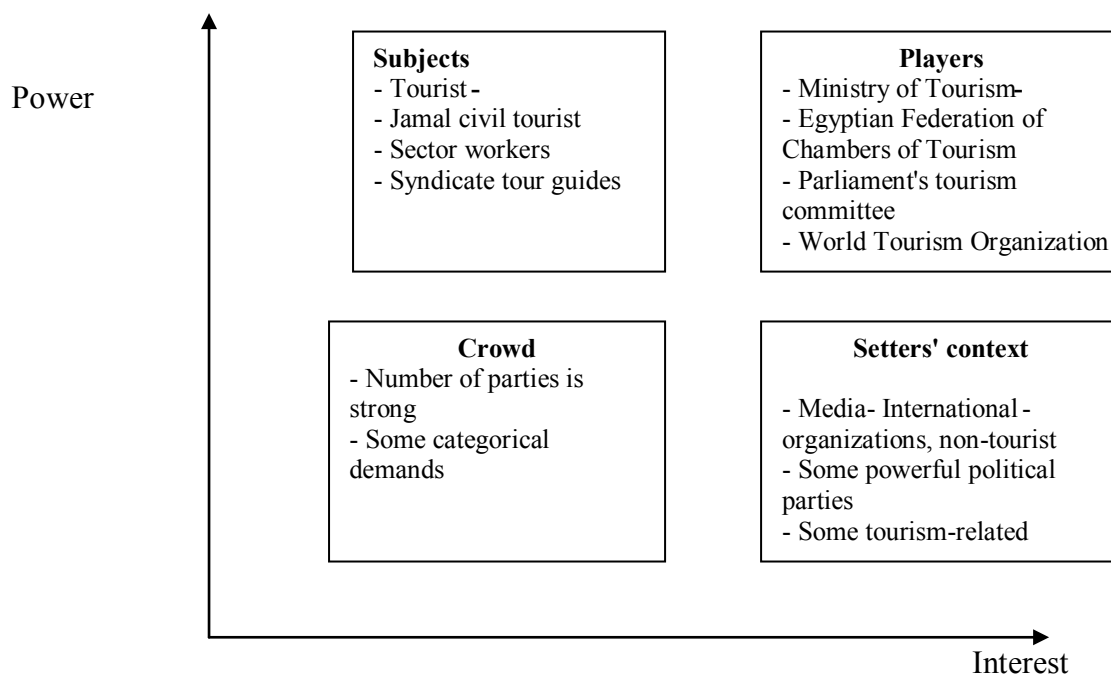
the revolution: to change the legal framework, and the removal of legal obstacles encountered in party work, and the nature of the electoral system: which is based on the allocation of two-thirds of the party list seats, compared to one-third of the seats of the individual system while allowing the parties to compete for individual seats, which means that the various parties a greater chance of political representation in exchange for independents.

Finally back to the political movement revolutionary: a political situation prior to the election an opportunity for parties Avenue to address the electorate by the issues raised by the transition, especially insecurity and worsening economic conditions and protests categorical, as well as the unsatisfactory performance of the transitional government, ... etc.. Can be classified between the parties: political Islam parties, liberal parties, the Left parties, centrist parties and characterized some of the new parties awareness of the importance of tourists to the point made to include tourism in their programs.

But again cause predominance policy on tourism to make interesting parties to tourism a political issue such as the inclusion of tourism on paper without much attention.

Figure (2) actors can be distributed after the revolution as follows:

FIGURE 2
ACTORS CAN BE DISTRIBUTED AFTER THE REVOLUTION



Source: Fran Ackermann and Colin Eden, (2010) strategic management of stakeholders: theory and practice Long Range Planning 44, p 183.

Political system environment: What is happening in Egypt as demonstrations and unrest and the desire to express without controls through demonstrations and sit-ins and factional demands. Have negative effects on tourism and tourism policies in terms of the decision-maker tourist develop compensatory policies to retrieve the former tourist numbers and not the starting and development. besides representing instability in the lot of the tour operators to cancel the their tours to Egypt and even do many of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs warned their tourists from traveling to Egypt, which exhausts the decision maker tourism develop policies motivational and refresher than exhausting physical and human resources policies tourist Moreover, a lot of tour operators return process demanding the kind of stability to Egypt for inclusion Egypt again on programs

Second Part: features of the phases and components of tourism policies after the revolution of January 25, 2011.

First: Tourism policy-making:

1 – Agenda setting: putting the issue on the agenda:

Field study shown that the issue of tourism is still listed on the agenda of the Ministry of Tourism but the situation and the deteriorating economic situation and the government's need to return covering the budget deficit was the second reason for the different tourism revenues in the continued inclusion of the issue of tourism on the agenda of the Ministry of Tourism.

**TABLE 1
THE REASONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM
ON THE AGENDA OF THE ISLAMIST GOVERNMENT**

| Answer | no | % |
|--|----|----|
| Values known for tourism, politically, economically and socially, socially and culturally | 15 | 50 |
| The urgency of the economic situation and the desire to support the economy and meet the deficit | 15 | 50 |
| Availability of support and the climate of international financial | 0 | 0 |
| Political pressure from the international political parties | 0 | 0 |
| other | 0 | |

Thus, it became clear that the continuation of the issue on the agenda of the Ministry of Tourism and adopt the Islamists return to factors taking the same amount of importance and are: Importance and different tourism revenues (50%) next to the urgency of the economic situation (50%).

In this context, showed the sample surveyed the field study that he did not make a difference in the priorities of tourism issues compared to the situation before the revolution. As the controversy follows:

**TABLE 2
ON THE CHANGE OF PRIORITIES TOURISM ISSUES
COMPARED TO THE SITUATION BEFORE THE REVOLUTION**

| Answer | NO | % |
|--------|----|----|
| yes | 3 | 10 |
| no | 27 | 90 |

It is clear that a large proportion of the respondents (90%) refused and there has been a change in the priorities of tourism issues of the post-revolution compared to the situation before the revolution, and it is interpreted by Elhamy Zayat, chairman of the Egyptian Federation of Chambers of Tourism that the tourism sector can not be authoring and talk about other types other than beach tourism among Islamist talking about does not fit alternative for tourism and for the following reasons(Interview with Elhamy Zayat (2013)

- There are no qualifications for medical tourism in Egypt
- Decline in the level of education in Egypt compared to the development of education in other countries.
- Islamic Tourism talks about will make Egypt attractive to only two countries, Iran and Saudi Arabia with this van Egypt will be vulnerable to a strong challenge from Saudi Arabia.

Zayat believes in this context that Turkey, a country with a model Islamic Tourism recently gave 16 thousand a license to engage in prostitution, and despite this, and if it was confined to only Islamic Tourism, the number that will come will not exceed a thousand

We can say that the recovery of the situation and tourist numbers to what it was before the revolution. It should be given the first priority instead of starting towards new figures. The following table shows the ratios.

In terms of parties initiative subtracting issue on the agenda came the Egyptian Federation of Chambers of Tourism in the first place (43.3%) and the Ministry of Tourism in second place (40%) in terms of its strength as parties followed media initiative (16.7). It was not parties and NGOs, sit-ins, or the legislature has an active role in the initiative

launched policies. This situation corresponds to the situation before the revolution of January 25, and start the media plays an active role in it after the revolution. The following table illustrates this.

TABLE 3
SORT INITATOR DEVELOPING TOURISM ISSUES ON THE GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA SETTER

| Answer | No | % |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| Ministry of Tourism | 12 | 40 |
| Tourism interests on groups such as the Egyptian Tourism Association tour guides | 13 | 43.3 |
| Tourist parties | 0 | 0 |
| NGOs tourist | 0 | 0 |
| International tourism organizations | 0 | 0 |
| Media | 5 | 16.7 |
| Some tourist figures | 0 | 0 |
| Legislative authority | 0 | 0 |
| Sit-ins and categorical demands and demonstrations | 0 | 0 |
| other | 0 | 0 |

Policy formulation: field study showed that there was a case of networking among the parties of the sector has increased to some extent after the revolution in a sense to the parties concerned of the seriousness of the situation on tourism. Following table shows this:

TABLE 4
OVER A NETWORKING BETWEEN TOURISM AND POLITICAL PARTIES INVOLVED IN POLICY MAKING TOURISM TOURIST AFTER THE REVOLUTION AND THE EXTENT OF MATURITY

| Answer | No | % |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Yes, there are networking | 29 | 96.7 |
| No networking | 1 | 3.3 |

As can be seen arrived proportion of the opinion that there networking after the revolution 96.7% compared to 3.3% either in terms of the nature of the issues on the agenda of the Ministry of Tourism did not differ affected ideology of Islamic new government, and policy orientations tourism did not differ too compared to the situation before the revolution; perhaps explain it to assume technocrats Minister specialized in the tourism work for the Ministry the Tourism, which means faith the the new Islamic government that the tourism sector does not fit with the Ministry the political

This justifies maintaining and Tourism Minister Hisham Zaazou in the cabinet reshuffle, although ministers and politicians took to other ministries. However reside within the ministry fears legitimate to hide the lack of direction postings to the Islamists there is no alternative for tourism, especially in light of the deteriorating economic situation and the need for Islamists to brace financial can provide tourism and that once the available ground alternative economic will Islamists claim to cancel the beach tourism; perhaps explain the light of of the following facts (Interview with Samya Maher and Ghada Adel 2013) .

- 1) Repeated demands for the Shura Council to support Congress alternative patterns of tourism such as sports tourism and tourism horses as a prelude to remove Egypt from beach tourism.
- 2) Some Islamists statements that caused the loss of tourism in Egypt adopted on beach tourism

In terms of tourism policy objectives , Although the goal of tourism represents in achieving returns different, although the study sample showed that the targets tourist has not changed, but the researcher believes that there is a change occurred in the goals was to stop the bleeding decline of tourism and this is what illustrated study as targets tourism policies now are not targets development which are made in order to progress, but in order to stop bleeding

tourist retreat and bring tourism back to what it was before the revolution. The field study showed that the Islamists since ruled no influence on the direction of tourism policies. The following table summarizes this.

**TABLE 5
THE EXTENT OF THE DIFFERENCE OCCURRED IN TOURISM POLICY CONTENT
AFTER THE JANUARY 25 REVOLUTION AND THE ARRIVAL OF ISLAMIST RULE**

| Answer | yes | | no | |
|--|----------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| | No | % | No | % |
| The nature of the issues listed | 1 | 3.3 | 29 | 96.7 |
| The desired objectives | 1 | 3.3 | 29 | 96.7 |
| The direction of tourism policies | 2 | 6.7 | 28 | 93.3 |

Thus it is clear that the largest percentage of respondents are aware of the lack of influence of Islamic government on the nature of the issues included in tourism (96.7%) or public policy goals (96.7%) and orientations (93.3%).

However, with regard to the wording, it is between drafting processes between the different parties, came to negotiate as a single number, the relationship between the Ministry of Tourism and the other parties, particularly the Egyptian Federation of Chambers of Tourism Association tour guides based on negotiation. Following table shows this:

**TABLE 6
ON PROCESSES THAT STRONGLY RAISED IN POLICY-MAKING DECISIONS TOURISM**

| ANSWER | No | % |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Negotiating | 28 | 93.3 |
| Bargaining | 0 | 0 |
| Conflict | 0 | 0 |
| redress and Order | 0 | 0 |
| Competition | 2 | 6.7 |

The negotiations came in ranked number one by 93.3%, followed by 6.7 but no competition exists bargaining, conflict or ordering and coercion within the views of the respondents.

Finally not changed arguments tourism policies of the Islamists after their term of office, the currents and the moderate Islamist parties such as freedom, justice and Nour believes in the importance of tourism and as stated in the tourism programs, which fought the elections. The following table shows

**TABLE 7
ON DIFFERENT ARGUMENTS TOURISM POLICIES AFTER ISLAMIST
RULE STEMS FROM ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES OR REMAINED THE SAME**

| Answer | No | % |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| change | 1 | 3.3 |
| Remained the same | 29 | 96.7 |

Showed 96.7% of respondents said arguments tourism policies of the post-revolution has remained the same. And the researcher noted a change in speech Salafi Nour Party as I have already made it clear from the stresses to accept the status quo. In terms of the content of the formulation of policies, the current situation makes it difficult to develop strategic plans for the instability of things and is a continuation of the pre-revolutionary status Furthermore, the field study showed that the innovative approach in the formulation of tourism policies not to be high. Finally, the study showed that the participation of the various parties in the formulation of policies do not significantly differ in terms of range compared to the situation before the revolution. The following table shows that

TABLE 8
FORCE PARTICIPATION OF VARIOUS PARTIES IN THE FORMULATION OF TOURISM POLICIES

| Answer | No | % |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| Participation equal to or close to the situation close to the situation before the revolution | 21 | 70 |
| participation equal to or close to the situation close to the situation before the revolution | 2 | 6.7 |
| More active participation from participating after the revolution | 5 | 16.7 |
| participation pack mock allow voice without taking the opinion | 1 | 3.3 |
| institutional participation is placing devices fixed to the participation of other actors taking their opinion | 1 | 3.3 |

As is clear the equal participation of the situation before the revolution in the first place (70%) followed by seeing some of the increased participation response to the revolutionary situation (16.7), while fewer indicated participation at least the pre-revolution (6.7%). Whereas the views of respondents are equally divided on participation moot or institution (1%).

Decision tourism policies: In terms of the decision-making framework, field study has shown that in the absence of a clear effect of the ruling Islamic ideology, and under exposure tourism sector for many crises that affected on the extent of optimism or warned policy maker tourist, the situation turmoil and political instability and security that came parallel to the revolution and continued with the rule among Islamist make the decision maker adopts policy frameworks balanced or cautious, continuing to recover more of the following situation of events and not starting to develop tourist numbers and variables. Either in terms of the entrance used in policy decisions tourism has shown the field study that entrance is followed entrance progressive which is based on building and accumulation of past policies, not be seen from the vocabulary sample field study that entrance total Revolutionary been followed in policies of the Ministry of Tourism in spite of the revolution that took place in Egypt and perhaps explain that tourism in the state of the disease and that they need to recover and bear any risks and the potential to take the revolutionary policies. The following table shows that:

TABLE 9
ON THE APPROACHES USED IN MAKING PUBLIC POLICY DECISIONS UNDER ISLAMIST RULE

| Answer | No | % |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Revolutionary kidney where that tourist revolutionary policies and radically different from the pre-revolutionary policies | 0 | 0 |
| Mini fractional scalability in terms of policy that adds tourist and accumulate on previous policies do not differ from those | 30 | 100 |
| .Mixed, which combines the former two entrances | 0 | 0 |

Finally, in terms of decision-making model, agreed views of most of the sample that regulatory institutional model is best explanation for the model rules tourism policy decisions until after the revolution. He notes that there is continuity to the decision-making process in the post-revolution to pre-revolution. The following table shows the results of the field study...

TABLE 10
ON MOST MODELS CLOSER TO THE POLICY-MAKING TOURIST

| Answer | No | % |
|--|-----------|-------------|
| Elite model (minority governor) | 2 | 6.7 |
| Commander of the individual model (the Head of State - Minister of Tourism) | 4 | 13.3 |
| Model group (group more influential) | 0 | 0 |
| Institutional model (enterprise commitment to policies) | 24 | 80 |

As is clear, the institutional model was the first model followed by the Ministry of Tourism in tourism policy-making, as the case when after the revolution and the Islamists came to power (80%), followed by the commander of the individual model (13.3) The Elite model (6.7). But the most important notable that form the group (as a Muslim Brotherhood group Islamic) did not occupy any position in the views of the respondents (0).

Secondly: Implementation of tourism policies

1- Implementing actors:

Barring a change in the Parties of implementation, The Ministry of Tourism and its two bodies Egyptian Authority for Tourism and the General Authority for Tourism Development, and the Egyptian Federation of Chambers of Tourism remained the parties most role in the implementation of tourism policies, however showed the field study that the media of both types of public and private has become more interested in tourism for costume before but this is done in cases of a political vacuum but when it is most things and events tourism, covering policy on tourism

2 - The mechanics of implementation of tourism policies:

Partnership was the first mechanism in terms of tools and coordination mechanisms which the Ministry of Tourism (66.7%) which is the same approach taken by the revolution. In addition, the continuation of coordinating approach to the Ministry of Tourism, which highlights the formation of the mini-ministerial Committee as will be mentioned. The following table makes clear.

**TABLE 11
ON THE TOOLS USED BY THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM IN THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF TOURISM POLICIES AFTER THE REVOLUTION**

| Answer | No | % |
|---------------------|----|------|
| Government | 4 | 13.3 |
| Partnership | 20 | 66.7 |
| connected Pursuance | 0 | 0 |
| attribution | 6 | 20 |

The views of the sample showed that he not established special departments for the implementation of which is shown by the following table.

**TABLE 12
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW DEPARTMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF TOURISM POLICY-BASED MANAGEMENT OR IMPLEMENTATION**

| Answer | No | % |
|---------------------------------------|----|-----|
| No establishment of new departments | 30 | 100 |
| New departments have been established | 0 | 0 |

Although the respondents indicated that the Ministry of Tourism did not witness organizational change since the revolution of January 25, but interviews with officials in the Ministry of Tourism showed that organizational changes were within the Ministry of Tourism or even outside in order to deal with the problems of the sector and the nature of the new situation . For example restructure some sectors as companies merged with tourist hotel sector was the integration of offices and diving into new tourism sector activities and internal offices. and have been recycling for some leaders of the ministry so that occurred internal movements and distributions of these leaders, But this organizational change had nothing to do nature of Islamic thought, but has had a relationship with the support leisure tourism and beach and the nature of thinking minister, Although it remains existing departments implementation, what has happened is restructuring departments did not create a new administration from scratch to meet the implementation of the post-revolution. Although this change it is not accompanied by a change in the system of values of employees of the Ministry of Tourism as values enthusiasm to contribute to the revival of the economy, and make the tourists more freedom, etc.

TABLE 13
THE EXTENT OF CHANGE IN THE BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM OF
VALUES OF THE WORKERS AT THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM SINCE
THE JANUARY 25 REVOLUTION AND THE ISLAMISTS CAME TO POWER

| Answer | No | % |
|--------|----|------|
| YES | 1 | 3.3 |
| NO | 29 | 96.7 |

Has indicated 96.7% of respondents to the lack of a change in the values of the workers at the Ministry of Tourism, compared with 3.3 see a change in these values.

Finally, in terms of implementation models has continued the legal entrance as it is the first model in terms of his followers by the Ministry of Tourism, but the adaptive entrance came in second place to replace the entrance economic pre-revolution. Because the tourism sector is sensitive to crises and constantly exposed to crises tourist impeding the implementation of tourism policies and in light of the adoption of the Ministry of Tourism to adapt policies and conditions of the current stage.(Interview with Wesam Hamed,2013).

3 - Implementation problems: varied constraints which faced by the respondents and the general monitoring of the most important constraints following:

- 1-Political instability
- 2- Lawlessness
- 3- Continuing sit-ins
- 4- Threats from some of the characters that belong to the current anti-Islamic Tourism.
- 5- Negative media and router (Interview with Hassan salim,2013)
- 6- The absence of legislative institutions stable since the revolution.
- 7-The Low interest of other parties to tourism
- 8- Predominance of politics in Egypt on tourism in general and in the Egyptian media, in particular.
- 9- Limited resources and budget deficit
- 10- The fear of Islamists
- 11- Not applying laws
- 12- Exponential traffic congestion compared to before the revolution

4- Requirements for successful implementation:

Combat the lawlessness and the completion of the phenomenon of sit-ins and demonstrations and the demands categorical requirement number one now to boost tourism, while the coordination was a key demand of the pre-revolution.

Third: evaluation of tourism policies

1- The control power: Such as political and Parliamentary instability after the January 25 revolution constraint on the issue of parliamentary legislative oversight of tourism policies and the work of the Other regulatory agencies such as CAPMASS and the Administrative Control authority administrative Control Authority,. These devices were followed a Political leaders and devices were not stable. Moreover the non-application of laws in light of the revolution that he believes in a lot of Egyptians was the main reason for the weakening of oversight functions on tourism policies. The revolution Created a state of the infringement on the prestige of president ship, the new political regime's attempts to calm things down and not create confusion adversely affect the control of tourism policies ,and the following table shows the respondents' perspective about their vision of the effect of the absence of Parliament on tourism.

TABLE 14
ON THE FORCE OF THE EFFECT OF THE ABSENCE OF PARLIAMENT
MONITORS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TOURISM POLICIES

| Answer | No | % |
|--------|----|------|
| YES | 23 | 76.6 |
| NO | 7 | 23.3 |

It is clear that the absence of the parliament was influential on censorship in policy implementation tourist has indicated 76.6% of the respondents to the importance of Parliament for the post-revolution, compared to 32.3% saw no influential to the absence of Parliament.

2 - Popular control: the opinions were differed in the field study on the impact of the January 25 revolution and the state of the revolution to create a popular and regulatory interest in tourism between supporters and opponents. But we can say that the tourism sector as a technical specialist sector there will be no a strong role for the control of the People's compared to sectors such as education, for example. The following table shows the percentage of respondent's opinions to influence the case of the revolution and the resulting democratic Islamic government came to create popular control of the tourism sector which is a new situation on this sector.

TABLE 15
ON THE CAUSE OF THE CASE OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE OPPOSITION IN EGYPT IN THE CREATION OF POPULAR CONTROL OVER TOURISM POLICIES

| Answer | No | % |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| yes | 5 | 16.7 |
| no | 25 | 83.3 |

It is clear from the table that the precious majority of respondents (83.3%) do not see that the revolution created a state of popular control which confirms the result of interviews conducted by the researcher. And the associated over the media interest in the case 60% of respondents He saw that tourism policies do not have a strong presence in the media agenda. While 40% felt that the tourism policy has become have recently received media attention.

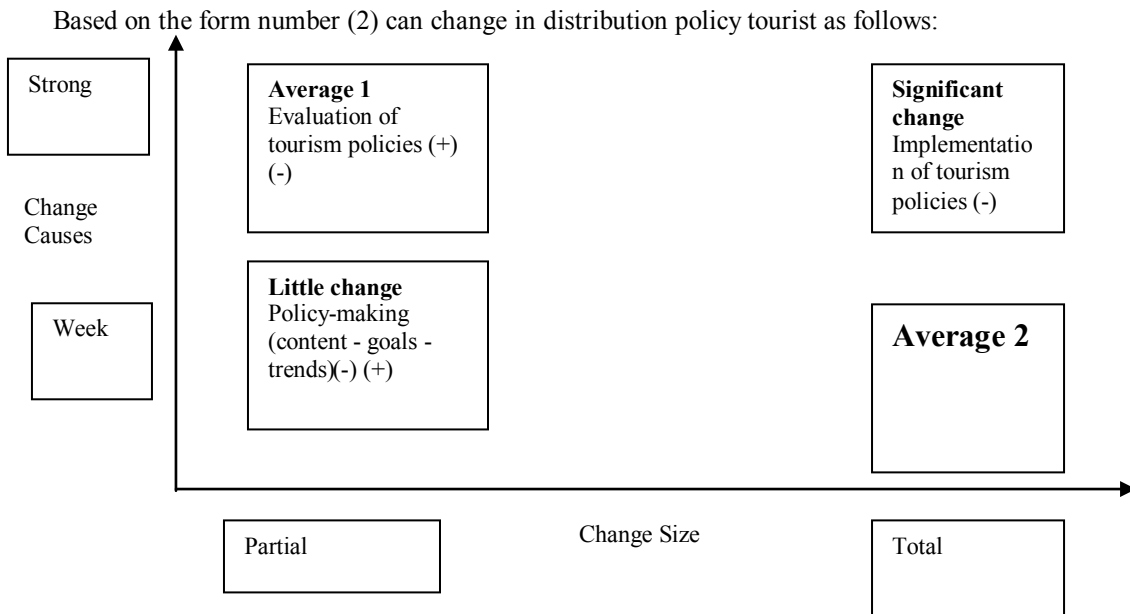
TABLE 16
THE EXTENT TO WHICH POLICIES A STRONG PRESENCE IN THE MEDIA AGENDA MEDIA CRITICISM

| Answer | No | % |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Yes have presence in the media | 12 | 40 |
| Do not have the presence in the media | 18 | 60 |

3-Evaluation criteria and indicators : criteria and indicators emerged a new evaluation motivated the change that has occurred in the obstacles to implementation, not in policy-making., There is a need for the emergence of new standards such as Insurance plane or a new battalions. Through seeking to stop the bleeding decline is no longer serious contenders financial standards, Through seeking to stop the bleeding decline is no longer serious contenders financial standards compared to adaptive standards.

Although it was not affected by political criteria such as equal protection, satisfaction and it was due to the technical nature tourism profitability.

**FIGURE 3
THE PATTERN OF TOURISM POLICY CHANGE AFTER THE REVOLUTION**



Source: prepared by the researcher

As can be seen that there has been no change in the policy-making tourist since the revolution of January 25 since the Islamists came to power both at the level of trends or content, And that the only change that has been at the level of goals so that the tourism policy maker did not target the starting and development, but restore the previous setting. but overall goals is one which take advantage of the various tourism revenues. this is what makes us put the change in the policy-making in the box no change or just a simple change. Change is weak and partially on the side of the goal of tourism policies. The implementation of the tourism policy is posted in the category of great change, but change the negative. What happened in Egypt after the revolution of January and especially the Islamists took power a negative impact on tourism in the context of lawlessness and counter sit-ins, sit-ins and the absence of political stability and adolescence in issuing many government policies and undone Which drew a state of political confusion which affected negatively on the implementation of tourism policies. Furthermore rationalization policy followed by the government that will affect the resources related to the implementation of tourism policies which is why we put the change in the

Executive in check big change because the issues of College and powerful in its impact. Finally, with regard to the assessment of tourism policies, under partial change in the goal of starting and promotion in order to attract more tourists to stop bleeding decline the evaluation of tourism policies will be changed by extension. The absence of parliament watch and be held accountable would affect the assessment and control of tourism policies. And because the change in valuation was partially in the side but it was the force we put that change in the box simple change.

The third part: the theories which explain the policy change after the revolution of January 25, 2011

Although there are seven theories of policy change, but the messaging and frameworks supervision or theories (sometimes called the theory of public discourse) and the simple theory scalability is most applicable theories to explain the case of above-mentioned change

The message or framing theory rejects the coalition hypotheses and this is what we have referred to, and under the difficult circumstances of implementation the tourism decision-maker not aimed at achieving returns compared to normal conditions but was to save tourism from her illness. However the rhetoric and debate remains as an important factor in explaining the fear of workers in the tourism sector since the Islamists took power especially and in particular language used by the Salafist Nour Party.

That official statements to the Islamists, such as Nour Party for rejection beach tourism and individual practices to others on as the pyramids idols, all this have Brought again to the memory the position of the Taliban in Afghanistan from monuments and creating fears among Egyptians in general and workers in the tourism sector in particular on

negative change , So the change came through Islamic discourse to some parties and groups in addition to silence discourse Brotherhood to talk about a clear position on tourism. The following table shows the respondents' perspective on the fear of Islamists came to power on tourism.

TABLE 17
FEARS PF ISLAMISTS CAME TO POWER ON TOURISM

| Answer | No | % |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| yes | 22 | 73.3 |
| no | 8 | 21.7 |

Thus seen rising fear a large part of the study sample of Islamists came to power on Tourism and represented 73.3 versus 26.7%.

The researcher finds through his remarks that this percentage has fallen due to assurances were by Islamists and that this percentage that answered yes can be 100% if you ask this question with the beginning of the Islamists took power, in addition to the study explained that tourism policies after the revolution has not decoupled from policies of the past, but built on its predecessor, making it accumulation policies and that is what makes the simple incremental theory is second theory that could serve to explain the change of policy after the January 25 revolution and the Islamists came to power.

* the large leaps theory not fit because tourism has not seen since the Revolution and the Islamists came to power any major revolutionary changes, so did not stop these policies from the policies of the past

* not suitable the theory of coalition because the Egyptian Federation of Chambers of Tourism still have the most influence among the actors and did not change his relationship with other parties. in addition, the sit-ins in the field of tourism were special demands of the workers from the perspective of material.

* the policy windows theory not apply to change policies in tourism policies after the revolution and the Islamists came to power due to lack of availability of a suitable opportunity to jump-start tourism and due to the nature of the conditions in the sector.

* the "power politics "and "grassroots" theories not applied because of the decline in tourism priority in ladder party interests such as health and education issues, traffic and others.

And the lack of a clear initiative from the government to contain the problem of Islamic tourism, makes this words stressing. It is noted that the federation of chamber of tourism with the participation of the Ministry of Tourism have an national dialogue initiative and participated in both the Nour Party and Freedom and Justice Party and the Centre Party and it was in several rounds in Luxor and Sharm el-Sheikh (Seventh Day newspaper) .

CONCLUSION

Thus, it became clear that the change in the political system reduce of the potential contribution of tourism in the slogan of the revolution of January 25: Live - freedom - social justice. This is because this change had negatively impacted on the implementation of policies. In other words it is not due to the direct effect of the Muslim Brotherhood came to power on the content of tourism policies but back to the status quo after the revolution of January 25 and this effect were exists in policy implementation

The study openly showed that the Islamists do not restrict what happened in tourism and what happened in Egypt is a continuation of the policies of the previous tourist in accordance with the incremental theory. Although a change in the six components of the political system But what affected by this change is the implementation of policies. it Has reflected this change in creating a negative impact on tourism and the implementation of tourism policies like having a security breakdown continuous, which is the first enemy of tourism and the ins and categorical demands in places represent the backbone of tourism in Egypt, such as Tahrir Square Which results in more traffic jam . Although there is no express Islamist government hostile to tourism, but the remarks to some Islamists have caused a negative impact on the image of the Egyptian tourism abroad.

For the first hypothesis: there is no effect of the change in the political system in Egypt after the revolution of January 25 on the structure and direction of tourism policies (policy-making).

For the second hypothesis: there is a negative impact of the change in the political system in Egypt after the revolution of January 25 on the tools and budget implementation of tourism policy (Policy Implementation). The study found the presence of negative constraints on the implementation of tourism policies resulting from the change in the political system, the Islamists took power in itself did not create restricts the implementation of tourism policies but the case of the revolution and the continuous confusion in policies Shares with other factors in creating a constant state of instability Which restricted the implementation of tourism policies In addition, the state of security chaos and traffic congestion . These problems are due to the government's failure and inability to solve .and In other words, that the obstacles to the implementation of policies due to the government's failure to provide a supportive environment for tourism in Issues which Considered to be one of the requirements of the regime's survival and not only promote tourism, a security issue.

For the third hypothesis: there is a negative impact of the change in the political system in Egypt after the revolution of January 25 on the approaches and methods and indicators for assessing tourism policies (evaluation of policies). that hypothesis not realized where it witnessed the assessment establish policies tourism has seen a positive amendment in line with the revolutionary state Such as the introduction of new security standards in the evaluation of tourism policies for example increased insurance regiments and aircraft But the Islamic government did not establish the criteria to assess the policies of Islamic tourism, and there was no ideological change in the content of the evaluation criteria. What happened to change in tourism policy objectives not in quality but in tourist numbers? So the goal is to restore tourist numbers before the revolution and not starting a new one.

For the last hypothesis: the tourism doesn't contribute in the slogan of the revolution of January 25: live - freedom - social justice . this hypothesis has Proved Correctness but not for the impact of the shift in the political system on the policy-making or evaluation But due to the impact of the shift in the political system on the implementation of those policies by creating problems impeding the implementation of tourism policies and then affect the role and contribution in achieving the January 25 revolution slogans. This is consistent with the results of the field study where indicated 93.3% of the sample that tourism conditions since the Islamists came to power does not support the contribution of tourism to the revenues and then to achieve the slogan of the revolution

RECOMMENDATION

- 1) Speed of completion of the rebuilding of state institutions, particularly the legislative institution.
- 2) It is important to restore security and meet the growing lawlessness.
- 3) More positive media awareness for tourism.
- 4) Speed of the completion of the plans face traffic jam.
- 5) It is important Islamists to reassure that they are not against tourism either recently or on the future.

REFERENCES

Books

- J. Veal,(2002) *Leisure and Tourism Policy and Planning*, New York, CABI publishing.
- Christian Reflection, Ramo'Gray,(1982) *Tourism in The Third World* .New York: Many Knoll, .
- Collin Michael. Hall,(1994) *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power, and Place* Chichestar, John Wiley and sons,.
- Elliott, James, (1997)*Tourism: Politics and Public Sector Management: A Comparative Perspective*, london: Routledge.
- Eric Neumayer, The Impact of Political Violence on Tourism, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 48 No. 2, April 2004 259-281.

James E. Anderson, and Others,(1984) *Public policy and Politics in America*, California: Brooks/ Cole Publishing Company

James Elliott ,Tourism(1997) :*Politics And Public Sector Management* .London :Routledge

James Elliott, (1997) *Tourism: Politics and Public Sector Management*. London: Rout ledge.

Jefferies, D.,(2008) *Government and Tourism*, Oxford: Butter Worth – Heinemann.

Jenkins-Smith, Hank C., and Paul A. Sabatier. (1993)“The Dynamics of Policy-Oriented Learning.” In *Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach*, ed. Paul A. Sabatier, and Hank C. Jenkins-Smith.

Lee, D.,(2011) Post-Revolution Tourism In Egypt: A Look Into A Turbulent Future, May 10, retrieved from: <http://diceylee.blogspot.com/2011/05/post-revolution-tourism-in-egypt-look.html>

Linda K. Richter, (1989) *The Politics of Tourism in Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Mansfield, Y, (1996),"Tourism and Wars in the Middle East", in Abraham Pizam and Mansfield (eds.) , *Tourism ,Crime , and International Security Issues*, New York :john Wiley and sons.

Mustafa Kamal Elsayeid, (2002)*Politics of Development: Synopsis of The course*, Cairo, Faculty of Economics and Political Science,

Nasser, Nahala Ossama, (1995)Tourism Crises and How to Handle *them*, Master Thesis in Tourism Studies, Helwan University, Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management,.

O’Neil, P.(1997) *Essentials of Comparative Politics* (2nd ed.):((Norton, 2007).

Owen E., Huges,(1994) , *Public Management And Administration* .New York, The Macmillan press Ltd,.

Robert Eyestone, (1971)*The Threads of Public Policy*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill

Saif, I., (2011) *challenges of Egypt's Economic Transition*, Washington, D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Publications.

Thomas R. Dye,(1984) *Understanding Public Policy*, Fifth Edition (New York: prentice-hall, INC, Englewood cliffs, N.J.

Wantanee Suntikul and Richard Butler, (2010) *Tourism and Political Change: introduction*, Oxford: Good fellow Publishers Limited, Wood Eaton.

Yoel Mansfeld," Wars, Tourism and The Middle East Factor" , in Abrham Pizam and Yoel Mansfeld,(1996) *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*, *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*.Chichester:John Wiley&Sons,

Articles

Ala Al-Hamarnah & Christian Steiner,(2004) Islamic Tourism: Rethinking the Strategies of Tourism Development in the Arab World After September 11, 2001, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24:1

Bianchi, R. V. (2004)Tourism restructuring and the politics of sustainability: A critical view from the european periphery (The Canary Islands). *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 12(6),

Joan C. Henderson, "Tourism and Politics in the Korean Peninsula", *The Journal of Tourism Studies* Vol. 13, No. 2, dec. ‘2002

Mark K. McBeth, et al, (2007)The Intersection of Narrative Policy Analysis and Policy Change Theory, *The Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 1, .

Mathews, H. G. (1975). International Tourism and Political Science Research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2(4),

Reports

Helmut Kregure , (2004)*the Need for Innovation – Oriented Tourism Policy* , OECD,

Whitford, M. .(2009) A framework for the development of event public policy: Facilitating regional development. *Tourism Management*, 30(5),.

Internet Sources

Michael Hall, Politics and Tourism – interdependency and implications in understanding change. , at the address:
http://canterburynz.academia.edu/CMichaelHall/Papers/127602/Politics_and_Tourism_interdependency_and_implications_in_understanding_change

Elizabeth Odada, The Politics of Tourism, tourism issues and development. At the address:
<http://www.tourism-master.nl/2009/10/27/the-politics-of-tourism-2/>

Sarah Stachowiak, *Pathways for change: 6 Theories about How Policy Change Happens*, Organizational Research Services

Jack Shenker, The Guardian, Thursday 19 January 2012 20.12 GMT at thr address:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jan/19/egypt-tourism-visitor-numbers-collapse>