

SEDENTARIZATION AND TOURISM

**THE CASE OF
THE ZALABIA BEDOUIN TRIBE
OF THE
SOUTHERN JORDAN**

Musa Salim Tarawneh

School of Architecture

Montreal

McGill University

January 2009

A thesis submitted to McGill University's Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

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395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-67091-0
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-67091-0

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Abstract:

Most of the recent studies on the southern Jordan Bedouins portray the Bedouins as being resistant to change and development. These studies are more descriptive than analytical, focusing on romantic aspects of the Bedouin's lifestyle. In contrast, this study, based on fieldwork conducted in Wadi Rum between June-November 2004, attempts an ethnographical study that does not represent the Bedouins in a stereotypical way, neither romanticising them nor treating them as in need of development. It is based on an examination of the relationship between the socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of Bedouin society and the physical environment in which they live. The different types of settlements inhabited by Wadi Rum's Bedouin society are documented, and the contextual sources of change that shaped, and are still shaping the Bedouins' living patterns, are analyzed.

Résumé :

La plupart des études récentes portant sur les Bédouins du sud de la Jordanie les présentent comme un peuple hostile au changement et au développement. Ces études, axées sur le côté romantique du mode de vie des Bédouins, sont plus descriptives qu'analytiques. En revanche, la présente étude, basée sur des recherches effectuées sur le terrain dans le désert du Wadi Rum de juin à novembre 2004, vise l'ébauche d'une ethnographie non stéréotypée des Bédouins, sans les montrer sous un jour romantique ni présupposer que le développement leur est nécessaire. Elle s'appuie sur un examen de la relation entre les aspects socioculturels, économiques et politiques de la société bédouine et de son milieu physique. L'étude tient compte des différents types de communautés bédouines du Wadi Rum, et les sources contextuelles de changement qui ont formé et qui forment toujours les habitudes de vie des Bédouins y sont analysées.

Dedication

This dissertation is gratefully dedicated to the soul of my late father
Saleim Tarawneh



Saleim Tarawneh was the tribal judge who, throughout his life, emphasized the importance of education and helped me to realize the significance of the loyalty to my ancestors' heritage.

Acknowledgment:

How can I thank all those who helped me to bring this research into fruition? Possibly, by a blanket of thanks to all, which satisfies no one, or by a long list of names. I choose the second to thank the people, who span two continents, for it seems ungrateful not to acknowledge all who aided me. These acknowledgements are in a chronological sequence.

I am grateful to University of Jordan for the support it offered which permitted me to start my study. I am also grateful to McGill University's Administration, the School of Architecture, the Minimum Cost Housing Program, and the International Student Services and Student Aid Office for the tremendous financial and moral support they granted me to finish this research.

I wish to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Professor Vikram Bhatt, who has generously enriched my research experience. A special appreciation and thanks should be extended to the Advisory Committee Members: Professor Vikram Bhatt, Professor John Galaty and Professor Robert Mellin, for their outstanding guidance and useful suggestions during the preparation of my fieldwork research proposal, and for the constructive feedback that they gave.

I extended my appreciation to the Zalabia tribesmen. During the course of doing the research fieldwork, I was fortunate in having the opportunity of living, even for a short period of time, with the people who fascinated me for many years with their loyalty to their ancestor's heritage. They patiently allowed me to experience their life-style, and treated me as part of their family and tribal structure.

Lastly, I would like to thank the people who perhaps contributed the most to make this study a reality. For the love, patience and financial and moral support that they gave me, my deepest appreciation goes to my family members: Fatima Tarawneh, Catherine Callfas, Barbara Duff, Greg Duff and Meaghan Duff.

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VOLUME ONE

CHAPTER ONE

Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1. Preface:

Although, since the beginning of the 1900s, Jordan has become the object of growing interest, few serious ethnographic studies have been done about its nomadic Bedouin population. For the non-Arab and non-Muslim scholars, this lack of research may be due, in part, to the language barrier, as Arabic is a difficult language to learn and researchers that master the Arabic language have often become experts in Islamic studies rather than the area's contemporary societies. This, in turn, justifies the legacy of the stereotyping and the generalizations that the Orientalist's Movement constructed about the area and its people (Abu Hoseh, 1994, p. 16). Political instability in the region can also be seen as another factor that bars the possibility of conducting serious fieldwork by interested researchers. As the predominant religion of the area is Islam, non-Muslim and non-Arab scholars were often considered to be foreigners and thus often suspected for their corrupting influences as well as their missionary activities. For Arab-Muslim scholars, two reasons stand behind their disinterest in conducting research about the Bedouin communities. First is the long history of distrust that characterized the Bedouins-sedentary relationship. Most of the Arab-Muslim researchers are urbanites who perceive the nomadic Bedouin people as hostile and backward. Second, up until now, to meet the policies of their funders, which is mainly the state, both the public and private academic institutions, where most of those scholars work, are disinterested in the field of nomadism. They often claim that the lack of funds and the nature of this field of research, which is time and manpower consuming, stand behind their disinterest in conducting research about Bedouinism.

Based on the available ethnographic studies on nomadic Bedouins, during the early years of the twentieth century, all of the physical and natural forces came together, pressuring the nomadic groups in the Middle East and North Africa to give up their way of life. Both the colonial powers and the newly independent national states were eager to incorporate their nomadic people into a modernization process based on western models.

Therefore, governments in these countries took various steps in attempting to modernize their nomadic populations. These steps varied from offering incentives to the use of force and more unconventional methods. Jordan's modern history illustrates that its Bedouin population did not escape the negative impact of such a modernization process. Since the middle of the twentieth century, the southern Jordan Bedouins were, and still are, subjected to a sedentarization process, which was carefully designed and patiently implemented by the successive Jordanian governments to appear as self-generated rather than enforced. The consequences of this process have extensively altered the Bedouins' life practices.

Literature on the sedentarization process of the Bedouins of Jordan is quite sparse. Discussions about the subject have tended to be general, rather than specific, and focus on the short term rather than longer term. In addition, these discussions have often been programmatic, rather than theoretical. Because Jordan's Bedouins' nomadism is slowly coming to an end, this dissertation believes that it is imperative for the Bedouin culture be recorded, especially while the tribes are still able to serve as the primary sources of information. This dissertation seeks to make a substantial contribution to the documentation of the southern Jordan Bedouins' culture, as well as the sedentarization process they are passing through.

This dissertation, entitled, *Sedentarization and Tourism: The Case of the Zalabia Bedouin Tribe of Southern Jordan*, seeks to document the different types of settlements inhabited by the Bedouins inhabiting Wadi Rum. It also seeks to uncover some of the issues related to Wadi Rum's development programs, which have affected the Bedouins' living patterns. By understanding the contextual sources of change in Wadi Rum, this study aims to lay a foundation upon which a better understanding of the sedentarization process of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum can be achieved. Although this study appears to be of a socio-cultural nature, it is an architectural academic work in that the data gathered for this study was limited to the aspects of social life relevant to the Bedouin's built environment.

1.2. The Interest in Nomadism and Area of Research:

Until the early 1900s the Tarawneh, my Bedouin tribe, was freely wandering the deserts of southern Jordan. At that time, the extent of the Bedouins' territoriality (*dirah*) depended on the power of each tribe, and from time to time, the tribes fought over the control of their territories and its resources. A powerful tribe like the Tarawneh was dispersed throughout its territory that spanned between the eastern edge of Karak Governorate and the Desert Highway. The Tarawneh was neighbored by Bani A'ateah from the south and the Howaitat confederation from the east. The three tribes shared some interests such as economic and security that was essential to survive the harshness of the desert. Because of this closeness, in many cases, the Tarawneh, Howaitat and Bani A'ateah are bound by marriage ties.

By the early 1920s, because of the long years of drought, the Tarawneh tribe started its voluntarily sedentarization, forming thirteen settlements at the fringes of the desert east of Karak city. Currently, these thirteen settlements are combined forming small towns in which the Tarawneh settled.



Figure (1.1): The first image represents Hussein Tarawneh (my grandfather), who was the tribe sheikh. The second image shows Hussein when he led the first committee that started the Jordanian National Charter in 1925.

Source: Researcher's pictorial collection, 2008.

The sheikdom of the Tarawneh tribe has always belonged to my lineage. My maternal grandfather, Hussein Tarawneh, was the tribe sheikh, while his brother Salem, my paternal grandfather, was one of the recognized tribal judges in southern Jordan. My father, Saleim, followed his father's steps; he was also one of the distinguished tribal judges in southern Jordan. Because of the nature of his work, as the Ministry of Finance's Accountant, we lived in different locations within the southern and the middle regions of Jordan. Although my father was away from the desert, the desert was always residing in his heart. Therefore, I was raised in the Bedouin heritage of my father, who was always involved in issues related to the Bedouins of southern Jordan.

Although I never lived the nomadic way, my personal interest in the desert and its nomadic Bedouin life goes back to my childhood. My eyes saw the first light of day in a small town called Madaba. Because of its location at the fringes of the desert, Madaba had a close contact with the desert's nomadic Bedouins. The town's people used to call these nomadic Bedouins the Arabs. Along the town's southern edge, the Bedouins used to camp for several days at a time for commercial exchange purposes. This usually took place towards the end of summer. At that time, my father was eager to have his sons mingled with the Bedouins visiting Madaba. He also was anxious to have his sons spending the school summer holiday in the desert visiting their relatives. Since then, I have always had great interest in the Bedouin people and their customs. The Bedouins live a simple life, not hindered by material possessions. They are deeply spiritual people, community and family oriented, and, from my experience, extremely hospitable. What I found to be most striking was their deep connection with their surroundings. The desert terrain offered the Bedouins a spiritual and calm environment. This interest in the Bedouins' culture continued to impact my life even at the university. The Bedouins and their living patterns made me interested in environmental design, interested in creating forms, and curious about the ways in which both could be imbued with meaning. After graduation from the University of Jordan in 1983, the overarching notion in my architectural practice and academic research was environment in its broad sense. Since that time, as an architect, I was, and continue to be, interested in studying the phenomenon of change among the southern Jordan Bedouin tribes.

1.3. The Research Rationale:

The prevailing idea of this study stems from long-term and short-term emergencies. Through its five-year plans 2005-2009 and 2009-2013, the Jordanian government will continue to provide housing programs as part of the process of sedentarization to the Jordanian Bedouins living in Wadi Rum. These programs take into consideration the technical dimension of housing without including its end users in the development process. The short-term urgency stems from the government's ongoing efforts to relocate the Bedouins of Wadi Rum from their customary territories to settle in a permanent site outside the tourists' area of Wadi Rum.

1.4. Research Objectives:

This study has two main goals. First is the documentation of the different types of settlements that are inhabited by the Zalabia tribe of Wadi Rum. Second is the investigation of the contextual sources of social, cultural, economic, political and environmental changes which have occurred in the Bedouins way of life. This investigation explores the nature of this change by examining what remains constant and what has changed in the Bedouins' life patterns. This study also examines how the aspects of the Bedouins socio-cultural life interrelate to form a coherent whole that, until recently, has been transmitted from generation to generation almost without change. As well, this research investigates how these changes have influenced, and have in turn been influenced by the natural environment and the man-made environments. This study also investigates certain principles that pertain to the complex relationship between the southern Jordan Bedouins and the state. This study reviews the historical forces that have influenced the state's policies towards the Bedouins of southern Jordan, in general, and the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, in particular. To avoid generalizations, this body of work concentrates on the state's development policies in the area of tourism and how these specific development policies impact the tribal economic, cultural and political organizations. In this regard, the study explains how growth in national and international tourism creates conflict over Bedouins' access to their territories' and resources. Within this context, this study can be considered to be ethnographical research that aims to produce an insightful and detailed description of a given culture. One that is not based on

how the cultural group is perceived from the outside but rather on the way members of the group experience it. This work seeks to produce an ethnography that does not portray the Bedouins in a stereotypical way, neither romanticising them nor treating them as subjects to be “developed”. Rather, this study aims to explore and clarify some related issues where accurate information is lacking. Based on the findings of this ethnography, the practical objective is to propose a framework that can be used as a guide for an innovative settlement policy, as well as towards subsequent research.

1.5. Research Questions:

The literature that currently exists on the southern Jordan Bedouins has created the impression that this nomadic group has been resistant to change and development. It presents them as a group that is living in isolation from the various transformations taking place in Jordan. In this regard, I argue that the southern Jordan Bedouins are not entirely detached from the social, economic, and political environments surrounding them. Furthermore, it argues that these environments are the carriers of the “seeds of social modernization and economic development” (Meir, 1997, p. 11). To uncover issues related to these arguments, and to avoid generalization, this study is concerned with the process of change that is affecting Wadi Rum since the 1980s, when the majority of the Zalabia settled in Rum Village. Their historical background is only used as a reference to understand how they adapted their life patterns to suit their rapidly changing circumstances.

Three primary questions have guided the course of this study:

1. What are the contextual sources of change in Wadi Rum?

This question allows presenting the contextual sources of change in Wadi Rum. It investigates these sources in reference to the following aspects: ideologies of modernization shaping development in Jordan, external interests influencing state developmental policies and the national and international tourism.

2. How does the development of tourism affect the Bedouins' life patterns?

This question enables one to explain how tourism development affects the Bedouins' social, cultural, economic and spatial living patterns. It also explains how different

contexts acting in combination create unfavourable changes, particularly as perceived by the Bedouins.

3. Do future plans create favourable conditions for the Bedouins' welfare?

The purpose of this question is to construct a framework that focuses on the future of Wadi Rum. It aims to explore ways to minimize the negative impacts of development while maximizing its benefits.

1.6. Research Methodology:

Studies on human settlements tend to focus either entirely on the documentation of vernacular architecture, or they are sociological in that they mainly document the social, economic, and cultural contexts of these settlements. Recently, studies have begun to adopt a disciplinary collaboration between the two approaches, the physically built environment and the complexities of the communities that inhabit these spaces and places. Such an interdisciplinary approach, rather than multidisciplinary, establishes a field of study that does not belong to any particular discipline but rather crosses disciplinary boundaries in that it aims to achieve complementarity among different disciplines, concepts, approaches and methods.

This approach in studying human settlements is based on adapting an anthropological approach to architecture. The concept of 'architectural anthropology' provides "exploration of architecturally informed anthropological research and research that includes an anthropological approach to architecture, with the wisdom gained from other disciplines as well" (Amerlinck, 2001, p. 23). Architectural anthropology deals with the reciprocal nature of the relationship between architecture and culture. According to Amerlinck, architectural anthropology aims at "exploring the spatial and constructive dimensions of human behaviour and the mutual implications of space and culture" (p. 1).

This interdisciplinary collaboration stems from the fact that both disciplines, architecture and anthropology, are concerned with the issue of the spatial dimension of human behaviour. First, architecture can be understood as a three-dimensional, highly refined, cultural phenomenon "that result both from a process of physical construction with

material means and from a process of social appropriation and constant recreation by the society" (Amerlinck, 2001, pp. 3-4). Second, anthropology, by definition, is a discipline of infinite curiosity about human beings. Architects and anthropologists are interested in how and why societies, in the past and present, are varied in their customary ideas and practices. Unlike Amos Rapoport (Amerlinck, p. 23), who questioned the concept of 'architectural anthropology' because of its too restrictive bi-disciplinary grounding, this study argues that the concept goes beyond such a limitation. It opens the door to a more interdisciplinary research.

Anthropology can be categorized into two broad classifications: biological (physical) and cultural anthropology. Cultural anthropology is divided into three major sub-fields: archaeology (the study of past cultures, primarily through their material remains), anthropological linguistics (the anthropological study of languages), and ethnology (the study of existing and recent cultures). One type of ethnology is ethnography. Literally, ethnography means describing (graphing) the people (ethno). Therefore, ethnography is a method of studying and learning about a person or a group of people (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972, p. 3). Ethnographers, depending on the nature of their research, usually spend a substantial period of time living with, talking to, and observing the people whose customs he or she is studying. Along this understanding, the format used for this research study is known as an ethnographic-environmental research. The main objective of this methodology is to provide a description, as thorough as possible, with a view of providing material and guidance for subsequent research.

During the course of conducting this research particular attention was given to three key issues. The first issue is the fact that I brought into this research my own value judgments. To be as objective as possible, I believe that my initial concerns were confirmed after undertaking this research and after learning about similar cases in different locations of the world. Secondly, after living in urban environments and living outside Jordan, I am aware of how my values have changed and that I am looking at my native culture with a bi-cultural focus. Finally, the importance of not producing ethnography that contributes to the growth of the Bedouins ignorance towards the outsiders. In this regard, I attempt to

avoid representing the Bedouins as 'ignorant' and 'backwards', as well as I avoided constructing an image of this nomadic group in that they "appear as legitimate objects of socio-economic engineering or of neo-orientalist, romanticised thoughts" (Chatelard, 2001, p. 6).

1.7. Research Organization:

The compilation of this research takes advantage of a variety of different sources of information. This study involved a literature review that spanned many disciplines: architecture, anthropology, ethnography and geography. Although each chapter explores different dimension, they freely borrows from each other to generate their own research demands as its contents unfold. This research consists of eight chapters, including this introductory chapter. This dissertation is constructed differently from the traditional structure, where a separate chapter is allocated for the literature review about the central theme. Instead this dissertation contains a literature review in every chapter so that it supports the main arguments in each chapter. The first two chapters are of an introductory nature. Chapter one introduces the reader to the research topic, objectives and scope. Chapter two deals with the theoretical framework which aims to uncover many topics related to this study main focus: sedentarization, tourism and socio-cultural change and constructs the foundation on which the remainder of this research will be built.

Chapter three provides relevant facts about the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. These facts introduce the reader to this research's case study. While exploring Jordan's historic, economic, social and cultural contexts, this chapter provides details about the country's nomadic population. Following introduction about the phenomenon of Bedouinism, the different sections of this chapter zoom in to give a specific description about the southern Jordan Bedouins, in general, and the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, in particular.

Chapter four is devoted to the research approach and methodology. It focuses on the background of the case study and describes the methodology adopted for the actual fieldwork. Chapter five and six deal with the fieldwork study in that chapter five is

dedicated to presenting the nomadic pattern of living in Wadi Rum, while the sixth chapter presents the semi nomadic/settled and settled patterns.

Chapter seven summarizes the fieldwork findings of chapters five and six as well as provide the reader with an analytical description of the data collected.

Chapter eight offers the reader conclusions and recommendations that are based on the findings of the fieldwork. In addition this chapter contains a discussion about the contribution of this research to the fields of Nomadism, Bedouinism and their relationship to the field of housing studies. Finally, chapter eight provides recommendations for future research and possible ways in which these recommendations can be implemented for the benefit of the various groups affected by the research.

CHAPTER TWO

Chapter Two:

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction:

The purpose of this chapter is to construct the theoretical framework on which the remainder of this dissertation will be built. Fortunately, some writers have advanced theoretical concepts that can serve as a good starting point towards the construction of an integrated theory about the concept of Bedouinism. In his book entitled *Cultural Transformation Among the Bedouins of Jordan*, Abu Hoseh has made several theoretical propositions that can be taken into consideration in the process of theory building about Bedouinism. Abu Hoseh (1994) suggested that the theory should not ignore the nature of the Bedouin phenomenon as a complex web of social, cultural, economic, political and environmental interactions, and the sources of data as well as data collection techniques should not be confined to one particular discipline (p. 12). To achieve its goals, the author of this study believes that the theoretical framework should be capable of explaining the past, interpreting the present and predicting the future of the dissertation's case study. The author of this study believes that he should keep himself in close association with the various approaches and concepts of socio-cultural change. Based on these considerations, the construction of the theory necessitates drawing upon knowledge derived from a variety of disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology and psychology. Therefore, this section aims to highlight some of the concepts that pertain to this study. These concepts are outlined in the following sections of this chapter.

2.2 The Concept of Society:

A review of literature in the fields of anthropology, sociology and psychology illustrates that there is a degree of difficulty in developing a standard definition for the concept of society. In *What is Society*, Zahn (1964) states that "any definition must be flexible enough to accommodate the great variations in scale, level and quality of development, and degree of stability that societies may exhibit at any given time or place" (p. 104). For Zahn, the concept of society is defined as "an ordered and dynamic system of all social interactions involving the members of the total population, which can be identified as

sharing a culture distinct from that shared of other populations” (p. 104). While discussing the varied definitions of the concept of society, Zahn suggests that society is “composed of lesser social groupings and structures which are themselves subsidiary systems of social interactions of more restricted scope and purpose” (p. 36). According to Zahn, societies are divided into smaller groupings called communities. Here, it is essential to mention that for the benefit of this study, Zhan’s definition of the concept of society will be adopted. From this definition of society, one may raise the following question: what keeps society’s individuals and sub-groups held together over time and in the face of changes? This question raises important issues, which can be further addressed through discussing the concepts of social cohesion, solidarity and social interaction.

Literature on social cohesion is rich and varied while at the same time quite ambiguous as there is little agreement on how to define the concept. Ibn Khaldun’s answer to the question of how societies could be held together was to suggest the concept of social solidarity (*a’sabiyah*). For Ibn Khaldun (1976), *a’sabiyah* is the “basis of political power and cultural hegemony, while unrestrained individualism is the source of a group’s downfall” (p. 115). Ibn Khaldun’s definition illustrates that it is also important to discuss the concept of solidarity as it is closely tied to the social cohesion. In addition to Ibn Khaldun, Durkheim (1933) provided a detailed analysis of the concept of solidarity. In his book entitled *The Division of Labour in Society*, Durkheim suggests that there are two types of solidarity that keep society cohesiveness: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is found in tribal societies that consist of different segments. For Durkheim, although these societies are segmented, they possess a conscience collectivity that includes “specific social rules that everyone must follow... and a commitment to the overriding importance of the collectivity as a whole...Organic solidarity is found in societies with advanced technology, where there is a strong division of labour that includes pervasive interdependence among its individuals and groups” (Durkheim as cited in Salzman, 2001, p. 27). Reimer (2002), in *Understanding and Measuring Social Capital and Social Cohesion*, defines the social cohesion as “the extent to which people respond collectively to achieve their valued outcomes and to deal with the economic, social, political and environmental stresses that affect them” (p. 13).

Although the concept of social cohesion has been addressed differently by different disciplines, there is an agreement that the concept of social interaction is the mechanism responsible for developing the cohesion among the society members.

Social interaction is another concept characterized by ambiguity. For the benefit of its objectives, the author of this study uses the concept of social interaction as the ability that allows individuals to be engaged in an ongoing process of constructing common values and scales to which they can refer to assess the meanings associated with actions. This ability allows for the development of relationships between people based upon an exchange of benefits that are of a psychological, symbolic or materialistic nature. Such an exchange is argued by Salzman to be “a subject to negotiation between people about what they expect” (2001, p. 44).

Fredrik Barth, in *Models of Social Organization*, discusses the importance of negotiation as a process that generates and reinforces any social form. For Barth (1966):

Whatever the basis for the transaction may be, through it the parties receive information indicative of each other's principles and scales of evaluation. Through repeated transactions, I would argue that these aspects are reinforced...values applying to those presentations which flow between parties become systematized and shared (p. 14).

For Barth, social patterns are the people's choice, “while influenced by certain constraints and incentives” (p. 1). For the purpose of this study, Barth's theoretical approach about society and social interactions will be adopted as this study argues that society can be understood as a moral system made up of rules and norms of a cumulative nature that are transmitted from generation to generation. Also, the author of this study argues that members of communities learn from one another on the basis of observation and interaction with others from both within and outside their society.

In addition to these concepts discussed above, that relate to the construction of society, it is also important to further explore issues related to the cultural component of this study, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.3 The Concept of Culture:

The ways in which culture can be defined often vary according to their field of research and theoretical approaches. Definitions range from those that are quite narrow and specific to definitions that are more broad and imprecise in nature.

In the late nineteenth century, many social philosophers and historians tended to treat culture as a kind of idea that provided a basis for characterizing society. The term culture was first used in this way by the English anthropologist Edward Burnett Taylor (1832-1917). In *Primitive Culture*, Taylor (1958) defined culture as the “complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (p. 26). For Clifford Geertz (1973), the concept of culture “denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (p. 86). To be more specific, Sarkar discussed some of the methodologies by which culture can be transmitted. Sarkar (1982) in *Culture, Ecology and Tradition*, emphasized that “culture runs down through generations with the help of education and understandings” (p. 6). In the same sense Boyd and Richerson (1985) suggest that culture is “information capable of affecting individual’s phenotypes which they acquire from other conspecifics by teaching or imitation” (p. 33). According to Durham (1991), culture is a “system of symbolically encoded conceptual phenomena that are socially and historically transmitted within and between populations” (pp. 8-9). For the purpose of this study, I agree with Durham’s definition, in which the definition would be adopted.

As these interpretations of culture tended to favour a broader view of the concept, many attempts have been made to construct a more operational definition. Hatch, in Adam and Jessica Kuper’s *The Social Science Encyclopaedia* (1996), argues that culture consists of “values, beliefs, rules of conduct, political organization, economic activity and the like, which are passed on from one generation to the next by learning – and not by biological inheritance” (p. 178). A similar understanding of culture was adopted by Amos Rapoport, one of the pioneers in studying the nature of the relationship between culture, as

expressed in human behaviour, and the built environment. While stressing the plurality of definitions, Rapoport argues that the many different definitions of culture fall into one of three general views of what culture is:

One defines it as a way of life typical of a group. The second as a system of symbols, meanings and cognitive schemata transmitted through symbolic codes. The third as a set of adaptive strategies of survival related to ecology and resources. Increasingly, these three views are seen not as being in contradiction but rather as complimentary (1980, p. 9).

Rapoport views culture as the property of a population by which they maintain their identity and relate to their environment. He suggested that culture is too abstract and ideational to be useful in socio-cultural analysis. Because of the complexities surrounding the construction of a definition for culture, Rapoport suggests that ideational concepts, such as culture, should be approached differently. He argues that the abstract nature of the concept of culture stems from the general misconception that culture and social are perceived as the same. According to him, the two concepts are best seen as “distinct in the sense that social refers to more concrete variables, to the actual social structure, groups, networks, relationships and behaviours which are manifestations of culture” (Rapoport, 1980, p. 10). Through Rapoport’s dismantling process of these two concepts, culture becomes an operational concept as its social manifestations are of an observable nature. To increase specificity, Rapoport, in his analysis, has used a particular sequence to analyze the concept of culture through its components, from world views and values to lifestyle and activities. Of specific interest to this study is Rapoport’s suggestion that, “the concept of life style has proven particularly useful for the study of a great variety of environmental behaviours” (p. 10). Rapoport illustrates a relationship between the concept of life style and culture by suggesting that “life style in turn leads to activity systems...activities are direct expression of life style and ultimately of culture” (p. 10).

The relationship between culture and life style, which Rapoport advocates, offers an innovative lens to analyze specific cultural groups. His ideas, which illustrate the relationship between one’s culture and one’s ecological surroundings, are important to this specific study as it focuses on the Bedouin people. By using Rapoport’s ecological

focus we can attain a more in-depth understanding of this particular cultural group because of their strong connections to their natural surroundings. Along this perspective, John Galaty's analyses of nomadic life stated the following: "we find the rationality of pastoral behaviour, and within the context of a cultural ecology we discover the adaptive nature of pastoral institutions of subsistence production and resource use" (1981, p. 16). In this regard, this study defines the concept of cultural ecology as the relationship between a given society and its natural environment, the life patterns and ecosystems that support these life patterns. The author of this study is aware that the concept of cultural ecology may inherit some of the concept of culture vagueness, and therefore uses the concept of human ecology, which can be defined as the relationships and interactions between humans, their biology, their cultures and their physical environments. This preference stems from the fact that the Bedouins are distinguished for their intimate relationships among themselves and their environments. Pastoral cultural values, ecology and their life patterns and human behaviours are interconnected. This connection is clearly illustrated by Galaty who noticed that pastoralist activities are intertwined with each other in a way a single activity may be associated with other minor ones. Galaty (1981), describing the pastoralists herding activity, stated that "the herder may also be engaged in song, play, competition, or malingering" (p. 21).

Within literature that deals with pastoralism, some metaphors, such as the term adaptation, have frequently been drawn on by cultural ecologists to describe the processes that link the pastoralists' cultures and their environments. For the benefit of this research, the term adaptation is defined as the cultural process of maintaining a balance between population and natural resources within a given environment. It is a two-way process, in which a group may change its strategies or tools in order or make better use of a particular environment, or it may use new elements in that environment, or it may change its environment by moving away altogether. As a pastoral group's eco-system is characterized by continuous change, it puts their cultural adaptability in question. Amos Rapoport argues that culture is a dynamic phenomenon, in which it represents the major way by which human populations adapt or relate to their environments so that they can

continue to reproduce and survive. To understand the nature of such an argument, the following section will be devoted to discussing related issues.

2.4 The Adaptive Nature of Culture:

To construct a rational understanding about these processes of change that the southern Jordan Bedouins are experiencing, it is essential to present some key concepts that illustrate why and how culture changes. This illustration will be built upon addressing the following questions: What are the processes operating within cultures that encourage the acceptance of new ideas and what are other processes that encourage changeless stability?

2.4.1 The Concept of Change:

The scientific study of the concept of change is made difficult because many of its definitions are abstract in nature. To avoid this abstractness, scholars of different disciplines have made tremendous efforts dismantling the concept of change into more observable components. Those scholars concluded that there are three general sources of influence or pressure that are responsible for both socio-cultural change and resistance. These sources of influence are: forces that work within the society, contact between societies, and changes in the natural environment.

Generally, anthropologists frequently make reference to one or more of six broadly defined variables in their explanations of socio-cultural change. These six variables are:

1. Demography which is significant to the analysis of the socio-cultural changes. The demographic variables include the size and density of populations, and changes in these conditions.
2. Environment which encompasses the physical circumstances within which socio-cultural system is situated. Environment includes different factors such as climate, topography, soil, water, flora and fauna.
3. Culture contact which refers to either direct or indirect interaction between individuals from different, autonomous socio-cultural systems.

4. Social structure. The notion of social structure as patterns of relationship emphasizes the idea that society is grouped into structurally related groups or sets of roles, with different functions, meanings or purposes.
5. Culture.
6. Human agency in which it is essential to distinguish between intentional human action and the mere enactment of cultural rules and social norms.

The first three categories (population, environment and culture contacts) are possible exogenous influences on socio-cultural systems, in which these influences originate outside the social and cultural systems that they affect. In response to these external influences, social and cultural systems may display complex internal adjustments or changes to adapt to the new contexts. The later three variables (social structure, culture and human agency) are possible endogenous forces, in which they originate within socio-cultural systems. The following section illustrates some of the mechanisms in which socio-cultural change may occur.

2.4.2 The Processes of Change:

“How does culture change?” is the question frequently asked by scholars of different disciplines when studying different cultures. Anthropological literature review shows various assumptions about the concepts of culture and change as well as the interrelationship between them. On one hand, some social scientists tend to assume that society is “one thing or another, has one particular nature, can be seen as resting upon a specific structure” (Salzman, 1980, p. 3). Such an assumption makes it difficult to explore and analyze the phenomenon of change as it concludes that the society is an integrated system in which it would be extremely difficult for any part of the society to change. On the other hand, other social scientists assume that society has to be seen as a flexible system that allows for change at any time with variant degrees.

For the benefit of this study, such a vision will be adopted, in which society is seen as “manifesting uniformity in activities, structure, and orientation, providing alternative and variability and the flexibility and adaptability” (Salzman, 1980, p. 4). Salzman’s

definition makes it easier to analyze the processes of change within any given society. According to this understanding, the impact of the forces that work within the society, contact between societies and changes in the natural environment are better understood within any given society.

These forces affect any given culture through the following mechanisms:

1. Innovation:

Homer Barnett, in *Innovation: the Basis of Cultural Change* defines innovation as:

Any thought, behaviour, or thing that is new because quantitatively different from existing forms...every innovation is an idea or a constellation of ideas; but some innovations by their nature must remain mental organization only, whereas others may be given overt and tangible expression (1953, p. 7).

2. Diffusion:

Anthropologists often recognize that contact between different cultures is the major source of influence in promoting change within a cultural group. As it is viewed in the field of cultural anthropology, diffusion is the process by which culture elements circulate between cultures. When diffusion occurs, the form of a trait may move from one society to another but not its original cultural meaning. For instance, when McDonald's first brought their American style hamburgers to Amman (the capital of Jordan), they were accepted as luxury foods for special occasions because they were relatively expensive and exotic. Within the North American context, of course, they have a very different meaning as they are ordinary every day fast-food items.

3. Acculturation:

Acculturation occurs when a cultural group is exposed over a long period of time to a culture different from their own. It happens when alien traits diffuse in a large-scale and substantially replace the already existing cultural patterns. Acculturation has some psychological consequences. It is a reciprocal process between two groups in which the results of contact are influenced. First is the form of contact of the socio-cultural system that, through their individual members, is in contact. Second is the demographic, environmental, cultural and social structural context within which contact occur (Rushforth and Chisholm, 1991, p. 14).

4. Assimilation:

Assimilation is a process of integration whereby members of an ethno-cultural community (such as immigrants, or ethnic minorities) are 'absorbed' into another, generally larger, community. This implies the loss of the characteristics of the absorbed group, such as language, customs, ethnicity and self-identity.

Here, it is essential to mention that due to the impact of the above mentioned mechanisms, all societies are involved in a process of social, cultural, economical, political and spatial change. However, while some changes can cause radical impacts, other changes may be so incremental that the members of the society are hardly aware of them. Therefore, the rate of change is an influential issue when studying the concepts of continuity and change within a given society.

2.4.3 The Phenomenon of Continuity and Change:

Here, I will begin by stating that social continuity cannot simply be defined as the absence of social change. Rather, within societies there are structures which are inherently resistant to change, and in this sense, we can talk about them as having social continuities. For the purpose of this research, which is concerned with analyzing the phenomenon of continuity and change among the Bedouins of southern Jordan, a special attention will be given to the concept of cultural values as one of the structures responsible for the socio-cultural continuity within a given society.

The subject of cultural values is extremely vast and complex. According to the UNESCO's International Treasures of Cultural Development, cultural values can be defined as:

The symbolic relationships which hold together a given society or a group, maintain and enhance the sense of belonging of its particular members, perpetuate the wealth of its social and spiritual heritage, provide a sense of wholeness of life and furnish the criteria of the meaning of individual life (1980, p. 19).

In anthropological literature, there is a general agreement that values, particularly core-values, are the most resistant to change, and therefore, they are the mechanism that maintain the cultural continuity of the society. In this regard, it is important to examine the role of some other concepts, such as resistance and persistence, in keeping any given society's cultural continuity. Anthropological literature shows that cultural resistance and persistence are phenomena that can be accentuated by an agent, such as the case of tourists and local residents contact. Cultural persistence refers to "the maintenance through time of systems of knowledge...it is the stability in frameworks of meaning and moral responsibility" (Rushforth and Chisholm, 1991, p. 14).

In this regard, there appears to be a tendency for some anthropologists to assume that culture persistence is in some way normal or natural for some tribal societies as they assume that among these societies, cultural persistence is taken for granted unless mechanisms for change occur within the cultural group. Scholars, such as Scott Rushforth and James Chisholm, have discussed a number of characteristics that may account for stability or continuity in cultural systems:

First, cultural persistence is something related to the existence of small and stable populations or small-scale socio-cultural system. Second, culture stability is sometimes attributed to the presence in a group of cultural beliefs, values, and norms that establish or constitute: (a) primitive traditionalism (b) cultural conservatism (c) respect for the past (d) disapproval for change (e) resistance to the generation and acceptance of innovations, and (f) resistance to the borrowing of cultural traits. Third, the use of "tradition" to legitimate social practices may create conditions that favour cultural stability (1991, p. 14).

In anthropological literature the concept of cultural persistence is related to different causes. Nagasta (1970) relates cultural persistence to its people's geographical and social isolation. Yet other scholars, such as Woodburn (1982) relate the concept of cultural stability to the modes of production in the given society when he relates the concept of cultural persistence among small-scale hunters and gatherers to their spatial mobility and fluidity of local grouping (p. 447). Nowadays, research on culture, values and change has moved towards a discussion of various concepts, such as modernity, in its broad sense,

and development, which are important concepts for this specific research study. Because of their relevance to this study, the following section is devoted to a discussion of these concepts and exploration of the relationship that exists between modernity and development in a specific cultural setting, which is of the indigenous people.

2.4.4 The Concept of Modernity:

Like so many other concepts that focus on issues related to society and culture, there is no particular agreement among social scientists about the defining elements of modernity. Bruce Knauff (2002) defines modernity as “the images and institutions associated with Western-style progress and development in a contemporary world” (p. 18). Thus, from Knauff’s definition one can see that whenever one speaks of modernity, there is an implication that something new is taking place or there is a modification to what existed prior to the change. The concept of modernity gained prominence in the period after World War II. The most influential version of modernization theory was devised by Karl Marx. According to Ronald Inglehart and Christian Wetzel (2005), “the Marxist version provided a penetrating critique of the harsh exploitation that characterized early industrial society and proposed a utopian solution that allegedly would bring peace and an end to exploitation” (p. 16).

In contrast to this Marxist version of modernization there is a capitalist vision of modernity, which is the historical product of three main events that occurred during the post-World War II era. The first event was the rise of the United States to the level of a superpower, which contained the growth of the international communist movement. To attain this status, the United States financed the industrialization of Western Europe through the Marshall Plan; the industrialization of South Korea and Taiwan; as well as the reconstruction of Japan. The second event was the growth of a united worldwide communist movement that was led from Moscow and later on from Beijing, with the Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China, Vietnam and Cuba being important settings for this movement. The third event was the process of de-colonisation in Africa and Asia, which was an outcome of the disintegration of the former European colonial empires in various locations throughout these continents.

Stemming from these events, the United States' political and economic elites encouraged their social scientists to study the new nation-states, to devise ways of promoting capitalist economic development and political stability, so they would not lose either these old or newly created states to the Soviet communist bloc. Modernization theory philosophers believe that modernity refers to the conditions laid down by the institutions of capitalism and the nation-states. These conditions are the "outcome of a chain of processes – industrialization, urbanization, rationalization, bureaucratization – associated with the ascendancy of capitalism, the spread of ideas such as individualism and achievement of motivation, and the affirmation of reason and science in the west from the sixteenth century onwards" (Gomes, 2007, p. 42). Here, it is important to emphasize that despite the debate between the two schools of thought, the socialists and the capitalists; there is something common that runs through both. This commonality is betrayed in the way both schools of thought use the terms development and modernity in an interchangeable way. To understand the nature of the relationship between the two concepts, the following section will explore the concept of development in greater detail.

2.4.5 The Concept of Development:

Similar to the concept of modernity, the concept of development emerged out of various theories that examined various occurrences that happened after the Second War. During the 1950s and 1960s, many developed countries proposed and implemented development policies and programs that aimed at improving the welfare of the Third World population. These programs based on visions that stem from capitalism were, and also continue to be, directly or indirectly focused on resolving the problem of underdevelopment by promoting market-based economies and pluralistic political systems. Capitalist modernity philosophers understand underdevelopment as a direct consequence of a country's internal characteristics, especially its traditional economies, traditional psychological and cultural traits and traditional institutions. Most of those philosophers view Third World and Fourth World communities (indigenous people) as "backward or late-starters and the solution to the problem of 'backwardness' is straightforward and uncomplicated. They propose a diffusion of modernity, mainly attributes from the developed West" (Gomes, 2007, p. 43).

For the purpose of this dissertation, which deals with the Bedouins (the indigenous or tribal population of Jordan), the following section elaborates the various understandings of the concepts of modernity, development and indignity.

2.4.6 Modernity and Development and Indigenous Communities:

A review of the academic literature illustrates a variety of definitions for the term indigenous. Despite these variations, an often widely accepted definition for the term indigenous is the one that is provided by the United Nation's Report entitled *Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations*, which states:

Indigenous communities, people and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories, or part of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of societies and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as people, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems (as cited in Gomes, 2007, pp. 52-3).

Indigenous people are often referred to by various labels, such as tribal. Here, it is essential to emphasize that while tribal people are often labelled as indigenous, not all indigenous people are tribal. As in the case of Jordan, this dissertation argues that the two terms indigenous and tribal can be used interchangeably. The two terms can be used to describe the Jordanian Bedouin groups who inhabit different geographic region of the country with which they have the earliest historical connection. For the purpose of this study, special concentration will be given to the term tribal, as the Bedouins, who are the focus of this dissertation, are identified with this term.

Considerable debate takes place over how best to characterize tribes and tribal groups. Some of this debate stems from perceived differences between pre-state tribes and contemporary tribes; some of this debate reflects more general controversy over cultural evolution and colonialism. In the popular imagination, tribes reflect a way of life that predates, and is more "natural", than that in modern states. Tribes also privilege

primordial social ties, are clearly bounded, homogeneous, parochial, and stable. Tribal communities are often labelled, even by themselves, as traditional. Here, based on a historical review of a variety of case studies, it can be concluded that tribal societies are often treated as 'backward' within the states where they live. This conclusion stems from the fact that governments usually treat tribal communities' people as subjects to be 'developed' and therefore guided to the state's mainstream of social, economic and political modernization. This transformation is usually promoted under different notions, such as 'economic growth', 'nation-building', 'social integration' and 'poverty alleviation'. Across most Third World countries, physically, these notions have manifested themselves in the settlement of the tribal populations into permanent geographical locations that facilitate controlling them by the ruling governments. Generally speaking, promoting these notions may take different forms that vary from providing incentives to aggressively forcing the tribal people to settle.

Development policies in most of the Third World countries are often governed by international donor agencies. These agencies have their own visions as to how to develop the tribal populations. The World Bank, for example, views the tribal populations as having little capacity to participate in development because of their low social and political status within the countries they are living. In this regard, it is safe to conclude that governments and some international agencies have rarely acknowledged that tribal communities have become marginalized as a result of the economic and political incorporation (Gomes, 2007, p. 56).

Here, it is important to emphasize that this economic and political incorporation may take different forms. Within the majority of these forms, a process of assimilation can be observed in which the tribal groups are absorbed into the large 'modern' and 'civilized' sedentary society. These incorporation forms can be classified into four main categories. The first category can be perceived as an attempt towards altering the tribal groups' social, cultural and political structures. Governments realize that values such as loyalty and solidarity are the most influential mechanism by which the tribal groups maintain their social and cultural cohesion, and therefore take measures towards the alteration of

these values. These measures may take different forms in which the most effective are: the development of new forms of supra-tribal administration and the replacement of the tribal groups' customary law by the national civil law. The second category includes incentives towards the sedentary way of life. These incentives may include the following: first, modernizing the tribal groups' way of life and living conditions by attempting a shift towards more sedentary economies such as agriculture and commerce. Second is providing or improving educational facilities. Third is providing new or upgrading existing medical and health services. The third category is the use of an external agent for change.

Here, it is essential to emphasize that not all socio-cultural changes within tribal groups are the outcome of direct governmental intervention. Some of these outcomes are "the by-products of relative economic affluence and increased consumerism, associated with the culture of capitalism" (Gomez, 2007, p. 162). The culture of western-style modernity has been transmitted to every part of the world. The most significant vehicles of transmission are communication and tourism. Communication transmits modernity through different means such as mass media in its audio-visual form, and education through the various institutions of western economic and technology development. Everett Rogers, in *Modernization among Peasants: the impact of communication* contended that communication is the process by which messages are transformed from a source to one or more receivers. It is indeed the key that opens the door for change.

The concept of social change is a more encompassing term in that it includes invention, diffusion of new ideas and the consequences of those innovations. Whereas communication is central to diffusion, it is less a part of the invention process and little involved in the consequences phase of social change. Nevertheless, communication is an essential part of social change and perhaps all analysis of social change must ultimately focus upon communication process (1969, pp. 7-8).

Electronic media have introduced new values and ideas into the tribal communities. Television, for example, is undoubtedly the pivot of critical discussion on information and communication. Television has a tremendous impact as it promotes consumerism

through commercials. These commercials create new desires and aspirations among the tribal populations in which “they become increasingly aware of the variety of products in the market, many of which are unavailable to them, reinforcing a sense of relative deprivation among them” (Gomez, 2007, p. 163). Although one may think that television has a negative impact on the tribal groups’ consuming patterns, I argue that it has positive impacts too. Television became part of their everyday social life as it reinforces their social gathering events. The media, in its broad sense, evidently helped the tribal groups to raise their public awareness about national politics and development policies in which they start to be no longer deceived as easily as in the past.

In some cases, such as in southern Jordan, international development agencies have promoted tourism as an agent of socio-cultural change. Because the southern Jordan Bedouins are living in the country’s most important tourist sites, the successive Jordanian governments, which are advised and funded by the World Bank, recognized tourism as a tool for development. The following section of this chapter is devoted to an exploration of the relationship that binds tourism with development and modernity. An in-depth discussion of this relationship is important because of its relevance to the theme of this study.

2.5 The Concepts of Tourism, Development and Modernization:

In *Reconceptualising Tourism in the Middle East: Place, Heritage, Mobility and Competitiveness*, Rami Farouk Daher (2007) contends that “tourism is becoming an increasingly global and complex phenomenon, with political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and educational dimensions” (p. 1). With such multi-dimensionality, tourism has a wide variety of definitions. It is widely understood that there are three distinctly different types of tourism definitions. The first type of tourism is the technical that provides instruments for particular statistical, legislative and industrial purposes. The second is the economic type that concentrates on the economic or business implications. Smith, in *Defining Tourism: a Supply-side View*, defines tourism as “the aggregate of all businesses that directly provide goods or services to facilitate business, pleasure, and leisure activities away from the home environment” (1988, p. 183). The economic

definitions can be criticized as they state nothing explicitly about the tourist. Finally, there are the conceptual or holistic definitions which provide a theoretical framework in order to identify the essential characteristics of tourism. Among the variety of these conceptual definitions, there is Jafari's (1982) timeless definition of tourism as "the study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the host's socio-cultural, economic and physical environments" (p. 76). For the purpose of this study, Jafari's definition will be adopted as long as it is clear that the study of man away from his usual habitat is exempt of remunerative activities, happens voluntarily and is equally shaped by the tourist as it is by the host.

Tourism, development and modernization have been linked to one another since the second half of the 20th century. According to David Harrison, tourism is "a form of modernization, transferring capital, technology, expertise, and 'modern' values from the West" (1992, p. 10). Under the preliminary assumption of tourism as a vehicle for economic growth, early studies linking tourism to the concepts of development and modernization focused mainly on their economic impacts. While today economic measurements are still at the core of the debate, interest in evaluating tourism's impact as a vehicle for development from a holistic perspective has created a shift in research motives towards social sciences in the fields of anthropology, sociology, environmental studies, as well as political science. Rami Farouk Daher suggests that tourism is a "vibrant vehicle of change and development" (2007, p. 2).

Here, it is important to emphasize that tourism is not only an instrument that enables modernization but is in itself an agent of modernization. Furthermore, I argue that a discussion about the relationship between tourism, development and modernization is of a circular nature. This stems from the difficulty to estimate whether development preceded tourism or tourism preceded development. It is also simultaneously complicated to detangle whether tourism is encompassed by modernization or whether tourism channels modernization. Within such a dilemma, while promoting tourism as a vehicle for modernization, Daher also importantly highlights the need to examine the consequences

that usually come with tourism. As stated by Daher, since tourism development takes place in real situations, “issues of place representation, authenticity, interpretation, socio-economic and spatial transformation therefore become significant areas for research and contemplation” (2007, p. 2). To explore these consequences, the following section discusses the multi-dimensional impacts of tourism.

2.6 The Multi-Dimensional Impact of National and International Tourism:

Studies often prefer to deal with tourism industry’s issues in countries that have underdeveloped economies. This preference stems from the fact that, in these countries, the effects of tourism are more obvious and the issues that tourism raises are of a more sensitive nature. These studies concluded that tourism can be seen as having the following benefits and costs:

2.6.1 The Economic Benefits of Tourism:

1. Tourism generates foreign exchange and injects capital into the national and local economy.
2. Tourism diversifies the local economy, particularly in rural areas where pastoral and agricultural employment may be insufficient.
3. Tourism generates local employment, both directly in the tourism industry and in the various support sectors.
4. Tourism stimulates profitable domestic industries such as hotels and other lodging facilities, restaurants and other food services, transportation systems, handcrafts and guide services.

2.6.2 The Economic Costs of Tourism:

1. The jobs created by tourism may be low paying and require few skills.
2. Inflated prices may result from local businesses attempting to raise profits or cover the costs of extra employees.
3. Inflated property values may occur if the community becomes a tourist ‘hot spot’.
4. This results in higher property taxes that may be unfavourable for local residents.
5. If tourism is seasonal at destinations, so too will be the injection of income into the community.

6. The movement of local residents from their cultural forms of employment. Such a movement occurs because of the tourism industry's flow of cash and its relatively ease. This leads the local residents to prefer tourism related jobs to subsistence agriculture and pastoralism. The major concern about this movement from pastoral forms of employment to jobs in the tourism sector is the increasing dependence of local residents on tourism as a form of employment. This dependency might be especially harmful to those who have little in the way of alternative employment possibilities.

2.6.3 The Socio-cultural Benefits of Tourism:

1. The quality of life of a community can be enhanced by economic diversification through tourism.
2. Tourism contributes to international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language and religion. In this regard, the tourist can be considered an agent for both change and conflict. The tourist is seen as the agent of contact between cultures, who, either directly or indirectly, causes change, particularly when the contact occurs with local residents of the less developed regions of the world.
3. Tourism enhances local communities' esteem and increases their cultural awareness.
4. Tourism can have a strengthening and stimulating effect for a specific cultural group in that it helps to preserve cultural values, either by reawakening interests in a society's own culture, or by supporting the cultural festivities by its presence.

2.6.4 The Socio-cultural Costs of Tourism:

1. Rapid tourism growth can result in the inability to meet the capacities of local amenities and institutions, in which the quality of the amenities can be diminished by over-use.
2. Tourists bring with them material wealth and apparent freedom. Young members of the host community are particularly susceptible to these economic expectations that tourists bring. The result can be a complete disruption of the customary way of life in the community.

3. The authenticity of the socio-cultural environment can be altered by the commercialization of the host cultures.
4. Long-term damage to cultural traditions, and erosion of cultural values, resulting in cultural frustrations beyond the level acceptable to the host communities.
5. Vandalism and crime are concerns associated with tourism development which are interpreted as a negative impact on the host communities' quality of life.

2.6.5 The Environmental Benefits of Tourism:

1. The conservation and preservation of natural, cultural and historical resources.
2. Encourages community beautification and revitalization.
3. Tourism increases the possibility of the re-use of some already existing buildings by the tourism industry as amenities (hotels and restaurants) and attractions (museums and craft work-shops).
4. To attract tourism, there is also a movement of preservation and restoration of significant historical buildings.
5. The increase in tourism, depending on the destination's national policies, may also lead to the purchase and restoration of derelict buildings by individual tourists, with such buildings being used as tourists' holiday homes.

2.6.6 The Environmental Costs of Tourism:

1. Negative changes in the physical integrity of the host community territory may occur.
2. Rapid development, over development and over crowding can forever change the physical environment and eco-system of the host community territory.
3. May threaten specific natural resources such as beaches, coral reefs or historical sites.
4. May increase litter, erosion, noise, and water and air pollution may occur.
5. Brings increased competition for limited resources such as water and land, resulting in land degradation, loss of wildlife habitats and deterioration of scenery.
6. Emissions generated by forms of transport are one of the main environmental problems of tourism.

When focussing on the ways in which tourism can affect the environment in a specific region, there are some important issues that need to be taken into consideration. The first,

consideration is that tourism's impact is seldom attributable to individual tourists, rather to the mass tourist population that passes through a certain destination. Secondly, despite the problem of the imbalanced ratio in a certain region between tourists and residents, much of the environmental damage may in fact be partly or wholly caused by the local residents themselves rather than the tourist population. In most of the cases, damage occurs from the local residents' attempts to satisfy the demands of the tourist.

Although it sounds as if I am presenting the locals as victims of their attempts to satisfy their guests' demands, I am aware that such a presentation perpetuates the modernist assumption that non-western peoples are objects upon which western projects are inscribed. Here, it is essential to point out that this dissertation is taking side with neither the host nor the guest; rather it attempts to be neutral to illustrate the impacts of both parties on the environment.

In addition to these observable benefits and costs of tourism, I argue that tourism has some invisible impacts such as power relations between hosts and guests. The issue of power presentations was well illustrated by Mowforth and Munt as the following:

(...) tourists interpret and present their experiences in ways that may be fundamentally opposed to the experience of those being visited; and these interpretations and representations will differ between different types of tourists. Even the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have a particular geographical imagination of the Third World. Their representation of tourism and sustainability may also differ sharply from those of local communities in the countries where the policies of these supranational institutions are applied (1998, p. 7).

Mowforth's and Munt's idea is similar to Chatelard's who contends that "acknowledging the performative dimension of representation and the dynamic of competition between different representational systems, leads us to consider the power relations between the various actors involved in the tourism encounter" (2001, p. 2). This study argues that Chatelard's argument gains special importance when dealing with tourism in destinations inhabited by indigenous populations. Within such a context, power relations between the different actors in the tourism industry are fundamentally unequal. This inequality stems

from the huge economic imbalance between, on the one hand, tourists and indigenous populations, and, on the other hand, governmental institutions and the various international agencies that usually finance tourism development within these indigenous areas.

Within tourism destination inhabited with indigenous populations, governments, especially those of the Middle Eastern countries, view indigeneity as a thorny issue. Here, it is essential to point out that such a relationship between these governments and their indigenous populations may take aggressive nature when the indigenous populations are mobile. Governments conceive their mobility as a distraction to tourism development. First, this mobility is conceived as a barrier to controlled the interaction of indigenous populations with tourists, and therefore hard to guarantee the governments' share of tourism revenue. Second, governments and their development agencies commonly view this mobility to be inimical to modernity; therefore, this mobility is viewed as a hindrance to the implementation of development projects in indigenous areas. For these reasons, settling such populations in permanent places serves to free these touristic destinations and meet the demands of a range of interested parties:

For politicians, land settlement schemes can be used to legitimate those who hold power by demonstrating, in a highly visible fashion, that something is being done to alleviate rural problems. For bureaucrats, such schemes are attractive because they can be planned and developed in 'project units' that are amenable to the algebra of conventional cost-benefit calculations. For donor agencies, land schemes are an 'off-the-shelf' project type that can be speedily planned and funded on a large scale. Finally, commercial interests favour such projects because of their high dependence on external expertise and supplies, opening up profitable opportunities for business (Colin Nicholas, 2000, p. 66 cited in Gomes, 2007, p. 64).

Within these permanent settlements the widespread housing provision approach is the formal finished dwelling units. Such 'government hand-outs' were always built for the users but never built with them. This dissertation argues that such a housing provision approach has negative social consequences on its users. While the structure of social relations in the informal (traditional) neighbourhood shapes the housing pattern and

settlement form, in the 'government hand-outs' housing, the social structure has to be adjusted to the physical pattern already built. For the cultural sensitivity of the relationship between housing and its users', the following section addresses some issues related to the concepts of culture and architecture.

2.7. The Concepts of Culture, Society and Architecture:

Before discussing the significance of the connection between the concepts of culture, society and architecture, it is important that the basic terms that I use are made clear. Referring specifically to the aspects under discussion here, architecture encompasses the making and study of the buildings and environment that we inhabit. The concerns of architecture involve a wide variety of areas of study including the art of representing built projects through drawings and computer graphics; the technology of building structure, building materials, and natural and mechanical systems; the history, theory, and art of making, using, and understanding buildings as cultural artefacts for human use. As architectural historian Dell Upton writes, "Architecture is an art of social storytelling, a means for shaping American society and culture and for 'annotating' social action by creating appropriate settings for it" (1998, p.11).

For the purpose of this study, to avoid generalization, a specific component of architecture will be taken into consideration, which is the domestic architecture. Here, it is essential to state that a reciprocal relationship exists between the concepts of society and residential architecture in which the concept of society can be regarded as the state of living continuously in structured association with others for mutual benefits, often in specific territory. The term culture refers both to the collective characteristics, values and attainments of a society, and to the culture that produces them. Here, I argue that vernacular architecture is the overarching concept that connects culture, society and domestic architecture.

"Vernacular architecture" is a complex term in the English language, particularly as it attempts to define a kind of common architecture. According to the Canadian Living Webster Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the English Language the word vernacular stems from the Latin word *vernaculus*, or native, and was used in the adjectival form *verna* in the context of a native slave (1974, p.1101). As Vlach and Upton suggest, "the issue of definition, apparently so simple, has proven to be one of the most serious problems for advocates of vernacular architecture and landscapes research" (1986, pp. xv – xvii). A

straightforward, convincing, authoritative definition has not yet been offered. Vernacular architecture is a phenomenon that many understand intuitively but that few are able to define. For the purpose of this study, vernacular architecture comprises the dwellings and all other buildings of the people, whether designed or built without architects. It is the architecture that is related to the peoples' environmental contexts and available resources. Paul Oliver (1997: xxiii) states: "All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them".

Many studies have contributed a great deal to our knowledge of vernacular architecture across many countries and numerous cultures (Rapoport 1969; Upton 1983; Low and Chambers 1989; Kent 1990; Turan 1990; Arias 1993; Oliver 1997 and 2003; Cierrad 1999; Glassie 2000; Amerlinck 2001). Those scholars concludes that to a certain extent the relationship between the concepts of society and residential architecture is evident in the processes of construction and common aspects of plan, forms, space use and dimensions. In this respect the design of houses cannot become divorced from those that will eat, sleep, cook and play in them. Scholars who have dealt with the culture-home relationship argue that "homes mirror a wide variety of environmental and cultural influences and that dwelling forms evolve in response to a variety of interactive forces" (Altman and Gauvain, 1981, p. 28). Home-society relationship is well illustrated by Henry Glassie (2000: p.67) who concluded that "If the intimate ordering of common life mattered in history as much as it does in reality, then the interior would matter, families would matter, communities would matter and women would be in the story". In this context, Rapoport asserts that not only does the home reflect society's values but it also supports these values. Rapoport (1987) views home as "an active component of culture, used as an element of that culture rather than a passive container of that culture" (p. 13). He, furthermore, considers the home as "not just a structure; it is an institution, a social and cultural unit of space created to support the way of life of people" (1990, p. 14). Rapoport's assertion indicates that the use of space is not isomorphic among cultures. Rather, each culture has specific variables that influence its use of space.

Studies on vernacular architecture can be divided into four categories (Upton, 1983, p. 264). The first category is the object-oriented studies. These studies can be sub-divided into two types. The first “valued the romantic and historical associations and the picturesque visual effects created by the actions of time and human alterations on the oldest buildings of a given area” (Upton, 1983, p. 264). The second type, according to Dell Upton, encouraged the study of architectural history through the field examination and precise recording of buildings in measured drawings” (1983, p. 264). Scholars belong to the second category had a growing sense that a true understanding of vernacular architecture depended upon precise antiquarian knowledge. The second category is the socially oriented studies. Within this category, “buildings are being examined both as a part of everyday existence and, more recently, as evidence for aspects of the past than can be known imperfectly or not at all from other kinds of evidence” (Upton, 1983, p. 268). The third category is the culturally oriented studies. Scholars of this category have asked about “the more pervasive, less easily defined aspects of human activity that are sometimes grouped under the anthropological heading culture” (Upton, 1983, p. 270). Finally are the symbolically oriented studies which are concerned with the meaning of buildings. By analysing buildings’ spaces in terms of the way rooms relate to each other and establishing patterns of behaviour across spatial type, it is possible to evaluate how the configuration of spaces may transmit cultural and behavioural codes of social practice.

These cultural and behavioural codes manifested in eating, sleeping, playing, encountering, avoiding, entertaining and interacting, and the way users perform these activities through cultural practice and individual choice, determines how space is used and claimed. In *House, Form and Culture*, Rapoport (1969) lists some of the factors that he concludes have an important influence on the way a dwelling is constructed (1969:61). They are socio-cultural factors that include basic needs, family, and position of women, privacy, and social intercourse. Basic needs are the activities we perform and where. Family is related to the concepts of age and gender. Part of the family factor is the position of women and her status within and outside of the home. The first two factors are highly related to the concept of privacy and therefore to the concept of social intercourse.

Because of its importance to this study, the concept of privacy and its connection to the home environment needs to be further explored.

Literature in the field of domestic architecture indicates a variety of definitions for the concept of privacy. The common and core definition illustrates privacy as a process that aims to control transactions between persons, the objective of which is to enhance autonomy and/or minimize vulnerability. Amos Rapoport, in *Human Aspects of Urban Form*, asserts that privacy revolves around choice, when he defines it as “the ability to have options and to achieve desired interactions” (1977, p. 12). Scholars from a variety of disciplines have been interested in how societies perceive privacy. These scholars have been interested in understanding how partitions (boundaries) are used within the built environment and why spaces are divided or segmented both conceptually and physically. Alexander and Chermayeff (1963) emphasize the fact that to achieve variant levels of privacy, a hierarchy of enclosed domains and spaces is required. For them, this variant can be achieved and controlled by “barriers and locks” (p. 167). According to their argument, a lock is a secondary transition between two major zones, while a barrier “connotes things such as walls and doors, which separate domains and distinguish functions” (1963, p. 203). For these theorists, these two mechanisms represent social, visual, acoustic and climatic privacy controls. Similar to Chermayeff and Alexander’s idea, Rapoport (1969), while referring to inward-looking dwellings, concludes that “the desire of privacy may also take forms related to the separation of domains” (p. 66). At the same time, Irwin Altman views privacy as an interpersonal boundary-control, which regulates interactions through mechanisms used to open or close off contact with outside environments. Therefore, especially from a domestic perspective, privacy serves three main functions. The first function that privacy serves is that it limits unwanted social interaction. The second is that it establishes strategies to manage interactions. And finally, privacy is the maintenance and development of the self-identity concept. Here, it is important to note that privacy requirements vary, not only between cultures but also within the same culture, which can be based upon socio-economic status, life style, as well as one’s family background and values. Furthermore, the perception of privacy varies according to the sense of individuality within the same sub-group and families,

which can be expressed as the personal space. Literature in the field of social sciences indicates that the concept of personal space has been used to describe human behaviour. According to Altman, in *The Environment and Social Behaviour*, personalization of a space grants psychological security, symbolic, aesthetic resulting in marking territory. Altman (1975) adds that the personalization of space also includes people's employment of territorial markers such as objects, symbols and artefacts to highlight domains (p. 129). Describing the connection between personalization of a space and the identity of users, Altman and Chemers conclude that identity is the goal of personalization. They assert that "the expression of self-identity through personalization takes a variety of forms, and can involve individuals, families, groups and nations" (1984, p. 145). They also state that the personalization process may "occur in all types of territories, the primary, secondary and public" (p. 145).

Altman (1977) has contended that, although privacy is a universal phenomenon which involves regulatory mechanisms, it differs among cultures. The following section of this chapter will explore the concept of privacy as well other concepts in a specific context of the Arab-Islamic culture.

2.8. The Arabic-Islamic Culture:

2.8.1. Introduction:

All Semitic people have their beginnings in the Arabian Peninsula (Bakhiet, 1984, p. 21). The geographic location of the Peninsula made the area famous by the numerous trade routes that passed through it. The coasts of the peninsula are, on the west the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba, on the southeast the Arabian Sea (part of the Indian Ocean), and on the northeast, the Gulf of Oman, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Arab/Persian Gulf. The region can be divided into two distinct zones. The south, because of its closeness to water, is heavily populated by sedentary populations living in towns and relying on agriculture. In contrast is the northern coast which is populated by one ethnic group of people who are composed of two culturally different groups, the nomadic and the sedentary.

Whether nomadic, semi-nomadic, rural or urban, Islam is the predominant religion of the vast majority of the population. Islam is a monotheistic religion, which first arose in the desert of Arabia in 600 A.D. Literally, the Arabic word Islam is rooted in the word *silm*, which means peace. *Silm* also is commonly understood by Muslims to mean submission or total surrender to Allah and his order. Muslim life is governed by the Islamic *sharia'h*, which literally means teachings. This code of conduct establishes standards for the orderly behaviour of all aspects of Muslim life. Its basic sources are the Koran and *Sunnah*. The Koran "contains the very words of God as revealed to Mohammad through the angel Gabriel" (Lutfiyya, 1966, p. 38). At present, the Koran appears in the form of a single volume divided into verses (*Surah* Pl. *Surahs*). *Sunnah* is the tradition of the prophet as it is what the prophet Mohammed said and did. These teachings are incorporated in the Muslim culture and expressed in Muslims' everyday behaviour.

Before Mohammad, Arabia was inhabited by Bedouins, in which Mecca was a religious and commercial center. Arabs were polytheists, and they worshipped a black meteorite in a *Ka'aba* at Mecca. Mohammed's teaching was a radical critique of the polytheism of his native Mecca and a validation of the Jewish and Christian prophets and scriptures. Among the basic doctrines he introduced to his people, he emphasized monotheism, God's ideal for the creation, human responsibility, the human fall, punishment for sin and an eventual end to the world of evil.

Mohammed was not only a prophet but also a very successful leader. During his brief decade of leadership in Medina he succeeded in unifying the disputatious tribes of Arabia under the banner of Islam. This national foundation for Islam enabled the new religion to explode out of the Arabian Peninsula after his death (632), and in little more than a century it spread all the way to the borders of France in the West and China in the East (Quarishi, 1984, pp. 12-15). At the beginning, Mohammad did not force the Bedouin tribes to follow Islam, but he motivated their feeling of solidarity as a unifying vehicle towards creating a national feeling under the banner of Islam. After Mohammad's death, an army of warriors on horseback set out to complete his mission to bring the entire world under the political control of Islam. Christian tribes inhabiting the Arabian Peninsula

were accepted to co-exist with Muslims, they were forced to pay taxes for their protection against any attacks that may take place by Muslim extremists or any other tribes. Through this co-existence some tribes were able to keep their original Christian religion.

In his book *Islam: a Way of Life and a Movement*, Mohammad Quarishi (1984), the contemporary Muslim scholar, categorizes Islam into the following concepts. The first concept is that God is one, sovereign and the law-giver. The second concept is that there is no compromise but rather only the individual's deed will be taken into account before the Divine tribunal in the hereafter. The third concept is that mankind is one and so is prophet-hood, because their origin is one. The fourth concept is that oppression is to be fought and it should neither be befriended nor ignored (1984, pp. 6-7). According to Islam, the entire life of Muslims is subservient to the will of Allah and can never break from the law of God. According to these teachings, Muslims have fundamental obligations to the five pillars of Islam:

1. The testimonial creed, to declare that there is only one God (Allah) and Mohammad is his messenger. This declaration of faith is called the *shahadah*, a formula that all the faithful pronounce. It signifies that the only purpose of life is to serve and obey God, and this is achieved through the teachings and practices of the Prophet, Mohammad.
2. The canonical prayers of worship. These are performed five times a day and are a direct link between the worshipper and God.
3. The fasting (*sawm*). Every year, during the month of Ramadan, all Muslims must fast from dawn until sundown in which they abstain from food, drink, and sexual relations with their spouses.
4. The payment of charity (*zakah*). An important principle of Islam is that everything belongs to Allah with wealth being held by human beings in trust. Here, it is important to note that, in Islam, charity exceeds the physical meaning of the word to cover other non-material behaviours.
5. The *Hajj* is a pilgrimage that occurs during the Islamic month of Dhu al-Hijjah to the holy city of Mecca, and derives from an ancient Arab practice. Every able-bodied Muslim is obliged to make the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lifetime if they can afford it.

To avoid generalizations, and for the purpose of this study which is concerned with the Bedouins of southern Jordan, the following section will be devoted to explore different aspects of the Bedouin as part of the larger Arab-Islamic society.

2.8.2 The Bedouin Society:

It is generally accepted that one of the first principles of scientific research is directed towards delimiting the constituents of the subject at hand. Thus, to achieve this principle it is important to clearly illustrate the group in which this study is concerned. As an approach, a definition of the concept of nomadism is important.

Most of the ethnographic studies that focus on nomads tend to place an emphasis on the dominant role of ecology as a factor that shapes their societies. Some of these studies almost come to regard nomadism as an ecological adaptation. While agreeing with the main body of these ethnographies, this study suggests that the definition should be extended to include the ideological side of nomadism. The term nomad, and therefore the term nomadism, means different things to different scholars. Literature concerning nomadism is filled with definitions that vary according to the scholars' theoretical frameworks. This literature illustrates that there are various groups of nomads. They include the pastoral nomads, fishing nomads, farming nomads, peripatetic nomads and trading nomads. However, amongst of all these groups, the most common group is the pastoral nomads, which will be the focus of this study.

The classical approach to the problem of classifying pastoral nomadic groups, an approach found in most of the literature dealing with nomads, is to recognize their nomadism as a form of livelihood that is "ecologically adjusted at a particular technological level to the utilization of marginal resources" (Johnson, 1969, p. 2). According to Johnson's definition, nomadic groups utilize resources that occur in areas "too dry, too elevated, or too steep for agriculture to be a viable mode of livelihood" (1969, p. 2). A similar understanding was adopted by Emanuel Marx, who defines nomadism as an adaptation to scarcity of resources. Like other scholars, Marx also

relates nomadism to the seasonality and regularity of movement. For Marx (1984), “when the reserves are exhausted in one place, they move to other sites, usually in a fairly regular annual cycle” (pp. 41-75). In the same sense, Bohannan believes that nomadism is a movement towards pasture areas whereby people follow a definite route over a period of time (1963, pp. 56-7). John Galaty defines nomads as those who are “attributed (to) a high degree of social autonomy due to their periodic and regularized spatial movement and their specialized economy” (1981, p. 4). Other anthropologists and social scientists use the absence of both agriculture and land ownership to define the various categories of nomadism. For Kroeber (1948), nomadic people are “those making their living wholly off their flocks without settling down to plant” (p. 277).

Ibn Khaldun, the Arab sociologist and historian of the 14th century, in his *Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, accurately noted that “it should be known that the differences of conditions among people are the result of the different ways in which they make their living” (1976, p. 249). For Ibn Khaldun:

Some people adopt agriculture...others adopt animal husbandry, the use of sheep, cattle, goats, bees and silkworms, for breeding and for their products. Those who live by agriculture or animal husbandry cannot avoid the call of the desert, because it alone offers the wild fields, acres, pasture for animals, and other things that the settled areas do not offer. Their social organization and co-operation for the needs of life and civilization, such as food, shelter and warmth do not take them beyond the bare subsistence level, because their inability to provide for anything beyond these things. Subsequent improvement of their conditions and acquisition of more wealth and comfort than they need, cause them to rest and take it easy (1976, p. 249).

Here, it is important to point out that Ibn Khaldun did not consciously make a distinction between nomadism and sedentary life as a sociological phenomenon. Rather he simply grouped together nomads and villagers, on the one hand, and contrasted them with sedentary urban people who inhabit large population centers, on the other. In addition, other scholars classify nomadism according to nomadic herding patterns. Douglas Johnson states that the “pastoral nomads economy is based on the exploitation of animal herds...some tribes specialize in only one animal, while others attempt to exploit a

number of different species simultaneously” (1969, p. 50). Others define nomadism as a life style characterized by periodic change of forms of habitation in search for pasture, water resources and security. This change of habitation forms is manifested in their mobility, which is the “primary distinguishing characteristic of nomads” (Rapoport, 1978, p. 218).

Literature on the subject of nomadism represents the Bedouins as a large conglomerate of nomads that live around North Africa, as well as parts of the Middle East. Here, it is important to clarify that Bedouins do not represent a nationality or race or particular ethnic group but rather a way and style of life determined by its surrounding environments. The Bedouins are the Arabic speaking nomads who live in the desert regions of the Arabian Peninsula. They spread out of its deserts into neighbouring fertile lands as part of their continuous search for pasture and plunder.

In Arabic literature, the word for a Bedouin is *badawi* (Pl. *Bedu*). It is derived from the term for the nomadic way of life *badawah* (Bedouinism). The original root of both *badawi* and *badawah* is the Arabic word *bedaya*, which literally means the starting point. It is significant that, in Arabic, the word to describe part of the desert, *badia*, is derived from the same source words. The *badia* is “equated with the sand desert, or similarly, the opposite of the settled land” (Jabbur, 1995, p. 29).

Literature that focuses on pastoralists views the Bedouins as a continuum between sedentary on the one hand and hypothetically pure nomads that has no contact whatsoever with agriculture on the other. Jabbur categorized nomadic groups into three main types. The first category is the pure and firmly established nomadism. It is based exclusively on the raising of camels. The second type is semi-nomadism, which is a development of the first category and represents a form of nomadism that exists midway between pure nomadism. The third type is the semi-sedentary, which is based on the raising of livestock consisting of sheep and goats and few camels. This group of nomads has good relations with settled villagers or city dwellers (Jabbur, 1995, pp. 31-2). According to Jabbur, among this group are those who have become only semi-nomadic and would

readily take up settled life. They also can be considered to be a “semi-settled fold who have begun to see the positive aspects of sedentary life” (Jabbur, 1995, p. 31). The following section of this chapter will explore the various socio-cultural components of the Bedouins’ life style.

2.8.2.1 The Bedouins’ Socio-Cultural Context:

Within Islamic societies, religion plays a significant role in shaping almost every aspect of life. The most influential principle that affects Muslim’s life patterns is the way they perceive the concept of worship. The concept of worship in Islam is a comprehensive one. It includes, almost, every action performed by Muslims. According to this understanding, Muslim’s activities are considered by God as acts for worship. The other influential factor affecting Muslims’ life, which is highly supported by the Islamic teachings, is their feeling of being a united society (*ummah*). The concept of *ummah* is defined as “a group of people who accept the principles of Islam with coherent and clear, objected symbolic universes embodying Islamic values and rules” (Al-Mawdudi, 1986, p. 29). Based upon this factor, Islam recognizes that mankind cannot live without social interactions. These interactions are well expressed in the Koran and *Sunnah*, which “calls upon Muslims to relate strongly with each other” (Mortada, 2003, p.21). The Holy Koran says “the believers are but a single brotherhood” (Koran, Surah, p. 49:10).

Related to the concept of *ummah*, is the concept of social justice, in which social equity is a key feature. It is an absolute concept that stems from the fact that “all human beings are created by one God, equal and single comradeship” (Mortada, 2003, p. 24). To maintain the concept of *ummah*, Islam emphasized the importance of the maintaining strong neighbourly relationships. According to the Holy Koran, neighbours are divided into three categories: “a neighbour who is also a relation, a neighbour who is stranger and a casual or temporary neighbour with whom one happens to live or travel for a certain time” (p. 27). Islamic teachings emphasized that regardless of the categorization of neighbours, all of them are deserving of sympathy, affection, kindness and fair treatment. Islam privileges neighbours by establishing codes of conduct that preserve their rights and duties. Here, it is important to note that the concepts of *ummah*, brotherhood, and

neighbourly relationships “greatly contribute to the accomplishment and enhancement of the social system of Islam” (Mortada, 2003, p. 57). Because the Bedouins have strong ties to Islam, they also have deep ties to the history of their ancestors and possess a consciousness of mutual unity.

The Bedouins’ tribal structure is based on patrilineal ties among men. Raphael Patai, in *The Culture Areas of Middle East*, asserts that “patrilineal descent, whether actual or assumed...is the basic of (tribal group’s) social organization” (1978, p. 8). This assertion was supported by Lancaster’s observations among the Rwala Bedouins. According to Lancaster, the Bedouins perceive the principle of descent as “a system in which they operate as being made up of groups, ultimately descended in the male line from a common ancestor” (1997, p. 25). In contrast to the urban perspective of lineage, which sees genealogy as “starting in the past and coming down to the present”, the Bedouins understand genealogy as “starting in the present and receding into the past” (Lancaster, 1997, p. 151). In this sense, the concept of kinship is the term by which the Bedouins conceive their identity. Their social structure is based on a segmentary lineage ideology, which in anthropological literature refers to the social group whose membership is recruited on the basis of specific genealogical ties to a common male ancestor. The Bedouins’ genealogy is a character of their tribal structure and it is considered a record of tribal history and a compass that locates individuals in social space and time.

The Bedouins’ segmentary lineage system “emphasizes patrilineal descent linked to a male individual rather than female individuals” (Momani, 1992, p. 34). According to many Arab genealogists, the classification of Arabian groupings is elaborated and extended to more than fourteen levels (Momani, 1992, pp. 54-61). This segmentary lineage system is a hierarchical progression that begins with the smallest descent unit and moves to the largest descent unit. Therefore, the generic terminology referring to various units in the descent system is consistently relativistic, which means that there are no breaks in Bedouin genealogies. Here, it is important to note that unlike Arab genealogists, some of the non-Arabs who wrote about the Bedouins did not well define and therefore differentiate between the Bedouins’ socio-political subdivisions. They failed to make

these differentiations because they built their studies on fieldwork information in which their local informants used different words to describe the same expression. Thus, to avoid such confusion, based on its fieldwork's findings, supported by anthropological literature on Bedouins, this study uses terms that describe the Bedouins' socio-political context in a manner that reflects concepts related to the Bedouins' kinship system. These terms follow a certain sequential pattern in which the definition of the smaller group comes first. The following section will outline these terms in greater detail.

1. The Nuclear family (*A'ilah nawaweah*):

Among the Bedouins, although they highly value their extended family structure, the nuclear families are given the most attention because it is the nuclear that creates the extended family. Their nuclear family comprises the father, mother and unmarried children. Arab families, in general, can be described as patriarchal, in which the father is the head of the family. In the father's absence, it is the eldest son who takes charge of the family. The nuclear family is also patrilineal, meaning that the most important genealogical line is passed through the father to sons and that one belongs to the tribe and clan of their father.

2. The Extended family (*A'ilah Mumtadah*):

Among the Bedouins, the social entity that most closely resembles what is commonly meant by the expression, domestic unit, is the *bayt*. In anthropological literature, *bayt* is generally used to indicate that combination of nuclear families, thus making an extended family. The extended family is made up of numerous conjugal families of the male individuals of more than one generation.

The Bedouin extended family consists of three generations living together in the same house or in a cluster of houses. It is comprised of the father, mother, married and unmarried children, grandparents, uncles and aunts from the father's side but rarely the grandparents from the mother's side. The *bayt*, when aggregated to others related extended families, form the *dar*, which literally means homestead. Among the Bedouins, *bayt* represents not only the physical domestic unit, but also the people that inhabit this unit. For example, Mohammad's family is sometimes referred to as *bayt* Mohammad. In the case of Mohammad's extended family, married sons might have

their own *bayts* next to him and the entire cluster of *bayts* can be referred to as *dar* Muhammad. Donald Cole (1975) argues that the *bayt*, even when combined together, within the *dar*, “continues to function as an independent social and economic unit” as “there is no division of labour between *bayts* in the *dar* regarding to herding activities” (p. 63).

3. Lineage (*Fakheth*, Pl. *Fkhouth*):

Within the Bedouins’ segmentary system, *fakheth* is the term exclusively used to describe the Bedouins’ close co-liaible grouping. This co-liaible grouping is called the *khamisa* (the five). In anthropological terminology, *khamisa* is the “vengeance unit descended from a common ancestor five generations back” (Lancaster, 1997, p. 29). This definition is similar to Ahmad Oweidi’s understanding of *khamisa*. Oweidi (1982) defines the term as a social unit, which embraces the man’s patrilineal kin within five degrees of relationships and “it is the group to be responsible as a unit in all legal matters” (p. 113). The Bedouins’ philosophical understanding of the *khamisa* is based on “the five fingers of the hand. When a man has a hand with all its fingers, he can use a weapon to kill and/or to defend himself, but for each finger which he does not use to wield his weapon, he becomes correspondingly weaker” (Oweidi, 1982, p. 113).

According to the Bedouins customary law, when a tribesman committed a crime, his *khamisa* is the social group that shares with him the responsibility of what he did. To define this group, Bedouins refer to tribal judges. To do the counting, the tribal judge holds a dagger with his five fingers around its wooden handle (hilt) and the blade of the dagger pointed downwards. The tribal judge then begins to count to the great grandfather of the murderer’s *hamula* as indicated by ‘x’ in the diagram bellow, and counts down through the five generations of this family. With each generation, the judge releases one of his fingers till the dagger falls down with the fifth generation. The sixth and above generations are excluded from any responsibility in the crime.

According to the Bedouins' customary law, the murderer's *khamisa* is compulsory relocated (*jalwa*) (exiled) from their permanent habitation. In their relocated habitat, they are usually hosted by another tribe, whose members are responsible for the security of their guests. This involuntary exile lasts for a certain period of time until the conflict is resolved. Depending upon the tribal judge's decision, the murderer's *khamisa* are also responsible to pay a *diyah*, which is the compensation or blood price, which is paid to the victim's family. The amount of this payment is based upon the tribesmen's financial abilities.

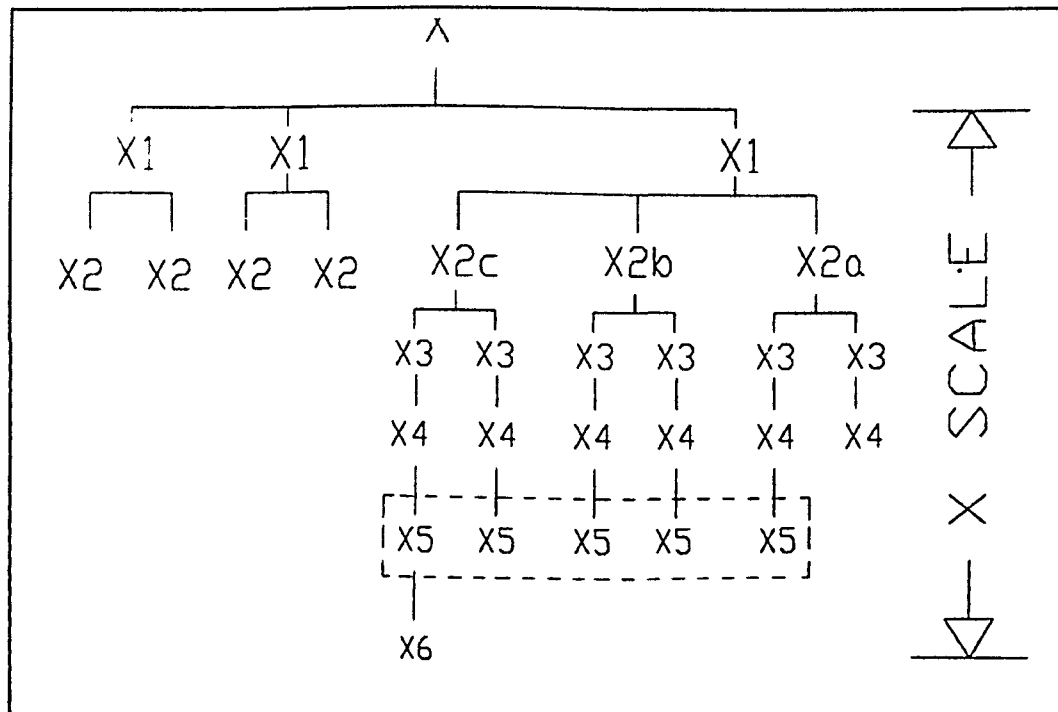


Figure (2.1): The *khamisa* tribal system, showing the counting of generations.

Source: Ahmad Oweidi, *Bedouin Justice in Jordan*, 1982.

4. Clan (*Hamula*, Pl. *Hamael*):

The term *hamula* is derived from the Arabic source word *hamal*, which literally means bearing. *Hamula* is expressed in many concepts that are related to the Bedouins' way of life. The most important concept is the legal undertaking of bearing blood responsibilities. Oweidi (1982) explains this concept as "When a person commits a crime outside his *hamula*, his whole *hamula* shares with him the guilt and/or responsibility for the crime" (p. 114). Thus, the *hamula* is the foundation for

tribal order, in which members of the tribe “committed themselves to each other through the bond of common descent” (Jabbur, 1995, p. 174). It provides an order to the interrelationships created in the society. In this sense, it makes the tribe, as a process, responsible for creating these relationships, or a product that has resulted from the same relations. The *hamula* comprises all kinsmen who are descended from the same ancestor six to eight generations back and is composed of many lineages or of the fifth degree relationship. According to literature that describes the Bedouins’ social system, *hamula* is a co-liaible group, meaning it is employed in a sense, built from its components: co (meaning jointly) and liaible (meaning legally bound. Based upon this understanding, the *hamula* as part of the whole tribe does two things for its members. Firstly, it stands behind the member in his time of need and may employ force to support his claimed rights. Secondly, it mediates his membership to the tribe. Therefore, the term *hamula* represents the members who are mutually responsible in matters of blood, either the members who shed blood or have been killed or wounded.

5. Tribe (*A’shirah*, Pl. *A’shaier*):

In the field of anthropology, there is a great deal of difficulty that surrounds the definition of the term “tribe”. Donald Cole (1975), in *Nomads of Nomads*, analyzed the Saudi Arabian Murrah tribal social organization in terms of five units: the tent, the camping cluster, the lineage, the clan and the tribe. He suggested that the lineage is a more conceptually abstract social unit in which people are related by the principle of patrilineal decent.

Eickelman (1997) asserts that tribesmen identify themselves in terms of metaphoric agnation. These metaphors apply only in a general sense to three levels: the rural local community, the section, and the tribe. According to Emanuel Marx (1967), a tribe is a social aggregate as well as a political organization, in the sense that it controls territory and permits access to resources. According to Salzman (2001), the tribe is “the overarching political unit in segmentary societies” (p. 152). According to this dissertation fieldwork’s findings, among the Bedouins, the tribe is defined as the descendent group whose members have common interests and territory, within which

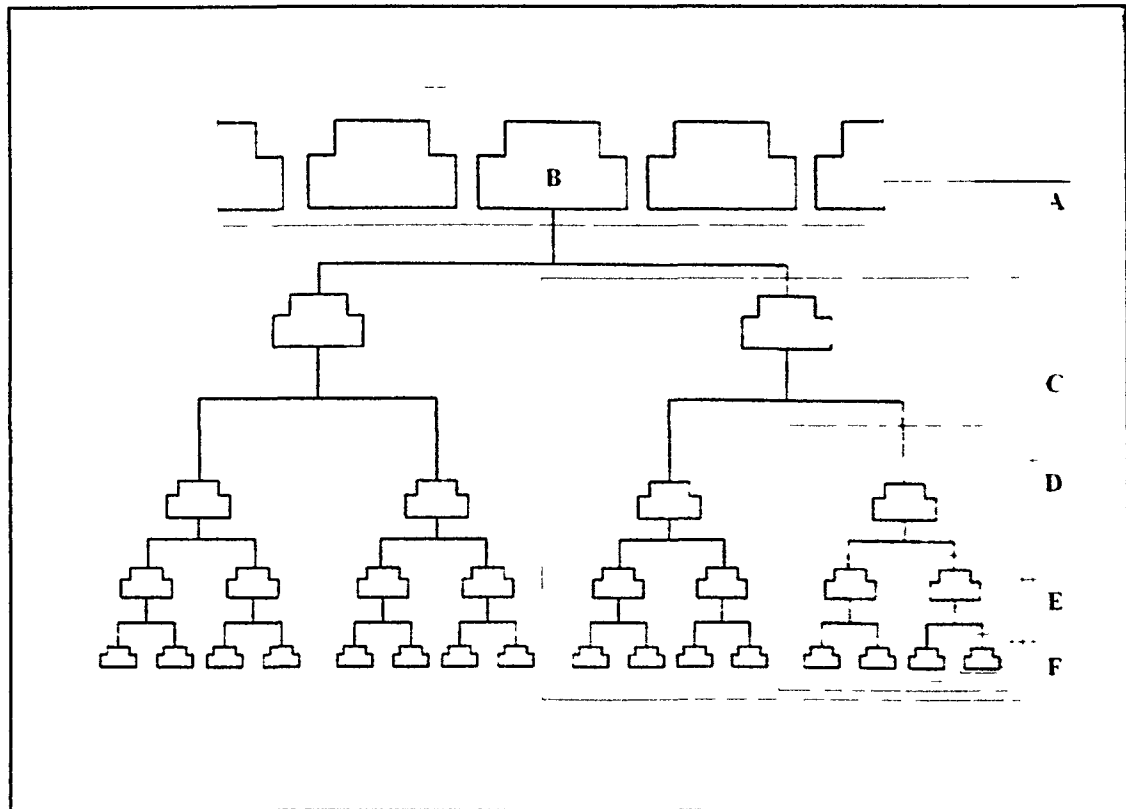
the control of pasture land is vested. Here, it is important to note that all the members of the tribe are not necessarily descended from the same founder, as the tribe might include some outsiders. Oweidi (1982) states that "If outsiders become attached, they are known as *lifayif*, members who bear the common ancestor's name but are not descended from him. The *lifayif* have to bear responsibility, insofar as they bear the ancestor's name, in terms of mutual obligations, duties and rights" (p. 114).

6. Semi-confederation (*shbeh Qabilah*):

According to Festner, "kinship groups gather into tribes and tribes gather into groups of tribes, which together form confederations...these social divisions facilitate living in the desert conditions" (1991, p. 95). The difference between semi-confederation and confederation is based upon the politics and territory. Semi-confederation is a type of regional alliance, which is defined by a certain territorial context. This type of confederations is not always based upon kinship but rather the closeness of relationships (*qarabah*), which does not necessarily imply real kinship. Closeness can instead flow along a number of personal and collective networks of relationships, such as marriage ties, friendship and *khwah* (brother-ship), which is one of the mechanisms by which the Bedouins maintain a degree of security.

7. Confederation (*Qabilah*, Pl. *Qabaie*):

Confederation is based upon the alliance of a number of tribes who share the same interests, in terms of economic activities and security measures, but not necessarily share the same ancestors. In this sense, the joining of these tribes allows them to be treated as a cultural and political unit. Sahlin (1968) attributes an approximate equal weight to this unit's cultural, territorial and political organization and suggests that it is a type of polity halfway between the band and the state (p. vii-viii). Some anthropologists, such as Abu Hilal (1984), argue that such confederations between different tribes did not exist prior to the colonial regimes coming into these regions. Yet, in contrast to this suggestion, this dissertation argues that Jordanian tribal confederations were established well before the establishment of the state of Jordan, which happened at the beginning of the twentieth century.



A: Confederation / semi-confederation (*Qabilah / shbeh Qabilah*) B: Tribe (*A'shirah*) C: Clan (*Hamula*) D: Lineage (*Fakheth*) E: Extended family (*A'ilah Mumtadah*) F: Nuclear family (*A'ilah nawaweah*).

Figure (2.2): The Bedouins' tribal social system

Source: Ahmad Oweidi, *Bedouin Justice in Jordan*, 1982.

Now that the Bedouins' various socio-political categories have been presented it is important to explore the role of the patrilineal descent in these categorizations. The Bedouins' belief in the superiority of patrilineal descent is based upon their idea of creation. According to the Bedouins' philosophy, the father has a superior role in a child's creation process. The father "contributes through his semen to the substance of the child he sires" (Behnke, 1980, p. 94). Based upon this understanding, the Bedouins believe that, children are the *damm wa-lahimm* (Flesh and blood) to their father. Although they attribute the father with a superior role in the creation process, the Bedouins do believe that mothers are the containers of the creation process. This idea means that after the creation process has begun, woman is the one responsible for

determining the gender of the child. Thus, because of this responsibility, Bedouin women are always blamed when they are unable to produce male children and therefore the man has the right to seek another wife. The Bedouins believe that the mother's role in the material construction of the child continues after the child's birth. They believe that the child's further development happens through the mother's breast milk, as it reinforces, and is in turn reinforced, by some of the Islamic teachings. In Islam, any male and female who was nursed by the same woman are not allowed to get married because they are considered to be brother and sister.

According to the Bedouins' philosophy, a mother's role in raising a child continues to ensure building a sense of belonging to his social group. Here, it is important to point out that there has always been a continuous debate in the literature that focuses on tribal social organizations about the position of individuals within such organizations. A key factor in the Bedouins' social and political systems is, as emphasized by Ibn Khaldun, the sense of solidarity (*a'sabiyah*). According to Ibn Khaldun, *a'sabiyah* is "a group feeling...the state of mind that makes individuals identify with a group and subordinate their own personal interest to the group's interest" (1976, pp. 623-627). Among the Bedouins, solidarity is based on kinship and is powerfully supported by religion. Conversely, no religion can make an impact unless a strong feeling of solidarity can be found among its members. Solidarity can take a variety of forms in different socio-cultural contexts. Among the Bedouin society, solidarity is built on the concept of brotherhood (*khwah*). Muslims are ordained by the Islamic teachings to have the feelings and the applications of the concept of brotherhood. Here, it is important to note that these Islamic teachings compliment the ecological factor, which is an important factor that is closely linked to the importance of solidarity. As part of the Bedouins ecological context, which presents itself in the harshness and limited desert resources, loyalty for a Bedouin, which is connected to protection, as well as economic factors, is always first to his family, then to his clan and to the tribe to which he belongs. Reciprocally, the tribe as a whole is responsible for its individuals' subsistence in cases of emergencies and for their protection or avenging them if this protection fails. Closely linked to the concept of

solidarity is the concept of reputation, which is an extremely important Bedouin social construct.

Among the Bedouins, reputation is one of the most important virtues that characterize members of the society. One's reputation is based upon how closely a person demonstrates the virtues of honour, bravery and generosity. The development of a Bedouin's reputation begins during childhood and is differently perceived based upon the child's gender. As a male child, his reputation, as well as his status among the other children within his social group is a "reflection of his upbringing by his mother (which is regarded as a forming character) as well as his use of the assets and options that his immediate family have made available for him (Lancaster, 1997, p. 44). A male's public life begins at the early age of two years old, which is when he is allowed to spend time with his male family members and relatives, who gather in the men's side of the tent. For the Bedouins, the first few years of a child's life are just the starting point in the process of moulding the child to realize and become part of the larger aggregates of the society, on which the tribe so heavily relies. Consequently, a child who is brought up to recognize cohesion and therefore solidarity as basis for survival, is ripe and ready to assume responsibilities towards his extended family and therefore his tribe. Therefore, to achieve this integration with his socio-cultural context, from the first days of his crawling and walking, the child is encouraged to learn the ways of his ancestors in a two-fold manner. This learning occurs through observing his elders, when they allow the child to accompany them during their different activities as well as having the experience of the rugged, nomadic way of life by allowing him complete freedom to do as he wishes with no supervision or adult intervention. For example, a child is always encouraged to develop a sense of independence through tending to the camels or horses in his father's pasture ground. When the child reaches the age of six, he is asked to spend more time to help his father and also listen to his kinsmen discuss tribal affairs.

As the years progress, the child's father ensures that his son becomes more involved in "normal activities of life and has more opportunity to learn how to behave under a wider variety of circumstances...but whether his opportunities are wide or limited, his

reputation is of his own making - it is on his own public behaviour that his is judged" (Lancaster, 1997, p. 44). Among the Bedouins, the individual can be described as being strong only as long as his kinsmen are able to support him, when support is needed. At the age of seven, a Bedouin gets his circumcision which, although not considered to be an initiation rite, is a turning point in the boy's life as after the circumcision he is expected to master camel riding and learn the art of tracking. At this time he also begins to master shooting, as well as the different uses of sword (*saif*) and dagger (*shibriyah*). The young Bedouin learns these things very quickly because they are the basic requirements for survival in the desert's hostile environment, which is extremely unpredictable. In contrast to a boy's development in Bedouin society, the *badawiah* (feminine of *badawi*) is trained by her mother to become a good housewife. Among the Bedouins of southern Jordan, especially tribes that immigrated from north of Arabia, the *badawiah* is also circumcised. This process involves threading her clitoris with a needle, pulling it to its full length and cutting it as closely as possible to the body. Although I consider this process as inhuman, male Bedouins believe that woman should not derive any pleasure from sexual intercourse or experience any form of excitement. They believe that once woman has excitement with her man, she would control him. Rather, they believe that woman's excitement should be through her role in bearing children and her satisfaction should come from her ability to bring young healthy men into the family. After the young woman has healed from the circumcision, she is considered ready for marriage. There is a great deal of controversy surrounding the issue of female circumcision. In most Western countries, it is an act that is prohibited by law as it is a horrendous and cruel procedure that women are forced to suffer in many countries, particularly in the North Eastern part of Africa. Female circumcision has a long tradition, which dates back to the time before Islam. In Egypt the practice dates back to the time of the Pharaohs and it was performed by people from different religious backgrounds. Discussions about this topic illustrate that there is no direct or indirect reference to female circumcision in either the Koran or the *hadith*, thus, making this practice cultural rather than religious mandate from Islam. In addition to the concepts of solidarity and reputation (*suma'ah*), which have already been discussed above, there are a wide range of cultural mechanisms that operate to reinforce and strengthen the corporate feelings among the different social groups of the Bedouin

society. Among these mechanisms there are honour (*sharaf*), shame (*a'eb*), first cousin marriage (*Ibn a'mm*) and inheritance practices. These mechanisms construct a cohesive bond between the tribal groups and regulate the relationships among the Bedouins. These mechanisms are deeply rooted in the Islamic teachings. According to their religious background, within the Bedouin society, the most influential concept among these mechanisms is that of honour. The Bedouins have a pronounced sense of honour, which is thought to protect one's good reputation. They classify honour in two ways - *sharaf* and *a'rdh*. *Sharaf*, which is a man's honour, is a dynamic concept that can rise and fall in line with a man's actions. *A'rdh*, which is a woman's honour, refers to the woman's pelvis and is based upon her modesty (Abadi, 1987, pp. 56-8).

Unlike *sharaf*, *a'rdh* is permanent and static concept. The belief within Bedouin society is that a woman is born with her honour and it is her duty to closely guard this honour. The Bedouins believe that *sharaf*, in a broad sense, partially comes through women. This idea has resulted in the belief that *a'rdh* damages *sharaf* but not vice-versa. Thus the moment a woman's *a'rdh* is lost, it cannot be restored, and the honour of this woman's man is also severely compromised. Within the Bedouins' social system, the employment of shame (*a'eb*) is more prevalent in daily use than that of honour. Any improper conduct of moral affairs brings shame to the person's tribal group, as well as the loss of respect among the different tribal groups (Abadi, 1987, p. 8).

The first real test of males' and females' reputations occurs at the time of marriage. For the Bedouins, marriage has both religious and social significance. From an Islamic perspective, marriage legalizes sexual relationships and provides a framework of procreation. From a social perspective, marriage enforces the social networks, not only between the bride and the groom, but also their nuclear families and *hamulas*. Among the Bedouins, romantic love is regarded as a feeble basis for marriage, as they believe that love should grow out of the marriage. Here, it is important to note that many Bedouin marriages are endogamous, meaning that the most popular way for a marriage is the arranged one. The preference of a partner is always given to first degree relatives, which are *ibn a'mm* and *bint a'mm* marriage (father's brother's daughter and son marriage)

(Abadi, 1987, p. 12). The principle reason for an *ibn a'mm* marriage is to "preserve the patrimony within the genetic unit" (Momani, 1992, p. 65).

Polygamy was allowed among the Bedouins even in the pre-Islamic era and continued after the spread of Islam. Therefore, divorce is stigmatized and rare. Even an unhappily married woman will continue her marriage because of two key reasons. The first reason is because of her husband's entitlement to have custody of their children regardless of the children's ages. The second reason is based upon the poor prospect of re-marriage occurring within Bedouin society. The only choices that would most likely be available for divorced women would be to marry an older man or to be another wife in a polygamous household. Also, the action of divorce within Bedouin society must be understood from a religious perspective. Islam divides all human acts into five general categories: first, the *halal* or lawful acts, which are the actions in harmony with the teachings stated in both the Koran and *Hadith*. Second is *Haram* or forbidden acts, which are the acts that violate the teachings of Islam. Third is the *Mandub* or commendable acts, which accomplishments are regarded but whose omissions are not punished. The Fourth is *Mubah* or permissible acts. The final is the *Makruh* or the reprehensible acts, which are not punishable (Lutfiyya, 1966, p. 40). Divorce, although it is considered to be a *halal* act, which avoids more social consequences, is also a reprehensible act (*Makruh*), which is the reason behind the low percentage of divorces.

2.8.2.2 The Bedouins Political Context:

The Bedouins political structure is based on their customary tribal law called *urf*. The term *urf* refers to the customs and practices that form the major components of the Bedouins' identity. Although the different states, where the Bedouins live, do not formally recognize the *urf*, for the Bedouins, it is the system capable of solving all kinds of conflicts that may occur among them. The main sources and origins of *urf* are based upon Islamic teachings (Koran and *hadith*); *usul* (rooted customs, decent characteristics, principles, the right behaviour according to the line of acceptability); *ijtihad* (judgments based on the judge's experience); *shorah* (the opinions of the tribal elders); and the *sabg*, which is the Bedouin's legal precedents. Although the *urf* is based upon all of these

sources, it is important to note that any time there is a conflict between these sources, preference is always given to the Islamic teachings. It can be safe to generalize that the Bedouins' customs are mainly derived from, or, in harmony with Islamic teachings since they have been Muslims for over fourteen centuries. These customs are transmitted and strengthened from one generation to another. One of the key aspects that is governed by the Bedouins' *urf* is their leadership.

While the title sheikh is given to the person who holds the leadership position in both the tribe and the semi-confederation, *sheikh al-mshayeikh* (the paramount sheikh) is the title that is given to the person who is the leader of the confederation. Generally, the office of the sheikh is an inherited post that is assumed by a son from his father. Among the Bedouins of southern Jordan, the position of the sheikh is hereditary to the extent that he must be a member of a definite family within the tribe or the confederation. The power of the sheikh is not absolute. In carrying out his responsibilities, the sheikh is assisted by a council (*majlis*). The composition of the *majlis* varies between tribe and confederation structures. At the tribal level, members of the *majlis* are the hereditary heads of the successively larger kinship aggregates. At the semi-confederation and confederation level, the council is composed of sheiks of the different tribes. The sheikh's position is governed by the Bedouins' customary law (*urf*). The *urf* demands that the first-born son of the sheikh should always succeed the father upon his death. The *urf* also requires that when a sheikh dies, and usually at some time prior to his death if he is ill or old and weak, the *majlis* decide on acceptance of the eldest son as the succeeding sheikh. Only under one condition can this process be changed, and that is when the sheikh has a definite preference for one of his sons or relatives rather than his eldest son. The potential sheikh has to go through a probation period in which he is given the opportunity to prove his ability as a leader. During this period, the sheikh himself advances into an emeritus status and backs his successor with his prestige and advice.

The power of the sheikh depends on his wealth, his influence and his ability to reason with the tribesmen. Usually, the *sheikh al-mshayeikh* is assisted by a number of specialized sheikhs, such as the sheikh of riding (*sheikh al ghazw*) and the sheikh of

supply (*sheikh al shadad*). While the sheikh of supply should be well known for his wealth, the *sheikh al ghazw* must be a charismatic leader and have a strong reputation as a successful leader of raids (Abadi, 1984, p. 24). Among these sheikhs, it is *sheikh al shadad* who advises *sheikh al-mshayeikh* to move the camp to a different location when the original camp's natural resources are vanishing. To explore the nature of this movement, it is essential to understand the Bedouins-environment relationship, which will be the purpose of the coming section.

2.8.2.3 The Bedouins Environmental Context:

There are a variety of definitions that can be used to understand the term environment. According to the *Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, the term environment is defined as "all the physical, social and cultural factors and conditions influencing the existence or development of an organism or assemblage of organism; the act of surrounding; the state of being surrounded" (1974, p. 329). Based on this definition, one can ascertain that there is an important relationship that exists between the environment and its users. To avoid generalizations, a specific social context would be considered, that is of the Bedouins.

Jabbur in his book entitled *The Bedouin and the Desert*, contends that the desert, camel, tent and the Bedouin himself are the pillars of the Bedouins' life. According to Jabbur, "if any of these (pillars) collapses, the Bedouins' life is shaken and its organization is upset" (1995, p. 39). To understand Jabbur's argument and to explore the Bedouin-environment relationship it is necessary to examine some brief descriptions about the Bedouins' characteristics. The Bedouin is calm and even-tempered as the desert environment in which he exists has taught him endurance and tolerance to its hardship. He is also brave because the desert life raised him to love looting and plunder. The Bedouin, although he possesses a sense of individuality is still loyal to his tribal group. He loves to be free and keep himself clear of the systems of regulation that govern settled mankind. He is independent to an extent that he refuses any one person to hold authority over him (Jabbur, 1995, p. 310). These characteristics confirm what Ibn Khaldun asserted in his *Muqaddimah* about the Bedouins, that they "are hardy, frugal, uncorrupted in morals, freedom-loving and self-reliant, and so make excellent fighters" (1976, pp. 623-627). In

addition to these characteristics that relate strongly to the individual, hospitality, generosity and politeness are typical Bedouin qualities that are important to Bedouin society. The Bedouin is generous, which is “probably attributable to the fact that the Bedouin originated in an environment shaped by want and deprivation” (Jabbur, 1995, p. 311). The hostile desert environment not only created a total dependency between the individual and the clan, as well as the chauvinistic beliefs of the tribe’s superiority, but it also helped the Bedouin develop fabulous hospitality towards other desert travelers. Hospitality (*dhyafah*) is the highest of Bedouin virtues, in which a stranger, even an enemy, can approach a Bedouin’s tent and be granted a place to stay for three days. The Bedouins’ honour is bound to their hospitality and generosity and integrated into these values is the concept of protection. The Bedouins have developed a system of friendship (*rafiq*), which provides safety for those who need to travel outside of their tribal territories. In explaining the function of the *rafiq* system, Harry Ellis states:

The desert Arab, practical always in the conduct of his life, developed the system of *rafiq* to ensure at least something of normal intercourse in his dangerous world. The result, strange to western sense but perfectly logical to the Arab, was a system whereby tribes which normally were mortal enemies would allow each others’ members, under sponsorship of *rafiq*, to travel in safety and even in honour through the ranges of their most persistent foes (1956, p. 22).

Ellias defines *rafiq* as a “member of the tribe through whose territory the travelling Bedouin intend to pass” (Ellis, 1956, p. 22). Receiving and entertaining passing travelers is another virtue that the Bedouins learned from living in the desert environment. The Bedouins are eloquent men who love to talk and entertain their guests in any way that does not harm their morals and/or sexual relationships. Indeed, a Bedouin male would be quite content to pass the day smoking, chatting and drinking coffee. Although they love talking and telling stories, the Bedouins are circumspect and reserved. Therefore, a tribesman does not divulge information that he has unless he knows that what he will say will not cause any harm.

Another characteristic the desert environment gave to the Bedouin is the sophisticated ability to interpret the traces and remains that they see around them. The Bedouins are excellent trackers. Cole (1975) noticed, during the time he spent with the Bedouins, that “any boy or girl can distinguish the tracks of all animals that live in the desert. By the time they are in their teens, everybody can tell the length of time elapsed since the tracks were made, how many animals or people were involved, and point out certain characteristics of the individual (1975, p. 55). Because of this ability, until now, some of the Bedouin tribesmen are attached as trackers to the Desert Patrols in most of the Arab countries. In addition to the Bedouin’s ability as trackers they are also good botanists. They are capable, at an early age, of knowing which plants to feed their camels and goats, to use for medicine and to use for firewood or food for the family. The Bedouins are also well-known for their sense of direction and their geographical knowledge about, not only their own tribal territory, but also the area beyond their territory. Whenever they travel, the Bedouins are careful observers of the land and its resources and features. This ability stems from the fact that they need to possess a strong ability to observe as it is essential for their customary search for pasture and water resources. Coupled with their sense of direction is their knowledge of reading the stars. The Bedouins can tell the seasons and the time of night by looking at the heavens.

All of these characteristics enable the Bedouin to represent one of the best examples in terms of how a human group has adapted to desert conditions. The Bedouins learn what they know from experiences that are transmitted to them from one generation to the next and their knowledge about their environment is practical, not esoteric. An essential component of this inherited knowledge is the distinguished relationship that the Bedouins developed with their livestock. Classical studies on nomadic Bedouins have noted that herds are the most important mediating force between the nomads and their environment. Nomadic Bedouins have a double reliance on environment “in the form of pasture for graze and browse and in the form of water sources for themselves and their herds” (Chatty, 1996, p. 3). Because of the scantiness of the desert’s natural resources, the Bedouins way of life is shaped by mobility, which is their primary distinguishing socio-economic characteristic. According to their mobility, which is characterized by a high

degree of regularity in space and time, nomadic Bedouins, generally, “go anywhere to maximize resources, but most typically they have a regular pattern of movement, and random movements are rarely found” (Rapoport, 1978, p. 218).

In addition to its functional role in the search for pasture and water, this mobility gives the nomadic people a degree of satisfaction in exploring the unknown areas around them. Spooner, in his article, *Towards a Generative Model of Nomadism*, contended that “nomads have a sense of pride in the use of unimproved environments, leading to certain personality characteristics and contempt for peasant characteristics” (1971, p. 127). In this sense, the nomads’ mobility can be perceived as an ideology linked to the group’s belief about things related to their environment. Their mobility can also be related to more interrelated concepts of territoriality, land ownership and privacy.

To describe their territoriality, the Bedouins use five concepts, which are the *manzal*, *barriya* or *barr*, *dirah*, *badia* and *sahra*. Arabic dictionaries use the terms *sahra*, *badia* and *barriya* interchangeably to describe the word desert. According to the Bedouins, these terms are not interchangeable but rather represent the following ideas:

1. *Manzal*: is the site where the camp is located. The vicinity of resources around the *manzal* is to be used by all of the tribe’s members.
2. *Barriya* or *barr*: describes the area adjacent to their *manzal* within about a 15 kilometres radius. Its resources can be used by different tribes belonging to the same confederation.
3. *Dirah*: The Bedouins do not regard *dirah* as a fixed geographical location but rather a moving territory. For a tribe, its territory is defined by its locality at a specific time as the Bedouins move from site to site searching for water and pasture.
4. *Badia*: is the arid and semi-arid steppe. It is semi-desert land, where its ground, in many places, would be suitable for some kind of agricultural activities when a proper water supply is available.
5. *Sahra*: is the sand-desert full of dunes, where vegetation cover is exclusively sparse. Its rainfall is exceedingly rare as it receives an average annual precipitation of less than 250 millimetres.

According to their customary practices, each nomadic tribe laid claim to an area, which it regarded as its home, its *dirah*. The use of the *dirah*'s resources is always considered within the framework of exchange practices, which facilitate shared access to the various resources between individuals of the same tribe as well as the individuals of the neighbouring tribes. Because of the scarcity of resources, the Bedouins categorize resources into two types. Within this categorization, pastures are considered to be the common property of the entire community. In contrast, water resources are considered to be strategic, meaning that access to water wells is owned by individual tribal groups and the use of these wells requires the tribe's permission and is conditional upon appropriate maintenance of the water resources (Abadi, 1984, pp. 56-58).

Pastoral nomads, in general, and the Bedouins, in particular, are widely regarded as being uninterested in protecting their natural resources. The general misconception about them is that, while they may inadvertently be in balance with their environment as long as the pastures are plentiful, they make no effort to safeguard resources during times of stress, or to ensure that future generations will enjoy what nature provides. However, this investigation into the Bedouins' life style, culture, and customs, especially with regard to their use of plants and animals, suggests the opposite conclusion. This investigation will demonstrate that the Bedouins are protective of their environment and do work to maintain a balance between themselves, their herds, and the availability of resources. Their attitude towards resource management does consider the future impact of their present actions, which illustrates that the Bedouins' perception about the concept of conservation matches the most widely used definition of sustainability. This definition comes from the Brundtland Commission (1987), which defines sustainability as the "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 43). The conservation of plants and animals is an expression of the Bedouins' deep-seated conservation ideology, which is based on the understanding that if the Bedouins lose their livelihood, they would lose their desert home and their rewarding ties to particular places within the desert (Hobbs, 1989, p. 109). This holistic approach to conservation has its roots in the

Bedouins' mentality for surviving the harshness of the desert. Among the Bedouins, the conservation rules are defined clearly with the most important rule being that only dead wood can be cut. Another rule is that only when no other food is available should a man take acacia or other tree leaves for his herd, and only then, can he remove these leaves by shaking them off a tree. Based upon custom, the Bedouins conserve the natural vegetation and the condition of the range by keeping stocking and grazing activities at sustainable levels. To regulate the mutual access to pasture and water resources, the Bedouins apply various mechanisms that vary between being peaceful in nature to those that are quite forceful. Raiding (*ghazw*) among the Bedouin tribes is an example of one of the forceful mechanisms that is employed. The *ghazw* function is to "defend the territory in which they live and to enlarge it by means of incursions into the land of other tribes" (Aharoni, 2007, p. 71).

In addition to its function to defend existing resources and gain others, the Bedouins raid each other to capture the other group's camels. Therefore, among the Bedouins, *ghazw* has an economic significance. In the contrast to the action of *ghazw*, the concept of *khuwah* literally means brotherhood, is an example of the peaceful mechanisms that are employed to facilitate the use of resources within the Bedouin society. Here, it is important to note that *khuwah* is not necessarily to be found along genealogical lines. Rather the *khuwa* bond "allows each group's spatiotemporal flexibility of grazing opportunities" (Mier, 1997, p. 24). Therefore, the borderlines between different tribes are more mobile than fixed. Chatty states that the borderlines between different *dirah's* have "always been fluid and subjected to reinterpretation as the relative strength of one group vis-à-vis another fluctuated or as pasture conditions became desiccated" (1996, p. 3). The *hema* reservation system is another mechanism that is used to regulate resource use in Bedouin society. This mechanism is considered to be the most peaceful because it regulates resources without the use of violence. *Hema* is an Arabic word that denotes protection. The *hema* system evolved within the framework of the social organization of the tribe. Physically, *hema* is a grazing reserve that belongs to a tribal group who has exclusive rights to use this reserve. The utilization of the vegetation of the drier areas took place under the tribal *hema* system which restricted the timing, frequency and intensity of

grazing, and was instrumental in the maintenance of the desert's natural resources. Under this communal *hema* system of conservation, every tribe has its own designated territory for grazing and when dry periods occur, a tribe is allowed, under specified conditions, to move to areas assigned to other tribes.

The above discussion illustrates how the Bedouins developed and institutionalized their own relationship with environment. Coherently related to the Bedouins-environment relationship is their economics, which will be the subject of the following section.

2.8.2.4 The Bedouins Economic Context:

The primary economic activity of the Bedouins is animal husbandry through natural grazing and browsing of sheep, goats, and camels. As with most pastoral societies, the division of labour among the Bedouins is determined by the type of animals that is being herded. When both large and small domesticated animals are kept within the tribe, usually the larger animals, which are mainly camels, become the responsibility of the men. The tribesmen perceive taking care of camels as a prestigious task, which means women are often barred from close contact with these animals. It is generally the responsibility of the women and older girls to herd, feed, and milk the family's goats and sheep (Abu-Rabia, 1994, pp. 71-75).

To sustain their livestock, the Bedouins migrate deep into the desert during the rainy season (December-January) and move back towards cultivated lands at the start of the dry season (April). Another factor that affects the Bedouins' mobility is their relationship to the sedentary settlements, which illustrates the reciprocal relationships that exist between Bedouins and settled populations. Here, it is important to note that nomadic societies in the Middle East do not exist in isolation. Rather, they are usually in contact with other nomads, with villagers, markets and towns.

Although the Bedouins-sedentary connection exists, it is always surrounded by misconceptions about the nature of the relationship. These misconceptions can be best understood when they are viewed in their historical context. Based on this historical

perspective, and based on the images that the media spreads about the harshness of the desert environments, Bedouins have been regarded with suspicion by non-Bedouins. Joseph Hobbs, in *Bedouin Life in the Egyptian Wilderness* explains the misconception between the two groups:

A common misconception 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 the symbiotic relationship between the nomads and farming people: the nomads supply livestock and other desert produce to villages and towns, and markets in these settlements provide the nomads with goods that cannot be produced in the desert, such as tea, sugar, rice, lentils and cloth. Sedentary people have seldom recognized the advantages of nomadic existence and by coercion and enticement have tried to settle nomads (1989, p. 31).

Literature on nomadic people illustrates that, in most of the cases, these settlement processes were implemented without understanding the Bedouins' spatial context in which their needs can be met and aspirations can be expressed, and therefore the following section explores the Bedouins spatial context.

2.8.2.5 The Bedouins Spatial Context:

The physical environment of any society is a complex product of variables, such as geographical features, climate, material resources, culture and technology. In Islamic societies religion plays a significant role in shaping Muslims' life patterns, in fact, it is often the governing factor in the design of their built environment. Important features of Islamic culture are the segregation of women and privacy. Prior to analyzing the Bedouins' built environment, the following section discusses these features and the way they affect the Bedouins' built environment.

The term segregation is used here to denote a variety of aspects of age and activities, such as, the separation of gender into male and female. The concept of segregation was, and still is, an important topic that interests scholars from a wide variety of disciplines. Some scholars investigate the concept from a historical point of view in which they conclude

that segregation is deeply rooted in history. Private and public domains existed in western architecture in the ancient Greek polis. Other scholars have speculated that segregation and differentiation with regard to the use of space is a cross-cultural issue that is constructed from various cultural influences. Mary Gauvain and Irwin Altman divided these influences into two major categories, the individual and the societal. According to Gauvain and Altman (1981) "individual forces are represented by the attempts of people to be unique and distinct...while societies probably vary in the extent to which individual versus societal factors predominate, we expect that both will exist to some extent in all cultures" (p. 28). Based upon their ideas, one can suggest that the notion of privacy is a relative concept among different cultures. Thus, "it is not likely that one will find a viable culture in which there is total societal control of the lives of individuals, nor it is likely that one will find a society with complete individual freedom" (Gauvain and Altman, 1981, p. 28). Elhag Ahmad Eltayeb Adam (1990), in *Culture, Architecture and the Urban Form*, discusses, in detail, the concept of privacy from an Islamic perspective. He concludes that privacy is a determining factor affecting the Arab-Islamic architecture. To further understand this issue it is important to reflect on the issue of women's status in Arab-Islamic culture.

Literature that has focused on the topic of Arab-Muslim women made a clear connection between the terms *harem* (women's domain) and seclusion. From the Islamic perspective, the term *harem* is meant to be intertwined with the concept of sacredness. The term *harem* is derived from the Arabic source *haram* (unlawful, forbidden and inviolable) and related to the source *ihteram*, which means respect. According to Lila Abu-Lughud (1986), who has explored women's issues in the Middle East over the past twenty years, the terms *harem* and seclusion, which are intertwined with popular and scholarly conceptions of Arab woman, are "grossly misleading" (1986, p. 637). According to Abu Lughud, the images evoked by such terms "indicates that women spend much of their time apart from men living in a separate world and form some sort of community within the larger society" (Abu Lughud, 1986, p. 637).

According to Islamic teachings, women should be conservative. These teachings clearly state that women should stay at home in all dignity and since there are restrictions on their mobility, no duty is allotted to them which requires them to go out of their houses (Surah Al Ahzab, verse 33). Therefore, women's social interactions are limited to certain groups, which are their female blood tied group; their female friends and neighbours; and husband, father, father-in-law, brothers and brothers-in-law. It is also stated that if a woman has to go out in unavoidable circumstances, she must be simply attired and wear the veil. Here, it is important to point out that although the seclusion of women from certain categories of social life is deeply rooted in Islamic teachings, this seclusion has been shifted to become rigid restriction exaggerated by contemporary Muslim societal rules. An example of this shift is the inheritance system. According to Islamic teachings, the Koran ensured that women in their capacities as daughters, wives and mothers should have their share in a man's inheritance. Some studies, which this study can relate to, criticized the idea that women should receive half of what their brothers would inherit. While agreeing with the essence of this criticism, this dissertation argues that the whole issue of inheritance should be examined in its socio-economic context as it is a question that is related to the issue of who is responsible for maintaining the life of the family. If one examines Islamic teachings that focuses on this issue, women are highly regarded for their social role in building the family and ensuring that it remains a cohesive unit. Therefore, a married woman is to be looked after by her husband even if she possesses wealth. According to Islamic teachings, a woman is not obligated to spend any of the money that she inherits from her parents. For the extra responsibility of keeping the family financially sustained, Islam allowed the males double what females receive as inheritance. Furthermore, at the time of marriage, a woman gets her dowry (*mahr*), which remains hers and only hers. Yet, among the Bedouin community, according to their customary law, women's inheritance is guided by Islamic law, with some variation. These variations are stemming from the fact that when it comes to land inheritance, the Bedouins do not exclusively follow the Islamic teachings. According to their law, property is classified as either movable (*rizik*) or immobile (*melk*), which literally means landed properly (Behnke, 1980, p. 65), in which women are entitled to *rizik* rather than *melk*. In Middle Eastern agricultural societies, landed property is held communally by the

group's men where women had no agricultural land ownership rights. The same attitude is part of the Bedouins' customs, although most of their land is chiefly non-agricultural. As part of their nomadic ideology, keeping the land within the hands of the tribe's men is a feature that maintains the tribe's solidarity and strength. Upon the death of a man, the wife or wives, daughters and sisters receive movable wealth in the form of money and livestock. The man's male descendants divide his estate equally among themselves. One-eighth of the man's inheritance should go to his widow. If a man lacks offspring, then his widow could inherit one-quarter of his estate, while the remainder is divided equally among his brothers. If his brothers died before him, the inheritance then goes to his brother's sons. To compensate for the lack of landed property (*melk*) inheritance, the Bedouins usually estimate the value of their wife's or wives', daughters' and sisters' share in the *melk* and pay them in cash money and livestock.

Although one might think that the woman's *mahr* compensates for the half share that women are entitled to, according to Islamic law, there are definitely cases that reflect a degree of inequality in this system of inheritance, such as a woman who does not marry or a widow, whose husband does not even leave her a house to live in. Unfortunately, in most of these cases, women are not offered any family support to compensate for such losses.

Another issue that is important to examine with regard to women's roles in Arab societies is that of violence. Literature that focuses on the Bedouins illustrates that their life is usually associated with violence in varying degrees. Tribal wars (*ghazw*) and roaming the unknown desert has made the issue of protecting women and children in their society an important virtue for Bedouin men. In this regard, *Sharaf* is one of the mechanisms devised to ensure the household security. Lancaster (1997), in this regard, asserts that "it seems sensible that women, who are the reproductive assets of the whole group, not only biologically but genealogically, should be kept out of the public life altogether" (p. 61). According to Lancaster, "the placing of women in the private, non-violent sphere of life is not sentimental nor is it motivated by any idea that women are the weaker sex. Bedouin women are just as tough, mentally and emotionally, as their men and, by observation,

often physically stronger” (1997, p. 62). Lancaster concludes that “the reasoning behind their position is that they are the means of survival of the group” (1997, p. 62). Because of the important roles women play within the Bedouin society, which is characterized by feud and warfare, the protection of women is one of the basic values in this society. As Lancaster states “even in the most heated battle, women were inviolable and whatever happened to her man folk, a woman was entitled, as of right, to milking camel for sustenance and transport to her relatives” (p. 59).

In addition to the concept of the security of women in relation to Bedouin society, privacy is another important topic that needs to be further explored. The Islamic teachings encourage Muslims to respect and implement the following forms of privacy (Mortada, 2003, p. 54):

1. Privacy between neighbours’ dwellings:

Because of the importance of this form of privacy, the *hadith* considered it as unlawful for a Muslim person to peep into the house of another person, until he has asked permission and considered it to be an actual physical intrusion into the house. Islam attaches equal importance to acoustic privacy. As stated in the *hadith*, “if somebody listens to the talk of some people who do not like him to listen or they try to flee from him, then melted lead will be poured into his ears on the day of Resurrection” (Al-Bukhari, 1960, p. 134).

2. Privacy between genders:

Before Islam, in the Arabian Peninsula, women were regarded as property that could be bought and sold. It was the Islamic teachings that asked its followers to stop the activity of burying infant daughters at birth, which was common practice among the Arabs. These teachings uplifted the status of a woman from being seen as the property of a man to becoming full fledged members of Islamic society. At that point, women were given rights and were asked for obligations in return. “Women were given the rights to participate in debates and public discussions, to involve themselves in public political affairs and to participate in electing the highest government officials” (Chowdhry, 1992, p. 5). Unlike what most literature on Islam states that Muslim man has the freedom to do whatever he desires; men are not excluded from

certain restrictions. Islamic teachings applied “certain restrictions on behaviour of both men and women that led to segregation of women from male members of society both at public and private levels (Chowdhry, 1992, p. 5). Gradually, when these teachings were influenced by more tribal societal values, in most Islamic societies, “women were restricted to the bounds of the women’s domain (*harem*) and to an almost total absence in public areas” (Chowdhry, 1992, p. 7). According to the Bedouins’ belief, such segregation aims to minimize the chances of un-wanted interactions that may cause conflicts. With regard to segregation rules, when a Muslim woman leaves her house, she is expected to observe some rules regarding her dress. Islam makes it prohibited (*haram*) for women to wear clothes which fail to cover the body, “which are transparent and which delineate the parts of the body” (Chowdhry, 1992, p. 6). In the presence of her husband, family of first degree, or close women friends, she may wear clothing that makes her feel comfortable. When she is not with these specific individuals, only her hands and face should be left uncovered. Some scholars went further to state that the face should be covered all the time.

3. Privacy between members of the same dwelling:

Islam organizes individuals in all varying life stages in ways that suit the different relationships that exist within and outside the family.

Based on the above discussion, one might wonder how the Bedouins maintain a sense of privacy in both their tents and in their camps. To explore this issue, the following section looks at the Bedouins’ black tent.

The Arabic word for tent is *khaimah*. This term is derived from the Arabic source *takheem*, which literally means to cover for protection. The other popular term is *maskan* and it is derived from the Arabic source *sakinah*, which literally means peace and tranquility. The tent itself provides insight into the origins of human shelter and its associated evolution. Indeed, it is not the earliest dwelling of man on earth. Historically, caves and tree shades were the earliest forms of shelter. Nevertheless, the black tent is, arguably, the most widely-documented of the vernacular types of nomadic tents.

According to Torrald Faegers (1979), the Bedouins' black tent's birthplace is somewhere near Mesopotamia around 3000-4000 BC. Its origin is tied to the domestication of sheep and goats, the animals that provide the material for tent's cloth. For Faegers, it is "the tent of the Bible, the Jews and Arabs and a hundred other tribes scattered over Africa and Asia" (1979, p. 9). The seasonal nature of the nomadic occupation of space is only made possible by the tent's simple structural components and the animals that carry the dismantled tent. The black tent's portability, ease of pitching, availability and lightness of construction materials are essential factors that have made Bedouin mobility achievable.

The simplest form of the black tent is one that is divided into two halves. This division is specifically adapted to the needs of the Bedouins. The left side is usually assigned to the women and the family's domestic activities, while the right is for the men and their guests. The physical manifestation of this division is a curtain called *quata'*, which literally means the cut, a term that illustrates the sharp division between the male and female domains within this dwelling. The men's section of the tent assumes various names. The most popular are *raba'a* and *shiq*. While *raba'a* means the closest group, *shiq* means the division. Among the southern Jordanian Bedouins, the *shiq* is the most commonly used term to describe the male's domain within the tent. This section of the tent is the news-sharing arena, where the different aspects of the Bedouins' life are exhaustively discussed. The women's section of the tent is usually bigger than the men's section as it is more or less the living and working space of the tent. Here, it is important to note that before the spread of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula, the Bedouins used to call the women's section the *mhartram*, which literally means the sacred. This practice was carried on, and thus, even currently, the women's section of the tent is called *mhartram*. Thus, the use of this term to describe the women's section of the tent illustrates that this side of the dwelling acts as the sanctuary of honour for the tent's head man.

The Bedouins consider the *mhartram* as the womb (*rahem*) of the tent, as it is the place where new tribal members come from. In contrast, women do not usually go into the men's section of the tent except for three specific reasons. The first reason for women to enter the men's section of the tent would be only when the men inside the men's section

belong to her first circle of relatives. The second occurrence for women to enter the men's domain would be to clean this section and re-arrange the mattresses when the section is empty of men. The final reason for a woman to enter the tent would be when the woman's husband is away, "she may act as a host and receive unexpected guests there herself" (Kay, 1978, p. 12). Other than these three specific cases, it is a common practice to have the Bedouin woman watches her husband talk to his guests by "peeping over or through the dividing wall" from her section of the tent (Kay, 1978, p. 12). Based upon this discussion of how gender divisions occur within the tent to attain privacy, it is important to examine the ways in which gender segregation happens at a more macro level outside of the tents, within the Bedouins' camps.

As a starting point for this discussion it is first important to reflect on the notion of the camp itself. The ecological perspective of man-environment relations introduces the notion of habitat selection, which is the process by which people in most instances select particular environments and neglect others. Rapoport (1981) argues that "people select environments by matching the perceived qualities of those (environments) against images (which are both culturally and personally variable)" (p. 68). He suggests that the choice of a certain environment "involves the organization of four variables: space, time, meaning and communication" (p. 69). Among the Bedouins, a similar process can be observed with regard to habitat selection. According to the Bedouins' cycle of movements, their camps can be divided into two different types. The first type of camp is the summer stationary camp (*manzal*, which literally means residential) and the mobile camp (*dwar*, which literally means movable). The stationary camp can be permanent for a few years, as long as the water resources adjacent to these camps can serve their needs. The *dwar* is small camp of five to seven tents that is used during winter pasturing.

Whether stationary or *dwar*, the camps' location and organization can be greatly affected by the following issues:

1. Military status:

Powerful military tribes, who fear no enemy, camps anywhere and have a less rigid geometrical alignment for their tents. In contrast to this group are the weaker tribes

who stipulate specific organization in which their tents are lined up in a half-circle or oval shapes. They keep their tents close to each other's with reasonable intervals in between, with enough space, to allow people to pass easily between them without tripping over the ropes. Depending on the number of tents, Bedouin camps are classified as the following, the *fareej* camp, which contains fewer than ten tents, and the *najee*, which contains between ten and thirty; and the *nazel*, which is any camp that contains more than thirty tents (Jabbur, 1995, p. 254).

2. Climatic conditions:

One of the primary considerations for the camp's location is its proximity to pasture and water resources. During the winter, when the animals do not need much water, the Bedouin families accompany the camel herds, forming small camps deep into the desert. They choose an area for shelter that has good pasture and natural landscape features. Traditionally, Bedouin camps were never set up in the vicinity of a water well, simply to avoid the meeting places of many herders, even if they are friends (Prussin, 1995, p. 74). Literature on the Bedouins states that they pitch their tents in a certain way that keeps the tent's entrance (*fum* or *babb al khaimah*) oriented either towards the morning sun or south towards Mecca (Jabbur, 1995, p. 67). Here, it is important to point out that there are some exceptions to this rule. Due to the geographical and climatic nature of the camping site, the Bedouins do not always adhere to this pattern, and often take advantage of the natural landscape. Naturally, accidents within the terrain, rocks, trees and small water streams can affect the disposition of the Bedouin camp.

Within the Jordanian Bedouins, different tribes have different practices. During the seasons of great sandstorms, protection from blasts of wind is sought by setting up the tents against a sloped area or against a mountain that works as a barrier to the wind direction. In the desert, wind is a scourge. The Bedouins as well as their animals suffer from the sandstorms that dry and chap the lips and block the nose. During a sandstorm, the Bedouins learned to have their camels "couched in a circle, heads to the centre, while their riders crouch between them. The Bedouin cover the lower part

of their faces with their head cloth, both to keep out the sand and to preserve a little moisture around the nose and the mouth” (Kay, 1978, p. 35).

The Bedouins’ black tent embodies overlapping environmental, socio-cultural and technological images of sustainability. In the desert, the temperature often exceeds forty five degrees Celsius, with no shade or air movement. The Bedouins’ black tent, when pitched, creates deep shade that can bring one’s temperature down to about thirty degrees Celsius. The tent has a very coarse weave, which creates a beautiful, illuminated interior. Because of the coarse weave and the black surface, the hot air remains on the outside, while the air inside rises and is drawn through the weave’s membrane. This arrangement creates a breeze that forms from the outside, which decreases the interior temperature. During the rain, the fibres of the tent’s natural fabric, which consists of goat-hair, swells up and the tent becomes tight and functions like a skin that prevents water from getting inside. Another dimension of sustainability related to the Bedouins’ tent is the local availability of its ‘construction material’, as well as its durability, which can last up to fifteen years. These two features make the tent an extremely sustainable item. In addition to these features, the tent, when it begins to age, is recycled as the old goat hair is mixed with new goat hair and used to manufacture the tent’s side pieces (Jabbur, 1995, p. 56).

3. The Bedouins’ socio-economic values:

Based on the Bedouins’ customary law, camps are dominantly composed of agnates (patrilineal), but they are disposed of in a way that shows clustering of varying kinship, *khamsa*. The camp’s arrangement typically remains the same when the mobile camp moves to a new site as they correspond, almost identically, with the kin clusters of the stationary camps. Here, it is important to note that sometimes, the Bedouin camps may include other individuals or groups who are outside the agnates’ circle. According to their customary law, camps may include relatives, such as in-laws (*nasayeb*); strangers who seek refugee (*dakheel*); and displaced people who left their original tribes because of disputes with their own people. These groups, who are outsiders, become attached to the tribe as *lifayif*, a term that was discussed earlier in this chapter. The camp, as well as the clusters, is always named after its occupants and

never by its locality. Characteristically, each cluster has a separate name related to the family leader. The name refers either to the group or to the sheikh, who is usually the elder of the group. A camp occupied by the A'wadyeen clan who are led by Daifallah, will be given the name Arabs of A'wadyeen or Arabs of sheikh Daifallah.

As for the camp layout, the tent of the sheikh is always pitched at the centre of the camp and at a distance from other tents. The reason behind its location is "to insure the tranquility as well as the freedom of the younger households and their children...the tents of the members of the tribe is lined up in front or behind" (Jabbur, 1995, p. 74). Indeed, the sheikh is responsible for deciding upon the location where the tribe will camp. When the tribe moves, the sheikh "is the last to depart and the first to unpack when the tribe reaches the new grazing ground" (Musil, 1928, p. 77). As long as the tent size is a sign of the economic and political status of its owner, the largest tent within the camp is the sheikh's. It is called *bayt al ummah* (the house of the *hamula*) which means the tent of the tribe (Owedi, 1982, p.74).



Figure (2.3) Picture showing Bedouin camp in Wadi Rum

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

One of the most complex social aspects within the Bedouin camp is that of obtaining privacy from, or between neighbours. Among the Bedouins, another issue adds to this complexity, which is the balance between the values of privacy and security within the camp. As in any community, these aspects are dependent upon the appropriateness of the relationships among neighbours, which are based upon social ties. Within the Bedouin community, some values reflect their homogeneity, such as religion, place of origin, kinship, language and above all, life style. But in addition to these factors and according to Rapoport's analysis, it can be argued that homogeneity is closely related to the feeling of privacy. According to Rapoport, it "increases predictability" (1981, p. 72) and therefore "allows for a large number of psychological, cultural and other defences to operate much more effectively and is in itself a major defense" (Rapoport, 1981, p. 72). He also adds that homogeneity "makes possible the use of informal rather than formal rules and controls...it makes working together, cooperation, involvement and participation much easier" (pp. 72-73). Thus, based upon these ideas, it can be concluded that the notion of homogeneity provides the social basis for achieving the desired degree of privacy within a group. Within Bedouin camps distance between clusters varies from a few to over a hundred meters.

Although there is no specific distance, proximity is governed by the Bedouins' customary law, which is a verbal rather than a written law. Some behaviours within and outside the tent are explicitly dealt with by customary law under the rubric of *hurmat al bayt*, which literally means the inviolability of the tent. The physical area covered by *hurmat al bayt* varies among different tribes although, there is a general agreement about the area inside the tent and the area around it that extends to the guy ropes (Owedi, 1982, p. 92). Among the Bedouins, the notion of homogeneity is manifested in their close kinship, which is a major factor that affects the camps' tents' groupings. Within the camp's clusters, it is customary that those who are most closely linked as kin pitch their tents close to each other. The recently married sons pitch their tents on either side of their father's tent. The ropes of their tents almost cross the ropes of their father's as a sign of closeness. In polygamous cases, a Bedouin man may keep his wives within the same tent or he might put them in separate tents.

Even though the nomadic Bedouins presently make up a very small portion of the Arab-Islamic population, they have always been thought to be the Arab group that lives with the most ideal moral code. For the purpose of this study, special consideration will be given to the nomadic form of habitation within the Arabic-Islamic culture. Therefore, the following chapter provides a detailed description about the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in which specific focus will be given to the country's Bedouin population.

CHAPTER THREE

Chapter Three

The Case Study: Background

This chapter presents some relevant facts about the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and about the Bedouins of southern Jordan as a background for the study's fieldwork. This will serve as a frame of reference to the case study, Wadi Rum and its people, through a review of its historical, social, cultural, economic, political and spatial contexts.

3.1 The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan:

3.1.1 Introduction:

The country took the name from the Jordan River. The Greek word for Jordan is pronounced ee-or-dan-ace, which literally means flowing downward. Jordan is a small river. Its average annual flow comprises only 1.5 percent of the water the Nile delivers to Egypt (Authority of Jordan River, 2004). Jordan and its tributaries serve five distinct political entities: Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. The Jordan River owes its flow to the confluence of three streams: the Hasbani River, which originates in Lebanon; the Dan River in northernmost Israel; and the Baniyas River, which emerges from Syria. The Jordan River then flows south about forty kilometres to the Sea of Galilee in Israel. About ten kilometres south, the Jordan River is joined by its main tributary, the Yarmouk River, which originates in Syria and forms the Syrian-Jordanian borderline. The Jordan River then continues its journey southwards to the Dead Sea.

The name Jordan was likely given to the river because of the great fall in its altitude. It flows downward 210 meters from Huleh Lake to the Sea of Galilee and then another 186 meters from Galilee to the Dead Sea. In Arabic literature, Jordan (*Urduun*) literally means the large depression between rocky cliffs. The depression is a rift valley, produced by the Earth's crust having slipped down between two parallel fractures. The valley is a part of the Great Rift Valley, which continues northward through the Jordan River Valley and the Sea of Galilee, and then southward through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea and across East Africa.

Jordan has served as a strategic connection between Asia, Africa and Europe. Because of its centralized location, the land of Jordan is a geographic prize which changed hands many times throughout antiquity. In addition to its geo-political identity, Jordan has a unique religious importance. The land around it is revered by Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike, and considered to be blessed. In Torah, Jordan is pronounced *Yored Dan*. For the Jews, Jordan is the river that Moses crossed with the Jewish groups when he saved them from the pharaohs. "As soon as the feet of the kohanim bearing the Ark of Hashem rested on the bed of the Jordan waters, the Jordan waters split, with the waters flowing down...and all of Israel crossed over on dry land" (Yehoshua 3:13-17). For Christianity, Jordan is the river where Christ was baptised. In the Bible, the land of Jordan was mentioned when Abraham and Lot parted company:

And Lot lifted up his eyes, and saw that the Jordan Valley was well watered everywhere like the garden of The Lord, like the land of Egypt, in the direction of Zoar; this was before The Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah. So Lot chose for himself the entire Jordan Valley, and Lot journeyed east; thus they separated from each other (Genesis 13:10-11 RSV).

The Holy Koran says that God blessed the land for all beings. "Glorified be he who carried His servant by night from the inviolable place of worship (Mecca) to the far distant place of worship (Jerusalem) the neighbourhood whereof we have blessed" (Surah 17, verse 1).

Due to Jordan's geographic position in the Arab world, it has almost been under the continuous control of foreign powers since the second millennium B.C. Historically, this is in large part due to its location along important trade routes. In the days of ancient Egypt spices from southern Arabia passed through Trans-Jordan. During the Nabatean and Roman period, a large amount of commerce from India to Rome came this way. Later, the Ottomans found it necessary to occupy the country. The four centuries of Ottoman rule (1516-1918 CE) were a period of general stagnation in Jordan. The Ottomans were primarily interested in Jordan in terms of its importance to the pilgrimage route to Mecca. They built a series of square fortresses to protect pilgrims from the desert tribes and to provide them with sources of food and water.

Jordan's location is not only significant for its historical role in trade, but also for its importance in the politics of the region. When the Ottomans entered the war against the British, Trans-Jordan became important for its location threatened Egypt and affected the British communications through the Suez Canal. For the British and later for the United States of America, Jordan's importance stems from the fact that "it is at the heart of the Palestine dilemma more than any other Arab state...its life cannot be separated from the history, course, and the future of the Arab-Israeli problem" (Jureidini, 1984, p. 1).

By the beginning of 1916, as a result of growing Arab consciousness, the Hashemite, led by sheriff Hussein Bin Ali, joined his forces with the British to revolt against Ottoman rule. During World War I, France and England agreed to divide the Arab countries ruled by the Ottomans between them. As a result, Syria and Lebanon went to France while England acquired Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq. In 1921, the British gave Emir Abdullah Bin Al Hussein, the mandatory power over the Emirate of Trans-Jordan. Here, it is important to point out that the west and east banks of the Jordan River were called Palestine. It was the British mandate that divided them into two separate entities, where the west bank remained as Palestine while the east was given the name Trans-Jordan (across-Jordan).

In 1946, the British requested an end to their Mandate rule in Trans-Jordan and Palestine from the United Nations. When the request was approved, King Abdullah was proclaimed the first ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan until his assassination on the 20th of July 1951, as he entered the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem for Friday prayers. Following his death, his son Talal was proclaimed King; though he was later diagnosed with schizophrenia which made the Jordanian legislature asked King Talal to abdicate in favour of his son, Hussein. In 1953, King Hussein was officially pronounced the king of Jordan, until the 6th of February 1999, when he succumbed to cancer at the age of 63. Just before his death, he made a constitutionally-allowable change to his will, disinheriting the heir-apparent of several decades, his brother Hassan, in favour of his eldest son Abdullah. On the 7th of February 1999, Crown Prince Abdullah Bin Al-Hussein was proclaimed King of Jordan.

3.1.2 Geography and Climate:

Jordan is a relatively small country, located about 80 kilometres east of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The country shares borders with four political entities. Jordan has borders with Syria to the north, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the south and southeast, Iraq to the east and the Palestinian Authority, and Israel to the west. Except for the twenty-six kilometres stretch of coast along the Gulf of Aqaba in the south, Jordan is landlocked. It shares with Israel the coastlines of the Dead Sea, and the Gulf of Aqaba with Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Jordan occupies an area of approximately 88,778 square kilometres (Department of Land and Survey, 2004). Seventy five percent of the country's land is classified as arid. The country's long summer reaches its peak during August, while January is usually the coolest month.

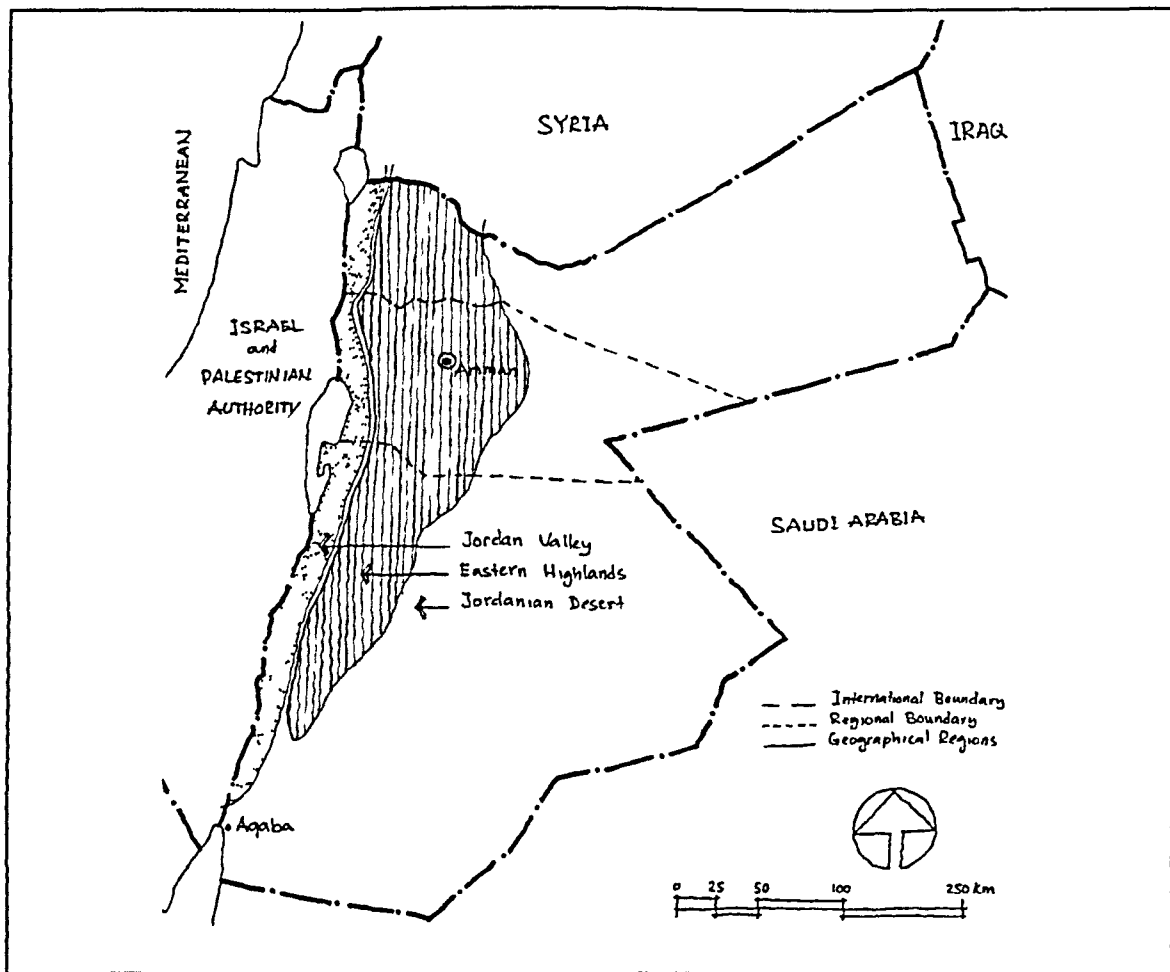


Figure (3.1): Jordan's Geographic and administrative Regions.

Source: Department of General Statistics, Amman, Jordan, 2004.

Jordan is divided into three geographical regions. Each of these distinct regions varies considerably in climate, water resources, habitation and ecology:

1. Jordan Valley:

The dominant topographical feature of the country is the Jordan Valley, which is shared with Israel and the Palestinian Authority to the west. The Dead Sea, which is situated in the middle of the valley, is the lowest point on earth at 394 meters below sea level.

The Valley is Jordan's most fertile land for agricultural activities. The entire water system in this area is fed by the Jordan River and large *wadis* (valleys), which in the winter, contributes substantial amounts of water and provides sufficient irrigation for farming purposes. Its climate is considered semitropical, with summers reaching an average high temperature of 35°C, and warm winters attaining an average temperature of 15°C.

2. The Plateau:

The Plateau is the highlands, east of Jordan Valley. It runs from the northern to the southern tip of the country, reaching a height that varies between 800 and 1000 metres. It runs from the Syrian Border in the north and declines in altitude as it extends south. This plateau area includes most of Jordan's main cities and towns. The traditional names of the sections of the plateau, as appeared in the biblical texts are: Ammon, Moab, Edom. The area referred to as Ammon, is the area of the plateau north of the Wadi Mujib. The area of Moab is that which lies between the Wadi Mujib and the Wadi Hasa. The area of Edom is the area south of the Wadi Hasa. The plateau's climate is Mediterranean; daytime temperatures during the summer months frequently exceed 30°C and average about 25°C. In contrast, the winter months bring moderately cool and sometimes cold weather. Temperatures can drop close to or slightly below freezing in the high mountainous areas. The plateau is characterized by its mild temperatures, averaging about 10°C. Except in the rift depression, frost is fairly common during winter, and occasionally it snows over the high mountainous areas.

3. Eastern Desert

Comprising of around 75% of Jordan, the eastern desert is part of what is known as the North Arabian Desert. The Eastern Desert is an extension of the eastward tilting plateau, with elevations varying between 600 and 900 meters above sea level. It is bordered by the countries of Syria and Iraq to the east and Saudi Arabia to the east and south. The northern part of the desert is known for its extensive flows of volcanic basalt, thus being called the Black Desert. The southern part of the Eastern desert is known for the broad expanses of sand and dunes, particularly in the south and southeast. Temperatures in these areas are extreme in both winter and summer. Summers are hot and dry with temperature that can exceed 40°C and averaging 35°C. Winters are cool as the temperature might reach -5°C. Rainfall is minimal throughout the year, where the area receives an average annual precipitation of less than 250 mm.

Administratively, Jordan is divided into three regions (A, B, C Fig 3.2). These regions include 12 governorates, each headed by a governor appointed by the King.

1. The Northern Region (A):

The region covers 28,870 square kilometres, which represents 32.3 percent of the country's total area. It consists of Irbid, Mafraq, Jerash, and Ajloun governorates. The region's population is about 1.49 million, which represents 27.8 percent of Jordan's total population. The northern region is divided into three geographic and climatic areas: the West Valley (part of Jordan Valley), the Eastern Highlands, and the Eastern Desert. The population per square kilometre in the Valley and the Eastern Highlands is estimated at about 49.6, making it one of the most densely settled areas in the country. This is due to the fact that it is characterized by rangelands that suit sedentary agriculture, due to the high annual rainfall of more than 500 mm. In contrast is the low-density eastern desert (*badia*), where the northern Jordan Bedouins can be found around the grasslands.

2. The Central Region (B):

While the northern part of the country can be classified as the agricultural region, the central region is Jordan's political hub. In addition to Zarqa, Balqa, and Madaba, this area includes Amman, the capital city, where all the government's ministries are

located. The central region covers 14,399 square kilometres, which represents - 16.2 percent of the country's total area. It harbours 62.9 percent of Jordan's total population, with more than 60 percent residing in Amman and surrounding areas. Several factors have contributed to this demographic trend over the latter half of the twentieth century, including the forced migration of the Palestinians in 1948 and 1967, due to Arab-Israeli wars, the 1990-91 Gulf crises, and the return of Jordanians working abroad, which resulted in a population boom, the creation of refugee camps and squatter settlements. The influx of Jordanians to its centre is indicative of more jobs, superior infrastructure, and better investment.

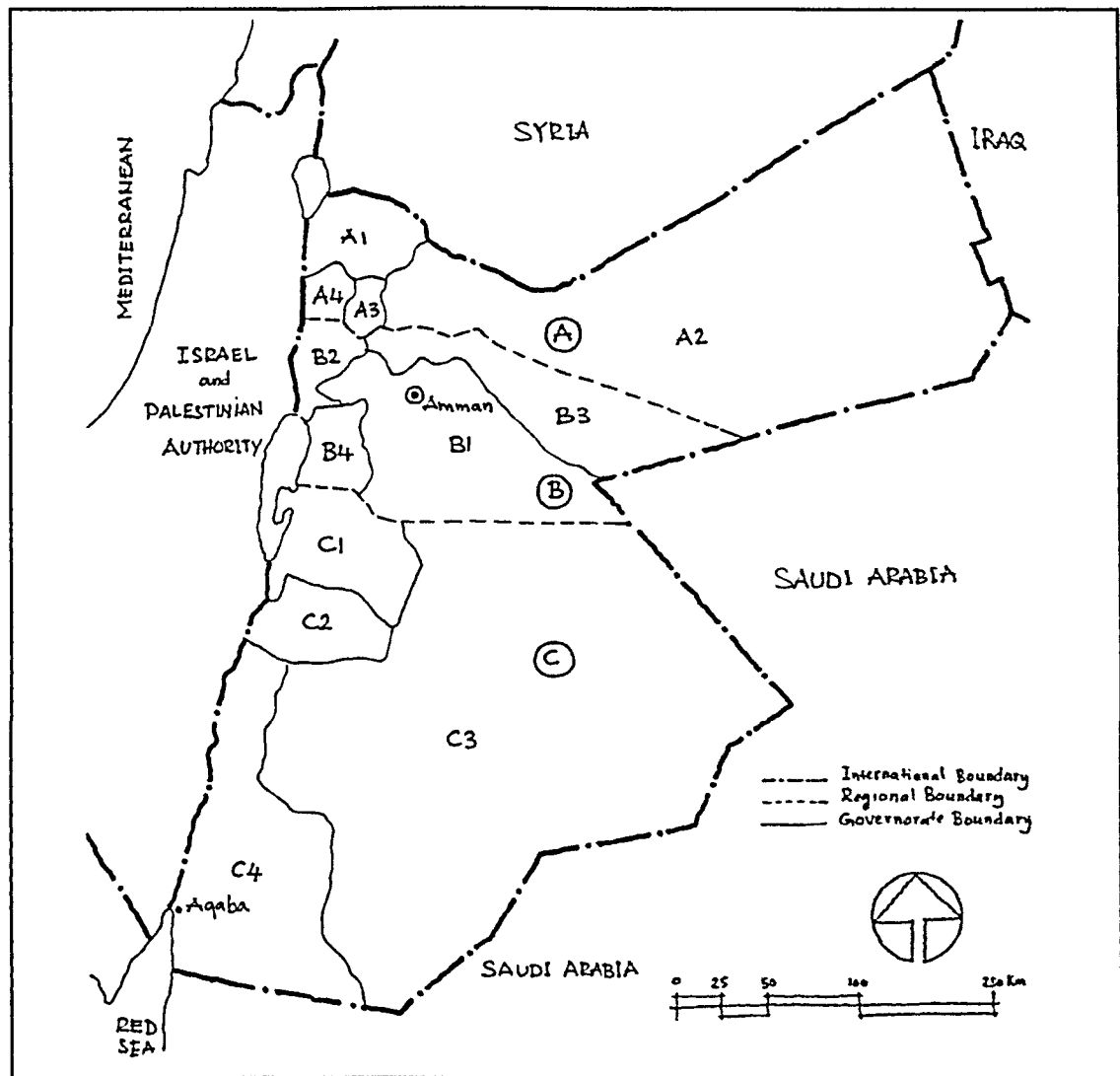


Figure (3.2): Jordan's Administrative Regions.

Source: Department of General Statistics, Amman, Jordan, 2004

	Region		Area in square kilometres			Population in thousands			
	And governorate		Area	Area %	Pop. density	Male	Female	Total	Pop. %
1	North	(A)	28,943	32.6	51.3	763	723	1,486	27.8
	Irbid	(A1)	1,572	1.8	605.6	488	465	952	17.8
	Mafraq	(A2)	26,541	29.9	9.4	130	120	250	4.7
	Jerash	(A3)	410	0.5	392.7	82	79	161	3.0
	Ajloun	(A4)	420	0.5	292.9	63	60	123	2.3
2	Central	(B)	14,399	16.2	233.6	1,735	1,630	3,364	62.9
	Amman	(B1)	7,579	1.3	318.1	185	171	356	6.7
	Balqa	(B2)	1,119	29.9	237.7	1,067	1,007	2,074	38.8
	Zarqa	(B3)	4,761	5.4	167.8	413	386	799	14.9
	Madaba	(B3)	940	1.1	143.6	70	65	135	2.5
3	South	(C)	45,436	51.2	11.0	259	239	500	9.3
	Karak	(C1)	3,495	3.9	60.4	106	105	211	3.9
	Tafilah	(C2)	2,209	2.5	34.9	39	38	77	1.4
	Ma'an	(C3)	32,832	37.0	3.1	53	49	102	1.9
	Aqaba	(C4)	6,900	7.8	15.9	61	49	110	2.1
	Total		88,778	100.0	60.3	2,757	2,593	5,350	100.0

Table (3.1): Jordan's Administrative Regions' & Governorates' statistical information.
Source: Department of General Statistics, Amman, Jordan, 2004.

3. The Southern Region (C):

This region consists of Karak, Tafilah, Ma'an, and Aqaba governorates. It covers about 45,436 square kilometres, which represents roughly half of the country's total area (Department of General Statistics, 2001). About 75 percent of its land is desert, referred to as the southern *badia*. It stretches into Saudi Arabia to the east and south. The climate in the *badia* varies widely between day and night, and between summer and winter.

Daytime summer temperatures can exceed 40°C, while winter nights can drop to -5°C, although dry and windy. On some the winter days the desert is wind-swept and bitterly cold. When the wind comes from the south or southeast, it is called the *khamaseen*. It is usually accompanied by great dust clouds. These windstorms ordinarily last a day or so, causing much discomfort for the region's population, and destroying their crops. The *shamalee* is another wind of some significance, which comes from the north or northwest, generally at intervals between June and September. Rainfall is minimal throughout the year, averaging less than 250 mm annually. Rainy season generally falls between October and April with a peak between December and February. The area is also characterized by a fluctuation in rainfall between one year and the next, and even within the same season.

3.1.3 The Demographic Structure:

The early 1930s general census indicated that Trans-Jordan inhabitants reached about three 300,000, half of which were nomadic Bedouins (Report on the Administrative of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, 1935, p. 274). Following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, thousands of Palestinians migrated to Jordan, increasing the population to about 587,000 by 1952. In 1962 the population was estimated to be approximately 900,800, and the 1982 census indicated a total population of about 2.5 million. Since the mid 1980s Jordan has witnessed a rapid urbanization and population growth. In 2004 its population had doubled to about five million inhabitants. The 2004 general census indicated a relatively young Jordanian population, with 37.5% under the age of 15 and 2.5% at the age of 65 and above.

3.1.4 The Language:

Arabic is the official language of Jordan. Within a given region, slight differences in dialect distinguish a city dweller from a villager; and a nomad from either of these groups. Even within the villages, various neighbourhoods often display unique pronunciations, idioms, and vocabulary specialized to particular lifestyles. English is used widely in commerce and government and among educated people. Arabic and English are the official languages of the school curriculum.

3.1.5 The Ethnic Groups:

Islam is the country's official religion. The overwhelming majority of Jordanians are *Sunni* Muslims. The 1952 constitution stipulates that the King and his successors must be Muslims and sons of Muslim parents. Despite the strong identification with and loyalty to Islam, rural and urban Jordanians alike are of the most moderate in the Arab region.

Despite the fact that the majority of its population is Muslim, Jordan's Constitution guarantees freedom of religious beliefs and practices. Christians, who constitute about six percent of the population, form the largest non-Muslim minority. They reside primarily in the traditionally Christian towns of Madaba, Karak and Salt, and presently also have a large presence in the capital city of Amman. Jordanian Christians are mostly Greek Orthodox; however there are also Catholic, Coptic, and Protestants living in the country. There are other small communities of religious minorities scattered throughout Jordan, including Druze, Kurds, Armenians, Turkomans and Baha'i. The latter two moved from Iran to Jordan to escape persecution in 1910.

3.1.6 Jordan Economy:

Economy in Jordan rests on three primary bases. First is the country's monarchist structure and institutions, which have the ability to maintain the national stability. Reflecting the monarchy philosophy, Jordan's foreign policy is generally moderate and has carefully measured responses. In addition, the scarcity of domestic resources and the consequent heavy dependence on outside powers for economic and military support have contributed to Jordan's caution in foreign policy. Second, Jordan's status as the world's third largest producer of phosphates ensured a steady and relatively modest flow of export income that offsets some of its high import bills. Third, Jordan received billions of dollars of invisible income in the form of inflows of foreign aid. Finally, Jordan capitalized on its strategic geographic location, its educated work force, and its free enterprise economy to become a regional transit point for exports and imports between Western Europe and the Middle East. Because of these factors, it also became a magnet for foreign direct investment, and among purveyor of banking, insurance, and consulting services to foreign clients.

Currently, tourism accounts for a large part of Jordan's economy. Jordanian hospitality is well noted by its rash of western tourists. In addition to its historical sites, Jordan offers the following tourist attractions: first, health tourism as Jordan offers world-class hospitals to Jordanians and foreigners alike. Many of the recipients of Jordanian hospitals are Palestinian and Iraqi refugees. Syrians, Yemenis, and South East Asians working in Jordan are common visitors. Second is education tourism. Jordan's excellent education program is a favorite for westerners studying Arabic in the Middle East. Third, adventure tourism in which adventurers staying in Jordan can rock-climb or hike in the mountainous region or Scuba divers can visit Aqaba's magnificent coral reefs. Fourth is religious tourism. Mount Nebo and the Mosaic Map in Madaba are popular to Christian tourists. The Jordan River and the Dead Sea are also very popular. The numerous medieval mosques and churches are popular destinations for pilgrims.

In Jordan, the state takes an interest in the area of tourism as a productive sector, which has social, economic, psychological and political benefits for society. Statistics illustrate that tourism is the Kingdom's largest export sector, second largest private sector employer and the second highest producer of foreign exchange. As a result of the Peace process between Jordan and Israel, Jordan has enjoyed rapid growth in visitor numbers and associated earnings. For example, between 1989 and 1995, annual tourist arrivals increased by sixty seven percent from 641,000 to 1,073,000. The number reached about 5 million in 2007 of which approximately fifty percent are considered to be international visitors. The majority of these international visitors came on package tours, either with Jordan as their main destination, or as part of a larger Holy Land tour.

In 2002, a total of 137,660 tourists came to Jordan through package tours. The number of tourists in the country reached approximately 230,000 in the first nine months of 2007. Almost fifty percent of these tourists spent more than one day in Jordan, staying an average of 3.6 nights. According to the same statistics, tourism contributes about 1.5 billion US Dollars to Jordan's economy and accounts for approximately twelve percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Jordanian Board of Tourism, 2004).

The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities' (MTA) records demonstrate a steady increase in tourism at Wadi Rum, in general, and in Rum Village, specifically. Since 1994, when the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel came into effect, the largest growth sector has been tourist visits that come from or through Israel. After an increase in instability between Israel and Palestine; the World Trade Centre disaster; and the Gulf War, the number of foreign tourists to Jordan has been continuously decreasing (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2007).

Yet, in 2004, when the Jordanian government began the implementation of the Tourism National Strategy, the sector of tourism in Wadi Rum began to depict some development as statistics illustrate that the number of visitors to the area has increased from 26,080 in 2003 to 66,438 in 2004 and 129,178 tourists in 2005.

Unfortunately, this steady increase in tourist visits to the area was drastically affected by the terror attack on Amman's hotels. In November 2005, three explosions, from suicide bombers took place, in which three specific hotels were targeted: Radisson Sas, the Grand Hyatt and the Days Inn.

As a result of these attacks, the number of visitors to Wadi Rum decreased in 2006 to 86,123 tourists, which represents a thirty three percent decrease when compared to 2005 statistics. These statistics also illustrate the dominance of international tourists' visits to the region, which represents about ninety five percent of the total visits to Wadi Rum. This number can be explained by some of three different reasons. The first reason for a high percentage of international versus domestic tourists to the region may be because of a large segment of Jordanian society's lack of awareness about the importance of tourism and its activities. The second reason for these statistics may be because of the high costs for domestic tourism, especially within the low-income groups who make up a considerably large amount of Jordanian society. Another explanation for these numbers is the lack of marketing and advertising for domestic tourism in the country.

Month	2004		2005		2006		2007	
	Foreign	Jordan	Foreign	Jordan	Foreign	Jordan	Foreign	Jordan
January	2619	24	4865	201	5218	189	4465	122
Feb.	3174	29	7143	68	5072	109	5711	62
March	4875	167	16479	544	10287	472	4664	122
April	9256	216	17728	1367	15800	797	15153	710
May	4327	207	14272	883	9148	640	9558	126
June	1804	132	6266	418	4769	187	6127	466
July	2265	609	6352	1429	3049	392	4373	176
August	4067	116	9833	664	4016	216	8027	350
Sept.	5780	455	9924	598	4091	208	8933	58
Oct.	9451	394	12866	106	7005	108	NA	NA
Nov.	8585	272	10080	40	7548	313	NA	NA
Dec.	7310	304	6941	111	6350	139	NA	NA
Total	63513	2925	122749	6429	82353	3770	67011	2192

Table (3.2): Numbers of monthly visitors to Wadi Rum based upon nationalities.
Statistics of 2007 are from January to September.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2007.

In Jordan, the state assumes many of the responsibilities for the development of the country's tourism sector. These responsibilities can be classified into four areas of concern, which include: legislation; coordination between different government bodies; finances; and planning. According to the National Tourism Strategy 2004-2010, there are four guiding principles that will lead to progress within the tourism sector in Jordan. The first principle is understanding that tourism is a prime component of the Jordanian economy and can be achieved by making infrastructure services available, such as hotels, resorts, restaurants, and basic amenities. This principle is based on the belief that having

such infrastructure available will eventually lead to an increase in investments for the country's tourism sector. The second principle is the willingness to diversify tourist attractions, which can be achieved through new themes and forms of development in the area of cultural resources. Cultural resources are mainly composed of archaeological, historical and religious sites. In addition to diversification in this area the strategy also supports the creation of new types of natural, scenic and therapeutic activities in the country. The third principle is based upon the fact that the country must maximize the complementary nature of both the government and private sectors, which involves developing a balanced partnership between these two sectors and motivating various government agencies to work as a unified team in the area of tourism development.

According to some reports prepared by the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA, 2001) and the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA, 2004), there are some major issues that could pose problems and threats for the development of Jordan's tourism sector. One of these issues is the limited amount of awareness among Jordanian society about the importance of tourism and its activities. Another issue that could threaten the tourism sector in the country is the ways in which the country is presented in many tour operators' catalogues. Rather than Jordan being the key destination for travel tours, it is often treated as an extension of tours to neighbouring countries. These reports highlight the fact that most of the tour packages spend only one day visiting Jordan while the main destination of these packages is most often Israel.

Since the mid 1980s, two major sites have been affected by the development of international tourism in Jordan. These sites are Petra and Wadi Rum. Although Wadi Rum has a long history of being associated with tourism, it is undoubtedly Tony Howard and Dyane Taylor who put Wadi Rum on the world tourist map. In 1984, they rediscovered Wadi Rum as a climbing and trekking site and wrote various guidebooks about the area. Currently, Wadi Rum is internationally recognized throughout the world by mountain climbers and hikers. This recognition has helped to promote Wadi Rum as one of the most popular sites for international tourism in Jordan. Climbers and hikers are attracted by the area's untouched peaks, spectacular and unspoiled natural sceneries and

its comfortable year-round climate. With its nearly perfect conditions, Wadi Rum has also become a favourite site for nature lovers and adventurers who are fond of hot air ballooning.

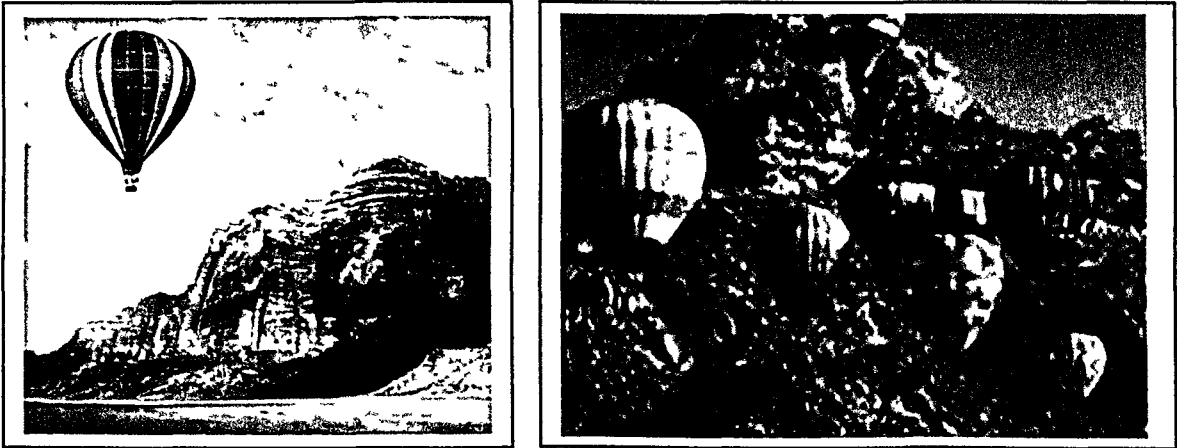


Figure (3.3): Shows Wadi Rum's hot air ballooning activity.

Source: www.cunningham.li, 24 December, 2006.

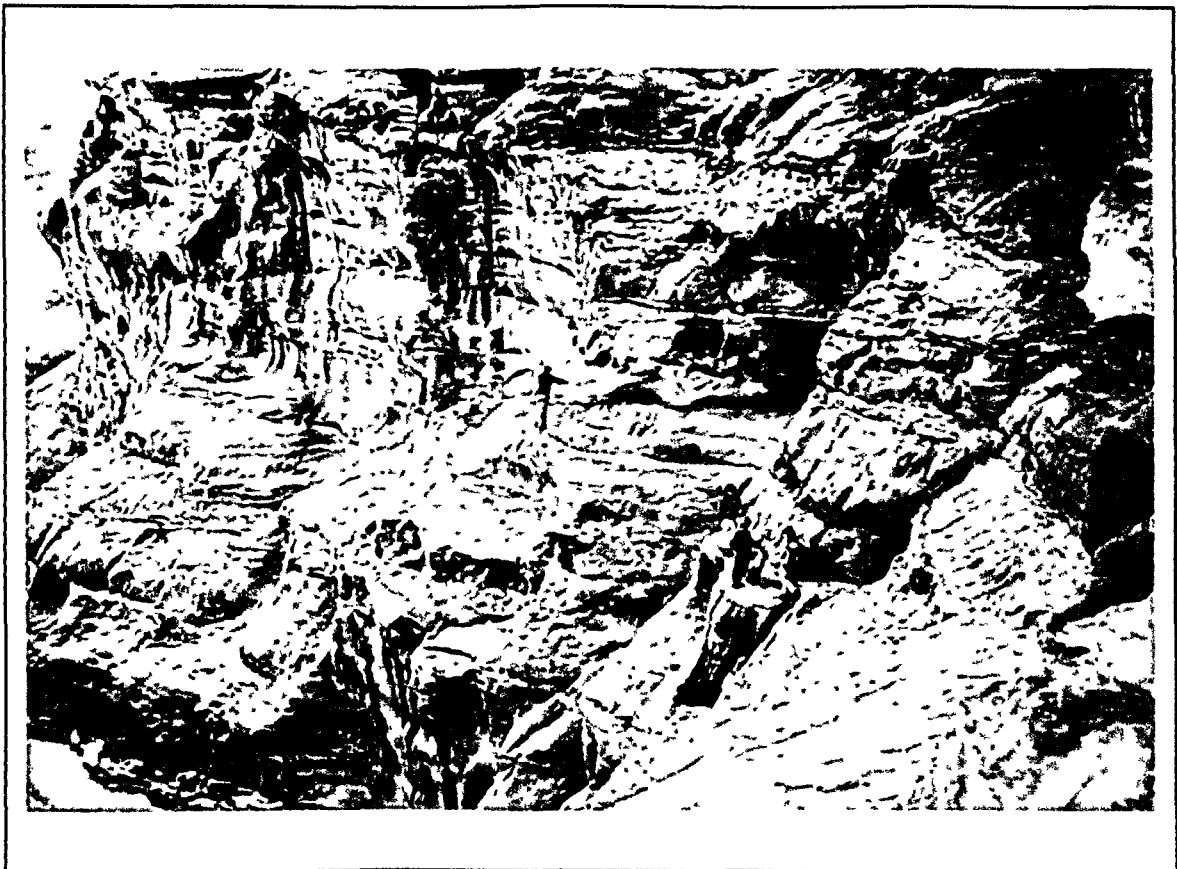


Figure (3.4): Shows Wadi Rum's climbing activity.

Source: <http://www.bedouinguides.com/bedouinroads.htm>, 24 December, 2006.

3.1.7 Development and Planning in Jordan:

Because of its monarchist structure and institutions, planning in Jordan has been and continues to be highly centralized. Until the beginning of 1970s, planning in Jordan was nothing more than simple coordination of activities by members of the cabinet. In 1972, the National Planning Council was established. It was the chief planning organ from its inception in 1972 until 1984 when it gained cabinet status as the Ministry of Planning. Until the establishment of the Ministry of Planning, Jordan's early plans chiefly dealt with the conditions for economic growth and the expansion of public service facilities.

Later, in the mid 1980s, the Jordanian government turned away from a big project orientation to a regional approach to development planning. The Ministry of Planning began to emphasize small and medium scale projects in its planning for economic growth. This was and still is achieved by the five-year planning development phases. The most significant phase unfolded between 1986 and 1990, when the Jordanian government attempted to decentralize the decision making process. Accordingly, four levels of planning were recognized: first is the national government, represented by the Ministry of Planning. The second level consisted of the governorates. Each governorate was based on a city and the area it dominated in terms of economic activity and movement of people, so these made sensible planning regions (Honey and Abu Kharmah, 1988, p. 276). The lower two levels in the regional planning system were created specifically for participatory planning. Each governorate was divided into planning sub-districts. Each sub-district had its own planning council consisting of representatives of two types: territorial representatives from the various villages in the sub-district; and sectoral representatives of various economic interests in the sub-district. The lowest level, of an advisory capacity only, consisted of local development councils that would send their requests and recommendations to the district, governorate, and national planners.

3.1.8 The Settlement Patterns:

For the purpose of the study, this section will be devoted to outlining the settlement patterns which can be found in rural Jordan, which is inhabited by 17.7 percent of the country's total population. These settlements are characterized by two major patterns of

habitation, namely: the nucleated or clustered settlements, and the dispersed or scattered settlements. Between the nucleated and the dispersed, some variant forms can be found. These forms can be found in different agglomerations, such as the following:

1. The nucleated or clustered: The different households are grouped together to form a compacted habitation. Compacted habitation describes mainly the characteristics of the villages located either at the fringes of the desert or along the eastern heights, overlooking the Jordan Valley. Most of these settlements were built during the late Ottoman rule, when they were able to establish a degree of stability at the fringes of the desert. The formation of this pattern of settled life was due to the Ottoman's ability to control the nomadic Bedouins' attacks on the villages near their tribal territories. Here, it is important to note that there are two different reasons for the cause of this pattern of clustering: at the fringes of the desert, villages' households are clustered on kinship basis to provide the needed protection; and the eastern heights' villages are clustered so to maximize the land use for agricultural purposes. To be achieved, the households are demarcated from the surrounding agricultural fields.
2. The dispersed or scattered: These households are built either separately or grouped in small clusters. This settlement pattern is characteristic within the following three contexts: the Jordan Valley's agricultural farms, the nomadic settlements that can be found across the Jordanian deserts, and the households that are built at the outskirts of the towns adjacent to the desert. In the latter case, land is owned by the government treasury but occupied by individuals. People place a hand on the land and build separate or clustered houses to claim their squatter's rights. These rights are not formally recognized by law. And finally, this dispersed or scattered pattern represents the nomadic settlements that can be found across the Jordanian deserts.

Although each region has a predominant pattern of settlement, few areas can claim an exclusive pattern. For example, the nucleated or clustered pattern that characterizes the eastern heights can also be found within the agricultural plains that lie between the mountainous eastern heights and the desert, as well as in the areas at the fringes of the southern Jordan desert.

3.2 The Bedouins of Jordan:

The definitions of the terms Bedouin and Bedouinism employed in previous chapters raise some questions related to the Bedouins of Jordan: First, how can one distinguish between the Bedouins and the rest of Jordan's population? Second, if mobility is the scale, how far and how often does one have to move to be classified as a nomadic Bedouin? Finally does ownership of land or a house, automatically negate a person's status as a Bedouin or nomadic Bedouin?

To answer these questions, it is important to point out that it is notorious that Jordan has for centuries past inhabited by Bedouins that have migrated from the Arabian Peninsula. They mainly live in the desert area east of Kings Highway that connects the country's northern and southern tips. The area, which is about 400 kilometres long and 250 kilometres wide, is known as the *badia*. Currently, one of Jordan's most well known groups is the Bedouin. However, according to the term Bedouin definitions stated in chapter two, one may think that there are no Bedouins in Jordan. As a matter of fact the Bedouin tribes of Jordan own land and some are engaged in secondary farming activities. Accordingly, the definition of the term Bedouin should be expanded to "include tribes which own land but themselves migrate to the desert for at least part of the year" (Glubb, 1948, p. 448).

Scholars who studied the Bedouin tribes in Jordan emphasized that the tribes have been highly linked to the cultural constructions of the country, since the establishment of Trans-Jordan. Mary Wilson describes this situation in *King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan*:

Virtually everyone in Trans-Jordan was identified by tribal affiliation. This social organization reflected the territory's low level of urbanization and marginal relationship to centres of power...In the absence of state security, tribal forms of protective social and economic affiliation expressed through kinship and usually associated with nomadic animal husbandry extended into the agricultural regions and villages. Hence, tribalism in Trans-Jordan was not limited to nomads; rather, the tribes of Trans-Jordan filled every economic niche from nomadic camel breeders to settled farmers, forming a complex web of integrative social alliance (1987, p. 57).

Despite the near-disappearance of the nomadic way of life, tribalism has not dissolved. Indeed, up until the present, conceptions of modern Jordan's cultural and national identity are deeply integrated with the country's Bedouin heritage. In the beginning of the 1980s, a debate raged among intellectual Jordanians over the appropriate role tribal influence and tradition should play in a modern state. The debate around tribalism (*a'shairiyyah*) reached a peak when Jordanian press began to regularly publish articles in both English and Arabic, debating the pros and cons of tribalism. The writers were divided into two groups. Those who oppose tribalism define it as the place of family ties before all other political allegiances; hence, tribalism is considered to be antithetical to loyalty to the state. The other group are the supporters of tribalism. They assert that Jordan's history was built upon tribalism. Some of its supporters defend tribalism based on religious grounds. They compare the Bedouins' hospitality, generosity, courage, honour and self-respect with the five pillars of Islam, calling them the five pillars of Bedouins' ethos. In January, 1985, the Jordanian parliament discussed this issue and "voted to abolish the continuation of tribal legal practices, calling for single allegiance to the notion governed by a single law" (Layne, 1994, p. 104). The vote was pushed, and later supported by the Minister of Information, Layla Sharaf, who called for freezing the tribal law for the benefit of liberalizing the law. In the midst of this debate, King Hussein Bin Talal publicly recognized the role of the Jordanian Bedouin tribes in Jordan's past and future, when he sent a letter to the Prime Minister objecting to the many attacks on tribalism. The Minister of Information refused to publish the letter and resigned. Her resignation was accepted by the King on January 28th, and his letter appeared in the local newspapers the same day. In his letter, King Hussein stated:

Most recently, I have noticed that some writings have been directed against the tribal life, its norms and traditions. This is most regrettable because it harms a dear sector of our society. I would like to repeat to you what I have told a meeting of tribal heads recently that I am Al-Hussein from Hashem and Quraish the noblest Arab tribes of Mecca, which was honoured by God and into which was born the Arab Prophet Mohammad. Therefore, whatever harms tribes is considered harmful to us, and this has been the case all long, and it will continue to be so forever. Law will remain closely connected to norms, customs, and traditions...Our traditions should be made to preserve the fabric of society (Jordan Times, 28 Jan. 1985).

Although the King's letter pacified the Bedouins, it never concluded the debate over tribalism. The debate continued and expanded to address additional issues, such as who can claim true Jordanian Bedouin status and who cannot. Scholars, who studied the Bedouins of Jordan, have examined the concepts of true and non-true Bedouin. Peter Gubser, in *Politics and Change in Al-Karak, Jordan: a Study of a Small Arab Town and its Districts*, defines the true Bedouins as those "who depend mostly upon camel rather than sheep and goats for their livelihood, live in black (goat hair) tents, and do not settle in permanent houses" (1983, p. 24). Some other anthropologists used other criteria for the distinction. Mohammad Abu Hassan (1984), the Jordanian advocate, in *The Bedouins' Customary Law*, provided a variety of criteria for determining Bedouin vis-à-vis the non-Bedouin Jordanian population. In his distinction, Abu Hassan followed the steps of Ibn Khaldun who used the term Bedouin as a generic tag for the desert dwellers. He made a clear distinction between two main forms of social life; the *badawa* and *hadara*. Between these two stages, there exists a continuous antagonism of socio-economic and political characters, which makes *badawa* (nomadism) a potential realization of the urban civilization. The most important of those criteria are:

1. Desert habitation: Abu Hassan made the desert habitation as a basic condition that characterises the Bedouins, in general, and the nomadic Bedouins, in particular.
2. Means of livelihood: according to Ibn Khaldun, the differences of conditions observed among the generations of Bedouin, rural and urban people result from the different ways in which they make their living. Based on Ibn Khaldun theory, Abu Hassan (1984) divided the Bedouins of Jordan into three categories:
 - 2.1. The first category embraces those Bedouins who make their living by raising camels. They are regarded as the noblest Bedouin tribes. They are called the *al-ibala* or camel herders.
 - 2.2. The second category includes those Bedouins who depend on sheep and goats for their livelihood. They are called sheep herders or *al-shawiya*. They usually wander and move about a lesser extent than the camel herders who practice pure nomadism. Such a community may eventually establish themselves in one place permanently or they may return seasonally to their original nomadic way of life.

In this sense, they represent a category midway between being pure nomad and the semi-nomadic or semi-settled social group.

- 2.3. The third category encompasses the Bedouins who practice semi-sedentary activities for their living. In addition to their seasonal movement into the desert, they may establish themselves in permanent places (villages) living in clay, cement blocks or stone dwellings. In addition to raising few animals, their livelihood is based primarily on simple agriculture. Because their villages are usually located at the fringes of the desert, those Bedouins have firm ties with the people in towns and cities.
3. Migration, seasonal movement: natural pasture is very scant and the grazing in one spot which is available for herds is quickly depleted. So the Bedouin have to move in search of fresh pasture elsewhere. The nomadic Bedouins' herding year can be divided into a number of periods, depending on the time of year, how many animals they have and the amount of the annual precipitation. During their yearly cycle, the Bedouins migrate into the desert in the rainy season (December-January) and move back towards cultivated land at the start of the dry season (April). Some of the Bedouin tribes travel 200 kilometres and more. While the camel herding Bedouins travel the greatest distances, the sheep and goat herders are limited by the capacity of the sheep which need watering frequently.
4. Legal conditions: in administrative context, the Jordanian government has adopted different approaches to define the term Bedouin. Up until 1976, the Bedouins of Jordan were legally defined and controlled by special laws. Up to date, Jordanian electoral law prescribes a number of seats for the Bedouins' representatives. These laws can be traced back to the Trans-Jordan establishment. In the Bedouin Control Law of 1924, drawn up by the British mandate and the Jordanian authority, the term Bedouin referred to the members of nine named tribes: Bani Sakhr, Sirhan, Bani Khalid, Howaitat, Hajaya, Saidiynin, Bani Atiya, Shararat and the Issa (Abu Hassan, 1984, p. 10). For electoral purposes, Jordanian authorities always worked hard towards maintaining a demographic balance among the parliament representatives of the Jordanian population. Therefore, the Control Laws were revised to increase the seats of the Bedouins' representatives. Accordingly, some tribes were added, such as:

Bani Hamedah, Edwan, Ajarmah, Abbad and Da'ajah. The Jordanian government redefined the term Bedouin to include all the tribes and sub-tribes under their protection and such other nomadic tribes as may enter Jordan from time to time. According to Bocco, by the new definition, the government effectively "safeguarded a space of negotiation" (1989, p. 148) that recognizes the fluidity of the Jordanian tribal system and the changing needs of the state. As a result, political activists complain that the Bedouins' number of seats were not proportionate to their population, which represents about seven percent of the country's total population.

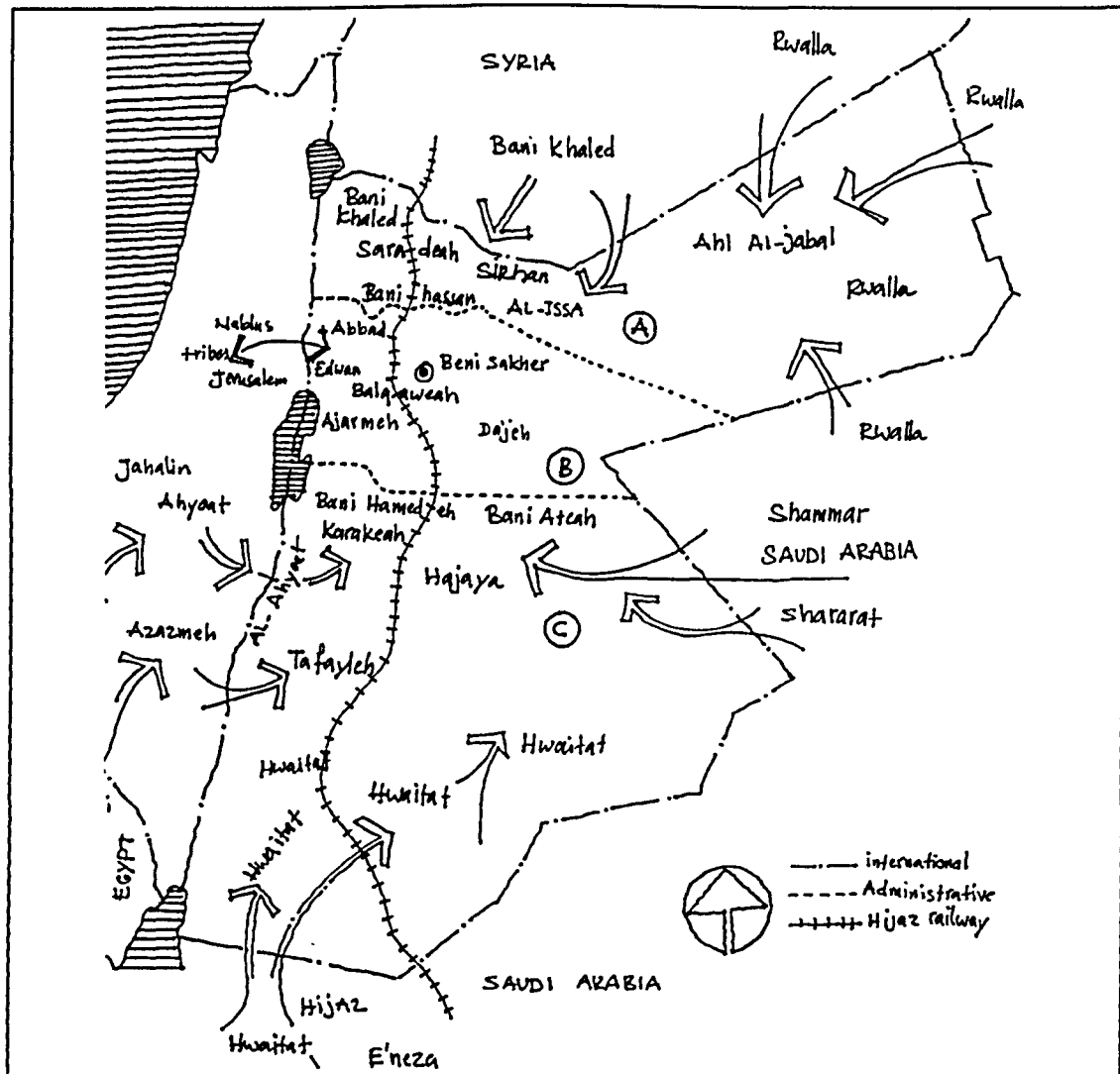


Figure (3.5): The Bedouin tribes' original territories and their current locations.

Arrows show the original territories of each Bedouin tribe.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Bedouins of Northern Region

1. Bani Khalid
 - 1.1. AL-Qudah
 - 1.2. AL-Bsharah
 - 1.3. AL-Ttwal
 - 1.4. AL-Daheem
2. AL-Sirhan
 - 2.1. AL-Hamdan
 - 2.2. AL-Mesned
 - 2.3. AL-Ruman
 - 2.4. AL-Harafsheh
3. AL- Suradiyah
 - 3.1. AL-Fawaz
 - 3.2. AL-Kulayb
 - 3.3. AL-Mnyzel
4. Ahl AL-Jabal
 - 4.1. AL-Masa'ced
 - 4.2. AL-Sharafat
 - 4.3. AL-Azamat
 - 4.4. AL-Zbeid
5. AL-Issa
 - 5.1. AL-Swaelem
 - 5.2. AL-Ali
 - 5.3. AL-Hwaytah
6. Bani Hassan
 - 6.1. AL- Hlayel
 - 6.2. AL-Thabeta
7. Rwalla

Bedouins of Central Region

1. Bani Sakhr
 - 1.1. AL-Ghabeen
 - 1.2. AL-Amer
 - 1.3. AL-Ka'abneh
 - 1.4. AL-Saleet
 - 1.5. AL-Haqeesh
 - 1.6. AL-Khirshan
 - 1.7. AL-Jbour
 - 1.8. AL-Shri'ah
 - 1.9. AL-Badareen
 - 1.10. AL-Taybeen
 - 1.11. AL-Hammad
 - 1.12. AL-Qudah
 - 1.13. AL-Salim
2. Abbad
 - 2.1. AL-Gormeah
 - 2.2. AL-Jboreah
3. AL-Edwan
 - 3.1. AL-Kayed
 - 3.2. AL-Nemeh
 - 3.3. AL-Saleh
 - 3.4. AL-Wrekat
4. AL-Ajarmah
 - 4.1. AL-Yasafeh
 - 4.2. AL-Harafesh
 - 4.3. AL-Swacer
5. Bani Hamedah
 - 5.1. AL-Fwadleh
 - 5.2. AL-Nahdah
 - 5.3. AL-Tawayha
 - 5.4. AL-Labadneh
6. AL-Da'ajah
 - 6.1. AL-Rshadeah
 - 6.2. AL-Shbekat

Bedouins of Southern Region

1. Howaitat
 - 1.1. AL-Matalqa
 - 1.1.1. AL-Jazi
 - 1.1.2. AL-Slemaniyen
 - 1.1.3. AL-Darawshesh
 - 1.1.4. AL- A'amamren
 - 1.1.5. AL-A'otown
 - 1.1.6. AL-Zawaydeh
 - 1.1.7. AL-Zalabia
 - 1.1.8. AL-Maraea'ah
 - 1.1.9. AL-Rashaydah
 - 1.2. AL-Furayjat
 - 1.2.1. AL-Tawayha
 - 1.2.2. AL-Damaneah
 - 1.3. AL-Mahlaf
 - 1.3.1. AL-Nijadat
 - 1.3.2. AL-Emran
 - 1.4. AL-Nu'aimat
 - 1.5. AL-Manaja'ah
 - 1.6. AL-Rawajfeh
 - 1.7. AL-Bedoul
 - 1.8. AL-Rabaya'ah
2. Bani Hamedah
 - 2.1. AL-Fugara
 - 2.2. AL-Lasasmeh
3. AL-Hajaya
 - 3.1. AL-Aliyeen
 - 3.2. AL-Mahmodiyeen
 - 3.3. AL-Manaa'iyceen
4. Bani Atiya
 - 4.1. AL-A'atyat
 - 4.2. AL-Ugaylat
 - 4.3. AL-Khmaysat
5. AL-Ahyouat

Table (3.3): A detailed list of the Jordanian Bedouin tribes.

Source: Oweidi, *Muqaddimah Li Dirasat Al-A'shaier Al-Urduniyah*, 1984.

3.3 The Bedouins of Southern Jordan:

3.3.1 The Howaitat Confederation:

An enigma surrounds the origin and the name of the Howaitat. In his book *The Howaitat One of the Large Tribes of Arabia* (1920), Adnan Attar stated that the Arabian Peninsula is the original home of the Howaitat. They spread out of its desert into the neighbouring fertile land as part of their continuous search of pasture and plunder. Their nomadic roots go back to their ancestors, the Bedouins of north and central Arabia, who claim descent from Ishmael. According to Attar (1920), Abu Obeidah A'mer Bin Al-Jarah, one of the early Islamic military leaders, is the founding father of Howaitat (pp. 62-63). This made them the descendents of Quraish, the noblest tribe of Arabia and the ancient rulers of Mecca. After the nobility of Mecca was defeated, the new rulers were ordered to kill all members of the previous ruling tribe. Mohammad Bin Barakat, his son Ghazi and their slave Rashed managed to escape towards southern Jordan. However Mohammad Bin Barakat had a fever and died before reaching the final destination. Ghazi was eight years old when he managed to reach Aqaba. There, they met Mua'ath Bin A'ateah, the leader of the southern Jordan's well-known tribe, Bani A'ateah. Mua'ath, at that time, was appointed by the Ottoman Empire as the keeper of the goods that supplied the pilgrimages when they passed the tribe's land on their way to Mecca. As Ghazi was growing up, Mua'ath found him very clever and active, and offered him one of his daughters for marriage.

As a result of drought years, Mua'ath allowed his tribesmen to take some supplies from the Ottomans' supplies. Later, the Ottomans' pilgrimage leader (*pasha*) came to visit and discovered that the storage was depleted. Mua'ath did not know what to say and asked for a consultation with his tribe elders. After some time, Mua'ath arrived holding a piece of bread in his right hand and a stone in the other, and asked the *pasha*, "When a man is starving, which one of these would he eat?" The *pasha* responded: "this is not your answer, otherwise, you would not ask for consultation". Mua'ath admitted that it was Ghazi's idea, to which the *pasha* replied: "this boy is *haweet*" – a term that literally means brilliant. From this day forward the boy was known as Howeit instead of Ghazi, and his descendents became the Howaitat (Attar, 1920, pp. 64-66).

Another explanation to Howaitat's name was provided by Abdul Kadir Al-Jaziri (1920). In his book, *History of Arabia*, Al-Jaziri states that the Howaitat are a sub-tribe of Bani A'ateah, and their name is derived from the Arabic word *tahweit*, which literally means to encircle. He claimed that the Howaitat received the name after they migrated to Aqaba in the fifteenth century. There, they claimed the areas planted with palm trees as their own property (1920, p. 63).

Here, it is important to note that the *tahweit* is a common practice among the Bedouins of north and central Arabia. The notion of *tahweit* is also part of the Howaitat's tribal oral history. During the successive visit that I made to the Howaitat confederation, one of their elders recounted the following story:

The Howaitat tribe leader passed through the south of Jordan on his way to pray at Jerusalem. Ghazi, his son, who was a child at that time, had joined his father on the long journey but he became ill and was unable to continue to Jerusalem. So his father decided to leave him with a family from the Bani A'ateah tribe, who were living in the area adjacent to the borders between Jordan and Saudi Arabia, until the father had finished his pilgrimage. The man of Bani A'ateah, who accepted him, found that Ghazi was very clever and active, so he decided to keep him and bring him up with his own sons. When Ghazi's father came back to ask for his son, he was told that his son had died and that they had buried him and they gave his father his clothes. Ghazi stayed with Bani A'ateah and became one of them. On the death of his adopted father, the sons tried to prevent Ghazi from inheriting, because he was not their real brother. Ghazi drew a big circle on the ground around his adopted father's tent and brandished his sword and did not allow his brothers to take any of the belongings of their father. Ghazi married and had many sons, and then his sons expelled Bani A'ateah from their land. They were called Howaitat because of the circle (*howeitah*) that Ghazi drew (Majed Al-Jazi, 24th of August 2004).

Although the first two explanations reflect some romanticism, the third is a fascinating one. History books such as: Fouad Hamza's *The History of Arabs Before Islam* (1951) and Frederick Peake's *The History of Jordan and its Tribes* (1958), claim that the Howaitat are the descendents of the Nabatean, the ancient rulers of Petra. Sharing a different perspective are scholars such as Ahmad Owedi (1984), Rezeq Haron (1985) and Eliahu Epstein (1938), who discredit this theory based on lack of empirical evidence.

When the Howaitat spread out into the deserts of Arabia, they were subdivided into four groups: the Howaitat of Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Egypt and Jordan (Attar, 1920, p. 63). Currently, the Howaitat of Jordan comprises about 80 percent of the Bedouin population of southern Jordan, and historically was considered to be the most powerful, eminent, and respected Bedouin group. There are several factors which contributed to their reputation. First, it is their tribal territory, which is considered a decisive element in measuring tribal strength; their territory is difficult to define in administrative terms for it includes the land that covers southern Jordan and extends over the Iraqi and Saudi borders. Second, Howaitat are one of the migratory herders in Jordan. They were also considered one of the so-called noble or true Bedouins, for their longstanding, prestigious reputation as camel-herders. Finally, the Howaitat are not really a tribe, but rather a tribal confederation of different tribes, sharing a common ancestor, or similar interests in terms of animal husbandry or security measures. They also share the same dialects and ethnic identity. According to Ahmad Owedi, the Howaitat confederation is divided unequally into eight tribes that are subdivided into several clans as follows: (1984, pp. 558-560)

1. Al-Matalqatribe. Members of this tribe are referred to as Bin Jazi Arabs. Here, it is important to note that Ibn Jazi Arabs (Matalqa) consider themselves a semi-confederation, since they include some clans that allied to Howaitat, but have no blood ties with them. It consists of the following tribes:
 - 1.1. Al-Jazi: Jazi, Owdat, Jathwa, Theabat, Sharathleh, Sabaheen, Fahameen clans.
 - 1.2. Al-Slemaniyen: Nawawreh, Rukaibat, A'jaleen, A'amamreh, Shawasheh, Mazyad, Lawafeah and A'athamneh clans.
 - 1.3. Al-Darawsheh: Sons of Abdullah, Zughairat, Saraea'ah, Sumairat, Sawalhah and sons of Salem clans.
 - 1.4. Al-A'amamren: Shawasheh, Hasaseen, Fagoush, Hasanat, Sons of A'wad, Sons of Swaylem, 'Jamaa'een, Sons of Hameed, Slemaniyen and the Bakhateah clans.
 - 1.5. Al-A'otown: Jawaa'deah, Kawarees, Mahasneh, Rawashdeh and sons of Saleim clans.

- 1.6. Al-Zawaydeh: Sons of Matalq, Ga'ayrat, Flehyeen, Sons of Salman, Sons of Ali, Mazanah, Sons of Zayed, Shkhyetat, Jmea'an, Hadadyeah, Kwaheet, Sama'aen, Hasanat, sons of Sabbah and the Shagawneh clans.
- 1.7. Al-Zalabia: A'wawdeh, Salmanyeeen, Rabaa'eyeen, Humaidat, Dbour, Slaybeyeen, Balawneh, Salmeyeen and the Zaydaneyeen clans.
- 1.8. Al-Maraea'ah: Tawaheah, Jabha, A'jowl, Rasaya'ah, Sawawneh, Aalawyah, Mashaa'leh, Tahatrah, Radadkhah, Mera'yeen, Mawadeah, Hojowj, Botoneah and Khushaimat clans.
- 1.9. Al-Rashaydah: Zaboun, Slemaniyeen, Horoub, O'saifat, A'alawyah, Duhamat, Mahazeez, wakadeh, Ghawanmeh, Nawafleh, Hamyeen, Shamalat, Nahateah, A'agebah and the Rashaydah clans.
2. Al-Furayjat tribe: it is called Abu Tayeh Arabs. It consists of the following tribes:
 - 2.1. Abu Tayeh, which consists of: Tawayha, Sons of Sabbah, Khushman, Faraj, Khmesiyeen, Abied, Sons of Hamad, Sons of Medhee, Rabaya'ah, Sons Hijazi, Fatanah, Nawasrah, Swelhiyeen and the Mesbehiyeen clans.
 - 2.2. Al-Damanyeah, which consists of: Sons of Salem, Sons of Saleh, Sons of A'udah, Sons of Salameh, Sons of Lafy and the Sons of Eid clans.
3. Al-Mahlaf tribe. Members of this tribe are referred to as Bin Nijad Arabs. It consists of the following tribes:
 - 3.1. Al-Nijadat, which consists of: Nijadat, Khdyrat, Nwajea'yeen, Sawalmeh, Sqour, Tawasah, A'awadat, Rawafa'ah, Abied, Qudman, Malaa'beh, Rasaya'ah, Shaqaqleh, Madaheen, Toushan, Qalaa'yeah, Swelhiyeen, Muaseh, Jthelat, Jmea'an, Hasasyeen, Jrawyeah, Hamadeen, Sons of Ali, Rwaysat, Qwasmeh, Mahameed, Jkhadmeh, Salameen, Hawamreh, Msaa'deh, Halaylah, Onezat, Maqableh, Humaidat, Sons of Eid, A'adadeh, Rukaibat and Al-Souod clans.
 - 3.2. Al-E'mrran consists of: Qura'an, Rbea'iyeeen, Nakharah, Samaa'yeen, and the Dbour clans.
4. Al-Nu'aimat tribe: A'aladeah, Sahaleen, Ghawanmeh, Salalmeh, Slaimat, A'aragdeh, Shatatleh and the Sboua'.
5. Al-Manaja'ah tribe

6. Al-Rawajfeh tribe: Ghunaimat, A'atyat, A'awadat and the Haramseh.
7. Al-Bedoul tribe
8. Al-Rabaya'ah tribe

While the majority of Howaitat “record their lineage with great pride to their ancestors, the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula” (Jabbur, 1995, p. 261), some of them adopted Frederick Peake’s claim that they are the descendents of the Nabateans, which is likely little more than a fabricated story to impress others, particularly the tourist groups. Although this claim is fascinating, a less romantic but plausible theory, is that they are the “offspring of *fellaheen* (farmers), who in the course of time became Bedouins” (Epstein, 1938, p. 234). Epstein, in his analysis regarding the Bedouins of Trans-Jordan, stated that the attitude of the Howaitat towards agriculture always “differed from the accepted view of other desert tribes...they never showed any contempt for farming, and made use of all fertile lands in their territory...they established a mixed economy of sheep-raising, goats and few camels, in addition to cultivating the soil” (Epstein, 1938, p. 234).

According to Epstein, by the early 1900s, “two warlike, courageous and tyrannical sheikhs, A'bttan Bin Jazi and A'udah Abu Tayeh, arose among the Howaitat at one time. These rulers found more interest, both for themselves and for the tribe as a whole, in raiding and fighting (*ghazw*) than in peaceful life (Epstein, 1938, p. 234). As a result, the Howaitat became one of the most “warlike tribes in northern Arabia and the Syrian Desert. By means of raiding they acquire a large number of camels, which further insinuated their nomadic character” (Epstein, 1938, p. 234). In 1914, the war enveloped Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Meanwhile, a growing Arab consciousness took hold in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This movement “had resulted in the conception of an embryonic Arab nationalism” (Jureidini, 1984, p. 9). In 1916, the Hashemite led by Sheriff Hussein Bin Ali, joined forces with the British to start the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire. According to Jureidini (1984), “Working with several British agents and military personnel, two of Hussein’s sons, Faisal and Abdullah, waged what amounted to guerrilla warfare against the Ottoman” (p. 9).

In the beginning of 1916, Thomas Edward Lawrence, the British officer, was detached as Prince Faisal's advisor. To assure the success of the campaign against the Ottoman, Lawrence realized that he had to have the help of the Bedouins, who controlled the territories around Aqaba, which was the Ottomans' headquarter. As a result of their reputation as warlike tribe, the Howaitat was one of the tribes to fight in the Arab Revolt. During the 1910s and 1920s, there were large-scale tribal migrations as a result of the "Wahhabi attacks on the Hashemite supremacy in Arabia" (Jureidini, 1984, p. 13). The Wahhabi groups were religious purists aligned with Al-Sa'ud, the ruling family in Saudi Arabia. The Howaitat were brave fighters to defend Jordan against these attacks.

Since the establishment of the state, Jordanian authorities realized how forceful the Howaitat were and have worked hard to pacify and absorb them to get their support to the regime. Therefore, the Howaitat confederation, especially its tribes located at the Saudi Arabia – Jordan border, such as the Zalabia of Wadi Rum, were the subject of a continuous sedentarization effort.

3.3.2 The Bedouins of Wadi Rum:

Prior to the discussion of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, it is important to construct an idea about their locality. Classical Arabian history books made a direct connection between the valley's name, Rum, and Iram or Aram, the son of Sam, and the Grandson of Noah. The term Iram is the name of one of the famous mountains in Hisma, where Wadi Rum is located. It is a high mountain to which the *badia* people lay claim, due to the grape vine and pine trees growing there. Yagout Al-Hamawi (1170-1229), the famous Arabian historian, in *The Volume of the Countries (Mua'jam Al-Buldan)* writes that it is "a towering mountain called Iram...the mountain has a well called Iram" (2001, p. 145).

According to Rezeq Haron, the southern Jordanian anthropologist, the valley was called Rum "for the memory of the Ashorian leader Rum Seen, who swept through southern Jordan in the eighth century BC" (1985, p. 412). According to him, "Wadi Rum is a vast house of clues from the past" (Haron, 1985, p. 423). The archaeological work undertaken in the twentieth century has revealed that since ancient times, the area has been a major

communication route linking the Levant and the Southern Mediterranean with the centre of the Arabian Peninsula and Yemen (Albakhiet, 1984, p. 67). Wadi Rum, especially the valley between Rum Mountain and Um Ishrin Mountain, has always been known for its numerous springs. They were among the few year-round water sources in the south-eastern desert of southern Jordan. These springs made Wadi Rum a meeting centre of caravans heading towards Syria and Palestine from Arabia. Before the establishment of Islam, Wadi Rum served as the gathering place of many tribes, such as A'ad and Thamud. The Nabateans, however, surpassed those early tribes in trade and monumental achievements. Recent excavations uncovered a Neolithic settlement dating from 4500 BC. It also uncovered the Allat Temple at the foot of the Rum Mountain. It was originally built by the A'ad tribe and remodelled by the Nabateans in the first century BC (Department of Antiques, 2004).

For its archaeological and historical significance, Wadi Rum was and still is a hot spot for tourism in Jordan. The history of contact between the southern Jordan Bedouins and non-Arabs visitors dates back to the first half of the 19th century. Wars, trade and pilgrimage were the three main reasons Westerners travelled to the region. At that time, "these Westerners added to the adventure and mystique of their travels in the land of the Turk, by adopting oriental dress, often a strange mixture of the Arab and Turkish clothing, and taking Arab names" (Shoup:1985, p. 277).

When the Trans-Jordan government ceased raiding among southern Jordan tribes, and extended its authority to the desert, it gave rise to desert tourism. Contact with Westerners was minimal but very influential, through three main sources. First, many Bedouin served in the British officered army of Trans-Jordan. There, they were exposed to Western technology and cultural values. Second, archaeologists hired the Bedouins as guides and labourers to remove dirt and rocks from excavation sites. Third, missionaries often visited Wadi Rum for its authentic biblical history. Members of these three categories were classified by the Bedouins as strangers or foreigners (*ajnabi*, Pl. *ajanib*). The Bedouins were suspect of their corrupting influence and their frequent missionary activities. Some even refused to shake hands with foreigners "without first wrapping

their hands in the folds of the *abayah* (cloak) or in some other cloth for fear of being contaminated” (Shoup, 1985, p. 281). Here, it is important to point out that the period of the Arab revolt against the Ottomans (1916-1917) is considered a turning point in Wadi Rum’s tourism history. The relationship established between Thomas Edward. Lawrence, and Audi Abu Tayeh, the Howaitat Sheikh, had a positive impact on the Bedouins’ attitude towards Westerners.

Likewise, David Lean’s movie, *Lawrence of Arabia*, released in 1962, which documented the life and deeds of T. E. Lawrence, filmed in part in Wadi Rum, contributed to Westerners’ intrigue and interest in visiting the region. The dramatic opening shot in the film shows Lawrence of Arabia, with his camel marching in the main valley of Wadi Rum. The influence is clearly demonstrated by the Bedouins’ renaming of their traditional well, Abu Eineh to become known as Lawrence’s spring (*Ain Lawrence*). Lawrence left a remarkable literary account of the Arab Revolt in the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. The book was named after the seven natural columns varying in height located along the rural way that leads to Rum Village. Lawrence named Wadi Rum as *Wadi Al-Qamar* (the moon valley).

After this historical background about Wadi Rum, it is essential to construct a similar historical background about its people to form a foundation upon which the remainder of this dissertation will be built. This study identified seven local tribes as having key interest within the Wadi Rum region. The exact extent of tribal terrorists is difficult to assess since information of this kind is usually subject to bias, depending on the identity of the informant.

1. Zalabia: are based at Rum Village and the valley (Wadi Rum). Zalabia lands comprise approximately 30–40 % of the reserve area.
2. Zawaydeh: are based mainly in Dici and Tuweiseh villages, beyond the northern boundary of the reserve area. In addition they use the north eastern corner of the Protected Area, which is about 20% of the reserve areas.
3. Mazanah: they are mainly settled in the villages of Twail, Mansheer and Ghal. The north-eastern corner of the reserve is extensively used by the tribe.

4. Swelhiyeen: are scattered between three villages, Rum at the heart of the Reserve Shakriyya just beyond the northern boundary and Salhiyya. Wadi Rumman, down to Hadbat Qara, is widely recognized as falling within their tribal territory.
5. Qudman: they are settled around Rashidiyya Village. They extensively use the north-west corner of the reserve, which is about 5% of the reserve total area.
6. Imran: they lay claim to the very southern limits of the reserve, which extends from Al Qattar Mountain to Wadi Sabet.
7. Dbour: they claim to the west-central area of the reserve. Neither the Imran's nor the Dbour's claims are fully recognized by the majority of the other tribes. It is mainly the Zalabia who recognized them.

Settlement	Tribe	Households	Population
Salhiyya	Swelhiyeen	36	220
Shakriyya	Swelhiyeen	35	140
Rum	Zalabia	283	1985
	Swelhiyeen	17	115
Dici	Zawaydeh	210	1280
Tuweiseh	Zawaydeh	105	650
Mansheer	Mazanah	40	280
Rashidiyya	Qudman, Imran, Dbour	No Information	No Information

Table (3.4): Wadi Rum's Bedouin tribes' locations and populations.

Source: Royal Society for Conservation of Nature, 2004.

For the purpose of this study, I have selected the Zalabia and Swelhiyeen tribes for my research. Since the Swelhiyeen represents only about six percent of the population in the area under study, I will focus primarily on the Zalabia. I will begin by providing a background about the Zalabia through a review of its historical, social, cultural, economic and spatial contexts.

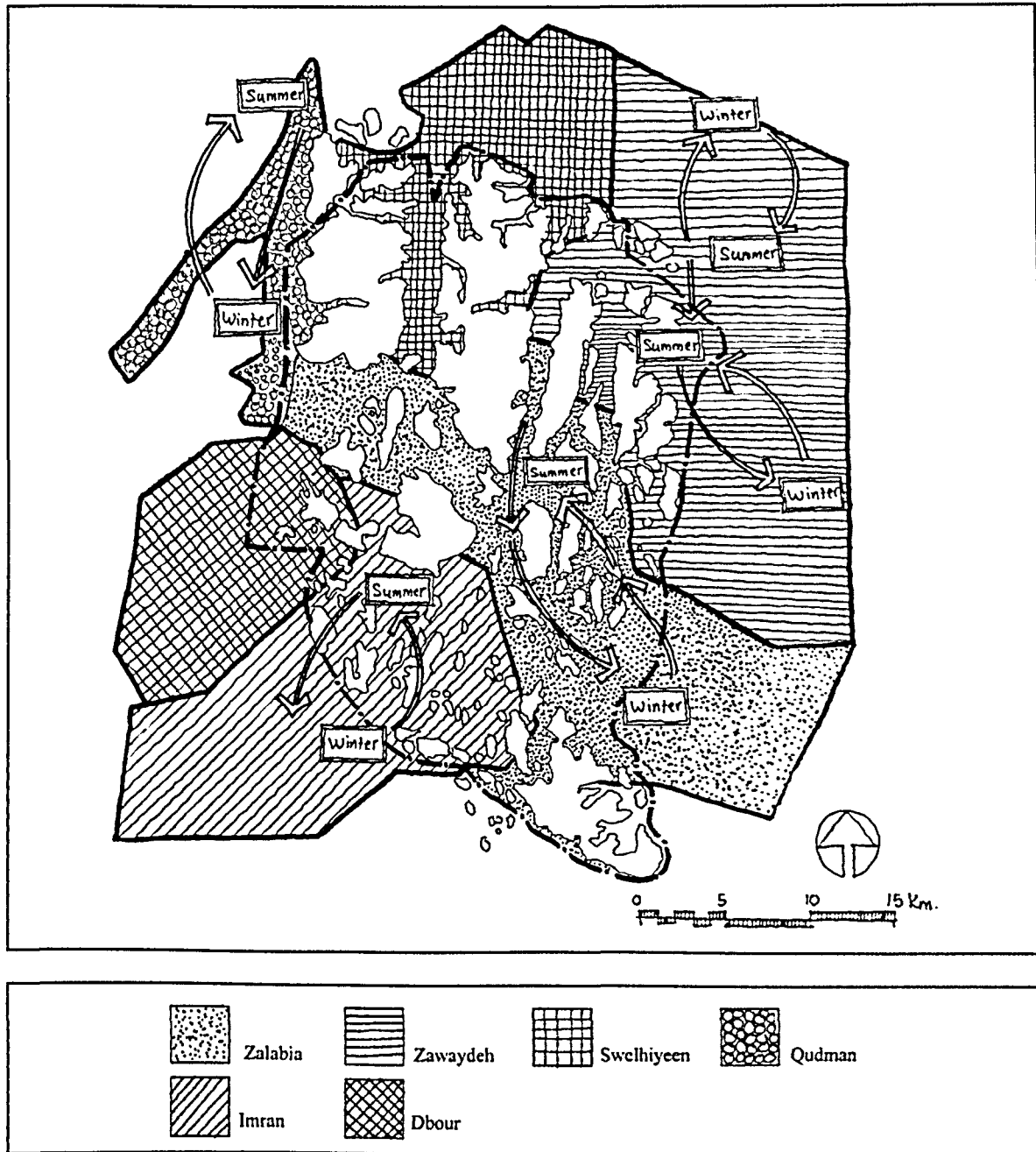


Figure (3.6): Wadi Rum's Bedouin tribes' locations and immigration patterns.

Source: Royal Society for Conservation of Nature, 2004.

While the historical references, as well as the Swelhiyeen tribal oral history made it clear that they descended from some of the tribes inhabited north of Saudi Arabia, an enigma surrounds the origin of the Zalabia tribe.

Literature available on this group is divided. Scholars such as Glubb (1948), Owedi (1982), Abu Hassan (1984), and Brand (2001) refer to the Zalabia as a fraction of the Howaitat. This approach was supported by the Jordanian government when the Zalabia tribe was listed as part of the Howaitat confederation in the 1989 parliament election. Another group of scholars, including Chatelard (2001), and Haron (1984), have identified the Zalabia as a fraction of the very large A'neyza confederation. The same conflict arises within the tribal oral history. Although some of the Zalabia's tribesmen claim that they are offshoots of the Howaitat, the majority claim that they descended from A'neyza confederation, which consists of individuals from Syria to the Arabian Peninsula. The legend of their origin, which is narrated by their elders, dated about 150 years back. They came from Hijaz during the Ottoman period to ask for the protection of another major confederation, the Howaitat (Haron, 1985, p. 135).

Some of the narrators have recalled that the Zalabia's grandfather was called Salem. His nickname was Al-Sunnat, which literally means 'the listener', due to his unique ability to recognize the location of the ground water. When he came to Wadi Rum, he resided within the Howaitat and was married. He had two sons, Salman and Gaith. When they got older, Salman resided in Wadi Rum and formed the Zalabia. Gaith moved to Dici. He is the grandfather of the Zawaydeh and Mazanah tribes. Since the 1890s, the Zalabia became united with the Howaitat through marriage and kinship.

In 1910, a tribal war took place between the Howaitat and Bani Sakhr, the Bedouins of central region of Jordan. The Howaitat was defeated and pursued to the Jordan-Saudi border. Bani Sakhr wanted to eliminate the Howaitat entirely, in order to occupy their territories. A week later, Auda Abu Tayeh, who was the military leader of Howaitat, dreamt that the confederation would defeat Bani Sakhr. The Howaitat surprised them the following morning and won a decisive victory (Owedi, 1982, p. 145). Looking for a

secure future, the Zalabia allied with the other fractions of Howaitat. After the war, in the early 1920s, the Howaitat's leaders, Auda Abu Tayeh and A'bttan Ibn Jazi, allocated the Zalabia the area of Rum. From that time, Wadi Rum and its surroundings have become part of the Zalabia's tribal territory, with free access to natural spring water and pasture.

According to the Jordanian Civil Records Department, the Zalabia are officially recognized as a fraction of the Howaitat confederation. The Zalabia is divided unequally into three major clans (*hamulas*):

1. The A'wadyeen, comprised of the A'wadyeen, Manaya'ah, Balawneh, Rabaa'eyeen and the Jewyan, as the clan's *Fkhouth*;
2. The Aliyeen, comprised of the A'lieyeen, Salmanyeeen, Hamdyeeen and Mubarkiyeen as the clan's *Fkhouth*; and
3. The Zaydaneyeeen, comprised of the A'awdat, A'ayadeh, Semran, Mhemeriyeen and Madaeen as the clan's *Fkhouth*.

The existing literature on the Zalabia divides the tribe into three groups: nomadic, semi-nomadic/settled and settled Bedouins. Like the other Bedouin groups of southern Jordan, the Zalabia tribe is characterised by their mobility searching for pasture and water resources within their tribal territories, *dirahs*. This mobility, associated with the fact that the tribe inhabits one of the hot tourists' spots in Jordan, have made the Zalabia-government relationship a thorny issue. Although this issue will be deliberately discussed in one of the later chapters of this study, it necessitates constructing a theoretical framework about the Bedouins-State relationship in general, which will be the subject of the next section.

3.4 The Relationship between Bedouins and State:

Numerous studies have dealt with the issue of the relationship between Bedouins and their nation states. Among scholars, there is a general agreement that issues of tension between Bedouins and their State can be classified into four categories: distribution of socio-political power, economic and social resources, settlement and urbanization, and land tenure.

Regarding the distribution of socio-political power, studies concluded that Bedouinism can be conceptualized as a stage in the historical development of the nation state. Patricia Crone in *The Tribe and the State*, cited in John Hall's book *States in History*, asserts that "a tribe may start as a loose cluster of bands, but the more tribal, that is complex and integrated, it becomes, the more closely it will approximate a chiefdom, which in its turn only requires further complexity to develop into a primitive state" (1986, p. 57).

In the Middle East, Bedouins enjoyed strong military capacity that put them in a position to negotiate the terms of relationships among themselves, with the sedentary agriculturalists and with the authorities. Douglas Johnson, in *The Nature of Nomadism*, asserts that the Bedouins' socio-political organization falls into three categories: first is centralized, where the entire tribe is organized on an integrated and hierarchical basis and is effectively controlled by the tribal chief (sheikh); second is quasi-centralized, in which authority at the clan and section level is strong and well developed, but where a tribal chief wields authority within the tribe only in direct proportion to his own ability and the force of his personality. Third is the diffuse, where the clan or section is the highest level of organization. In such a political organization, no central authority, in name or in fact, actually exists (Johnson, 1969, p. 159). In the same sense, Salzman classified the Bedouins' political organization into centralized and decentralized structures. According to Salzman, the degree of the state's control over a tribe depends on the degree of centrality in its socio-political organization; the more centralized it is, the more easily it can be controlled.

In this regard, it is essential to point out that, during four centuries of Ottoman rule, and finally under the British mandate, the life of the Bedouins of Jordan remained generally unaltered. The Bedouins were permitted to move freely about, and migrate according to their search for water and pasture for their flocks. They continued to live their lives without major interruption or interference from the ruling authorities. Although under the Ottoman Empire and British mandate some of the Bedouins could be classified as having reached a semi-nomadic stage, this process of sedentarization was accelerated to a considerable degree after the founding of Trans-Jordan as a nation-state in the post-

colonial era. Since then, the Bedouins' situation started to change gradually. The Trans-Jordan government, as many of the new Arab nation-states, perceived their nomadic and semi-nomadic populations as problematic to "development" due to their unyielding attitude towards governance. Central authorities considered "nomads and semi-nomads...wasteful and destructive" to progress (Abu-Zeid, 1968, p. 280). In this sense, nomads were regarded as "a segment of the population that would have to undergo significant change before it could be incorporated into a modern economy and society" (Cole and Altorki, 1998, p. 97).

To ensure their incorporation, the method most frequently chosen for dealing with the nomadic population in Middle Eastern Arab countries, has been planned settlement processes. The nation-states played a decisive role in creating both the policy environment and the spatial organization which have resulted in sedentarization.

3.5 The Bedouins' Settlement Process:

The classical approach to the problem of defining the term of sedentarization, an approach found in most of the literature, is to relate the process to its causes. To avoid generalization, this study sees sedentarization as a "change which falls on the long continuum from nomadism to sedentism" (Salzman, 1980, p. 11). As an arriving point to this discussion, it is important to explore the reasons that may encourage or force nomads to settle. These reasons have been investigated by numerous scholars from various disciplines. David Grossman in his book *Rural Process-Patterns Relationships* has listed nine major causes of sedentarization. The list includes:

Security improvement, external activities (commercial opportunities, mining, religious function, and intensive government involvement), prosperity among neighbouring societies, fixation by government, alteration in the nomad's own economic conditions, alteration in mode of living, demographic processes, change in the local economy and ecological changes...it can be compressed into two major sets: first is the factors associated with the traditional economy, and second those associated with the modern one (1992, p. 92).

Grossman further went on to subdivide these sets to include, first the socioeconomic, internal forces. Second is the socioeconomic; external forces. Finally are the ecological forces (1992, p. 92).

Abu-Hoseh (1994) concluded that Bedouins of Jordan, in general, and the Bedouins of southern Jordan, in particular, were perceived as a threat by the nation-states. He suggested two major reasons that may have motivated nation-states to enforce the sedentarization of their nomadic populations. First, at the early stages of Trans-Jordan as a nation-state, the Bedouins were more powerful than the central authority itself. Therefore, Bedouins did not recognize the central authority and refused to accept its control. Second, as a result of their migration patterns, they did not recognize international borderlines. The latter issue lead to further threats. First, for their territorial and religious loyalties, some tribes of the southern Jordan Bedouins were involved in weapon smuggling and acted as guerrillas to fight the existence of a controlling central authority. Second, they developed 'unwanted' relationships with the surrounding countries' authorities and religious groups, such as the Wahhabi group of northern Saudi Arabia (Abu-Hoseh, 1994, pp. 48-49).

In *The Economics of Pastoralism: a Case Study of Saharan Africa* (1978), Konczacki offers further reasoning behind governments' desire to encourage and enforce settlement among nomadic populations.

First are the cultural factors: since most third world elites, whether from rural or urban areas, generally share the cultural values of the settled population, they tend to view pastoralism negatively. Consequently, sedentarization is seen as both positive and desirable. Second are the political reasons: since nomads are highly mobile, it is more difficult to control them and, therefore, it is deemed advisable to settle and integrate them into a sedentary framework. A third factor is structural in nature: to create a situation in which the nomads can contribute more productively to the national economy – stationary communities are easier to count for census purposes, easier to tax, and, therefore easier to include in national plans for development. Finally, a more altruistic purpose of sedentarization is to facilitate the extension of public goods and services, which can be provided more cheaply to a sedentary population than to constantly moving groups (1978, pp. 60-61).

Along the same line, John Galaty and Philip Salzman made a tremendous effort to explain the phenomenon of sedentarization. In the introduction to their book, *Nomads in a Changing World*, the authors raised a number of questions, such as: how has the world changed? How has it changed differently in different places? How have new states affected nomadic people? (1990, p. 3). These all feed into the overarching debate as to whether all of the major changes to the nomadic way of life are the result of direct imposition of the state's policies?

Philip Salzman addresses this very question in his introduction to *When Nomads Settle* (1980). Salzman criticizes some of the views about sedentarization, and suggests that some of the writings about the subject tend to be misleading due to over-generalization. To counter this generalization, Salzman introduced three models of sedentarization. First is the drought and decline model. For several ecological conditions, such as shortage or absence of water and pasture resources or in case of diseases, nomads might lose some of their livestock resources. "Having lost their animals, and with them their economic base, the herders have neither reason nor opportunity to continue nomadizing" (Salzman, 1980, p. 12). Therefore, they retire to villages that may exist at the desert fringes to work as agricultural labourers. Second is the failure and fall-away model. According to Salzman (1980), this model emerges when "individual pastoralists who do not succeed in building a viable household productive unit...drop out of the pastoral sector, taking their families into the sedentary agricultural sector" (p.12). The first two models show that the shift to sedentarization may originate within the nomads themselves, either by will, or due to external factors such as drought and economic pressures. Finally is the defeat and degradation model. This model deals with the situation of inter-tribal conflicts in which the defeated tribe loses its herd and pasture land. This forces them to seek settled life. This settlement process tends to be a more permanent arrangement; rarely does a tribe return to nomadism after such a situation.

Avinoam Mier, in *As Nomadism Ends*, defines sedentarization as an "ideological shift of members of pastoral nomadic society from tribalism to individualism" (1997, p. 11). Mier (1997) contended that this shift is an "ideological movement of members of pastoral

nomadic society along the tribal-individual continuum” (p. 18). Along this line, the settling of the Bedouin can be perceived as a long process of transition from one culture to another. It involves essential alternatives in the Bedouins’ way of life in its economic, social, cultural, political and spatial contexts. Settlement is, then, a long process at the end of which the nomads become permanent inhabitants, and assimilate with the mainstream of the local culture, rural or urban. To understand the nature of this process, I will now present a historical background about the southern Jordan sedentarization process.

3.6 The Sedentarization Process of the Bedouins of Jordan:

During the Ottoman period, nomadic tribes formed the bulk of Jordan’s population. Throughout most of country, loose tribal confederations prevailed, with each tribe acting as a sort of mobile mini-state. In the pre-World War II era, the inter-tribal wars were a common phenomenon in the life of the Jordan’s Bedouins. This was largely due to the fact that Jordan “was at the outer edge of the Ottoman empire, where authority was uncertain and territories are unclear” (Gubser, 1983, p. 18). The powerful tribes would “seize the choicest pasture and the richest sources of water; they would attack the weaker tribes, rob them of their property, and levy taxes (*khawa*) upon them...the stronger tribe would develop a warlike spirit and a consciousness of its own power and influences” (Epstein, 1938, p. 232). After World War II, the situation changed completely. Germany and Turkey lost, and Arab nations began to emerge in the Middle East.

The new states were skeptical of their nomadic populations, and perceived them to be a threat. To ensure the stability of these newly found states, there have been conscious and calculated attempts to bring an end to the nomadic lifestyle of their population. In their book *Bedouins: Wealth and Change*, Fred Scholz and Rainer Corcles concluded that these attempts are “a product of well-aimed direct or indirect, external and/or internal forces and can be explained as a conflict between heterogeneous cultures” (1980, p. 1). Because of these attempts, “both the colonial powers and national states that came into existence after the second world war, and pursued a modernization based on western models, came into conflict with nomads, who acknowledge only a loyalty to the tribe” (Scholz and Corcles, 1980, p. 1).

Since the establishment of Trans-Jordan, the overarching mandate driving its governments' policies was the desire of creating a Jordanian national consciousness. To achieve its goals, successive governments introduced many measures to advance the sedentarization of the Bedouin tribes. These policies were directed towards the engagement of the Bedouin population in the process of development and modernization of the country. The sedentarization process of the Bedouins of Jordan followed a certain sequential pattern. To some degree, this pattern can be observed in many countries in the Middle East; especially those who implemented mixed policies that vary between self-generated and compulsory settlement. For the Jordanian Bedouins, the pattern of transition from nomadism to settlement can be characterized as the following:

1. The Informal Sedentarization Process:

As a result of the years of drought and unstable ecological conditions that overtook the country in the 1920s and after, southern Trans-Jordan Bedouins started to lose their animals as their economic base. They started to retire to agricultural villages as labourers. It is safe to conclude that this stage was the first in their sedentarization process. Philip Salzman described this stage as:

Spontaneous adaptation and response to environmental changes...pastoralists who roam the pastures with their animals are vulnerable to the vagaries of climate conditions...it is voluntary, un-coerced shift from one available pattern to another in response to changing pressures (1980, pp. 11-14).

In the initial stage of this process both Jordanian decision-makers, and colonial powers played a major role. At that time Trans-Jordan's authorities took advantage of these ecological circumstances to push their mandate and advance the sedentarization of the Bedouins. Since the establishment of Trans-Jordan, the new state worked hard to contain its Bedouin population. King Abdullah (1921-51) played a critical role in this process. On March 29, 1921, the British mandate accorded him power over Trans-Jordan. Similar to what took place in other parts of the Arab world, his government opposed the nomadic way of life. However, unlike many other leaders in the Middle East, Abdullah was more oriented toward incentives rather sanctions; to absorb rather than to confront the Bedouin tribes.

At the time the Emirate of Trans-Jordan was formed, a small police force remained from the Ottoman era. They were inadequately prepared to maintain order and establish central government control. Thus, Abdullah's first effort "was to establish a coherent security force that would ensure his control of the entire mandated territory east of the River Jordan" (Jureidini, 1984, p. 19). As a result, in 1923, the Arab legion was established under the command of Frederick G. Peake. By 1926, the Arab Legion had established itself as the protective arm of the central government. Later, in 1930, Captain John Glubb was assigned to Trans-Jordan as Peake's deputy. Glubb was well-known for his familiarity with the Bedouins' accents, customs and customary law. He was given a free hand in the task of controlling the Bedouins. He organized the Desert Mobile Force in which the Howaitat was the first major tribe to become the backbone of the force.



Figure (3.7): Glubb in his military uniform socializing in a Bedouin tent in Wadi Rum
Source: Tony Howard's pictorial collection, 2004.

In 1939, Glubb succeeded Peake as a commander of the Desert Mobile Force. Glubb viewed the warrior traditions of the Bedouins as important attributes to the newly established army. In Glubb's opinion, the Bedouins' involvement was important to "demonstrate the value of the new force to the Bedouins; especially to the major tribes...its first triumph was changing the attitude of the Bedouin tribes who fears central government" (Jureidini, 1984, p. 21).

The Desert Mobile Force was heavily manned by the southern Trans-Jordan Bedouin tribesmen, especially from the Howaitat, until World War II. At that time more of the northern Jordanian Bedouin tribesmen began to join the legion. Jureidini explains this phenomenon in *Jordan: the Impact of the Social Change on the Role of the Tribes*.

First, most of the force's work was in the south where more inter-tribal conflict arose. Second, it was a desert force and the northern tribes were more settled. Third, the principal external threat through any desert area was in the south from the Wahhabi tribes. Finally, and perhaps most important, northern tribes were more considered loyal to Syria rather than to Trans-Jordan (1984, p. 82).

In addition to military recruitment of the Bedouin youth, King Abdullah believed in education as a mechanism of change. Illiteracy was common among the Bedouins due to the Ottoman's educational policy. They aimed to have the population within their regional rule as illiterate as possible so they could be easily controlled. Once stability and security in the desert had been achieved, Abdullah's government attempted to increase literacy. As a result of the Bedouins' mobile lifestyle, their children were unable to go to school. This motivated the British to coordinate with the Mobile Desert Force to introduce mobile schools that would facilitate the Bedouin children's continued learning on parts of their migrations. For a greater integration of the Bedouins, Abdullah's government also proposed a specific plan for the creation of a number of watering centres along the valleys of Wadi Rum. This was meant to attract nomadic Bedouins to settle around them and to be involved in agricultural activities. As they believed that this involvement would have a great impact on the Bedouins' settlement, the government of Trans-Jordan subsidized the agricultural endeavours of the Howaitat in 1935 with a contribution of £900 to each family, as an incentive for the Bedouin to settle (Epstein, 1938, p. 234).

With all the efforts discussed above, over the years, Jordanian authorities observed that tribal loyalties were much more powerful than loyalties to the state. Since the 1920s, to enforce the Bedouins loyalty to the state, the Trans-Jordan government began to

regularize and codify the Bedouins. In 1929, they initiated the first legislative attempts at control over the tribes with the Bedouin Control Law.

Since 1946, authorities have worked hard to absorb the power of the independent tribes, especially the Howaitat, who “initially were defiant, refused to pay taxes and pay allegiance to the new government” (Fathi, 1994, p. 91). In the 1950s, with the steady increase in law and order over the desert, the role played by the army shifted towards the creation of more stability in the areas occupied by the Bedouins. Army recruitment of Bedouin youth, which started in the early 1920s, made the Bedouins become an increasingly prominent element of the Jordanian army. It was Glubb who managed to achieve a degree of cooperation between the Bedouins and the centralized authority.

Glubb was “meticulous in his plans for the production of a new model of Arabs...the military is most important nationalist institution within the confines of the nation-state...its symbols and its ideology are so suffused with nationalism that they cannot be conceived without it” (Massad, 2001, p. 101). In this process, the matter of military clothing was of a great importance.

Change of (local) clothing signifies that the wearer has abandoned his sentimental attachment to the past...in the military sphere the wearing of European clothes become even more ridiculous... The uniform was cut in the same manner as their ordinary dress, long robes reaching almost to the ground and long white sleeves, but the outer garment was khaki in colour. With a red sash, a red revolver lanyard, a belt and bandolier full of ammunition, and a silver dagger in the belt, the effect was impressive. Soon the Arab clothing, being loose and voluminous, if supplemented by an Arab sheepskin cloak, is ideal for sleeping out on the ground in any weather (Glubb, 1948, p. 93).

In addition to clothes, Glubb attended to the Bedouins' physical appearance. At that time, among the Howaitat, hair was a sign of strength and beauty, not only for women, but also for men. The Howaitat tribesmen used to allow their hair to grow to its maximum length. They used to wash it with camel's urine, which acts as a disinfectant and makes the hair soft, but smelly. Sometimes, the hair hangs loose in curls on their shoulders. At first,

Glubb did not oppose it. Rather than forcing them to cut their hair, which might cause a rebellion, he insisted that they wash it every morning. It was only a matter of time until they saw the advantages of short hair, and adopted that style.

Following the period from 1941 to 1943, “the dress of all fighting units was changed to European clothing, as this was seen as more appropriate for battle conditions. This (change of clothing) coincided with the transformation of the Arab Legion from a police force into a full-fledged army” (Massad, 2001, p. 101). Here, it is important to note that the Bedouins who joined the Arab Legion lived in garrison towns with their families. They had experienced settled life and urban spatial organization long before the first governmental attempts to settle them in permanent settlements.

Although the Desert Mobile Force introduced a degree of stability within the Bedouins’ territories, inter-tribal conflicts continued to be a common practice. Furthermore, Jordan’s tribes, as did other tribes in the surrounding states, continued to enter the territory of other states, raiding other tribes, and moving on. As a result, authorities adopted plans and procedures to settle their nomadic population, sometimes forcibly. As a result, by the early 1960s, a sizable portion of the Bedouin population was settled or was in the process of settlement. According to Kamel Abu Jaber and Fawzi Gharaibeh (1981), “the spread of authority of the national government and the steady increase in law and order over the desert areas, coupled with successive government efforts at resettlement, education and urbanisation, caused Bedouin influence and power to wane, and many turned to other styles of life” (p. 213).

2. The Formal Sedentarization Process:

Several characteristics mark this stage of the sedentarization process of the southern Jordan Bedouins. The process was accelerated during the 1960s, when authorities continued their efforts to alter the Bedouins’ behaviour, particularly through detribalization, through which the “individual’s sense of personal identification and living patterns decline” (Jureidini, 1984, p. 4). The strength of these regularizing efforts was largely promoted by the Bedouins’ elites. The personal contacts between the monarchy

and other government agencies with numerous leading tribal families, was very influential in implementing the following processes.

1. The Development of New Forms of Supra-Tribal Administration:

The Jordanian government realized that the Bedouins taking orders from their tribal sheikhs were much more acceptable than taking orders from any outside authority. By delegating the sheikhs, while giving them personal incentives with certain powers, lead tribal heads to become a tool of the Jordanian government. As these tribal leaders became more and more unable to act as a camouflaged means for manipulating the Bedouins, the government realized that a change within the Bedouins' political system was inevitable. The methodology that the government adopted at this stage was the encapsulation of the Bedouins' political structure. Fredrick Bailey, in *Stratagems and Spoils: a Social Anthropology of Politics* states that "all instances of encapsulation share the characteristic feature that one political structure engulfs another, smaller one" (1969, pp. 147-148). According to Bailey there are three types of encapsulation. First is the simple enclosure within the boundaries of the larger structure which does not and cannot interfere with the boundaries of the smaller. Second is the enclosure with predation, the encapsulating structure interfering only as necessary to ensure the continued outflow of some resources. Third is the enclosure with the policy that the subordinate structure must be assimilated. Joseph Hiatt (1981), while discussing the Jordanian state formation and the encapsulation of nomads, added a fourth category. According to Hiatt's thesis, it is the enclosure with interference, resulting in changes within the smaller structure but no extraction of resources from it (1981, p. 1).

By the beginning of the 1960s, the situation had changed. Although sheikhs are inter-tribally selected, they have to be confirmed by the authorities to officially act as tribal leaders. By this recognition, sheikhs were considered the main channels between authorities and tribesmen. Sheiks are suitable for this role, since they can claim a position of superiority and hence a corresponding measure of influence over the fate of the community. Later, the Jordanian government realized that this leadership model helped maintain the Bedouins' solidarity, and therefore should be changed. To challenge this

superiority, in the late 1960s, the government realized that a new form of tribal leadership was required. It started with the introduction of a new position known as *Mukhtar*, literally meaning the selected person. The *mukhtar's* position was to be filled by a member of the tribe and approved by the authority. The *Mukhtar* acts in a clerical capacity. He is in charge of registering births, deaths, marriages and divorces. In addition, he is responsible for registering and checking all eligible voters in his tribe for the national election. In this sense, the position was founded to facilitate government's communication with the Bedouin population. By the late 1970s, as the government's administrative needs increased, the registry function of *Mukhtar* was given to the Department of Civil Affairs. At the same time, a municipal position *Rais Al-Baladiyah* (mayor) appeared to reinforce the replacement of the sheikh and *mukhtar* as contacts with the Bedouins.

To avoid any conflict with the tribal sheiks, who desired to maintain their positions and image, in 1972 the Jordanian government established the council of tribal sheiks. It was composed of 12-15 heads of Jordanian Bedouin tribes. The council was "entrusted with the tasks of recommending to authorities programs and actions concerning tribal affairs such as: administrative, justice, health, economic, agriculture, education and social services" (Abu Jaber and Gharaibeh, 1981, p. 297). The council was dissolved in the beginning of 1973.

According to Abu Jaber and Gharaibeh, several factors were responsible for the "ill fate of the council" (1981, p. 297). First, the few tribes who were not represented in the council considered the way that the government neglected them to be insulting. Second, the younger and more enlightened Bedouins felt that the council composed exclusively of Bedouins would ultimately isolate them from the larger Jordanian society. They felt that the tribal heads benefited at the expense of the other members of the tribe. They improved their material lot, and educated their children at urban schools. They lost touch with their tribes, and lost most of their credibility, a fact which caused a further weakening of the tribal structure.

To ensure the continuity of communication between the tribesmen and authorities, the government realized the importance of developing a new form of communication. In this regard, authorities understood that the concept of power in the tribal sense is ideologically legitimized through patrilineal descent. They realized that the tribal elite could act as mediators between authorities and tribes. Authorities used the vagueness of this concept to give themselves the flexibility to replace the mediators as the government's plans changed.

2. Measures Towards Dismantling the Bedouins' Solidarity:

The successive Jordanian governments, advised by some anthropological studies, realized that individualism is one of the signature characteristics of modern societies. These studies based their conclusions on Ibn Khaldun's thesis that there is a tendency for mass urban societies to break down when the social solidarity characteristic of tribal societies disappears. To promote individuality among the Bedouins, education and mass media were the tools that the governments effectively used to affect the Bedouins' solidarity.

3. Measures Towards Education:

The system of education was another way in which the process of sedentarization was enforced. Before the establishment of the Ministry of Education, military education played its role through the existence of police stations located throughout the desert. In the beginning of the 1960s, the Jordanian government introduced a Compulsory Education Law, which mandated that all Jordanian children attend school for at least ten years. In 1963, King Talal Elementary School was established in Wadi Rum. The school "continues to build the Jordanian character among the children and to provide them with sciences and faith to be able to interact positively with the modern life" (Military Education Department, 2004).

4. Official Measures Adopted Toward Land Ownership:

Historically, Bedouin tribes have considered themselves collective owners of their grazing grounds. These rights were respected for centuries, but were never documented on paper. As a result of their customary law (*urf*), the idea prevailed that land lies outside

the commercial transactions, as it is regarded as a property of the tribe rather than its members. The first change in ownership ideology came in 1858, when the Ottomans introduced the 1856 Land Law. Until the end of the 1940s, this law was the basis of land ownership in Trans-Jordan. It is characterized by its divisions of land into the following categories: (Wareiner, 1948, p. 16)

1. State land, *miri*: suitable for agricultural use where the ultimate owner is the state but the usufruct belongs, in most cases, to individuals. The codification of *miri* land in Ottoman times was often read as an attempt to centralize power against the large landlords and tribal groups by establishing individual rights for a large number of small individual cultivators.
2. Public land, *waqf*: reserved and immobilized, for some public charitable purpose, and usually leased, as it was in the past.
3. So-called dead, *mawat*: mainly used for grazing under common property regimes, and often a grey area with political undertones. Occasionally, individuals or tribal groups try to obtain title with varying results.
4. So-called abandoned, *Matruka* land: land reserved for some public purpose.

This law was carefully designed to increase the Ottoman Empire's control over its population; especially the Bedouins who did not pay respect to its central government in their regions. According to the law, if sixty percent or more of a certain area cannot be cultivated, then the entire area belongs to the state as *miri* land. In the beginning of the 1940s, the British mandate offered the Bedouins the opportunity of ownership subject to registration in the Land Registry Office. Accordingly, those who failed to register out of ignorance or for fear of having to pay taxes eventually lost their ownership of any land they had not claimed.

Currently, the Jordanian legislation on land tenure is derived mainly from the Ottoman Land Law of 1856, with changes drawn from Western European civil codes. It classified land, from the tenure point of view, as either state land, *waqf*, private or communal land. In Jordan, communal land is known as *musha'*, which literally means shared or multiple-ownership. It is the custom of re-allotting land in unequal shares, to which a customary

right of ownership is attached. Communal owners of this type can use it for pastoral activities and cultivation, in which it can be inherited, but cannot be officially divided among them into defined lots. The *musha'* system of ownership is a carry-over from the Bedouins' tribal organization. This system that reflects group solidarity contradicted the Jordanian governments' objectives to get its Bedouin population settled. Accordingly, they proposed a more official measure which contributed to a change in the Bedouins' attitude towards sedentary life. By the early 1950s, authorities proposed a policy of land survey and title reform that had a dual purpose. Firstly, it aimed at clearing up the confusing land tenure system remnant from the Ottoman Empire. This was achieved by forming a progressive subdivision of the commonly owned land by the Bedouins. The process of subdivision of land occurred, mainly, within the *musha'* ownership system. Secondly, it aimed at taking stock of the new country's agricultural land. The second goal was of crucial importance since the British aimed at establishing an agricultural tax base that would reduce the British subsidies to Trans-Jordan government at that time.

To achieve more control on the *musha'* system, the tribal sheikhs were given the authority to proceed in progressive subdivisions of the tribal land and registration of plots in the names of their tribe members. The Tawayha tribe of Howaitat, who were living at the fringes of the desert, benefited from this system and later became landlords.

The 1960s was a period of strenuous government land reform. It involved the complete seizure of common tribal land and the confiscation of the large tracts of land owned by the Bedouins' tribal leaders. The British-conceived Jordanian land program of 1965 was designed to "secure the rights of the country's small-scale cultivators according to European vision of land management" (Fischbach, 2000, p. 211). In this sense, the land policies were instrumental; they linked the state with the settled society's growing needs to secure individual property rights at the expense of the collective rural and Bedouin rights. Its chief result has been the abolishment of the *mawat* and *musha'* customs, "the state also derives positive advantages from land settlement...there can no longer be any evasion of the law on the grounds of uncertain ownership and ill-defined boundaries" (Walpole, 1947, p. 65).

5. Settlement Projects:

The 1960s was the period when the Jordanian government took a more active role and made visible efforts towards settling members of southern Jordan Bedouin tribes. These efforts resulted in the following:

1. The Development of Nation-Wide Infrastructures:

The efforts started with the construction of three major highway systems. The first is the 450 kilometres long Desert Highway (Kings Highway) that runs North-South. The second is a system of highway that runs East-West to connect the Kings Highway with the Iraqi-Saudi-Jordanian borderlines to reach the locations of the main concentrations of Bedouins tribes. The third system is a secondary network of rural highways connecting the main highways with previously inaccessible areas. The impact of these highways is tremendous. They connect the Bedouins with urban centres, which offer them greater employment opportunities. In addition, the construction of schools, small-scale hospitals at the fringes of the desert, makes it possible for the Bedouins of southern Jordan to be integrated with the cultural life styles as well as the state's economy in modern Jordan.

2. Land Distribution Measures:

In Jordan, the so-called marginal land that lies at the fringes of the desert is *miri* land. The government granted parts of this marginal land to the loyalist tribal members. This measure was specifically designed to reduce the power of the Bedouins' traditional leaderships, as well as the creation of a new form of flexible leadership which can be changed as the government's demands change.

3. The Provision of Agricultural Projects:

Alongside the construction of rural highways, authorities provided agricultural projects that are largely involved in simple irrigated farming of re-claimed land. These projects are to be turned over to the Bedouin families after their initial phase. The acceptance of some of the Howaitat's tribes, such as the Tawayha, to permit experimental cultivation in their territories, was of a considerable impact on their relation to their traditional tribal land. In these projects, authorities closely supervised

the tenants without providing proper training in cultivation and management. This made most of them dependant on government help because they were totally lost when the land titles were transferred into their names.

An example of these agricultural projects is a pilot project in Jafr, located in the south-eastern desert of southern Jordan, nearly 256 kilometres South of Amman. During the Pleistocene, Jafr was a basin that was filled with enormous freshwater lakes; by the early 1960s, it was one of the most arid places in the Middle East. The project's tenants were selected from the Howaitat's tribes living around the project areas. As part of the project's incentive, the government permitted the digging of artesian wells, using motorized pumps. Although this appears to be a good incentive, it had various negative consequences. As a result of the availability of water and the large capacity of the pumps, some of the Bedouins began using the water for commercial purposes. They started selling the water in tanks to the remote Bedouin camel herders. The ground water-table has subsided rapidly, increasing salinity and pollution due to intensive agricultural practices.

4. The Provision of Settlement Projects:

In the early 1970s, the Jafr Agricultural Project was expanded to include a housing component. Many of the low-cost housing clusters were constructed on some of the old camping spots inhabited by the Howaitat. As claimed by the settlement's planners, the reason behind the choice of these housing projects' locations was to invest in the Bedouin familiarity with these spots as an extra incentive for settlement. To assist the settlement, the government provided a small-scale health centre, school and post office. Houses were constructed in parallel rows on both sides of unpaved paths. Each unit averaged sixty square meters of one or two rooms, a kitchen and a toilet. Some of these households were provided with small walled-in yards. Although the houses were constructed on sites that the Bedouins used to live in, the move from their traditional tents to concrete houses represented a radical change. As these households were built within compact proximities, its users found that the new settlement did not respect the Bedouins' territoriality. Here, it is essential to

emphasize that the Bedouins' perception of the concept of territoriality matches Gold's definition. In *Territoriality and Human Spatial Behaviour*, he defines territoriality as "any form of behaviour displayed by individuals and groups to establish, maintain or defend specific bounded portion of space" (1982, p. 44).

The Bedouins classify the concept of territoriality into the following: first, is the attached territory, which refers to the personal space; the second type is the central territory - immediate, highly personalized living spaces, such as home, room and work places. Third is the supporting territory, which represents the semi-private or semi-public areas, such as the front yards in front of homes. The final type is the peripheral territory, which refers to public spaces such as sidewalks, streets and public gathering spaces. These settlement projects have neglected the socio-economic aspects of their user's lives. The project's users were excellent at herding, but lacked the agricultural skills. The project put them at a new threshold; they tasted the easy settled life and did not want to go back to herding. As a result, numerous of the tenants have left the agricultural project and sought work in the nearest urban centres.

CHAPTER FOUR

Chapter Four:

The Field Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction:

While the literature review formed a reference base for the field research, its findings were undertaken as a primary data source, upon which the remainder of this study was built. The main objective of the field research was to uncover some issues related to the southern Jordan Bedouins' sedentarization process. Its aim was to lay a foundation upon which a better understanding about their settlement might be obtained. This part of the study focuses on the background of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, and describes the methodology adopted for the actual field research.

4.2 Research Duration

To meet the research objectives, the fieldwork was undertaken during the period of June-November 2004. The study was divided into three phases:

1. Basic data collection:

Two weeks in Amman, the capital of Jordan. It included collecting basic data about the area under study, relevant literature and publications. It also included discussions with officials and professionals engaged in the field of the southern Jordan Bedouins' sedentarization process.

2. The physical survey:

Fieldwork in southern Jordan consisted of:

- 2.1. One week in Aqaba, the administrative centre for the area under study, collecting basic information about the area's population and its current and future development plans.

- 2.2. Seventeen weeks living in Wadi Rum, the area of investigation.

3. The revising phase.

In the third and the nineteenth week, I made successive trips between Aqaba, Amman, Wadi Rum and Rum Village to ensure that all required information had been collected.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1																				
2																				
3																				
4																				

1: Amman 2: Aqaba-Wadi Rum 3: Wadi Rum 4: Amman - Wadi Rum

Table (4.1): The fieldwork time schedule

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

4.3 Choice of Locale:

To avoid generalization, the fieldwork was conducted in a particular cultural context, that of southern Jordan. Observations and comments are confined to the Zalabia and Swelhiyeen tribes of the Howaitat confederation residing in Wadi Rum. This serves dual functions: first, the many sided problem of evaluating tribal differences is avoided. Second, such a concentration serves as a firm foundation for future ethnological studies of the Bedouins. In addition to the researcher's personal interest in nomadic people, several factors helpful to the study were taken into consideration for the choice of the locale:

1. The Howaitat confederation is the largest group of nomads in southern Jordan. They have retained many traditions of the nomadic way of life. The Zalabia and Swelhiyeen, as fractions of Howaitat living in Wadi Rum, are still depending on a kind of mixed economy. In addition to camel herding, they are involved in agricultural and tourism-based activities.
2. The Howaitat possess a traceable history through books, articles and many travellers' and mountaineers' reports.

3. The Zalabia and Swelhiyeen are the main targets of the government's sedentarization policy. According to the government's five-year development plan currently underway until 2009, and the next set for 2009-2013, both tribes will be subject to relocation out of Rum Village to settle outside the tourists' area (Ministry of Planning, 2004).
4. As a native of the country, I would have many advantages that would increase the successful collection of data about Wadi Rum and its Bedouin population: knowledge of the language, possessing the Bedouins accent, familiarity with their cultural background, access to relevant Jordanian as well as Bedouin literature, and professional contacts in the field of sedentarization.
5. Participating in day-to-day tribal affairs and entering private homes to conduct interviews in a conservative society is not an easy task without proper introductions and credentials. As I am related to the Howaitat tribe through marriage, this did not prove to be a hindrance.

4.4 The Research Site:

Literature on the area under study uses terms such as Rum Region, Wadi Rum, Rum's Protected Area and Rum's Natural Reserve. These terms are used interchangeably in a confusing manner. To avoid confusion, this research uses these terms in a particular way that reflects concepts that follow a certain sequential pattern, in which the definition of the larger site comes first. The following definitions will be employed in describing the areas where the research was conducted:

1. **Rum Region:**

It is part of the Hisma basin described by geography text books as a vast depression from the border of Saudi Arabia to the south of Petra basin. It is located south-west of Jordan, north-east of Aqaba. The area is defined by the coordinates 173.8-198.05E and 879.95-906.75N on the Palestine Belt Grid (PBG) (Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2001).

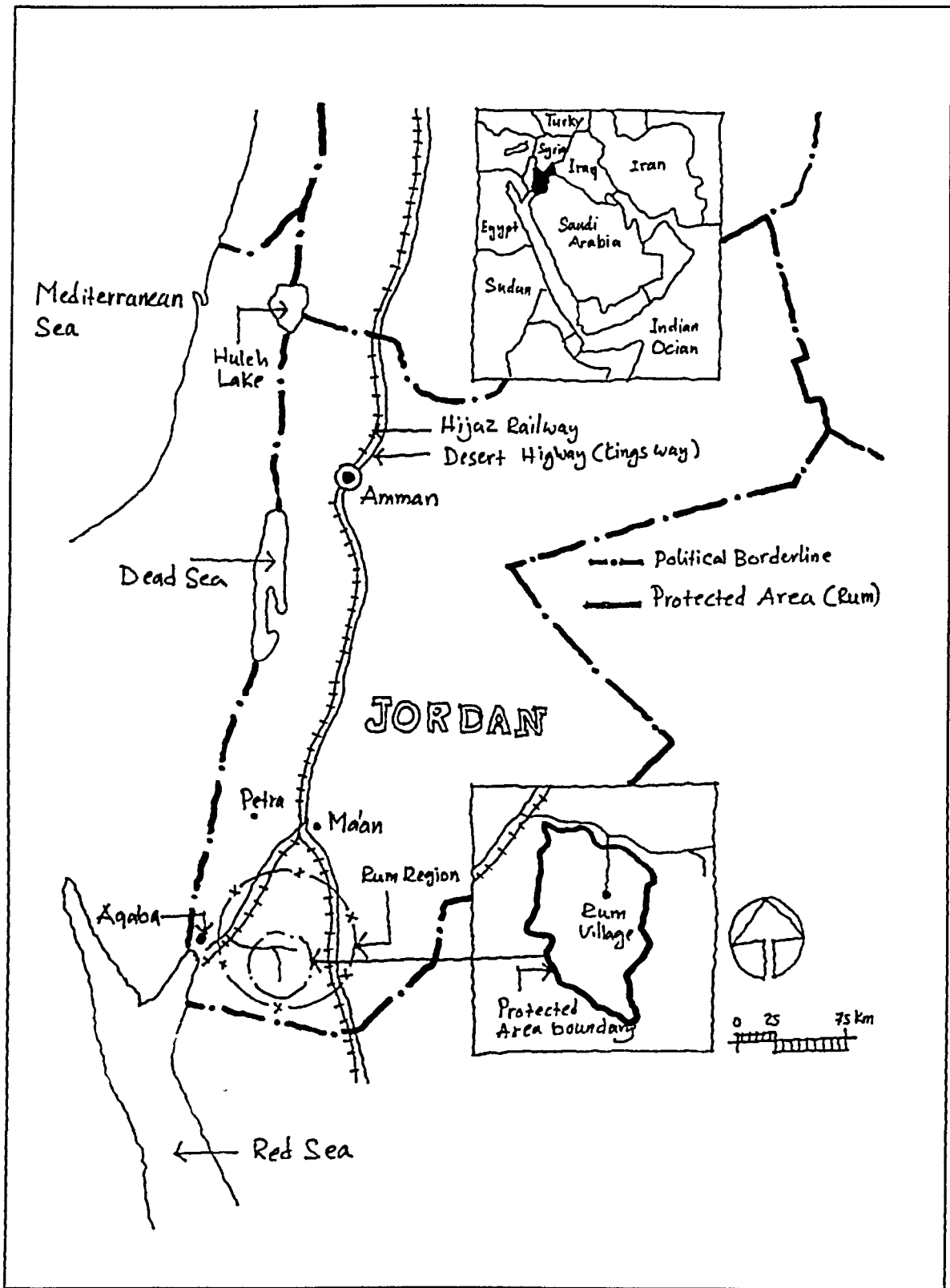


Figure (4.1): The location map of Jordan, Rum Region and Rum Protected Area.

Source: The Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004.

The region lies in the Sudanian bio-geographical region, which is characterized by warm winters and very hot summers. The maximum temperature recorded in the daytime in summer reached 45° Celsius. The lowest temperature recorded at night reached 5° Celsius, and might reach slightly below zero in winter. Most of the region is characterized by rangelands which are not fit for sedentary agriculture, due to the low rainfall that varies between 50 to 100 mm per year. Rainfall generally occurs between October and April with a peak between December and February.

The area is also characterized by fluctuation in rainfall between one year and another and even within the same season. It is called Sudanian because it has some physical and biological characteristics similar to those of tropical areas. The region's land is associated with great aridity. Its deserts are broad expanses of sand and dunes that support only meager and stunted vegetation life that thrives for a short period after the scanty winter rains.



Figure (4.2): Showing the natural landscape in Rum Region.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2004.

The main route to Rum Region branches out east of the Amman – Aqaba Desert Highway. It travels about 300 kilometres south of Amman and about 25 kilometres north of Aqaba. From there, the road extends about 10 kilometres through the desert to reach the Shakriyya intersection, then it branches right to end at Rum Village.

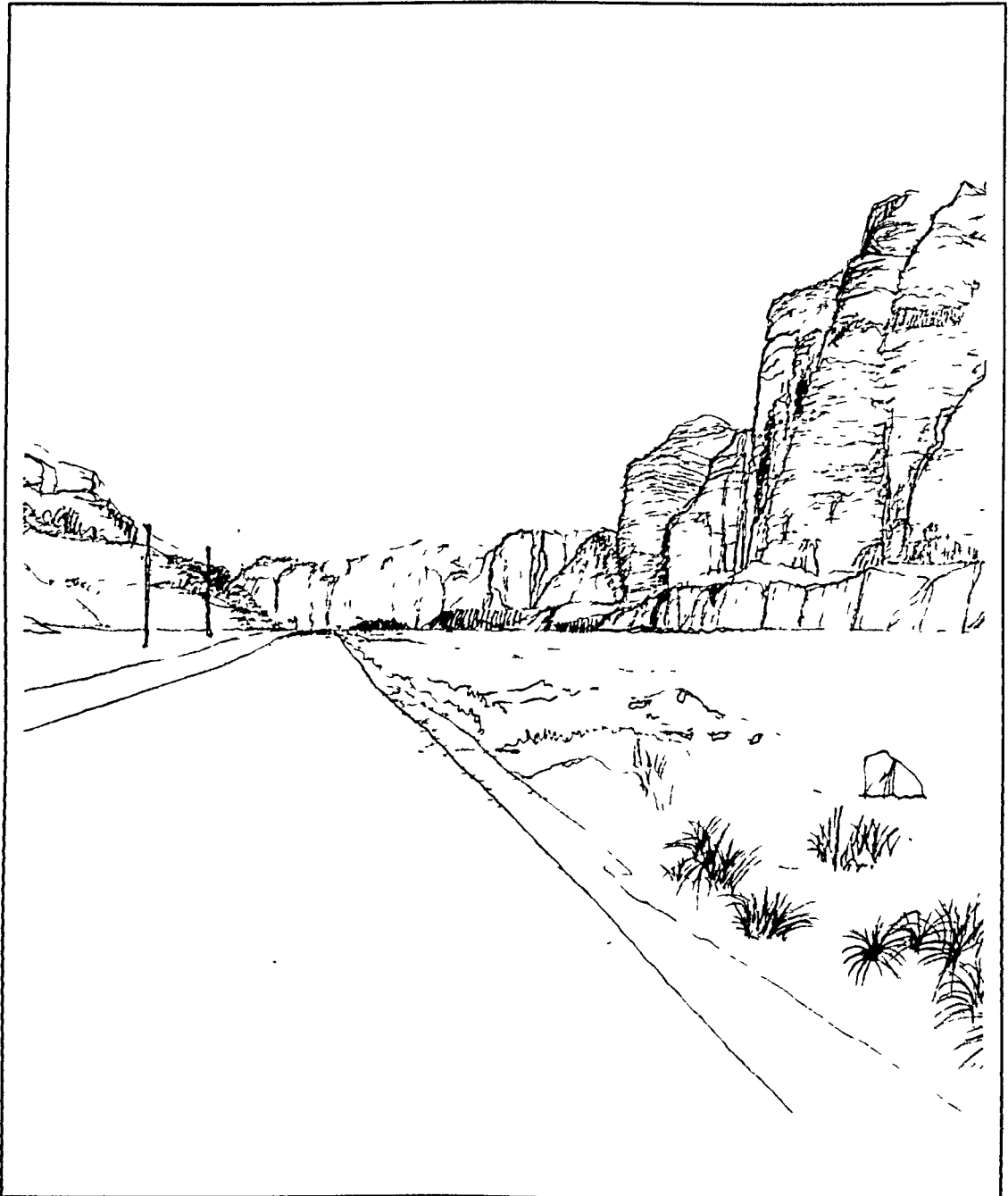


Figure (4.3): The Rural Highway that branches east off the Desert Highway.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

2. Rum Protected Area:

Because of the region's environmental fragility, a 1978 ecological mission to the Kingdom recommended Rum Region for inclusion in a network of protected areas. At present, there are six nature reserves in Jordan, organized and managed by the Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature (RSCN): the Shaumari (1975), Rum (1978), the Azraq Wetlands (1978), the Mujib (1987), the Ajloun Forest in north –West Jordan (1988) and the Dana Reserve (1993).

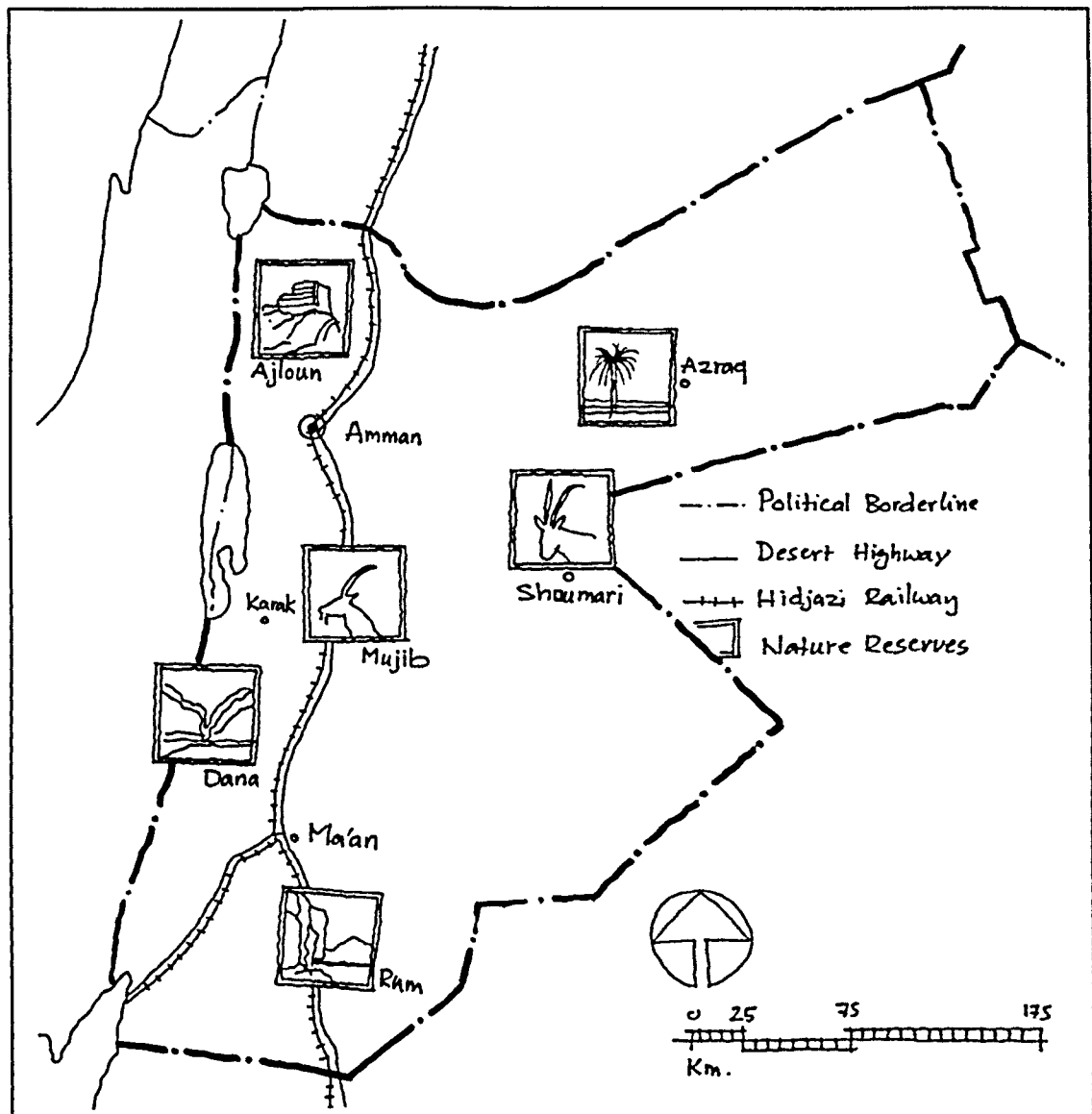


Figure (4.4): Location map of Jordan's nature reserves.

Source: The Royal Society of the Conservation of Nature, 2004.

Rum Reserve is officially called Wadi Rum Protected Area. It represents an area of 720 square kilometers and was established to protect the desert's plants, animals and archaeological sites. While reasoning the establishment of the protected area, the Jordanian government claims that the area "holds plants both rare and endemic to its ecosystem. It also holds the Gray Wolf, Bland ford's Fox, the Sand Cat and the Ibex. Additionally, the site is an ideal area for bird watching with its 120-recorded species...Overgrazing is destroying rare plants so that the goats and camels must be reduced in number and/or put in fenced compounds" (RSCN, 2000).

The Protected Area has an unfenced borderline. It is bordered on the north by the Rural Highway that connects Wadi rum region with the Desert Highway. Off the Rural Highway, Wadi Rum's protected area borderline extends along Wadi Um Mahraqq (north-east), Wadi Fura'a (south-east), Jabal (mountain) Fura'a (south), Wadi Sabet (south), Wadi Waraq (south-west), Wadi Um Yutim El-Emran, Wadi Marsad (west) and Jabal Marsad from the north-west.

Currently, there are two main official access points serving Wadi Rum's Protected Area. The first access point is located on the northern borderline, about 10 kilometers east off the Desert Highway. It is the most frequently used access point, accounting for over 80 percent of visitors' traffic. It leads to a large Visitor Centre, which is currently acting as the only gateway to the Protected Area. The centre is located 7 kilometers north of Rum Village. The second entry point is also located on the northern boundary of the Protected Area near Dici Village, which lies 28 km east of the Desert Highway. Both access points are served by roads linked directly to the main highway.

Here it is important to note that Rum Region is inhabited by seven fractions of the Howaitat confederation, which are living in villages and encampments. Rum Village is the only settlement that exists within the boundaries of Wadi Rum's protected area. The other settlements are lined along and outside the northern borderline of the Protected Area. These villages are: Shakriyya, Salhiyya, Dici, Tuweiseh and Mansheer.

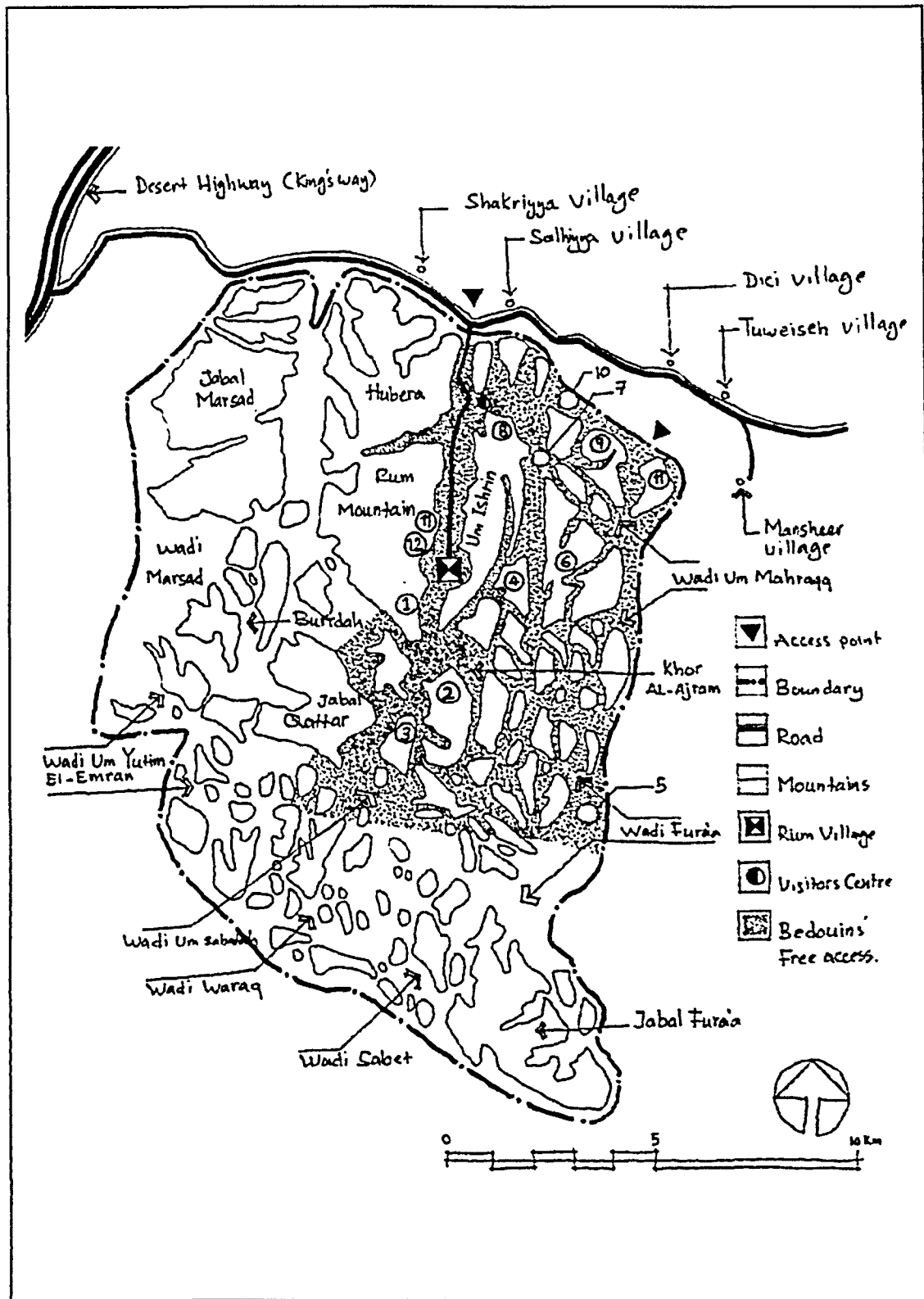


Figure (4.5): Rum Protected Area map, showing the villages and archaeological sites.
Source: The Royal Society of the Conservation of Nature, 2004.



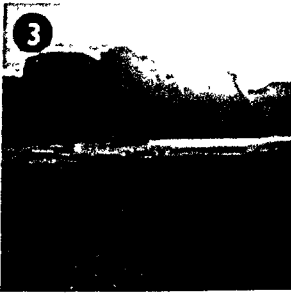

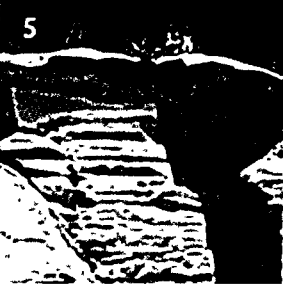

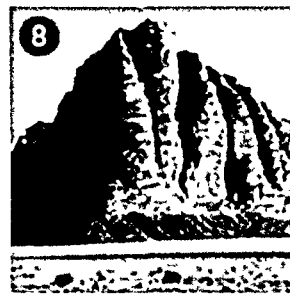
 <p>Lawrence well: where Lawrence of Arabia reputedly washed during the Arab Revolt.</p>	 <p>Khaz'ali canyon: deep, narrow fissure in the mountain side, containing rock inscriptions</p>
 <p>Sunset sites: the site provides the most dramatic views of Wadi Rum, as the sun sinks below the horizon.</p>	 <p>Sand dunes: large area of sand dunes piled up against the mountains. Fun to climb to the top.</p>
 <p>Rock bridge: spectacular natural rock arch, with great views</p>	 <p>Burrah canyon: long and deep canyon created between the dramatic mountains.</p>

Figure (4.6): Some of the attractions within the Protected Area boundaries.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004.



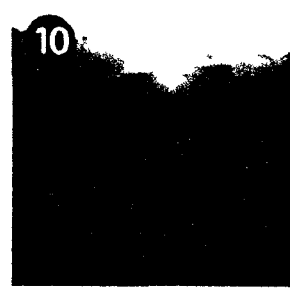
Alameleh Inscriptions: ancient rock drawings, showing camels and wildlife.



Seven Pillars of Wisdom: famous landmark, named after the book *Lawrence of Arabia*.



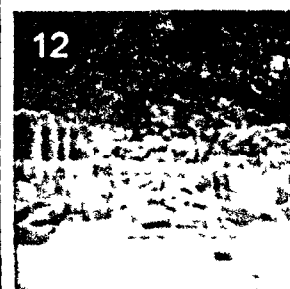
Siq Um Tawaqi: short canyon containing a carving of the head of T. E. Lawrence.



Al Ghoroub: the site offers a spectacular sunsets scenery.



Anfashieh inscriptions: the site has numerous Thamudic and Nabatean inscriptions.



Nabatean Temple: was built by the Nabateans on the ruins of Allat temple of the A'ad tribe.

Figure (4.7): Some of the attractions within the Protected Area boundaries.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004.

3. Wadi Rum:

Wadi is the Arabic word for valley, which is usually a shallow, sharply defined depression. Defining the area of Wadi Rum is complex. This study found that Wadi Rum has a number of definitions that vary according to the different group's interests, particularly where tourism is a concern. These varying definitions are described as the following:

- 3.1. Scholars, such as archaeologists, historians and environmentalists perceive Wadi Rum as a small portion of the Protected Area. It is the valley that cuts into the sandstone rocks that form Um Ishrin and Rum Mountains. The same definition is applied by Mountaineers and travellers.
- 3.2. Jordanian government does not distinguish between Wadi Rum and the Protected Area where most of the tourists' attractions are located. This allows the government to regulate the activities related to tourism and control the actions of the various parties involved.
- 3.3. The Bedouins' perception of Wadi Rum varies according to their geographical location, in reference to the boundaries of the Protected Area.
 - 3.3.1. Bedouins who are living within the boundaries of the Protected Area define Wadi Rum in a way that can be considered as a compromise between the scholars' and government's definitions. For them, Wadi Rum is the valley that is bounded by Um Ishrin, Hubera and Rum Mountains, and extends south to end at Wadi Um Sabatah.
 - 3.3.2. Bedouins, who are living outside the boundaries of the Protected Area, perceive Wadi Rum as synonymous to the definition of Rum Region. This terminology ensures their rights to income generated by tourism even when the areas they inhabit have less tourist attractions.

4. Rum Village:

Rum village is the only settlement found within the boundaries of the Protected Area. It is located below the steeply rising cliffs of Rum Mountain. The village is inhabited by the settled and semi-settled portions of Zalabia and Swelhiyeen tribes.

To avoid confusion, the definition of the Bedouins living within the boundaries of the protected Area, was adopted for the purpose of this study (fig.2.9). To obtain insightful and detailed descriptions about the southern Jordan Bedouins' social, cultural, political and spatial aspects of life, it was necessary to conduct field research in different settlements that represent the Bedouins' various socio-economic stages of development. Therefore, Um Sabatah and Khor Al-Ajram encampments (nomadic and semi-nomadic) and Rum Village (semi-settled and settled) were selected as research sites.

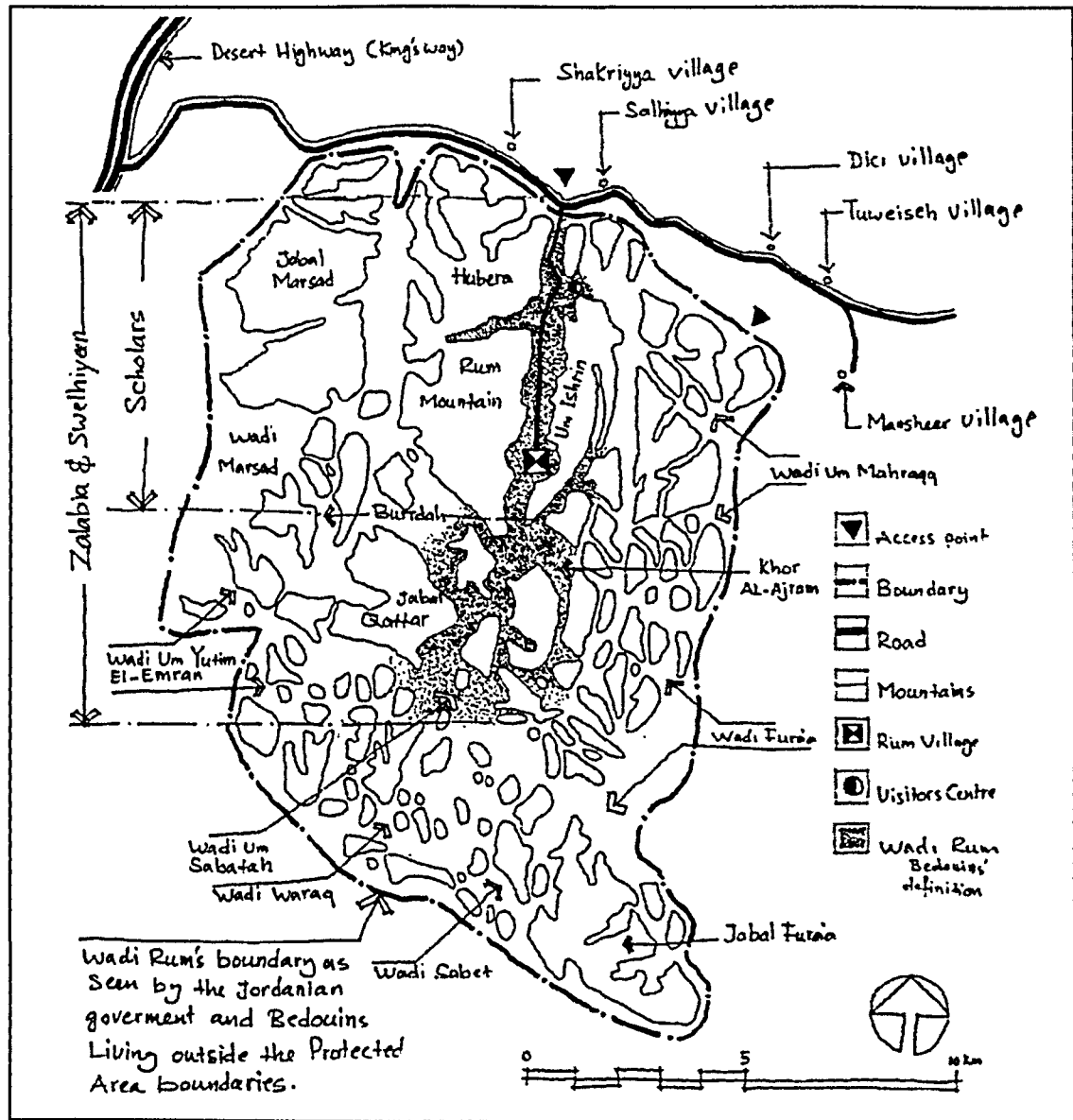


Fig (4.8): Map showing Wadi Rum's definitions and the research sites.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

4.5 Research Techniques:

As this fieldwork focuses on how the Bedouins socio-culturally construct the spaces in which they live, its methodology involved a variety of research techniques. In many cases, these research techniques might be used in a variety of combinations, in a way to supplement each other. To gather the needed data on different aspects of the way people live and how they handle their built environment, the following research techniques were used to carry out the fieldwork:

1. The use of Informants:

The need for oriented information necessitated the involvement of informants in all the fieldwork phases. The role of the informants was of a diverse nature that varied from local governmental institutions and organizations to the local people inhabiting the area under study.

- 1.1. Official Informants: collecting basic data

The first stage of the study aimed at establishing the needed contacts with professionals of different disciplines related to the research topic. Establishing the contacts made it possible to collect the relevant literature about the sedentarization process of the southern Jordan Bedouins. The following institutions served as the study's formal informants: Ministry of Public Work and Housing (MPWH), Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MTA), Ministry of Planning (MP), Ministry of Rural and Municipal Affairs (MRMA), Ministry of Social Development (MSD), Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA), Department of General Statistics, Department of Land and Survey, the Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre (RJGC), Department of Education of the Jordanian Armed Forces, Jordanian Board of Tourism (JBT) and Rum Tourism Co-Operative (RTC).

Due to the fact that the area under study is administered by Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA), I met its officials with the intent of acquiring the most relevant and accurate information available. A breakthrough occurred when I realized that the individual responsible for managing of the Wadi

Rum file was an architect whom I had worked with for some years in one of Jordan's architectural offices. After providing the basic information about the area and its development plans, architect Ahmad Jabri suggested a site visit to present ASEZA's projects in Wadi Rum. I explained to him that the Bedouins might not feel comfortable to see us arriving together as they are sensitive towards officials. Mr. Jabri showed understanding that this might indeed affect the level of trust I hoped to build with Bedouins of Wadi Rum. A meeting was then held with Mr. Mahmoud Bedour, who supervised the environmental concerns in Rum Region. Mr. Bedour, in his turn, gave a very detailed presentation about the area's population and developmental plans.

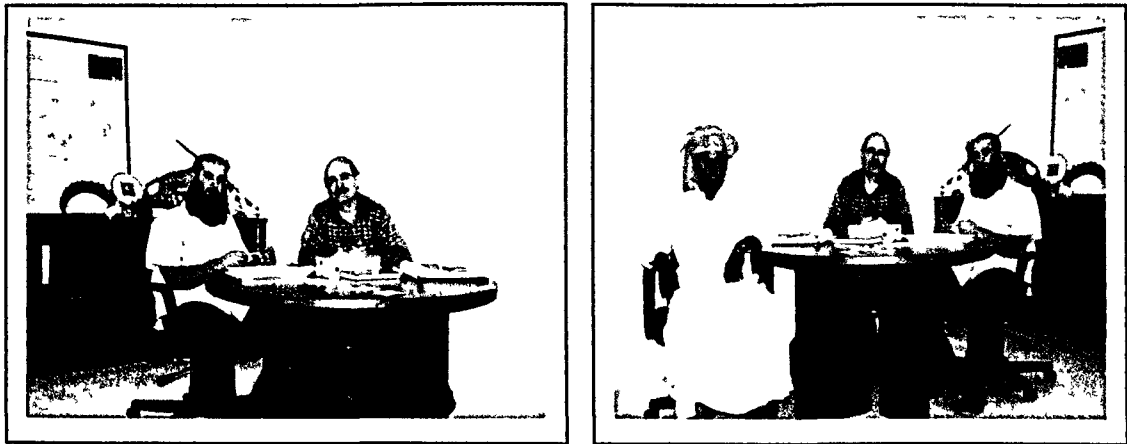


Fig (4.9): Images show my meetings with Mr. Mahmoud Bedour, one of the officials in Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

1.2. The Local Informants: the first social sketch

From Canada, prior to my fieldwork trip to Jordan, phone and electronic mail contacts were made with some of Rum's local people whom I knew since the mid 1980s. After my arrival in Amman, the capital of Jordan, in the first of June 2004, these initial contacts were followed up by phone calls to arrange for the field work. On the morning of June 14th, 2004, the first site visit took place. As a result of the highly structured social organisation that characterised the people of the area under study, the approach to this type of community required a process of careful and discerning relationship building. Daifallah Atieq Zalabia, a well

known and well respected person among his people, proved to be a key person in helping to arrange for all the visits and interviews in the area of study. To maintain trusting and positive relationships with the people, the tribal leaders were approached to act as key informants. This approach enabled me to cross-reference this information with the official point of view.



Fig (4.10): Images show my meetings with locals of Wadi Rum.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Prior to the first visit to Wadi Rum, I was aware that the Bedouins' family domain is really difficult to access without female company. Jumana, a fifth year student of architecture at University of Jordan, volunteered to join as a research assistant to provide the needed accessibility. Daifallah offered to accommodate the research team in his house, as he did before with Erga Montgomery, a 65 years old American tourist who came to visit Wadi Rum. After spending some time in Wadi Rum, Erga became more interested in its people rather than its landscape and preferred to live amongst them. Over the years, she has become one of the key social activists to defend the Bedouins to the authorities.

At this stage of my research, I was aware that one of the most common problems a field researcher might face is to maintain a proper distance between himself and his constituents. In my situation, this becomes somewhat delicate. For my Bedouin cultural background, I was viewed by the Bedouins of Wadi Rum as one who belongs to their cultural stock, and as such was allowed to move into the community. Of course, only where a male researcher can be allowed to move. This acceptance and closeness was of a problematic nature regarding how to create the needed balance between forming genuine and trusting relationships with Wadi Rum's Bedouins and maintaining the needed objectivity as a researcher. Fortunately, I was able to handle this situation with my careful choice of informants. In addition to the locals, the Jordanian Armed Forces' school teachers, who originated outside the Bedouins of Wadi Rum were considered as informants. After the establishment of relationships with them, the school teachers felt comfortable offering objective information. In addition, with their help, the reliability of the gathered data from the other informants was checked.

2. Observations:

The objective of observation is to document the elements involved in shaping the social, cultural, economic and physical environments in the area being researched. The first step of the study was observing how the people of Rum live. Contacts with community leaders and local informant figures were made, and informal meetings and casual site tours were held in order to highlight various aspects of community life. Considering the theoretical framework I used in this study, the field survey's observations were focused on the Bedouins' physical aspects, as well as on their social parameters. This was observed spatially, aiming to understand the meaning and the use of their lived spaces in relation to the extended family structure, the gender division, and the social and symbolic roles of the Bedouins' houses. The physical survey involved daily visits to selected locations inhabited by the nomadic, semi-nomadic, semi-settled and settled Bedouins, the preparation of measured drawings accompanied by free-hand sketches and the recording of observational notes. Whenever permitted, slides and photographs were taken.

3. Interviewing:

Observation methods are usually subject to personal bias, and the subjects themselves are not necessarily a representative sample of the area under study. To overcome these shortcomings, observations were supplemented by interviews designed to satisfy the goals of relevance, reliability and validity. Interviews are usually used to collect data from a sample of population. The sample choice process can be described as complex within heterogeneous and large scale communities. When Wadi Rum's population is extremely homogeneous, it makes little difference which part is selected for the sample. Despite, I did not take this for granted, and assumed that individuals and social groups are different from one another in their attitudes and behaviours. Although it sounded an easy task, several constraints affected the selection of the sample to be interviewed. First is the lack of official statistics. ASEZA's officials explained that this was due to the Bedouins' elusive life patterns and practices, which make it difficult to document and record. Secondly, the availability of research labour resources in terms of manpower and time constraints proved to be crucial factors. For these reasons it was difficult to gather reliable statistical information, which then made it difficult to construct the needed framework to determine the socio-economic make-up of the targeted population. As I believed that a long period of time is needed to cover all the aspects related to the Bedouins' life, and for limited research labour resources in terms of manpower, it was decided not to attempt statistical surveys with a large representative sample of the area under study. Rather, I decided to have a smaller sample that can create a socio-economic pattern which serves as a basis for a descriptive analysis of the research problem.

After long discussions with Wadi Rum's tribal leaders (sheikhs), several long-time residents, Rum Tourism Co-Operative and ASEZA's officials, there was a general agreement that the population's means of production can be adopted as an indicator of socio-economic grouping. As a result, the following groups were identified:

1. Livestock economy: the community of Wadi Rum is a combination of nomadic, semi-nomadic/settled and settled Bedouins. Despite their different stages of socio-

economic development, the Bedouins of Wadi rum are camel, sheep and goat owners. Their livestock provide milk, wool and meat for their own consumption and cash from supplying them to village and town markets.

2. Tourism economy: Wadi Rum's Bedouin involvement in tourism generally falls within the following three classifications:

2..1. Tourism operators: these are the local organizers of tourist activities in Wadi Rum. They are the elite of Zalabia tribe. They have the tribal financial status and the government support to own, supervise and manage tourism activities. They own the majority of authorised tourists' camps and jeeps, which they lease to other locals.

2..2. Tourism service providers:

2.2.1. Surplus tourism service providers: they are mostly from the Zalabia tribe. While some of them belong to its elite group, the majority do not. They work as tour guides in Wadi Rum and are well known for their abilities in camel and horse trekking, trace tracking and the knowledge of the mountains' climbing routes.

2.2.2. Subsistence tourism service providers: they are the jeep drivers and antique shops owners. They are self-employed or are hired by either the tourism operators or guides.

2.2.3. Marginal tourism service providers: they are viewed as the lower rank in the provision of tourism services. They include hired camel and/or horse-riders, and waiters or security guards in the Rest-House or in the Visitors' Centre. In many cases, they were found living or hired to live at the fringes of the desert close to Rum Village to accommodate short range tourist trips.

3. Agricultural economy: as ownership and use of land can be considered as a measure of wealth and social status, the Bedouins of Wadi Rum can be classified according to the following social hierarchy:

- 3.1. Landlords: they are mainly the elite of Zalabia tribe. They do not work on land themselves, but lease it to others who are called *murabe'ah*, which literally means the people who share or trade a quarter of the cultivated crop for their labour. Those are either the poorer members of the same tribe or of other Bedouin tribes within the area of Wadi Rum.
 - 3.2. Surplus farmers: this category includes the majority of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum who are involved in agricultural activities. They work on the field themselves, but also hire *murabe'ah* to cultivate part of their land. In addition to wheat and barley, they engage in irrigated agriculture where the principal crops are tomato, potato, cucumber, watermelon, beans and peas.
 - 3.3. Subsistence farmers: they work primarily on their own land. Their main crops are wheat and barley. In cases where their own crops fail to meet the needs of their households' consumption, they might work as *murabe'ah* or by leasing other's land.
 - 3.4. Marginal farmers: they don't own any agricultural land. To sustain their households' consumption, they lease other people's land as *murabe'ah*, or work for others as labourers.
4. Agriculture/Tourism related economic activities: these economic activities can be found in two main forms with some variations. These forms are domestic economic activities and small-scale enterprises. While some of them are serving the immediate, local consumption, others are involved in producing items that interest national and international tourism. As a result of the nomadic way of life, some of these initiatives were mobile, in order to serve the local population and the tourists while in the desert.
5. Employment economy: takes two patterns: self-employment and government employment. While self-employment is common in livestock, tourism and agricultural activities, steady wage employment is only created by governments' local officials, and the Jordanian Army.

1	Livestock Economy (▼)		
	1.1	Camel Herding	
		1.1.1	Meat Production
		1.1.2	Dairy Production
	1.2	Goat and sheep herding	
		1.2.1	Meat Production
		1.2.2	Dairy Production
	1.3	Horse Keeping	
	1.4	Other Animals Keeping	
3	Agricultural Economy (♣)		
	3.1	Landlords	
	3.2	Surplus Farmers	
	3.3	Subsistence Farmers	
	3.4	Marginal Farmers	
5	Employment Economy (●)		
	5.1	Self-employment	
	5.2	Government Employment	
		5.2.1	Jordanian Army
		5.2.2	Desert police
		3.2.3	Clinic
		5.2.4	Visitors' Centre
		5.2.6	Mosque

2	Tourism Economy (→)		
	2.1	Tourism Operators	
		2.1.1	Tours' Organizers
		2.1.2	Camp Owners/organizers
	2.2	Tourism Service Providers	
		2.2.1	Surplus Service Providers
		2.2.2	Subsistence Service Providers
		2.2.3	Marginal Service Providers
	2.3	Unlicensed Camps' Owners	
4	Related Economic activities (■)		
	4.1	Domestic Economic Activities	
		4.1.1	Dairy Products
		4.1.2	Weaving
		4.1.3	Sewing
		4.1.4	Herbs Packing
		4.1.5	Bedouins' Cosmetic Products
	4.2	Small-scale Enterprises	
		4.2.1	Groceries
		4.2.2	Antique Shops
		4.2.3	Mechanics
		4.2.4	Utensils Polishing
		4.2.5	Coffee Shops
		4.2.6	Restaurants

Table (4.2): Wadi Rum's socio-economic groups.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

While I was in the process of preparing the fieldwork interview list, a study emerged about Wadi Rum's socio-economic conditions, prepared by a research team commissioned by ASEZA. In this study, a number of locals were interviewed. After

consultation with different local informants, I realized that most of the interviewees represented the authority's point of view. Therefore, the majority of these names were removed from the prospective interview list, which I created arbitrarily from Wadi Rum's phone book. Daifallah made suggestions of who ought to participate in the interviews. However, I suspected that Daifallah was trying to choose people that would support his own point of view. To respond to the situation diplomatically, I showed him the suggested list, and asked for his approval. To guarantee the success of the study, some of his recommended names were included. Here, in the absence of accurate census figures, I relied on consulting the area's officials and different tribes' sheikhs regarding the size of the various groups to be interviewed. As a result, seventy three households, living in 47 clusters, agreed to be interviewed; sixty seven of the Zalabia's and six of the Swelhiyeen.

Number	Name	▼	♣	—	■	●
1	Ali Atieq Zalabia		♣	—		●
2	Mahmoud Musiebeh Zalabia			—		
3	Salem Raja Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
4	Atieq Daifallah Zalabia			—		●
5	Daifallah Atieq Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
6	Faraj Attalla Zalabia			—		
7	Ali Attalla Zalabia	▼		—		
8	Khairallah Suleiman Zalabia			—	■	
9	Ghanim Suleiman Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
9.1	Ghanim Suleiman Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
9.2	Salem Ghanim Zalabia			—		●
9.3	Eiada Ghanim Zalabia		♣	—		●
10	Ali Yousef Swelhiyeen (<i>hosh</i>)					
10.1	Ali Yousef Swelhiyeen	▼	♣	—		
10.2	Mohammad Ali Swelhiyeen	▼			■	
10.3	A'zam Ali Swelhiyeen			—		●
11	Ali Nasr Swelhiyeen	▼	♣			
12	Eiyad Ali Swelhiyeen (<i>hosh</i>)					
12.1	Eiyad Mahmoud Swelhiyeen	▼	♣			
12.2	Nassar Eiyad Swelhiyeen	▼	♣	—		
13	Khalil Suleiman Zalabia				■	●

14		Hassan Audah Zalabia	▼		—		
15		Sabbah E'id Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
	15.1	Sabbah E'id Zalabia	▼		—		
	15.2	Faraj E'id Zalabia	▼	♣			
	15.3	Attalla E'id Zalabia	▼	♣			
	15.4	A'wad E'id Zalabia	▼	♣		■	
	15.5	Mohammad Sabbah Zalabia			—		
	15.6	Ali Sabbah Zalabia			—		
	15.7	Mohammad Faraj Zalabia		♣	—		
	15.8	Salameh Attalla Zalabia		♣	—		
	15.9	E'id Attalla Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
	15.10	Mohammad A'wad Zalabia		♣	—		
	15.11	Sa'eed A'wad Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
	15.12	Majed A'wad Zalabia		♣			
16		Mohammad E'id Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
	16.1	Mohammad E'id Zalabia	▼	♣			
	16.2	Mahmoud Mohammad Zalabia			—	■	●
	16.3	Abdullah Mohammad Zalabia			—		
	16.4	Abed Mohammad Zalabia		♣			
17		Salameh Madallah Zalabia	▼		—		
18		Sa'eed Ali Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
19		Nassar Alyan Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
20		Jabber Alyan Zalabia			—		
21		A'wadh Ali Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
	21.1	A'wadh Ali Zalabia		♣			
	21.2	Abdullah A'wadh Zalabia					●
22		Abdullah E'id Zalabia			—	■	
23		Swaelm Daifallah Zalabia			—		
24		A'zam Saleh Zalabia	▼		—		
25		Farras Atieq Zalabia			—		
26		Daifallah Krayem Zalabia		♣	—		
27		Khalid Nawaf Zalabia		♣	—		
28		Farras Daifallah Zalabia			—		
29		Majed Ali Zalabia	▼		—		

30		Mousa Abdullah Zalabia			—		
31		O'waymer Salem Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
32		Majed Salman Zalabia		♣	—		
33		Ali Salman Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
	33.1	Ali Salman Zalabia	▼		—		
	33.2	Imran Ali Zalabia			—	■	●
34		Salameh Attalla Zalabia		♣	—		
35		Omar Attalla Zalabia		♣	—		●
36		Ahmad Alyan Zalabia		♣	—		
37		Matlaq Alyan Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
	37.1	Matlaq Alyan Zalabia	▼		—	■	
	37.2	Ahmad Matlaq Zalabia			—		●
38		Suleiman Salem Zalabia	▼		—		
39		Swaelm Hamad Zalabia	▼	♣	—		
40		E'id Imran Zalabia		♣	—		
41		Abdul Kareem Falah Zalabia		♣	—		
42		Abdul Rahman Zalabia	▼			■	●
43		Zeid Falah Zalabia					●
44		Yousef Fayyad Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
	44.1	Yousef Fayyad Zalabia		♣	—		
	44.2	Mohammad Yousef Zalabia			—		
	44.3	Abdul Kareem Yousef Zalabia			—		●
45		Attalla A'wadh Zalabia (<i>hosh</i>)					
	45.1	Attalla A'wadh Zalabia	▼	♣			
	45.2	Atieq Attalla Zalabia			—		●
	45.3	Abdul Raheem Attalla Zalabia			—		●
46		Abdullah Faheem Zalabia			—		
47		Attalla Ghanim Zalabia			—		

(▼): Livestock economy. (♣): Agricultural economy. (●): Employment economy
 (—): Tourism. (■): Agriculture/Tourism related economy

Table (4.3): The researcher's interviewees and their economic activities.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

To present a picture of the Bedouins' life that approximates to reality as much as possible, I prepared an interview guide, based, on the availability of literature on Wadi Rum and its people, the accumulation of information that I gathered about the area and its people since the mid 1980's, and the recent observations I made in Wadi Rum. The acceptance that I received from the community allowed me to find answers to questions that were previously designed to reveal the broad aspects of Wadi Rum's Bedouins' life patterns. These answers were helpful in examining the contextual sources of social change that affected the Bedouins' interrelated socio-cultural aspects of life.

As part of the study's exploratory approach, data gathered was oriented to those aspects of social life, which were relevant to the Bedouins' physical environment. Obviously, the purpose is to record the Bedouins' living patterns; how they interact with spaces and how living spaces were moulded by their living patterns. In this regard, I was aware that it could be argued that activities considered to be important to some people may be of a minor or negligible value to others. Therefore, while observing these activities, I aimed to put emphasis on how and by whom rather than where the activity was carried out.

For the purpose of this study, I adopted the face-to-face interview method. This provided an opportunity to inspire the subject's interest and create a permissive atmosphere for discussion. An open questionnaire method permitted flexibility and improved the quality of data by allowing seeking clarification when necessary. In addition, where the study dealt with a community with a high level of illiteracy, low level of education and high regard for privacy, the questions were designed accordingly to be simple and specific.

After consulting with the local informants, it was agreed that in order to maintain interviewee anonymity, this research would ensure that, upon request, the description, the names of people and other confidential information would be changed. Therefore, the majority of the names listed in pages 147-149 have been altered to maintain the interviewees' anonymity. In addition, I excluded from my selection of pictorial representations photographs where Bedouin women could be identified. Therefore, pictures that include adult females were converted into freehand sketches that do not show the figures' details.

To take into consideration the physical, socio-cultural and behavioural aspects, the study included the following elements in its open-ended interview guide:

1. Background information that provides the family's basic demographic data, such as the head of the household's age, place of origin, income, education, marital and working status. It also covers the family members' relation to the head of the household, their gender and age group, education and occupation.
2. The household's characteristics that cover the following:
 - 2.1. Basic information: it includes the type of tenure, age of the household, period of occupation and availability of services.
 - 2.2. Physical characteristics: it defines the Bedouins' households' (house or tent) organization with respect to subdivisions and specialization of spaces. This documentation includes the type and conditions of the construction. Although some of the village's houses were provided by the government, the majority were built by the Bedouins. This implies the importance of studying the locals' vernacular architecture, trying to answer the following questions: how and why did people adopt certain building materials and techniques? And how is this related to the Bedouins' social, cultural, and economic backgrounds, before and after their settlement?
 - 2.3. The household's architectural elements: this study aims to record the different architectural elements that the Bedouins used as means of identifying their households. It attempts to find how they used these elements to express their personality, their social and economic status.
 - 2.4. The Bedouins artefacts: as part of the space usage, special attention was given to the different artefacts used in furnishing spaces. Believing that the past lives on through objects, tents within yards, traditional items, and some newly designed items inspired by the tradition were recorded.
3. The settlements' physical pattern: this study documents different physical patterns of settlement in order to explore their relation to the Bedouins' socio-cultural and economic contexts. Findings in this subsection examine the authorities' argument that "each social element in the Bedouins' society is spatially identified within an urban element...the internal structure of the settlement accommodates the hierarchical

structure of the traditional Bedouin society” (Ministry of Planning Housing Report, 1995). The settlements’ physical patterns were studied according to the following classifications:

- 3.1. Circulation pattern: the study documents the settlements’ hierarchy of circulation patterns and the activities that take place in them. It focuses on answering some questions, such as: how the circulation pattern was integrated into the Bedouins’ needs? Where they keep their vehicles? How this affected the households’ organization? Finally, in such a male dominated community, how women use these circulation patterns?
- 3.2. Hierarchy of spaces: this study documents the hierarchy of spaces used by the Bedouins and the activities that take place in them. It aims to understand how the distribution and organization of these spaces are integrated with the Bedouins’ social, cultural, economic, political and environmental contexts.
- 3.3. Public structures: creating a viable environment means that the provision of activities that provide that viability, such as: public institutions that accommodate health, hygiene, religion, education, entertainment and administrative activities. The study examines the availability of such institutions, trying to explore its impact on the settlements’ physical, as well as social pattern.
4. The socio-cultural and economic characteristics: this section investigates the reciprocal relationship between the Bedouins’ socio-cultural values and their built environment. The observations took into account the spaces’ social parameters in terms of the type and nature of the user, time, way of use and the reason for usage in relation to the following Bedouins’ socio-cultural characteristics: the extended family structure, gender division and the social symbolic role of the household.
 - 4.1. Gathering: according to the anthropological literature, the Bedouins’ tent comprises two social spheres: the men’s and women’s sections. This study investigates to what extent this social segregation still exists, and how this practice changes when they start settling in permanent houses. Further, what is the impact of the household’s socio-economic status, marriage patterns, and gender and age divisions on the different activities? To what extent are these activities affected when receiving guests? Literature emphasizes that within

nomadic culture, the reception of visitors can be considered as a genuine element in shaping their residential environment. The question is then, did the Bedouins carry this value as part of their socio-cultural values while transforming from nomadic to settled life pattern? Do they classify visitors? Do the reception and space differ accordingly and how does this affect the other household activities?

- 4.2. Sleeping: literature on Bedouins emphasizes privacy as the dominant factor behind the social segregation within the Bedouins households. The study examines this practice, its continuity and change, by raising the following questions: where do the different family members sleep? How does the activity differ according to the family's structure, (nuclear or extended)? How is it affected by the gender, age divisions and the marital status of its members? How are the family members' sleeping habits affected when receiving guests? Where do visitors, whether they are males, females, singles or families, sleep? How does the sleeping activity differ according to its daytime, seasonal and climatic conditions?
- 4.3. Cooking: this section raises the following questions: How is the activity affected by the household's socio-economic status and marriage patterns? How does the activity affect the layout of the cooking space? Who and where do the members of the Bedouins' families cook for their ordinary and ceremonial meals? Depending on the type of occasion, what are the items involved in the cooking activity? What are the sources of fuel available to fulfill the activity? Where and how do the Bedouins store their cooking items?
- 4.4. Eating: this section aimed at exploring how and where this activity takes place, and how it is affected by the issue of gender segregation and marriage patterns? Does it differ in daytime? Does it differ from season to season? Where do the Bedouins clean their dishes and who carries out this task? Finally, how and where do they store leftovers?
- 4.5. Drinking: literature emphasizes the Bedouin women's role is fetching water. To what extent does the practice of water fetching still exist? Does it change when the Bedouins settle in permanent houses, and how? Where do the Bedouins store their drinking and cleaning water?

- 4.6. Body hygiene: here, I attempted to give special attention to this activity for its relation to the Bedouins' religious practices and privacy mechanism. Where are toilets and bathrooms located in relation to the rest of the household's spaces? How do the Bedouins' gender segregation, social and economic status, marriage patterns, and prayer affect the location and size of these spaces?
- 4.7. Clothes washing: this study records how, when and where this activity takes place, and how the Bedouins' extended family structure, gender, and marriage patterns affect the activity?
- 4.8. Heating: the study investigates how the Bedouins' household (tent and house) are kept warm, using which kind of fuel and who is responsible for collecting it. Does the activity change when they settle in permanent houses and how?
- 4.9. Childcare: the study attempts to explore the following: Is the activity still exclusively performed by the females of the household? What is the role of the males in this activity? How, when and where do the children of the household play? Does childcare differ according to its daytime and climatic conditions? How do marriage patterns affect the activity?
5. Economic activities:
- The study records the economic activities that take place within the nomadic Bedouins, semi-nomadic/settled and settled Bedouins' environments. It aims to examine what has remained constant and what has changed in relation to the Bedouins original economic activities. Knowing that this notion requires having a control model to compare with, this study relies on two sources for the comparison: first, the availability of literature; second, the Bedouins' sheikhs and the elders of Zalabia tribe. In this regard, the study recorded a number of Bedouin families' working days to examine the activities' time pattern and how these activities are affected by, and in turn, affect the Bedouins' built environment.
6. Measurement of attitudes towards some public issues:
- This study aims to examine the Bedouins' attitudes towards the creation of the Protected Area, as well as the idea of relocation aiming to explore how these issues affect the Bedouins' life style and built environment.

7. Position of women and marriage patterns: how does the tribal culture define women and their role within and outside the household? What is the marriage patterns found among the Zalabia? Does the attitude towards marriage differ among different generations? How do these patterns affect the Bedouins' household's organization?

4.6 The Setting for the Fieldwork:

On the 14th of June, 2004, the first site visit took place. Along the way to Wadi Rum, one can see massive, uniquely shaped mountains rising vertically out of the pink desert sand. "The hills drew together until only two miles divided them: and then, towering gradually till their parallel parapets must have been a thousand feet above us, ran forward in an avenue for miles" (Lawrence, 2004, p. 46). While approaching Rum Village, on the left, standing in isolation, is a single block with seven portions, which from a distance do look like columns, are easily distinguished from each other, and are of differing heights. It is this mountain that inspired the name of Lawrence's book *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.



Figure (4.11): The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Mountain.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Until 2005, every vehicle travelling between Wadi Rum and the rest of Jordan headed towards the same destination, the Rest-House. By June 2005, this destination shifted to the newly constructed Visitors' Centre. During the period of conducting my fieldwork research, the Rest-House was the departure point for excursions of various lengths, which can be made by jeep, on camel-back or horse-back. At the village entry point, next to the Rest-House, one can see a line of four wheel Toyota vehicles waiting to accompany passengers on their discovery of the desert. Around them, their drivers, almost all of whom are from the Zalabia tribe, smoke and chat. Dressed in white or black tunics, they are barefoot or wearing open sandals, and on their heads they have the typical white and red head-dress (*shmagh*) or a simple cap. Since I was using a tourists' rental car, those drivers started offering their services and did not stop until I told them that I was a guest visiting Daifallah Atieq Zalabia.

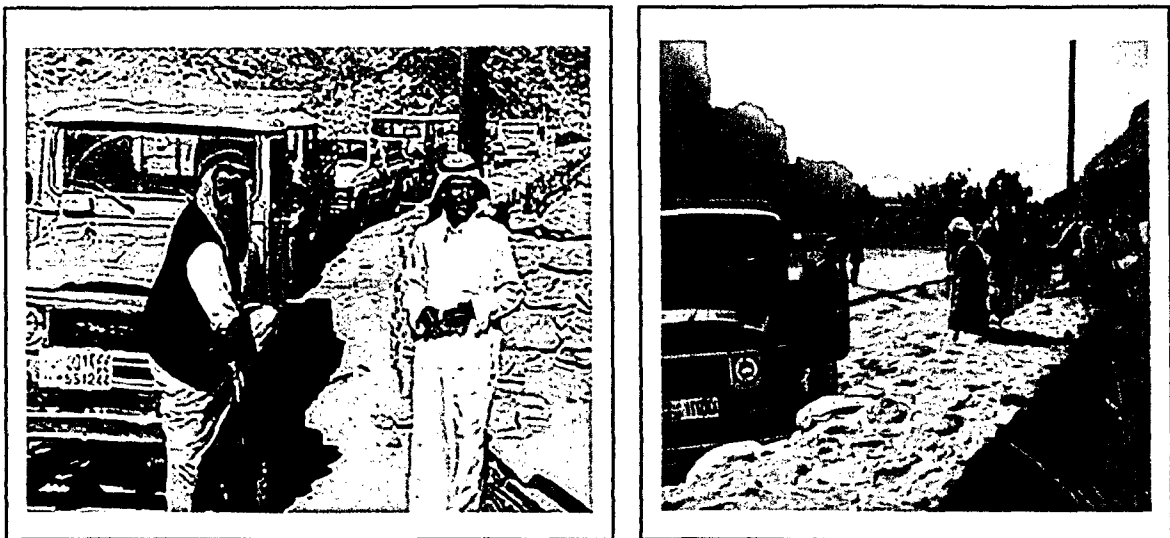


Figure (4.12): Bedouins with their trucks and camels near the Rest-House.

Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

A few minutes after receiving the team, Daifallah disappeared. He was in the back yard slaughtering a lamb, preparing for the *mansaf*, which is the national Jordanian dish. Historically, it is associated with the Bedouin culture. For them, it is a language of hospitality (*dhyafah*) and enables the Bedouin to be seen as truly generous (*Kareem*). The Bedouins believe that generosity only occurs when hospitality is offered as a social exchange that occurs away from commerce and political advantages.

Hoping to build trust with the Bedouin women, Jumana offered Daifallah's wife help with preparing the food, which allowed recording the process of the *mansaf* preparation. After slaughtering, Daifallah asked his older son to cut the lamb into large chunks. The meat was placed in a huge pan filled with cold water, which was slowly brought to a boil using a portable propane gas burner. When it was well skimmed and still boiling, spices that included saffron, cardamom and cinnamon were added for flavouring. After almost one hour of cooking, the meat was removed to another clean pan and the sauce was strained. After, the liquid of the *jameed*, which is quintessentially Jordanian dried yogurt, was gradually added to the strained liquid. The new mixture was slowly brought to boil before placing the meat inside it. A huge pan of rice was cooking at the same time. Meanwhile, some almonds and pine nuts were roasted to be used to decorate the *mansaf*. When all of the components were done, Daifallah's wife called him to do the final presentation.

The *mansaf* is a dish of several layers served on a large round platter. The first layer is composed of *khubez shrak* (*shrak* bread), large sheets of thin, unleavened bread that has been shredded and steeped in the rich yogurt broth. Next, the bread was covered by a mound of rice. Large chunks of meat that had been simmered in the *jameed* broth were carefully arranged on the top of the rice, and the head of the slaughtered lamb was placed atop the centre of the platter. Roasted pine nuts and almonds and chopped parsley were sprinkled over the meat and rice for decoration.

As Daifallah's brothers and some relatives gathered, two *mansaf* platters were prepared, and the one decorated with the lamb's head was served to the male guests and eaten from a large communal platter in a series of steps. The first step was Daifallah regularly pouring the *jameed* broth at the edge of the round platter to keep the dish warm and moist. After pronouncing the blessing, *bismāllah* (in the name of God), diners used their right hands only to scoop up a handful of rice and meat, rolled into a small ball and, with a flick of the thumb, propelled it into the mouth. Daifallah tore the largest pieces of meat into smaller bits and kept urging the choice tidbits upon the guests. Daifallah's brothers and relatives ate their fill, but continued to squat at the tray until I stood up, at which time

they all rose together. This gathering, as the first meeting with the locals, was especially important because it ensured that the news of the research team's visit would spread throughout the tribe. The impression of the team that was created here would determine how they would be received by other sections of the tribe. Therefore, it was very essential to follow the Bedouins' behaviour, both to avoid offending them and to win their confidence.



Figure (4.13): Daifallah and sons slaughtering and cutting the lamb to prepare the *mansaf*.
Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

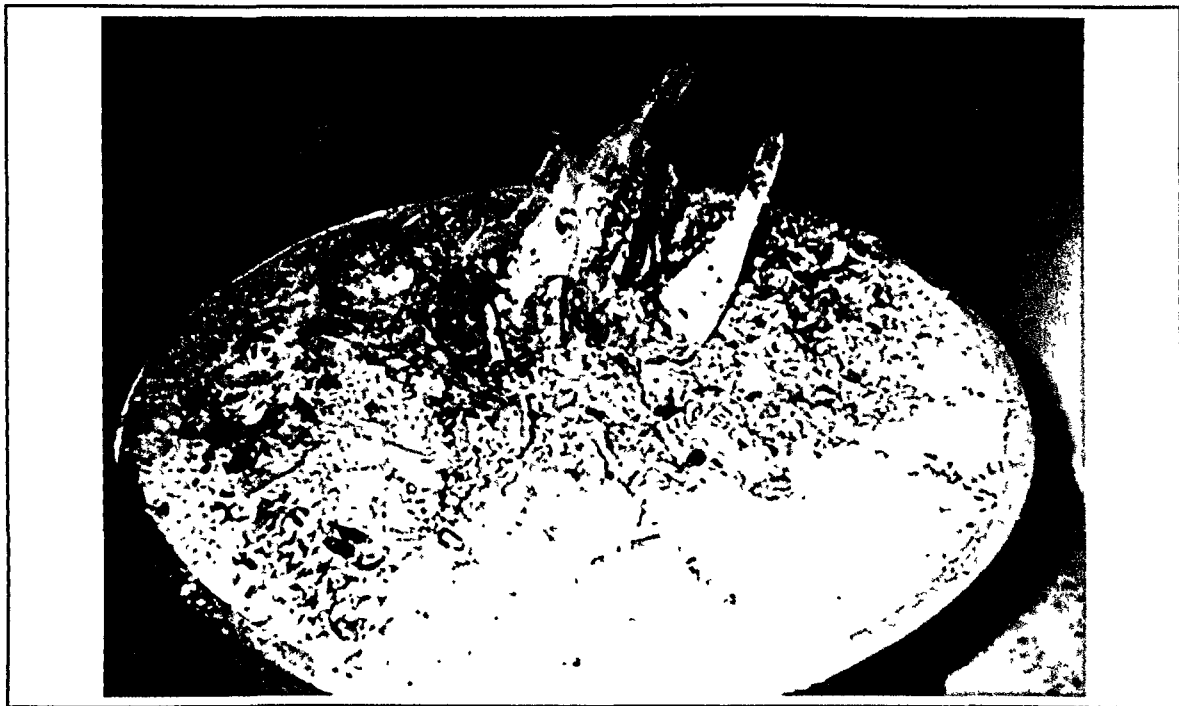


Figure (4.14): Daifallah's *mansaf* as it appears in its final presentation.
Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

After the feast, Bedouin traditional coffee was served. After, Daifallah suggested starting with a tour within the village and around Wadi Rum's attractions. To make the tour more informative, Daifallah invited some of the Bedouin tourists' guides to join. Daifallah was trying to show the research team the different generations and the way they deal with tourism. Since Rum Village is the natural gate to the Wadi Rum, it wasn't long before we started to feel the vastness of Wadi Rum. Lawrence's well, or *A'in Lawrence* as the Bedouins call it was the first stop, which is only ten minutes from the southern edge of the village. The well was evasive, just a dribble from a crack within the mountain. Authorities demarcated part of the area adjacent to Lawrence's well by a low stone wall and built a concrete water reservoir, not supplied from Lawrence's well but from the main water supply line that serves the village. Along this stone wall, some locations were designed to water the Bedouins' camels. As part of the trip, the team stopped for some time at a Bedouin camp located near the well. At this camp, Daifallah invited the team to spend some time in the tent of a Bedouin family who are relatives. As he was the organizer of this trip, the family was expecting us. The tent was open and there were some mattresses laid out on the sand inside. Since it was the dry season, many of the Bedouins were camping within ten kilometers of Rum Village. This allowed me to narrow down the choices of the camps to be investigated.

During the tour, Daifallah showed the team some of Wadi Rum's natural and striking attractions, such as Al Khaz'ali *Seeq* (chasm) and some of the rock bridges that characterize the area. At the end of the day, the team stopped to wait for the sunset, and just took some time to walk out into the desert and contemplate the silence. Afterwards, everyone returned to the village and spent the night at Daifallah's house.

The next morning, a meeting was arranged with the *Mukhtar*; Sabbah Eid Zalabia. The team was received by the *Mukhtar*'s elder son, and was directed to the guest room (*madhafah*). There, the *Mukhtar* and his tribesmen, who were sitting on the ground, arose, and greetings were exchanged. I was seated on the right side of the *Mukhtar*, the place of honour, with the camel saddle in between. After Bedouin coffee was served, I gave a brief introduction about the research objectives. While briefing about the village

and its people, the *Mukhtar* asked me to write every single word he was planning to say. As a result, there was an interview of seventeen pages. Any time I stopped writing, the *Mukhtar* would urge me to continue by saying, "Do not be like others who writes what they want to hear" (personal interview, 15th June, 2004). After, the *Mukhtar* took the team on a tour through the village streets. This walk-through took almost the rest of the day in which the entire village's residential, commercial, educational and religious facilities were covered. At the end of the day, the team returned to the *Mukhtar's* house where another mansaf was prepared. After the feast, some time was spent socializing with the *Mukhtar* and his guests.

The *Mukhtar* gave the research team some valuable remarks about ways to approach the community. Later, based on the *Mukhtar's* remarks and my familiarity with the Bedouins of southern Jordan, I thought it might be helpful to Jumana to know some of the etiquette of how to meet with the local people.

1. When meeting Bedouins, shaking hands is the proper way for greeting. Although, one should be aware of the following: first, a man should wait for a woman to offer her hand to be shaken. Second, according to their religious background, especially older Bedouin men who have washed (ablution) in preparation for prayer, they would avoid a direct hand-to-hand touching of any woman who is allowed to marry; in this case, the elder men may cover their hands with a cloth, otherwise they have to redo their ablution again. Direct hand contact can be done between a Bedouin man and his mother, sisters, daughters, aunts, grandmothers, mothers-in-law, and grandmothers-in-law.
2. It is the nature of Bedouins to examine their guest's intentions, so one should not be offended at the number of personal questions that the Bedouins might ask. To build trust with them, I learned that by reiterating the same questions, this can be considered as a good starting point.
3. When traditional coffee is served, guests can have up to three cups before being asked by the host if they need more. After having the first cup, the guest has the right to refuse to have more, and then he should shake the cup by holding it between finger and thumb, as a sign of satisfaction.

4. For religious purposes, in order to maintain their household's (house or tent) hygiene, Bedouins commonly take off their shoes when entering, but this does vary a lot. Within Bedouin houses, when the washroom is used, sandals will be offered to wear in the washroom only.
5. Hospitality for the Bedouins means more than showing wealth; it is rather to show worth. When arriving at a Bedouin's household in response to an invitation, a senior member of the household will greet the guest. At the meal time, the eldest son (or daughter, in case of women) will bring around a jug (*ibreeg*) of water to wash hands, which he/she will pour over the guest's hands. There will be a mobile basin (*toshtt*) to catch the water, soap is usually offered, and a towel will be offered afterwards. When eating, the Bedouins use only the right hand. The left hand is used solely for cleansing oneself after defecation or urination. The right hand is distinguished as the 'clean hand' because Muslims believe that Satan eats and drinks with his left hand. Also, according to the Koran, on the day of Judgement, believers will receive a book of their deeds in their right hand. Non-believers receive it in their left hand. Everybody may eat from a common plate, and each person is only allowed to take food that is immediately opposite to them. When guests have finished their meal, they get up immediately to wash their hands and mouth. After the meal, coffee and tea is served. After, guests have the right to offer to leave.
6. While spending time with the host, one should be aware that if seated on the ground, which will be mostly the case, most of the Bedouin people sit cross legged. The guests should recognize that it is insulting to point their bare feet towards anybody. When stretching out of the legs is needed, despite the gender and age, Bedouins cover their feet with a cloth.
7. The way that people are addressed is a matter of respect to the Bedouin people. The usual way is to title them as: father (*abu*) or mother (*um*) of (insert the name of the oldest son, or the daughter if there are no sons).
8. The proper way to address elderly Bedouins is by mentioning the words *haj* (male) or *hajeh* (female) before their names. This is the title given to a person who has done his/her pilgrimage to Mecca. It is a matter of respect to do so, even if the person did not do the pilgrimage.

9. A woman should normally wear fairly loose-fitting clothing that covers her upper arms, shoulders, and knees. This will be much more comfortable for the guest, and it is a compliment to the host, as respect is paid to the Bedouins' socio-cultural background.

The third day was a four wheel Toyota trip that aimed to cover a larger area than was covered in the first trip. Its aim was to explore a ten kilometre area along the valley south of Rum village. The jeep trip efficiently covered a considerable portion of the tribal territory. It helped to narrow down the choices of sites to be investigated. The forth day was different. It started with a camel tour that covered almost five kilometres along the valley. This trip aimed to achieve two goals. First, it allowed detailed inspection along the way, especially in areas that the jeep was unable to reach. Second, it aimed to win the Bedouins' trust, and to draw a more traditional Bedouin response. Usually, the Bedouin host begins preparing the guests' area of the tent while the visitor is still far away. This is in great contrast to the abrupt arrival of the jeep, which might embarrass the host since it reduces the preparation time. The camel's arrival gives the guest a better chance to receive a proper reception.

Although the first four days were of a touristic nature, the time spent was not wasted. It offered an opportunity to gather general information, which was helpful to construct a preliminary socio-physical sketch of the area. To construct ethnography that approximates their reality as much as possible, the following sites were chosen to be documented: Um Sabatah and Khor Al Ajram encampments, and Rum Village. The following two chapters are devoted to the study's fieldwork. Chapter five documents some of the Bedouin camps inhabited by the Zalabia tribe, while chapter six records Rum Village.

SEDENTARIZATION AND TOURISM

**THE CASE OF
THE ZALABIA BEDOUIN TRIBE
OF THE
SOUTHERN JORDAN**

Musa Salim Tarawneh

School of Architecture

Montreal

McGill University

January 2009

A thesis submitted to McGill University's Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

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VOLUME TWO

CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter Five:

Case Study: Wadi Rum's Findings and Analysis

5.1 Introduction:

Rachel Sebba, in *The Role of the Home Environment in Cultural Transmission*, argues that “cultural core values of a specific society tend to persist even when circumstances, which created them, no longer exist” (1991, p. 226). Investigation of the validity of this argument within the context of Wadi Rum's Bedouin community raises some related questions. What are the contextual sources of change in Wadi Rum? How deep reaching is that change? Is the process of change essentially the same throughout the community, or it is segmented? Are the changes in the culture represented by changes in the culture as a whole; or do these changes have different social and personal meanings to the various generational and socio-economic groups within the community? Are any of their cultural features resistant to the forces of change?

As part of the process of answering these questions, this chapter of the study presents the findings from the fieldwork research and outline the nature of the case study, Wadi Rum and its nomadic and semi-nomadic people. It describes the relationship between the Bedouins' conditions of life and their social, cultural, economic, political and spatial values.

5.2 Um Sabatah and Khor Al-Ajram Encampments:

Wadi Rum is much different than the idealized picture of the camps' arrangement that the literature on Bedouins provides, especially in regards to the camps' size. It would not be uncommon to spot a Bedouin camp on the desert's horizon, comprising only a collection of three to five tents, Toyota pickup trucks and some goats roaming around. That was the case of both Attallah and Atieq Zalabia Bedouin camps, which I visited on my first and third days of the survey trip in Wadi Rum. During the course of my literature review, I established some particular categories related to the nomadic Bedouins' life patterns that were to be examined. This first survey visit helped in reconsidering these categories, and some other aspects were added to suit the research locality.

5.2.1 Attallah Zalabia Camp:

While approaching the camp, more than half a dozen of Toyota pickup trucks were parked around the central tent. Jumana, a fresh-eyed observer, preoccupied by the literature on Bedouins' life, thought that it was the sheikh's tent. Jumana's observation was partially accurate. According to literature on Bedouins, usually, within any Bedouin camp, the central tent is the camp's sheikh. It is also the tent designated to function as a guests' tent (*madhafah*). This is the place where all tribesmen assemble and where all their guests are entertained. Tribesmen within the camp are expected to contribute equally to the expenses of the tent, and take turns providing meals for the guests. Currently, within most of Wadi Rum's Bedouin camps, in addition to its function as the tent of the camp's sheikh, it serves as the guests' tent to receive organized and individual tourists' trips on a commercial basis.

The jeep, which the research team was using, stopped about twenty meters from the tent, which is the limit where the tent's ropes are anchored to earth. As we stepped out of the jeep, the males of the tent came out to pay respect to the guests. Jumana was guided to one of the camp's tents beside the *madhafah*. At that moment, the pounding of the brass mortar and pestle began, as coffee beans were ground and mixed with cardamom.

When we entered the tent, the guests arose and greetings were exchanged. It started with the first man seated at the head of the right side of the u-shape arrangement of the mattresses, and gradually progressed to the head of the tent, *Attallah*, and continued to the rest of tribesmen in the tent. According to the Bedouins hospitality, the most distinguished guest is seated next to the headman of the tent. Therefore, I was seated to the right of Attallah with a camel saddle (*shaddad*) in between to function as an armrest. After exchanging pleasantries, *Attallah* raised the question of where the research team had first heard about the Zalabia and why we were interested in Wadi Rum. Although this kind of question contradicted with the literature I reviewed about the Bedouins, which stated that the reason of the quest would never be questioned, I realized that it is part of the change the Bedouins are passing through. Later, Salman, Attallah's eldest son, apologized for the question and explained that his aged father asked me as he typically asks any tourist visiting the camp.

Responding to Attallah's question, I gave a brief introduction regarding the research objectives, but was interrupted several times by a stream of questions to examine the research's real intentions. I understood the intent of the questions, and therefore ensured them that this research was an academic research and had nothing to do with the authorities. Afterwards, there was a discussion about several things related to the Bedouins' life patterns, such as the way the camps are organized. *Haj Attallah*, describing the Bedouin camp in the past, stated that the "the camp was composed of more than ten tents for the safety of the group. Nowadays, things have changed, there are no raids and all the Bedouins are living in peace under the rule of the Hashemite Family" (Personal interview, 19th of June, 2004). After socializing with the Bedouins and their guests, I asked for the host's permission to have a walk through the camp. *Haj Attallah* happily agreed and asked his son *Salman* to be the guide.

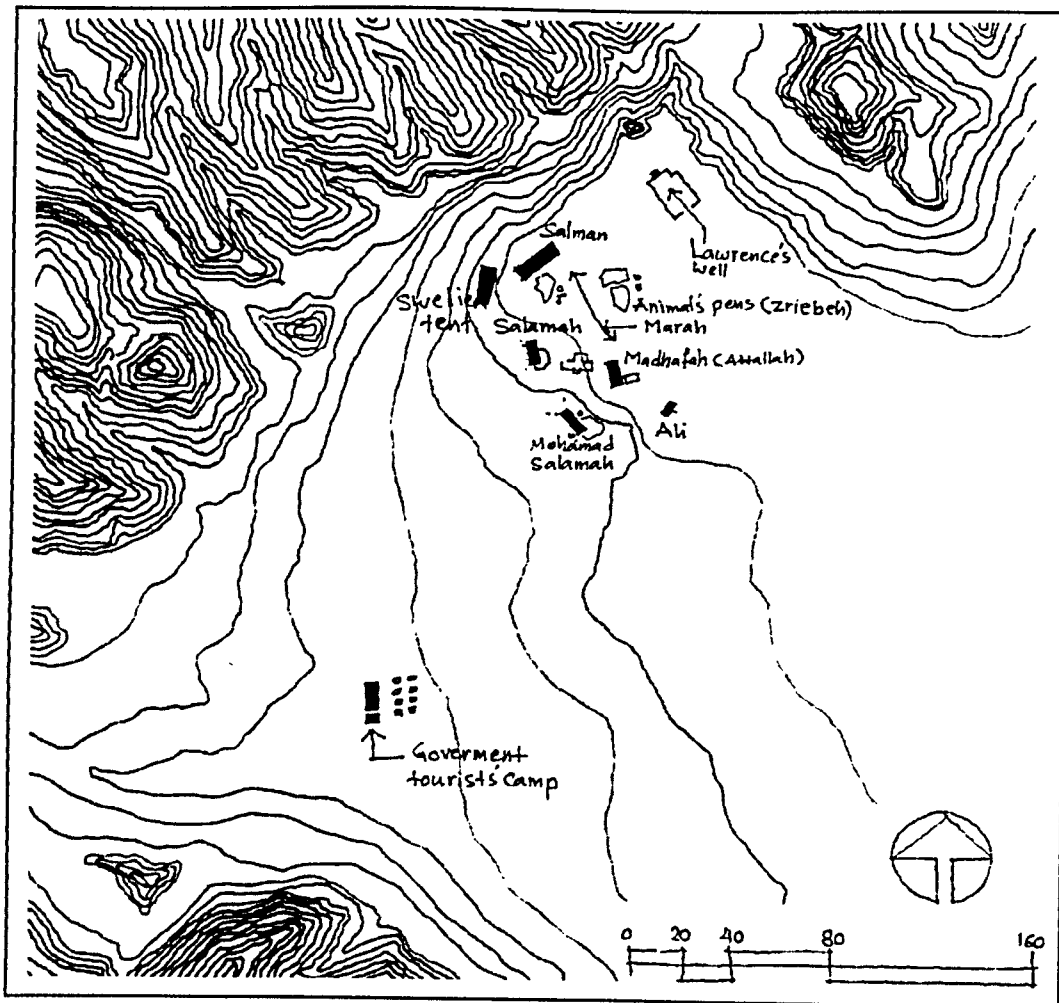


Figure (5.1): Site plan of Attallah's Bedouin camp.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The camp was comprised of six tents: the *madhafah*, which is Attallah's, his sons Salman and Ali, his brother Salameh, Mohammad (Salameh's son) and Sweilem's (Salman's son) tents. Attallah has one daughter living in Rum village with her husband's family. Salman has two sons; Sweilem and E'ed. E'ed, was newly married and living with his parents. Sweilem has three boys and newborn twin girls and has his mother living with his family. Ali has two wives, but no children.

The tents were arranged in an irregular crescent form that was oriented towards Lawrence's Well, the first stop in all the organized trips that the tourists take to the desert. Located in the centre of the crescent were the animal pens and two tin water tanks supplied by a hose from the main municipal water line. There were two baby camels and approximately twenty goats roaming free that remained near the tent and the water tanks. The Bedouin animals are kept loose during the day and in an enclosure during the night. The fold for goats and sheep (*zriebeh*) is fenced and separated from the *marah* where the camels are kept.

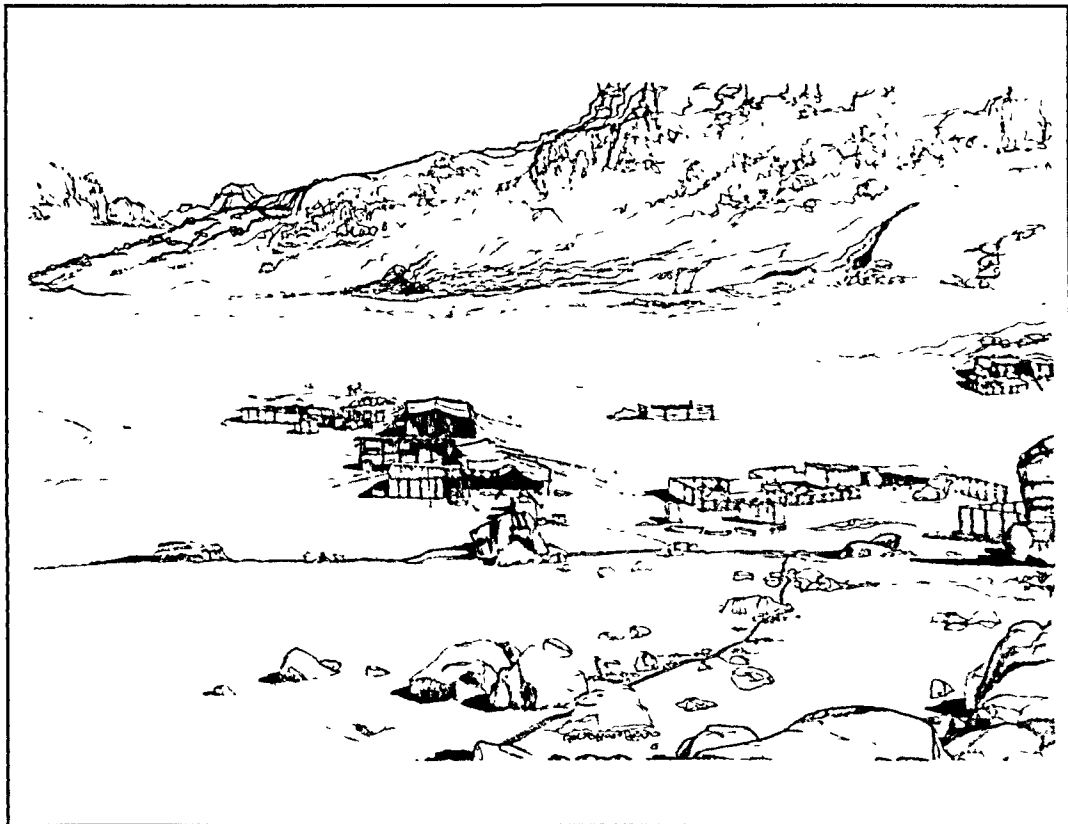


Figure (5.2): Attallah's Bedouin camp as viewed from Lawrence's well.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

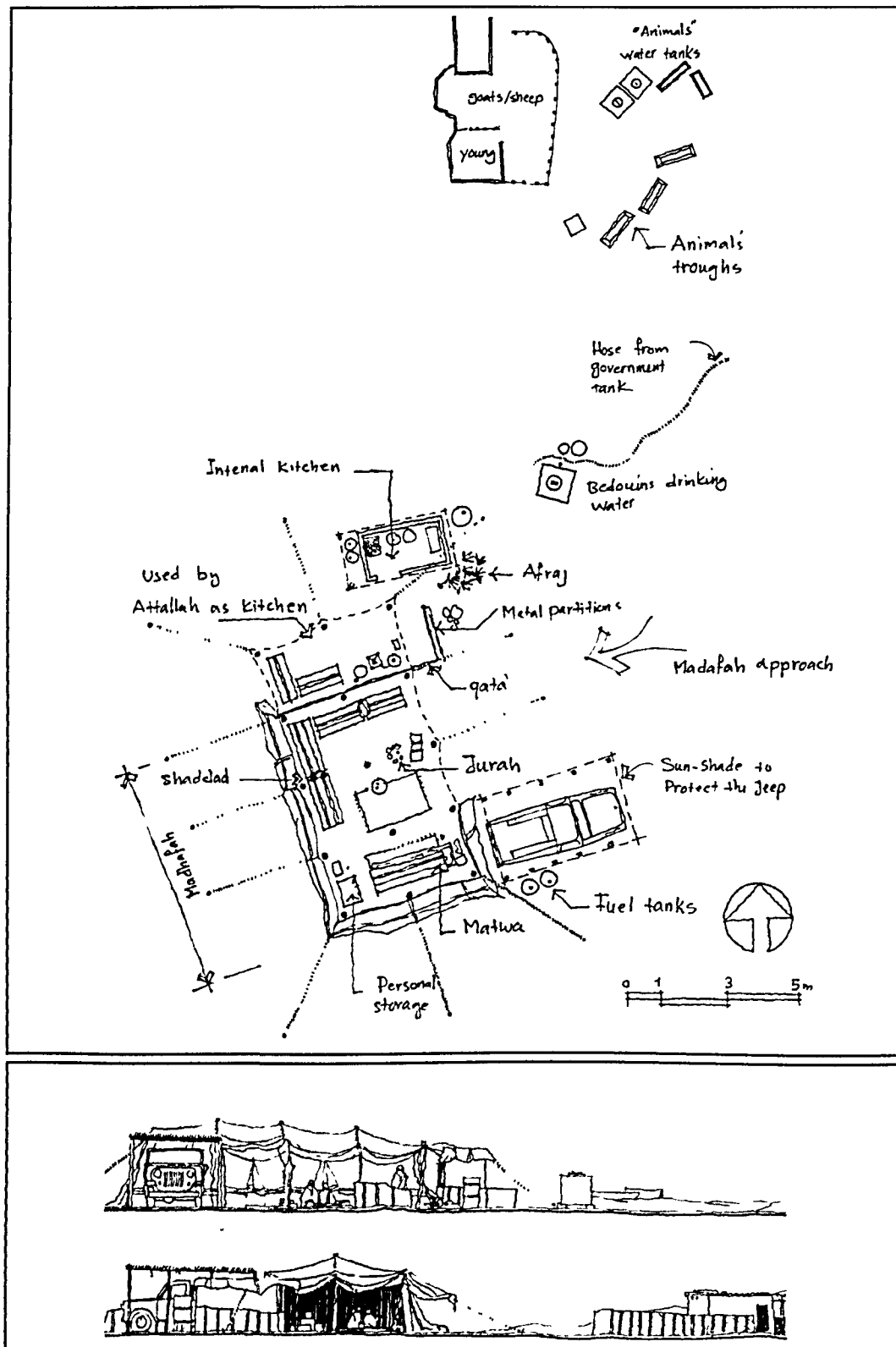


Figure (5.3): Attallah's *madhafah* plan and elevations

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

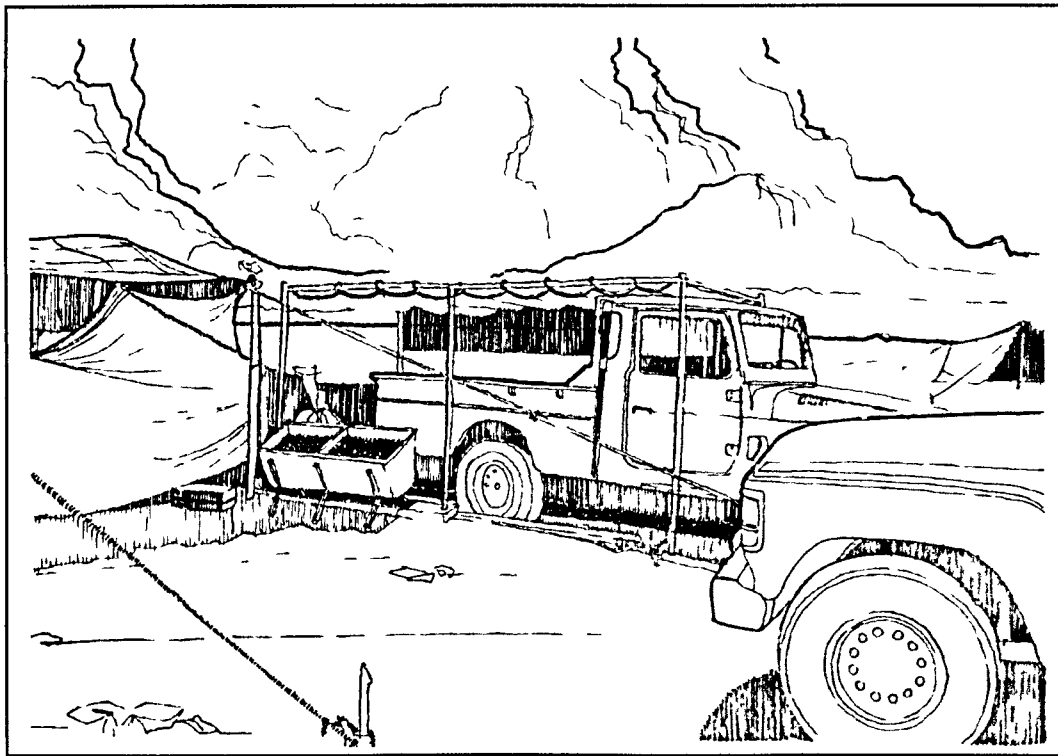


Figure (5.4): Shows the way the Toyota jeep is kept near Attallah's *madhafah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

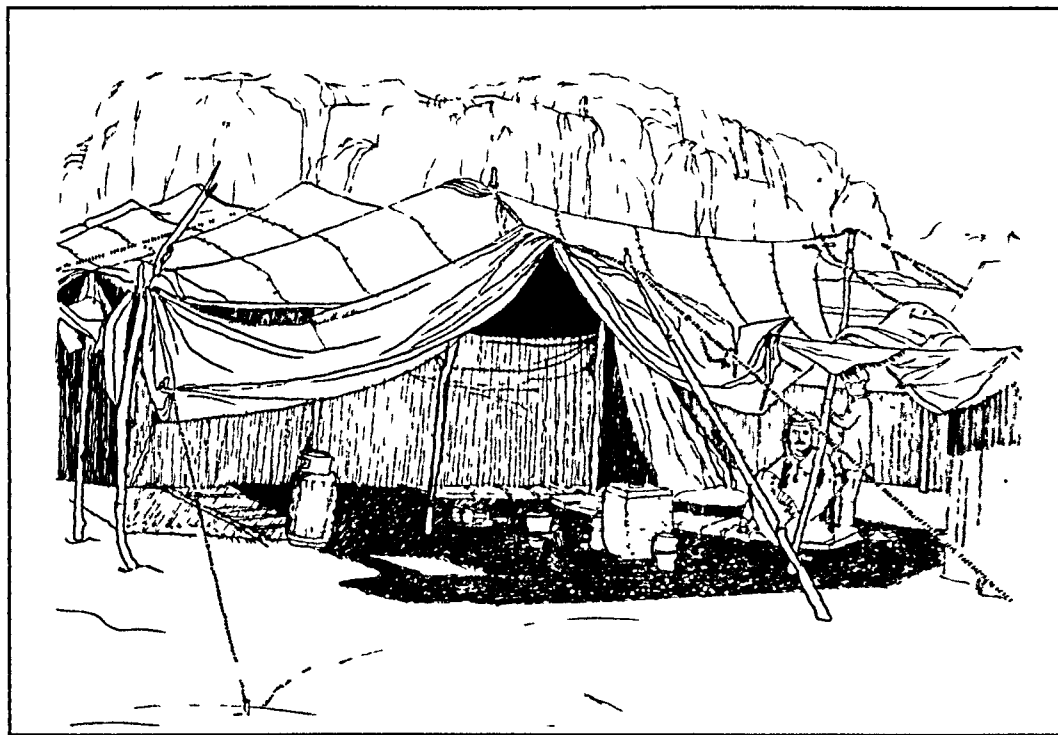


Figure (5.5): The kitchen within Attallah's *madhafah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.



Figure (5.6): The animal's pen behind the *madhafah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

While touring the camp, I noticed the presence of trucks, which confirms Chatty's (1974) and Cloe's (1975) analysis on the contemporary Bedouins' livelihood. Today, trucks carry a special place in Rum Bedouins' lives. At this camp, two cases were observed: the first was the truck which was shaded by a sun-shade over steel frames and the other case was more extreme and gave the truck a special compartment within the tent. These are the trucks that the Bedouins use to provide tourist trips in Wadi Rum. They concluded that by the introduction of these vehicles, the Bedouins' traditional relationship with their desert environment has changed.

Forty years ago, according to the local informants, thousands of camels could be seen in the deserts of southern Jordan. The introduction of trucks, highways and, above all, climatic changes have all contributed to their virtual disappearance. As Chatty clearly described change among the Bedouins has seen their all purpose 4-hoof (*khuff*) give way to the 4-wheel pickup driving machine. The camel that was once known as the ship of the desert (*safenat al-sahra*) has retired from sailing across the sand dunes, and now gets carried on wheels. For the Zalabia, both the truck and the camel are part of

their involvement in tourism. The area's economy today is geared towards tourism. Most of the Zalabia are either directly involved in tourism or hired by local and other Jordanian tour organizers. According to Salman:

We are involved in jeep driving, camel and horse renting, tours' guidance, preparing Bedouins' meals, providing sleeping accommodations and selling souvenirs to tourists. For example, I am working as a tourists' guide and a driver for this Toyota pickup that I bought from Saudi Arabia. There, car license costs amount to only a fraction of what the Jordanian government is charging...when we are filling gasoline from Saudi Arabia, we do not carry the tax burden as we do in Jordan. With these heavy duty trucks, we go outside our *dira's* (tribal territory). Our trips covered the *barr*, *badia* and the *sahra* (Personal interview, 20th of June, 2004).

This distinction prompted me to ask about the meaning of these terms. It was explained that these terms are used to express opposition between settled Bedouins, semi-nomadic/settled and nomadic habitation. The distinction is made according to the concentration of population. In contrast to the village, which is highly populated, *barr* is the place where there is a low concentration of domestic units.

After the tour, Salman invited me to have coffee in his tent. Salman is forty eight years old. He never went to school but is very talkative and knowledgeable. He learned how to speak English from tourists that he has been working with since he was twelve years old. Salman's family is comprised of two wives, three daughters, two sons and a mother-in-law. Although it is unusual to have in-laws, Hasna has no one to look after her since her husband died, except Salman's second wife. The household's herd is about twenty five goats and sheep and five camels. When approaching the tent from its south-west corner, I noticed that Salman's was different. Unlike the Bedouins' tents documented in most of the ethnographies, Salman's tent was made up of four compartments rather than two or three. The fourth was designed to house his Toyota pickup. When I questioned the differences in the layout of Salman's tent and that of his father, Salman laughed and said, "That one is my father's and is used to receive tourists. My father is living with me and my family since my mother died five years ago. At his age, he cannot do much more then sit in that tent and wait for tourists' groups to come chat".

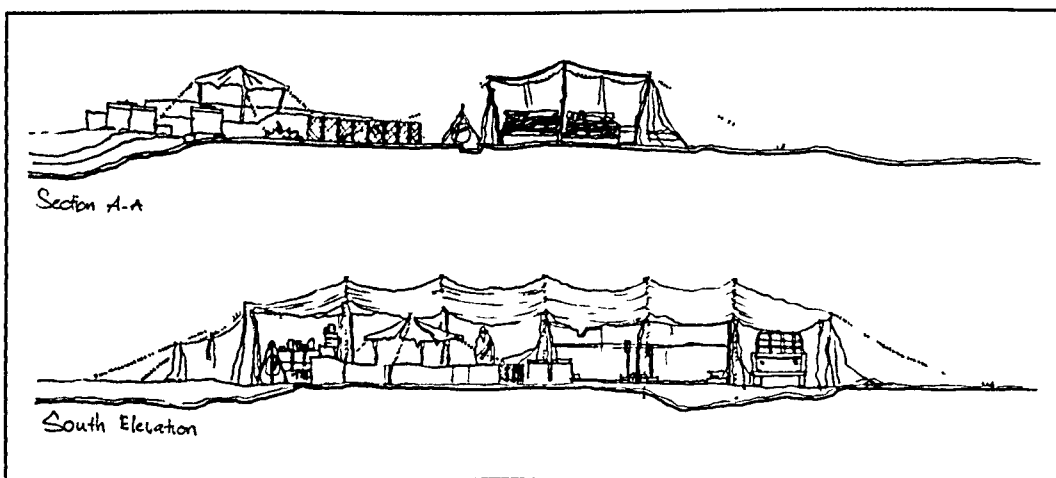
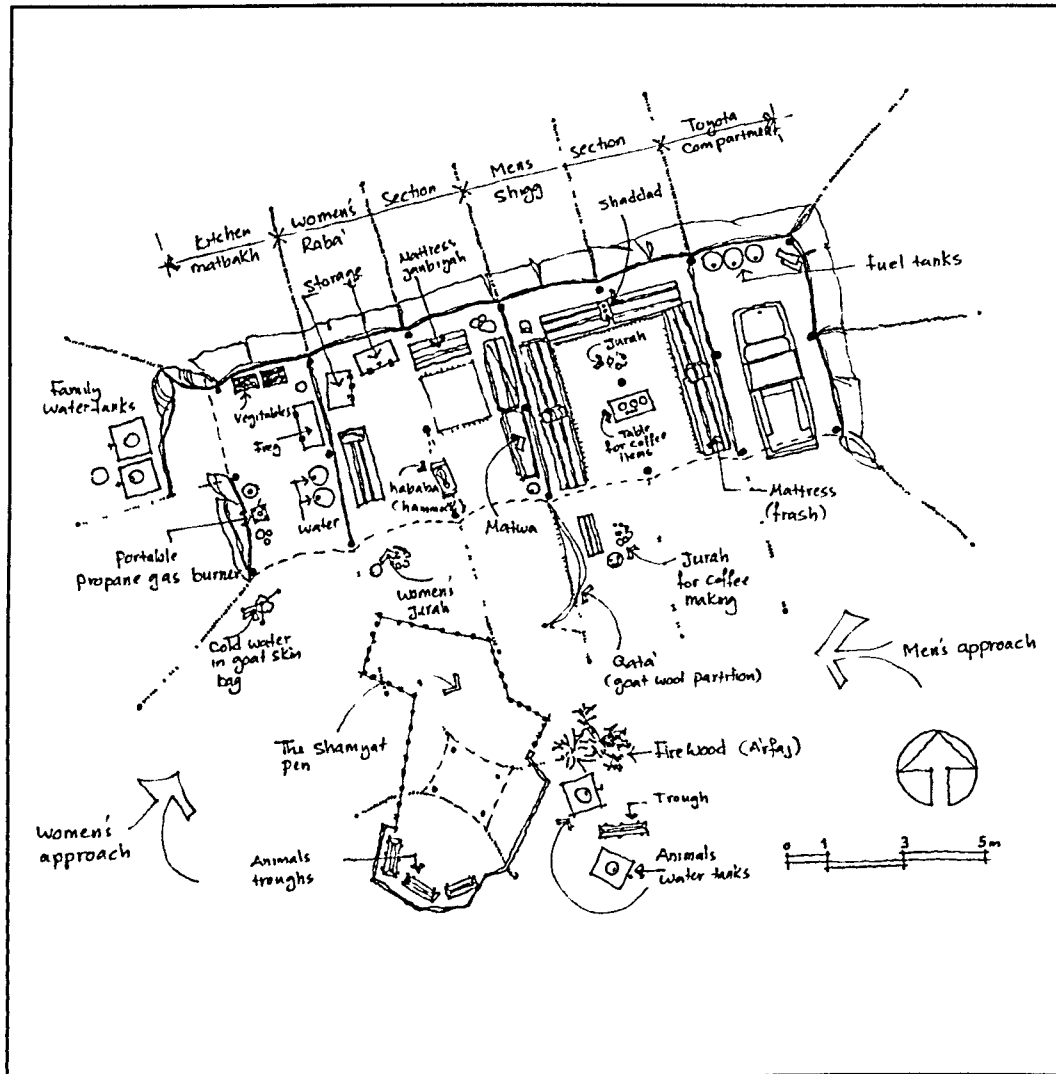


Figure (5.7): Plan, section and elevation of Salman's tent.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

1. The Men's Section (*Shigg*):

Salman's *shigg* was furnished in a u-shaped arrangement containing two kinds of mattresses. The inner side was furnished with thick mattresses called *frash*, while the wings contained thin mattresses called *janbiyah*. If a very distinguished guest were to visit, two thick mattresses might be piled on top of one another to show more respect. At the end of each mattress, a couple of pillows (*mkhadeh*, Pl. *makhadat*) were placed to be used as armrests. The camel's saddle (*shaddad*) was set in the middle of the inner side of the arrangement. At the sun set, the *shigg* was filled by the camp's men and some of Salman's relatives who came from Rum Village to socialize. I was seated to the right of the host, with the *shaddad* in between. The rest of the guests were seated to the left side of the host, as well as to my right side, according to their age and status. There were two fires burning in and around Salman's tent. One was located slightly outside the tent designated for coffee making, while the other fireplace was in the center of the *shigg* to keep the compartment warm in winter, as well as to heat the coffee pot when used.

Various utensils were placed near the inner fireplace to be used for coffee and tea making. These included coffee pots (*dallah*, pl. *dlall*), an enamel jug (*ibreeg*) for boiling the coffee grounds, a kettle for tea, glasses (*kaseh*, pl. *kasat*), coffee cups (*finjal*, pl. *fnajeel*), tongs for tending the fire and a tripod where the *ibreeg* sat. As informed by Salman, the *shigg* has no fixed furniture except the fire place, the camel's saddle placed in one of the corners, a butane gas lamp and a rifle that is usually hung from middle pole. When guests arrive, rugs and mattresses are brought from the women's section where they are stored.

While I was conversing with Salman, E'ed (Salman's son) was busy preparing the Bedouins' coffee near the tent's entrance (*fum* or *babb al khaimah*). There, the coffee was brewed in a small hearth set just outside the tent. The fire place consists of the hearth (*jarah*) surrounded by three stones (*ladaya*), where the coffee pot sits. During winter, the Bedouins use the tents' ropes to hang extra curtains to create a special enclosure for the coffee making, allowing the person preparing the coffee to stay warm and providing better circulation for the fire's smoke. As a sign of hospitality, coffee making is always done by the tent's master or one of his sons.

According to their customs, the reputation of a Bedouin man is measured by qualities such as hospitality. After guests are received in the Bedouin tent, a set of unwritten rules applies. Unlike what Attalah did, the tent owner would never ask his guest about the purpose of his visit before three days and one third of a day. When the guest is received, the host would offer him the coffee and food, even if it means slaughtering the last animal he owns. Another aspect related to Bedouin hospitality is the protection of the guest from possible pursuers that may harm him. The process of receiving the guest who seeks protection is called *dakhlah* and the guest is called *dakheel* in such a case. Once the man becomes a *dakheel*, the host is responsible for his safety. Again, within this process, the rituals of coffee serving are bound by the Bedouins' rule of etiquette as part of their *awayed*:

The host drinks the first cup of coffee known as *finjal al-hayf*, meaning the unworthy, that should be served as an assurance of the guests' security and protection. This also gives the host the chance to check the coffee making and to be sure that it is hot, since it is insulting to serve cold coffee. The host leaves a few drops in his first cup for the guest to drink. By doing so, the host preserves the reputations of both guest and host. The first cup of coffee, which the guest drinks is known as the guest's cup (*finjal al-dhayf*), and is the manner by which the guest declares his acceptance of the host's hospitality and vice versa. The guest is then offered a second cup of coffee, known as the cup of pleasure (*finjal al-kayef*), which serves to ask the guest whether he is comfortable and satisfied with the hospitality. The guest then replies saying that he is quite comfortable and satisfied and approves the hospitality presented by the host. The third and last cup is served, known as the sword cup (*finjal al-sayf*). This last cup of coffee serves as the seal of the pact concluded between guest and host. This joint defence and protection-like pact would be binding on both equally, and not only against each other but also jointly against any aggressors. By *finjal al-sayf*, the guest should shake the cup by holding it between fingers and thumb as a sign of satisfaction (Oweidi, 1982, p. 124).

I noticed that when the head of the tent is receiving guests, the curtain often extended out along the guy rope to provide more privacy to the *raba'* (women's section). While I was socializing with the Bedouins, a woman from the other side of the *qata'* called E'ed, Salman's son, and asked him to extend the *qata'* more than its original position. Later, Jumana reported that this happened when Salman's wife wanted to go outside the *raba'* to prepare the tea for her female guests.

As the *shigg* is the section of the tent where males socialize, I noticed that Ali's *shigg* had a television powered by car batteries. Salman believed that having a television within the *shigg* is altering the *shigg's* function as the place where the tribesmen socialize and discuss the camp's various matters.

2. The Women's Section:

The women's section of the tent may take different names. The two most popular are: *a'ilah*, literally meaning the family, and *mharram*, meaning the sacred. As mentioned in chapter two, the terms *harem* (women) and *mharram* (sacred) are derived from the Arabic source word *haram*, literally meaning forbidden or inviolable. Chapter two illustrated that the term *haram* is deeply rooted in the teachings of Islam. According to the Holy Koran and *Hadith*, the people whom the woman can mingle with are her husband, father, father in-law, sons, step sons, brothers, husband's brothers, uncles and her nephews. These are the people that a woman is never allowed to marry.

Within Bedouin society women are appreciated as important, and are valued for many reasons. Despite the fact that women do not exist in the Bedouins' formal genealogical structure, they play an informal, but important, role in maintaining ties between the different groups in their communities. Although the usage of the terms *harem* and seclusion present women as if they are totally excluded from the bustle of the public male world, within Attallah's camp I noticed that woman move freely, but away from the *madhafah* where the guests gather. Within the camp, Bedouin women spend much of their time apart from men, forming their own community.

In comparing the number of poles (*a'amoud*, pl. *omdan*) supporting the roof of the *raba'* of Salman's tent, it can be concluded that it has an equal area as the *shigg*. For extra separation, the bedding, which is a low table called *manhadh* or *matwa* was stacked against the *qata'* serving as a dividing wall between the *shigg* and *raba'*. The stacking follows a certain pattern, where the woven rugs (*bsat*, pl. *bosot*) are kept at the bottom since the Bedouins only use them in ceremonial occasions such as marriage celebrations. Next, the quilts (*lihaf*, pl. *luhof*) and mattresses are stacked according to their thickness with the thicker ones stacked first. The pillows (*mkhadeh*, pl. *makhadat*) are stored on top, or to fill in gaps. Beside the *matwa*, it was observed

that the Bedouins keep some bags that contain their clothing and other personal possessions. From a practical point of view, the use of *matwa* as a separator is useless. The time the division is most needed is when the *shigg* is filled with guests and that is the time when the mattresses are taken away. Around the front of the women's section, a large hedge of brushwood was located next to the *zriebeh* that contains Salman's mother in-law's animals. The brushwood also provides a shelter from the wind and provides greater privacy.

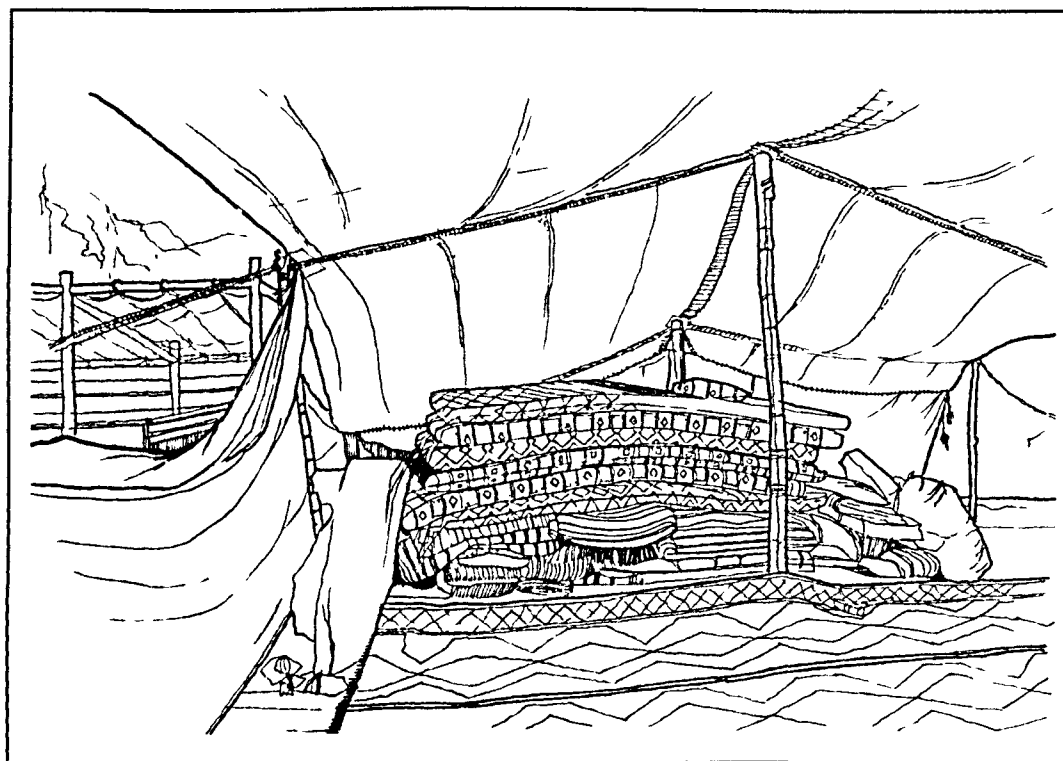


Figure (5.8): The *matwa* located along the *qata'* within the women's section

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The *raba'* can be considered to be the family's multi-purpose space. The mattresses are put away after sleeping or after the departure of the guest, and are never kept out in the expectation of a female guest. When entertaining female guests, seats are offered and accepted only upon consideration of the degree of intimacy and the purpose and length of the visit. Outsiders, who come for formal visits, are usually offered *frash* (thick mattress) while family members, neighbours and close friends who stop for a short informal visit may be offered a *janbiyah*. Women working at home would often layout a *janbiyah* or even sit on the ground. During the daytime, the

outdoor areas in front and behind the *raba'* are the places where some of the family's activities take place by women. In front of the *raba'*, women perform tasks such as cleaning lentils, knitting, sewing covers for the quilts and socializing. These activities can be performed in front of the *raba'* only when the *shigg* is empty. As Jumana was informed by Saman's wife, in front of the *raba'* the mattresses can be opened one by one over a series of days in which the wool is removed to be cleaned and fluffed and then reassembled. The area behind the *raba'* is the favourite place for women to socialize, especially young women since the area is well protected from the view of people passing by.

In the case of polygamy, when the tent's owner does not prefer having separate tents for his wives, the women's section may be divided by beddings or by dividing curtains to give each wife her own section. Co-wives spend more time with each other than either of them does with the husband. They are also free to mingle with other women more often since they can share the burden of the family's responsibilities.

Concerning socializing patterns within the Bedouin women, the closest relationships are those among kinswomen who live in the same camp or nearby. Lila Abu-Lughud in *A Community of Secrets: The Separate World of Bedouin Women* writes that:

The easy familiarity in interactions between women of various ages and social status in all female gatherings contrast sharply with the formality that characterizes their interaction with men...throughout the day and late into the night, the women gossip, exchange news, joke and tell stories, sing and smoke cigarettes...they show their concern for the new mother, who is often too weak to participate much, through the favours they do for her, the stories they tell of their birthing experiences, and the advice they offer...in this female community, women are free to do as they wish with no fear of sudden intrusions or interruptions (1985, p. 637).

There is no pronounced hierarchy among the Bedouin women, but this section of society is internally structured by principles similar to those that organize the men's community. Hierarchy among Bedouin women is measured by who performs services for whom and who has more freedom of movement both within and outside of the camp. Among the Zalabia, the two worlds, that of men's and women's, coexist side by side, as "a function not of the wisher and power of particular men, but of the sexual

division of labour and a social system structured by the primacy of agnatic bonds” (Abu-Lughud, 1985, p. 640). This division does not take the form of a rigidly demarcated separation. On the contrary, it is rather informal and flexible, except when having total strangers to the family.

The last compartment in Salman’s tent is the kitchen, where most of the cooking, clothes washing and water heating activities take place. Behind the kitchen, there was a pile of firewood called *arfaj*. Beside it, there was pile of *jallah*, which is sun-dried camel manure. The Bedouins use it as a kind of charcoal or fuel, used for cooking and making coffee. As informed by Daifallah, if no strangers are present, household members of both sexes often eat together in the *raba’*. In the case of guests, separation of the two sexes takes place. Although Salman’s wives live in separate tents, they usually share meals, especially on Friday when all of the family members are in the camp, as Friday and Saturday are the weekend holiday in Jordan. After meals, dishes are washed at the tank and set out to dry either on top of the tank beside the *raba’* or on the pile of the brushwood nearby. In winter time, the activities of washing and drying the dishes take place within the kitchen compartment. Near the pile of brushwood, the *ladaya* are located for baking the bread (*shrak*) on a cast iron disk (*saj*).

The research team spent a full week with Salman’s family. Every night, after socializing with the Bedouins around the *jurah* (fire place), Salman piled two thick mattresses on top of each other to give me more comfort. At sunrise the camp became extremely active, which was in great contrast to the quiet of the night. By the end of the week, after *fatour* (breakfast) that comprised of tea, *shrak* (thin bread), pieces of tomato and cucumbers and thick yogurt, *labanah*, Daifallah suggested heading out to the desert as early as possible to avoid the sun’s heat (*harrah*). Ten minutes after departure, the team entered the majestic theatre of Wadi Rum. It is a series of valleys, each about a mile wide that runs north-south for many miles. Jumana was very anxious to explore more and more, as this was her first visit to the area. Therefore, we stopped in different locations, which were considered to be the most visited of Wadi Rum’s attractions.

5.2.2 Atieq Zalabia Camp:

After driving for more than 30 minutes south of Attallah's camp, we stopped at another Bedouin camp. The camp was signalled by a collection of three tents and a Toyota pickup truck. In contrast to the first camp, two of the tents were pitched facing the massive walls of mountains. The desert environment inspired the camp's Bedouins to do so. First, the massive walls provide a suitable cool environment inside the tents because of the shadows they cast. Second, facing the walls of the mountains meant having the back of the tent facing the prevailing sandy wind that might blow along the valley, and therefore, keeping the sand out of the tents. Also, this setup allowed the Bedouins to use some of the mountains' caves as extra living and storage space.

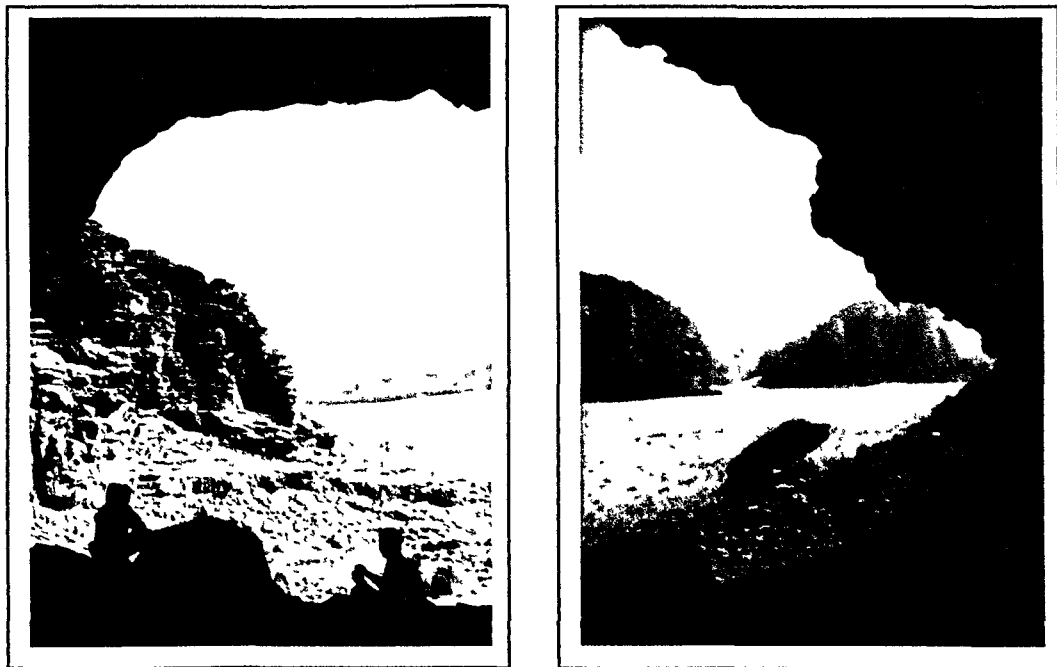


Figure (5.9): Some of the caves used by the Bedouins.

Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

The camp was called Atieq camp. The name was given in memory of its elder person who died four years prior. After living in the village for two years, his widow decided that she would come back and stay in the camp for two reasons. First, she felt loyalty and yearned for the years when she was living with Atieq. Second, the camp was located at the junction of different valleys making it suitable to provide services to tourists. While the first reason was sentimental, the second was practical, especially since her two sons, Mohammad and E'ed, were working as Toyota jeep drivers.

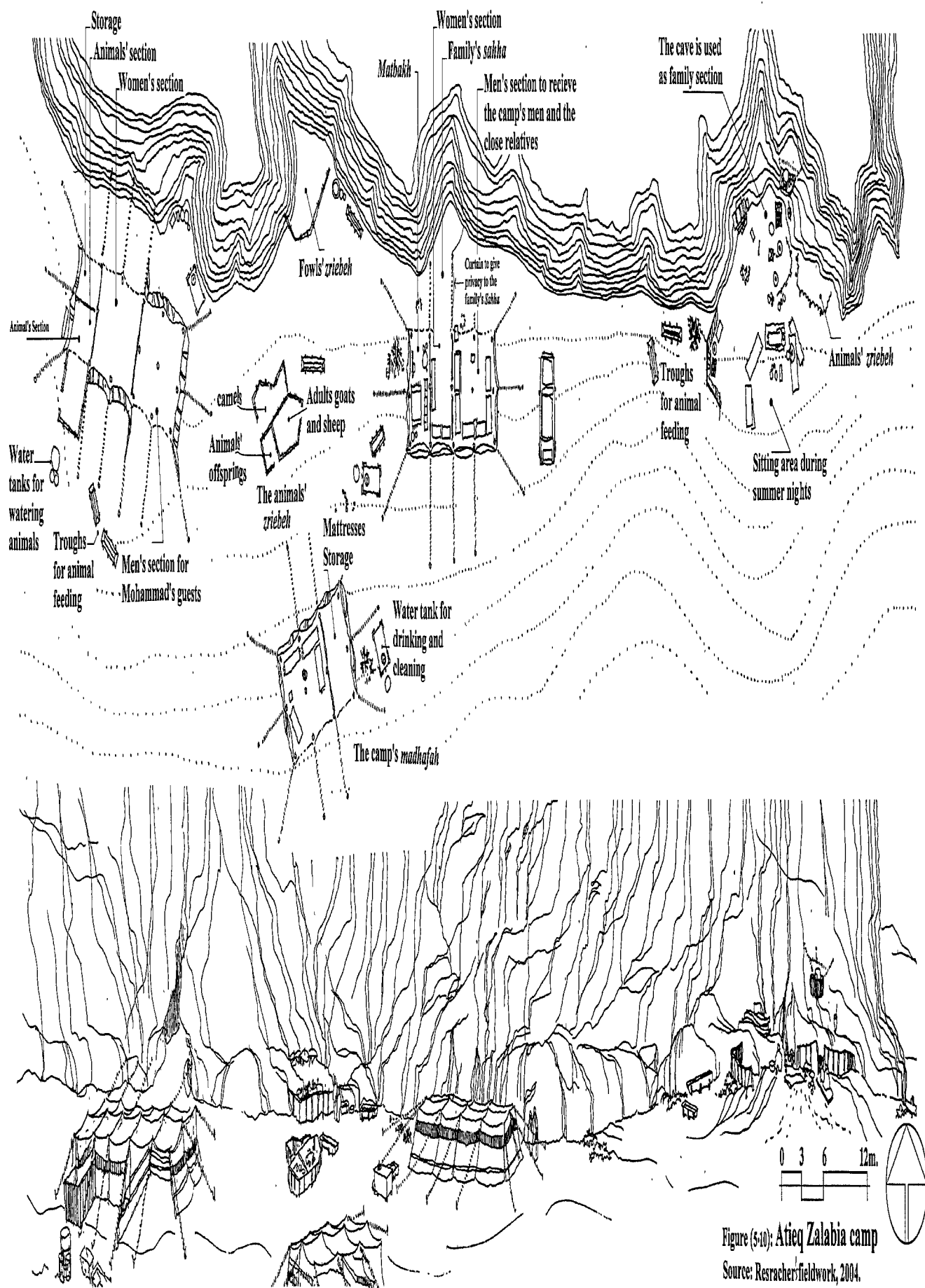


Figure (5-10): Atieq Zalabia camp
Source: Resrachers' fieldwork, 2004.

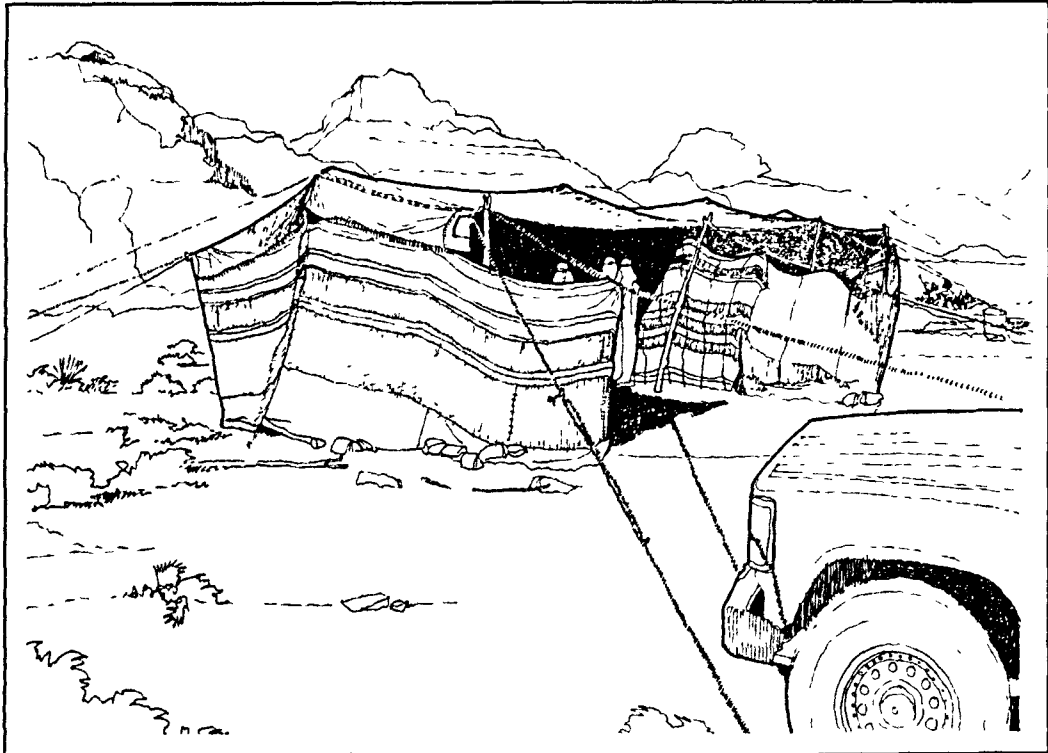


Figure (5.11): The tent that Atieq's camp is using as *madhafah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

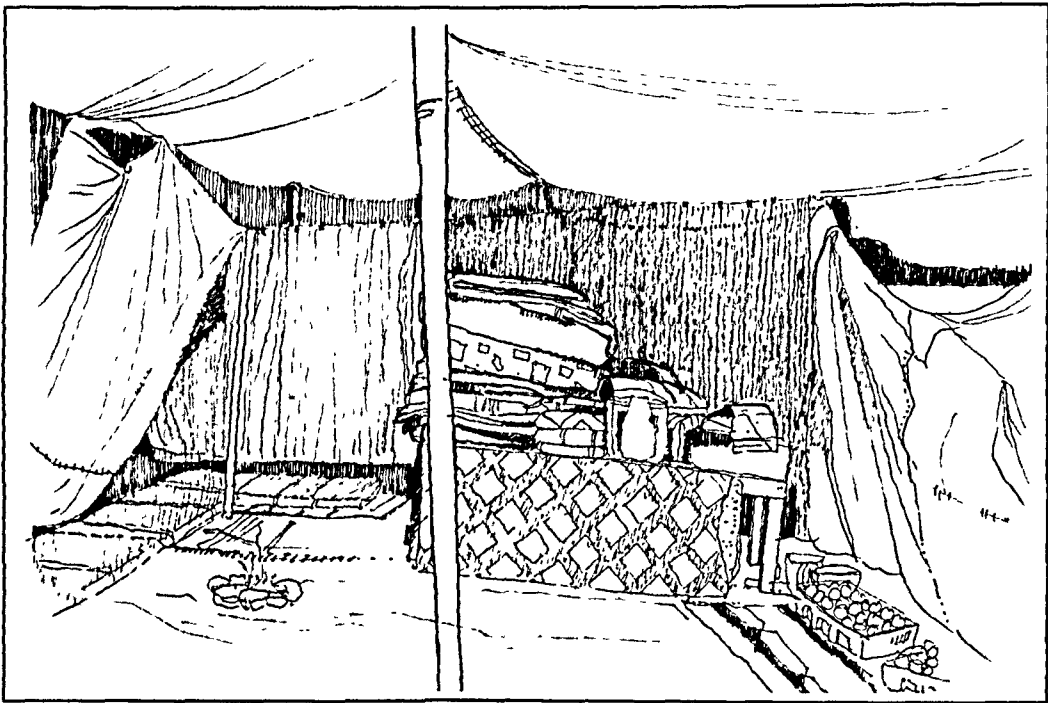


Figure (5.12): The interior of the *madhafah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

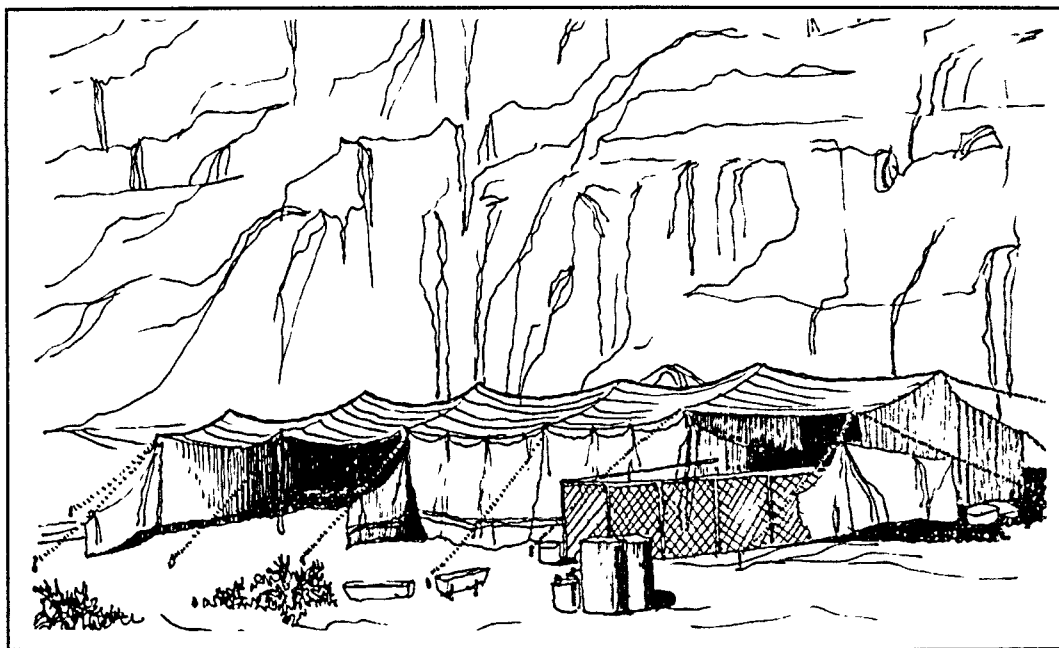


Figure (5.13): Mohammad's tent's compartments to shelter his livestock.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

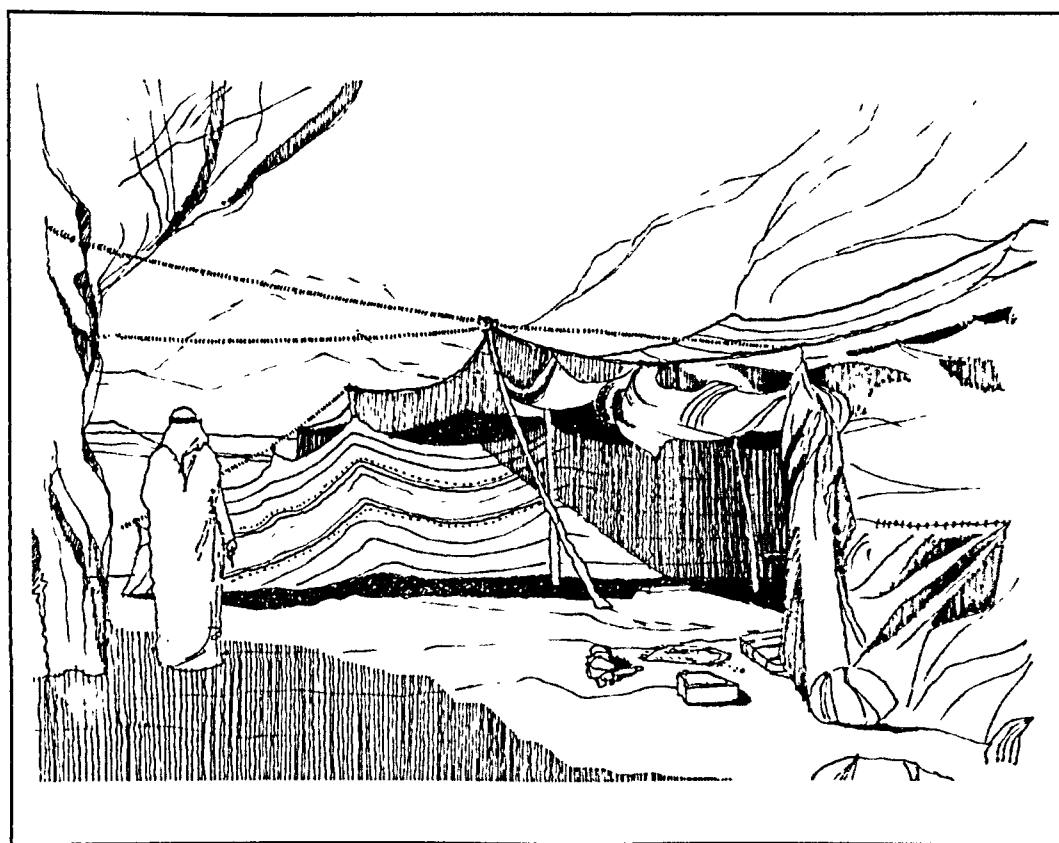


Figure (5.14): The *Raba'* side of Mohammad's tent.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

In addition to the three tents, the family were occupying one of the shallow caves found in the massive mountain wall that they pitched the tent against. The cave was being used as multi purpose space. In addition to its function as a storage area, the cave was also used as the family's kitchen, equipped with some items the Bedouins might need while in the desert. There, one can find a portable propane gas burner, different kinds of cooking pots and dishes attached to the cave's walls, different kinds of vegetables and a variety of canned food which were all kept in an ice box.

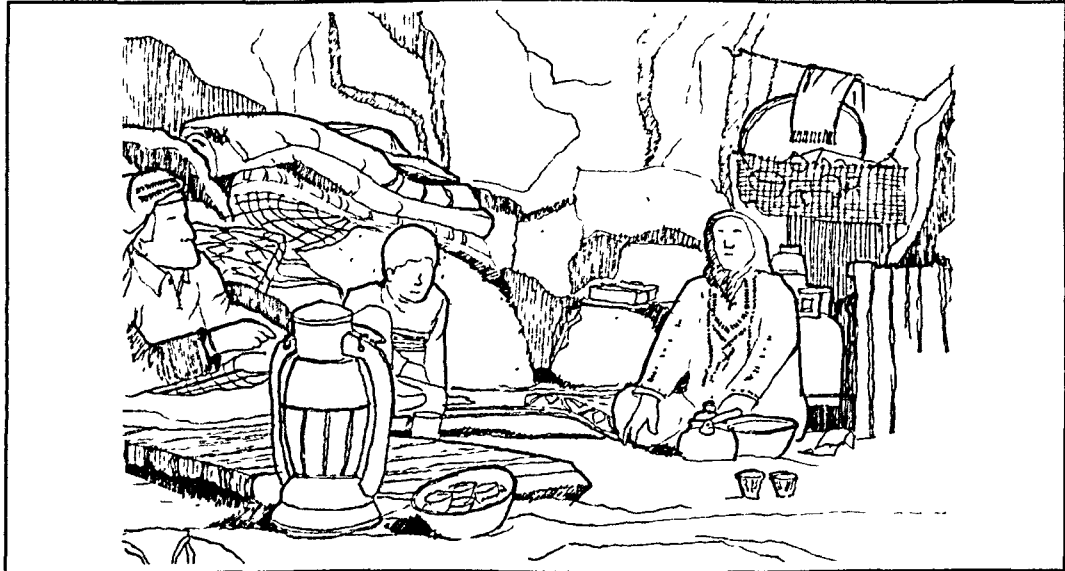


Figure (5.15): The cave the family uses as an extra living space and kitchen.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

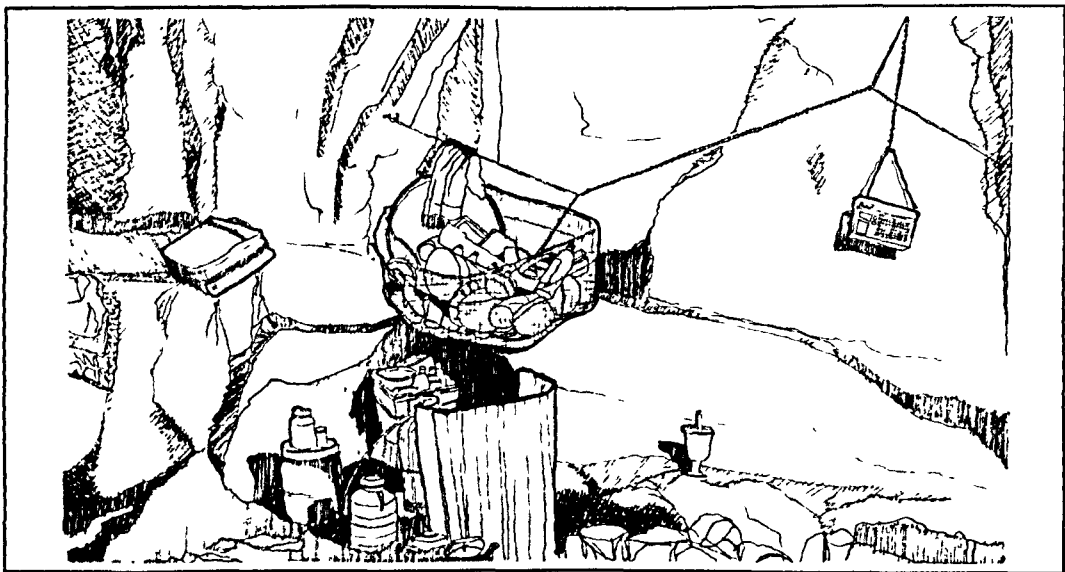


Figure (5.16): The cave being used for the extra space by the family.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The family owns more than twenty five goats. They are kept in two locations, the first partially inside the cave. It is demarcated by a one meter high partition made of old metal sheets. This location is reserved for the weaned young goats. The other pen is located next to the tent and reserved for the adult animals. In addition to the kitchen located inside the cave, the tent has its own kitchen compartment, which is equipped with the basics needed for household activities. Behind the tent, a water tank is located, which is also to be used for the domestic activities of the family as well as watering the animals. Beside the tent, the family used the mountain's walls to create *zriebeh* to keep their fowl (chickens and turkeys).

With the sunset, I asked Daifallah to go to the village. Sincerely, the host insisted to stay to enjoy one of the Wadi Rum's quite nights. After having the meal in front of the cave, Daifallah sung to the tune of his *rababah* (music instrument).

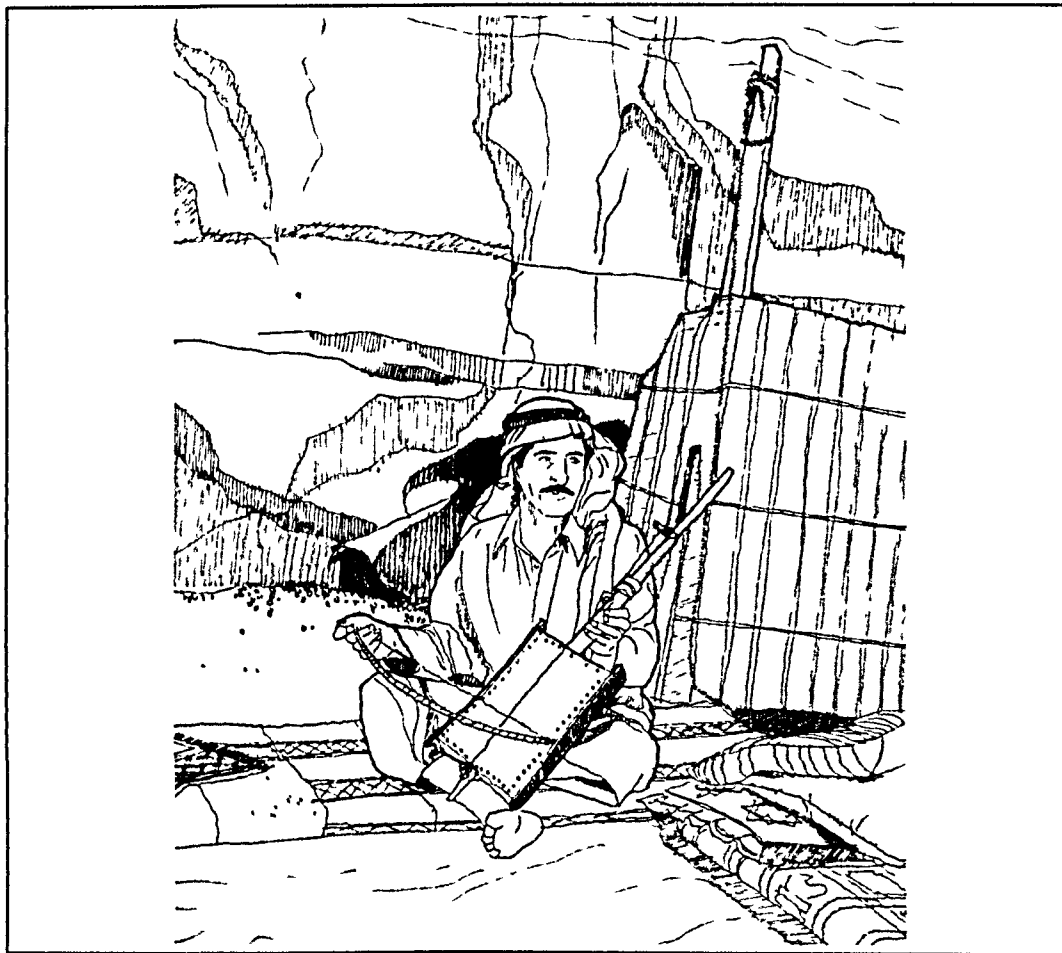


Figure (5.17): Daifallah playing music on his *rababah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

After successive trips into the desert, and, more specifically, into Attallah's and Atieq's camps, I became increasingly accepted by the Bedouins and naturally fell into the routines of their lives. By observing the Bedouins from the inside, as an adopted member of their community, I was able to grasp a detailed picture of the Bedouin way of life. The following section documents the nomadic Bedouin family's daily, semi-daily and seasonal activities using information gathered on these trips. Observations and comments are confined to Attallah's Bedouin camp.

5.3 The Socio-Economic Activities of the Bedouins' Camp:

Three phenomena were observed within the Bedouin camps. First: although the Bedouin man is the head of the household and the main decision maker, women are almost the exclusive users of the tent. Furthermore, the tent is usually owned by the senior woman in the family on the husband's side. During the day, when the men are out to work or study, women, young children and the elderly are often the only inhabitants of the camp. Second: different subsistence activities are performed within Bedouin households according to division of labour. This division can be based on age, sex and the size of the household. Third: it was observed that during periods in which livestock require a great deal of attention, grandparents take over the responsibility of caring for the young children.

Fieldwork findings illustrate that livestock occupies a significant place in the Bedouins' network of cultural symbols. This significance and centrality of livestock is demonstrated in different customs connected with the livestock and its products. Within Attallah's camp, there were thirty-three goats and thirty-one ewes, and out of all of them eight goats and six ewes were owned by Salameh, Attallah's brother. When Attallah talks about livestock, one can notice his eyes shining. According to Attallah, "animals are our connection to life, there is almost no Bedouin custom that does not involve, in one way or another, the animals or their products". After spending some time within Attallah's camp, I found that the Bedouins treat their animals with devotion as if they were members of the family. I also found that the Bedouins' daily routine is centred on their livestock in which everyone contributes his or her share, according to ability, physical strength, age, sex, and their involvement in other household activities.

The Bedouins' day starts shortly after sunrise. Around five o'clock, the woman rises, washes (ablution) and prays within the *raba'*. After, she starts the hearth fire outside the kitchen compartment of the tent, when weather permits. The fire is used to heat water to prepare the tea and bread for the family's breakfast. Meanwhile, Salman's son E'ed was responsible for feeding the goats, aided by Sweilem's two sons, Daifallah and Mahmoud. At night time, they set the feeding-troughs in rows and fill them with straw and barley; then, in the morning, the goats were fed. Before the feeding, Salman and his first wife were busy examining the newly born goats, and separating them from the rest of livestock. Then, the animals were released to go to the feeding-troughs.

Close to six o'clock, Salman, his brother Ali, and their wives guide the young goats to the ewes, and supervise their suckling. Around seven, Salman's wife and her two daughter in-laws prepared the family breakfast (*fatour*) which consists of basic food that the family produces. Usually this includes tea, milk and bread dipped in any of the dairy products available at the time, such as: liquid yogurt (*laban*), concentrated yogurt (*labanah*), butter (*zubdah*) and clarified butter (*samnah*). In cases where male visitors are received, the Bedouins' conventional segregation of sexes takes place. Afterwards, the group that prepared breakfast is responsible for preparing the herders' food (*zowadeh*) that they will take with them for the day. This meal usually consists partially of the previous day leftovers. Two of Attallah's daughters-in-law and one or two of Sweilem's sons are responsible for the herding activity. Herding the animals is an all day activity. The animals will graze all day while being watched by the herders. At sunset, all will return to the camp. The herding activity's routine differs according to the livestock whether it is sheep, goats or camels.

Immediately after breakfast, the first round of milking of the animals takes place. Afterwards the family's livestock, except the young weaned animals (*fatayem*), are taken out to the pasture who will returned to the camp at sunset. Here, it is important to note that in polygamous cases, wives will either take turns to do the household's chores and herding activities or they divide the tasks among themselves and their elder daughters. Looking after the *fatayem* is one of the tasks performed by the woman who stays at the tent; this is usually the first wife or the elder members of the family.

After breakfast, men and their school-aged children leave the camp. Men often leave their camp and families for days or even weeks at a time to buy and sell animals, hunt, or visit local authorities or relatives in other camps. When the men start their day, it is a sign that the woman's more difficult tasks start. Cleaning and arranging the various sections of the tent is the first task to be performed, before they leave the tent to do any outdoor activity such as water fetching or socializing. When male guests are being entertained, women are not able to go to the *shigg*, cleaning and arranging the *shigg* can be either performed by the man and his sons or postponed until the stranger leaves. Meanwhile, Salman's mother in-law, Hasna, takes some goat hair, and while sitting in front of the *raba'*, she spins the goat hair and occasionally sings the *hgaynee*, the old Bedouins' songs. She supervises Sweilem's young children while his wife does her domestic activities. Before having his lunch, Attallah takes the young animals out of their pen and feeds them some crushed barley to fatten them up. Afterwards, he waters them before taking them back to the holding pen. By noon, the men come from work, bringing with them their household items which will be needed for the upcoming days. At that time, the families take their lunch and relax while having tea or coffee.

Around three o'clock in the afternoon, the family members start to prepare the evening meal for their livestock. When the livestock arrive around 4:30 pm, the meal is served consisting of straw and barley. Meanwhile, the young livestock nurse from their mothers, just before the second round of milking takes place. While some of the family members prepare food for the animals, the women begin to prepare the family's dinner. On most of the days, their dinner (*a'sha*) consists of a soup of lentils, rice and yogurt prepared over breads. It is called *rashuf*. The term is derived from the Arabic source word *rashaf*, literally meaning to sip and slurp. Their *a'sha* is served in the *raba'*. All the family members eat collectively unless there are male guests present. After dinner, while the family gets ready for bed, the tent's headman goes to one of his neighbouring tents to socialize. There, they play cards or *seijah*. The *seijah* is very similar to chess, although the game does not extend for the same length of time. It is played with whatever is handy such as small stones, twigs, olive pits and even dry animal's dung. The board is laid out in the sand, and the purpose is to surround and remove the other player's pieces called 'men'.



Figure (5.18): Two Bedouin men playing *sejjah*.

Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

Here, it is important to mention that the Bedouin family's daily routine is slightly affected by three events: seasonal migration, weddings, and Ramadan which is the Muslim's fasting month. The family's joined work takes place almost the same way, every day of the week, with some exceptions. During the weekends, religious and national holidays, the school children participate more than they do on ordinary days. Because caring for the family's livestock requires so many hands, Sweilem's older son gave up his education to help the family and allow his younger siblings to continue theirs. The pattern of the daily routine also differs seasonally depending on the arrangements regarding livestock rearing and the involvement of the men in the camp in activities related to tourism.

According to the research fieldwork observations, activities within the Bedouin camps can be categorized in a way that reflects the activity time- routine. These categorizations are, daily, semi-daily and seasonal activities. These observations also showed that a co-operation between the Bedouin camp's households is based upon forming units of mutual aid. The units consist of close kin who are considered to belong to the same *khamisa*. Within these units, each family owns its own household and is responsible for its own domestic activities.

5.3.1 Daily Activities:

5.3.1.1 Praying

Although religion is associated with their daily behaviours, within the Bedouin camps I noticed that Islamic rituals are mainly performed by the elder men and women. The obligatory prayers are performed five times a day: at sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and night-time. Ablution (*wdhu'*) is performed up to five times a day, as one is not obliged to do the ablution unless he or she went for urine or defecation or directly touched an opposite sex who is eligible for marriage. Because of the scarcity of water in desert areas, Islamic teachings urge Muslims to consider economical use of water; even if it means using sand in the absence of water. This is the symbolic ablution called *Tayammum*. It starts with the declaration that the intention of this act is for the purpose of worship and purity. Then, the person should only touch earth, sand, or stone lightly with both hands and then wipe the face with them once as done in the real ablution. Prayers and ablution can be carried out, more or less, wherever one happens to be, after paying respect to the general rule of sex segregation. The only requirement is that prayers be performed in a clean place. Among the Bedouins, this is assured through the use of portable prayer rugs (*sijadat assallah*) or their *abayah* (cloak). As there are no formal mosques in the desert, they improvise their prayer area with a small semi- circular wall of rocks inside the camp.

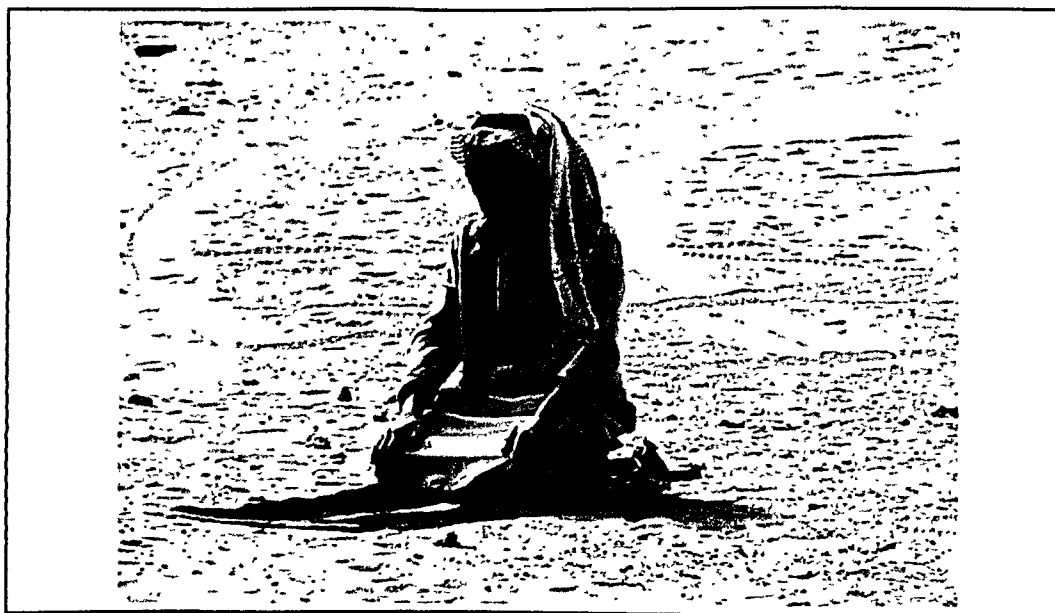


Figure (5.19): A Bedouin man practicing his daily prayers.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.3.1.2 Bread Making:

Bread making is considered to be the most important daily task performed by the Bedouin women. The *shrak*, which is large thin unleavened bread, is the most common within Wadi Rum's camps. It is usually prepared in large quantities twice a day, once at sunrise and again in the afternoon. It takes about thirty minutes to make enough bread for one family meal. For bread making, the Bedouins use two kinds of wheat. Most of the Bedouins are now using packaged milled-wheat because of its availability and affordability. However, there are some Bedouin families that are still following the Bedouins' traditional method of grinding. Traditionally the grains are first sifted in a circular sieve (*gherbal*), and then ground on a stone rotating quern (*irh'ah*) to make flour. After adding some salt to the flour, it is kneaded and pummelled in a bowl with water until it gains the right consistency. After, the dough is patted into small round cakes about the size of a hand-full and placed on a floured tray. The tray is then covered and put away until the fire is started. The hearth (*jarah*) is a hand-dug hole in the sand surrounded by three medium size stones (*ladeah*, Pl. *ladaya*). These provide a tripod-like support for the *saj*, which is a convex metal sheet that functions as a baking tray. Each cake is patted back and forth between the palms of the hand to make it thinner. When it reaches a diameter of about fifty centimetres, it is thrown over the *saj*. It is turned over once for a few seconds to be cooked.



Figure (5.20): *Shrak* making that shows how the *saj* rests on the *ladaya*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

In polygamous households, it is usually the first wife who prepares the dough while the other starts the fire. Within monogamous Households, adult unmarried daughters help in some stages of the bread making process. Within the Bedouin community, mothers teach their daughters the bread making starting around the age of six, and by the time the daughter reaches the age of twelve she can make the bread by herself.

Bedouins make another type of bread called *a'rbuod*. It is usually made by the Bedouin men when they are away from their camps. It is also made by them on days when the camp is moved, especially if a rest stop is required along their way. Currently, the *a'rbuod* is made to express hospitality and to impress tourists. After the dough is done, the Bedouins mould it into a flat cake shape and place it directly onto the raked ashes of the fire. More embers are heaped on top to get it properly done. After this, they bang the bread firmly to knock off the ashes. The resulting bread is delicious, but gets hard very quickly. It is preferable to dip the *a'rbuod* in the camels' milk (*haleeb jmall*).

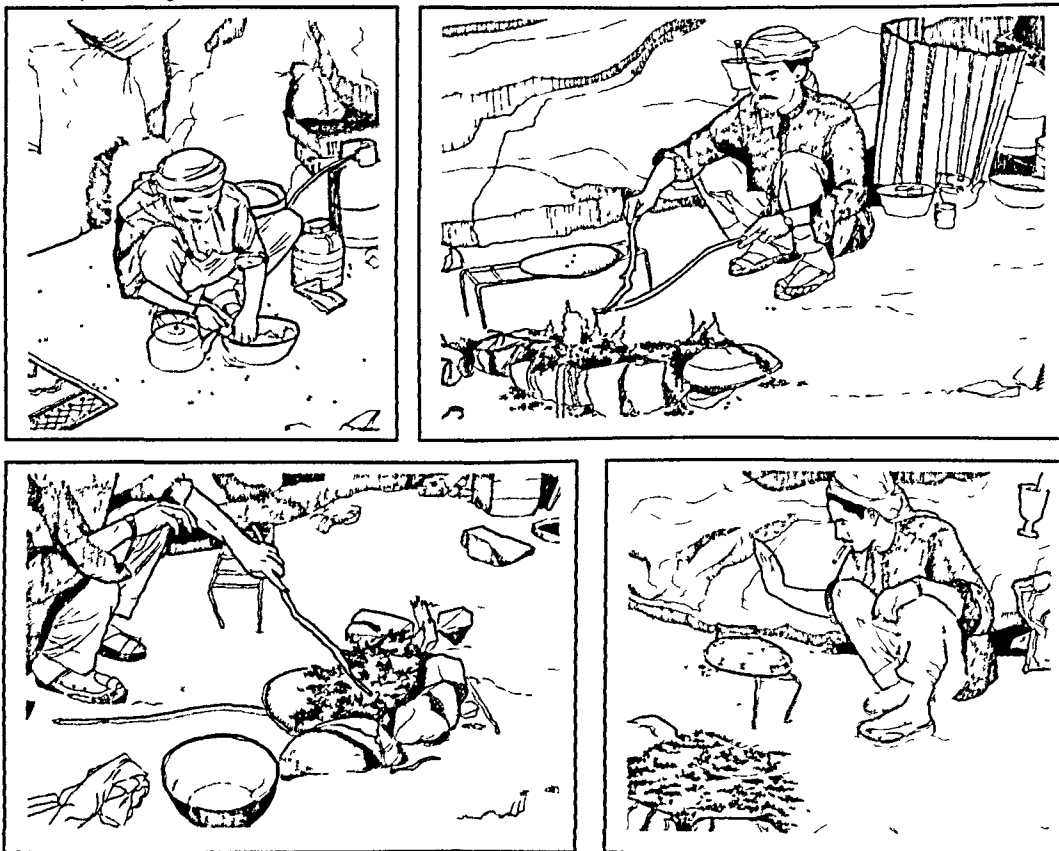


Figure (5.21): The way the Bedouins make the *a'rbuod* bread.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.3.1.3 Cooking:

Bedouins usually eat two or three meals a day: breakfast (*fatour*), lunch (*ghadda*) and dinner (*a'sha*). Breakfast is served early in the morning, between 6 and 7 am, lunch is served early in the afternoon, between 1 and 2 pm, and dinner is served between 6 and 7 pm. While *ghadda* is not necessarily a daily meal in the desert, *a'sha* is the main one and could be a family's only meal depending on their economic status. On normal occasions, when the family members are alone or with close relatives, they usually have their meals together. Usually, they eat collectively in the women's section. In the case of receiving visitors from outside their *khamisa*, the conventional sex segregation takes place. During summer nights, the *a'sha* can be served outside the roof of the tent, adjacent to the women's section.

The process of food preparation is exclusively the Bedouin women's activity. In polygamous households, cooking is done by the first wife, since it is a prestigious activity for women. In some households, the second wife will not be accountable to work inside the tent until she gives birth to a male child. After that, she can be involved in the activities that take place inside including cooking alternately. The same goes for the son's wife living with the extended family. The mother teaches her daughter how to cook at an early age so she will be ready to do so when she reaches fifteen years of age. This is when she is considered eligible for marriage.

During the summer, the cooking activity takes place outside the tent, while this occurs in the kitchen compartment or women's section in winter. The Bedouins use either firewood or portable propane gas burners, which is the current case in most of the households in Wadi Rum's camps. The woman who cooks decides on the meal, depending on the availability of ingredients. All the household members eat from one vessel and use the same pot to drink. The cooking utensils that the Bedouins use are simple and robust. The main item is called a *gider*, a large stew pot made of copper with a tinned interior that comes in a variety of sizes. As the *gider* became expensive to buy and required a high degree of maintenance in the form of polishing, most of the Bedouins replaced them with aluminum cooking pots that have handles. To serve the food, they use dishes (*sahn*, Pl. *shoun*). They also use special large aluminum pans, sometimes with handles, to serve the Bedouins' *mansaf*. Within Bedouin

communities, utensils are cleaned on the inside only, since they are using open fire which blackens the outside. During summer, washing the cooking pots is an outside activity, usually done by the unmarried daughters of the household. Usually, the pots are cleaned next to the water tank, which is located beside the tent. Then they are set out to dry on top of the tank or on the pile of firewood nearby.

As ceremonial occasions within the Bedouins' community usually involve large numbers of people, the methods by which families cook differs substantially. As part of their weddings and funerals, large quantities of food are normally cooked. Except for the *shrak* making, Bedouin men take charge of the activity of food preparation in ceremonial occasions. Depending on the number of guests, the activity can take place at the host's tent and/or in the tent of any of his *khamisa*'s.



Figure (5.22): Different examples of cooking and eating utensils.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

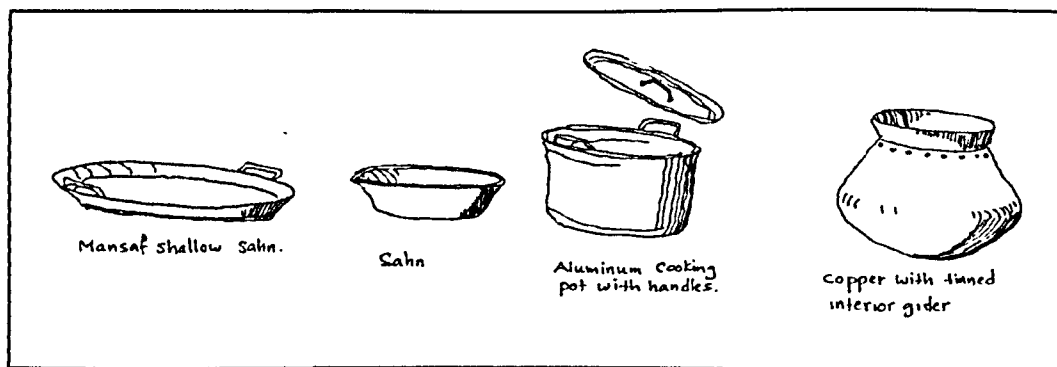


Figure (5.23): Different examples of cooking utensils.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.3.1.4 Tea and Coffee Making:

Within Bedouin households, tea is made several times a day, especially with meals. Every member of the household is allowed to drink tea regardless of their age or sex. Although it is a woman's task, in her absence, men make it themselves. Within Wadi Rum's Bedouin community, tea is the primary social drink, served whenever the household receives guests. After starting the fire, a battered aluminum kettle is placed to boil water. After bringing the water to a rolling boil, the kettle is removed from the heat and the black tea and sugar are infused for about ten minutes before serving.

The Bedouin tea is strong, bitter and thick. When receiving honoured guests, some spices can be added to the tea, such as mint (*na'na'*) and cardamom (*bhar*). Tea is served in small glasses (*kaseh*, Pl. *kasat*). In some cases, the Bedouins might replace the black tea with some gathered herbs like *sheih* (wild sage), which is also used as a medication.



Figure (5.24): A Bedouin preparing tea using wild sage.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork 2004.

The other primary and prestigious Bedouin drink is coffee (*gahwa*). For the Bedouins, coffee making and drinking are conducted as a ritual of desert hospitality. The focal point of the men's section is the fire place (*jurah*) which is surrounded by the various utensils used for making coffee and tea. It includes coffee pots (*dallah*, Pl. *dlall*), an enamel jug (*ibreeg*) for coffee grounds, a kettle for tea, *kasat*, coffee cups (*finjal*, Pl. *fnajeel*) and tongs for tending the fire (*mehwas*, Pl. *mhawees*).

The preparation of the coffee begins when the beans are taken from a decorated leather bag (*mijrabeh*) hanging from the central pole of the tent. The beans are lightly roasted in a long handle iron skillet called *mihmassah*. As the beans are roasted, they are stirred with a long iron rod called *maglabah*. The beans are then poured into a high decorated wooden dish (*mabradah*) to cool before being pounded in a mortar (*mihbash* or *nijer*). Within poor tents, because of its high price, the wooden *mihbash* is placed by a brass mortar called *mihwan*.

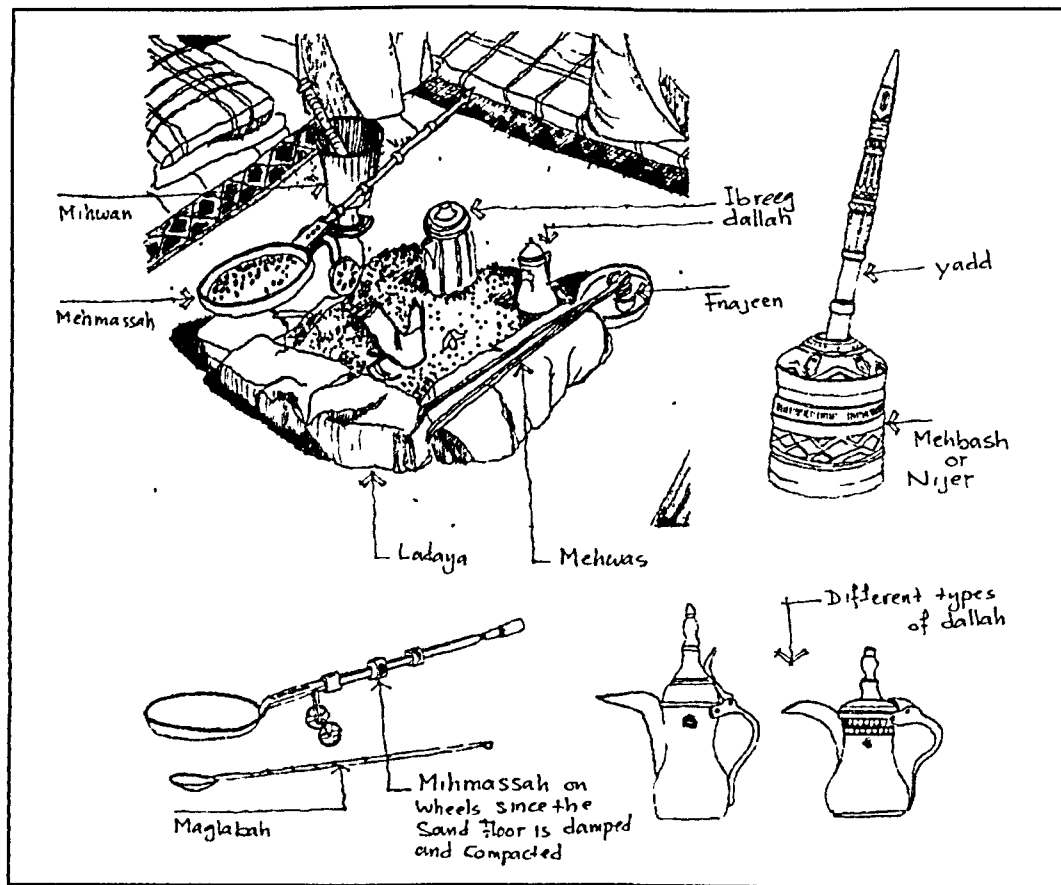


Figure (5.25): Different coffee making items.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.



Figure (5.26): Bedouin men roast and pound coffee beans.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Once the beans are cold the host or his son pounds them with the *mihbash* and the pestle (*yadd*) in a rhythmic beat that can be heard for some distance. It is a kind of invitation that makes the camp's men gather for socializing. Meanwhile, the coffee pot filled with water is placed over the fire. When the water boils, the ground coffee is added and the pot is returned to the fire to boil several times. Then, a few cardamoms (*bhar*) are pounded with the mortar and put in another pot from which the coffee is served to the host's guests. When receiving female guests, an extra coffee pot is either sent to the *raba'* or the same coffee rituals are repeated within the women's section. It is important to note that the coffee making rituals are done on a daily basis, even when the household receives no visitors.

5.3.1.5 Sleeping:

Within the Bedouin community, sleeping is strongly affected by the complexity of interrelated factors. Among these factors, the most dominant is the Bedouins perception about the notion of privacy. During the day, the men of the tent can manoeuvre between the male and female sections to have their siesta, depending on the availability of space and the possibility of achieving privacy. On the other hand, the women sleep strictly in their designated section, whether guests or family members. During the summer, only Bedouin men sleep either inside or outside their tents and are able to cool down by dampening the sand floor around them. During the

night, sleeping is confined to certain zones with respect to age, sex and marital status. As the separation of the sexes begins at an early age among the Bedouins, boys as old as five are allowed to sleep in the women's section. Once they reach this age they are obliged to spend more time in the men's section, including sleeping. Donald Cole noted that "as boys grow older, the men begin to teach them to help in making coffee and providing hospitality" (1975, p. 81).

The same rules of segregation apply to the family's guests. If a female guest is sleeping in the women's section, the tent's men are made aware not to intrude upon her privacy. To pay respect to the guests, Bedouins offer them two or three mattresses piled on top of each other to sleep on. In winter, they also offer an extra blanket (*batanyah*) to be placed over the ordinary *lihaf* (quilt).

5.3.2 Semi-Daily Activities:

5.3.2.1 Water Fetching:

The main water sources in Wadi Rum are wells and reservoirs, which have been constructed by the government in the hollows of the rocks to collect the rainfall. Attallah's camp represents an exceptional case for its physical closeness to Lawrence's well. A simple reservoir is about a meter and half in height. Inside the retaining wall, the bottom is at least three meters below the outside surface. These reservoirs are owned collectively. No individuals or households can claim rights over water resources in Wadi Rum.



Figure (5.27): Reservoirs that the government constructed in Wadi Rum.

Source: www.jordanjubilee.com

One of the tasks that take the Bedouin woman away from her tent is fetching water. Depending on the camp's proximity to water wells, fetching water can be a daily, semi-weekly or weekly activity. It is a back breaking task that takes 2-3 hours to be completed. Water is usually drawn from the well by throwing down a rubber bucket called *dahw*, which is tied to a rope, and then pulling it up when it is full. The water is then poured into goatskin water bags (*gerbeh*, Pl. *gerrab*) or plastic containers. The operation is repeated till the containers are full. They are then carried on the donkeys' back to the camp. In either the women's section or the kitchen of the tent, the water is kept in large round drums, or in smaller cans for drinking purposes. Although it is a tough task, Bedouin women consider it a social event when they gather around the well chatting. When the wells are farther than one hour's walking distance, the water is fetched by men. Men are also involved in the activity under some exceptional conditions, such as when the wife is sick, and there is no other woman to bring water. When the wells are too far, usually men go together to fetch water using their pickups to bring water enough for three or four days.

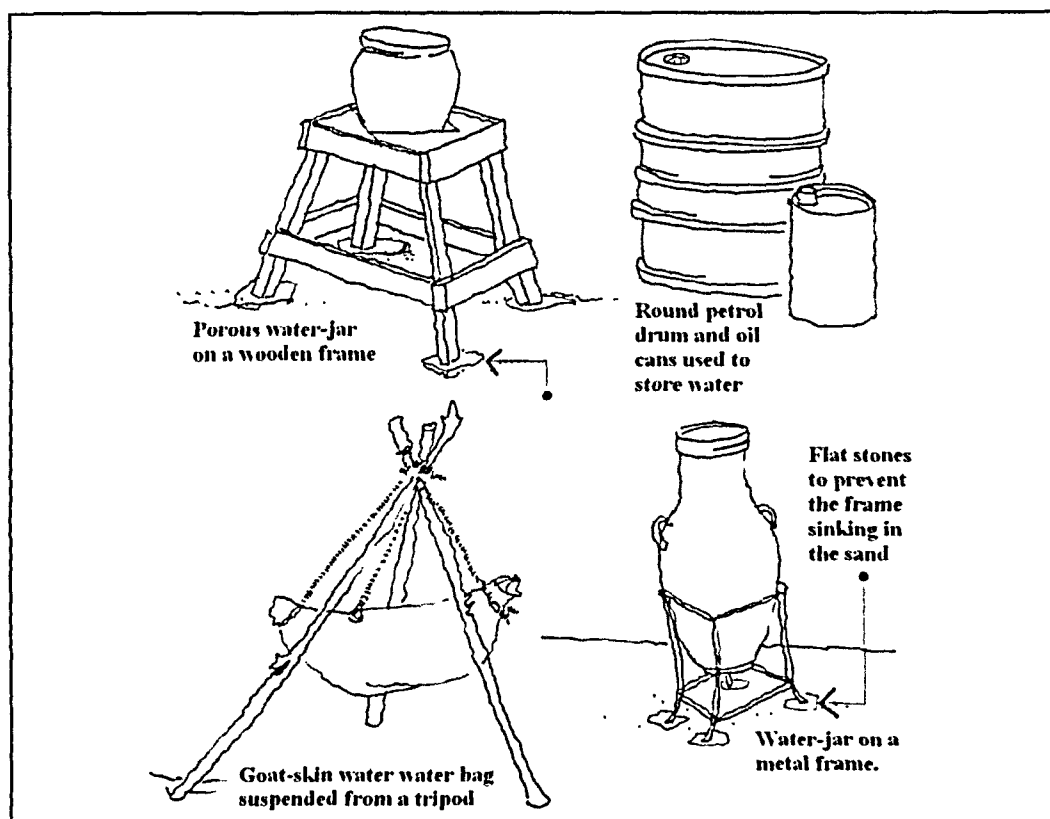


Figure (5.28): Different ways that the Bedouins store their drinking water.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Ethnographies on nomadic Bedouins illustrate that in polygamous households the co-wives take turns fetching for water (Abu Hilal, 1984, p. 67). Within the Bedouin camps, I observed that this is inaccurate and that it is mainly the second wife, usually the younger, who is responsible for water fetching. I also observed that older women, such as grandmothers and mothers-in-law, are exempt from this activity.

5.3.2.2 Fire Items Collection:

Fuel is a daily necessity for cooking, baking and heating water. There are two sources of fuel in Wadi Rum, firewood and animal dung. According to the Bedouins, the animal dung is divided into three kinds: the camels' (*jallah*), the goats' and sheep (*ba'ar*) and the donkeys' dung called *s'oum*. Camels' dung under normal circumstances takes the form of oblong pellets about 2-3 centimetres in length, the same with donkeys' but smaller. Goats' and sheep's dung takes the shape of round pellets about 5 millimetres in diameter.

Collecting fire items is an activity that takes place at least three times a week. Animal dung is never collected by men under any circumstances, as it is not considered to be a prestigious activity. Therefore, it is exclusively a women's task. Every morning, when the household's herd is taken away to the pasture, wet dung is collected and spread out on sheets away from the tent and opposite to the prevailing wind. When the dung has dried completely, the Bedouins store it in a sunny and dry place in summer time, or in a nearby cave or sheltered place in winter. Although it is a good source of heat, dung is difficult to use to start the fire, since it does not catch easily. Therefore, fire is always started with the use of some firewood before adding the dry dung to act like charcoal. The other main source of fuel is firewood, which can be found in different forms, such as brushwood (*hasheem*), desert fragrant bushes (*sheih* and *gaysoum*) and the dry thorn (*a'ra'ar* and *arfaj*). *Sheih* is the most common since it can be found in most of Wadi Rum's valleys. Here, it is important to note that collecting *sheih* and *gaysoum* is a daily activity exclusively done by the Bedouin women. Because the other kinds of wood can be found at a walking distance of more than one hour, Bedouin men take charge of the operation so they can use their Toyota pickups. Most of the Zalabia tribesmen prefer collecting from their distant tribal grazing grounds around Um Sahm where firewood is much more plentiful.

As a sign of modernity, the great majority of the Bedouins' tents are equipped with portable propane gas stoves for cooking and heating. According to the local informants, gathering firewood is one of the sources of conflict between the Bedouins of Wadi Rum and the region's administrative authority. According to the officials, one of the most common techniques employed is to tie ropes from a vehicle to the roots of a large bush and pull it out of the ground as a whole. Although the Bedouins insist that they have never done this, I observed that such a practice often occurs by some of the camps' owners to satisfy the tourists who like to have a large bonfire at night.

5.3.2.3 Body Hygiene:

As in any Islamic society, maintaining bodily hygiene is both a daily and semi daily activity. The Islamic teachings have established hygienic principles that obligate Muslims to have their regular cleaning before prayers and meals, and after meals and defecation. According to Islamic teachings, if a married couple have sexual intercourse, they both have to bathe their bodies to regain their cleanliness and purity.

As for the body-washing arrangements, women clean themselves within their section by closing the front curtain of the tent to maintain privacy. Men's arrangements are more flexible since they have the choice to have their bath in the men's or women's section, depending on the availability of space, which implies the non-existence of the other sex. During summer days, they usually go to places away from the camps where the landscape can offer them some privacy. In these places they use the available water or fill a jug of water and take a quick shower. Among the Bedouins of Wadi rum, it was observed that no body exposure is permitted other than for children younger than four or five years. According to local informants, this rule has some exceptions. In critical cases such as child delivery, severe illness and in dealing with the elderly, body exposure can be socially accepted, if it occurs only in the presence of the same sex.

Furthermore, the whole issue appears problematic when defecation is the concern. The Bedouins consider it to be disrespectful to defecate close to their living space. Firstly, it affects the spaces' hygiene and therefore, makes it unsuitable for religious practices. The second concern is regarding odour and flies. Finally, it is a common belief among

the Bedouins that members of the spirit world live on excreta and as such; these places are often believed to harbour such spirits. Therefore, these places are located at a considerable distance from the camps. The common practice is to use the features of landscape as places for defecation. The desert's hot and dry climate gives microbes little chance to survive.

4.3.2.4 Washing Clothes:

Bedouins of Wadi Rum, as all other Bedouins of the deserts, know from experience that the best protection from the fierce sun, wind and sand of the desert is to cover almost every part of their bodies. Only their hands, feet and faces are exposed. They wear loose flowing clothes that facilitate their way of sitting comfortably on the ground which is crossed legged.

Usually, men and boys wear long a cotton gown (*thawb*, Pl. *thyab*) cut straight like a long shirt. Especially among the elders, the *thawb* is usually covered by a flowing outer garment called *abayah*. In winter, they may wear a waterproof coat made from woven camel's hair or of goat's skin called *farwah*. Their heads are covered by a head cloth called the *kaffiyah*. It can be white (*mandeel*) or red and white (*shmagh*). The *kaffiyah* is held in place by a double black cord known as the *a'gal*. Although the vast majority of the camps' men wear as such, I noticed that young Bedouins have taken to wearing western style dress such as jeans and t-shirts.

Women and girls wear long sleeved, ankle long dresses, and beneath them, ankle length pantaloons. The dresses are hand embroidered and sometimes dyed in brilliant colours. They cover their heads with a piece of black cloth wrapped at the front and tied at the back, to keep it in place. Unlike other Bedouins in Arabia, southern Jordan's Bedouin women are usually unveiled. Bedouin attire has begun to change in recent years, as many of them have begun to wear clothing similar to city dwellers. Similarly, the children attending school are dressed in school uniforms. Among the Bedouins, washing clothes is highly affected by complex and interrelated factors, such as religion, privacy, morals and climate. For the Bedouin community, which is a male dominated one, washing clothes is regarded as an unrespectable task; therefore it is performed exclusively by women.

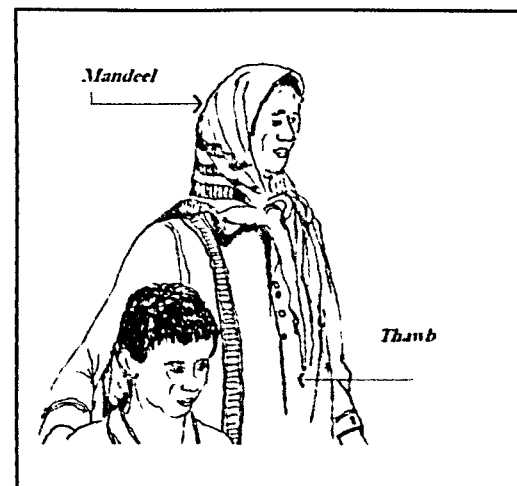
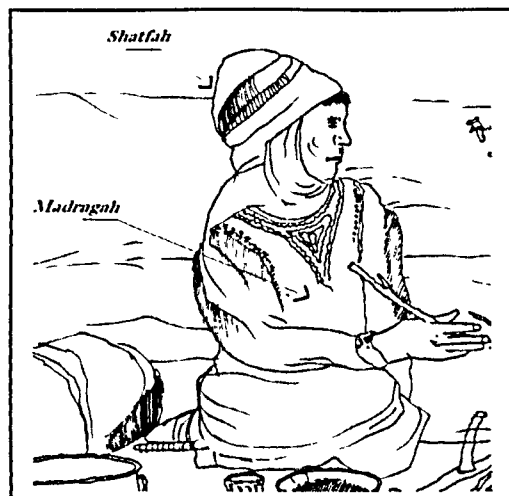


Figure (5.29): Bedouin men and women clothes.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Washing is done by hand using water and very little soap. It takes place once or twice a week depending on the family's structure and the number of children. In polygamous marriages, wives take turns washing the clothes of all the family members, with the help of the adult, unmarried daughters. Depending on the family's size, the activity takes about 1-2 hours to be performed, since most of Wadi Rum's Bedouins have very few pieces of clothing. In the summer, the activity takes place near wells away from the camp, or beside the women's section. In the winter it is done in the kitchen compartment of the women's section, using the water that is already present. The Bedouins use the tents' back ropes to hang their clothes to dry.

5.3.2.5 Child Care:

Among the Bedouins, child care is predominantly a woman's task. The only exception is when almost all of the family is busy preparing the animals' meals, then, the young children are cared for by the elder members of the family. For the first two years of life, a child is much indulged and loved. The baby is fed on demand, and is scarcely given an opportunity to cry. Until that age, the child is kept in the *habbabah*, which is a child's hammock hung between two columns of the tent, or in a swinging bed made of metal rods that the Bedouin buy from the near markets. Around the age of two years, the child is weaned and by the age of four to five years they are given some simple tasks to perform. Boys and girls play together until the age of seven to eight years, which is when girls begin to spend more time in the women's section helping their mothers. At an early age of 6 years, girls are assigned some specific tasks. At this age, mothers teach them bread making, clothes washing and how to care for their younger brothers and sisters. At the age of fifteen years, they are considered to be marriageable, and they can perform the household's tasks without the help of their mothers. Among the Zalabia, it is a common phenomenon that girls drop out of school at an early age, either voluntarily or by order, to participate fully in the household's activities, especially the animal grazing. The Zalabia's boys go to school until the age of thirteen to fifteen years when they often leave to work as shepherds or in of the tourist industry. As shepherds, they work either for their own families or other families that own larger herds.

Fathers and grandfathers teach the young males many skills related to the desert environment, such as animal tending, veterinary medicine, desert roaming, astronomy and, above all, the skill of track following. The majority of Zalabia's males can identify the tracks on the desert sand. According to local informants the young can distinguish the tracks of all animals that live in Wadi Rum. Furthermore, "they can distinguish whether a set of human foot prints are those of a woman or a man, whether the person is young or old, and if they those of a woman, they can tell if she is pregnant" (Cole, 1975, p. 55).

5.3.2.6 Socializing:

Among Attallah's camp, I noticed that the rituals of socialization differ according to the kinds of people arriving to the tent. Male visitors from within the Zalabia first approach the men's section, where they shake hands with all the men present. If they have not met for a long time, they hug and kiss on the cheek three times. The third kiss sometimes placed at the right shoulder when the person is an elder Zalabia tribesman. Depending on their relationship with the tent's women, and if they are of their minimal lineage (grandfather, father, brother, uncle, brothers' sons) they go into the women's section for greeting. Otherwise, they greet them verbally across the *qata'*. If the visitors are not from within the Zalabia, they simply shake hands with the men and do not greet the women at all. Any woman who arrives with male visitors goes directly to the women's section, by way of the back of the tent. If they are Zalabia women married outside the tribe, the tent's men go to them in the women's section for greetings. Surprisingly, I noticed that when the visitors are tourists of non-Arabian origin, the pattern of interaction is different, and the rules of separation are not so strict. this is due to the fact that tourists are not judgmental as the Bedouins are, and their duration of stay is very limited.

As Jumana observed, the situation in the women's section was not that different in terms of rituals. When she entered the women's section, Jumana noticed that there were no mattresses (*janbiyah*) on the ground and the tent's women were simply sitting either directly on the ground or on *mafrash*, which is a very thin old *janbiyah*. After, she was offered a thick *frash* which was stacked over the bedding. The length of the visit and the visitor's status are indicated by the thickness of the mattress offered.

While socializing, it was observed that Salman's wife was the one who receives the guests while the daughter was the one who serves. The women were seated according to their age. The eldest, Salman's mother in-law, was seated next to Jumana. The greeting ritual is always by shaking hands and kissing on cheeks, even if they are all living in the same camp with almost no time in between meetings. After successive visits, Jumana came to realize that the Zalabia's women constitute a separate society that has its own network. While this society functions almost separately, it is in reality a derivative one, where a woman's rank depends on the importance of her man within the larger Zalabia society. Even within the same household, especially in polygamous cases, the female hierarchy is expressed by who performs services for whom and who is more free to move within and outside the tent.

Generally, Bedouin women participate in three types of socializing patterns: socializing with kin, with other women, and celebration of life events. The pattern of socialization varies according to a woman's marital status. Young, unmarried women are restricted because of the increased possibility of adultery, as well as the need for efficient labour. Middle-aged women are most likely visiting relatives or other women, as well as performing their obligatory domestic tasks. Elderly, married women restrict their daily labour and expand their socializing hours as they feel comfortable. Within Wadi Rum's Bedouin community, visits are of low frequency but of long duration. The women's preoccupation with household tasks requires them to focus less on socializing and more on productivity (Chatty, 1996, p. 112).

5.3.2.7 Animal Care Activities:

Animal caretaking is one of the most important socio-cultural aspects associated with the Bedouin households. Anthropologists such as Abu-Rabia (1994) suggest that livestock occupies an important place in the Bedouins' network of cultural symbols and in the patterns of their beliefs. Among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, the significance of livestock is demonstrated in different practices, as the following:

1. Making The livestock Shelter:

The location of the livestock shelter varies according to the type of encampment and the season. In stationary camps when the Bedouins intend to remain for a long period of time, the tents are arranged in an irregular crescent (semi-circular) around a large

open and communal area. Among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, it is common practice to have this communal space surrounded by some landscape features to provide it with the needed security. Within Attallah's camp, the mountains were used to complete the enclosure that the tents begin to provide. With less importance, the same security measures can be found within the Bedouins' mobile camps, where the number of tents are larger and can provide the needed security. In these mobile camps, in the winter, the Bedouins try to keep their animals away from the cold and prevailing wind, by using the area's caves, rock formations or by completely or partially covering their shelter by a tent. In the summer, the shelter is built in a breezy area.

Constructing the livestock shelter is typically the responsibility of the men. It consists of forked wooden posts of about a meter and a half in height and about ten centimetres in diameter. Usually, the materials are collected from the bushes and the wild trees that can be found around the camp site. The forked side of these posts is stuck about thirty centimetres into the ground, at almost a meter and a half interval. Then, the posts are surrounded by a wire-mesh fence that can be bought from Rum Village market. More recently, Bedouins have begun to use metal posts instead of wood.

Usually, the livestock pen (*zribeh*) is divided into three parts. The first is the camels' part, which is also divided into two spaces. The smallest part is allocated to the new born camel *hiwar* (male), *qaa'ood* (female). The second part is the goat and sheep pen which is divided, in the same manner, to contain the weaned lambs (*fatayem*). The third part is for storage of the livestock's food. This part is usually covered by canvas or metal sheets to protect the sacks of barley and straw in the winter time. The entire pen is collectively used by the extended family. In case of illness, the infected animal would be isolated in a special, small pen near the kitchen compartment. As in the case of Salman and his mother-in-law, who own a special breed of goat called *shamyat* (Syrian brand), these are isolated in a special pen to prevent the goats butting them and injuring them with their horns.

2. Veterinary Medicine:

The specialized knowledge that the Bedouins possess can all be explained in relation to their habitation in the desert. Where medical services are not readily available,

these people learned how to use the desert's natural resources for medication. Therefore, Bedouins are botanists by nature and "they know the types of grass and bushes that grow in each area and are capable of recognizing by name all the different species of plants that grow in territories they frequent" (Cole, 1975, p. 56). The old Bedouin men are keenly interested in plants and continuously teach their woman and children the names and use of every variety of plants they recognize.

Animal delivery is one of the important tasks in the Bedouins' life that is carried out mainly by women. In cases where the delivery occurs in pasture, the herder helps the animal. Other aspects of medical care include treatment of injuries and skin diseases, which require the use of certain kinds of herbs, and are, administered both externally and internally. These activities are done by both the men and women of the household. In case of broken bones, treatment is done by a specialized person within or outside the camp, who is usually an older man or woman. As for camels, veterinary practices other than delivery are performed by the household's men with the help of women if needed.

3. Animal Slaughtering:

Slaughtering and butchering are tasks exclusive to Bedouin men. As informed by the elderly of Wadi Rum, women are forbidden to slaughter animals according to the Islamic teachings. Although this is what the Bedouins believe, according to the Islamic teachings, women are allowed to slaughter animals, except during their menstrual cycle. According to Islamic teachings, the body of the person to do the slaughtering must be physically clean, since God's name should be mentioned while slaughtering. This practice is called *tahleel*, which means making the meat *hallal* (lawful). According to the Bedouins' beliefs, in the absence of the household's adult men, a male from the surrounding relatives can be asked to slaughter the animal.

4. Animal Grazing:

4.1 Camel grazing:

Arabian poets often refer to the camel as the *safenat al sahra*, literally meaning the ship of the desert. The camel has several features that make it ideally suited for the desert life. Its feet have wide pads with slim, muscular legs that help it move easily

over the desert sand. It can tolerate long periods of thirst: in the winter the camel can survive fifty days without water, while in the heat of the summer it might only survive for five days. Because of the tough, stiff hair around their lips, camels can eat thorny shrubs that are prevalent within the vegetation of Wadi Rum. Other features that characterize the Arabian camel are its sense of sight and smell. There is also its greatest downfall as the camel becomes dependent on his owner. For this reason, Bedouins herd camels and direct them to food and water. The Bedouins of Wadi Rum leave their camels to graze unattended. Within Attallah's camp, I did not see the camp's camels for long periods of time. According to Salman, camels "go for more than a week at a time...camels wander long distances in search for pasture. Usually, they find their way back after a trip which might vary between hours and days in the desert. Often we go and search for them". One day I noticed that there are two kinds of baby camels in the camp; one was loose with its mother while the second was kept within the camels' pen. Attallah classified the baby camels into two types: the first is the weaned baby camel, while the other is the baby that still depends on its mother for milk. During the night they would be kept in the pen to prevent attacks from wolves.

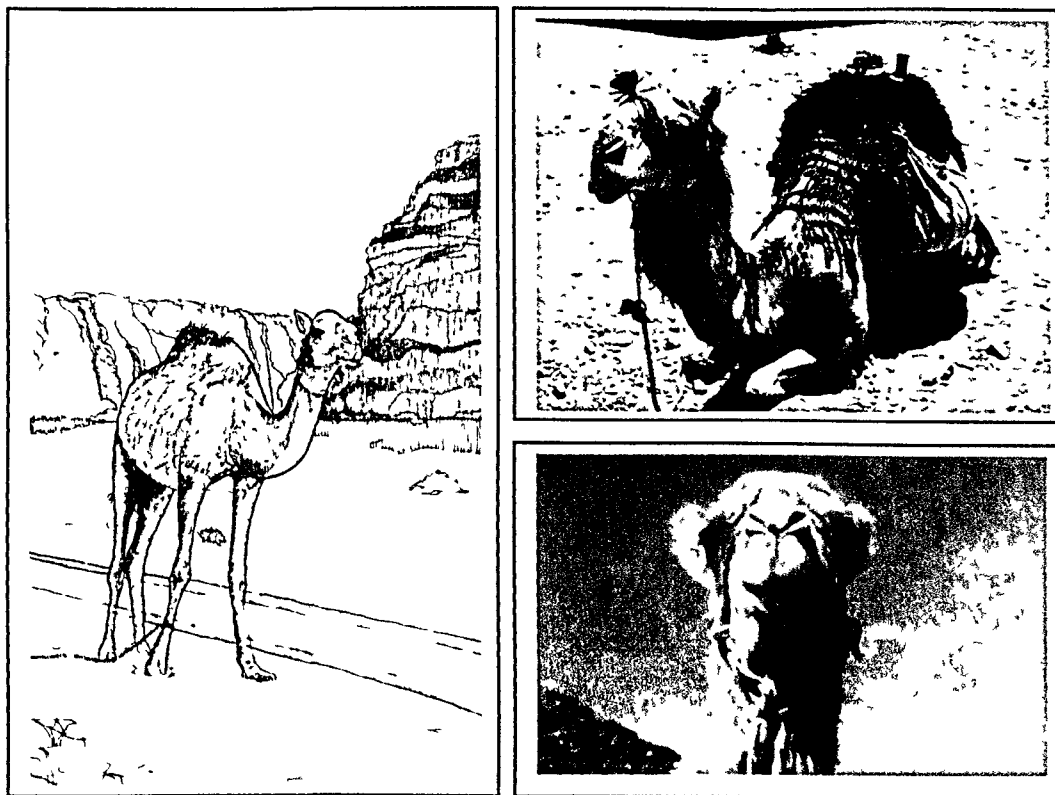


Figure (5.30): Different pictures of camels.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

It is common practice for the Bedouins of Wadi Rum to name their camels “according to their widely differing colours...black (*malh'a*), light brown (*h'amra*), grey (*shaba*), pure white (*wadhh'a*), white with black hairs (*zarqa*), smoked-colour (*dakhna*), dark (*ghabasha*), white (*baidha*) and white with pinkish tinges (*shagh'a*)” (Jabbur, 1995, p. 200). Also, they may name the camels according to their qualities: *a'jal* (the fast one), *a'wja* (the curvy one), *tayyaha* (the wonderer), *sharha* (the voracious one), *a'lya* (the high one) and the *jarda* (the bald one) (Jabbur, 1995, p. 200).

In the same context, the Bedouins name the various parts of the camels' body as the following: *sanam* (hump), *sulb* (back), *gharirib* (shoulders), *a'dud* (front leg above the knee), *farsam* (the foot), *khuff* (soles of the feet), *a'rnuun* (the bridge of the nose), *khashem* (nose), *burtam* (snout), *hijaj* (forehead), *manhar* (lower part of the neck), *darra'* (udder), *halama* (teats of the udder) and *shabiib* (tip of the tail). These names were taken from Musil's, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (1928, p. 335), and confirmed with the elderly Bedouins of Zalabia.

- A: Hump, *Sanam*
- B: Back, *Sulb*
- C: Shoulder, *Gharirib*
- D: Front leg, *A'dud*
- E: Foot, *Khuff*
- F: Forehead, *Hijaj*
- G: Bridge of nose, *A'rnuun*
- H: Nose, *Khashem*
- I: Snout, *Burtam*
- J: Neck, *Manhar*
- K: Camel rein, *Rasan*
- L: Udder, *Darra'*
- M: tip of tail, *Shabiib*

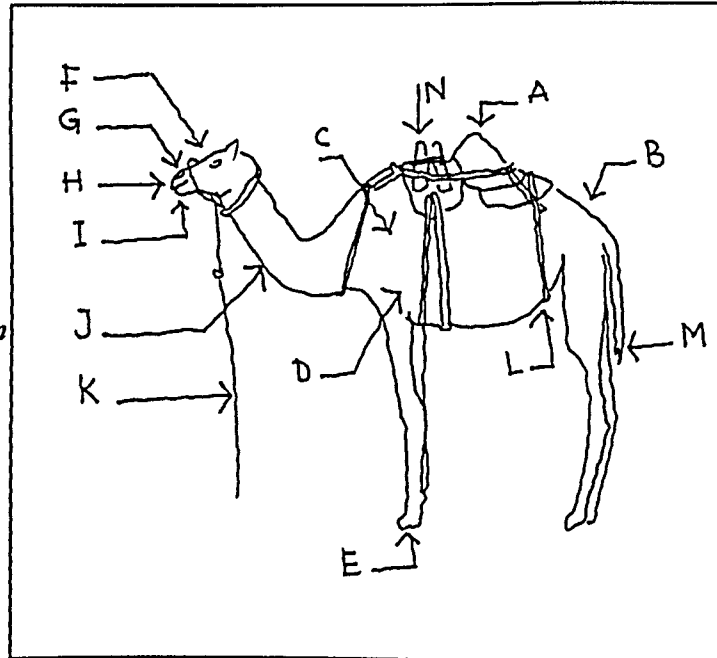


Figure (5.31): The names of the parts of a camel.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

There is a relationship of reciprocated dependency that exists between the Bedouin and his camel. For the Bedouins, the camel is *a'tallah*, which literally means the gift of God. They are a sign of wealth and social status in the desert. The Bedouins use the camel to scout out new grazing land before they decide to move. The camel then changes to a pack animal, carrying tents, equipment, women and children. Bedouins also live off of the camels' milk and meat. It supplies the Bedouins with a source of meat called "*lahm al jazur* which is a term used for both male and female camels that have not been used as beasts of burden...hence, their meat is not tough" (Jabbur, 1995, p. 216). As part of the Bedouins' ceremonial occasions, a camel is slaughtered, usually a baby female camel (*qaa'ood*), to show their guests the highest level of honour. Often, the fat from the hump is kept and rendered down into ghee to be used for frying. Containers to keep water and buckets (*dalw*) to raise water from the wells are made from the hide of the camel. They also make sandals (*hytha*, Pl. *hythean*) for themselves from the hides, as well as other leather items for the tent. Camel fur is used to weave bags, tent panels for flaps and covers for horse saddles. Camel dung is used as fuel for heat in the winter and sometimes fuel for cooking food.

In Wadi Rum, few households raise camel herds. Instead, they are more likely to raise sheep and goats for the following reasons: first, camels represent a comparatively large amount of capital. Second, sheep and goats have marketable by-products, while camels have practically none. Finally, with the introduction of a new means of transportation such as pickups and large trucks, the demand for camels for long-distance transport has been reduced. According to Glubb:

Camels are in many ways a safer investment than sheep, but the breeding of camels requires a harder life. The breeding of sheep is more precarious, but require less hardihood and endurance. Thus, when a tribe changes from camel to sheep, the fact is evidence of an increasing desire for luxuries and unwillingness to face the rigorous of desert camel breeding, but it is not necessarily an advance in prosperity" (1948, pp. 450-451).

According to The Livestock and Camel Census of 1991, the Zalabia owned about 10,000 sheep and goats and about 750 camels. Nowadays, they own about 6280 goats and sheep and 450 camels (2004 General Census, Department of General Statistics).

4.2 Livestock Grazing:

Livestock herding requires many hands and careful organization. Within Wadi Rum's Bedouin community, all family members participate in the animals' different activities. The grazing of the animals is a daily activity. Although all family members participate, there is a hierarchy in their responsibilities. Men are responsible for seasonal activities, such as selling some of the herd and looking for suitable grazing grounds. Women's responsibilities are oriented towards the time consuming activities such as: milking, making dairy products and looking after young animals.



Figure (5.32): Showing a shepherd with a goat, while his herd eats from the troughs.

Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

The grazing activity starts immediately after the family has had their breakfast. The livestock is taken out to pasture and returns to the camp only at sunset. In the case of an extended family structure, such as that with Attallah, daughters-in-law takes turns to go out with the family's herd. In polygamous households, while the wives take turns to go out to the pasture with the herds, the first wife is the one who stays in the tent doing other household activities. In families with daughters not attending schools, they graze the herd together. Each of them has one day off when she is replaced by another family member, such as brothers who are not attending school or are on their weekend holidays. I noticed that the young weaned animals (*fatayem*) are left behind to be looked after by the elder who stays in the tent. In one of my trips to Attallah's camp, I noticed that Salman's mother in-law takes goat's hair or sheep's wool with her to be spun into yarn for weaving while she is grazing the *fatayem*. At about three o'clock in the afternoon the family members start to prepare the evening meal for their flocks. It starts with arranging the feeding-troughs into rows after filling them with the

remnants of the morning meal. They feed straw and barley at about 4:30pm. When the herd comes to the camp at sunset, women tie the ewes up with a special rope that is called *rebeg*. It is formed into loops and wrapped around the lower front leg of the ewe. This facilitates two functions: first, it allows the loose young goats and sheep to nurse milk from their mothers. When the young animals are finished feeding, they are separated from their mothers and taken to their pen. Second, it makes the milking of the ewes much easier and faster.

4.3 Milking:

Milking is a collective activity performed by all adult women in the Bedouins' households. Livestock are milked twice a day; in the early morning, and after they return from pasture in the evenings. Here, it is important to note that milking is considered to be a daily activity during the livestock's breeding season. The milking period ceases for approximately one month prior to the birth of offspring, and restarts after the delivery. Therefore, to guarantee the continuity of milk production, Bedouins plan their animals' breeding in such a way as to fill the gap of the ceased period. While the ewes are tied to the *rebeg*, the milking process takes place.

Within Wadi Rum, some of the milk (*haleeb*) is drunk fresh, but most of it is processed into other dairy products. The Bedouins' most popular dairy product is yogurt (*laban*). To make yogurt, the milk is brought to a boil in a cooking pot (*gider*). Afterwards, Bedouin women let it cool before putting it either in a pan or in a goatskin bag. Next, some *laban* from the previous day is added to provide the necessary bacteria. Then the container is left overnight wrapped in a rug or blanket to maintain warmth. After four to six hours the conversion of milk into yogurt is complete. Since yogurt cannot be kept for long periods in the desert, some of it is consumed immediately, while the rest is treated in other ways to be preserved. One of the preservation methods is to turn it into butter (*zubdah*) or clarified butter (*samnah*). The yogurt is placed in a goatskin (*se'in*) which is suspended from a wooden tripod and shaken by the Bedouin women for about three hours. When the *zubdah* has formed on the surface, it is taken out and boiled with some spices to produce the clarified butter, *samnah*. It is then stored in goatskin bags in the *raba'* to be used for eating and cooking activities. After the separation of *zubdah* and *samnah* from *laban*,

the remaining liquid, while in the goatskin bag, is shaken using a trapezoidal wooden frame to produce *laban makheedh*. It is considered to be a great treat to be offered to visitors to the Bedouins' tents in the spring. The other method of preserving the yogurt is to turn it into *jameed*. The *laban* is boiled and then poured into a fabric bag (*kies*) to drain. The Bedouins pile some rocks over the *kies* to drain it faster. After, it is put in a goatskin bag with plenty of salt and the mixture is kneaded until it becomes hard. Then it is formed into small balls or flat circular pieces that are about the size of a fist, and put on tent's roof to dry under the sun. When they become very hard they are put away in sacks. *Jameed* can be kept for more than a year for its high salt content.



Figure (5.33): The trapezoidal wooden frame used to hold the goatskin bag. The second shows the handful size of the jameed.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.3.3 Seasonal Activities:

5.3.3.1 Shearing:

Shearing is an activity that takes place once a year between May and June. The activity might take up to three days, depending on the size of the herd and the number of working hands. Shearing is never done by individual households. Rather, the mutual aid unit, which is the group of Bedouins camping together, is involved in the activity. It is a collective activity where the group of workers from both sexes begin at a certain household, shear the herd and when completed, they proceed to the next household. The men cut the sheep's wool and goat's hair using shears, while the

women collect the wool/hair and stack it in large sacks. After, the Bedouin women take the sacks, with the help of their men, to the nearby wells to wash, dry and restore it in the sacks again. While some of it will be used for domestic purposes, it is the responsibility of the Bedouin men to take the rest to be sold at the nearest markets.

5.3.3.2 Spinning:

After the shearing has taken place, the goat hair and sheep wool are fluffed to prepare it for spinning. The fibre is spun using a simple hand spindle called *maghzal*. It consists of a wooden shaft and wooden whorl with a metal hook projecting over it to hold the spun yarn as it is wrapped around the shaft. Spinning is exclusively a woman's task. It takes place while women are walking, sitting on the ground or on camel back during migration (Dickson, 1951, p. 78). The most popular spinning position is to sit cross legged on the ground. The *maghzal* is rolled with the palm of the hand down the thigh to the knee. When walking, the yarn is held in the left hand and the *maghzal* is locked under the arm.

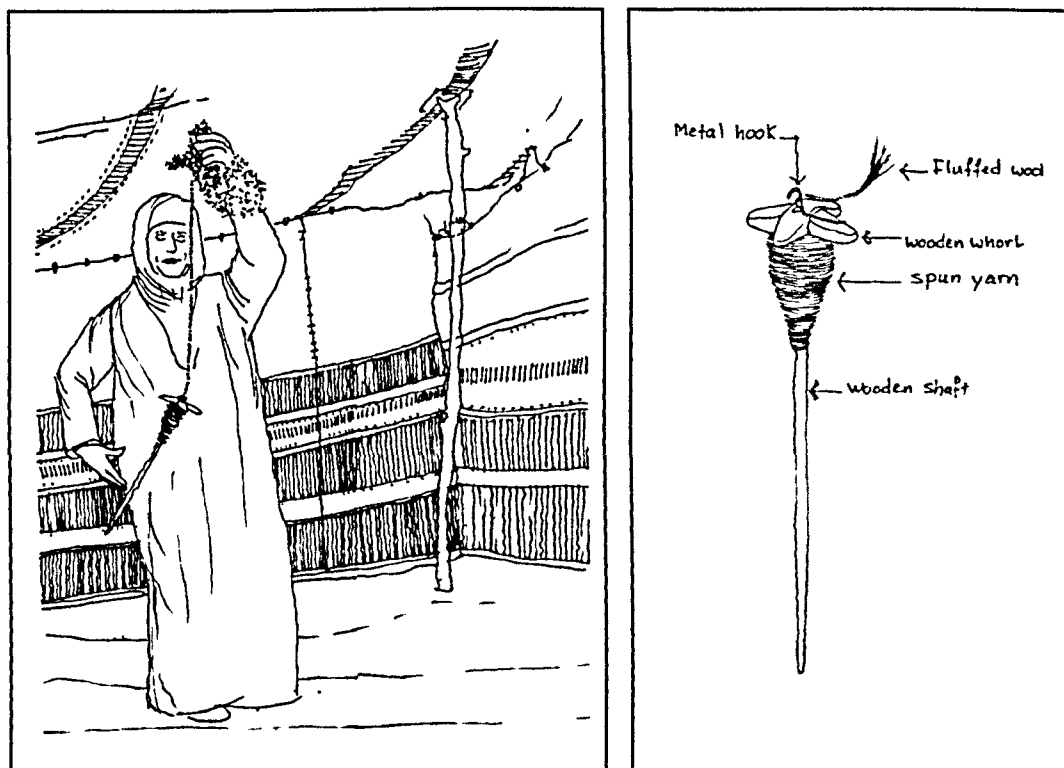


Figure (5.34): A Bedouin woman spinning wool in a standing position. It also shows the different parts of the Bedouins' *maghzal*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.3.3.3 Weaving:

The most important step in the weaving process is the yarn dying. The equipment used for dying includes a propane burner, metal cooking pot, some natural or commercial dyes and alum (*shabbah*). Dying is done in relatively small quantities, usually one fleece at a time. Few natural dyes are used, including turmeric (yellow), *kurkum* (brownish yellow), dried lime (yellow), *shieh* (indigo blue) and *henna* (orange). The Bedouin women use their fingers to help dissolve the iridescent crystals in the boiling water. After, they add a red powder called kermes (crimson), to yield the dye. Then they immerse a large skein of spun and pile white yarn into the dye bath until it fills the pot to the point of over-flowing. After five minutes of boiling, they add the *shabbah*, which is used as a mordant to fix the dye. Then, they give the yarn a perfunctory rinse and drape it over the ropes of the tent to dry. Traditionally, dark colours are preferred: deep reds, indigo blue, greens, oranges and black.

Among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, weaving is done on ground looms called *nattu*. These consist of four wooden sticks that are fixed to the ground with threads tied to sticks. Between the sticks, threads are placed over a central rod and the handle is held up above the thread and lodged with a stone. The woman sits cross-legged at the end of the ground loom and feed the horizontal threads of a woven fabric (weft), back and forth between the twisted threads. The weaver gradually moves down the length to maintain the tightness of the threads.



Figure (5.35): Bedouin women working on their weaving loom, *nattu*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

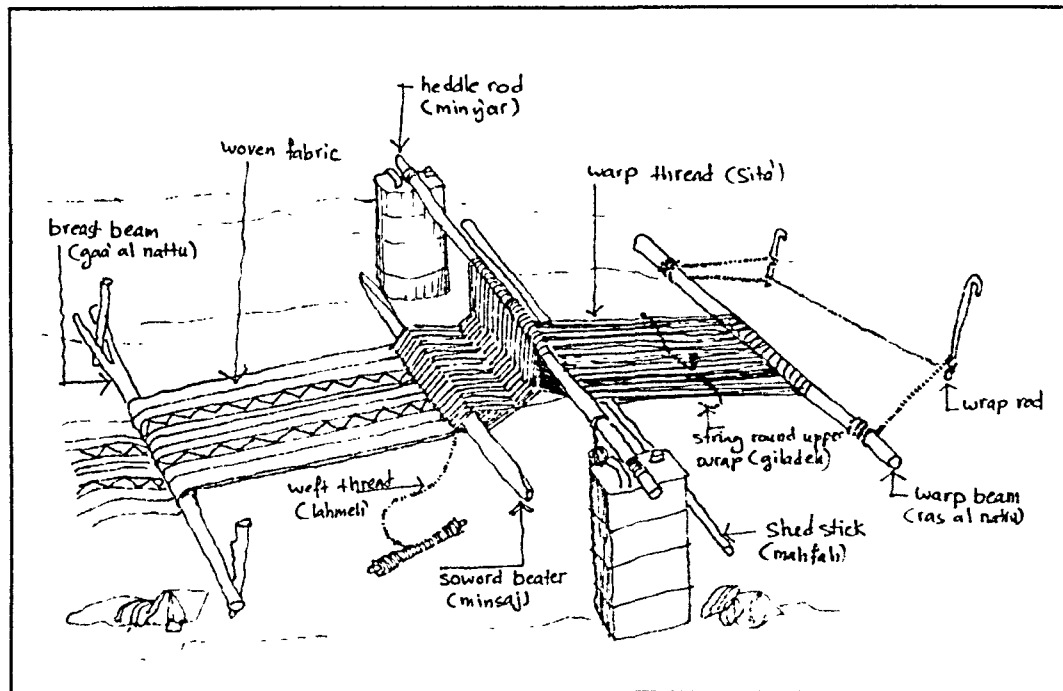


Figure (5.39): The Bedouins' weaving loom, *nattu*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Many items can be woven. For the Bedouins, the most important item is the tent's velum. The different segments that comprise the velum are woven in long strips of about sixty to eighty centimetres wide and about six meters in length. The strips are sewn together to form the roof, side, and back curtains of the tent. Patterns and designs vary among Bedouin tribes according to their geographic diversity within Jordan. Generally, linear or solid geometric patterns and simple images are used. The patterns are usually in blocks. The most common pattern is the diagonal, since it is the natural structure of the weave.

The weaving of each piece of tent cloth takes about two months to complete. Women who do the weaving are relieved of their other household responsibilities until this task is complete. Weaving is done by the first wife or by the mother-in-law, if she is healthy. Bedouin women weavers are typically settled or semi-settled, as is the case in Rum Village. Fully nomadic women have less time to weave, and when they do, they tend to produce simple pieces. Their ground looms can be rolled up easily and transported in case the family is moving before the pieces are complete.

5.3.3.4 The Process of Moving the Tent:

The Bedouin tents are ideally suited to the desert environment and to the nomadic way of life. Symbolically, the relationship of the tent and its inhabitants is very intimate in which its production is a family-based ritual. Moving the tent as part of its camp is seasonal, depending on the herding activity of the nomadic group. The tent is very simple in its construction and is therefore easy to erect and dismantle. Bedouin tents are “mobile, undermanned and defined in terms of high specific people, social organization and way of doing things” (Rapoport, 1978, p. 223).

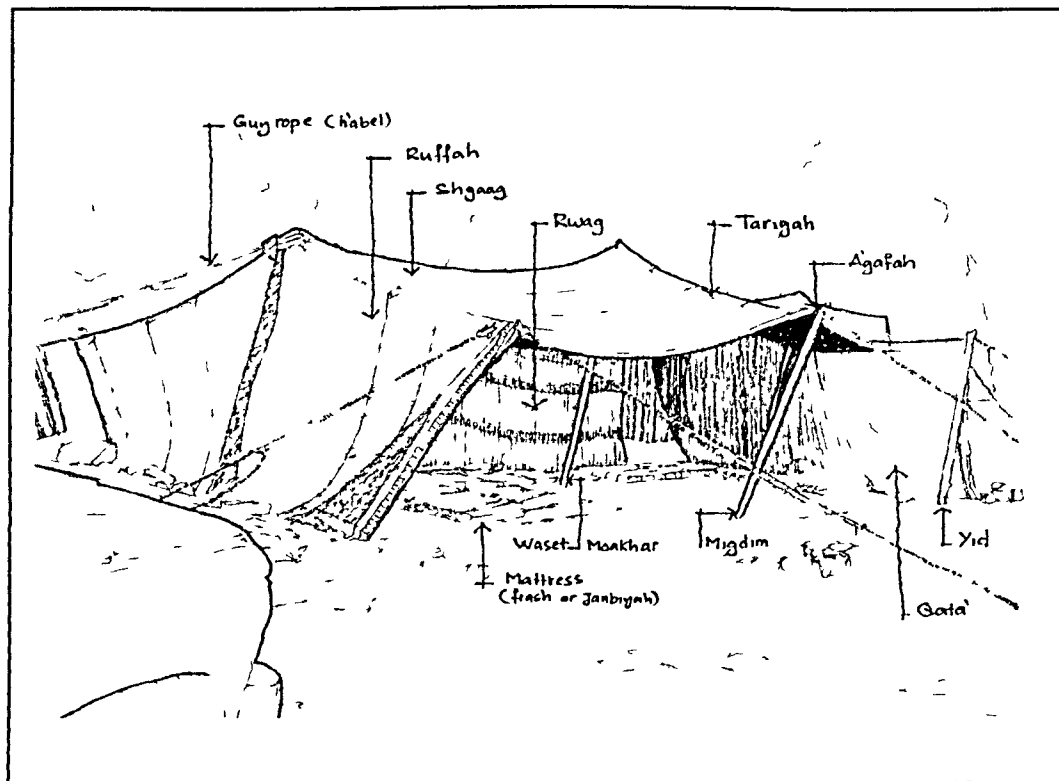
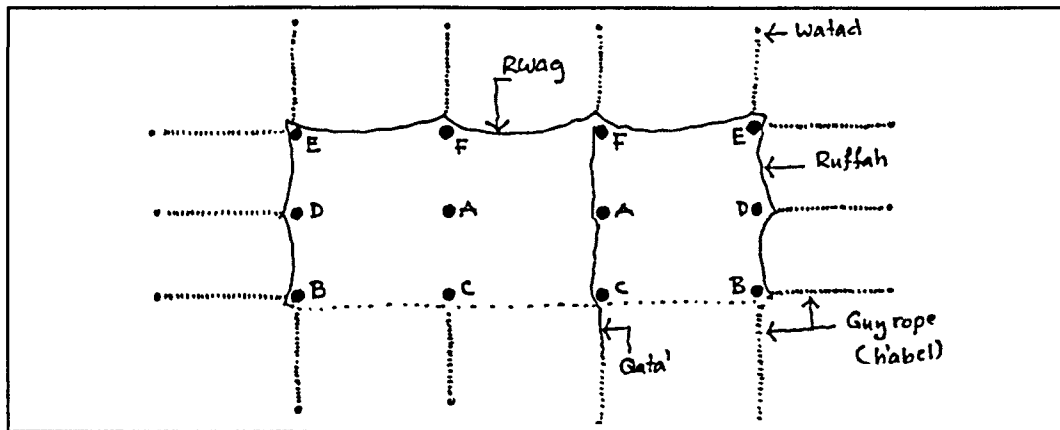


Figure (5.37): Different structural components of the tent.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The main components of the tent are: the roof (*Shuggah*, Pl. *shgaag*), side curtains (*ruffah*, Pl. *Ruffaf*), back curtains (*rwag*, Pl. *Arwegah*), front curtain (*staar*, Pl. *stayer*), poles (*a'amoud*, Pl. *omdan*) and the guy ropes (*h'abel*, Pl. *h'ebal*). The roof is a rectangular cloth made up of sixty to eighty centimetre strips (*shuggah*) of goat hair that are sewn together to form the length of the tent.

In Wadi Rum, most of the tents' roofs are made of six to eight strips, half on each side of the central ridge. Among the Zalabia, the fabric of the roof is made of three kinds: the first is made from pure, unmixed hair taken from the goats after shearing in the spring. Because this hair is long and clean it is more expensive than the other two varieties. The second type is a short, sheared hair that is not as strong as the pure hair. The third kind is the *kambak* hair; it is shorter than both of the types that were previously mentioned. The Bedouins buy this kind of hair from tanneries located in nearby market towns. Tent cloth made of *kambak* is the cheapest of the three types.



(A) Centre Pole, *Waset*. (B) Front corner pole, *Yid*. (C) Front pole, *Migdim*. (D) Side pole, *a'mer*. (E) Back corner pole, *Rijil*. (F) Back Pole, *Moakhar*.

Figure (5.38): The structural components of the tent.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

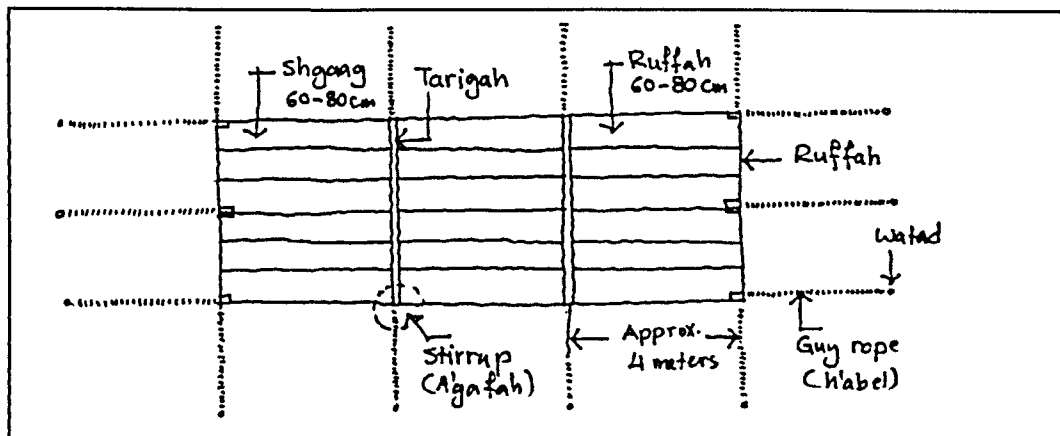


Figure (5.39): The tent's velum components.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The most commonly used fabric for tent roofs in Wadi Rum is that consisting of almost fifty percent of the long, pure goat hair, twenty five percent of the short hair and twenty five percent of *kambak*. The durability of the tent depends mainly on the quality of the fabric used for its roof, and, to a lesser degree the other parts. This matches what Jabbur recorded: "The tent made from pure goat's hair fabric may be used between fifteen to twenty years before it wears out. With the short, the tent will survive five to seven years, and if it is made entirely of *kambak* hair, it will not last more than five years" (Jabbur, 1995, p. 247).

The roof is supported in the centre and the edges by poles. The Bedouins name the poles as the following: the central pole (*waset*), the front corner pole (*vid*), the front pole (*migdim*), the side pole (*a'mer*), the back corner pole (*rijil*) and the back pole (*moakhar*). In addition to serving structural functions, the wooden poles allow a modicum of useful space on the inside of the tent by holding up the cloth. While the *waset* is about two hundred and twenty centimetres and the *migdim* is about one hundred and eighty centimetres in length, they are the only poles that stand vertically. The side and the back poles are inclined toward the tent interior in order to increase the tension on the cloth and aid the ropes on the transversals.

Tents vary in length but they do not vary greatly in width. The tents are differentiated by the number of central poles it is built with. A one poled tent is called *gatabah*, a tent with two poles is called *mdobal*, with three poles is called *mtholath*, with four poles *mrobaa'* and a tent with five poles is called *mkhomas*. The spacing between the poles varies between three and four meters in the length. The width of the tent is usually three and a half to four and a half meters. In the case of a ceremonial occasion, the tent can be expanded by eight or more spaces, depending on the number of guests.

The working principle of the tent is both simple and ingenious. As structural elements, the wooden poles absorb all the downward compressing forces, and the woollen cloth withstands all the outward suspending and expansive tension, which is the only function that the cloth can carry out. The strength of the tent cloth comes from the fact that it is cross woven of fibres and can maintain itself in both directions of its weaving.

The process of moving the Bedouins' tent is called the *sheil*. It is one of the most difficult seasonal tasks. The *sheil* is never done by individual households, except in some rare cases, rather, the mutual aid units assist in performing the *sheil*. The most common practice is for the mutual aid units, who reside within the camp, to arrange and move to the same site at the same time. According to the elderly local informants, the process is currently much different than it was in the past when the number of tents moving in the same day was larger and reached twenty to forty. It used to take seven to ten days to be completed. Consequently, the division of labour in the *sheil* process was different. Before the 1970s, tents were moved on camel back, led by the head of each household. They usually sang on their way to the new site, while women and very young children rode on the camels' back in litters (*hodaj*). The *hodaj* is a seat carried on the back of the camel. It is rectangular, measuring two meters in length, half a meter in breadth at the bottom and seventy centimetres at the top, and about one hundred and seventy five centimetres in height. It is a closed container within which women would be provided the same sense of physical enclosure and security that is provided by her tent.

The introduction of the pick-up truck has meant that the entire process of *sheil* may take only two or three days. On the first day the belongings of each tent are collected, packed and prepared for the move. On the second day the men and women dismantle the tent, which usually takes all day. The ropes that fix the tent to the ground are loosened and the various pieces of the tent are tied separately into groups and loaded on a pick-up truck by the adult men. The moment the Bedouin group reaches the new location, a discussion is held to decide the actual location of the camp. Once the decision is made, Bedouin men and women start unloading the trucks.

The first step in the design of the camp is to determine a location for each separate tent by spreading its roof top cloth out on the ground. After this step is done, the site is similar to a two-dimensional map. All the tents are horizontally laid out to ensure that the spaces between them are adequate on one hand to tie the ropes down, but also to ensure that the distances between them will provide the necessary privacy. In parallel, the wooden poles (*a'amoud*) are located according to their positions in the tent.

Once this step is complete, the temporary fixing of the front ropes comes next. This can be done by digging a hole where the Bedouins place a stone to which the ropes can be fastened. The front rope (*h'abel*) is about four hundred and twenty centimetres long while the side and back are about four hundred and thirty five centimetres long. After the robes are fastened, the Bedouins begin by raising the wooden poles that form the entry point of the tent (*babb al khaimah*). After that, the central poles are raised, followed by the back. When the roof is fully elevated, the Bedouins start finalizing the attachment of the ropes and fix the inclination of the wooden poles as required. All guy ropes are secured in the ground with metal pegs (*watad*). The next step is the cleaning of the surface of the tent floor before laying down the tent's furniture. The last step of construction will be fixing the side cloths (*ruffah*) with wooden pins or iron skewers (*khelal*, Pl. *Khelah*) to the edges of the underside of the velum, which later will be held to the ground by stones. To set up the tent's compartment, the final stage is the attachment of the dividing curtains to give the needed privacy and protection.



Figure (5.40): The *rwag* of the black tent.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Fixing techniques are the most interesting construction details in the tent. As for the typical tent of three compartments, its velum measurement might vary between three and five meters in width while the length might reach about fifteen to eighteen meters. The velum consists of six or eight cloths sewn together along its length. The Bedouins usually join them together by bending up the edges of the cloth which serves as reinforcement because this is where they are sewn together. To give the velum extra strength, the Bedouins add five woven girths (*tarigah*) approximately twelve centimetres wide, across the width. These are sewn on the underside where the tent poles will be placed in rows of three. The Bedouins insert longitudinal ridge-beams along the central seam of the velum cloth, just before the central pole (*waset*) is raised, and after they add some small square cushions of canvas (*khashah*). This is a method to enhance the connection of column to cloth.

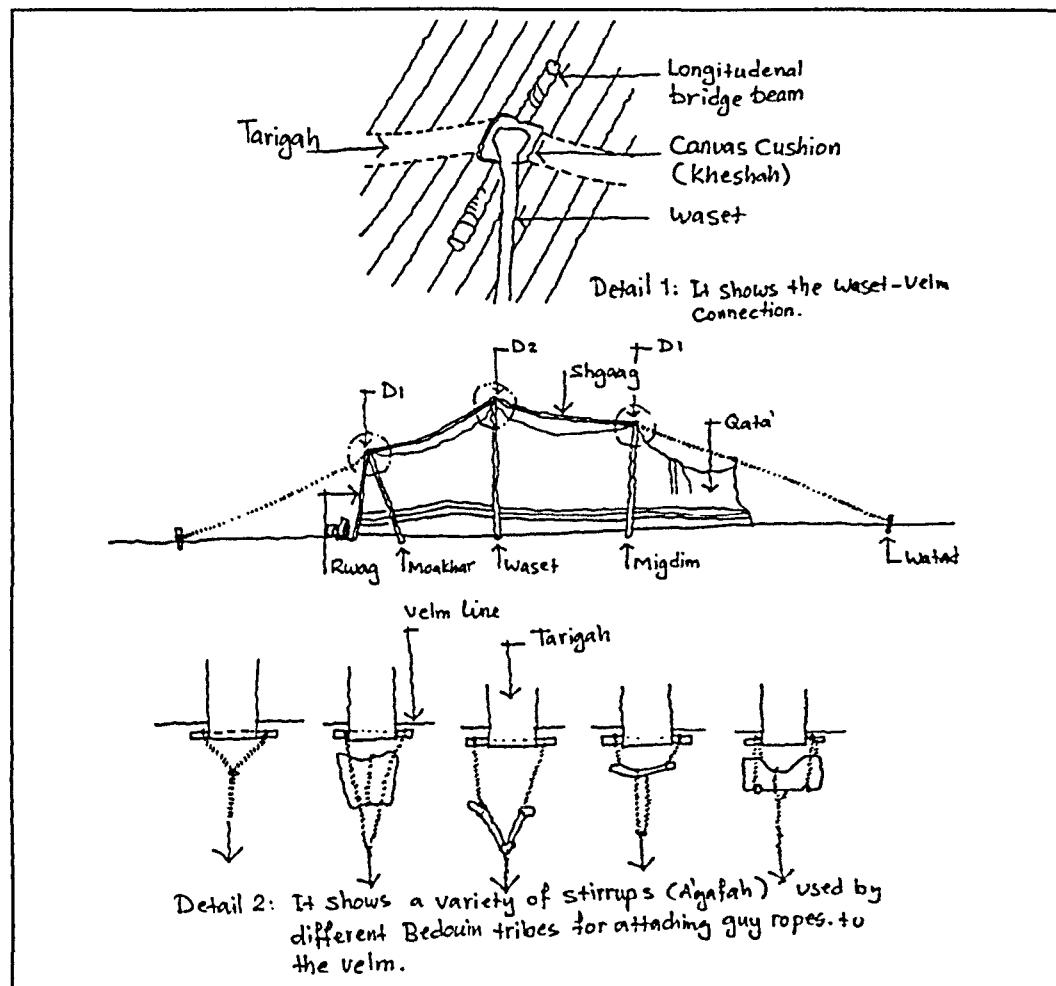


Fig (5.41): Some of the tent connection details.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

The connection of the velum cloths and ropes is another interesting construction detail. Wooden beackets are sewn onto the velum cloth to allow for the needed flexibility of the rope connection. Within Wadi Rum's Bedouin community, three kinds of connections can be found in any typical Bedouin tent that can be used independently or as a combination of the three. The first group of beackets (*o'gdeh*) are sewn onto the *tarigah*; the second are sewn onto the underside of the velum in its four external corners (*a'gafah*) and the third is sewn to a cotton rope which itself has been sewn into and at the top of the central seam at the two ends. The rope is fastened and the forked tent poles rest on the beackets, except at the ends where they rest in the special cotton rope that sits in a hole in the velum.

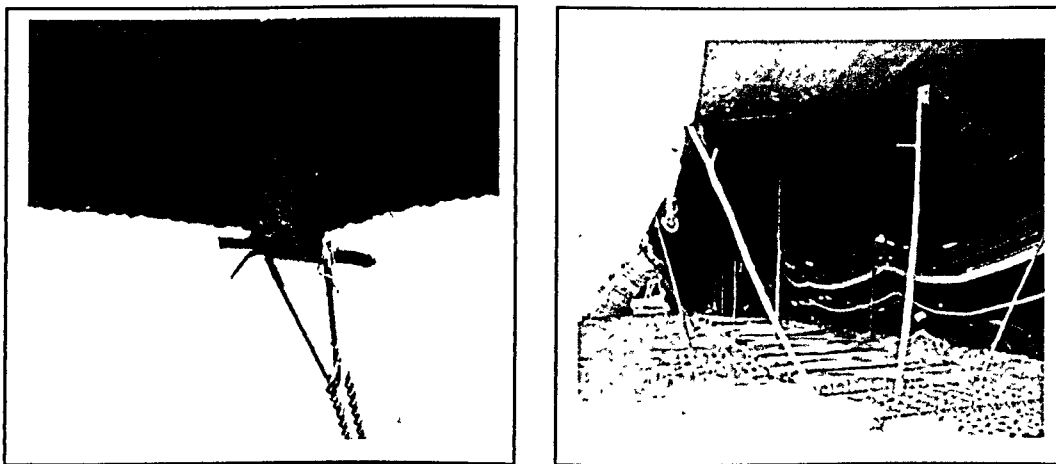


Fig (5.42): Some of the tent connection details. It shows the velum-rope connection using a decorative *tarigah* and the different types of columns (*Omdan*).

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

5.3.4 Special Occasions:

The Bedouins' routine use of space is affected by their ceremonial occasions. Within these occasions their hospitality is expressed in different ways. Here, one can say that the Bedouins of Wadi Rum could not afford to be anything but hospitable, and this is obvious in almost all of their ceremonial occasions.

5.3.4.1 Marriage Celebration:

Among the Zalabia, there is no particular age at which marriage should take place. A Zalabia man usually starts to think about marriage between the age of twenty and twenty five. The girls are considered marriageable at about fifteen years old.

According to Bedouin customs, the prospective groom never negotiates for a wife, rather, he allows his father to make the arrangements. The parents often make their children's marriage arrangements when the child is only few years old. Among the Bedouins, a girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be *walad* or *Ibn a'mm* (father's brother's son). Scholars such as Musil (1928), Dickson (1951), Cole (1975), Lancaster (1997), and Eickelman (1997) who concentrated on the description of the marriage system among the Bedouins of the Middle East, while describing the *bint a'mm* (father's brother's daughter) marriage, stated that: "a man always has the right to marry his *bint a'mm*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right" (Dickson, 1951, p. 116).

Another marriage pattern that can be found in Wadi Rum is the exchange marriage (*zwaj badal*), in which a man gives his sister or daughter for another man's sister or daughter. *Zwaj badal* is an arranged marriage that is commonly found among the poorer Bedouins for whom raising a bridal dowry is difficult. Such an arranged marriage "avoids payments of *mahr* (dowry) by either side(s) and also reduces expenses of the wedding celebration, since the two marriages may be celebrated simultaneously" (Antoun, 1972, p. 119). As part of their tribal history, the elder informants stated that the *khatifah* (elopement) was another marriage pattern by which a young man can acquire a wife. If a man is attracted to a certain woman, within or outside his tribe, but unable to marry her because of his poverty or low social status, he "might woo her secretly and persuade her to elope with him" (Lutfiyya, 1966, p. 132). According to Bedouin custom, this pattern of marriage is considered a:

Disgrace and even forgiveness by the family does not completely erase the social stigma associated with this shameful act. In some cases, the girl's father and brothers might hunt her down and kill her for the behaviour that is considered a disgrace to the family. This is why the *khatifah* is not a common method of acquiring a wife (Lutfiyya, 1966, p. 132).

Lancaster noticed that the Rwala believe that marriage is "for the sake of children" (1997, p. 43). The same observation was made among the Zalabia tribe where polygamy is a more prevalent pattern of marriage. As this group understands marriage as a new departure point in the generative genealogy, a man who has no son is urged

by his family and societal pressures to marry more than one wife. Among such communities, the woman is always blamed in cases of infertility, and therefore used as a justification for polygamy.

Polygamy is the rule as opposed to the exception among the Zalabia, as is the case for many Muslims who have misinterpreted the Islamic teachings regarding marriage. According to the Koran, "If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with orphans, marry women of your choice, two or three or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with them, then only one" (Iv: 3). Reading this Koranic phrase, Islam encourages monogamy rather than polygamy. According to Islamic teachings polygamy is allowed if it is justified. Needless to say, that vast majority of Islamic philosophers failed to specify the terms of justification for polygamy. Muslims understand the teaching as an unconditional permission to marry up to four wives. Indeed, according to Islamic teachings, polygamy must only occur when the husband is fair and just with his wives, on both emotional and material terms, which is nearly impossible to achieve. As with many other Muslims, the Zalabia interpret Islamic teachings based on what satisfies their personal interests, without understanding the essence of these teachings. Islam specifies that no man should marry a second time unless he is able to maintain a state of impartiality towards his wives. This religious commandment has been ignored, not only by the Bedouins, but also by many urban Muslims. Among the Zalabia, there are some basic causes that motivate polygamy. First is the inability of the first wife to produce children, especially males. Second, a man is encouraged to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is the mother of children. The third motivation is if the wife contracts a disease that prevents her from performing the household activities. The fourth, which is the most common, is for those who married their cousins due to family pressure. These men might develop interest in marrying a woman for emotional reasons or love. Finally, some intend to marry more than one wife as a symbol of financial status.

Here, it is important to point out that marriage ceremonies are the same whether it is for the first or second marriage for the Bedouin men. In contrast, when a Bedouin divorced or widowed woman has the chance to remarry, her wedding celebration would be very limited to her close kinship. To understand the typical Zalabia's

marriage celebration the following description of the Zalabia marriage process is based on two marriage celebrations that I attended, and on explanatory statements from a number of key local informants.

When a Zalabia man reaches the age of marriage, a discussion within the family takes place to choose the most suitable bride. The first choice is *bint a'mm*. If this is not possible then the bride can be chosen among the other Zalabia's lineages and clans as long as there is no dispute between the two families. When the decision is made, the father of the groom casually mentions the subject to the girl's father, who later mentions it to his wife. If they both agree, then the marriage is ready to be planned. In cases where the bride has first cousins, they usually are consulted, since they have the 'right' to marry their *bint a'mm*. If the cousin declines, a message will be sent verbally to the groom's family indicating the preliminary acceptance.

In cases where the groom's family does not know the bride, his mother and sister visit the bride's family tent to inspect their living arrangements. This process is called *nagd al-arous*, literally meaning checking the bride. In most cases, the mother consults her daughter about the marriage proposal but regardless of the girl's opinion, the wife reports to the father who makes the final decision. Among the Zalabia, the parents usually do not force their daughters into marriage, but if the father is impressed by the groom, he will try to influence his daughter's decision.

The next step involved the informal deputation (*jaha*). The groom's father brings some of his relatives and close friends to visit the bride's parents' tent to ask for their 'daughter's hand' for his son. The *jaha* is received in the male section of the tent. After greeting the male side of the bride's family, the visitors are seated on the mattresses located in the inner side of the men's section. At that time, the Bedouin coffee is served first to the head of the deputation, who will put the coffee cup (*finjal*) in front of him and ask his request. The head of deputation, who is usually the oldest and/or the most respected member of the groom's party rises to address the father of the bride and his male relatives, asking for the hand of the girl. The girl's father, in case the grandfather is deceased, answers by saying: *h'sal lyna al sharaf, Ishrab ghawatak, al bint jatk hadeah ma waraha jazyah*, meaning, drink your coffee, we are

honoured by your request and our girl is offered to the groom without any obligations. After this, the *jaha* drinks the coffee and insists on negotiating the bride's dowry (*mahr*). Here, it is important to note that among the Zalabia the *mahr* varies according to the status of the bride's father and brothers. In the past, it often included as much as ten camels, a gun and a horse. Nowadays, it is normally varies between 500-1000 JD (750-1500 Canadian Dollars). The agreement also includes the *mahr mukhar*, literally meaning the promised dowry, in case of divorce.

As a sign of final agreement, both fathers grasp one another's hand, making a solemn pact. Then the *jaha* members read the *fateh'a* (the opening verses of the Holy Koran), which signifies the commitment of both sides. The next step is the *khutbah*, which is the ceremony of signing the marriage agreement, which usually takes place in the presence of a religious official called *ma'thoon*.

The final step is the wedding celebration and the day of that the marriage is consummated (*youn al-dukhlah*). While the *jaha* and *khutbah* steps are done within the bride's father's tent, the wedding celebration has to be in a separate tent, as the celebration includes a large number of guests.

According to Islamic practices, this day is usually scheduled on a Friday. The ceremony starts with the announcement of the wedding by the erection of a large tent with flags stitched to its roof. This step is called *ghazz al-rayat*, which is considered as a verbal invitation to attend the wedding. In the past, the flags were made of white pieces of fabric, but nowadays, the Bedouins use Jordanian flags in addition to some coloured pieces of fabric. Furnishing the tent is a collective activity undertaken by the groom's extended family.

The wedding celebrations last between three and seven nights. The guests come to the tent at sunset, immediately after the Muslim's forth prayer period, and stay until midnight, dancing and singing. Traditionally, men perform a line dance called *samir* or *dihhyah*. Another tent is raised for women who sing Bedouin songs associated with drums and thrilling sounds (*zaghareed*). During the nights of celebration, tea and coffee is offered to the visitors, unless the visitor is coming from outside the camp.



Figure (5.43): Wedding tents pitched separately for men and women.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection, 2004.

The Thursday prior to *yum al-duklah* is the *henna* night, and the beginning of the wedding preparations (*laylat al henna*). The bride's friends decorate her hands and feet with henna. The *laylat al henna* ceremony is the Bedouin version of a bridal shower and skin painting. It symbolizes beauty, luck and health. Relatives of the groom's family arrive at the bride's tent in a procession, and are greeted by a warm welcome complete with songs, dance and music. While men sing one-string *rababah*,

women usually sing their songs accompanied by the *darbouka* (big drums). Women from the bride's family display the *talbeseh* comprising the girl's clothes, gifts from the groom's family, jewellery and other items. According to Islamic teachings, any jewels given to the bride by the groom become her property and insurance during times of need. This event takes place in the bride's father's tent. The tent is usually decorated with rugs and flags of different colours. At the time of this event, the tent is designated to be a woman's domain; except for the groom who gives the jewels to his bride in front of the invited women. The last step of the Bedouins' wedding starts with the bride's departure to the tent house of the groom's family.

On the Friday of the wedding, which is the last day of celebration, the groom's family provides lunch for the guests. At the first wedding that I attended, 45 *mansaf* dishes were served to almost 350 people. The number of people attending the lunch depends mainly on the status of the groom's father and his *fakheth*. The animals were slaughtered by three men who were close kin of the groom. Food is cooked by the young female relatives of the groom, under the supervision of the elders. Cooking takes place in the tent of one of the groom's relatives. The guests have their lunch and before they leave they give either the groom or his father the *naqoott*. The gift, which is usually paid for by visitors, varies from a sum of money to camels, goats, sheep, or rice. The groom's father keeps records of these payments, which he considers as a debt that will one day be repaid.

Afterwards, the groom's family and his guests go together to the bride's father's tent to bring her to the new family. The parade consists of a line of camels called *al-qittar*, which literally means the train. The wedding camel has a special role to play in the Bedouin wedding. The Bedouins bring the bride from her parent's tent on a wedding camel fitted with a *hodaj*, a special and comfortable saddle. The camel should be decorated with beautiful rugs of many colours. If the marriage is within the tribe, all the Bedouin women go with the bride singing and dancing. When the *al-qittar* arrives at the tent of the groom's father, the bride is taken to the *barzah*, which is a special place within the tent where she can sit waiting for the groom. Once they are together, the groom changes rings to the left hand as a sign of the new marriage. Afterwards, the *dukhlah*, or marriage consummation, takes place. Some relatives of the couple,

especially the bride's mother, wait to prove the virginity of the bride and the virility of the groom. The bride should produce a bloodstained white handkerchief after sexual intercourse in order to prove her virginity.

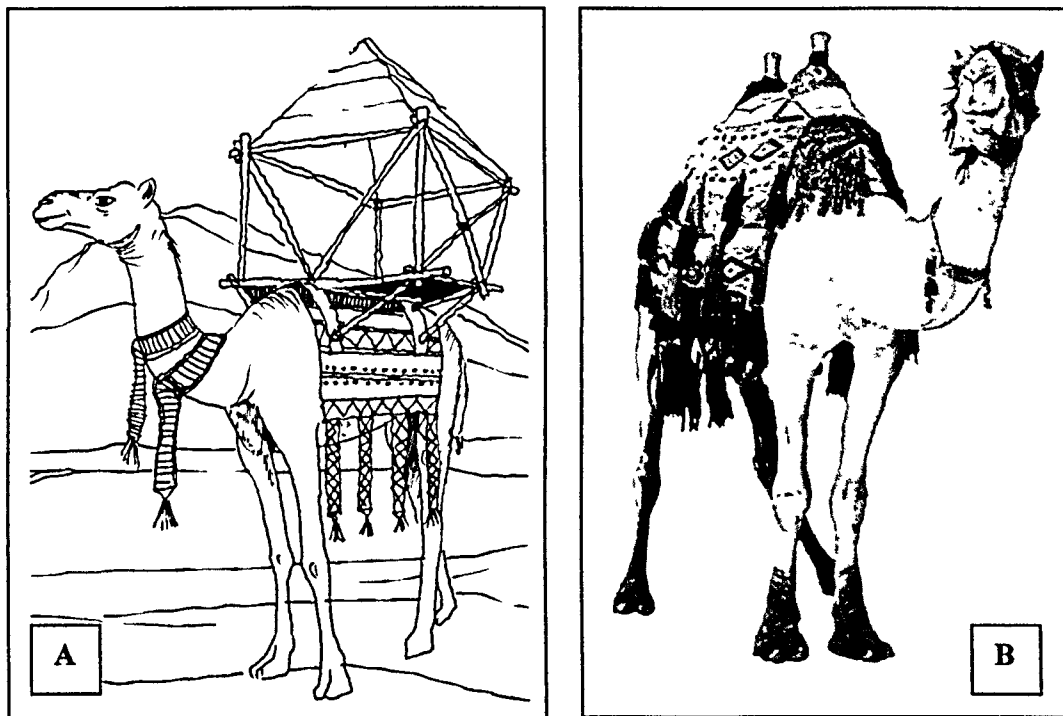


Figure (5.44): A wedding *hodaj* and decorated camel.

Source: (A): Researcher fieldwork, 2004.

(B): Daifallah's pictorial collection (with some adjustment).



Figure (5.45): Wedding tent decorated by Jordanian flags. The white tent is designated to be the kitchen.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection, 2004.

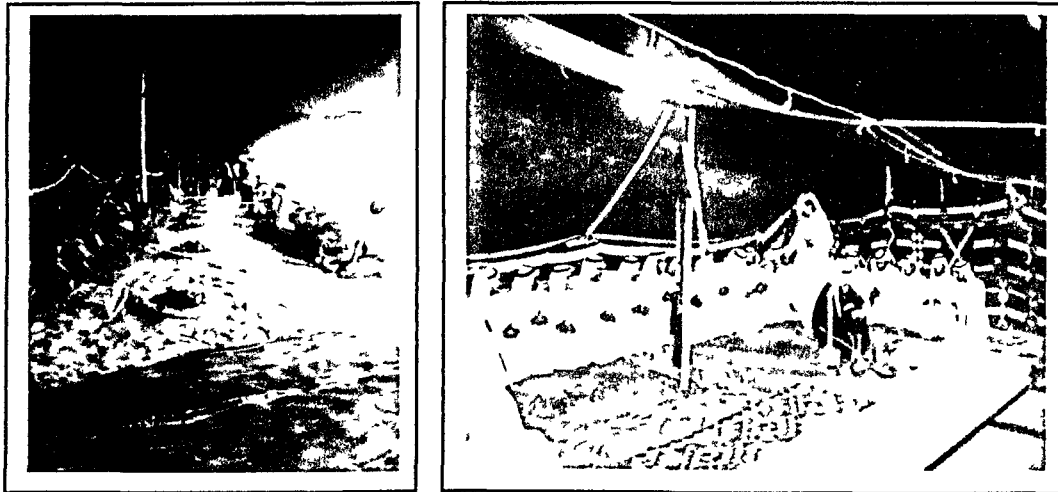


Figure (5.46): Wedding meal and Bedouin men singing.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection, 2004.



Figure (5.47): Bedouin men dancing the *dihhyah*.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection, 2004.

5.3.4.2 Funerals:

Burial customs among the Zalabia are highly influenced by Islamic teachings, which dictate that the internment should occur on the same day as the death. Usually, the grave is dug in the Zalabia's cemetery located at the south-western corner of Rum Village. The ceremony, and the number of people that participate, depend on the social status, age and sex of the deceased person. Depending on sex, the body of the deceased is located in his/her family's tent to be washed, rubbed with perfume and

then dressed for the last time in a new white cloth (*kafan*) that completely covers the body (Musil, 1928, p. 670). It is then transported to the cemetery using a Toyota pick-up, while the family, relatives and friends follow using other vehicles. After, the Zalabia men place the body on the ground and do the final prayer before placing the body into the grave. Nothing is put in the grave with the body.

All the male relatives of the deceased person's *khamisa* are invited by other lineages to have their meals for seven days after the burial. The number of invitations depends on the deceased person's social status, age, and sex, as well as his kinsmen position within the tribe. When the deceased is a woman, the number of invitations is very limited. Depending on the deceased person's age and status, different arrangements might be made. Relatives of the deceased person receive consolation and solace in a specific tent, *bait al'aza*. When he is an honoured or elder person, a tent is raised for this purpose, while women receive condolences in the deceased person's tent. When the deceased person is a woman, depending on the social status of her family, condolences are received in a special tent or in the women's section of her own tent, which is the most common practice. The women from the household of the deceased person do not leave their tent, but cooked food is sent to them. After forty days, the family of the deceased raises a large tent and invites all the people who had previously invited them, as well as others. This is called *'ash el-'arba'een* (the fortieth day meal). Different pieces for the tent cloth, mattresses and cushions are collected from the households of the deceased *khamisa*'s tents. All the tents are joined together to make a large tent. The deceased person's wives, sisters, mother and daughters wear black, and do not wear any jewels or attend any festive occasions for one year.

5.3.4.3 New Births Celebration:

Children are greatly valued within the different groups in Middle Eastern societies, whether Muslim, Christian or Jewish. The birth of a child is an occasion for great rejoicing especially in communities, where more hands are always needed to satisfy their desert economic requirements. Among the Zalabia, seven days after the birth, regardless of the sex, a meal is offered by the father of the baby. His kinsmen are invited to the tent of one of the relatives of the new-born, while the women have their meal in the mother's tent. The food is cooked by women of the same mutual aid unit,

but the mother of the new baby does not participate. For them, a son bears the family name, receives the principle inheritance from the father and is responsible for care of his parents in their old age. Thus, every Bedouin family hopes to have at least one son. Although, this is the case among the Zalabia, a daughter is also welcomed especially by the mother who views the daughter as a companion and helper. If the new-born baby is a boy, the meal is the venue by which to announce his male hood and perform the baby's circumcision. Among the Zalabia, the first two years of a child's life is much indulged and loved. The baby is fed on demand, and is scarcely given the opportunity to cry. Around the age of two, the child is weaned.

5.3.4.4 The Month of Ramadan:

Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. For more than a billion Muslims around the world, including about eight million in North America, Ramadan is the fasting and charity month. Muslims believe that during the month of Ramadan, God (Allah) revealed the first verses of the Koran, the Holy book of Islam. "The month of Ramadan is the one in which the Koran was given to Mohammad, a guidance for mankind, clear proof of the guidance, the criterion; so whoever amongst you witnesses this month, he should fast it" (Surah al-Baqarah 2:185). Muslims practice fasting (*sawm*) for the entire month, which begins and ends with the sighting of the moon. This means that they may eat or drink nothing, including water, while the sun shines. Families get up early for *Sahour*, a meal eaten before the sun rise. After the sun sets, the fast is broken with a meal called *iftar*. It usually begins with dates and sweet drinks that provide a quick energy boost.

According to the Islamic teachings, fasting serves many purposes. Muslims are reminded of the suffering of the poor; it is an opportunity to practice self-control, and finally it helps them to feel kinship with fellow believers. As a part of the Islamic society, Bedouins consider Ramadan as an opportunity to strengthen solidarity among their tribal structure. All members of the camp's households share their *iftar* at a certain tent. Unless the camp's households are of the same *khamsa*, men and women have their *iftar* separately. While the men are eating their meal, one of them will take turns inviting the

whole group to have their *iftar* in his tent. The routine continues until every household has had its turn. During this routine, one or more animals is slaughtered and cooked by the women of the household to be served for the meal. After all the households have had their turn, families start to have their *iftar* separately, where meat is not necessarily the main component of the meal. While the *iftar* is eaten either individually or collectively, *sahour* meal is prepared and eaten by individual households. Local sources informed me that within Wadi Rum it is common practice that when the family wakes up before sunrise for their *sahour*, they wake the surrounding households.

Ramadan ends with the festival of *Eid al-Fitr*, literally meaning the festival of breaking the fast. At *Eid al-Fitr*, people dress in their finest clothing, adorn their households with flags, give treats to children and enjoy visits with friends and family. As part of their kinship obligations, Bedouins visit the cemetery by the first day of *Eid al-Fitr* to read some verses from the Holy Koran as blessings to the souls of their deceased relatives. Afterwards they exchange visits, starting with the closest circle of relationships (grandfathers, father, brothers, sisters....)

5.3.5 Sport Activities:

5.3.5.1 Hunting:

Among the Bedouin community of Wadi Rum, summer is the main season for hunting. Nearly all the Zalabia men know how to hunt, but not all of them do so regularly. In Wadi Rum, hunting may take two separate forms. First are the formal hunting trips, where a group of hunters go deep in the desert, for the sole purpose of hunting. The trip duration varies according to targeted game and the means of transportation. When they use their four-wheel drive Toyota pick-ups, the trip can start at sunrise and end at sunset, unless they want to stay longer. It is usually a two or three day trip if camels are used. The second form is the informal hunting, where young males of Zalabia between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, practice hunting while grazing or gathering firewood. This is in preparation and training for when they get older. The game that is mainly targeted in Wadi Rum is wild cats, gazelle, ibex, rabbits and birds.

The Bedouins of Wadi Rum use salukis and falcons for hunting, either separately or as a team. In contrast to the misconception that Islam does not allow the use of dogs for hunting, it is made clear in the Islamic teachings that hounds are permitted for use in hunting. There is a clear reference to this permissibility in the Koran, where, it is said, "They will ask you what is permitted unto them. Tell them permitted unto you are the delightful things and the hunting of dogs you train, training them as God has taught you" (5, vs.4). According to *Hadith*, "hunting for the purpose of earning, profitability or eating is allowed. It is permissible to use either a dog or another animal. First, the dog must be unleashed by reciting *bismallah*. Secondly, the dog thus released should be a trained one for the purpose of hunting; if the dog eats off the hunted game, it turns unlawful (*haram*) for human consumption, otherwise it is lawful (*hallal*).

According to Daifallah, the salukis are trained to hunt for jerboas (desert rats) before moving onto other game. They are often taken on hunts with falcons, where the keen-eyed bird spots and hovers over their prey in the air, whilst the saluki speeds off in the direction of the targeted game. The Bedouins often apply henna or nut oil to harden saluki's feet to avoid injuries while hunting in the harsh desert. Daifallah trains the falcon himself. He uses a wooden stand about two hundred and fifty centimetres high, upon which the falcon lives. This stand has an iron spike below and is covered with leather above. The falcon has a leather loop on each foot, with a chain tied to the stand. The falcon can rise a little but cannot fly away. On its head, the falcon wears a small leather helmet which can be drawn down to cover its eyes. The training process takes place shortly before sunset. Daifallah puts a coarse leather gauntlet on his right hand, removes the chain from the loops, draws a long thin cord through them, takes the falcon on his right hand, keeps calling it's name (*shalwa*) and swings it to encourage it to fly. The falcon is fastened to the other end of the cord which is firmly fixed to the peg. The main target for falcons is the *habara* bird. When the falcon swoops down onto the *habara* bird and captures it alive, Daifallah, using his pick-up, rides at high speeds following the falcon. He covers the falcon and the *habara* by his cloak (*abayah*), and shouts *kishkish* to force the falcon to fly. After slaughtering the bird, the falcon receives his share inside the men's section of the tent, which shows others Daifallah's hunting skills.



Figure (5.48): Daifallah training his saluki and falcon.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection.



Figure (5.49): Daifallah and some of his relatives during a hunting trip.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection.

5.3.5.2 Camel Racing:

The introduction of tourism made the Bedouins of Wadi Rum realize the importance of preserving and reviving their traditional culture. This realization was aided by encouragement from the government and some international agencies such as the World Bank. The camel in general and racing camels in particular, came to be the centre of this phenomenon of cultural revival. While tourism is the primary source of income for most of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, several people concentrate on breeding racing camels for the Saudi Arabian market. Meanwhile, some of the Zalabia tribe members are in the process of developing a special breed, something in between the heavy burden and racing camels. In Wadi Rum the most popular activities with regard to camels, are camel trekking and racing. According to a group of the tourists in Wadi Rum, their interest lies in obtaining a true desert experience. Most of them preferred travelling by camel rather than by pick-up, since the camel is more authentic to the desert and is slower, offering more opportunities for exploration. In addition to camel trekking, racing is one of the seasonal activities that takes place in mid October each year. Camel racing is a deep-rooted sport in Bedouin tradition.

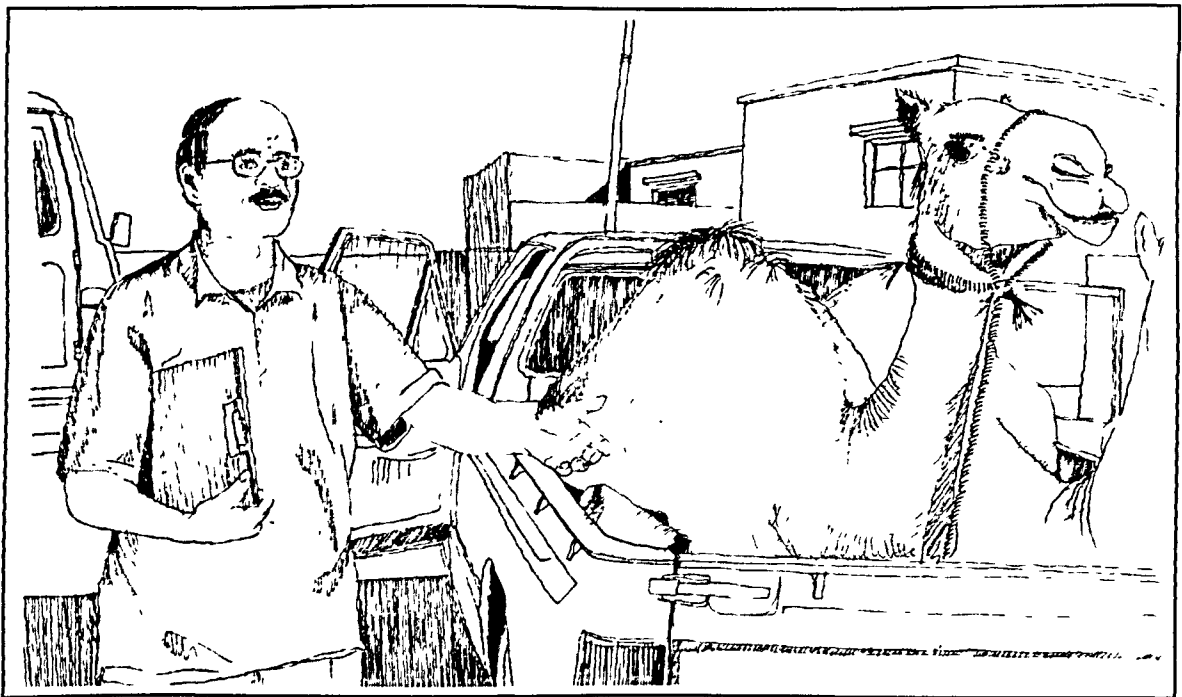


Figure (5.50): Shows the way camels are transferred to the race tracks.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

In Wadi Rum, races are generally competed for show rather than for money. As I was informed, these races serve several functions. First, they revive an old tradition of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum. Therefore, races are part of the revival efforts made by the Bedouins who do not want to see their culture vanish. Second, they give them the chance to socialize and to meet old friends and relatives who are usually invited to visit from Saudi Arabia. Third, they provide the chance to show off their camels, of which they are inordinately proud. In this sense, camel racing can be conceived of as a marketing technique. Fourth, these races help them financially because of sponsorship contributions and donations towards the winning prize. Finally, they are used as a tourist activity, and tourists flock to watch these 'authentic' camel races. Here, it is important to note that in addition to these 'announced' purposes, camel racing festivities can also be conceived as a political and cultural message. Most importantly, the races can be conceived in the context of identifying one's cultural self vis-à-vis the other, particularly when this other (authorities, sedentary elite, international agencies) is overwhelming the Bedouins' social space.

Races start early in the morning and last for about an hour and a half per round. The night before the race, the locals' and guests' camels and pick-ups begin appearing all over the Wadi Rum valley. When the sun rises the pick-ups and camels meet at the entrance of the valley and outside Rum village. In 2004, eighty camels took part in a race that consisted of twenty one rounds. It took some time for all of the camels to assemble, but once they did this race began. It was a chaotic start because there were always some camels that would not follow the rules of the race organizers. Once the sign was given to start the race, the scene looked like a war zone.

The racing camel is a special breed. It stands out by its long legs, fine body and small hump. It has reputable intelligence, strength and courage. An ordinary riding camel can proceed at about five to seven kilometres per hour; while it's fastest racing speed is about twenty kilometres per hour. A racing camel can reach speeds of 40 kilometres per hour, sometimes more. Some specially bred racing camels have been known, in Wadi Rum, to continue at racing speed for up to eighteen hours.



Figure (5.51): The Zalabia tribesmen celebrating King Abdullah's birthday by practicing their camel racing.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection.

CHAPTER SIX

Chapter Six:

Case Study: Rum Village's Findings and Analysis

6.1 Introduction:

After a considerable number of visits that date back to the mid 1980s, I noticed that Rum Village is in a state of transition. Studying these transitions forms the essence of this section that aims to examine the cultural continuities and changes among the Zalabia of Rum Village. In contrast to the common misconception that exists among the sedentary people that Bedouins avoid contact with mainstream civilization, I argue that the Bedouins are not entirely detached from the social, economic and political environments surrounding them. I also argue that these environments may carry "the seeds of social modernization and economic development" (Meir, 1997, p. 11).

These arguments imply that when dealing with the transformation of the Bedouin community, both the local relations of production and power and the external influences should be taken into consideration.

6.2 Rum Village Setting:

6.2.1 Rum Village Accessibility:

At about two hundred kilometres south of Amman, and about twenty five kilometres before and north of Aqaba, the Desert Highway branches to the left. From there, the rural highway extends east about twenty five kilometres to reach the Shakriyya intersection, which branches to the right and leads to a large and attractive Visitor's Centre.

The Visitor's Centre is located between two massive mountains which form the entry point to Wadi Rum. As a result of its location, all visitors are required to call in before proceeding with their itinerary. One must pass the Visitors Centre in order to approach Rum Village. It is the public road that enters the village from the north and runs like a spinal cord that connects its northern and southern tips. Rum Village is located in a slightly raised area of Wadi Rum that is not subjected to flash floods.

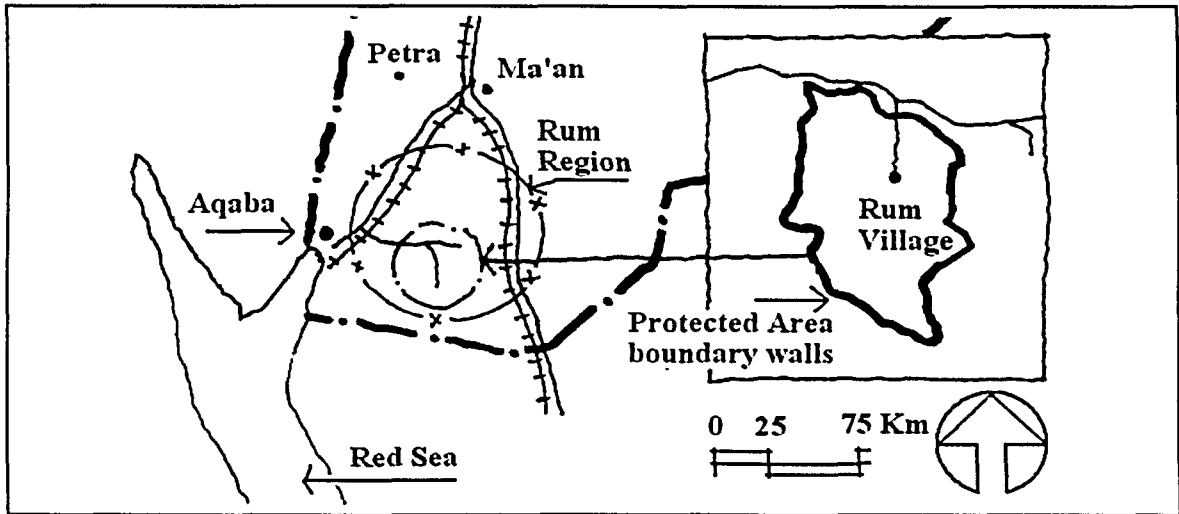


Figure (6.1): Location map of Rum Village and Protected Area within southern Jordan.

Source: Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, Amman, 2004.

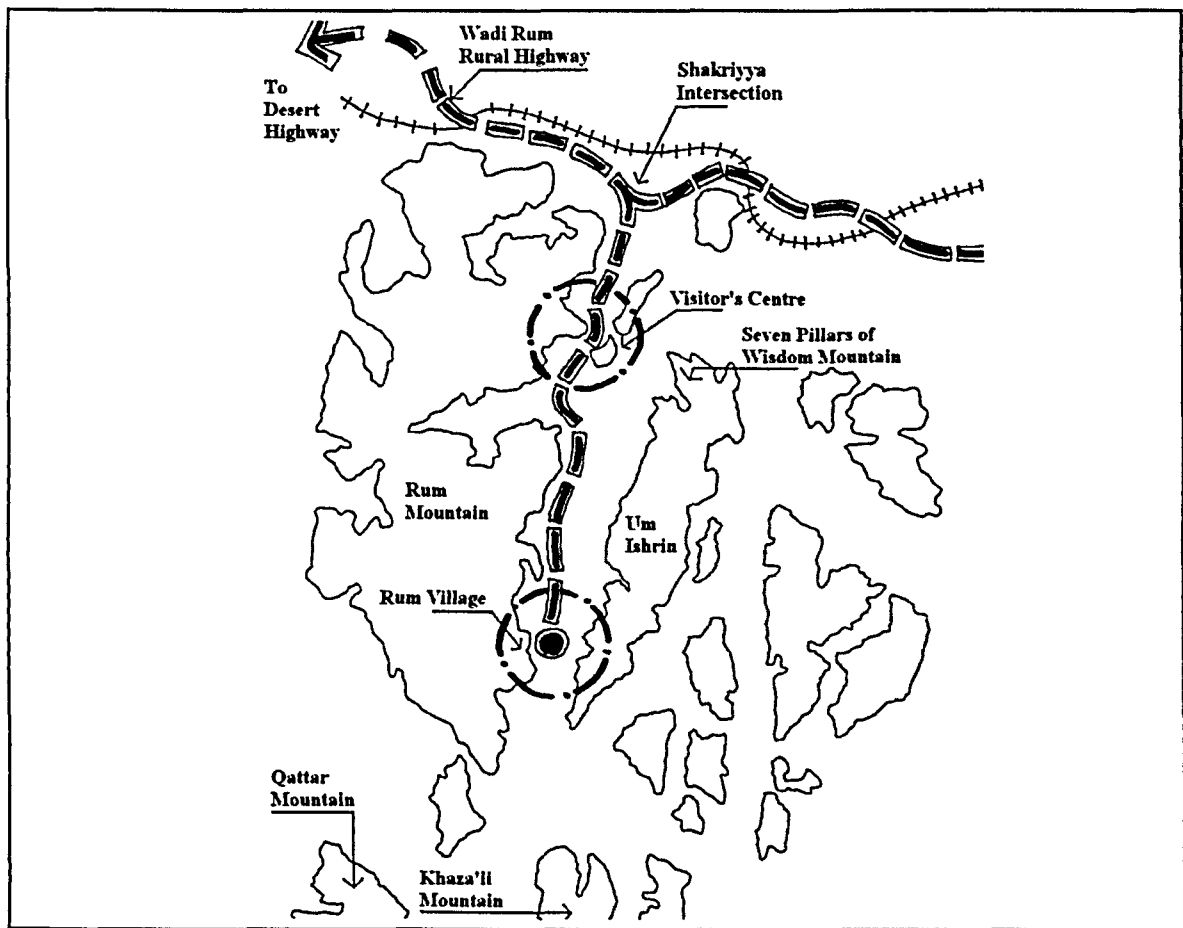


Figure (6.2): Location map of Rum Village within the Protected Area.

Source: Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, Amman, 2004.

6.2.2 Rum Village's Socio-Spatial Pattern:

According to Aqaba's Civil Records Office, in 2004, there were four hundred and twenty registered families in Rum Village, with an average family size of seven members. The total population is estimated to be twenty one hundred; eleven hundred males and one thousand females. The age-sex composition of Rum Village shows that the community can be considered as young, with about sixty five percent under the age of eighteen and only five percent over the age of sixty five.

Age	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
65--above	55	50	105	5
31--64	140	133	273	13
19--30	175	161	336	16
11--18	220	200	420	20
6--10	180	156	336	16
0--5	330	300	630	30
Total	1100	1000	2100	100

Table (6.1): Age and sex composition of Rum Village population

Source: Civil Records Office, Aqaba, 2004.

Updates obtained from Aqaba's Civil Records Office indicate that according to the 2008 census, Rum Village's population has increased to 2,515 inhabitants. This increase means that the overall population grew at an annual rate of about 4.6 percent per annum through natural increase and in-immigration. The overall population resides in three hundred and sixty nine houses with an increase of sixty nine houses compared to the three hundred houses that the author of this research recorded in 2004.

The village's area is about six hundred thousand square meters, one hundred and forty five thousand of which are government owned and allocated to provide health, educational, religious and tourists' services. Within the village's physical structure, the predominant land use is residential, covering approximately seventy five percent of the

village area. Records of Aqaba's Department of Land and Survey show that the Village is divided into two hundred and seventy four residential lots on which four hundred and fifteen houses were built. Reviewing these records, I noticed that out of the two hundred and seventy four lots, only one hundred and forty five were 'legally' registered under one hundred and eighty six owners. This is due to "the failure of some of the Zalabia tribesmen to prove their ownership to the lots they occupy" (ASEZA, 2004).

The use	No. of lots	Percentage	Legal	Illegal
Occupied lots	195	72%	117	78
Vacant lots	79	28%	28	51
Total	274	100%	145	129

Table (6.2): Rum Village's residential lots

Source: Aqaba's Department of Land and Survey, 2007.

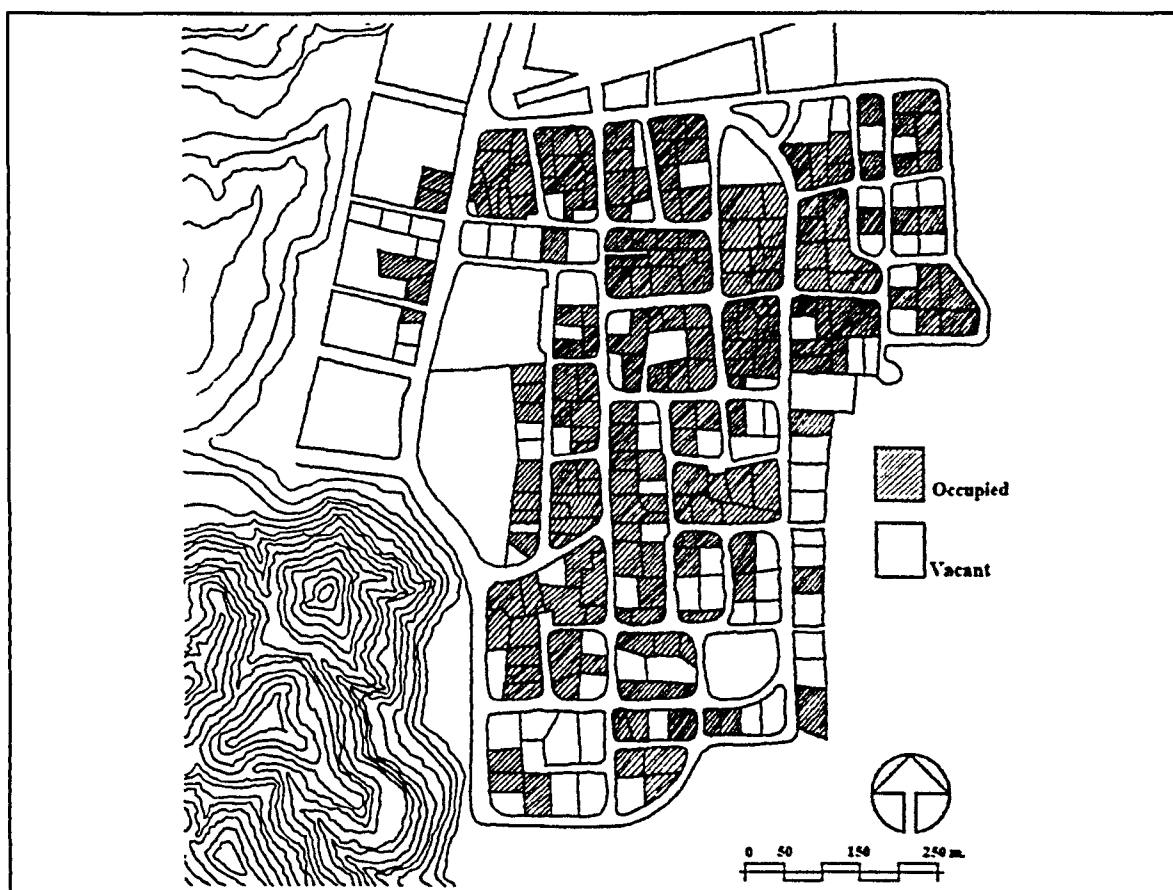


Figure (6.3): Rum Village occupied and vacant land.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004

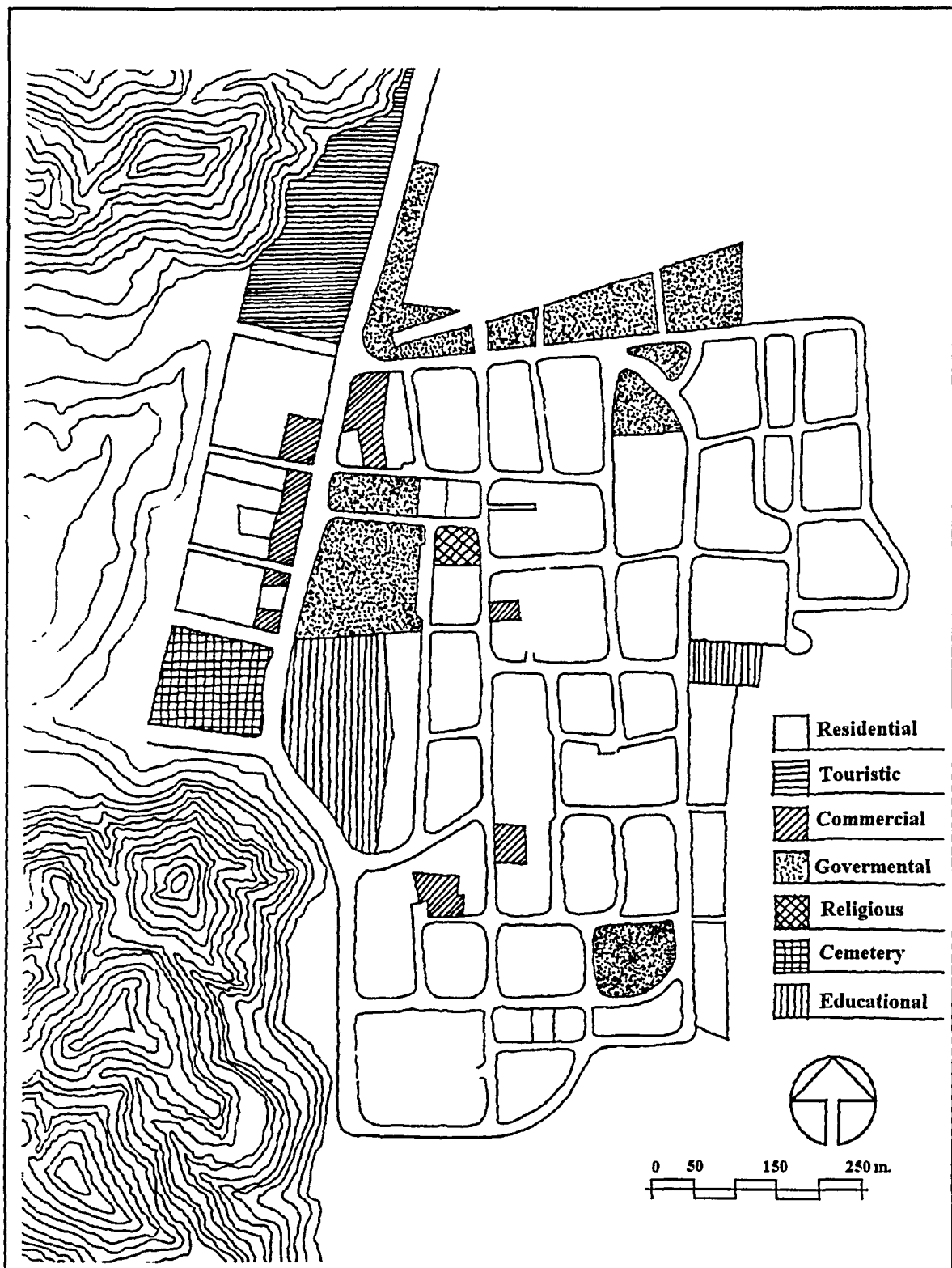


Figure (6.4): Rum Village existing land-use

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004.

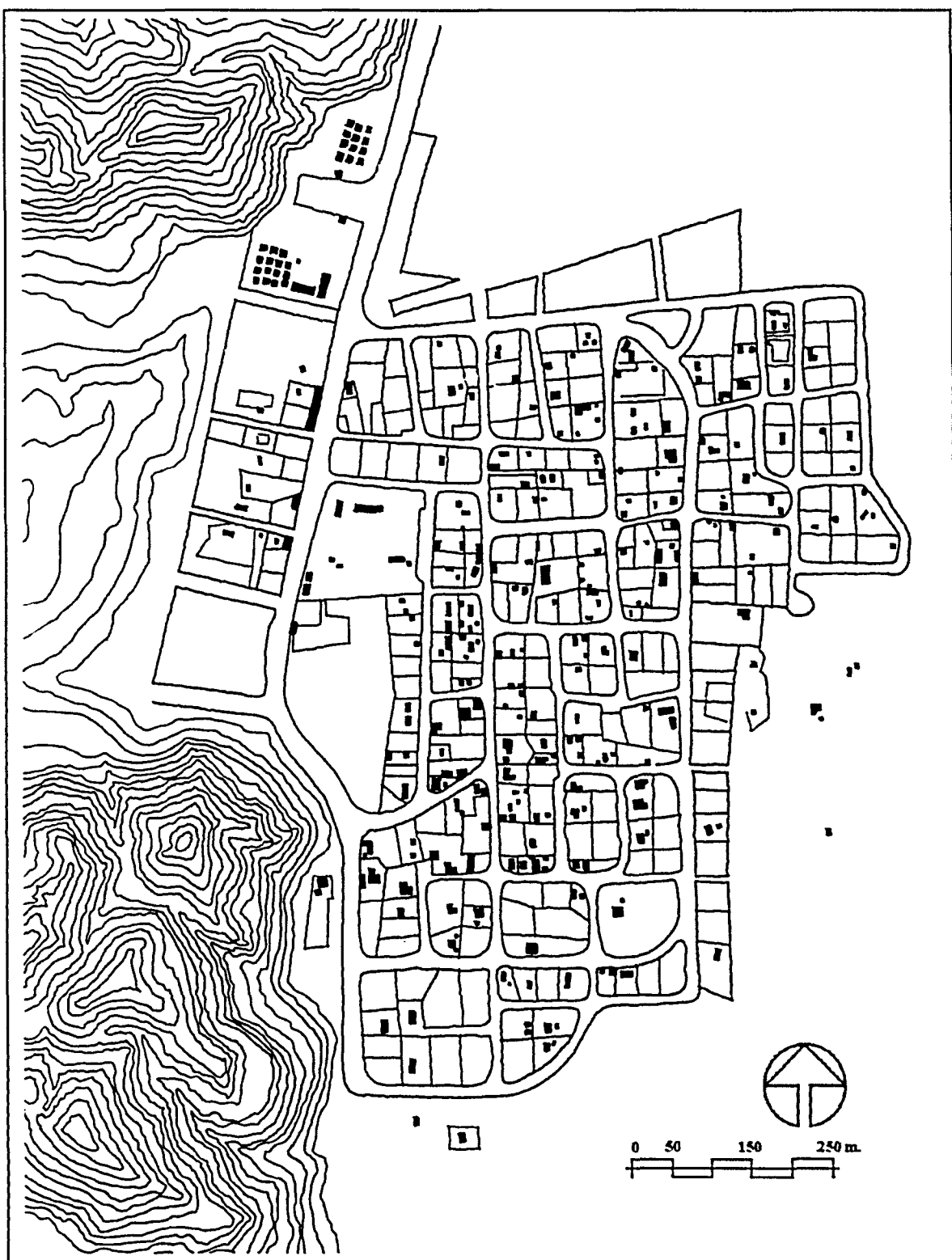


Figure (6.5): The temporary buildings within Rum Village.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004.

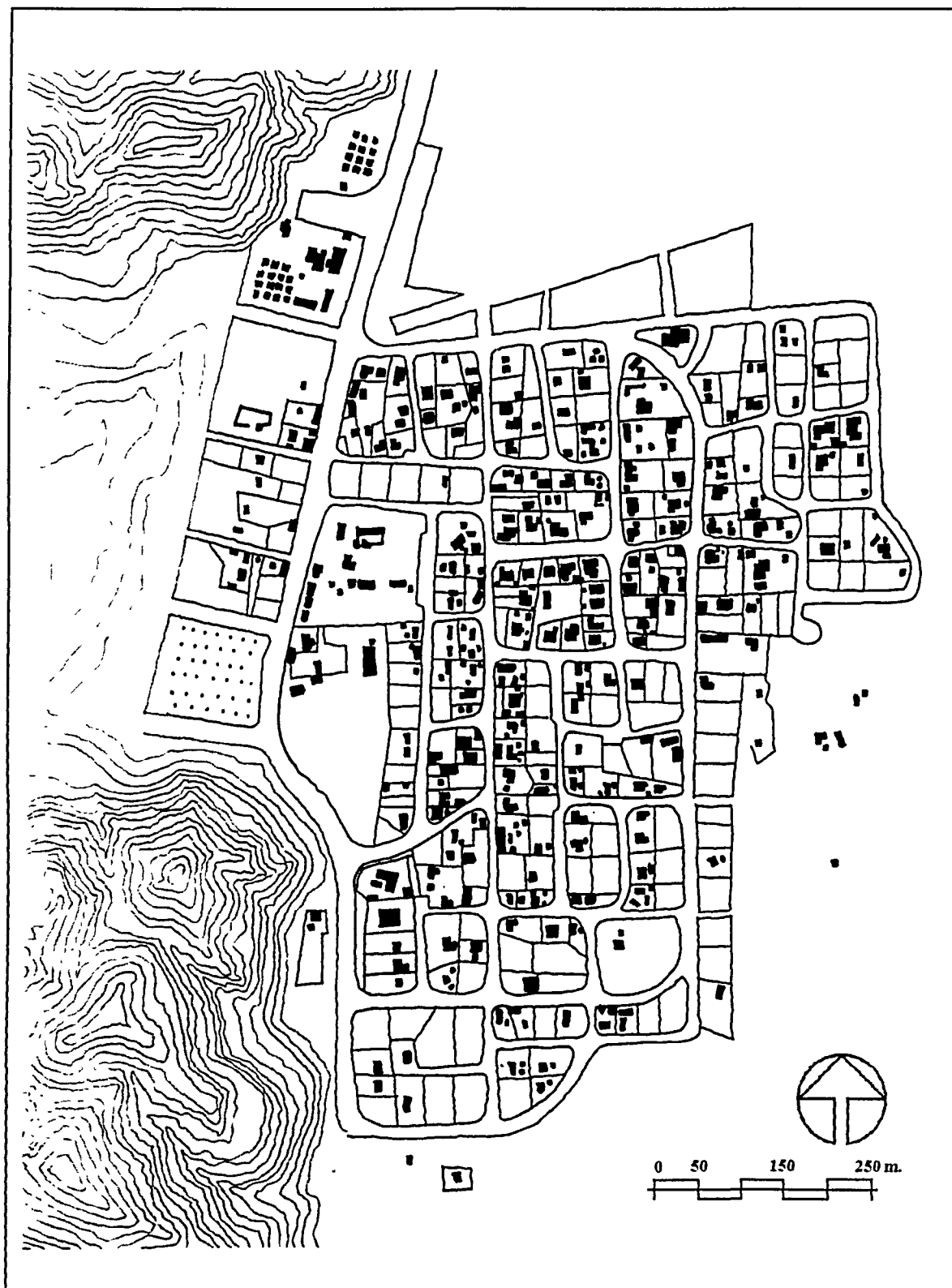


Figure (6.6): The buildings (houses, tents or shanty structures) within Rum Village.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004.

Within Rum village there is a very definite hierarchy of spaces in the circulation pattern that serves the village's residential lots. The main road is the circulation spine. It enters the village where it crosses a culvert, which is used to enclose the winter rain water that comes from Rum Mountain. Unlike its rural nature, the road's width is similar to streets that can be found in any urban settlement in Jordan. The road runs through the village for about one and a half kilometres, and ends where it meets the sands of Wadi Rum's desert. Along this distance, the curvy spinal cord is the scene of most of the village's economic, public and religious activities.

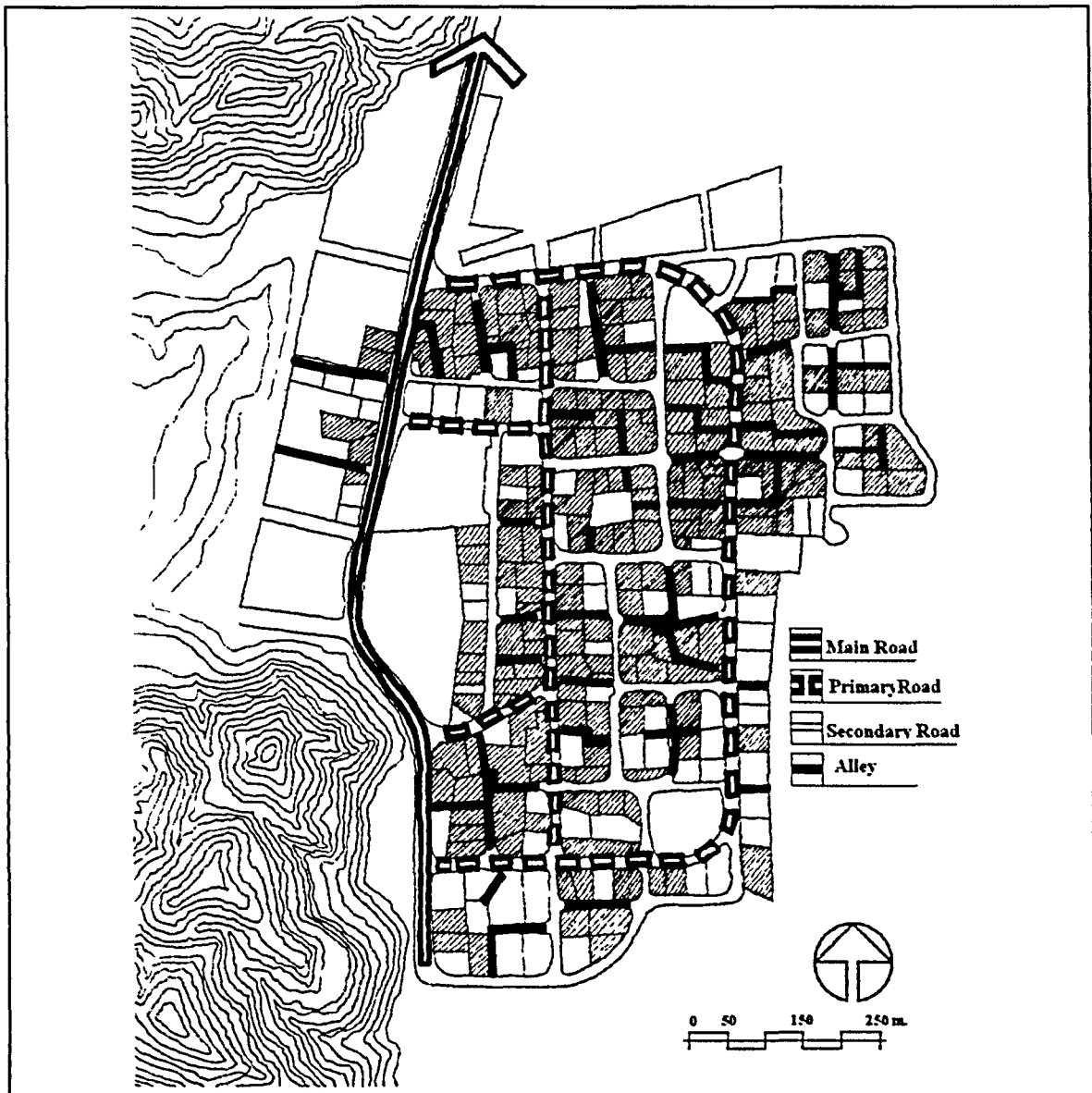


Figure (6.7): Rum Village's roads pattern.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

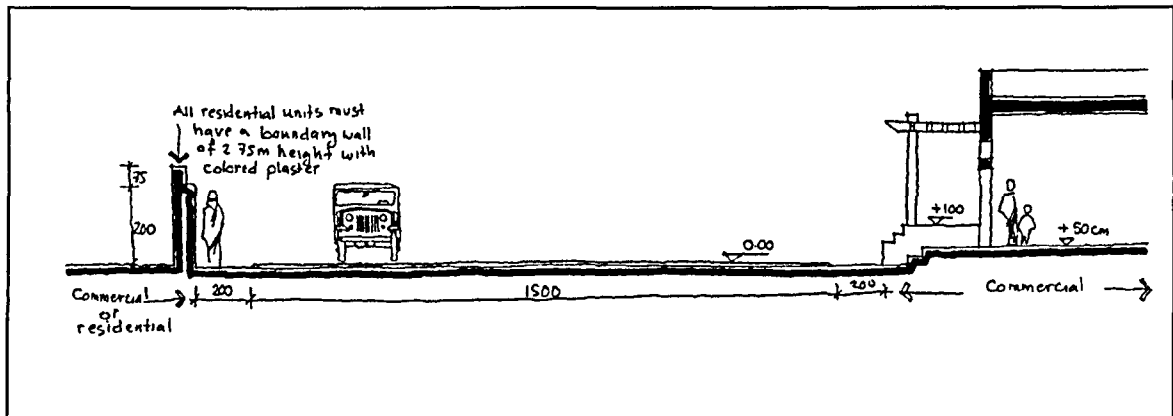


Figure (6.8): Rum Village main spinal road section.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.



Figure (6.9): Rum Village main spinal road.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Jordan, 2005.

While the main road is the only paved road in the village, the rest are sandy and it is difficult to estimate their width. The boundary walls and the pattern of tracks made by the villagers' trucks allowed me to estimate the streets width variations. The primary roads branch off perpendicular to the village's main road. It functions as the main collector that connects the secondary roads. Its width varies between six and nine meters.

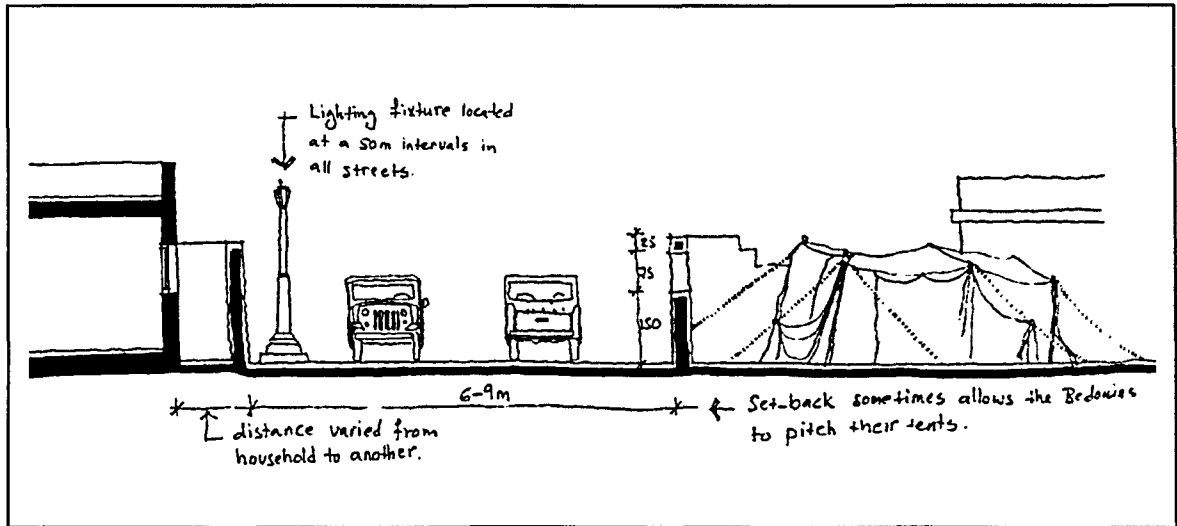


Figure (6.10): Rum Village's primary road section.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

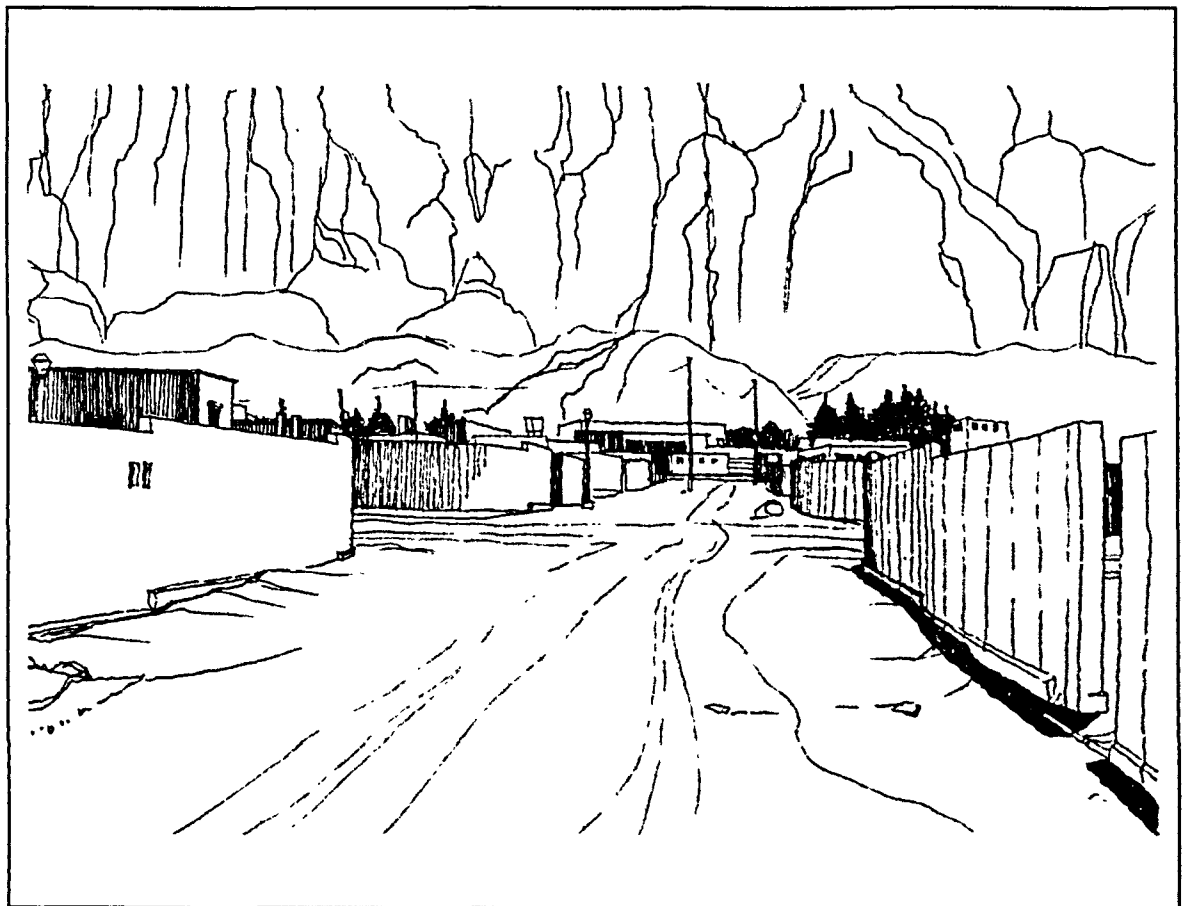


Figure (6.11): Rum Village's primary road serving the different sections of the village.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The village's secondary roads are much narrower where their width varies between four to six meters. These roads do not serve all the lots, but in most cases, they serve as an entrance to the common space that functions as the distributor to the different households.

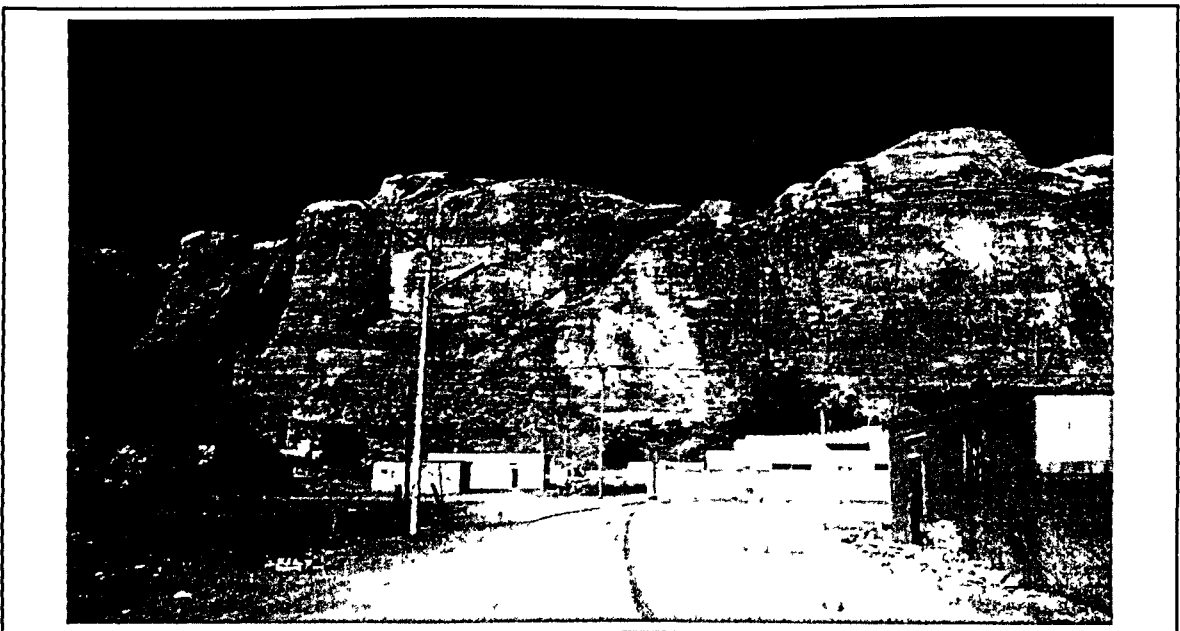


Figure (6.12): Secondary roads, with and without the boundary walls.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The last pattern of streets is the alleys (*dahleez*, Pl. *dhaleez*). They are extensively used as access points to the different households that are not served by roads. These alleys vary in width between two and three meters. The width and location of the *dahleez* is subject to the general agreement among the owners of the lots around it.

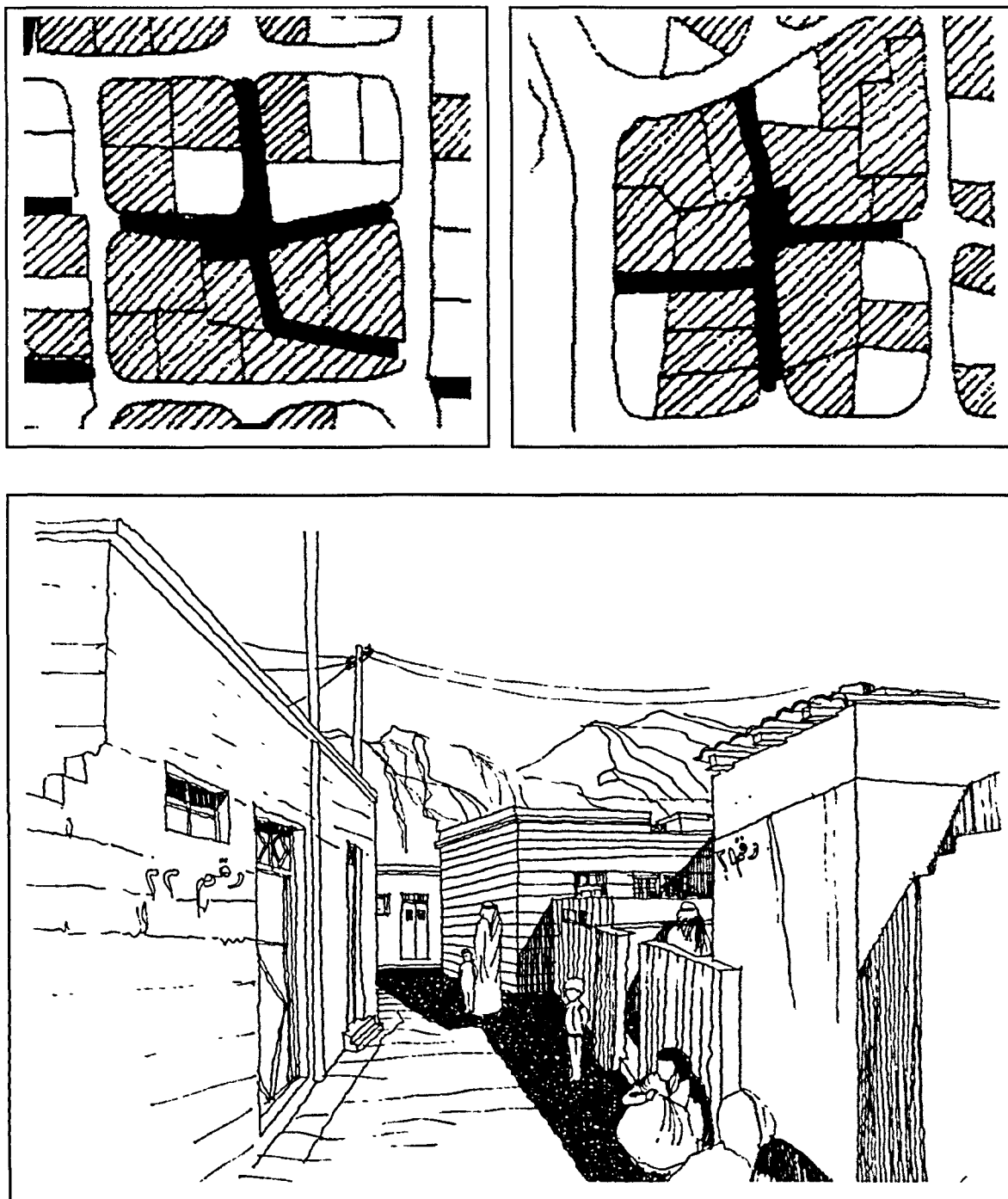


Figure (6.13): Examples of Rum Village's alleys (*dahleez*).

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The main road splits the village into two sections (*hai*, Pl. *ah'ya'*). The first is the *hai al-gharbee*, literally meaning *the western section*, because of its location. It consists of the government Rest-House, the open space where the Toyota pick-up trucks line-up, small shops, a post office, some fragmented houses and the village's public cemetery. The second section is the eastern, *hai al-shargee*, which forms the main body of the village's physical pattern. In addition to the main residential area, it includes the village's public institutions such as the mosque, Patrol Police Fort, health centre and schools. It also includes some fragmented small shops, where any casual visitor to the village could not fail to observe the way the owners assemble their products in front of their shops.

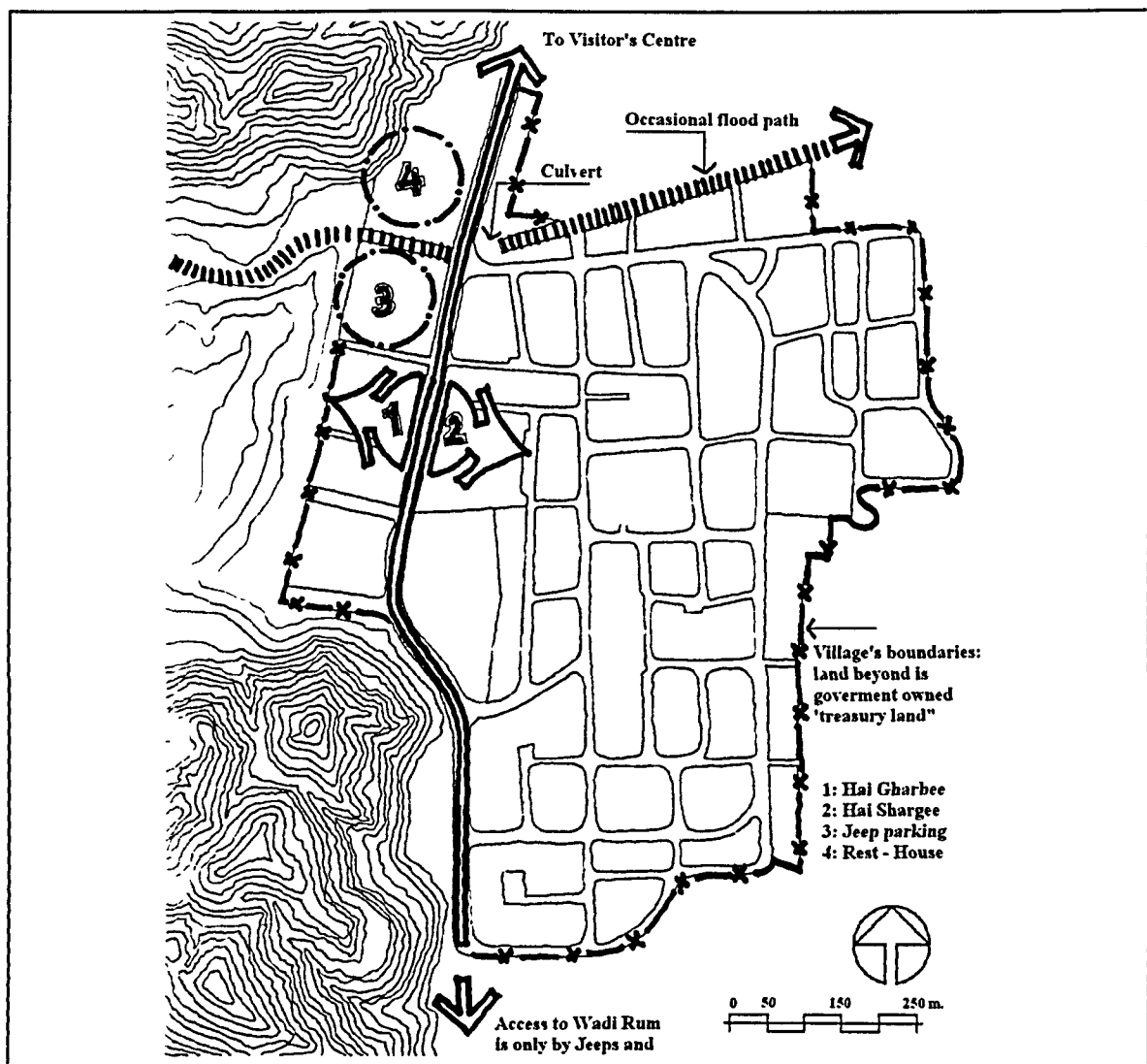
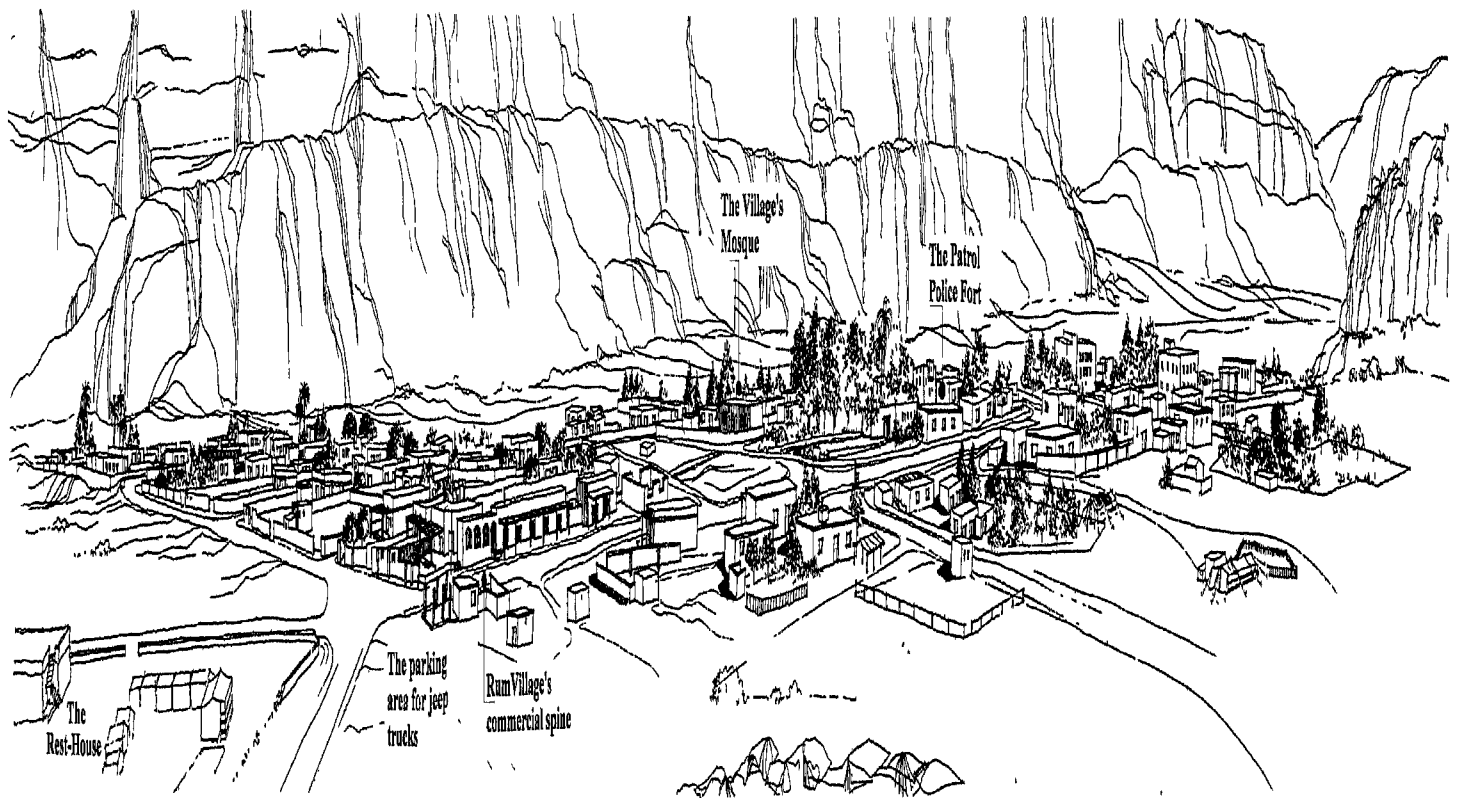
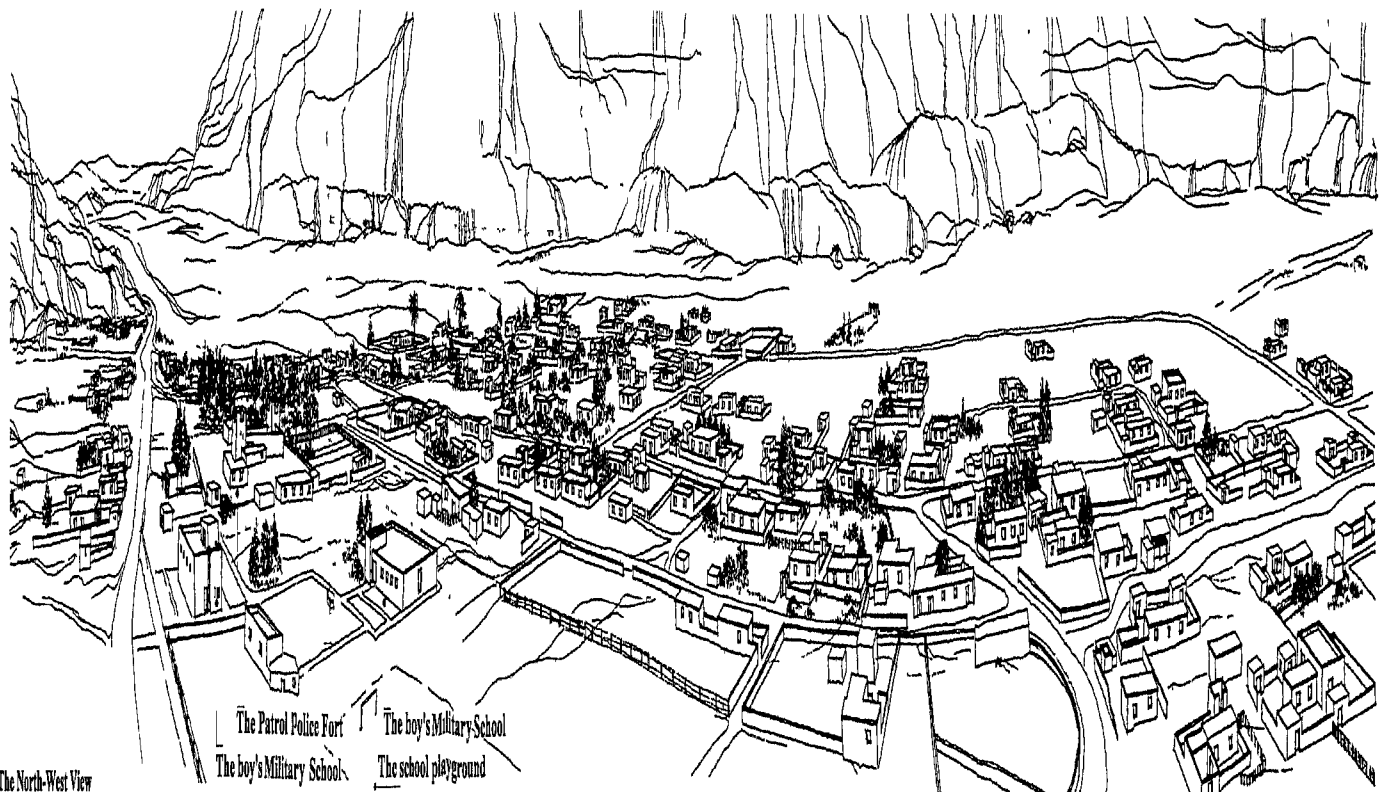


Figure (6.14): Rum Village main road and the different *ah'ya'*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.



The North - West view of Ram Village



The North- West View

Figure (6.15): Ram Village General Views

Source: The researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

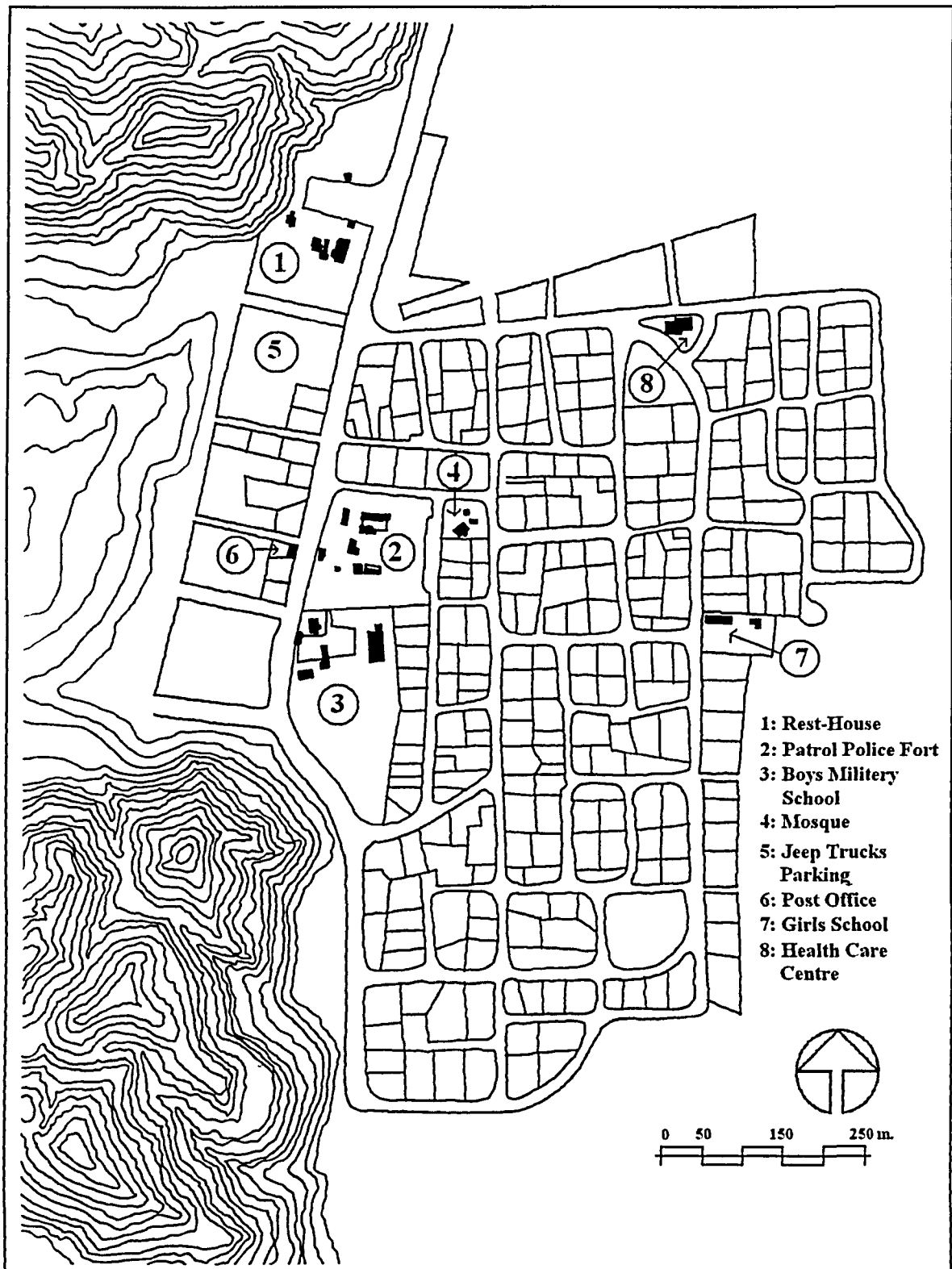


Figure (6.16): The Village's public facilities.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004.

1. The Government Rest-House:

Wadi Rum Rest-house was built in 1962 to accommodate the personnel making the film Lawrence of Arabia. It is owned by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MTA) and managed by the private sector. It provides very basic services to tourists such as simple meals and sleeping accommodation and its manager, Mr. Ali Hillawi, is a key figure in Wadi Rum's tourism industry.

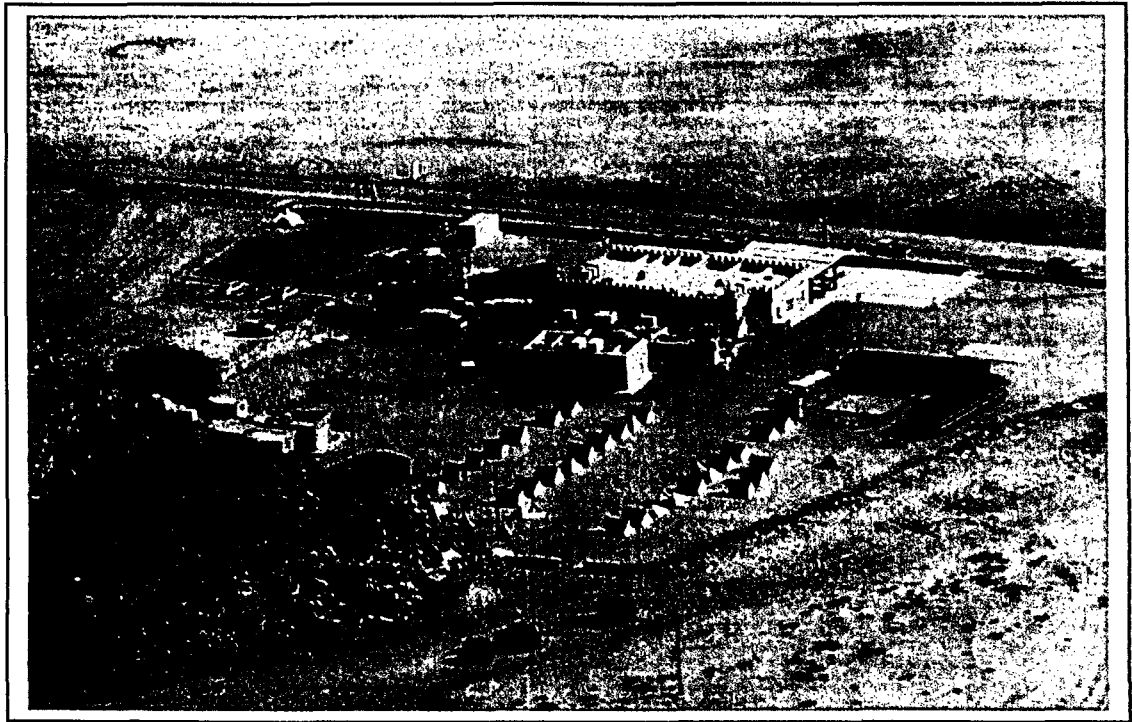


Figure (6.17): The Rest-House compound.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Because the Rest-House has no bedrooms, its management uses the roof of the building as the sleeping area. In addition, some tents are pitched behind the building for increased accommodations. The tents are furnished with mattresses and the cost is 2 JD/day. They are fairly primitive but suitable for a couple of days use. Its users are allowed to access the toilets and showers located inside the Rest-House. At the Rest-House, tourists can rent a four-wheel-drive jeep with a Bedouin driver for short or longer day tours within the area. They also can hire a camel for short excursions or for a desert trip to Aqaba. Due to the Bedouin religious background, there are no liquor shops in the village. The restaurant in the Rest-House has the only bar in the village.

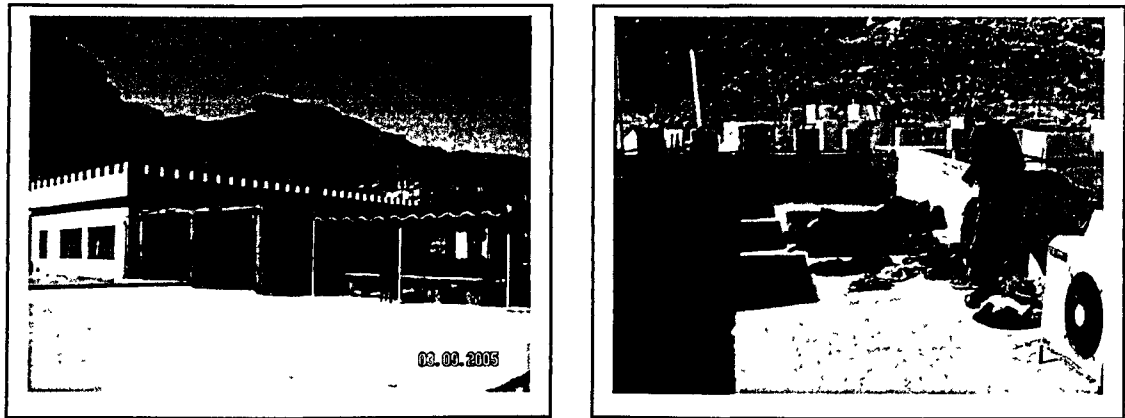


Figure (6.18): Different views of the Rest-house showing its entrance and its roof, which is used as an extra sleeping area rented to tourists.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2005.

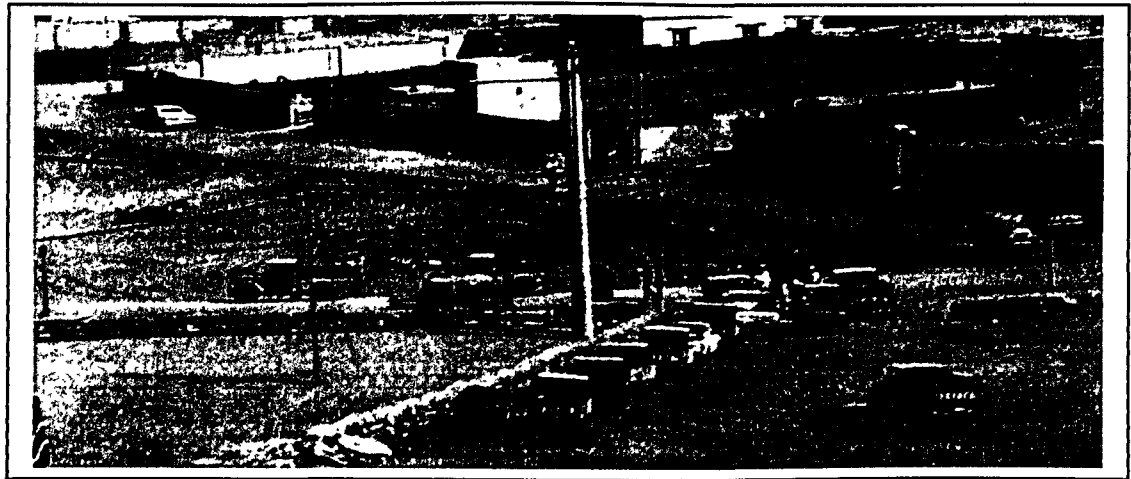


Figure (6.19): The space next to the Rest-House used as a parking area for the jeeps.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2005.

2. Shops:

There are several shops on Rum Village's main road. Their sizes vary from four square meters to twenty five square meters, depending on the product they sell. They are almost always open with the exception of the various religious holidays. They stock a selection of produce and all basic food items such as pasta, rice, flour and canned foods. In addition, there are several souvenir shops with a wide variety of souvenirs and gifts. It was observed that in these shops, which exist in the tourist area, Bedouin women are excluded both as vendors and buyers.

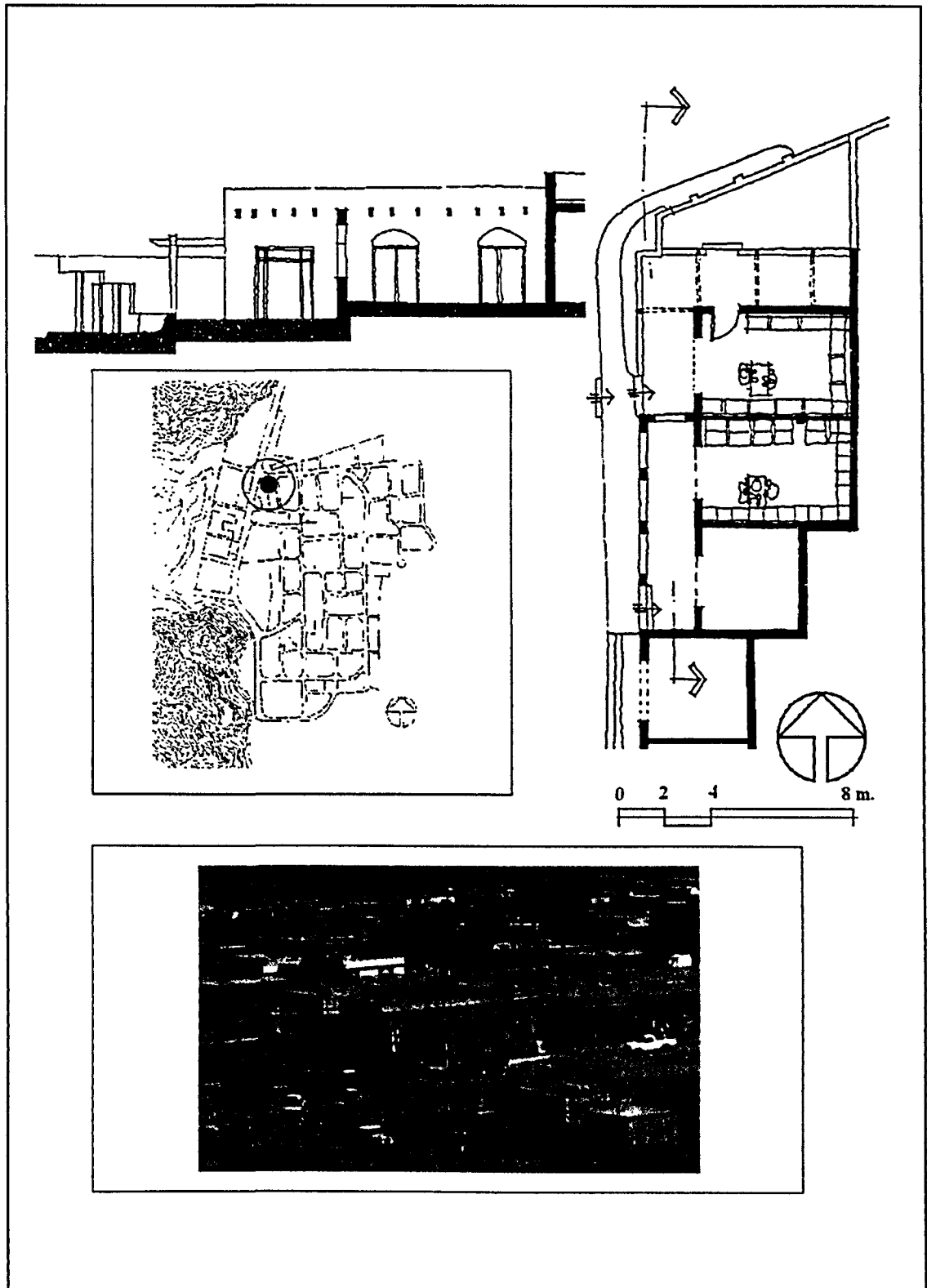


Figure (6.20): A group of shops along Rum Village's main road.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

3. The Mosque:

It plays an important role in the daily life of the villagers. In addition to being a place of worship, it acts as a place for solving disputes, and as a public meeting place where the exchange of information among the Zalabia can take place. Moreover, it is the location for social occasions like weddings. The Mosque is looked after by two persons: the Imam who leads prayers and delivers speeches and the *Muadhin* who calls for prayer.

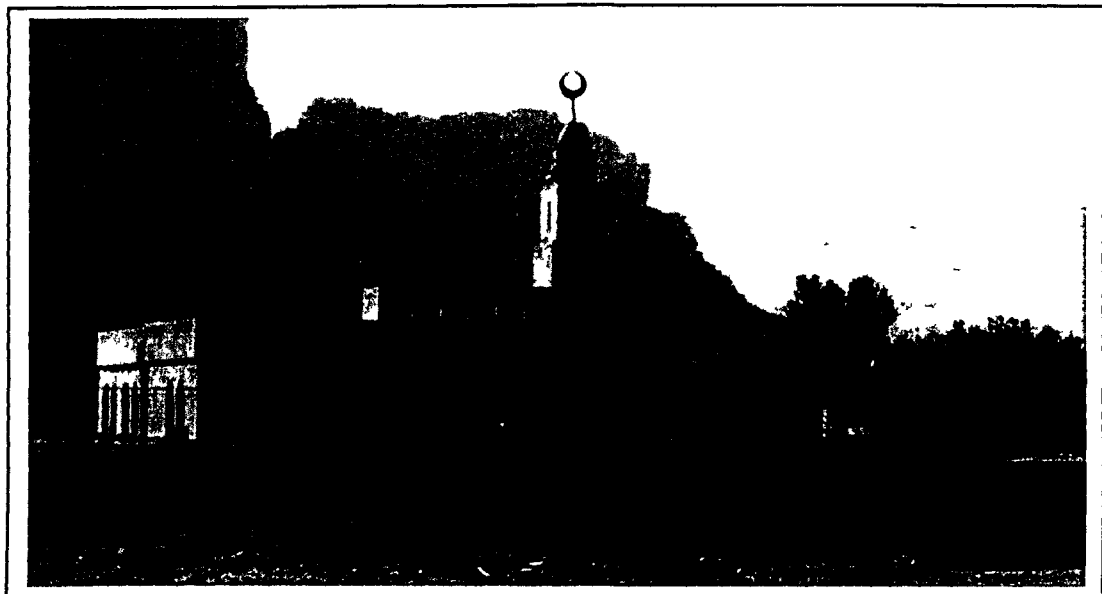
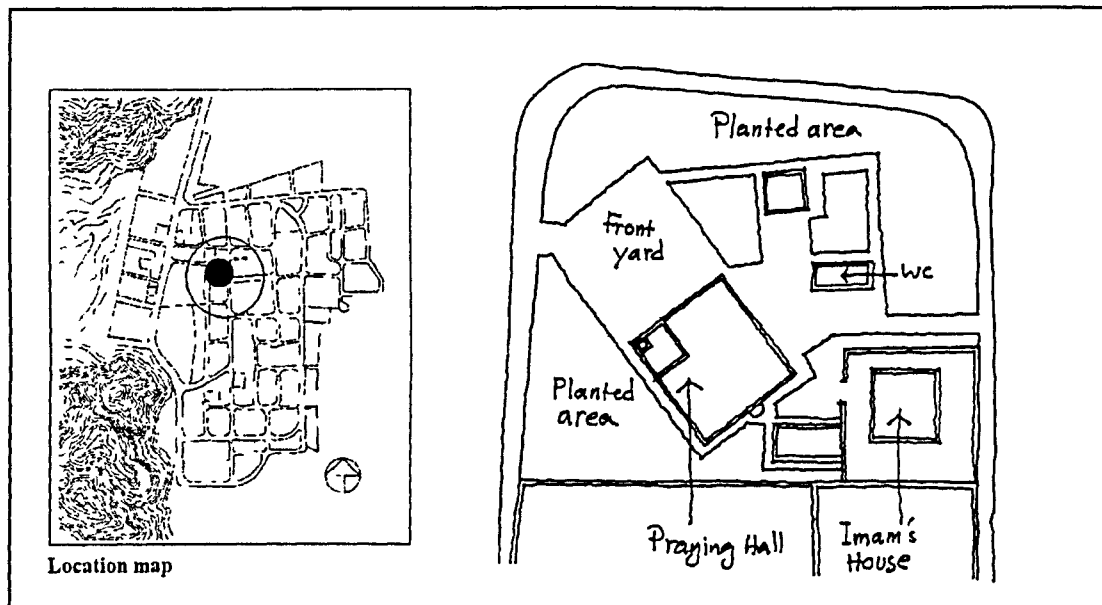


Figure (6.21): The present Rum Village Mosque

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

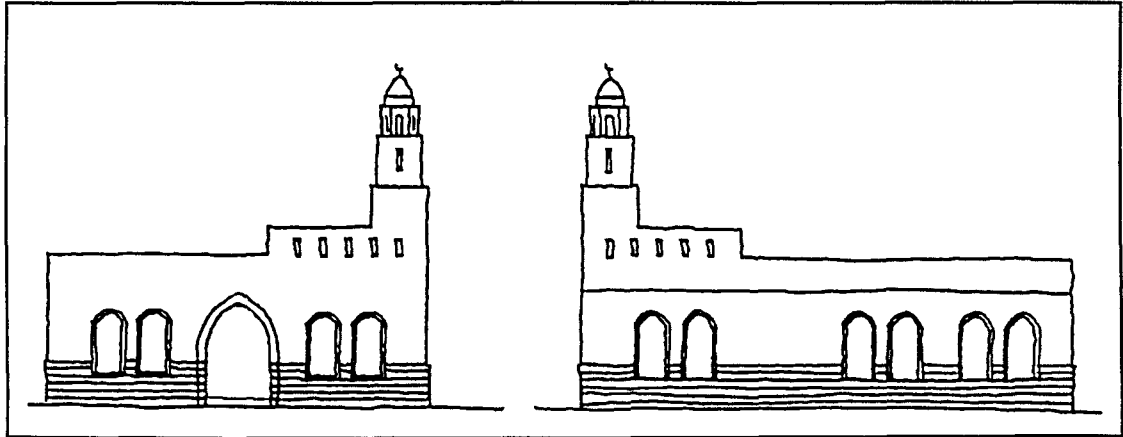


Figure (6.22): Rum Village Mosque enhancement.

Source: Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, 2004.

4. Patrol Police Fort:

It was built in the 1930s. It is home to the elite Desert (*badia*) Patrol, whose officers' watch over Jordan's eastern deserts. As the ambassadors of Jordan, the men of the famous Desert Patrol wear perhaps the most beautiful uniform; a long khaki *dishdash* held by a bright red bandoleer, a holster with a dagger around the waist, and rifle slung over the back. The headdress is the red-and-white (*shmagh*), worn by the Bedouins of Jordan, but wrapped under the chin.

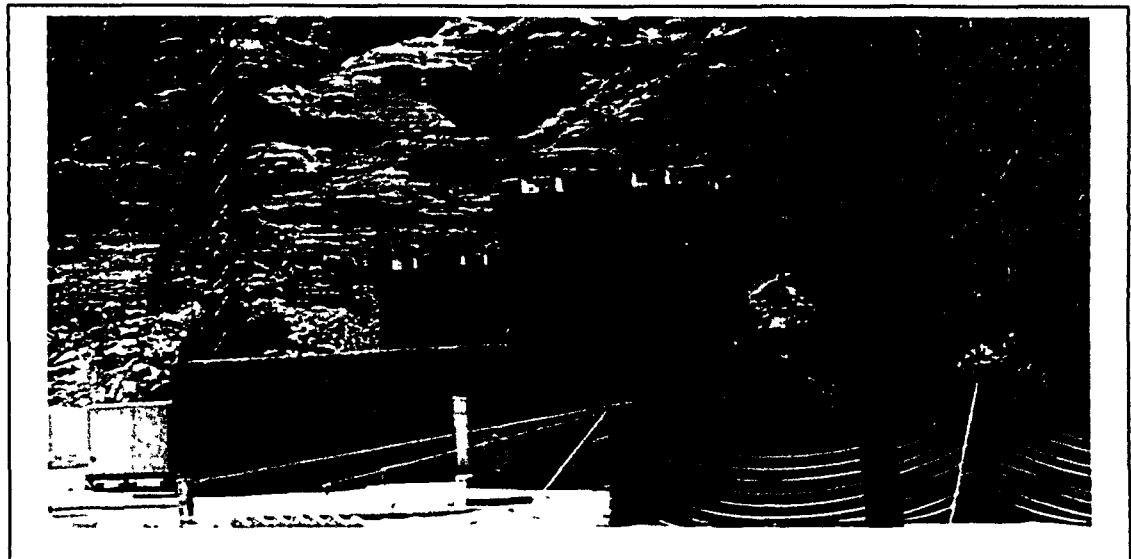


Figure (6.23): View of the Patrol Police Fort from the main road.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.



Figure (6.24): Patrol Policemen uniform.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2004.



Figure (6.25): A Patrol Policeman wandering the desert on his camel.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5. Military School:

In the early 1950s, the Jordanian government failed to provide educational facilities in the *badia* through its Ministry of Education due to the Bedouin mobility. In 1952, the Jordanian Armed Forces established the Directorate of Education. In addition to the responsibility of educating Jordanian army members, the directorate fulfilled the role of the Ministry of Education within areas inhabited by the nomadic Bedouins.

Rum Village's King Talal Elementary School for boys was established in the early 1930s as a mobile school, following the Bedouin emigrational routes. In 1959, the Ministry of Education established a scholastic structure which consists of three rooms and housed the resident teacher. In 1961 this school was handed over to the Jordanian Military. By the beginning of 1994, the military completed a new building with some facilities and accommodation such as housing, a dining hall and a kitchen. Until the late 1980s, education in Rum Village was mixed which is the reason that made the Bedouin forcing their girls to leave school at an early age. In 1989, the Ministry of Education established a girl's school in Rum Village. As the two schools are administered by the Jordanian Armed Forces, it was not permitted to take any pictures of the buildings or those around them.

6. The Clinic:

The clinic is staffed by a male nurse with a visiting general practitioner who comes once a week. The clinic occupies a building consisting of three rooms: a reception room, an examination room and a pharmacy. According to the local informants, the health service in Rum Village is very poor, and in most of the serious cases people are forced to go to one of the adjacent towns.

7. The Village Council:

On the 27th of July, 1987, the Jordanian government established the Village Council (*majlis qarawi*). Councils may consist of three to fourteen members, where all the Zalabia's *Fkhouth* can be presented. According to my local informants, there was an agreement among the Zalabia that the council would always consist of seven

members. Membership took the form of rotation, giving all the clans the chance to be represented in the council. The members were elected from within the village for a period of four years. The council was to function as a connection with authorities. It helped provide the village with basic services such as water and electricity. In the early 1980s, the council, with the help of the Water Authority, provided the village with a network of water pipes that were upgraded by ASEZA in 1995. The council also introduced electricity to the village by the beginning of the 1980s. Today, almost all the houses in Rum Village are supplied with electricity.

After this brief description about the village's different amenities, to provide an understanding about how Rum Village has changed over the past four decades, the following section will present an historical background about the Bedouins households' development.

6.3 The Bedouins' Households' Development:

6.3.1 Historical Background:

Before the filming of Lawrence of Arabia, the only building in the valley was a Desert Patrol Police Fort located along the traditional road to Mecca. The present Rest-House was originally built for the personnel making the movie. In 1959 a military school was opened in the area, followed by a clinic in 1965; these buildings formed the foundation of what would develop into the small Rum Village. Government intervention towards the development of Wadi Rum was minimal until the 1970s. Therefore, the *Zalabia* continued to use their territory and had full access to the natural resources and collective property that it contained. At that time, few people built permanent houses on what was then their tribal land.

When the Bedouins began to settle in the mid 1960s, they gradually built permanent houses. These were built using materials that were readily available to the Bedouins, namely: mud, stone and tin, which were supplied by the Desert Police Forces. Houses built in this era were of a single storey, and their internal partitions were replicas of those in the tent. The number of rooms and their sizes were reflective of the Bedouin nomadic

mentality, where they “do not live in (spaces) larger than they required” (Layne, 1994, p. 56). In this sense, the Bedouin household could be conceived to be “a cultural phenomenon, its form and organization are greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs....it is the consequences of the whole range of socio-cultural factors seen in their broadest terms” (Rapoport, 1969, p. 47).

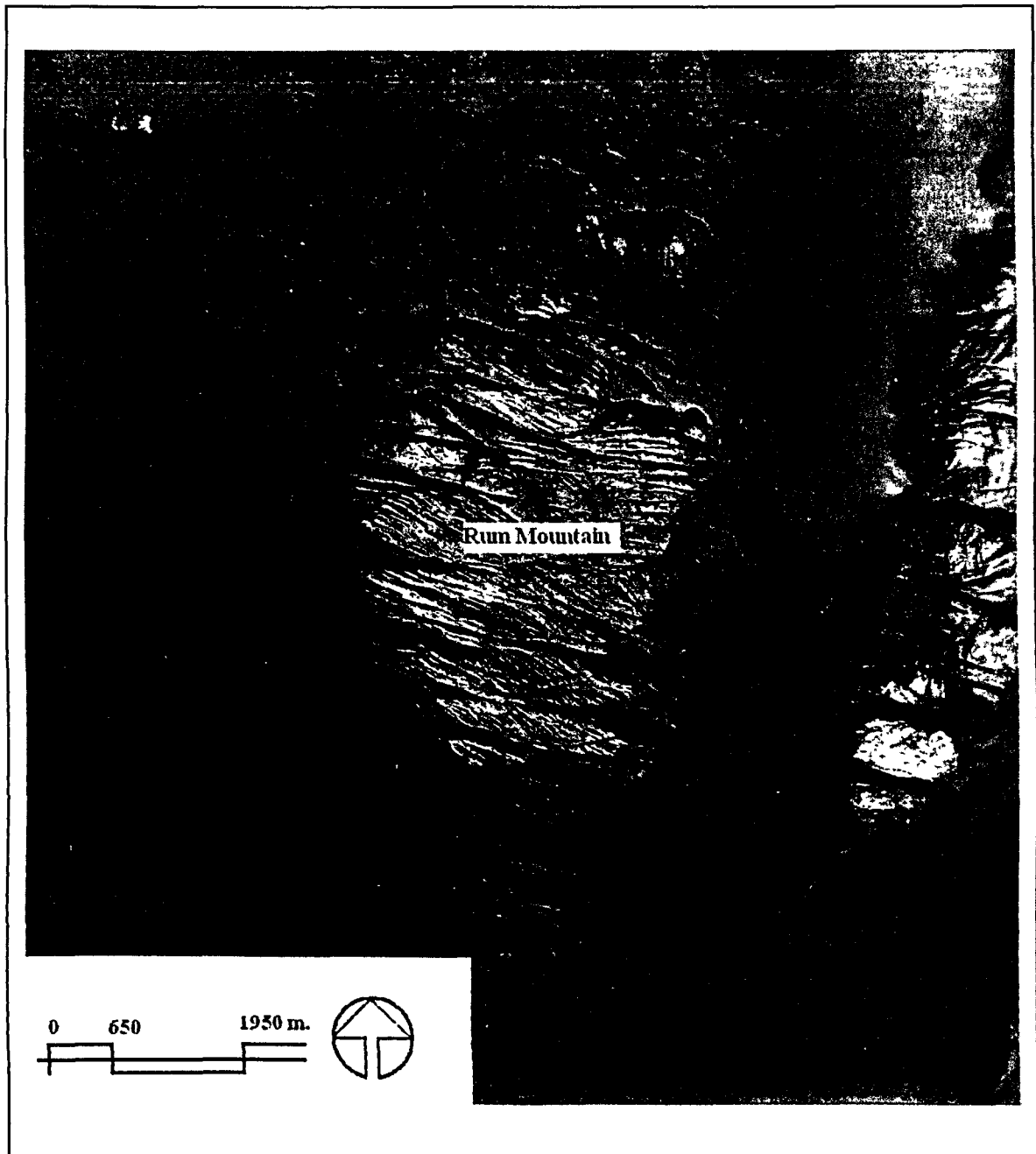


Figure (6.26): Aerial photograph shows Rum Village in 1953.

Source: Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004.

The simplest form of houses from the 1960s is the one-room structure built with the area's natural stone. This building technique was adopted after the Patrol Police Fort which was built in the same manner. The room is a rectangular shape approximately seven meters long and five meters wide. A small window was usually located above the main door to evacuate heat and smoke. Due to its location, the window casts dramatic light into the interior. The interior walls of this one-room are plastered by mud.

The main problem of this model was how to construct its roof. Within Wadi Rum's desert environment, wood was scarce and precious, so it was rarely used as beams or vertical supports. The villagers' solution was to construct two or three sets of stone arches, dividing the span of the room's roof in a way that allowed them to use the wooden supports that were available. Thus, small branches and bits of wood finished with small scraps of wood and cane and layers of mud sufficed to create a ceiling. Here, it is important to emphasize that the labour and expertise used to build these houses came from the Patrol Policemen, who usually originated in the adjacent urban centers such as Ma'an.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Zalabia benefited from government encouragement towards their sedentarization. Offers of land to build houses at special prices and the provision of subsidized loans were presented as privileges from the government. At this stage, the government gifted the Zalabia's elite a few model houses to attract their tribesmen to settle down in the area. As this single-room model did not accommodate the Bedouin socio-cultural convention required to separate gender spaces, the Bedouins started to build two and three room houses. These were built using the same technologies that the government produced in the first model houses.

Here, it is important to emphasize that the Bedouin building ritual is the same whether it is a tent or permanent house that is being constructed. *O'wneh*, which literally means helping or giving a hand, is the main characteristic of this ritual. Many members of the same kinship helped with neighbouring households, and contributed in some way towards the construction effort.

The *o'wneh* principle recalls what Henry Glassie asserted in *Vernacular Architecture*:

When the material(s) were still local, the skill still manual, the norm in architecture, as in poetry or metal working or weaving, was not for one person to do everything...different people filled different roles in a single process, as actors do in drama, and technology entailed social arrangement (2000, p. 39).

The rooms of this raw-house model are of almost equal size, which is usually four by four meters squared. The kitchen and toilet are physically separate in single structures located at the back of the house. Typically, the entrance of each room was located in the middle of its front wall. These rooms faced east wherever possible, improving reception of the start of each day. Windows are usually located opposite to the door with no internal doors between the rooms. This circulation pattern resembles the movement associated with the double and triple-spaced tents. This model included a raised platform along its front wall which was used as an outdoor sitting area (*mastaba*) for the men to use during summer nights.

By the mid 1970s, a new floor plan using concrete or cement blocks had become popular. This model was provided by the Jordanian government and was presented as a gift to the Zalabia's sheikhs. It forms a three-room house arranged in an L-shape with a walled courtyard that completes the square. As in the other models, one must go outside the roofed area and re-enter the targeted room in order to move from one room to another. By the beginning of the 1980s, a new modification took place; the courtyard was covered to form a veranda that functions as an extra gathering room in good weather. As informed by some of the local informants, tourists have had a great impact on the development of this form. This form represents what the majority of the Bedouins of Rum Village inhabit now; the corridor (*Salah*) house.

The simplest type of the *salah* house consists of two rooms measuring four square meters, and divided by a corridor that measures three by four meters. Unlike the urbanites' use of the corridor space as a passageway, the Bedouins use it as the family gathering space. In this model, the family entrance is located in the middle of the front wall of the corridor (*salah*). Doors to the two rooms are located kitty-corner to each other in the side walls of

the *salah* to provide the privacy needed by its users. Depending on the house's financial ability and needs, the corridor can be extended towards the backyard. This allows for some additional room to be added along its two sides, forming longer corridor houses, which is the most popular usage found in Rum Village.

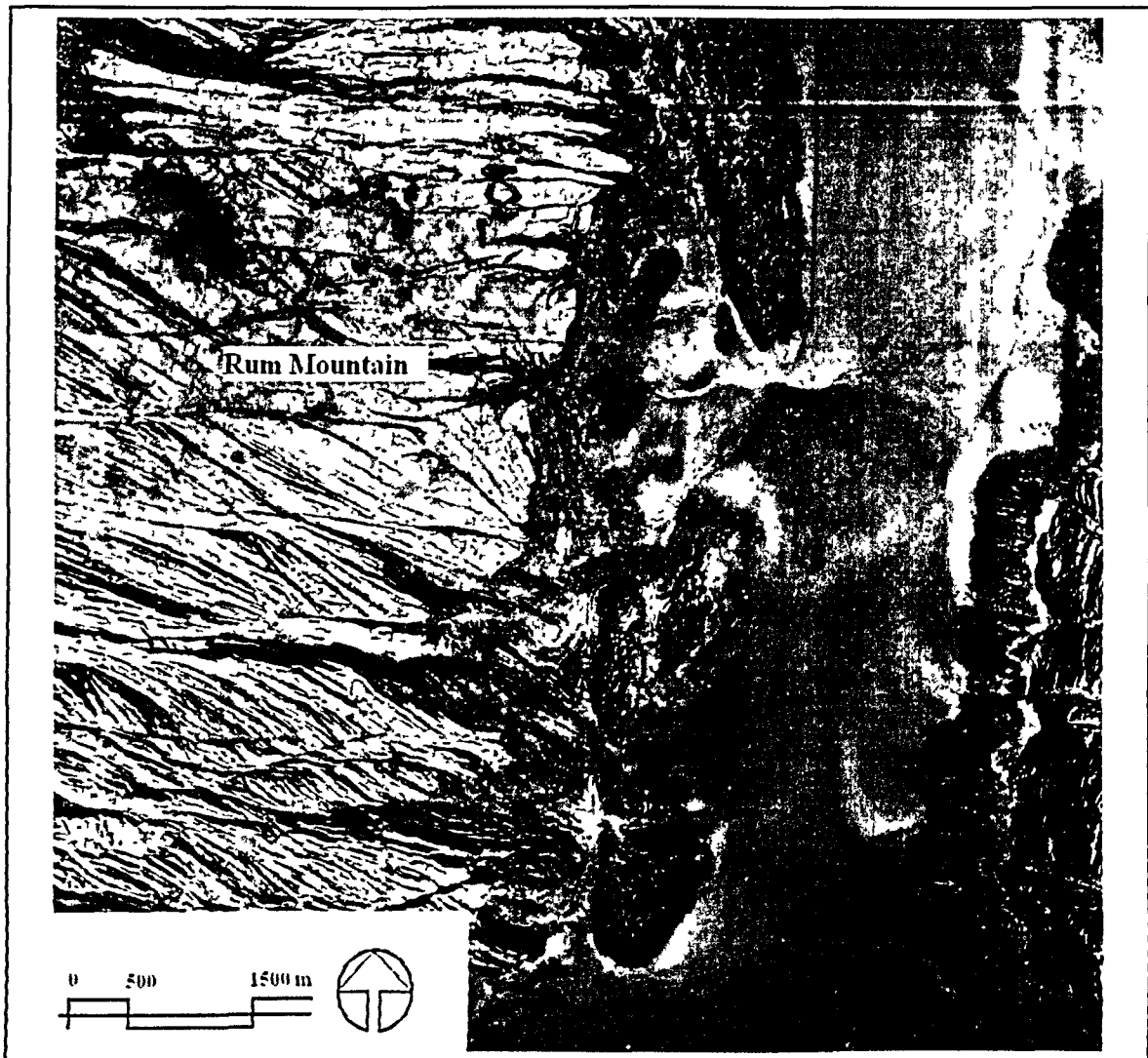


Figure (6.27): Aerial photograph shows Rum Village in 1982.

Source: Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004.

In 1976, the Jordanian government authorized the Zalabia's sheikhs to distribute the land within the village boundaries among their tribesmen. This was to be used for the purpose of cultivation and building permanent houses. The tribesmen were given a document (*Koshan*) stamped by their sheikhs indicating their private ownership.

In the early 1990s many homes added a rectangular space to the front side of the *salah* house. This began at the same time that tourism became the main source of income in Rum Village. The new addition was designated to function as a *madhafah*, literally meaning the hospitality room. Some of the villagers, especially the younger and educated generations, prefer to call it the *diwan*, as the rest of the urban Jordanians.



Figure (6.28): Aerial photograph shows Rum Village in 1992.

Source: Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004.

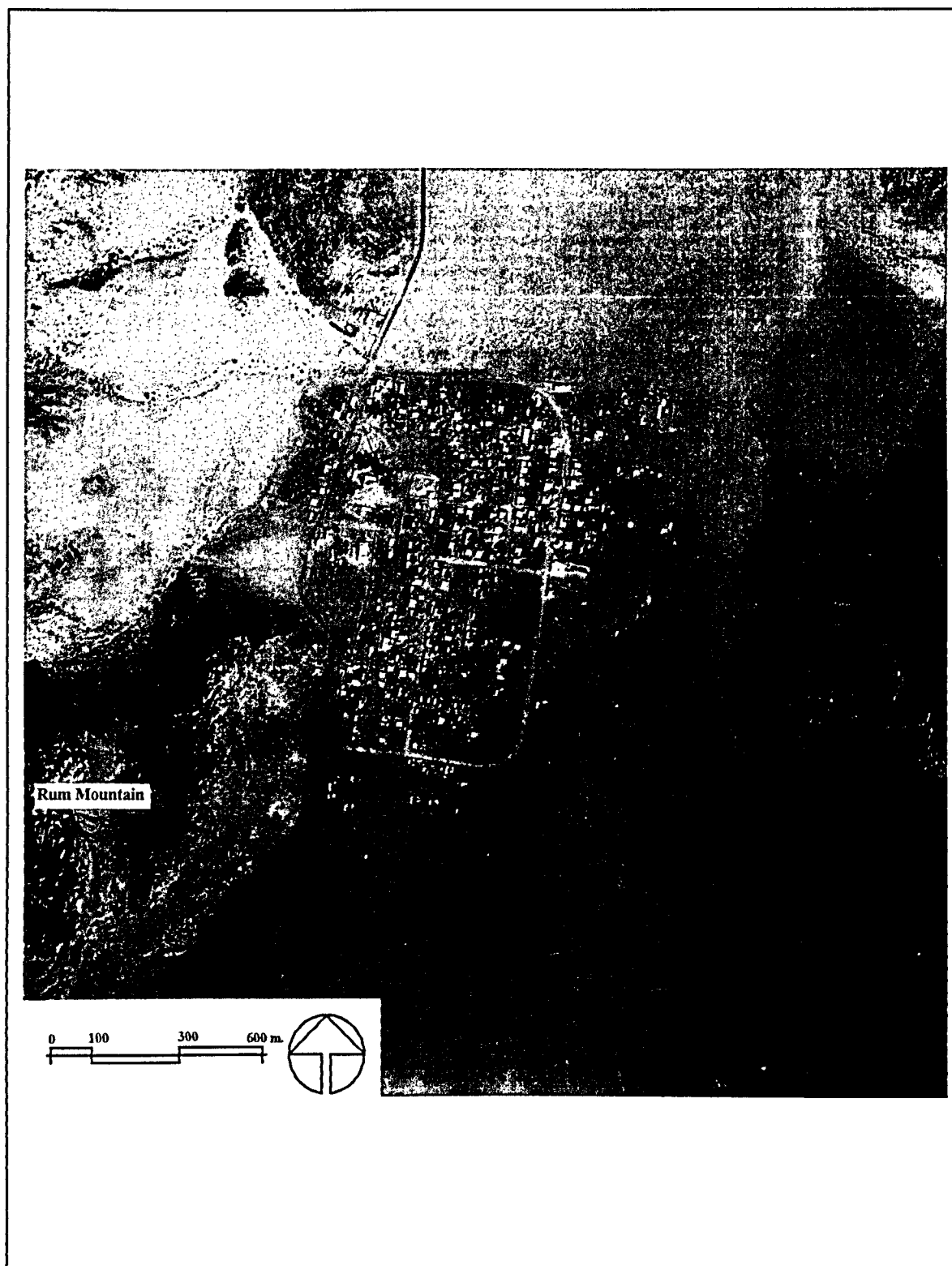
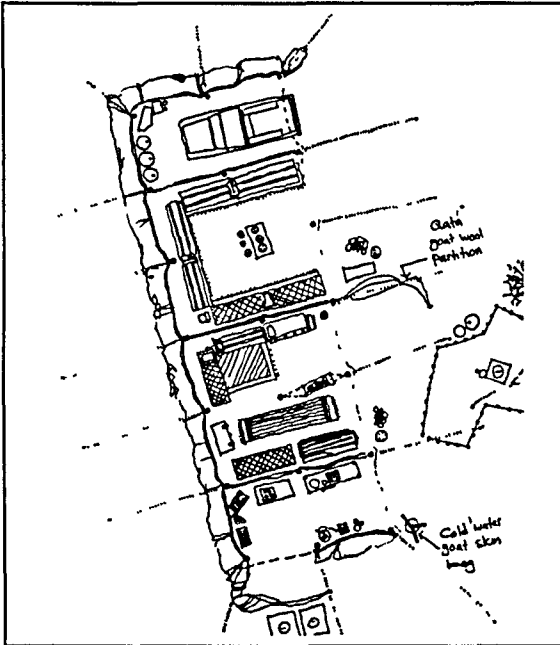


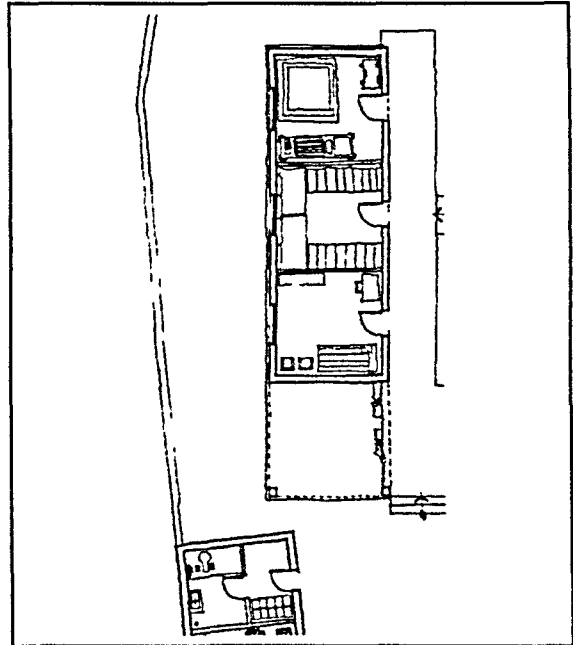
Figure (6.29): Aerial photograph shows Rum Village in 2000.

Source: Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004.

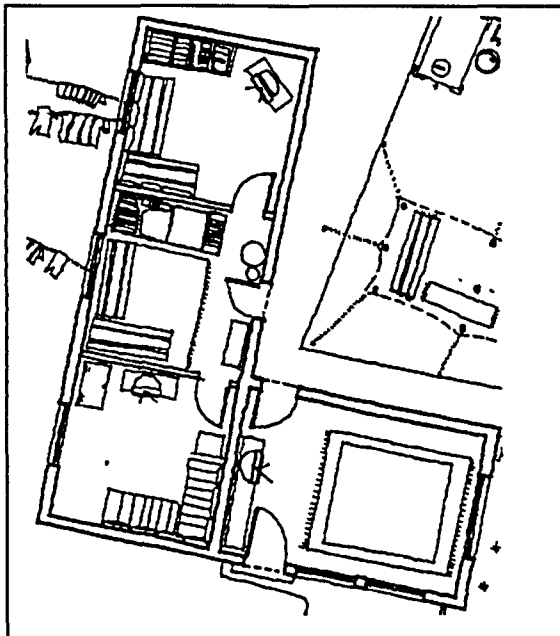
Tents



Row-House since mid 1960s



L-Shape House early 1970s



Salah House early 1980s

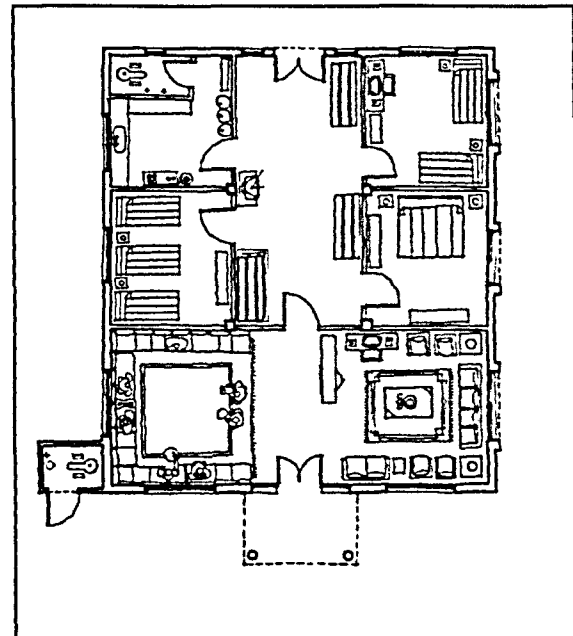


Figure (6.30): The development of the house typology in Wadi Rum.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The Jordanian government agreed to a land survey to officially set the boundaries of the existing Rum Village in July 1996. Those who failed to provide proof of their land registration lost ownership. The 'non-registered' land was designated as part of the Jordanian government treasury land. This was the first step in preparation of the declaration of the area as a national park with special regulations. According to these regulations, the Bedouins are not allowed to build freely on their plots, since the maximum allowed coverage is forty five percent of the total area. The regulations were a certain set-back, leaving the house to be almost in the middle of the lot. According to ASEZA's planning officials, "these regulations were made to provide better environmental conditions, in terms of ventilation, as well as to match the Bedouin social-cultural preferences". This can be easily argued. Although the regulations provide better environmental conditions, they were never meant to match the Bedouin socio-cultural preferences. These regulations were derived, mainly, from the articles of the Law of Planning of Cities, Villages and Buildings, number 79 for the year 1966 and its various amendments (Fischbach, 1994, p. 80-107). These are almost the same regulations implemented all over Jordan's urban areas, since the mid 1960's.

After this historical presentation, the following section aims to provide a detailed description about the residential spaces in Rum village. In this section the findings from the fieldwork research will be presented.

6.3.2 The Bedouins' Households' Organization:

The Bedouin household is the most important cultural medium to find concepts related to their self-identity. Among the Bedouins of Rum Village, the term household is used interchangeably with the term extended family. This study refers this interchangeable use to two major factors. First, a household includes people who are bound together by ties of marriage and kinship. Second, a household consists of two or more families whose food is cooked in common on a regular basis, which implies a sharing of resources produced or earned by members of the household. Indeed, among the Bedouins of Rum Village, this interchangeable use manifested itself socially and physically. Socially, the Bedouins look upon their households as sanctuaries second only to the mosque; the most sanctified

building in the Islamic faith. Therefore, their households have certain inviolability, *hurmat al-bayt*. Undoubtedly, the social manifestation has its own effect on the physical. In *House Form and Culture*, Amos Rapoport suggests that the organization of the household is significantly influenced by the culture of its occupants. He emphasizes that “if the provision of shelter is the passive function of the house, then its positive purpose is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of life of people, in other words, a social unit of space” (1969, p. 46). To examine the suitability of Rum Village’s domestic spaces to the Bedouins socio-cultural, economic and environmental aspects, the following section analyzes the different clustering patterns that this study recorded.

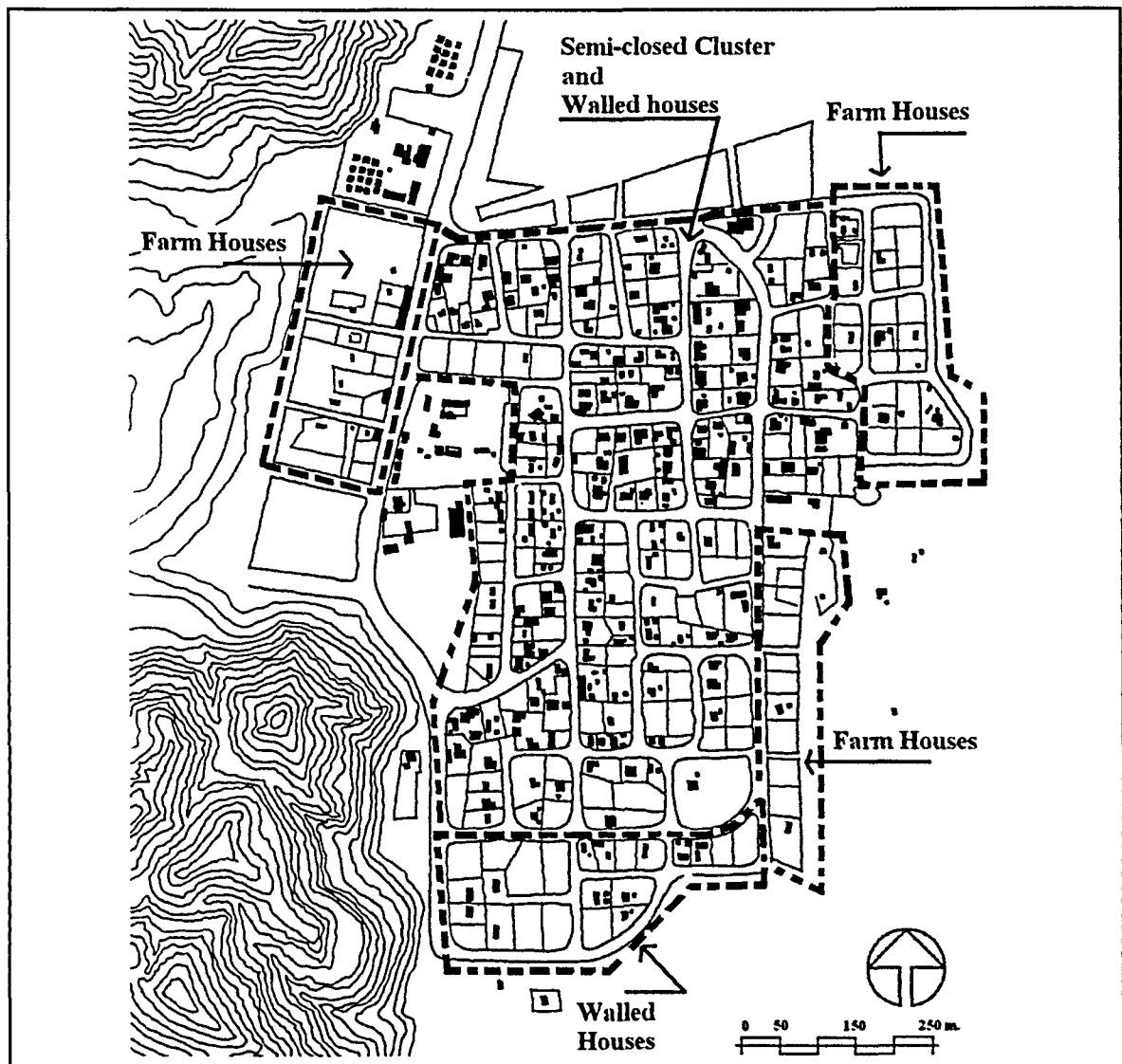


Figure (6.31): The different forms of clustering in Rum Village.

Source: Researcher’s fieldwork, 2004.

As a community, Rum village has a number of offices that control the rights and obligations of its members. Generally speaking there are two kinds of institutions: the formal Jordanian authorities and informal institutions run by the community itself. Among the most important informal institutions is the Bedouin's kinship that governs their social network both within and outside the village. In addition to the defensive requirements of the desert, it is safe to say that the settlement form in Rum Village has been mainly determined by the Bedouin social network. The basic unit of Rum Village social organization is patrilineal. Lineages had a corporate identity with a recognized pattern of leadership, which is controlled by the male elder. The lineage, as well as the totality of the tribal system, is based on social solidarity within the groups upon which it is formed. As a result of the formal and informal institutions, the Bedouin household constitutes a social commitment. Relationships between members are governed by an order of obligations, which the Bedouins carry from their ancestors. According to these obligations, each member's status and the role that they play are well defined. As a result, status is organized in a pattern of hierarchy. Such hierarchy is governed by three main principles: males are superior to females, elders are superior to juniors and those who sustain the household economy are superior to the others, except when this superiority is governed by one of the first two principles. Influenced by the formal and informal institutions, and according to the nature of its inhabitants, clustering patterns in Rum Village can be found in three main forms with a great deal of variation. These forms are:

1. The Closed and semi-closed Clusters:

After spending time in the village, I noticed that its community is divided physically into sections called *haras* (sing. *hara*). The *hara* represents a closed cluster where the land of the cluster is collectively owned. Within the different *haras*, kinship is the most common type of social relations. Each *hara* is harbouring a group of people who tend to be genealogically related. The name of each *hara* is usually "derived from that of the dominant kinship group living in the area" (Lutfiyya, 1966, p. 28). I observed that each *hara* is divided into smaller sections called *afneah* (sing. *fena*), literally meaning the walled space. Within the same *hara*, the *afneah* are connected with alleys. The physical form of the *fena* consists of clusters of households surrounded by a boundary wall. The

heads of each household are descended patrilineally from a common ancestor. Within Wadi Rum Village's community, the *fena* term is used interchangeably with the term extended family. Therefore, the *hosh* is usually named after its occupants such as *Attallah's fena*, where Attallah is the grandfather of the *fena's* inhabitants. Attallah's households within the cluster will be Attallah's *dar*. The individual households within the cluster are named after the older man of their family. If Ali is the son of Attallah, then his household will be named as *bayt Ali Attallah*.

The shape of the *fena* is continually changed by the addition of more structures. It starts when the head of the family builds his own household, and his sons add theirs to the cluster, finally shaping a common space in the middle that resembles a courtyard. While some of the *afneah* consist of households attached to each other on two or three sides, it is most common when the single separated households have their own boundary walls within the larger one. The extended family breaks apart upon the death of the grandfather. "The land is then distributed between the heirs, each one of whom then becomes the head of a separated family...the old house is usually taken over by the oldest son and the other males either stay in their homes or relocate, starting a new cluster" (Lutfiyya, 1966, p. 142). In Rum Village, the *haras* have no clear boundaries. This can be explained by two factors. First, the village represents an extremely homogenous community where almost ninety five percent of the population is of the Zalabia tribe. Second, the close neighbours often marry, which makes the social boundaries less defined and looser.

Several factors stand behind the development of the closed pattern into a semi-closed one. Upon the death of the grandfather, a process of change takes place. The structure of the extended family rapidly splits and results in the increasing autonomy of the nuclear family. This process is greatly facilitated either by the introduction of physical changes with the existing household structure, or by the construction of new households within the common boundary wall. Within Rum Village community, it was observed that within the cluster of a deceased grandfather, each household within the common boundary wall has its own boundaries. In many cases, the common boundary wall was modified to allow each household to have an extra access point to the surrounding roads.

It was also noticed that the impact of this process is more substantial in cases where the grandfather was polygamous, where each of the grandmothers will make sure that their sons achieve their shares of the inheritance that guarantees their household autonomy from the sons of the other grandmothers'. Other factors in addition to this splitting process played a decisive role in the development of the semi-closed pattern of clustering. Among these is the economic transformation that the Bedouins have and continue to experience. In *Arab Border-Villages in Israel*, Arber Cohen suggested that once the son starts earning his income from outside the extended family's traditional income sources, he, with his wife and children, move out and establish their own household. (1972, p. 51). As in the case of Rum Village, the majority of the sons and grandsons of a deceased grandfather continue to modify the existing households or build new ones within the extended family's common boundary wall, rather than leaving the cluster.

2. Farm households:

In addition to the factors previously mentioned, the State-Bedouin relationship played a decisive role in developing the village's clustering patterns. Prior to the mid 1990s, the Bedouins were free to build on their tribal land. At that time, Bedouins land was recognized as tribal land *wajehat a'shaeria*. With the rise in tourism, more restrictions were employed to control Bedouin freedom to own land in the area. The Jordanian government formally recognizes the desert land as *ardh boor*, literally meaning undeveloped land that has not been surveyed. This type of land is considered as *malkiah khassah lil-dawlah*, which means the private property of the state. To counter the state's intervention, the Bedouins adopted their own policy presented in the concept of *wadha' al-yad*, literally meaning placing the hand, where someone places a hand on the piece of land and constructs even a very simple shanty structure claiming that he is planning to develop the land. Such a process stands behind the development of the semi-open pattern of clusters, in which the land is owned by nuclear families residing in single households. This pattern is mainly found at the east and west edges of Rum Village. Within this pattern of clusters, households are either attached or detached from each other and located within a fenced agricultural land that the family develops as part of the *wadha' al-yad* process.

3. Walled Private Households:

Walled private households evolved from the semi-open pattern. The cluster, which is walled-in, has increasingly contained detached houses with some temporary structures to serve the different aspects of the Bedouin life. It is mainly found in the southern edge of the village. The reason behind this concentration is that the area was built after the implementation of the special building regulations. This form can also be found within most of the semi-closed clusters spread in the centre of the village.

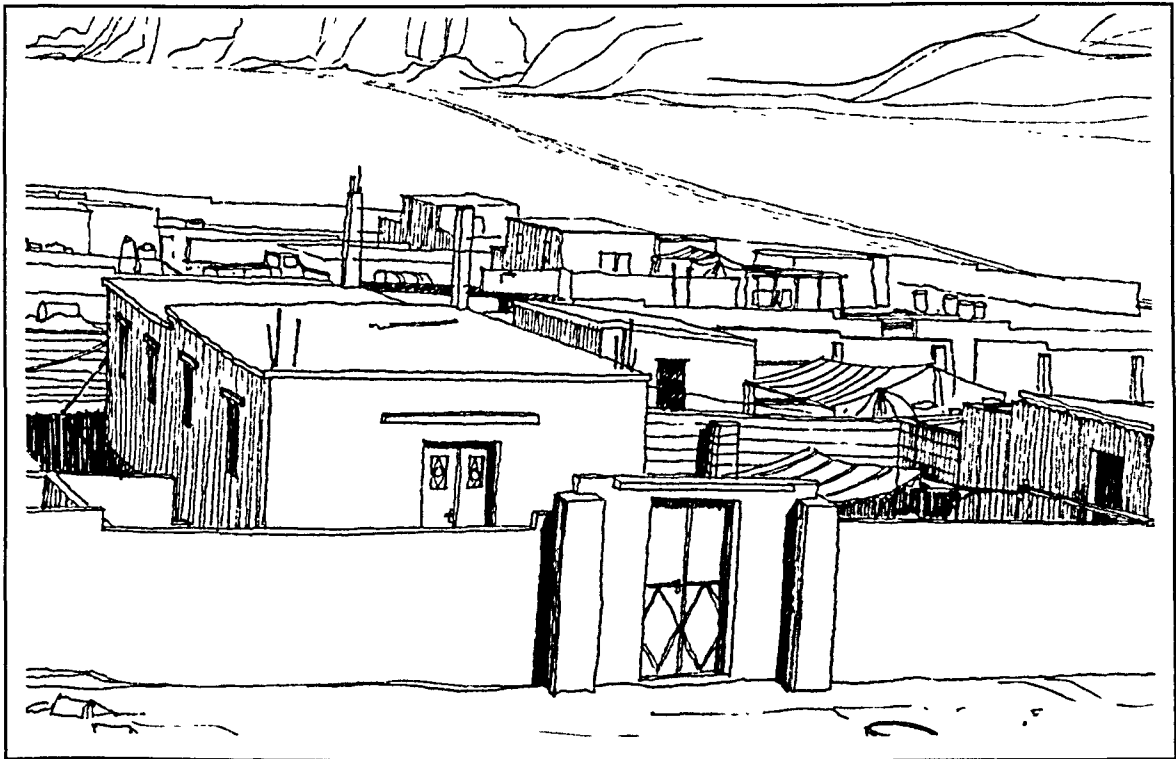


Figure (6.32): Walled private houses located at southern edge of Rum Village.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Within these different clusters, three observations were made. First: the vast majority of the lots have an approximate area of twenty to twenty five by thirty five to forty five meters. Second: despite the lot's proximity to the roads around it, the household is usually rectangular, in which its main axis follows the same orientation of the rectangular lot axis. Third: the layout of the Bedouin household is generally not uniform. Although each household is built to suit the needs of its family, a certain system of hierarchical sequences of space was observed.

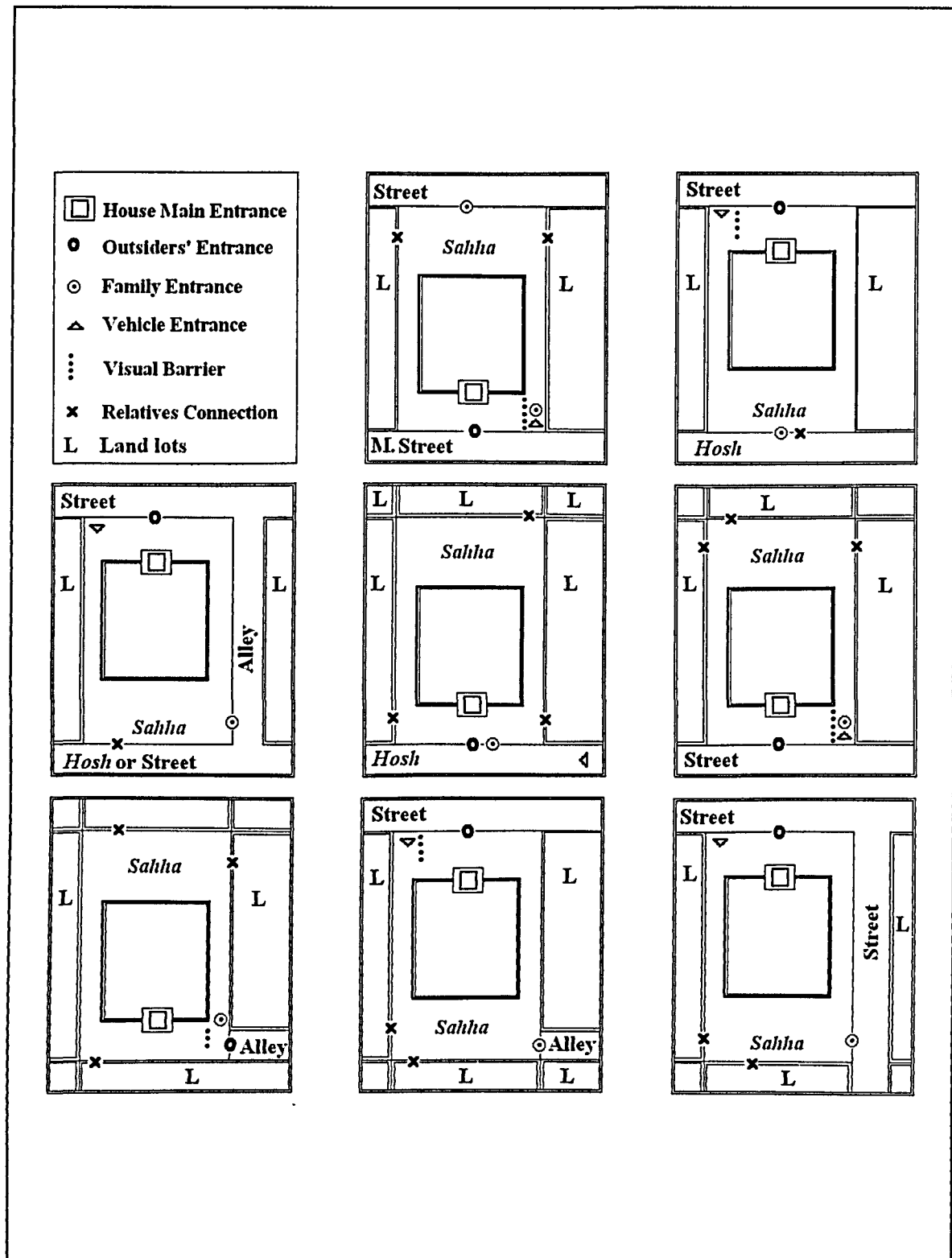


Figure (6.33): The Bedouins' household-lot relationship variations.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

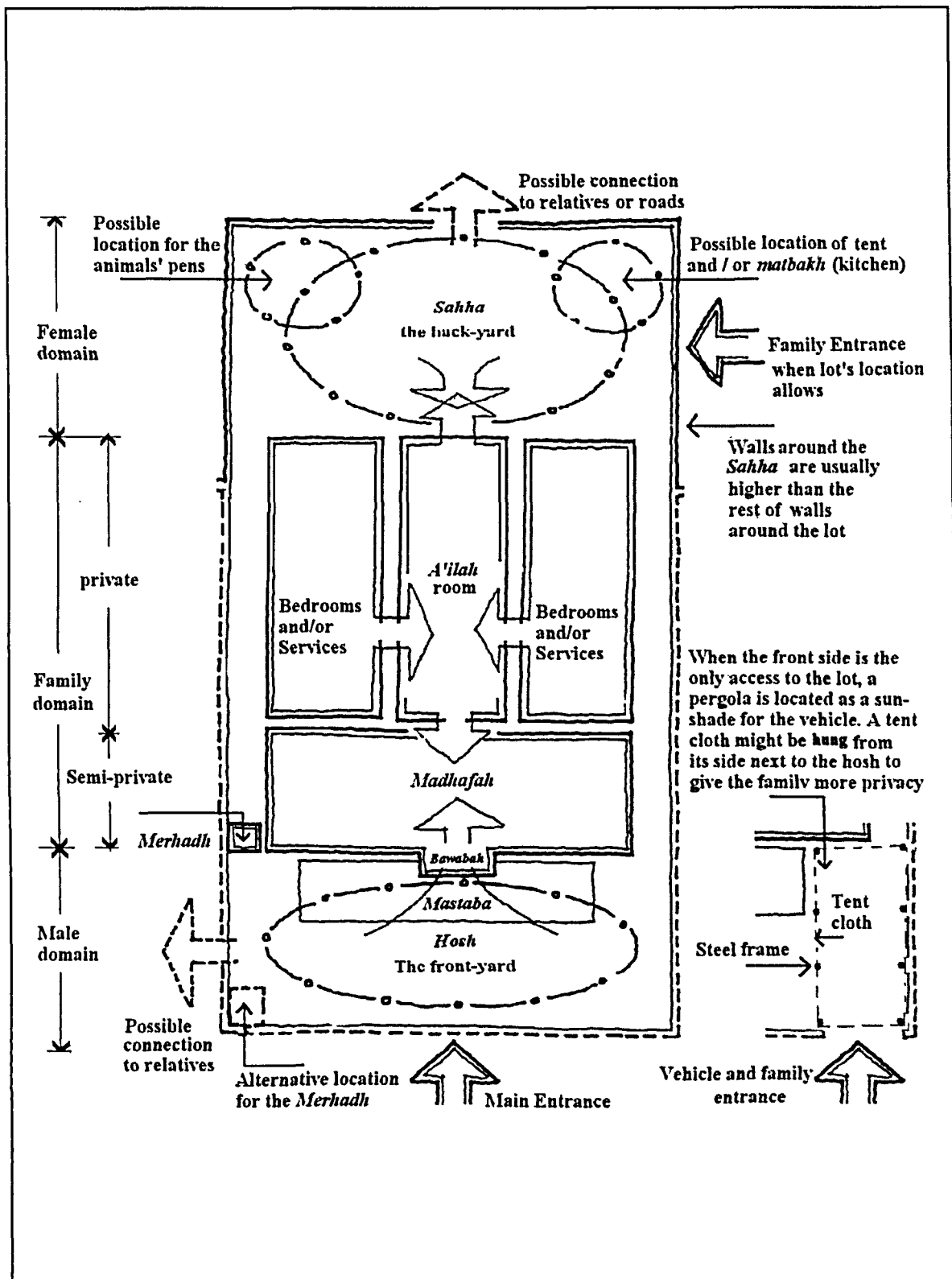


Figure (6.34): The Bedouins' household-various elements.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

1. The *Hosh*:

The vast majority of households in Rum Village are semi-closed or walled-in. The *hosh* is the fenced-in part in the front of the household. It is the transition space between the household and the *fena* of the father or the grandfather in the semi-closed pattern. It also serves the same function for the household in the walled-in type that the street serves for the residential lot. The *hosh* is the main entry space to the household. All the males from outside the extended family are obliged to enter the household from its *hosh*.



Figure (6.35): The household man sitting in the *hosh* preparing the Bedouin coffee, where his friends and relatives gather later.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Although they generally do not, women can also use the *hosh* in the absence of strange male visitors. I was informed that in the past, women were never visible in the household *hosh*. Currently, as a sign of change, they can be seen there, socializing with each other or with family members including the husband, children, father, brothers and the husband's father and brother.

The *hosh* is the focus of the Bedouin household. It is swept twice a day by the household's women and its sand is dampened with water several times a day as they believe that it is the mirror of the household. The damping keeps the *hosh* cool during the summer and prevents the sand from drifting into the household. A typical *hosh* has some fruit trees along its walls and a shade tree in the centre. These are usually trees that are native to the area, such as olive trees. Generally, the *hosh* supports activities that are related to the household males and their visitors. The *hosh* also serves as the parking space for the vehicle that belongs to the household headman, when its location on the street allows. Usually, it is furnished with a number of household items such as large clay water-storage jars called *zier*, a multi use vast copper washing tub (*toshit*), tin can containers and a pile of firewood (*hattab*). In many cases, it was observed that the *hosh* included a ground cistern where rain water could be collected. The cistern is usually located adjacent to the front wall of the household. The top of the cistern is usually part of the *mastaba*.

2. The *mastaba*:

One can find a raised platform called *mastaba* attached to the front wall of the house, to serve as the transition space between the *hosh* and the interior of the house. Within the majority of Rum Village's households, the *mastaba* is a shaded porch facing the *hosh* for receiving male guests. It is usually raised about fifty to seventy five centimetres above the *hosh's* ground. The *mastaba* takes two main forms with some variations. The most common form is a simple raised and uncovered platform called *madkhal*, literally meaning the entry point. The other form is when the platform is covered totally or partially, in which case it is called a veranda or *maga'ad*.

In Arabic, *maga'ad* literally means the sitting area. While both forms serve as the transition space between the sandy part of the *hosh* and the household, the *maga'ad*, as in the majority of Rum Village's houses, is the extension of the male's side of the household. It is the space where the head of the family receives his male guests, especially those who are of his close kinship or not important enough to be taken inside the household. Men of the surrounding households gather here on summer evenings to converse about tribal issues. In case of any gathering event, the *maga'ad* is furnished with either Bedouin rugs or with some decorated plastic rugs, which is more common. Upon these rugs, some coloured mattresses can be laid out whenever they are needed.

In most of the cases, it was observed that the *mastaba* is the top of an underground concrete cistern (*bier al-mayeh*) which the Bedouins use to collect rain water. At the edge of the *mastaba*, next to the main entrance, one can often find a large clay water-storage jar called *zier* where fresh water can be served, and the mobile fire-place called *mangal*. The *mangal* is usually made of copper and decorated with some patterns. The Bedouins use charcoal to keep the coffee in the pots warm. The coffee pots (*dallah*, Pl. *dlall*) are made of brass with stamped decoration and the maker's name. Here, it is important to note that these coffee pots are mainly made in Syria, and are available in most of the urban centers in Southern Jordan. Underneath the *mangal*, which is usually elevated about 15 cm from the ground, there is a metal tray where some small coffee cups (*finjal*, Pl. *fnajeel*) and tea cups (*kaseh*, Pl. *kasar*) can be found.

3. The *bawabah*:

The term *bawabah* is derived from the word *babb*, which literally means the gateway or door. In most of the cases investigated in Rum Village, the household *bawabah* is usually part of the *mastaba*. Within Bedouin households, the *bawabah* represents the threshold between the *mastaba* (semi-public) and the males' gathering room (*madhafah*), which represents the semi-private part of the household. Within the elite socio-economic group in Rum Village, the gate of the household (*bawabah*) is usually made from hard wood and decorated with floral and geometric patterns. Within the middle and lower socio-economic groups, the *bawabah* is made from steel decorated with similar patterns.

Regardless of the household's economic status, the *bawabah* is always visually associated with twin windows which allow the women to ask about the visitor's identity, in the case of the absence of the household headman.

4. The *Madhafah*:

Nowadays, two terms, the *madhafah* and *diwan*, are interchangeably used to describe the space designated to receive guests within the Bedouins' households. The term *diwan* is a Persian word that refers to the name of a particular sofa-like piece of sitting furniture known as a *divan*. Originally, especially in the Ottoman Empire period, a *divan* was a long seat, formed of a mattress laid against the side of the room, upon the floor or upon a raised structure or frame, with cushions to lean against. The term *madhafah* is derived from the Arabic source word *dhyafah*, literally means hospitality. The *madhafah* tends to be located directly accessible from the *hosh* of the household so that visitors do not meet or converse with the females of the household.

According to Richard Antoun's analysis of Kafr Al-Ma Village in the northern region of Jordan:

The village represents a prestige unit vis-à-vis other villages. When asked to list the guest rooms in the village, the village watchman reeled off the names of fifteen men who made coffee in the evening in their guest rooms...any stranger or visitor, whether government official or peasant, could be sent to the owner of the guest room (*madhafah*) in assurance that he would be sheltered, fed and entertained. The owners of the guest rooms protected the name of the village securing its renown for generosity and hospitality at the same time they were adding to their own status as generous and honourable men (1972, p. 106).

The *madhafah* is an abridged version of the *shigg* within the Bedouin tent, maintaining the household males' functions. There, they rest, entertain their guests, pray, sleep and often eat. Among the Zalabia, the *madhafah* is the part of the household that embodies the Bedouin ethos of hospitality, which is very strong within communities in Rum Village and Wadi Rum. Although the majority of the people here are poor, they are courteous to provide their guests with the maximum level of hospitality that they can afford.

Within the Village Community, the *madhafah* is a symbol of the socio-economic status of the household. While the households that belong to the Zalabia's elite are exceptional cases, the majority of *madhafahs* in Rum Village have minimal furnishings. As it was observed, these *madhafahs* have no furnishings except for a plastic carpet decorated with floral and geometric patterns. In some cases, the carpet is a Bedouin rug in very poor condition. Also, the furniture included a table located either in one of the *madhafah's* corners or along the wall opposite to the U-shape arrangement, on which a television, the Holy Koran and a plastic thermal coffee container and *fnajeel* are placed. Mattresses are usually kept in the family section and brought in whenever they are needed.

The *madhafahs* of the Zalabia's elite were the most decorated part of their households as this symbolizes the head of the household's socio-economic status. Its elaborate design and decoration emphasises how this status is attached to hospitality and illustrates how wealth takes on physical manifestations. Usually their *madhafahs* are furnished with the family's most precious possessions. They are usually of a rectangular shape that can cater to a large number of male visitors, especially in ceremonial occasions. In most households of the Zalabia's elite, the *madhafah* was divided into two sitting arrangements. The first is the 'western' *madhafah* or, as they prefer to call it, the *diwan*. The *diwan* furniture is similar to the arrangement that can be found in any typical urban household. It is furnished with a set of comfortable chairs arranged in a U-shape around a fancy table. At the corners of the arrangement, smaller tables are located upon which a shade lamp and some decoration items are placed.

The other side of the room is the 'Arabic' *madhafah*, which is furnished with a fancy Bedouin or Persian rug with mattresses around it, again arranged in a U-shape. The mattresses (*frash*) are made of cotton or wool, and are of a standard size of one by two meters, but they vary in thickness. Pillows (*mkhadeh* pl. *makhadat*) are arranged along the walls of the U-shaped arrangement. The Bedouins also piled two or three pillows between the mattresses to offer more comfort to the guests. In many cases, the *madhafah* includes a cabinet in which a television, the Holy Koran and some religious books are kept. Here, it is important to note that the Bedouins distinguish between two kinds of

guests. There are those who come from the urban area where they are welcomed to sit in the 'Western' *madhafah*, as its chairs suit their clothing style. Bedouins, as well as urban visitors coming from a Bedouin background, are seated in the 'Arabic' *madhafah*. At the inner side of the 'Arabic' U-shape arrangement the wall is decorated with a pictorial carpet if it does not have any windows. In many cases the carpet was used as a background for pictures of King Abdullah and his father, the late King Hussein. Along the other two sides of the U-shape, a picture of the head of the household, his father, his elder son and his grandfather are hung. Openings of the *madhafah* are large and usually oriented towards the *hosh*. They are placed above eye level of seated guests, especially those on the 'western' side, to maintain a reasonable degree of visual privacy. To guard the household, its openings, including the *madhafah*'s, are protected with some metal work decorated with geometric and floral patterns. Since the creation of living things that move, referring to humans and animals is considered to be in the realm of God, Islamic teachings discourage followers from producing figural images through art.

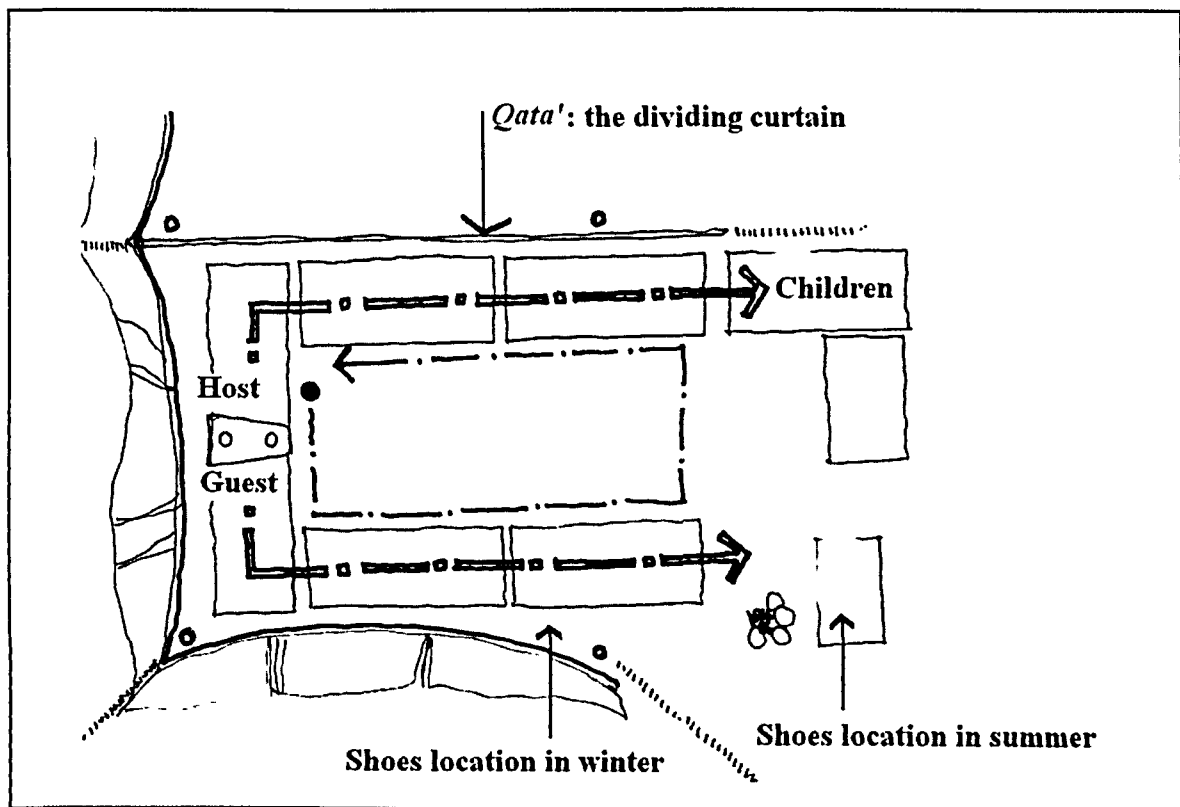


Figure (6.36): The *shigg* of a Bedouin tent and the guests' sitting arrangement.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

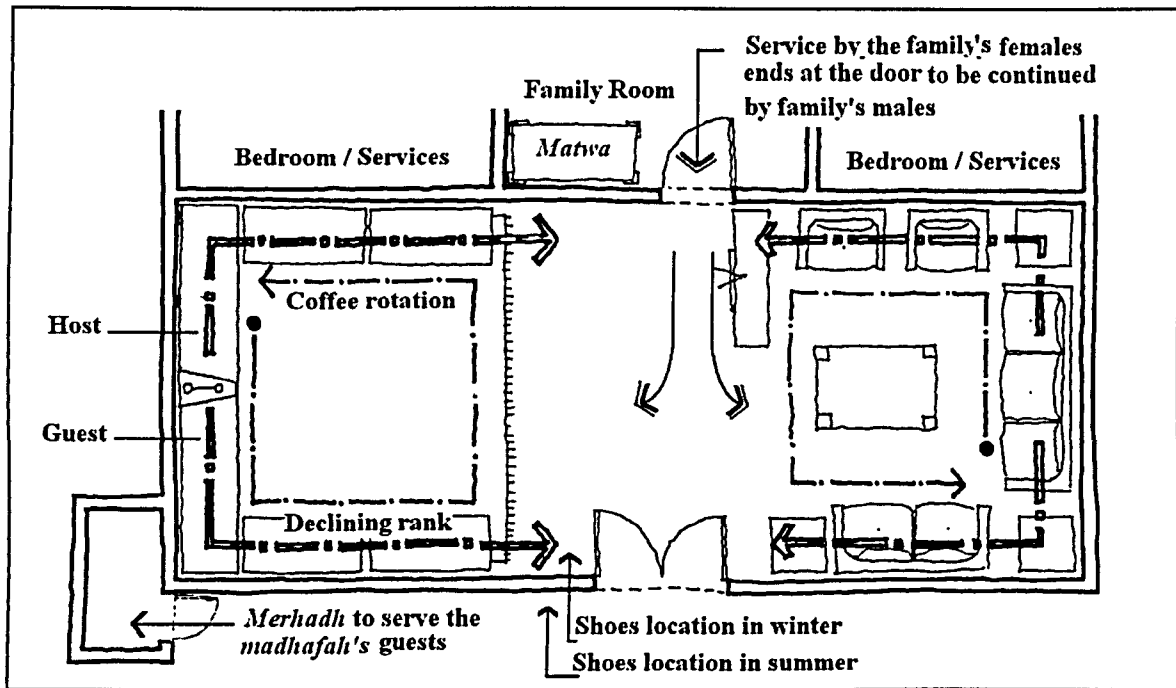


Figure (6.37): An elite Bedouin *madhafah*, showing it's visually connected "Eastern" and "Western" arrangements. The *madhafah* is attached to the household.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

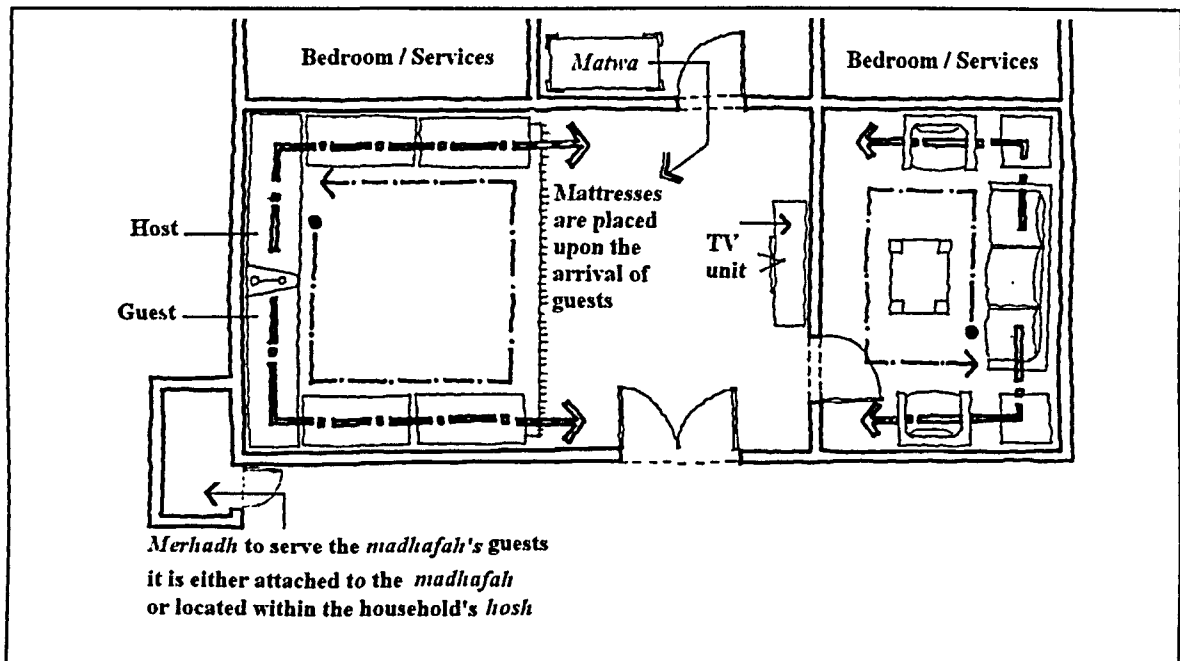


Figure (6.38): An elite Bedouin *madhafah*, showing it's separated "Eastern" and "Western" arrangements. The *madhafah* is attached to the household.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

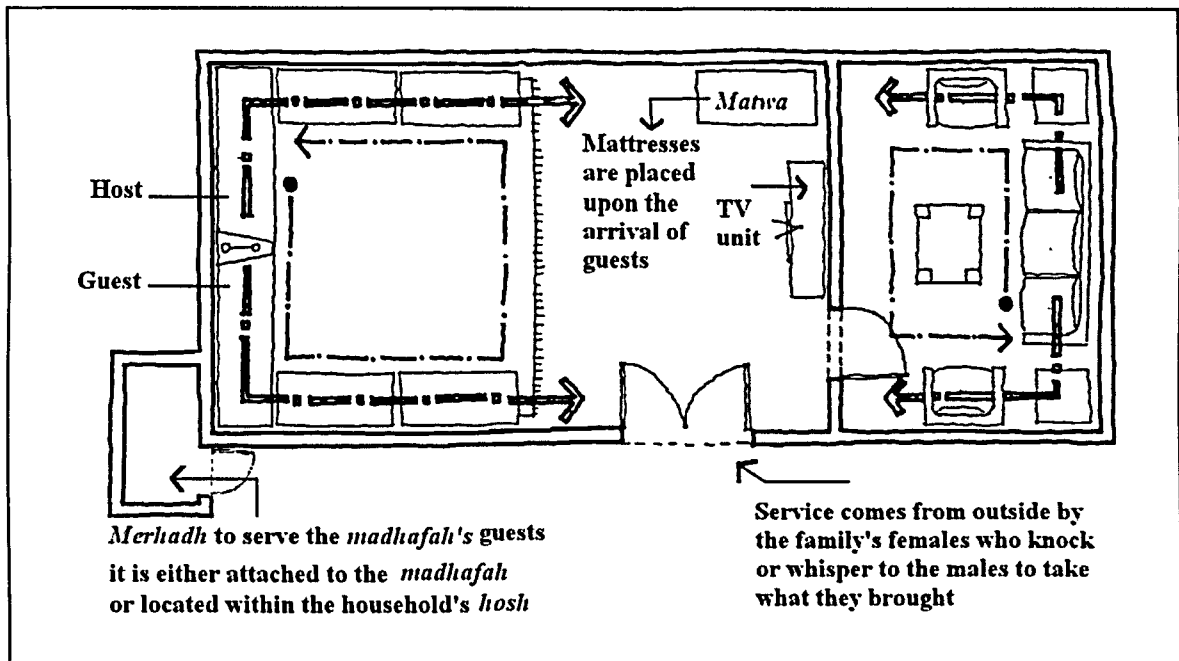


Figure (6.39): An elite Bedouin *madhafah*, showing its separated “Eastern” and “Western” arrangements. The *madhafah* is detached from the household.

Source: Researcher’s fieldwork, 2004.

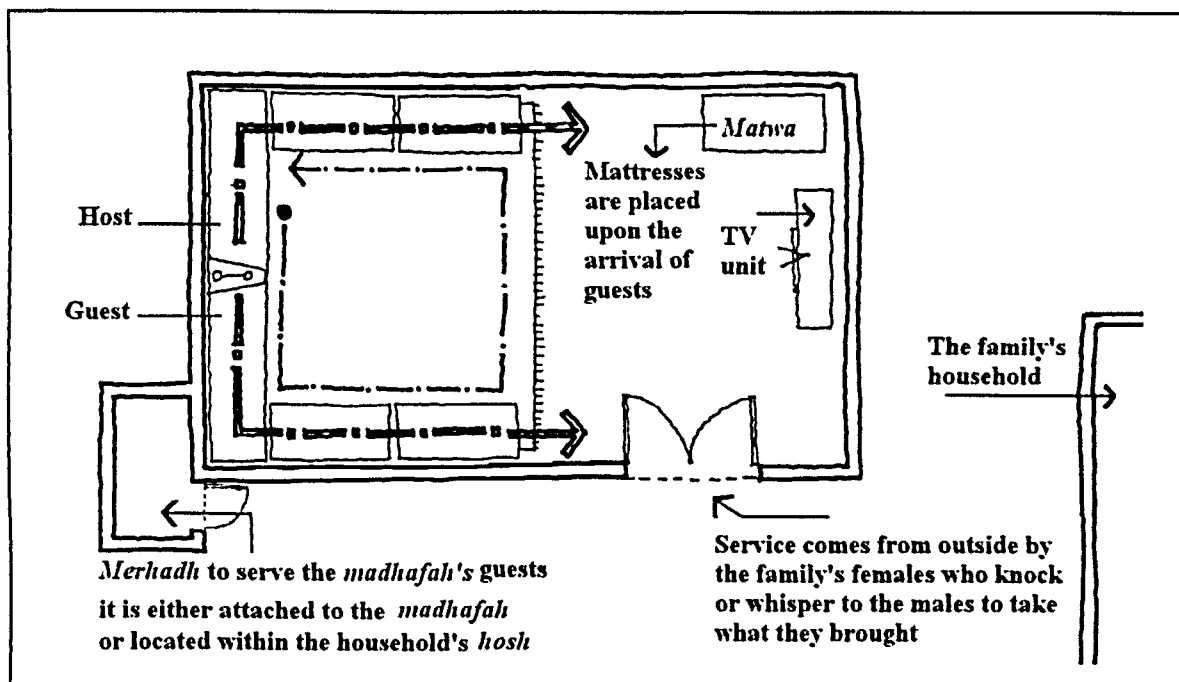


Figure (6.40): An ordinary Bedouin *madhafah* detached from the household.

Source: Researcher’s fieldwork, 2004.

5. The *A'ilah*:

A'ilah (family) is derived from the Arabic source word *a'all*, literally meaning to support and to provide. As in any Arabian family, gender and age plays a major role in the delegation of responsibilities. The father is usually the head of the family (*rab al-a'ilah*) and the provider of its monetary needs, while the mother plays a major role in raising children and taking care of the household. The *a'ilah* section consists of the following:

5.1 *Gorphet al-a'ilah* or the family's room:

Its location, design, furniture and use are highly influenced by many interrelated social, cultural and economic factors. This room can be set up in different arrangements, depending on the household form and the nature of the family that inhabits it. Within the raw-household pattern, one of the rooms, which is usually the one located at the left, is used as a family room. When these rooms are separated by a corridor, the corridor is not simply a passageway but rather used as a domestic space called *gorphet al-a'ilah* or the family room. Regardless of the size of the house, *gorphet al a'ilah* is used as a kind of multi-purpose domestic space. In almost all the households recorded, *gorphet al a'ilah* is used for socializing, sleeping, eating and often as a storage area for the family's possessions. In some of the households, especially those who have no internal kitchen, cooking is also done in a corner of the room. The room is usually five meters wide with a varied length according to the number of rooms allocated along its two sides. In cold periods, the *salah* is heated either by a wood or gas stove that can be located in the centre of the room or by a movable brazier that family members can huddle around. When a stove is used, the Bedouins run the pipes below the ceilings of as many rooms as possible, to maximize the heat produced. The pipe goes outside to end up with a chimney of an H-shape, above the roof by fifty centimetres. During summer, ceiling fans are often found in *gorphet al a'ilah*.

In contrast to *madhafah*, which can be considered an abridged version of the tent's *shigg*, the *salah* differs from the *raba'*, in some aspects. The most important aspect is that some of the domestic activities, such as cooking, are not usually performed here, but rather in the kitchen or the backyard of the household. Also, because of the more effective separation created by the concrete walls, the household females are unable to overhear

conversations taking place in the *madhafah*. Therefore, within the *salah*, the females can do most of their socialization and work activities with almost full segregation from any male activities that might take place in the *madhafah*.

Regardless of the household's socio-economic status, the *salah's* furniture is almost the same, with small variations. The room is bare of furnishing other than some Bedouin rugs (*bsat*, Pl. *bosot*) or a plastic carpet and a table in the corner where the television is placed. The reason behind this is that the Bedouins do not leave mattresses out "in expectation of a guest but rather put away after sleeping and after the departure of guests, only to be brought out again upon the arrival of new guests" (Layne, 1994, p. 70). Mattresses are stacked on a wooden platform called *matwa*, placed in one of the *salah's* corners. New hand woven rugs are kept at the bottom and are they laid out only on very special occasions such as marriage or the visit of a highly honoured guest.

Bedouins do not designate a certain set of mattresses for each room. Instead, they are moved to whichever room in which they are needed. Therefore, mattresses that can be used in the *salah* are multi-functional as they can be used for sitting and sleeping activities. Mattresses and pillows are made out of wool (*soof*), cotton (*goton*), foam rubber (*sfeng*) and shredded old clothes (*nafish*). According to the Bedouin's terminology, mattresses filled with wool are called *frash*, while other kinds are called *janbiyah*. The *frash* can be found in different thicknesses depending on the household's socio-economic status. These are used only for formal visitors, where the choice of the *frash* thickness depends on the status of the visitor.

Family members, neighbours, or close friends, who stop for a short and informal visit, sit on the *janbiyah* or even the bare floor. As it serves various aspects, the *salah* is the place where young children play in winter time. During the night time, they share the available mattresses, which are easily oriented towards the television to enable them to watch their programs while lying down. Although the children of Zalabia's elite have their own bedrooms, the *salah* is the place where they sleep while their rooms are offered to female guests who wish to stay over.

As the *salah* is the distributor to the adjacent rooms, it leaves little free space to be used for sitting purposes. The room has two accesses. The first connects the room to the *madhafah*, and is therefore used as a service entrance when receiving male guests. The second entrance exists in the middle of the rare wall of the room, is and considered to be the main family entrance. The door is surrounded by two windows, which admit plenty of light into the room.

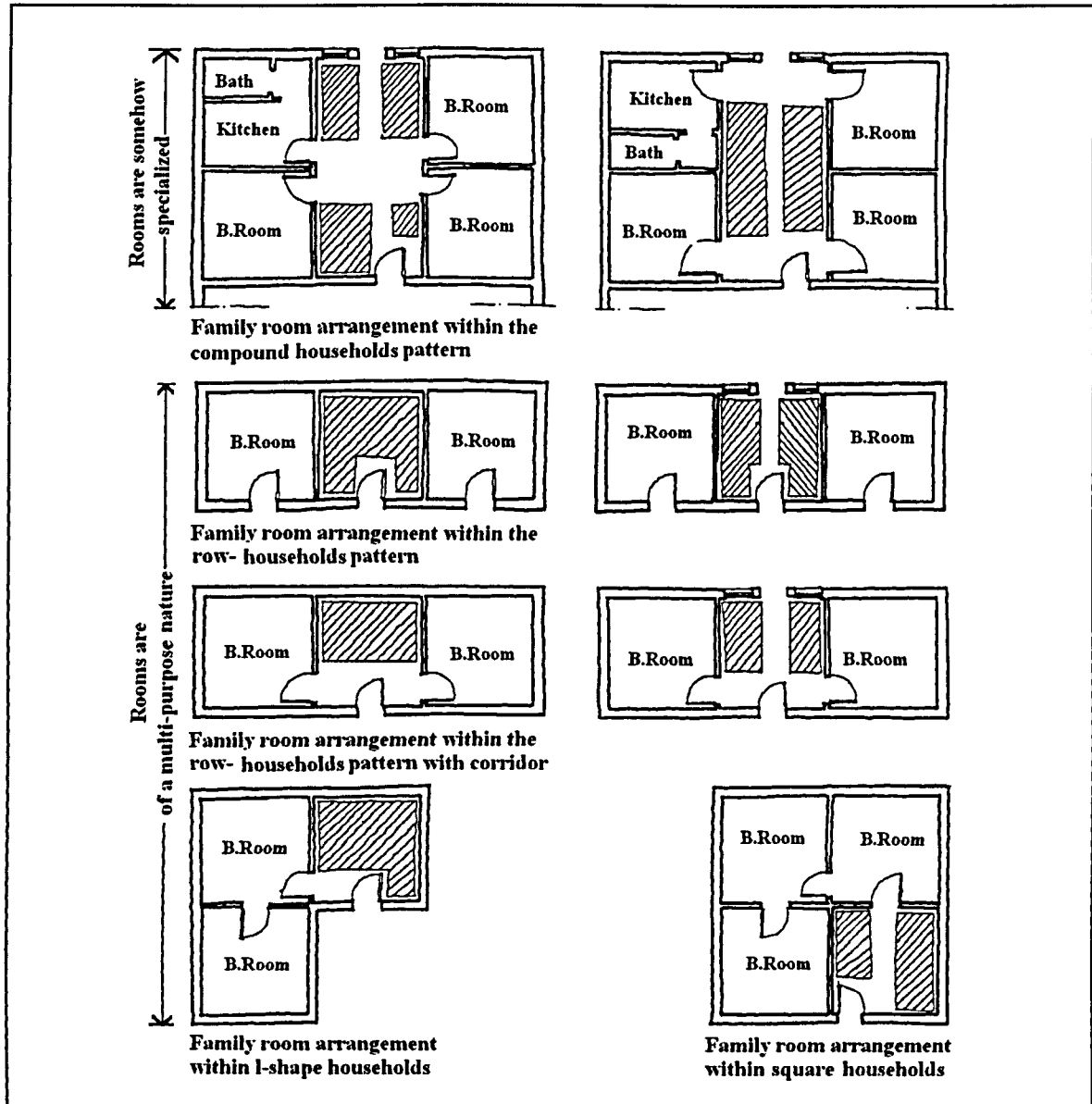


Figure (6.41): The variation of *Gorphet al-a'ilah* within the Bedouins' households. The shaded areas show the possible patterns of furnishing.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.2 Bedrooms:

Bedrooms are the most private space in the family's realm. Within the Bedouin community, the scarcity of bedrooms is highly considered, especially if that room belongs to any of the family's females. Their location, design and use are influenced by many interrelated factors. Among these factors, the family's socio-economic status is the most influential. The pattern of usage differs substantially if the family is polygamous or has un-married or divorced daughters. In polygamous families, the head of the household sleeps in the *madhafah*. The wives divide the bedrooms among themselves and their children. While unmarried or divorced daughters and sons are designated certain bedrooms, young children sleep in groups divided according to differences.

In the majority of recorded cases representing the ordinary or even poor portions of the Zalabia, bedrooms had no fixed furnishing items other than a plastic rug on the floor, a small table and the *matwa* where the mattresses, *bosot*, and pillows are stacked. Bedrooms serve multiple purposes in these households, acting as a sitting room during the day and a sleeping area at night. The clothing of those using the bedrooms users are hung on hooks behind the door.

Within elite households, the mother's room is furnished with a double bed (*takht mjwezz*), wooden wardrobes (*khazanah*), and a side table and mirror that are either on the wall or part of a dresser. Unmarried adults, especially those with a source of income, have beds, a desk and chair, a small table and a mirror on the wall. When receiving guests, they bring mattresses from the *salah* and lay them on the floor where the guests can sit or sleep. Whether the Bedouins slept on mattresses or beds, they always use mosquito nets (*namusiyah*), as mosquitoes are very active during the summer in Rum Village.

5.3 The *matbakh*:

The term *matbakh* is derived from the Arabic word *tabkh*, literally meaning *cooking*. It is within the Bedouin community of Rum Village to have two kitchens; internal and external. The internal kitchen (*matbakh dakhelee*) is usually located in a corner of the house adjacent to the *sahha* (backyard) or the *madhafah* for easy service. In most cases,

it contains a portable gas burner and/or gas stove and several large plastic containers of staples, such as sugar, wheat, rice and lentils. Within financially disadvantaged households, a primus-type kerosene burner is most often used for heating water and cooking. In most of the households recorded, the internal kitchen was of about three by four meters. The Bedouins are particularly skilled at arranging efficient storage space for dishes, utensils and foodstuffs. These items are stored on wooden or built-in concrete shelves. The family's daily light meals are made in this kitchen while ceremonial and heavy cooking, such as *mansaf*, is done in the external kitchen.

The *matbakh kharjee* is usually located within one of the *sahha*'s corners that are detached from the house. In most cases it is made of concrete block walls and covered by metal sheets. Its floor is always kept sandy. Usually, this kitchen is bare of any furnishings other than a portable propane gas burner and large plastic containers which are filled with fresh water and gasoline. In cold, rainy periods the bread making activity, which usually happens outside, takes place inside the *matbakh kharjee*. In most recorded cases, *matbakh kharjee* is supplied by electricity through a cable that comes from inside the house. When there is no electricity available and there is a need to use it after dark, a portable gas lamp is used. Here, it is important to note that the existence of the two kinds of *matbakh* depends on the socio-economic status of the household. The combination of the two kinds is a common feature among the elite of the village. Poor households typically only have *matbakh kharjee*, that is kept either within a temporary structure or open in the *sahha*. In cases of polygamy, having the two kitchens is a solution to conflict that might occur between the wives, rather than an element of luxury.

5.4 The *Sahha*:

The *sahha* is the backyard of the Bedouin household. Usually, it is enclosed by walls of two meters or more. The space is highly attached to the *a'ilah* section of the household, which makes it primarily the women's space. A special entrance for the family members is provided in most of the cases observed. Usually the *sahha* contains a small Bedouin tent consisting of one or two poles that is used as an outdoor sitting area during the summer. The tent is also the place where a Bedouin woman performs most of her

household tasks and receives her female neighbours during the day. Usually, the *sahha* is furnished with a number of items related to the various household activities such as making the shrak bread at saj. As the *sahha* contains the vegetable patches, fruit trees and some shade trees, a water tank of at least one cubic meter is always found at one of its corners. A clothesline is always strung between a wooden pole, and either a tree in the center of the *sahha* or the boundary wall. A trough for the family's goats and sheep can also be found in the corner opposite to the tent. Finally, if the family has a *matbakh kharjee* to use for cooking and storage, it is located in the opposite corner of the *sahha*.



Figure (6.42): Daifallah's children playing in the *sahha*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

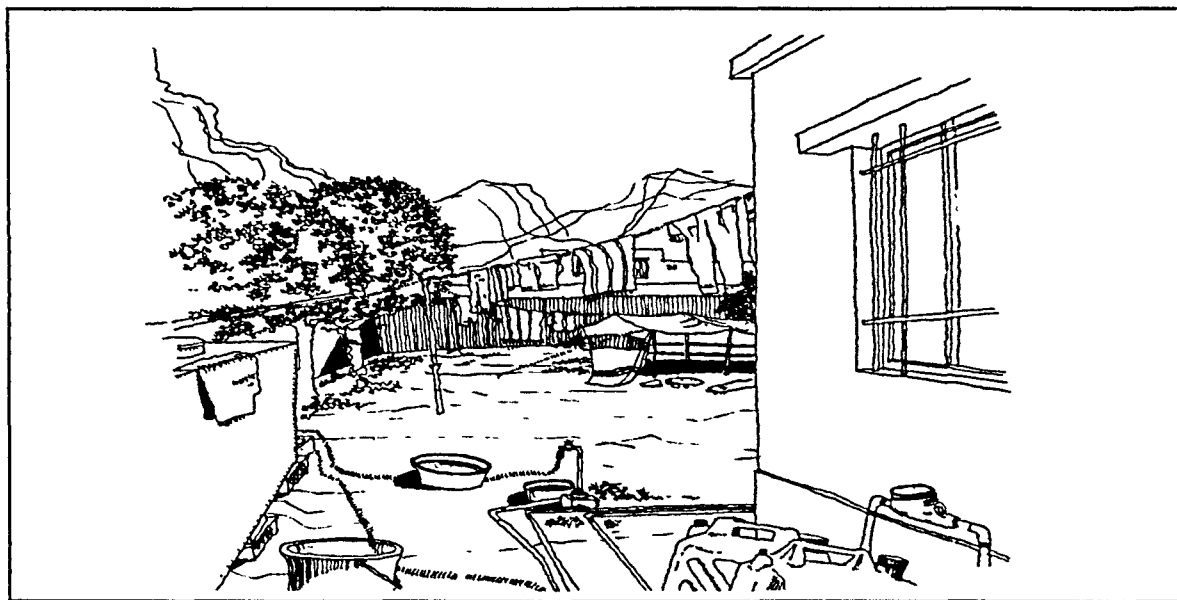


Fig (6.43): The Bedouins' *sahha* showing some of its items and activities.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.5 Toilets:

Within Bedouin culture, maintaining personal hygiene is one of the most important and sensitive activities. To achieve their desired degree of privacy, it is a common feature within Rum Village to have two kinds of toilets within a household, *merhadh* and *hammam*.

Merhadh is a small structure, usually eighty by a hundred and fifty centimetres, located at the household *hosh*. This is the toilet designated to serve male guests to relieve or clean themselves in preparation for prayers. *Merhadh* is usually equipped with an oriental or Asiatic fixture and a water tap with a small hose to fill the *ibreeg* (jug) that can be used for cleaning. The water source and *ibreeg* are usually located in front or on the right side of the person using the *merhadh*. This allows the user to use his left hand for cleaning himself, as Islamic teachings prohibit use of the right. The Bedouins believe that the oriental or Asiatic fixtures are more hygienic than the Western latrine. Usually, a washing basin is situated outside the *merhadh* to serve for the prayer's ablution when the toilet is busy. For some of the Zalabia's elites, the *merhadh* is divided into two spaces; the outer one is designated as a wash-room; and is usually equipped with one or more washing basins.

The term *hammam* is derived from the Arabic source word *hami*, literally meaning *hot*. It is usually located near the kitchen within the *a'ilah* section of the household. It is the fixture designated for urination, defecation and bodily hygiene. Within the majority of the recorded households, the only difference between the *merhadh* and *hammam* is that the later is larger in size to accommodate bathing. The *hammam* either coincides with the *merhadh* or occupies a separate space with no fixtures except a water tap, a hose and a floor drain. According to their religious preferences, only fresh and flowing water is considered acceptable for cleaning. Therefore, bath tubs are rarely found in the *hammam*. However, some of the Zalabia's elite households are using the Western type, as it is a sign of modernity. Both the *merhadh* and *hammam* have cement floors.

According to Bedouin mythology, certain members of the spirit world are believed to live on excreta and, as such, the toilets are often believed to harbour such spirits. Within the Bedouin community of Rum Village, it is a common practice to mention *bismallah* (by the name of God) before entering the toilets, to pacify these spirits. To achieve a high degree of hygiene for the household spaces that can be used for praying, people using the toilets are required to use special slippers located next to the toilet's door instead of the regular ones that they use inside the house.

Almost all households surveyed depend on the government's water supply for their consumption needs. During winter, a clothes washing takes place in the *hammam*, either using a washing machine or by hand using the *toshtt*. Unlike urban Jordanians, who might hire servants to do their laundry, washing clothes is exclusively a Bedouin woman's task within the community. In summer, the cleaning activities take place within the *sahha*. There, an area is always designated for food preparation, as well as for cleaning dishes and clothes. The cleaning of both the *merhadh* and the *hammam* is exclusively done by the Bedouin women. It takes places whenever the *madhafah* has no male visitors outside the family's *khamisa*.

5.6 The *zribeh*:

The term is derived from the Arabic source word, *zarb*, literally meaning to hold in. The *zribeh* is the stable of the animals, usually located in the *sahha*, attached to the rear of the *matbakh kharjee*. The family's sheep and goats are kept in *zribeh* at night, which is usually made out of corrugated metal sheets supported by metal or wooden columns.

Depending on the kinds of animals that the family owns, the *zribeh* can be divided into three parts. During the night, young lambs and goats are separated from their mothers to assure their safety from attacks by other animals. The mothers' udder is usually covered by cloth to prevent sucking outside of feeding time, which saves the milk for the family's dairy products. In many cases, it was observed that the camels are kept in separate yards attached to the family's household.

6.3.3 Building Process and Rituals:

Within Rum Village, activities related to home construction are influenced by the family's financial status. While some of the Zalabia's elite have their houses designed by architects, the majority of Rum Village houses are built according to models found within the village. For example, if a Zalabia tribesman wanted to build a house, he would say, "I will build a house like Daifallah's". Within the village, there are a few men who worked with contractors in Ma'an or Aqaba. Those are always consulted for the amount of concrete and reinforcements required. Most of the households are built using family labour unless the family can afford to hire help. In most of rural Jordan house building is a communal effort. Through the *o'wneh* principle, different families within the same *khamisa*, contribute in some way towards the construction effort. The *o'wneh* involves several ceremonial rites, where division of labour among the Bedouin men and women is established.

Whenever a new house is built, a goat is slaughtered and its blood is poured over the foundation. The meat is divided and a third is used by the family and two-thirds distributed among the needy people, starting with those belonging to the same *khamisa*. The Bedouins believe that if this ritual is not done, the house will fall in.

The actual building process is exclusively done by the Bedouin men. Women of the household prepare the at least two meals for the workers, depending on their working hours. Tea is always made by the workers themselves. They make a fire out of small pieces of wood that might be cut off the concrete wooden forms. When the builders reach the concrete slab of the roof, a feast is prepared by the owner, where one or more goats are slaughtered for the workers and the invited neighbours and served for lunch.

Foundation excavation is done manually. As Rum Village's soil bearing capacity is very low, the foundations of the exterior wall extend between a meter and a meter and a half below grade, and are placed on a bed of crushed stone that is at least thirty five centimetres. Above the grade, a bed of small stones covered by at least ten centimetres bed of crushed stone functions as the base of the ten and fifteen centimetre concrete slab.

The slab reinforcement is connected to the foundation. The concrete slab forms the house floor. After, the concrete columns that are supposed to support the roof are done. The usual internal height is about two hundred and seventy five centimetres. The external walls are built out of cement blocks of 20×20×40 cm, while the internal walls are 10×20×40 cm. After the water pipes, sewage lines and electrical wiring are installed, both the external and internal walls are covered with two and three centimetres of cement plaster. Within Rum Village, finishing materials used for the windows' and doors is a sign of the family's financial status. The Zalabia elite usually use wood for the main doors of their houses and aluminum frames for windows. Most households' windows and doors are constructed of metal frames and glass. In rooms that require a higher degree of privacy, the Bedouins use a non-transparent and decorated glass for windows. For more privacy, bedroom windows, especially those belonging to females, are provided with heavy curtains. Regardless of the status of the household, all the windows are provided with metal grilles, some of which are highly decorated by floral or geometric patterns.

When the house construction is complete, another feast is prepared for the house owners by their *khamisa* families. Before the family moves in, a piece of the Holy Koran is placed above the main door lintel to pacify the spirits that might reside in the house. After seven days, when that family has settled in, the household women invite their *khamisa*, as well as their neighbours' women, to do a *maoulid*. This is a religious gathering where prayers are offered to give the new family a peaceful life.

6.4 The Bedouins' Households and Privacy:

Within Rum Village community, women's mobility is affected by age, physical appearance and social status. Older women can move freely in public as every one respects her age. Younger women have restricted mobility unless accompanied by an older woman or one or more of her sons and brothers. Within rural communities mobility is sometimes affected by the physical appearance of the girl, rather than her age. A girl who looks mature at an early age would have more restrictions set on her mobility than those who are of her age but look less mature. Engaged girls have extra rules that restrict their mobility, as they become the holders of both the groom's family's *sharaf*, and their

own. A woman's appearance and behaviour in public depends also on her family or husband's socio-economic status. Those who belong to the Zalabia's elite have more restriction on their mobility than the others. This is due to the fear that any shameful behaviour might affect their elite status. In Rum village women fear sanctions that support these restrictions. Young Bedouin women fear that they will be unacceptable as future housewives if they do anything that might affect their reputation. In the same sense, married women do not wish to risk having to live with disapproval of their husbands and their families.

Within the Bedouin household, hospitality forces are combined to privacy to draw more restrictions on the mobility of Bedouin women. In almost all of the households recorded, gender segregation was spatially observed. The segregation of the sexes within the household for much of the day facilitates visits from people who are not family. When female-female socializing is considered, some messages can be traced. For example, the presence of the household male prevents visits by non-related females. It also prevents the female to go visiting neighbours. Also, when the *hosh's* gate is open more widely than usual; neighbours know that the family is expecting a formal visit. As the house is divided into two spheres, men spend most of their time in the *madhafah* or at the *mastaba*, both of which are accessible from the *hosh*. Women of the household remain apart from the males' sphere either in the *a'ilah* section or in the *sahha*. The fluidity of the usage of space is highly controlled by the existence of guests from outside the first circle of relatives, such as the grandfather, father, brothers and sons of both the husband and wife. In the event of receiving guests from outside this circle, tact and mutual co-ordination between the head of the house and the household females is required. This tact and mutual co-ordination of movements allows the household to entertain guests, both males and females, at the same time in different spaces.

6.5 Examples of Households in Rum Village.

By presenting several examples of Rum Village's households of different socio-economic groups, an attempt is made to answer the following question: how does the use of space affect the Bedouin built environment and vice versa? To achieve the desired objective,

seventy three households that belong to the different socio-economic groups were interviewed. Among these, sixty seven belong to the Zalabia tribe. I made sure that the percentage of the Swelhiyeen households interviewed was close to their actual percentage within Rum Village community; about six percent. After categorizing these seventy three households, fourteen were chosen to be presented here as case studies.



Figure (6.44): Location map of the survey interviewees in Rum Village.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

6.5.1 Abdullah E'id Zalabia Household:

Abdullah E'id Zalabia has been living in Rum Village since he was born in 1958. He retired in 2001, after working with the Jordanian Public Security Forces as a mechanic for about 20 years, due to a work related injury. Abdullah practices polygamy in marriage, which is common within Rum Village. Because of the 'inability' of his first wife to produce male children, as Abdullah believed, he married for a second time. He received his first male child, Mohammad from his second *bint a'mm* marriage. When Abdullah became involved in tourism he married for the third time, to a 26 year old Swelhiyeen woman, in order to showcase his increased wealth. While the first two wives are living in the same house, the third is living in a separate house where Abdullah spends most of his time. Abdullah's household depends on multiple sources of income. In addition to his retirement pension and the income from his mechanic workshop, his son Mohammad works as a tourist guide and helps support the family.

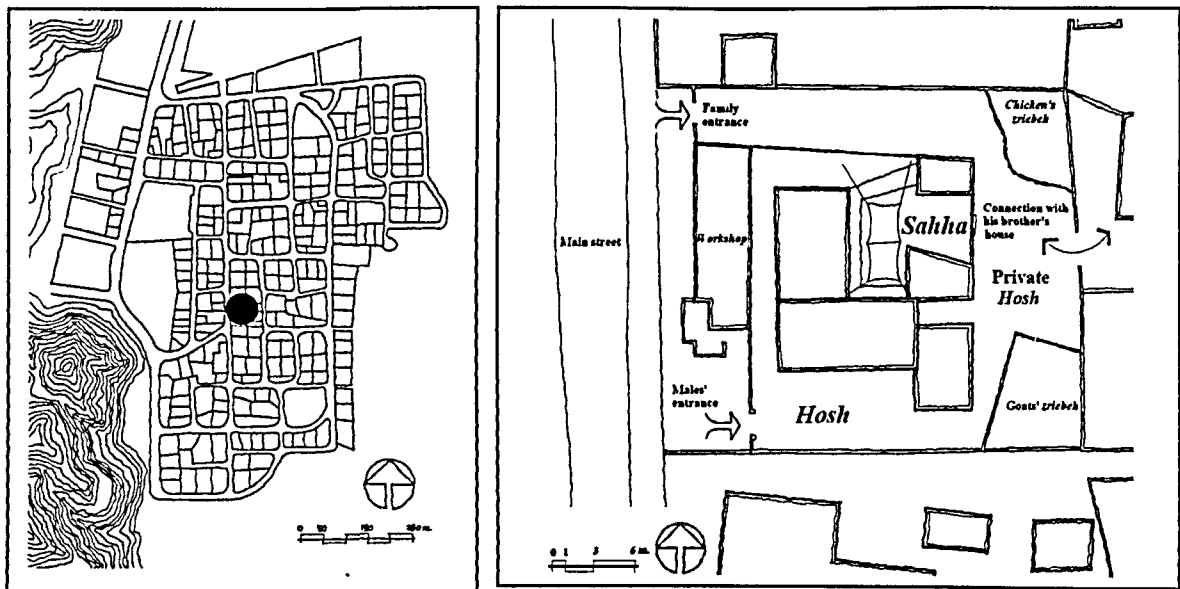


Figure (6.45): Abdullah E'id Zalabia household's location.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork 2004.

For the purpose of this study, the house that accommodates his first two wives was documented. The house was built in stages, where the different rooms were added gradually, as Abdullah's familial needs changed and his finances permitted. The first stage consisted of a two-room house. To ensure his family's privacy, the rooms were built

in a manner that hid its entrances from the street. The rooms were of equal size, approximately four by five meters, served by a *hosh* of one hundred and seventy five centimetres. Opposite to the rooms, the *hosh* corners were occupied by the *matbakh kharjee*, which takes a trapezoidal shape, and the *hammam*. While one of the rooms was used to receive male guests, the other was used as a *a'ilah*.

In 1982, Abdullah added the third room to the row-house to accommodate the needs of his second wife. In the beginning of 1995, after his involvement in tourism began, Abdullah made an extension to the third room to function as his *madhafah*. The new extension transformed the row-house into an L-shaped arrangement. The new arrangement made the original *hosh* to function as the household *sahha*, where the new *hosh* became the space located in front of the *madhafah*. The *madhafah* is divided into two areas. The first is furnished with tattered, old Bedouin rugs and mattresses. The second was bare of furnishings except for a cabinet containing a television and some religious books. As informed by Daifallah, the empty part was reserved to function as a 'Western' *madhafah*, when Abdullah's financial conditions permitted.

Rooms are considered as multi-use spaces within Abdullah's household. There, family members sit, sleep, read and often eat. The two rooms are divided between the co-wives and their children. In the daytime they are furnished with rugs and mattresses set out in a U-shape arrangement. At night, the mattresses are arranged side by side and used by the wife and her young children for sleeping. Over the sleeping area, a fine net or screen called *namusiyah* is used to protect against mosquitoes. It functions as a tent covering the sleeping area. The Bedouins hang the *namusiyah* by fine ropes fastened to metal nails usually located in the room's four corners, about 175 centimetres above the floor level. As it is the common practice among the Bedouins of Rum Village, Abdullah's sons, who are over twelve year old, sleep in the *madhafah* using mattresses brought from the family side. The door to each room is centred, with its front wall looking to *sahha*. Each room is provided by a window measuring one square metre, elevated about 125 centimetres from the floor. To provide extra privacy, each window is made of non-transparent glass and covered by a curtain made of a thick fabric.

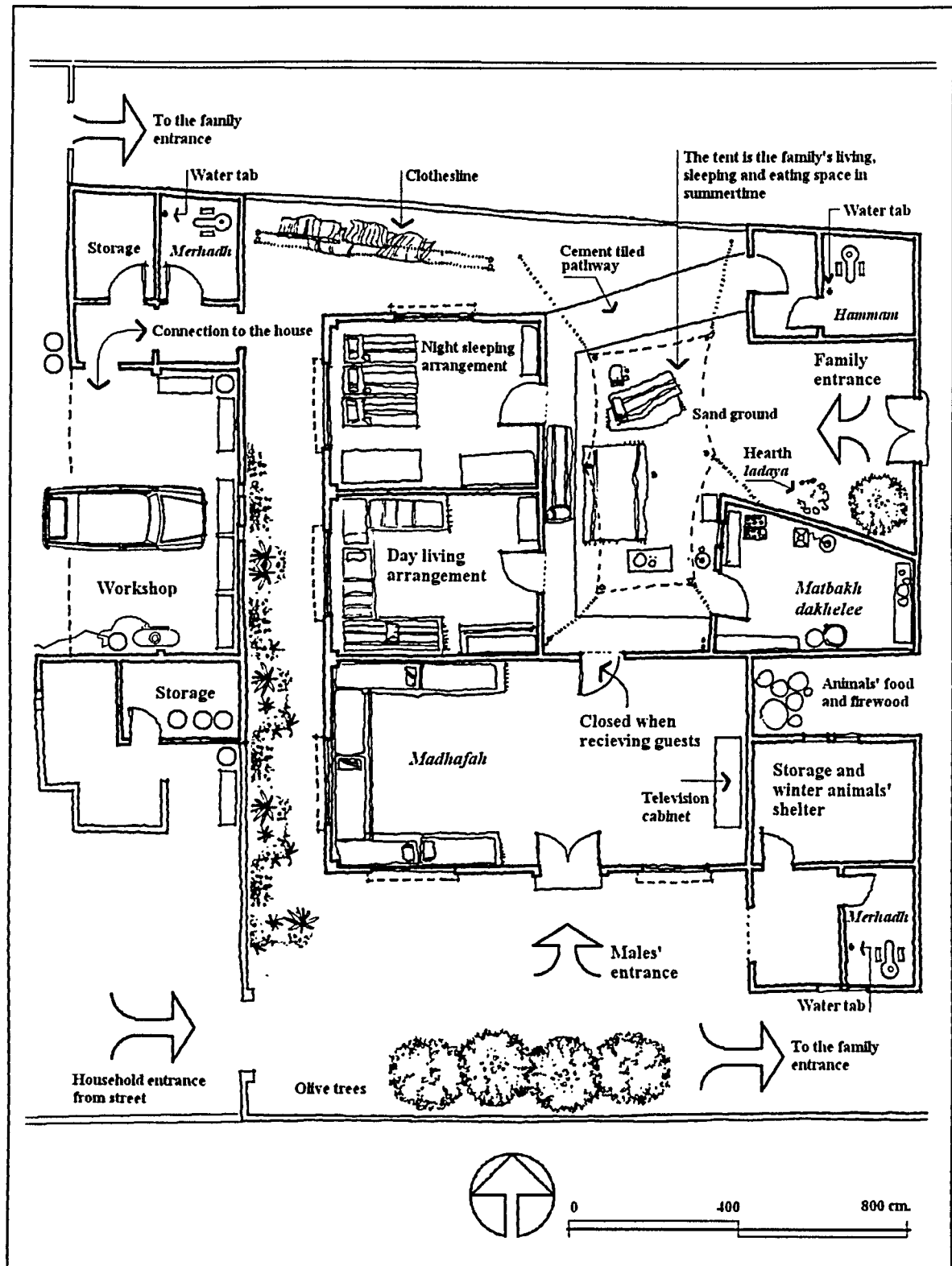


Figure (6.46): Abdullah E'id Zalabia household's plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork 2004.

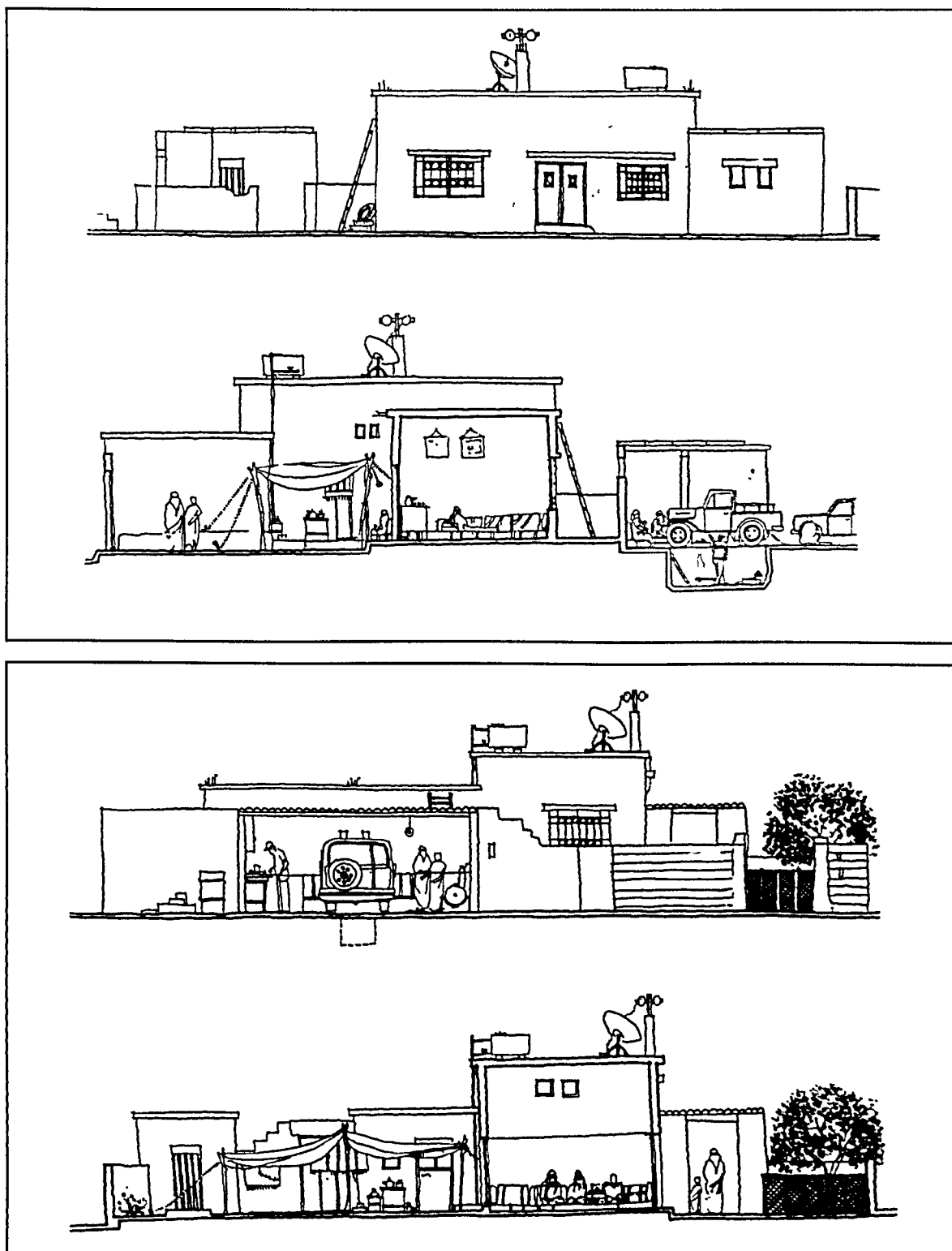


Figure (6.47): Abdullah E'id Zalabia household's elevation and section.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork 2004.

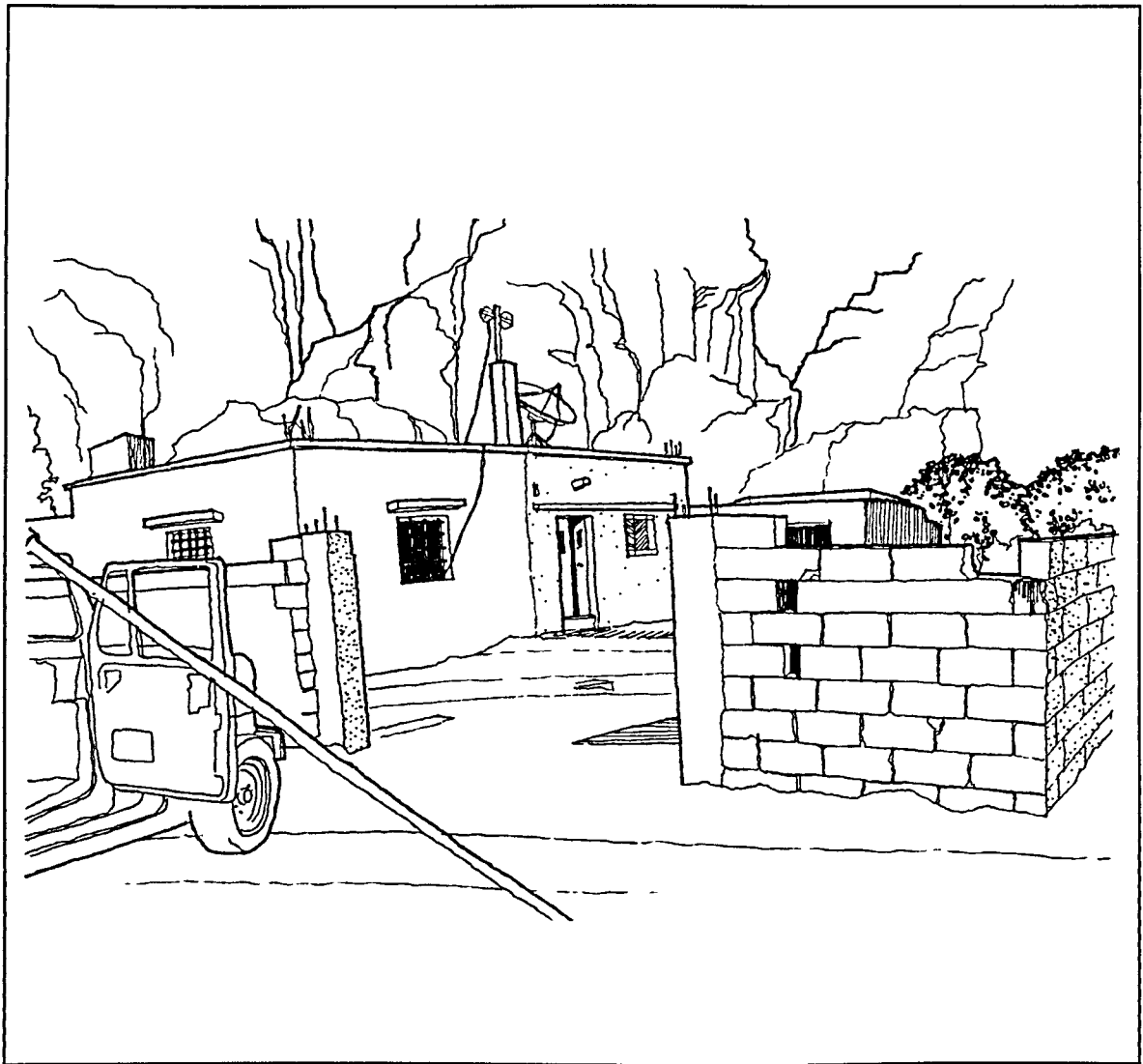


Figure (6.48): Abdullah's household's main entrance from the street. It shows the household's *hosh* and the *madhafah* entrance.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

When I was invited for dinner, I noticed that cooking took place in a temporary structure located on the eastern side of the *hosh*, and that Abdullah and Mohammad, his elder son, did the cooking, rather than the wives. When I asked Abdullah about the function of the temporary structure, Mohammad answered: "This is the villager's way. We are not organized as the city dwellers...when I visited my friend in Aqaba, his mother cooked inside the kitchen".

The answer annoyed Abdullah who replied:

This is not right. We cook outside not because we are not organised, but because it is our fathers' and grandfathers' way. We are Bedouins. We like to prepare our food and bread outside using an open fire. It gives a different taste to the food. This structure is enclosed by brick walls for privacy, but has no roof; it is open to sky, just like the desert of our grandfathers...we are organized in our own way.

Later, I asked Daifallah why Abdullah cooked the meal instead of his wife, and why the activity took place in the *hosh* rather than the *sahha*, which would have been more common in Rum Village. According to Daifallah:

Within Rum Village, cooking is exclusively the women's task. Special occasions like marriage, death and government officials' visits are exceptional cases...men cook in one of the houses' *sahhas* that belong to the *khamisa*. Having the head man of the household cooking for a guest or even for a small group of guests is not the common practice in Rum Village. It is Abdullah's way to show respect.

Honestly, I did not believe that it's Abdullah's way to show respect, but politely I accepted Daifallah's justification. Few days later I knew that Abdulla's wife was sick the day I visited the family.

While touring Abdullah's household, surprisingly, I noticed that the animal pens (*zribeh*) were visible from the household's main *hosh*, which is not a common practice in Rum Village. When he was asked about it, Abdullah sarcastically replied, "Musa, is it the only uncommon thing you noticed in the village....what about the high walls that the authorities built around the village?" then he explains that the family owns two camels, ten goats, six sheep and a few chickens. According to Abdullah, the milk and eggs produced is barely enough for the family's consumption. When Abdullah was asked about his camels, he used a famous Bedouin proverb to describe them. He said, "*Al-Jamal: thamanha nugud u-ba'arha wugud wabarha wuhud u-labanha gut fi al-layali assud*". Literally, a camel's sale brings cash, its dung is fuel, its hair is tent-cloth, and its

milk is sustenance when days are black. Daifallah added, “Bedouins perceive their camels as assets. My grandfather used to say, “*Al-Jamal thahab maknuz, wayn ma o'ztoh tusruf minoh*”. Literally, a camel is stored-up gold; whenever you want, you can use it.

The household has another entrance that leads to the *sahha* called the *babb al-a'ilah*, meaning the family's entrance. This entrance is designated for the family and the close relatives to use. Within the *sahha*, Abdullah's family pitched a small tent. During the summer, the tent functions as the outdoor *Gorphet al-a'ilah* (family room). It represents the rhythm of Abdullah's family's everyday life. Its sandy floor is furnished with a number of household items, including old Bedouin rugs and mattresses, a clay water-storage jar (*zier*), an old wooden table upon which some kitchen items were located. Next to the kitchen entrance, a portable propane burner was located. Cooking takes place under the tent in the summer, since the kitchen is so hot. In addition to the shade it provides, it was observed that the tent's ropes were used as clotheslines.

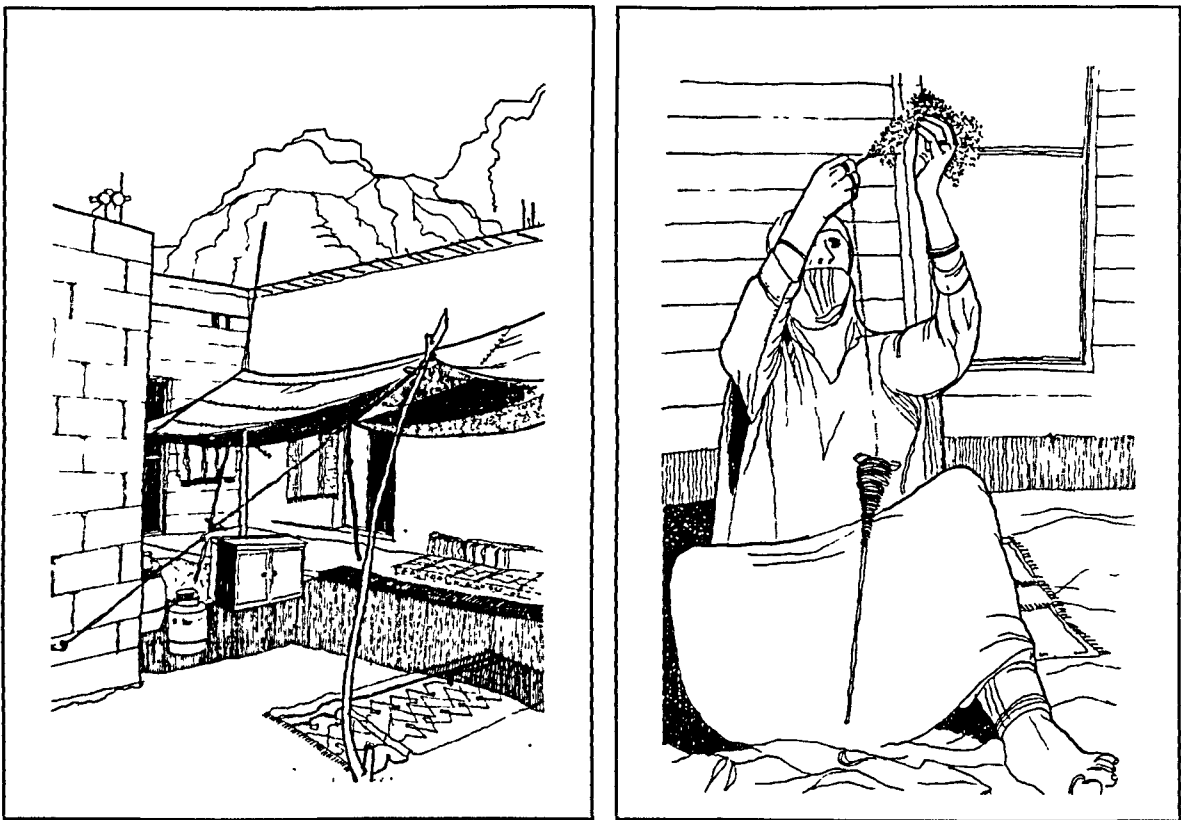


Figure (6.49): The household's *sahha* and some of its activities.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork 2004.

Part of the *sahha*, and opposite to the *a'ilah*, is the kitchen (*matbakh kharjee*). Here, it is important to emphasize again that Bedouin cooking is influenced by the rules of hospitality. Meat would only be served on the occasion of a festival or major family event. In Abdullah's case, the two wives take turns cooking. Because the family owns no refrigerator, the leftovers are kept in a small ice-box located in the kitchen. Ice can be bought from shops located within the residential areas.

While touring the house, I asked Mohammad, who is twenty years old, about his future plans. Mohammed was definite that he wants to be a teacher to start a new life. Knowing that within the Bedouin community, girls get married and leave the house while sons stay with the parents, I was curious to know what Mohammad meant by a new life. Mohammad hinted on several occasions that "the house is crowded. Having more than one woman in the same house makes any of them to feel uncomfortable". The discussion raised the issue of the possibility of expanding the household. Abdullah expressed his desire to have Mohammad within this household. Abdullah's land is about five hundred square meters. In the beginning of 2002, he asked for permission to expand, but the request was rejected by the authorities who claimed that the kitchen built in the *hosh* is illegal. I found the use of the term illegal to be of interest. When Abdullah was asked about this, he replied:

As a matter of fact, it is not only the kitchen. Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority recognized the whole house as illegal...they told me it should be demolished. When they did the first statistical survey, each house was given a number. Those who failed to prove their ownership were given an extra number. Yes, I lost my *Koshan*, but all the Zalabia men can witness that my grandfathers owned this land before me and before the existence of the authority itself.

Here, it is essential to mention that most of the poor Zalabia, who failed to prove land ownership of their lots, are threatened to have their houses demolished because they are labelled as illegal according to ASEZA's standards. Although they collected signatures that proof their ownership, ASEZA did not recognize them as they did not provide written documents such as *Koshan*.

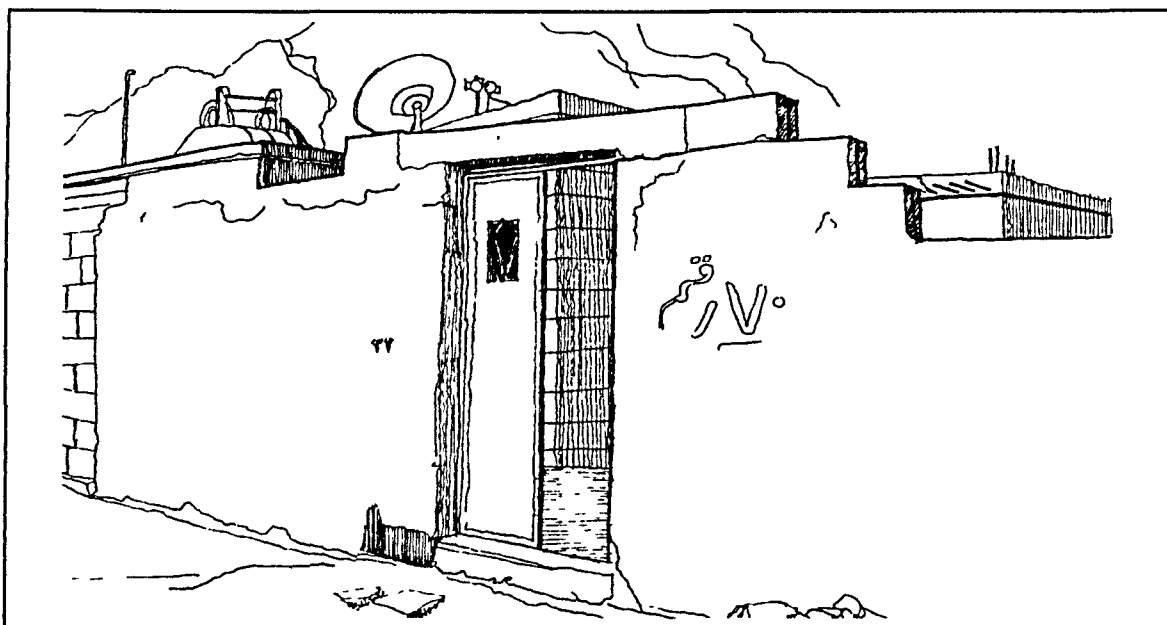
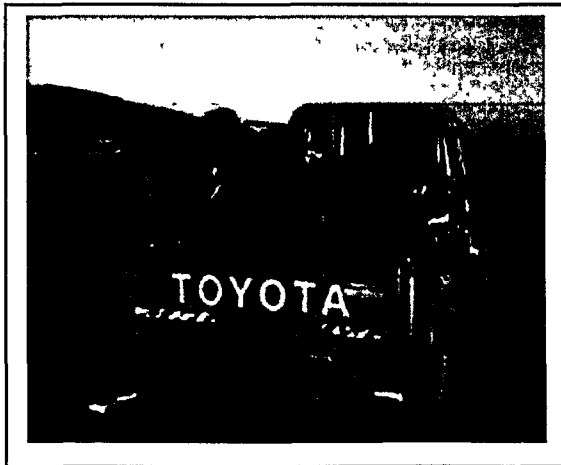


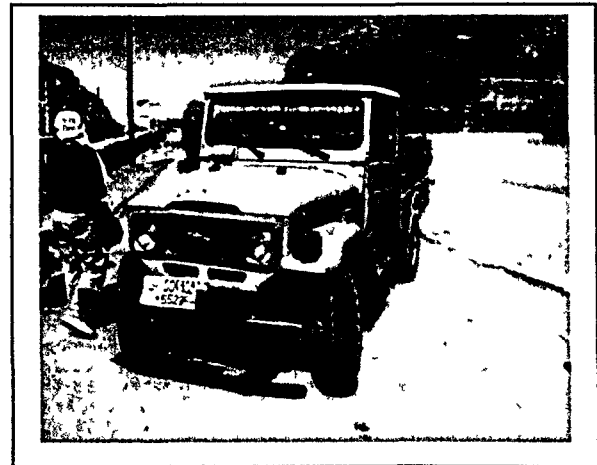
Figure (6.50): Abdullah household's family entrance. The number printed at the right indicates that this house is illegally constructed. The number at left indicates the house serial number within the village

Source: Researcher's fieldwork 2004.

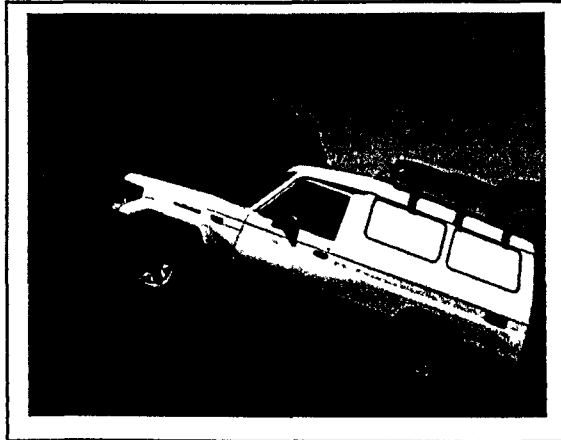
Unlike conventional urban housing, in which living spaces are typically separated from working spaces, Abdullah's household demonstrates a rich mix of family, social and work activities. Abdullah established a mechanic's workshop near his home, which is located on one of the main streets of the village. The workshop is adjacent, but independent from the house. Its location allows for the greatest exposure to passers-by and has easy access to resources from his house. For Abdullah, the workshop is not only an additional source of income, rather, it is a place where his friends can gather to socialize and discuss different issues related to the village. As immigrants tend to accept a lower wage than other Jordanians, Abdullah hired an Egyptian migrant named Ali to work as his assistant. According to Ali, he had some years of experience working as a mechanic in Cairo before he came to work in Wadi Rum. Interestingly, he did not come to work as a mechanic; rather, he came to work at the Rest-House, but was fired from his job because he did not obey the administration's orders. The equipment in Abdullah's workshop is as minimal as the space it occupies. Abdullah became a specialist in Toyota vehicles, which are the



A: Hilux pickup.



B: FJ 40 pickup.



C: FJ Cruiser.



D: Regular family car of different kinds.

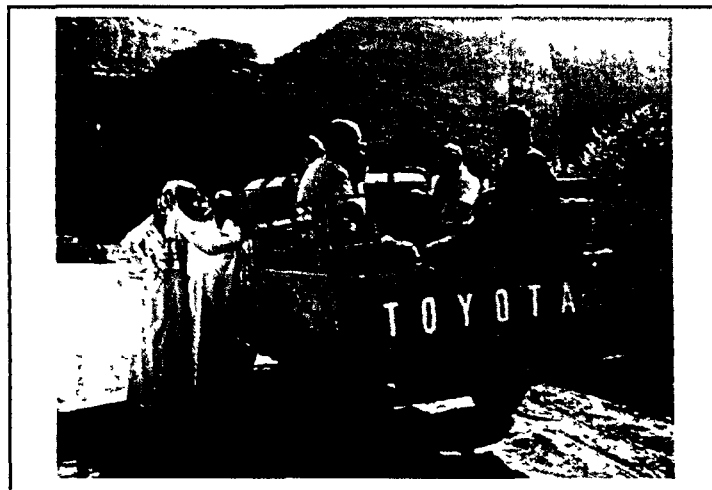


Figure (6.52): The different kinds of vehicles that can be found in Rum Village. It shows also the lack of safety measures in the trucks used for desert tours.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

most popular among the Bedouins. Their popularity stems from the fact that they are less expensive than other vehicles in the Jordanian market since they are smuggled in from Saudi Arabia.

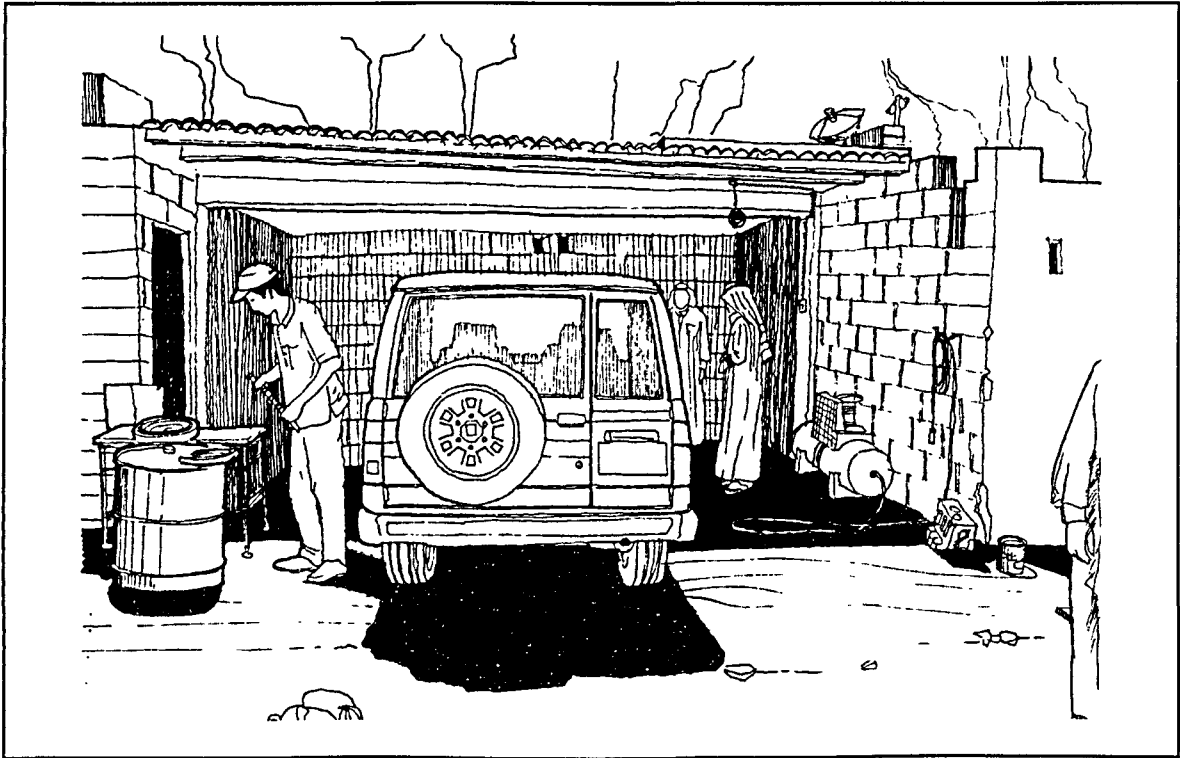


Figure (6.51): Abdullah's workshops, showing him socializing with one of the clients while the Egyptian worker fixes the client's car.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

In addition to regular family cars, three kinds of Toyota vehicles can be found in Wadi Rum: the Hilux with two or four doors pickups, FJ Cruisers, and FJ 40 series pickups. Wadi Rum authorities and the Rum Tourism Co-operative tried to regulate these vehicles by issuing Jordanian licence plates. Some of these vehicles, which are used for the tourist tours, are well below safety standards. It was observed that these vehicles often do not have seat belts for the passengers. It was also observed that some of these cars emitted black exhaust smoke, and some had completely smooth tires. On several occasions, it was observed that Abdullah's domain of work goes beyond his workshop. In emergency cases, when any of the Bedouin trucks are stuck in the desert, Abdullah's truck becomes a mobile workshop as he takes it out to fix these stuck vehicles.

6.5.2 Daifallah Atieq Zalabia Household:

Daifallah and his wife have ten children; four boys and six girls. The eldest son of 19 years took his grandfather's name, Atieq, which is a very common practice among the Bedouin and rural communities in Jordan. The family lives in a house located at the northern edge of Rum Village. The house is built on a large lot, which is a common occurrence within the village regardless of the owner's economic status. Daifallah's father, Sheikh Atieq, died on Feb 19, 2001, well into his nineties. Sheikh Atieq was born before the Arab Revolt. He was a highly respected elder among the *Zalabia* and the neighbouring tribes. He was able to see the income potential of Wadi Rum, which at that time was a publicly unknown area. In addition to Daifallah, he had three other sons, Sabbah, E'id and Mazyad, who are all currently working as tourist guides.

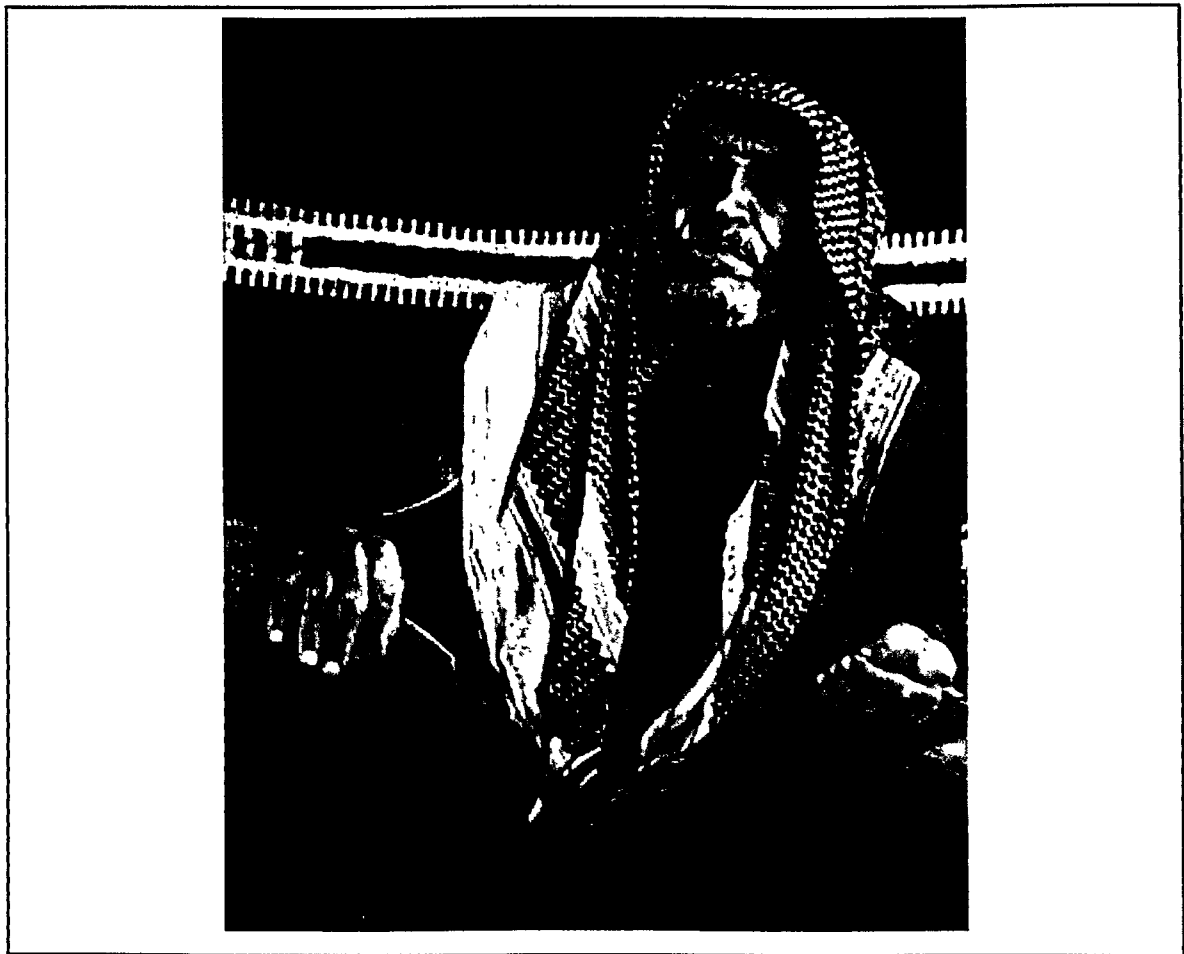


Figure (6.53): Sheikh Atieq Zalabia, Daifallah's father.

Source: www.jordanjubilee.com

Tony Howard and Dyane Taylor, in their books *Treks and Climbs in Wadi Rum* and *Walks and Scrambles in Wadi Rum* stated:

(It was) Daifallah and Sabbah that showed us the Rock Bridge of Burdah back in 1984. It was also Daifallah who discovered Jordan's highest mountain, Jebel um Adaami. With these two finds alone they made a massive contribution to the economy of the Rum community...it was E'id that showed us the superb fossils in Wadi Salaada, one of which became a gift for Queen Noor of Jordan and now sits in the Palace garden. Mazyad became a respected guide for members of the Jordanian Hashemite Royal Family (2008, p. 56).

Here, it is important to point out that such recognition of Daifallah and his brother gave them a distinguished position among the tour operators and guides in Wadi Rum.

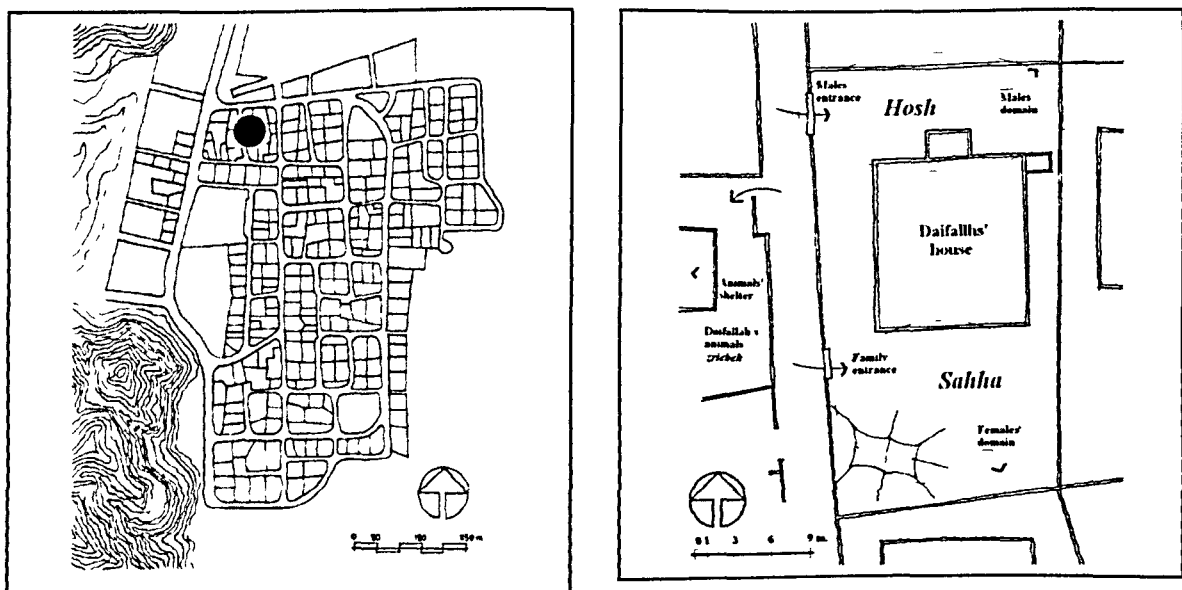


Figure (6.54): Daifallah's household location and main entrance to the *madhafah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Daifallah's house is very decorative when compared to the other grey concrete houses of Rum Village. The appearance of his house is not only a reflection of his family's socio-economic status, but is also a sign of Daifallah's openness to cultures outside the boundaries of Wadi Rum. As informed by Daifallah, his household's entrance (*bawabah*) and the elevations of the *madhafah* were inspired by suggestions made by urban friends

and tourists. The house is surrounded by a high boundary wall that reaches two hundred and fifty centimetres at some points. The wall was built by the authorities as part of Rum Village's development plan. There are two entry points in the boundary wall. The first is about three meters wide and is provided by a sliding steel gate. It leads to the household's *hosh* where Daifallah and his elder son Atieq park their vehicles. The second entrance is a narrow one of about one hundred and fifty centimetres wide, designated for the family.



Figure (6.55): Daifallah's household entrance and a family picture with his brothers.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection, 2004.

The sandy *hosh* is Daifallah's preferred space. During the summer he spends most of the night time at the *mastaba*. It is the place where Daifallah, accompanied by his family members or friends chat, play, read, pray and often eat. After co-ordination with Daifallah, if there are no male outsiders, the wife receives female guests in the *mastaba*. To provide more privacy to the rest of the household, the *hosh* is equipped with a small toilet (*merhadh*) to be used by the male guests. Daifallah sleeps outside the house when the weather permits, which is quite common for Bedouin men. For him, the *hosh* is the preferable space, where the sand is like a medical mattress that he finds to be very comfortable.

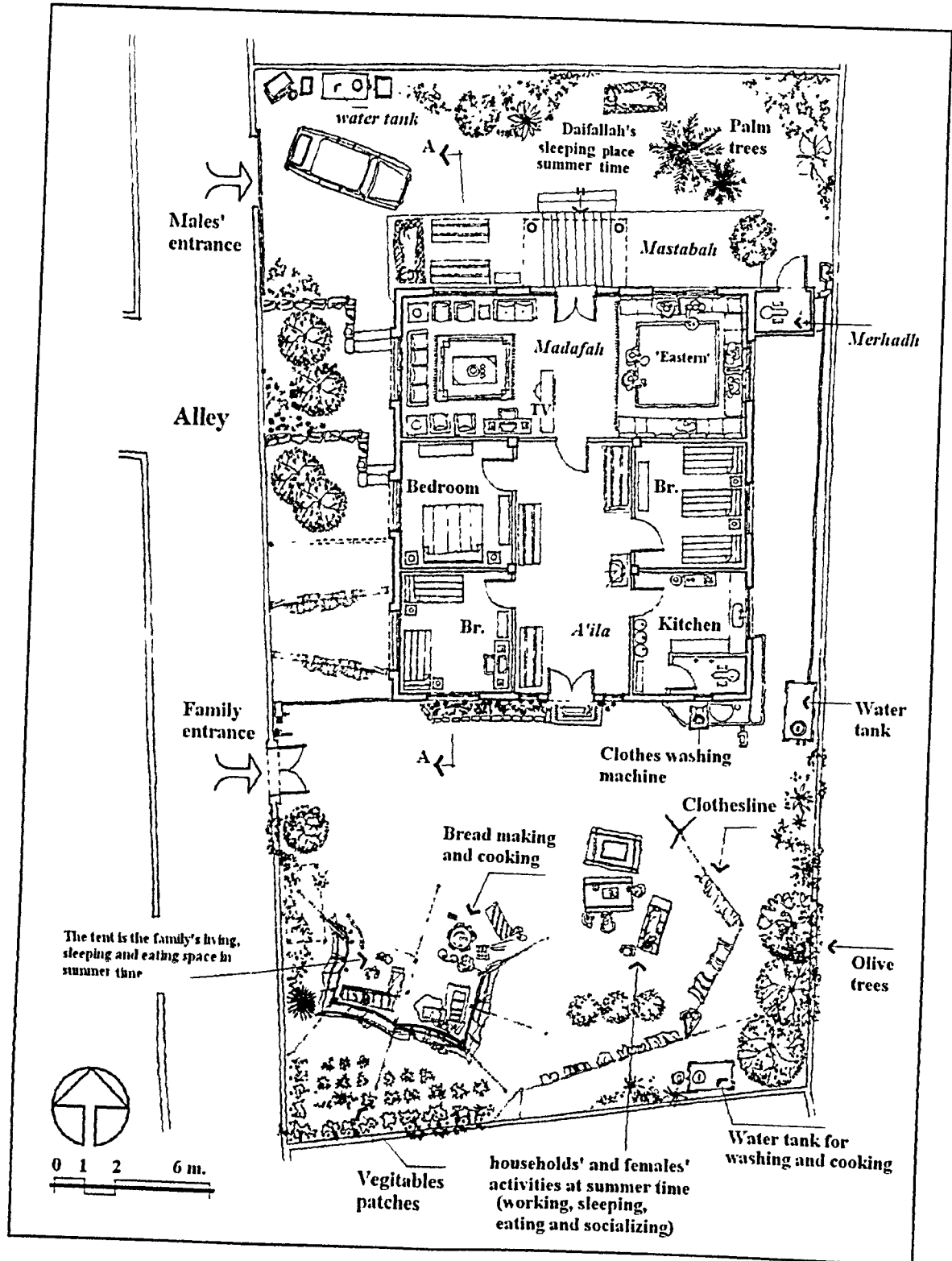


Figure (6.56): Daifallah's household plan and site arrangement.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

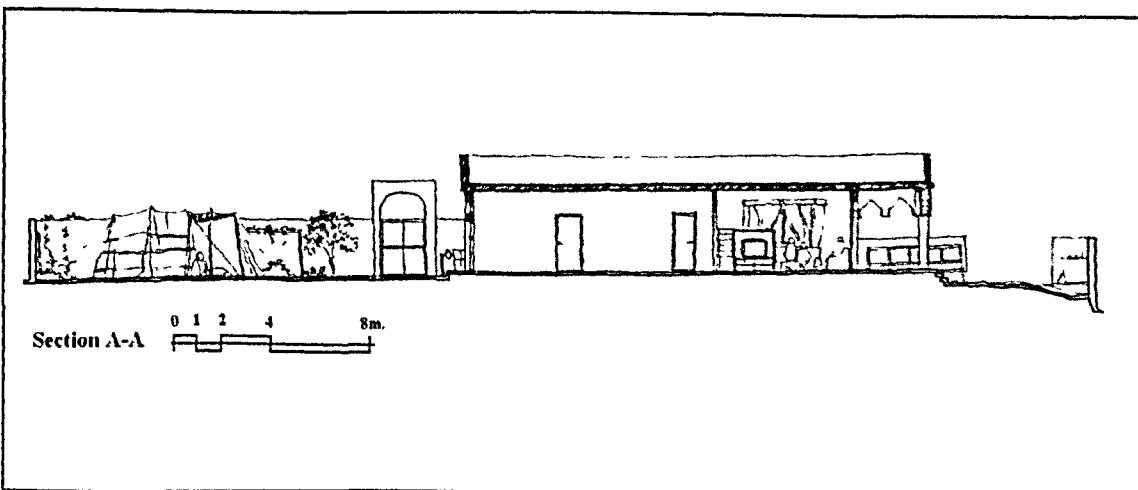
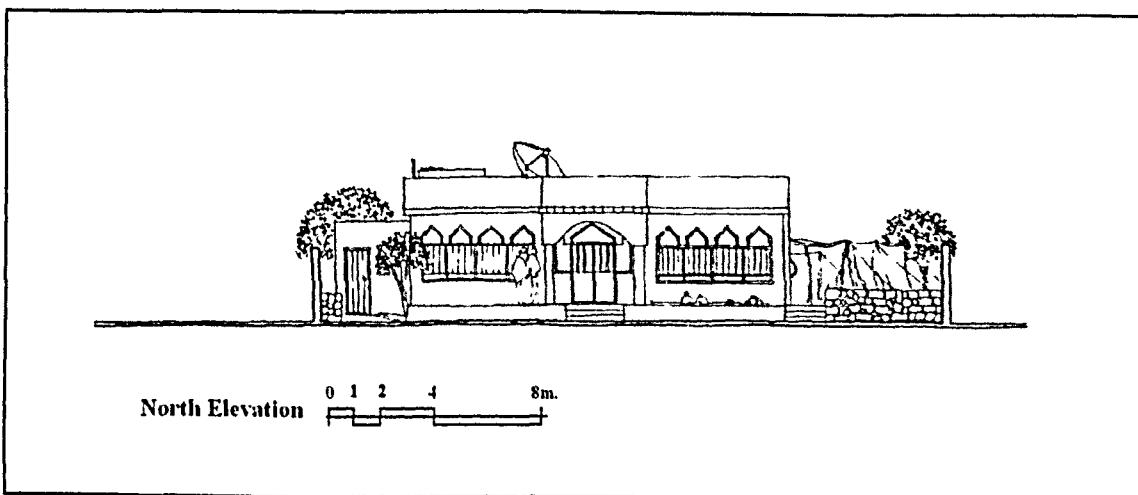
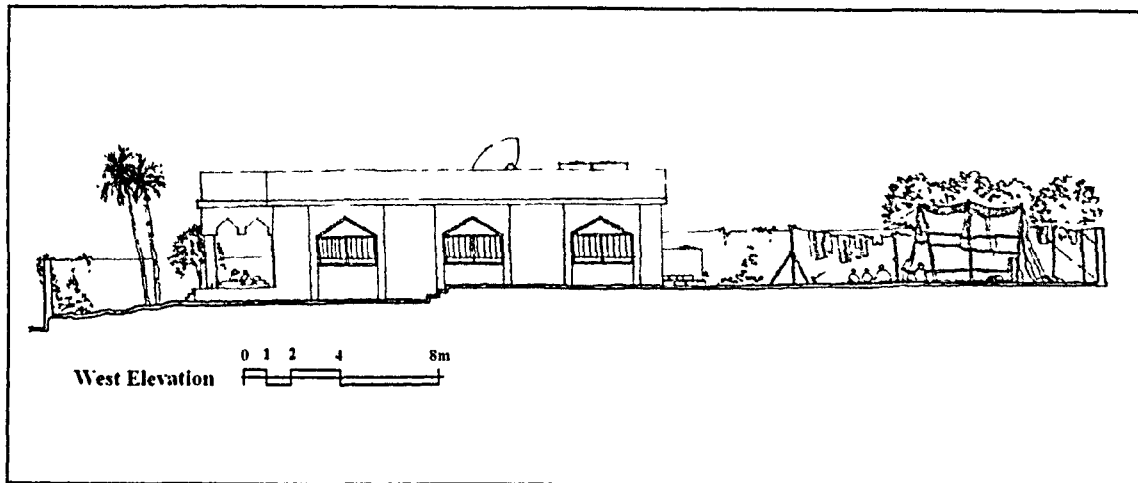


Figure (6.57): Daifallah's household section and elevations.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Daifallah's *madhafah* is a rectangular room measuring about five by twelve meters, and it is approached by the *mastaba*. It is divided into two sitting arrangements. The right side is the 'Western', which is furnished with comfortable chairs arranged in a U-shape around a fancy table. It also includes a computer and printer that Daifallah uses for his business as a tour operator. The other side is the Arabic *madhafah*. It is an abridged version of the *shigg*, maintaining mainly the male and formal functions. Here, Daifallah prays, rests, entertains his guests, eats and often sleeps. Its floor is covered with a beautiful Bedouin carpet. The mattresses are of a standard size of about one by two meters, and are arranged in a U-shape pattern. Along the sides of the U, pillows (*makhadat*) are placed to make the guests more comfortable. At the end of each mattress, two or three pillows are piled to be used as armrests. Here, it is important to note that the hierarchical pattern of seating shown in figure (6.36, 6.37) is followed only when receiving honoured guests or guests from outside the family's *khamisa*.

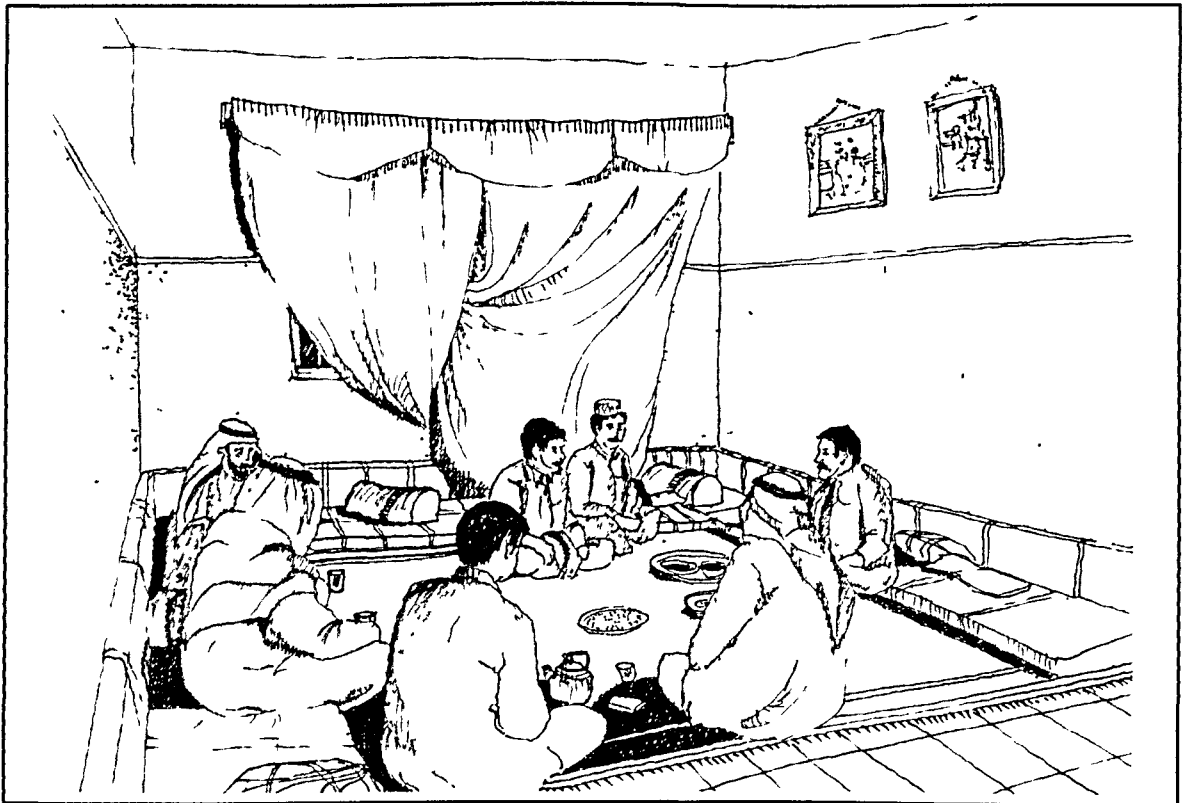


Figure (6.58): Daifallah socializing with his relatives in his *madhafah*. It shows how the hierarchical sitting pattern was not followed.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

In the evening, when Daifallah's *khamisa* men gather and are more than what the *mastaba* can take, the *madhafah* is the place where they socialize and show solidarity. The Bedouins believe that the size and commitment of a *khamisa* is what deters outsiders from violating its members. One night when I was socializing with Daifallah and his relatives, Daifallah brought his *rababah* and started singing Bedouin songs. One of them was part of a famous Bedouin poem describing the importance of the *khamisa*. It says: *t'ier bila jinhan ma yidrek alhoum, wrajlan bila raba' gilil al-magami*. This literally means: as a bird without wings cannot fly, so, a man without his *khamisa* knows no respect. The Bedouins view respect as a measure of the fear that others hold of retaliation by the *khamisa* if they should violate any of its members.



Figure (6.59): Daifallah playing his Bedouin music, with the falcon sitting in the front.
Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

When the males gathered in the *madhafah*, dinner (*a'sha*) is prepared within the family side of the house, and served to them. When there are no visiting guests *a'sha* includes items that the family produces. Within the Bedouin camps in Wadi Rum and the village community, I observed that wheat is an important staple of the Bedouin diet. Some of the harvest is processed into cracked wheat (*jerisheh*) and used in preparing several of the Bedouin dishes. Similarly, the *freekeh*, which is made from immature wheat and barley that is roasted and dried, is used to make a rice-like dish. On several occasions, Daifallah's family made *freekeh* and *jerisheh* and served it with tomato sauce.

Daifallah's family has a well-equipped kitchen that contains a gas stove, a freezer and a refrigerator. Cooking is usually done by his wife or eldest daughter. The family also has another kitchen, the *matbakh kharjee*, located at the *sahha*. In Daifallah's house, the *matbakh kharjee* is not a structure by itself. Rather, it is an open space located in front of the tent that is designated for bread making and heavy cooking.

Among Daifallah's family, cooking and eating are intensely social activities, where preparation falls on the shoulders of the housewife. As the main meal is the evening one, the housewife spends her day preparing for supper. The observations made in Daifallah's family match the old Arabian proverb: "The woman kills herself with work, yet the feast lasted only a day". Usually Daifallah's family eats together with no gender segregation. As they accommodate the research team, their eating pattern changed. At the family's side, Jumana noticed that the distribution of food among the family members is the responsibility of Daifallah's wife, and it represents her authority in the family. The proper message of the food distribution, which children are taught from a very early age, is fairness to all. According to Daifallah's wife, "This is the way that our mothers and grandmothers used to do to sustain their families in the desert, where resources are very limited...this way children learn the importance of closeness and solidarity".

Interestingly, when there are outsiders, sometimes the food served to the family is different from that served to the males in the *madhafah*. According to the wife, addressing her words to Jumana:

...You and Musa are part of our family. When there are outsiders, the food served to them should be different...We eat the same food with no distinction between family members. Within some families, the wife sometimes wishes to honour the family's headman by serving him food prepared separately and with better ingredients than those used for the rest of the family.

The *sahha* reflects the rhythm of Daifallah's family's everyday life. It supports most of the females' work and leisure activities. Among the Bedouins, women use the *sahha* for their activities, except for sleeping, where they sleep inside, even during the hot summer

nights. Daifallah's family is one of the exceptional cases where women sleep under the tent in the summers as long as they have the company of Daifallah or his elder son. The *sahha* is furnished with a number of items that support the family's life pattern. In front of the tent, the *ladaya* and the *saj* are located, where Daifallah's wife prepares the *shrak*. At the south-western corner of the house an electric pump is located, to provide clean water from the well under the *mastaba*. Next to the pump, a small washing machine is found. In the middle of the *sahha*, a long clothesline has been constructed to dry the family's clothes. Behind the tent, the family planted some vegetable and herb patches. Surprisingly, I noticed a small machine located next to the patches. Daifallah explained that they use it to shake the milk to produce dairy products instead of using the traditional trapezoid that holds the goat skin bag. Beside the tent, a water tank is located to irrigate the vegetable patches and fruit trees planted along the boundary wall, and cleaning dishes and pots, which afterwards are put over the tank to dry.

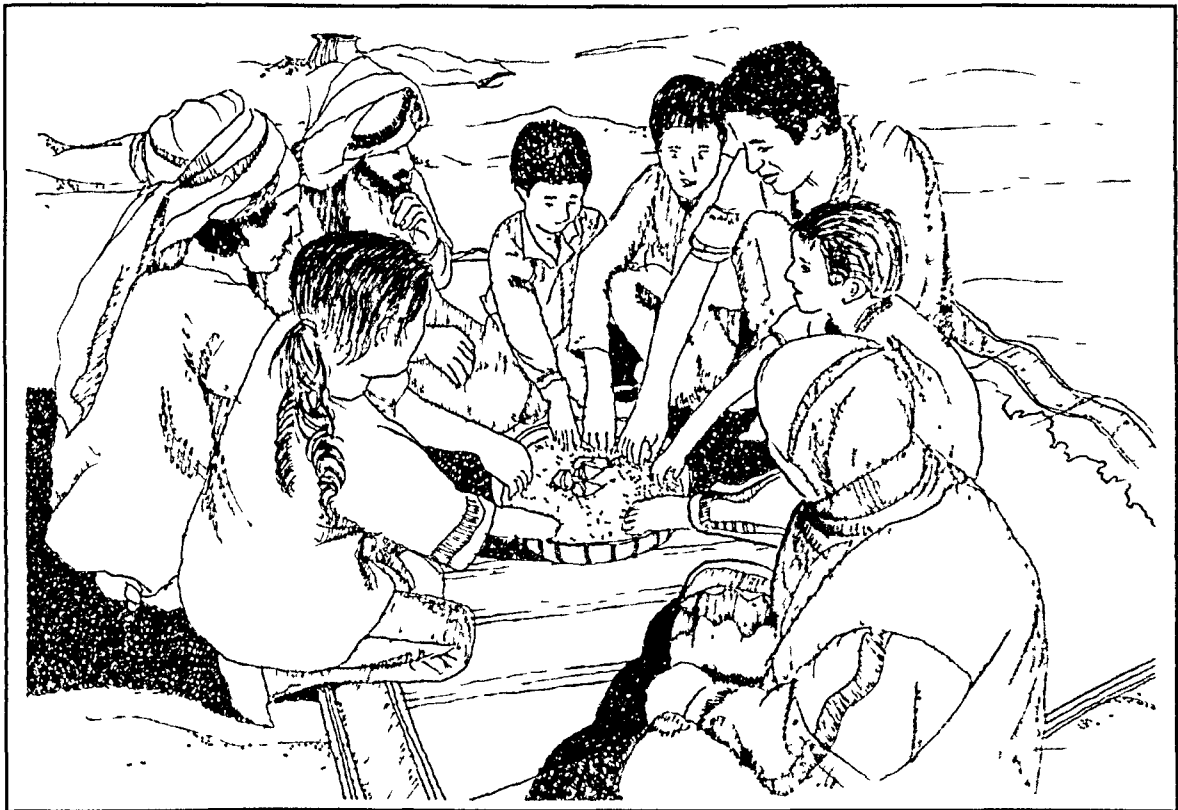


Figure (6.60): Daifallah's family having a meal in the *sahha*. Among the Bedouins, it is a common practice to have their hands in the dish at the same time.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

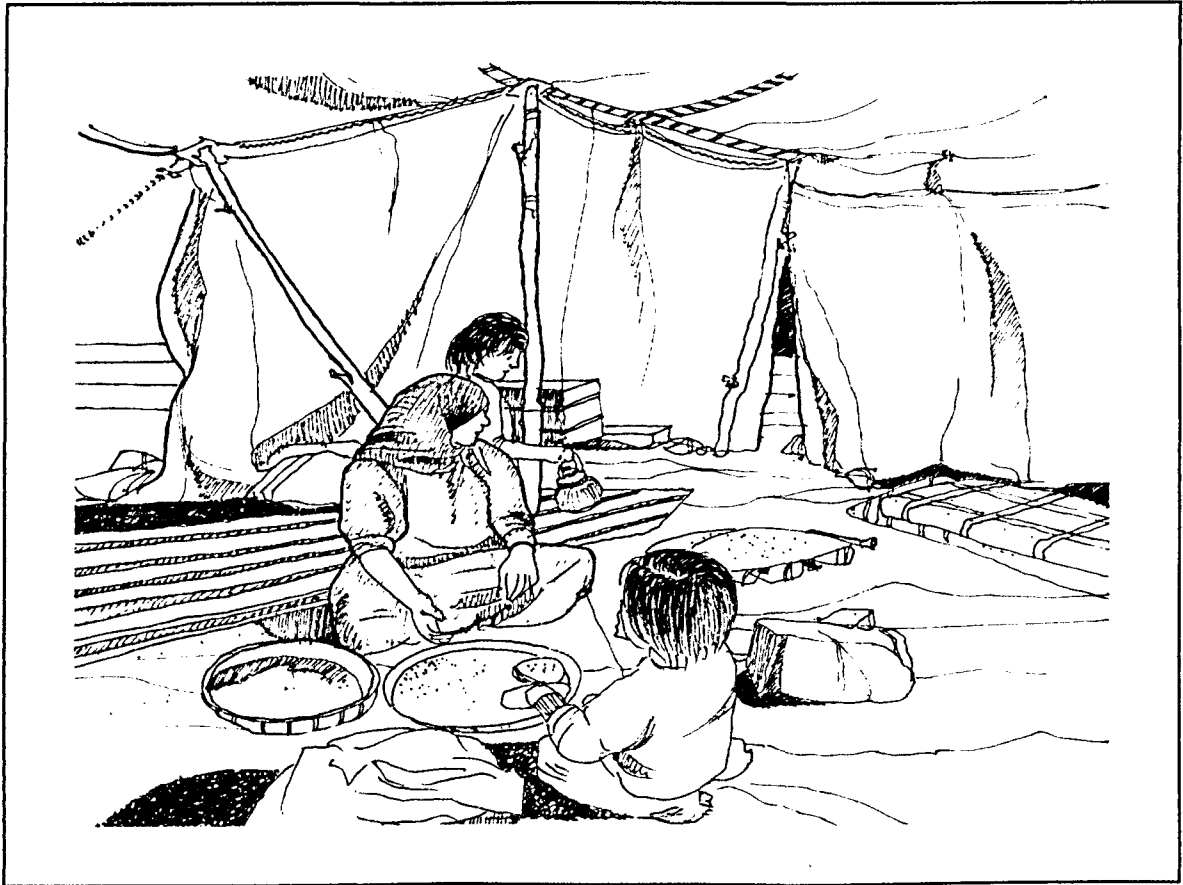


Figure (6.61): Daifallah's wife making bread in front of the tent in the *sahha*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.



Figure (6.62): Some of the *sahha*'s activities such as fire starting and making the dough.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection, 2004.



Figure (6.63): Daifallah playing with his children in the *sahha*. It also shows the wife making the bread near the tent's entrance.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

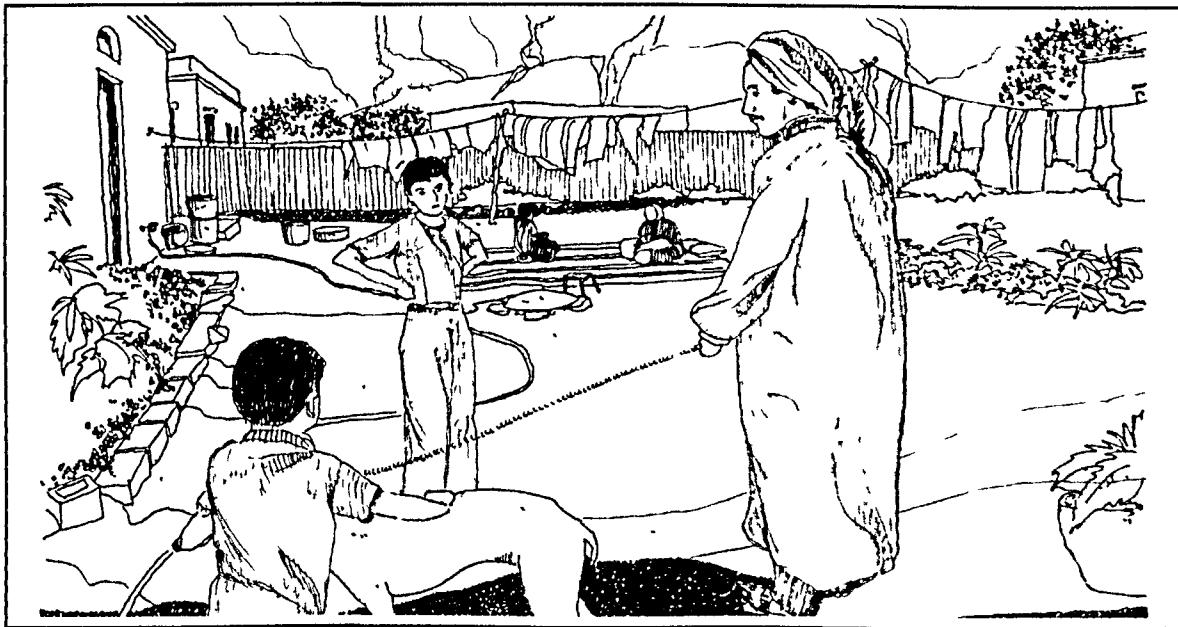


Figure (6.64): Daifallah teaching his children how to handle the saluki. For Daifallah, sharing the knowledge about the hunting activity with his children is of great importance for its connection to the Bedouins' traditions.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Across the alley which serves Daifallah's household's entrance, Daifallah owns a small lot of land surrounded by a boundary wall used as *zriebeh* (animal shelter). Daifallah owns a number of camels in addition to some goats and sheep. Some of them are kept to participate in the camel race that takes place annually in Wadi Rum.

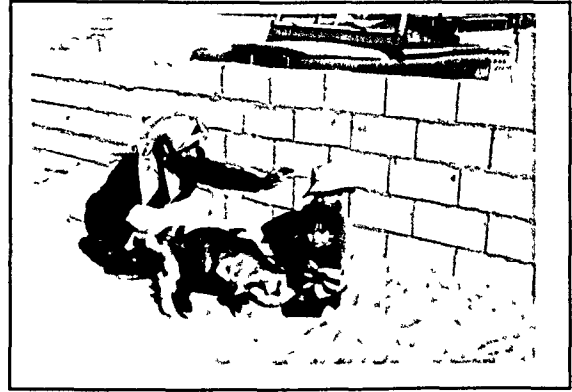
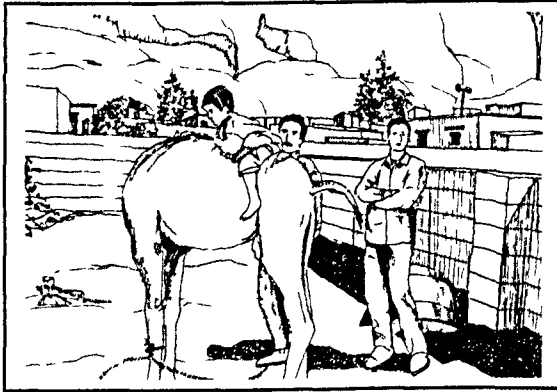


Figure (6.65): Daifallah, introducing his children to the animals, with the help of his wife, giving medications, watering and milking the camel, to feed his child.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

6.5.3 Abdullah A'wadh Zalabia Household:

Several factors helpful to the study were taken into consideration for the choice of Abdullah's household as a case study. First, while touring the village with the Zalabia's *mukhtar*, on several occasions, Abdullah was recommended as a useful reference concerning the village and its people. Second, his house exists in a cluster of different households that belong to different generational and educational levels of the same tribal lineage, *khamisa*. The cluster is called *hosh A'wadh*, where A'wadh is the grandfather of the cluster's inhabitants. Finally, Abdullah's house is newly built in comparison to the rest of the households in the cluster. As a matter of fact, one of the houses represents the first model house that the Jordanian government subsidized to the Zalabia's sheikhs in the beginning of the 1970s.

Abdullah was born in Rum Village in 1964. He continued his studies in the village Military School until the age of 18. In 1984, Abdullah was granted a diploma in education from the Teachers College in Aqaba. In 1998, the Jordanian Armed Forces sponsored Abdullah's first book: *Wadi Rum Between Past and Present*. It is an ethnographic study about Wadi Rum and its people and is considered to be one of the most reliable Arabic books written about the area. The author presents a detailed and thoughtful study of the social, cultural, political and economic contexts of Bedouin life.

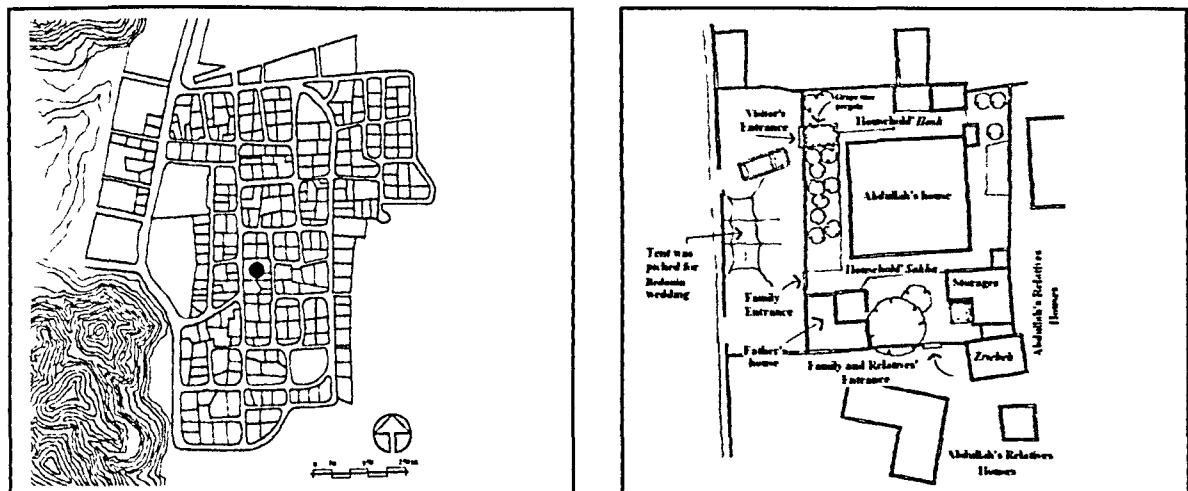


Figure (6.66): Abdullah's household location and site plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

On the 17th of July, 2004, the first meeting with Abdullah took place. Accompanied by Daifallah and his son Atieq, I approached Abdullah's house through a three meter wide gate. Surprisingly, the opening did not lead to Abdullah's house, rather, it lead to a vacant lot. Within the lot, a tent was pitched where a number of Bedouins were socializing under its shade. This lot belongs to Abdullah's father. It is preserved by the authorities' new land-use plan for commercial use. They are planning to build some bed and breakfast facilities to serve tourists. Meanwhile, the Bedouins use the space to accommodate their ceremonial occasions, such as weddings and consolation of deceased people. Although the development of this parcel of land would block Abdullah's, a passage (*dahleez*) will be given to keep the house connected to the street.

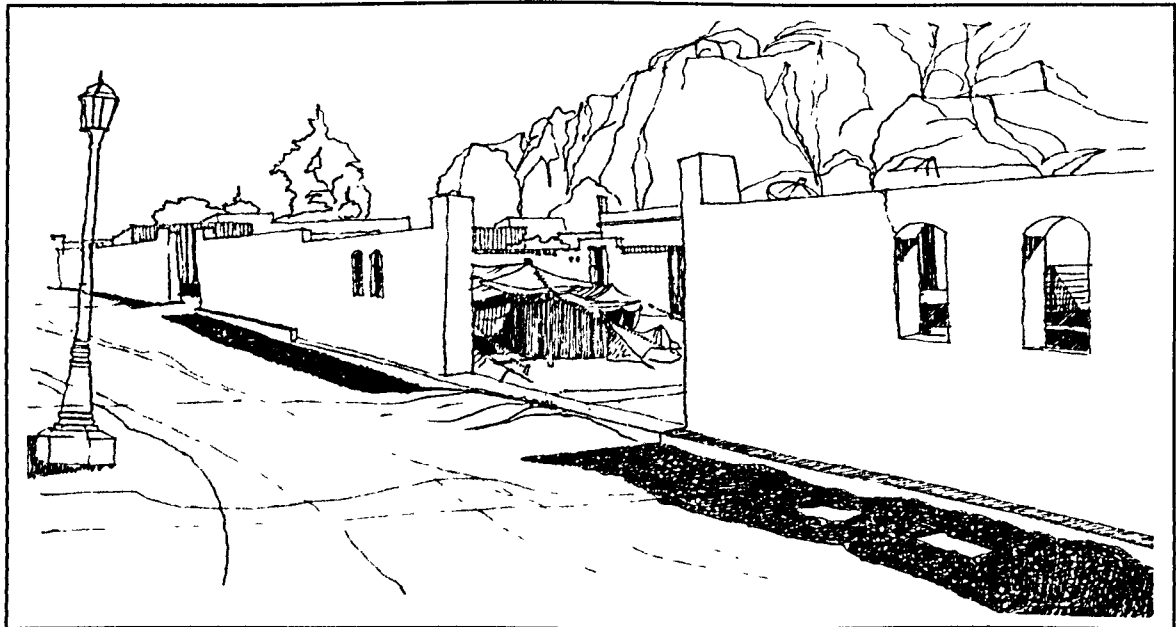


Figure (6.67): The boundary wall that the authority built around A'wadh cluster.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Abdullah's house is very similar to Daifallah's in terms of internal organization. Differences are limited to the following: first, Abdullah attached a space of a multi-purpose nature to this *madhafah*. This space is used as Abdullah's study room, as well as an extra bedroom in case of overnight guests. Second, the kitchen is located in the middle of the eastern part of the house. It has a metal door that leads to the side garden where the family planted some vegetables patches and fruit trees.

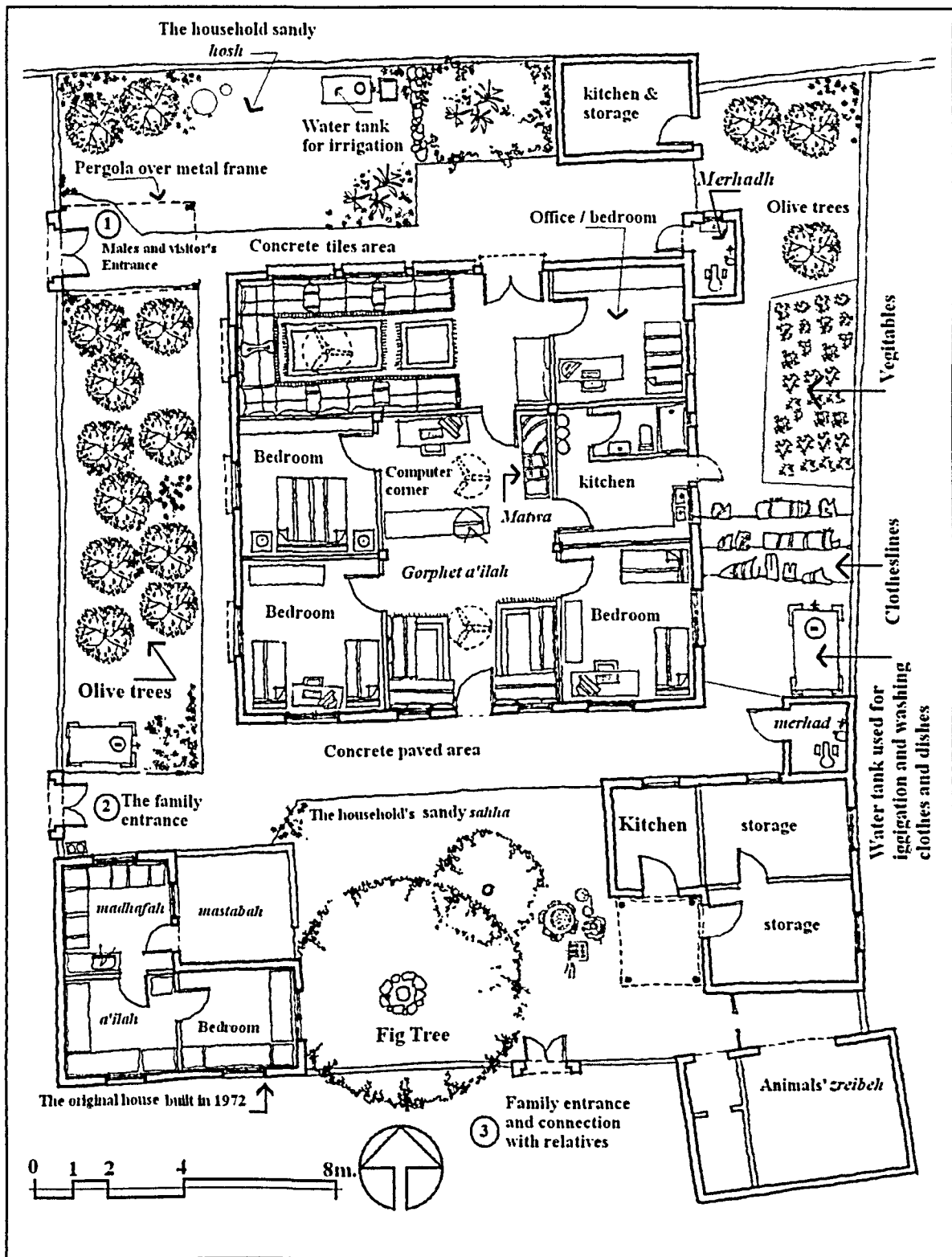


Figure (6.68): Abdullah A'wadh Zalabia household's plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

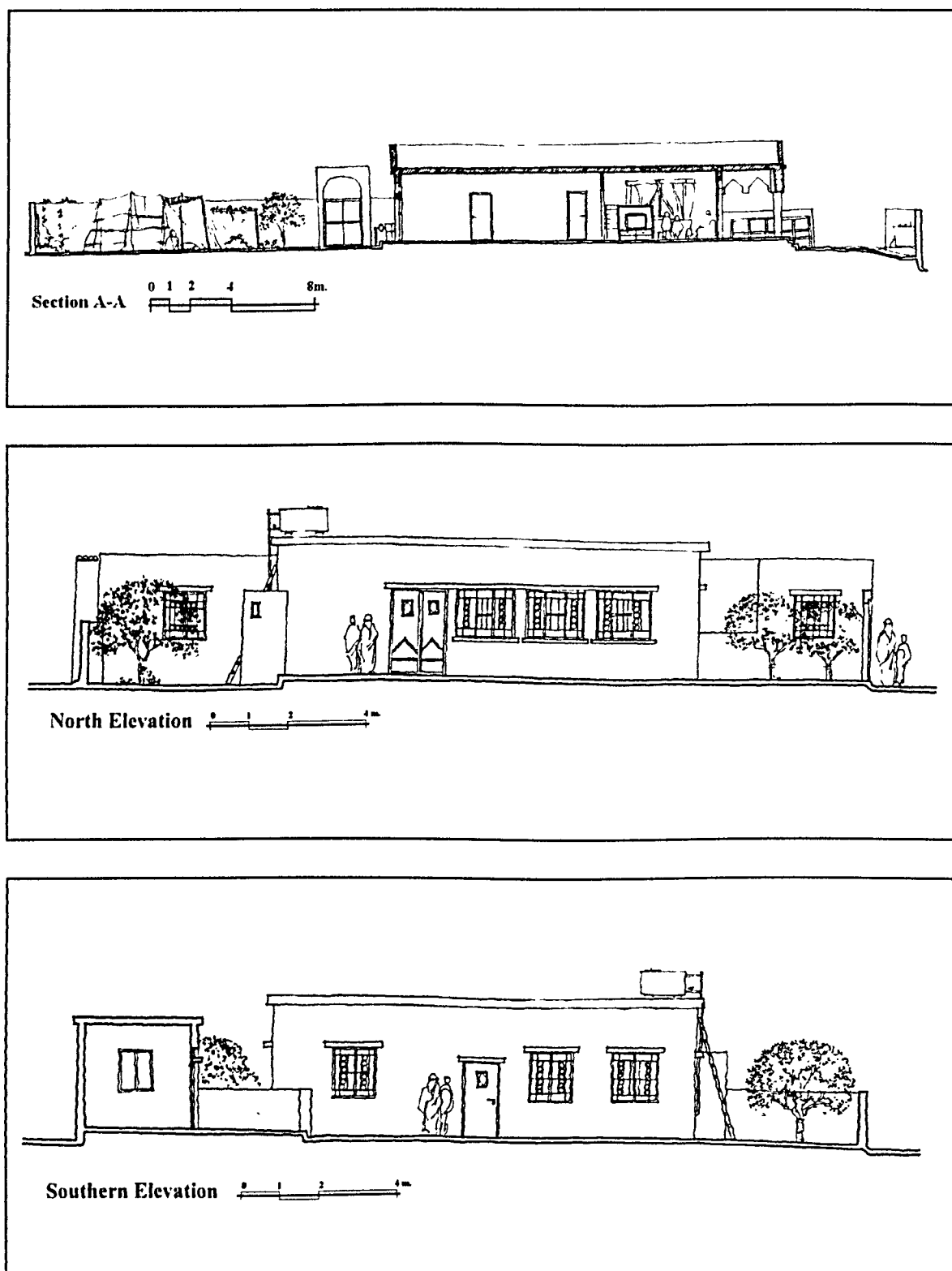


Figure (6.69): Abdullah's household's elevations and section.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Abdullah's household has three entrances. The first one is larger than the others. It is the formal one that leads to the household's *hosh* and therefore, to the *madhafah*. Entering this gate, one can find himself under a grape vine pergola made of steel pipes. In addition to its function as a source of green grape vines, the pergola provides a remarkable shade to the household's formal entrance. Abdullah's *hosh* is well organized. It has a paved concrete passage (*mamar*) that connects the formal entrance with the *madhafah*. In front of the *madhafah*'s entrance, a patch of colourful flowers is planted. At the *madhafah*'s entrance, there was A'wadh, Abdullah's father saying, "*Ya hala fe ashbab, tfadhalo al-bayet baytkom*", meaning, "Welcome young men, please come in and consider the house as yours".

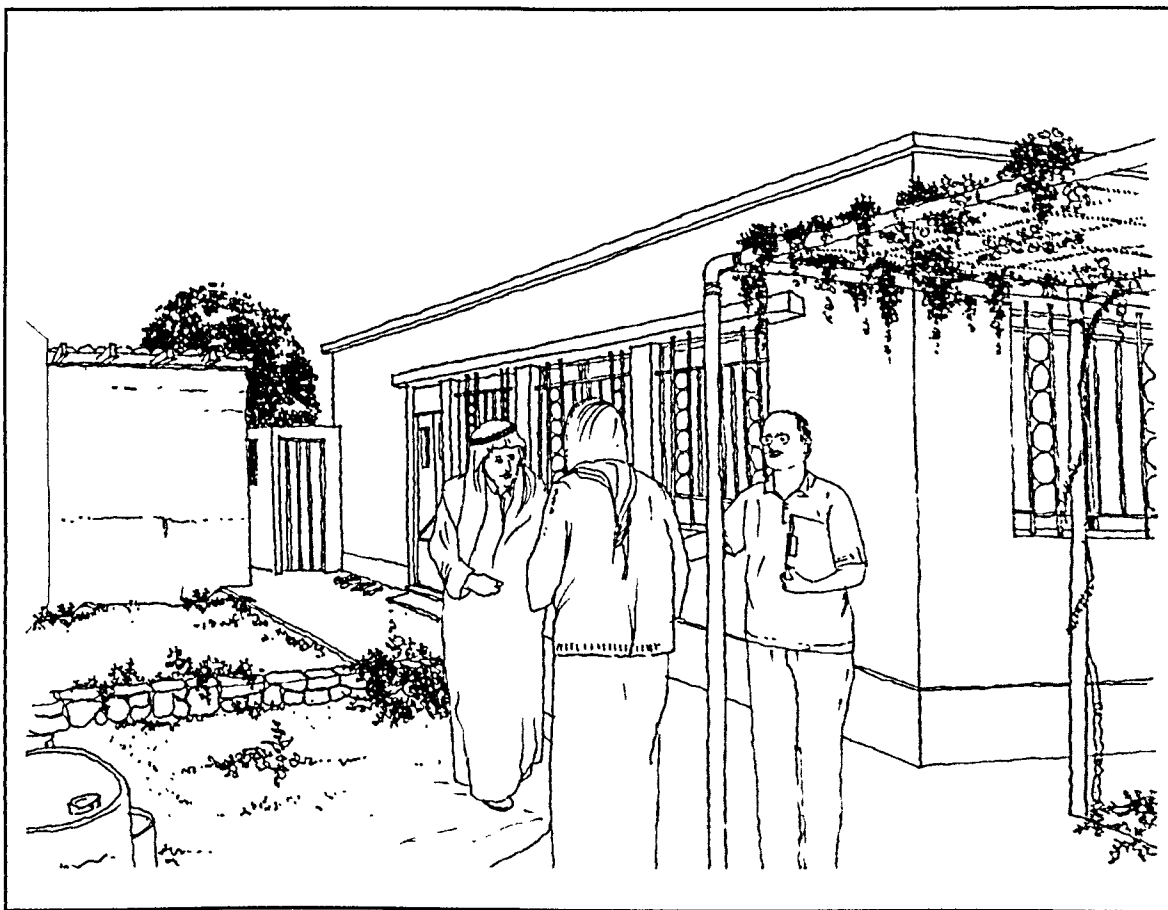


Figure (6.70): Musa introducing Jumana to Sheik A'wadh while receiving them at the household's *hosh*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Jumana and Daifallah and I were received in Abdullah's *madhafah*, in the presence of Abdullah, his father and his wife. Abdullah's *madhafah* is very similar to Daifallah's Arabic *madhafah*. It is about five by ten meters; its large size is to accommodate the number of male visitors, especially during ceremonial occasions. After exchanging greetings, the Bedouin coffee was served. Abdullah uses a thermos instead of the authentic brass coffee pots. It is an insulated plastic container that maintains the coffee at a constant temperature. Originally, the *madhafah* was of two parts: the 'Eastern' and the 'Arabic'. For practical reasons related to the nature of his work, Abdullah changed the use of the 'Eastern' into office space. The office is furnished with a desk, a computer, a single bed and a book shelf. Most of Abdullah's books are related to Islamic teachings and theology.

Following proper Bedouin manners, Abdullah invited some of his male relatives to share in the discussion about issues related to the village. Upon their arrival, Abdullah politely asked Jumana to join his wife in *gorphet al a'ilah*. There, Jumana socialized with the women of Abdullah's family. As a historian, Abdullah started by giving a historical background about the area with special concentration on tourism and its impact on local lifestyle. The discussion about tourism and development lead to a discussion about: the boundary walls around the residential areas, land ownership, and relocation.

While discussing the issue of boundary walls, there was a general agreement among the Bedouins that the authorities' goal was to hide the way the Bedouins live, and therefore limiting the interaction between them and tourists. According to Abdullah:

Authorities made a mistake building the walls around the residential area...not all of the tourists come to Wadi Rum for the landscape and climbing. The majority of them come to explore the desert life and see the way the Bedouins live. They want to contrast the exotic images they get from books with reality. In this sense, the walls are barriers. Everyone in the village can feel that the number of tourists coming to the village has declined since the construction of the walls...now the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities pamphlets show the boundaries, through tourism agencies. This for sure conflicted with what the tourists had in mind about Wadi Rum and its connection to Lawrence of Arabia, and therefore, affected the numbers of tourists coming to the area.

Abdullah's cousin added the following:

By doing this, authorities are attempting to make the Bedouins poorer and poorer so they have to accept what the government proposes. What they want is our relocation to the proposed site near the Visitor's Centre, where they can control more of the benefits of tourism...they do not want the Zalabia to be in the centre of the valley...they want to please the other tribes on the Zalabia's account. What can we do? The other tribes, especially the Zawaydeh, are more influential and have good connection with the Wadi Rum authorities and the central government in Amman.

One of Abdullah's uncles raised the issue of land ownership within the village. Abdullah explained how the issue of land is crucial to the development of Wadi Rum since land is related to the Bedouin's lives in social, cultural and economic contexts. All those listening could feel the anger in Abdullah's words when he said:

Development without taking the land ownership into consideration is a process to allow our identity to decline. Authorities are trying to attract investors to come and buy land to accommodate tourism activities. We view the alienation of land to outsiders as selling off part of our identity. It is a distraction to the basic ethnic values related to the Bedouins of Rum life patterns. Yes, most of us do not have legal documents to prove land ownership, but our claims are legitimized by the Bedouin's *urf* as part of our customary law.

Abdullah's relatives approved of what he said, to which one of the elders added the following:

Although *urf* is the code that governs most aspects of our lives, the state does not formally recognize it and now we are subject to the modern Jordanian state law...they do not know much about the *urf*, or how we settle our problems...when it comes to the land ownership issue, the situation will become more difficult unless the authority makes some effort to understand our *urf* and know how we resolve our disputes according to our customary law.

Surprisingly, one of the young men who attended these discussions acknowledged what the authority is doing for the village's development. What he said annoyed one of the elders who said, "This is because you are working for them. But, did you ask yourself, do they really want to develop the village for the Zalabia's benefits or theirs? What future is waiting for us if we move to the new village, as your managers are planning to do?" While discussing the issue of relocation, it was observed that there is a general fear that the population of the existing village would be forcibly relocated from their present dwellings. Abdullah's guests, especially the elders had a strong talk about the idea of relocation. Their input reflects that authorities made no effort to properly promote the idea of the development of the new village. This made most of the population resentful to the idea. While I was socializing with the men, Abdullah suggested watching the news from the satellite. Then, he brought grapes from the pergola located at the household entrance and washed them in a *toshit* located in the corner of the *madhafah*. He said:

Land is our identity and the source of our continuity. In contrast to what the city dwellers think about us, we plant a variety of vegetables and fruit, such as tomatoes, onions, okra, Arabic cucumbers (*fégus*) and watermelons. Most of this produce is eaten fresh. Tomatoes and okra can be dried and stored for use throughout the year...now, tell me (talking to me), don't you think that all what you see are signs of change...we are not against change, but we need the change that keeps our identity.

Afterwards, Abdullah went and knocked at the family room's entrance and told his wife that we were about to tour the house. This announcement was made to ensure the privacy of women gathered in the family side, while allowing me to have a tour both inside and outside the household. It was observed that Abdullah's family utilizes *gorphet al a'ilah* in a more permanent way. The room was zoned and furnished differently than Daifallah's. The room is divided into two zones. The first, which is the closest to the *sahha*, is a family sitting room. It consists of two sets of mattresses arranged in an L-shape and separated by a passage. A cabinet that includes some book shelves and a television separates the sitting area from the other zone designated as a computer corner. As in most recorded cases, the *matwa* was located near the door that leads to the *madhafah*, to provide the *madhafah* with mattresses and pillows whenever needed. While Jumana was

socializing with Abdullah's female relatives, she observed that when the tea was ready, Abdullah's wife knocked at the steel door that separates the family room from the *madhafah*. It was a message to Abdullah to come to the door to take the tea to serve his guests. From the *madhafah* side, I noticed that after he heard the knock, Abdullah went to the door and coughed, announcing that he was there to take the tea. Such etiquette was observed in many cases documented within Rum Village.

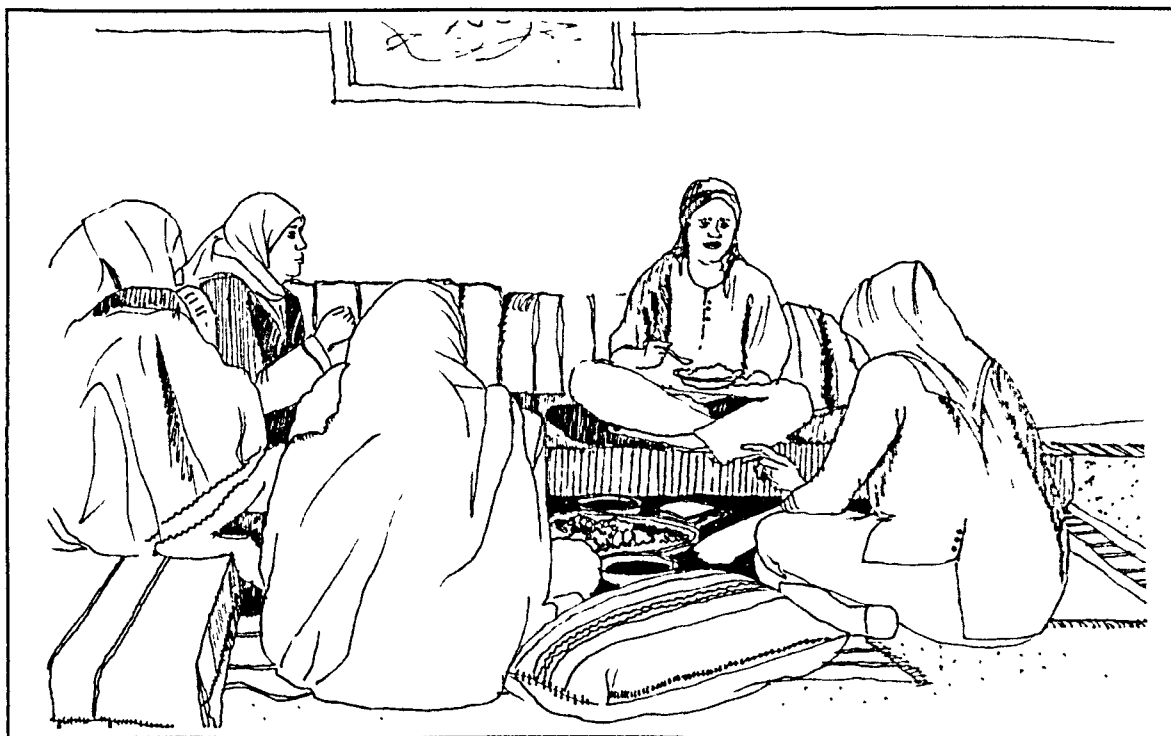


Figure (6.71): Jumana having a meal with Abdullah's female. She observed that they do not eat from the same dish but rather serve their food into small dishes.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

After spending time with Abdullah's family on several occasions, some observations were made. The family's food quality and serving habits are almost the same as those in Daifallah's household. Both cases are different from other families who have limited economic resources. First, Abdullah's and Daifallah's families represent the Zalabia's elite and have much access to markets in adjacent towns and cities as they own private cars. This has led to an increase in the number of market and store-bought foods. Unlike

most of the families of Rum Village that can be labelled as poor, electricity and refrigeration gave Abdullah's family a whole new range of foods and food storage methods. Food management and diet were also affected by the family members' occupational patterns and daily routines. As he is the principal of the military school, Abdullah spends the day away from home. He eats one or more of his meals at work where he is exposed to an 'urban-style' diet prepared by the school's cook. In addition, Abdullah's wife is a working woman in one of the projects sponsored by the government, therefore, the family relies on food cooked for several days and stored in the refrigerator.

Four rooms are located along the two sides of *gorphet al a'ilah*; three bedrooms and a service area that includes a kitchen (*matbakh dakhelee*) and the family's bathroom (*hammam*). The washing machine is located between the kitchen and the *hammam*. The kitchen has a steel door that leads to the side-yard that the family uses for gardening. The side yard is also used for washing and drying the family's clothes on the clotheslines fixed between the house's eastern wall and the boundary wall. While socializing with the females, Jumana asked Abdullah's wife about the house cleaning and whether they clean it by themselves or they hire someone. The wife responded by saying that it was a shame to hire anyone to clean the house. The wife does the cleaning within the family part as well as the *madhafah* when no guests are received. She is also responsible to clean the *hammam* and *merhadh* when the *madhafah* and the *hosh* are free of male guests.

The household's *sahha* can be approached by two entrances. The first one, which is part of the western boundary wall, functions as the family entrance. The other has two functions: first to connect the household with the others within the same cluster and to serve as the gateway to take the animals to pasture. Here, it is important to note that Abdullah hires a young relative of his to take the animals to the pasture. At the south-western corner of the *sahha*, a simple three-room house can be found. It is the house that was subsidized to A'wadh in the beginning of 1970s, and since, he is still living in it with his wife. The first room is designated as the *madhafah*, while the other two rooms are the *a'ilah* and a bedroom. Although, they use the *matbakh kharjee* often, it is tradition for Abdullah's family to have shared meals with his father's family. It represents the regular

nurturing of the family relationships which takes place within the context of shared meals. Unlike poor families in Rum Village who might not have meat more than three or four times a year, Abdullah's family's main diet is either chicken or lamb. Two of the most basic values of the Bedouin culture, hospitality and generosity, are expressed through the giving or sharing of food. As they have some poor relatives around, the family makes sure to share some food with them whenever they have feasts.

At the centre of the *sahha*, an old, large fig tree is planted that provides shade all year round. It also serves as a central support to which clotheslines are attached. During hot summer nights, A'wadh and some of his sons and grandsons can be seen sitting under the fig tree's shade. Here they socialize, pray, eat and often sleep. The tree functions as a focal point in the *sahha* and makes it into a pleasant outdoor space. It was observed that nothing brings happiness to A'wadh more than watching his grandchildren and their relatives playing in the *sahha*. For him, belonging to the *khamisa* is of a prime importance. One of his famous sayings is: "*illi biyijee labin ammuhi loloh shi maloh shi*", literally meaning when one turns to his cousins, even if he is wrong, he is not. Having his grandchildren playing together is a sign of solidarity that A'wadh likes to see all the time.

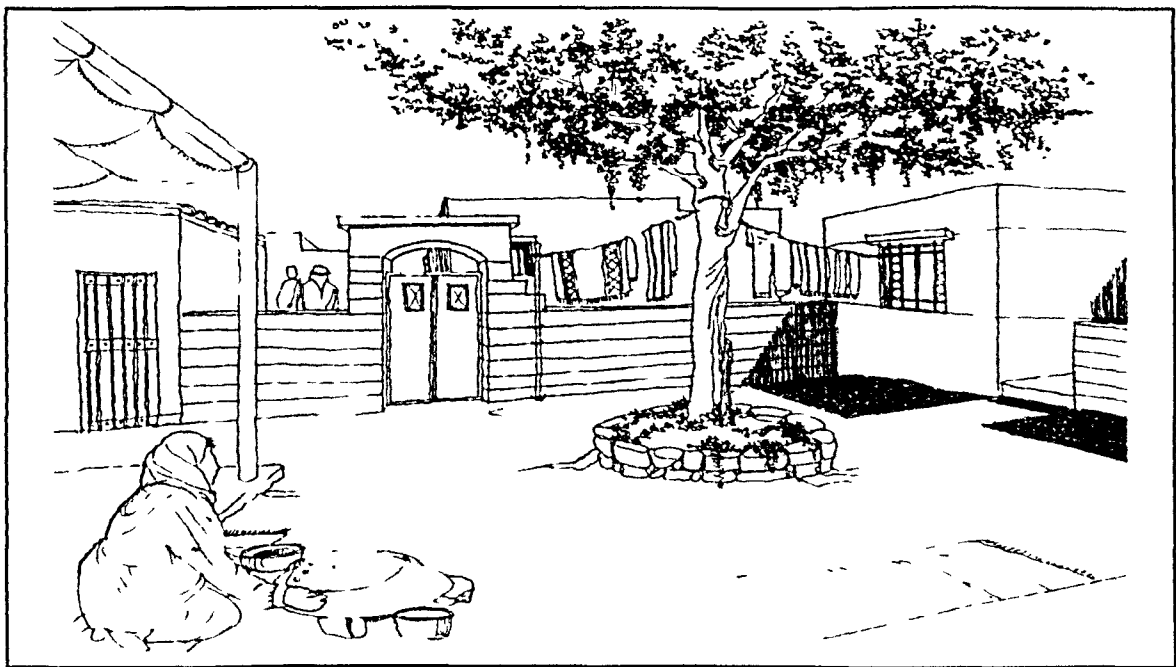


Figure (6.72): Abdullah's *sahha*, and some of its activities.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

6.5.4 Sabbah E'id Zalabia Household:

Sabbah is a retired officer of the Jordanian Armed Forces. He is known and respected among the Zalabia because of his tribal and professional reputation. After retirement, he was selected by his *hamula* to present them as a *mukhtar*. He is the head of a cluster that took the name of his deceased father E'id Zalabia. It consists of the following:

1. Sabbah E'id Zalabia.
2. Faraj E'id Zalabia.
3. Mohammad A'wad Zalabia.
4. Sa'eed A'wad Zalabia.
5. Majed A'wad Zalabia.
6. A'wad E'id Zalabia.
7. Attalla E'id Zalabia.
8. Salameh Attalla Zalabia.
9. E'id Attalla Zalabia.
10. Mohammad Faraj Zalabia
11. Mohammad Sabbah Zalabia.
12. Ali Sabbah Zalabia.

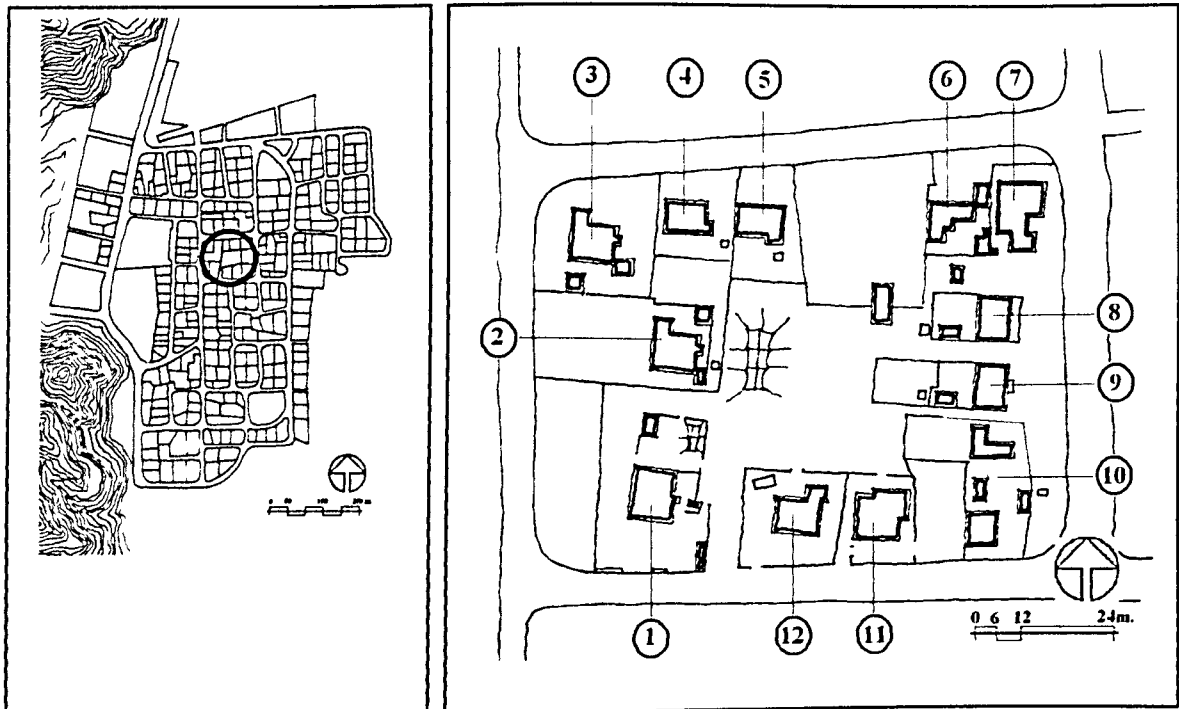


Figure (6.73): Sabbah E'id Zalabia's cluster's location and site plan.

Source: Researcher fieldwork, 2004.

The cluster is surrounded by streets on all the sides. Although each household has a street entrance, the central space, *hosh E'id*, has only one access point. When the first visit to Sabbah's household took place, Daifallah parked his jeep in the main *hosh*.

The household has five access points. Two of them were provided by the government as part of the new boundary wall. While one of these is designated for pedestrians, and another serves as a garage entrance for Sabbah's vehicle, the remaining three entrances connect the household with the main *hosh*, in which two of them lead to the *sahha*.

Sabbah's *hosh* is sandy, bare of any plants except the grape vine pergola that shades his carport. There, I noticed two structures independent from the main house. The first is the external toilet (*merhadh*) that serves the *madhafah*'s male guests. Because of its location, Sabbah was planning to tear it down to create a proper connection between his and the cluster's *hosh*. The second is located on the south-eastern corner of the boundary wall. It is a new addition to replace the old *merhadh*. The new structure consists of two spaces. The first is designated as a washing area. It is furnished with a counter that contains three sinks and a mirror on the wall. The second is the *merhadh*, which is provided with an Asiatic fixture, water tub and jug (*ibreeg*) for cleaning and ablution. Towels are hung on hooks at the two sides of the door that separates the two spaces.

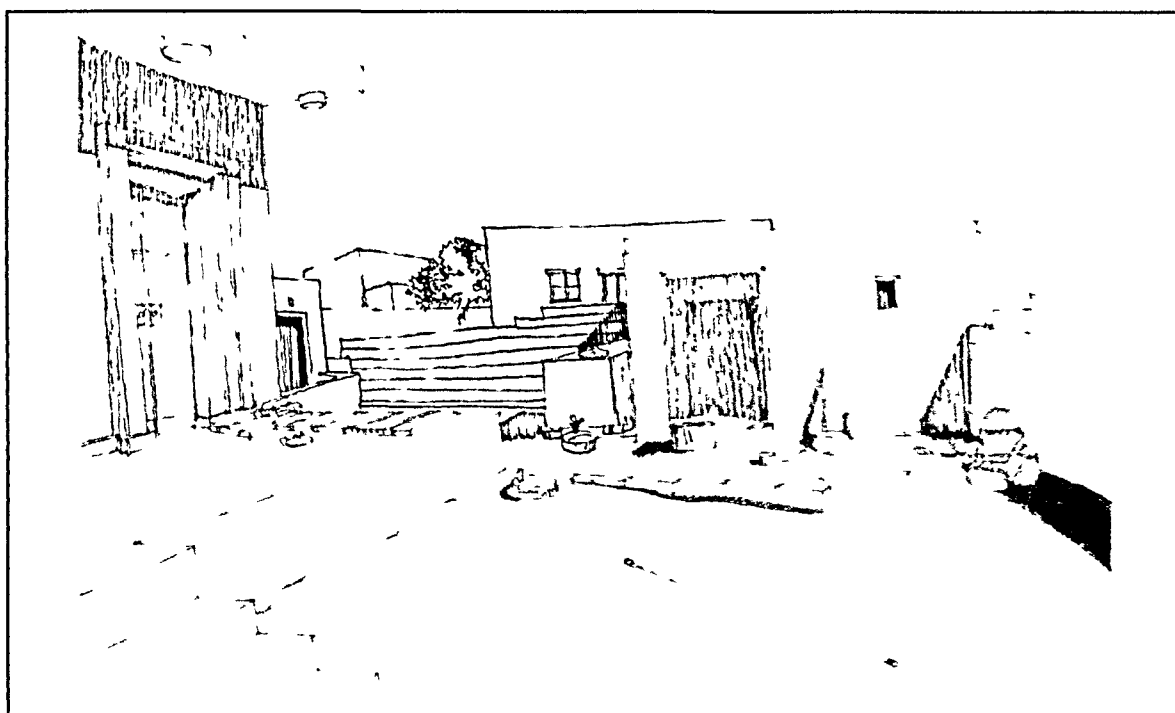


Figure (6.74): The new structure Sabbah is adding as a *merhadh*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

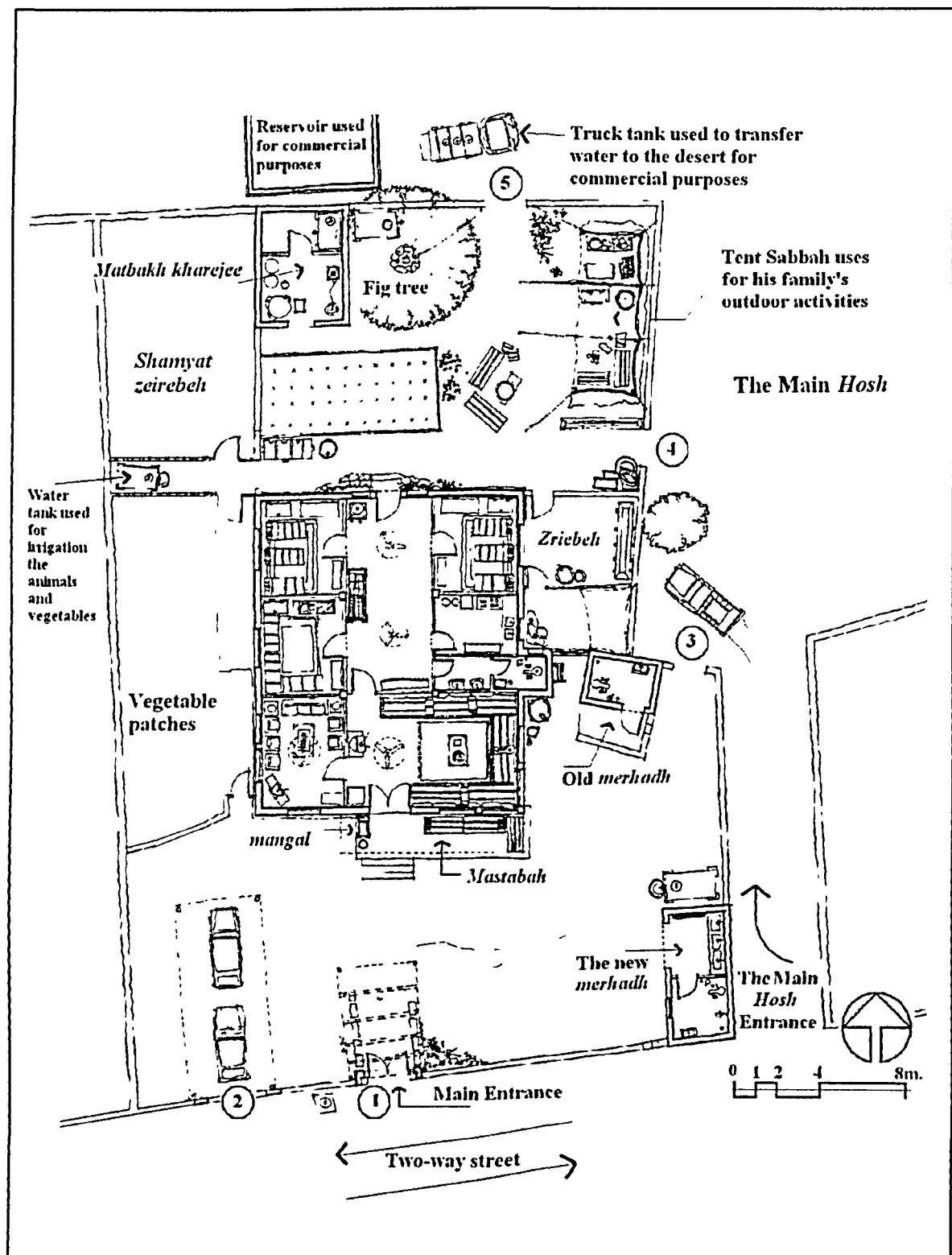


Figure (6.75): Sabbah's household floor plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

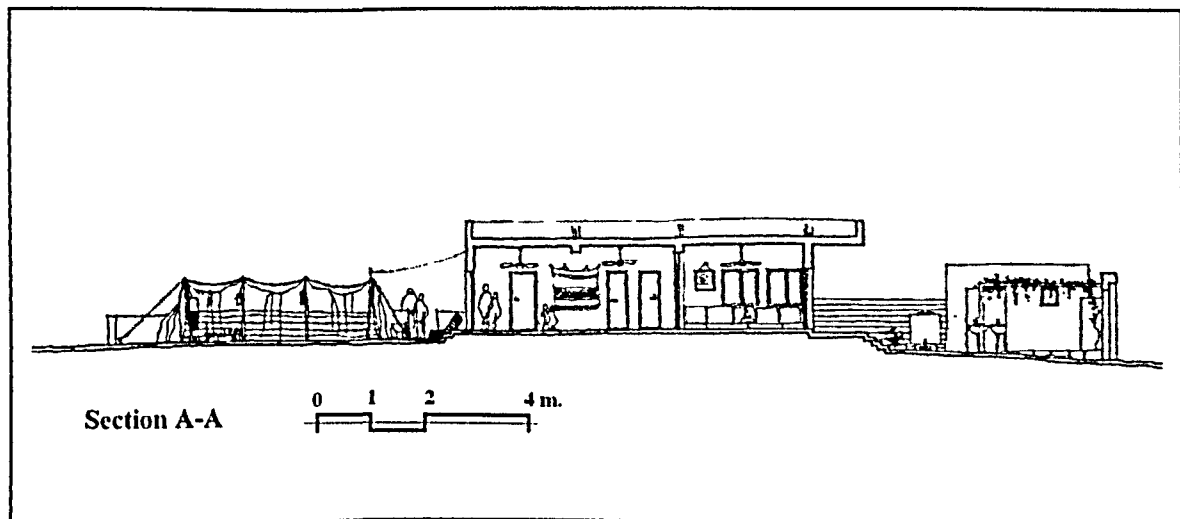
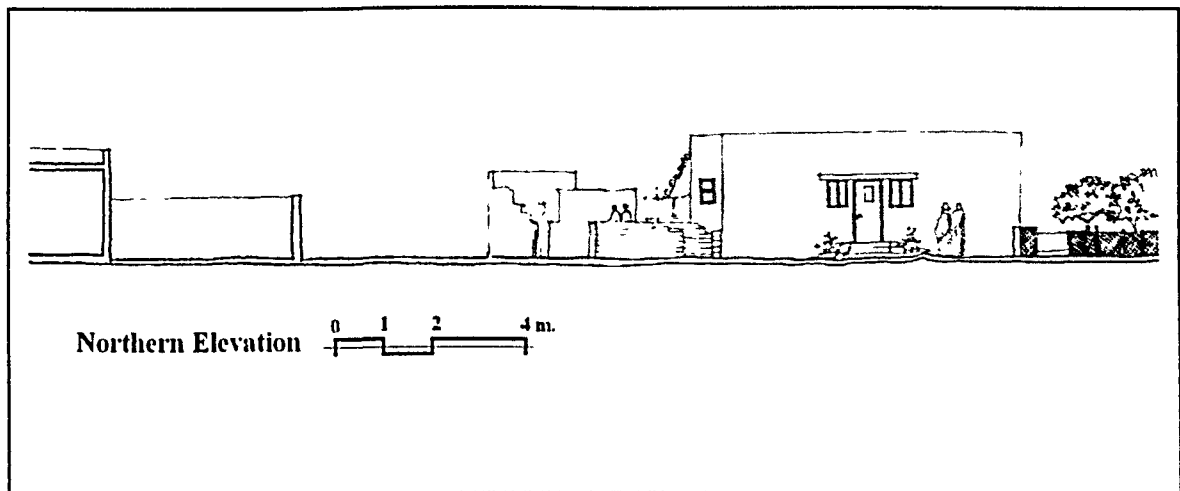
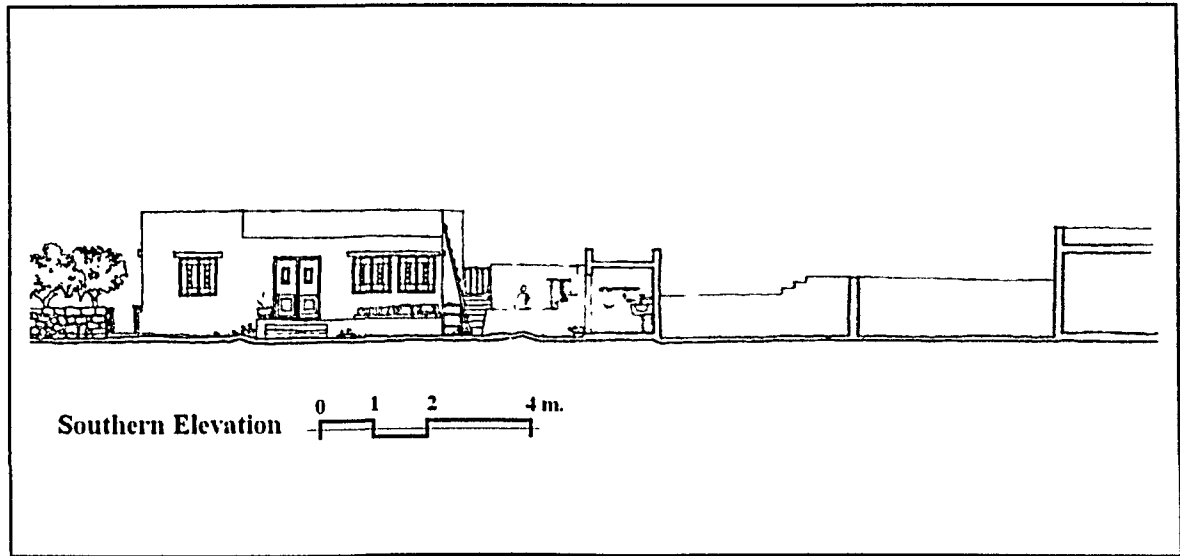


Figure (6.76): Sabbah's household's section and elevations.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

Sabbah's house is situated on the lot differently than the others in the cluster. While the rest of the houses have their main entrances facing the main *hosh*, Sabbah's entrance is facing the street. The house was inherited from E'id, Sabbah's father, where the main entrance was the back one accessible from the main *hosh*. With him being selected as *mukhtar*, Sabbah found it important to build an extension to his house to function as the *hamula's madhafah*. He found that for the household's privacy, the street side was the most convenient location for the extension. Unlike Daifallah's *madhafah*, Sabbah's has two separate rooms. The Western *madhafah* is usually locked unless an honoured guest or guests wearing western-style clothing are received. When we arrived to Sabbah's house, his son guided me to this room, but upon Sabbah's request I was seated in the Arabic *madhafah*.

As it is the *hamula's madhafah*, its furnishings are Bedouin authentic (*badawi asiel*). The *madhafah* floor is covered with hand-woven Bedouin rugs. Stuffed-wool mattresses line the walls in a U-shape arrangement. The inner side of the arrangement is decorated with a camel saddle. In the middle of the room a short-legged coffee table is located on which brass coffee pots are displayed. On the *madhafah's* walls some pictures of the Hashemite Royal Family members are displayed. The pictures are surrounded by antique rifles and swords. Along the wall, opposite to the u-arrangement, a table is arranged where the television, recorder and satellite receiver are located. The 'Western' guests' space is called the *diwan*. It is furnished in a similar way to Daifallah's western *madhafah*.

After my arrival, almost the entire cluster's men gathered in the *mukhtar's madhafah*. Ali, who is the *mukhtar's* youngest son, served the Bedouin coffee. The first cup of coffee was served to the *mukhtar*, who took a sip and gave the *finjal* back to Ali as a sign of approval that the coffee was of a good standard to be served to the guests. After, Ali continued the coffee rotation going counter clockwise in which I was the first to be served. While I was having my coffee, the *mukhtar* said: "Your father, Allah *yerhamah* (Allah bless his soul), as a tribal judge knew the importance of Bedouin coffee in solving any dispute among them".

While socializing with the *mukhtar* and his guests, the issue of the boundary walls was raised several times. The *mukhtar* suggested going to the roof of his house where a better view can be achieved. As with most of Rum Village's older houses, the *mukhtar*'s has no stair-case. Instead, his family uses a wooden ladder located next to the old *merhadh* to reach the roof. On the roof, the *mukhtar* claimed that "while constructing the boundaries, authorities gave no attention to the tribal territories. The boundaries made a clear cut between the households that belong to the same *hamula* or even the same *khamisa*".



Figure (6.77): The boundary walls built even around the vacant lots.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

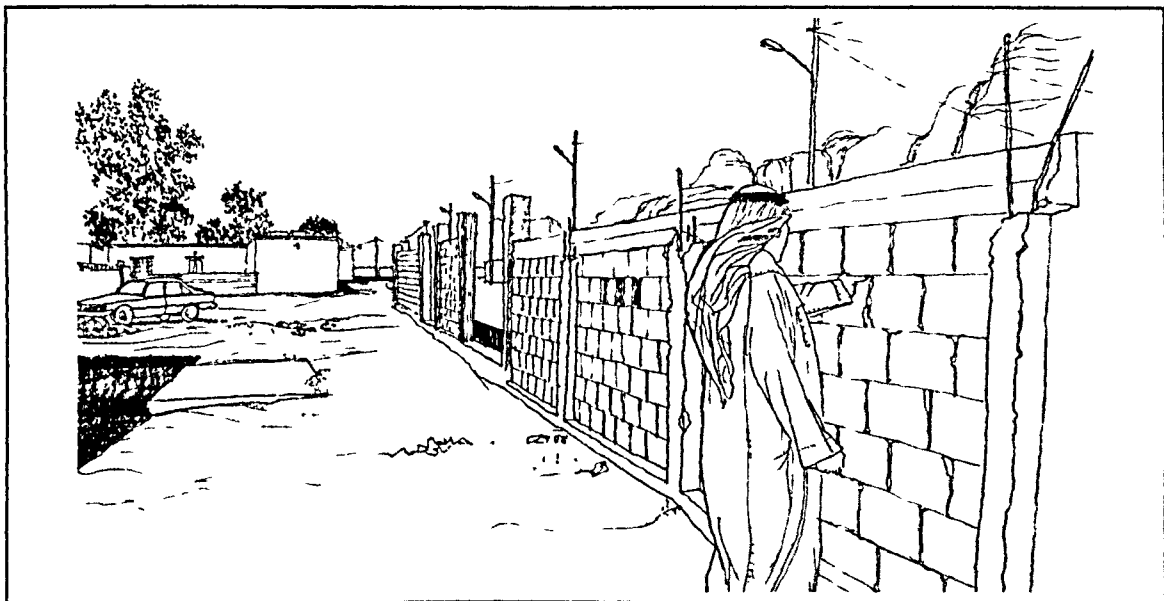


Figure (6.78): The *mukhtar* showing the bad quality of the boundary walls.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The *mukhtar* was in a dilemma because of his dual mandate as both a member of the Zalabia and a mediator between them and government. On one hand he criticized the construction of the boundary walls arguing that they isolate the Bedouin families. On the other hand, he described them as a development to enhance the village's image. The *mukhtar* expressed his fear about the Zalabia's future on several occasions. According to him, Rum Village is undergoing horrid change in which the Bedouins have been pushed into ways of living and thinking we are not used to. As a result of his dual mandate, the *mukhtar* tried to create a balance between what the government wants and what his people need. The *mukhtar*, just as the Bedouins in general, dread governments and regard them as arbitrary and cruel. For the *mukhtar*, "*Al hukomah alrab al zaghier*", literally meaning, government is like a junior God. In his opinion, "*Al hukomah ma btitalab w amrha nafith a'la al kol*", literally, there are no claims against government in which its command is law. He concluded:

We are not against change as many people think. Within the village, almost every house has a satellite dish on its roof. The village is provided with a huge antenna that rises above one of the mountains to allow the use of mobile phones. We are using jeeps instead of camels for transportation...we wear clothes just like those living in Amman. With all of these changes, we are still keeping the tents pitched in our *heshan* (sing. *hosh*). It is a reminder that having the mobile phones does not mean that we are nomadic by nature.

When we were at the *mukhtar*'s house roof, I noticed a tent pitched at the north-western side of the main *hosh*. The *mukhtar* said, "Coming Friday is the wedding day of my brother's son; we pitched the tent to receive our guests". When the *mukhtar* was asked about the marriage ceremony, it was observed that it consists of almost the same festivities that I observed in Wadi Rum's camps. The only difference observed was that the newlyweds are favoured in terms of food. On their wedding night, the groom's mother brings the couple dinner, called *lugmit is-sa'ad*, literally, the mouthful of happiness. She also brings them a good breakfast the next morning. When I asked the *mukhtar* about this, he explained that such behaviour is a new one to the Bedouins. It is the influence of the marriages of some of the Zalabia tribesmen from outside the tribe, especially from families who reside in Ma'an and other urban centres.

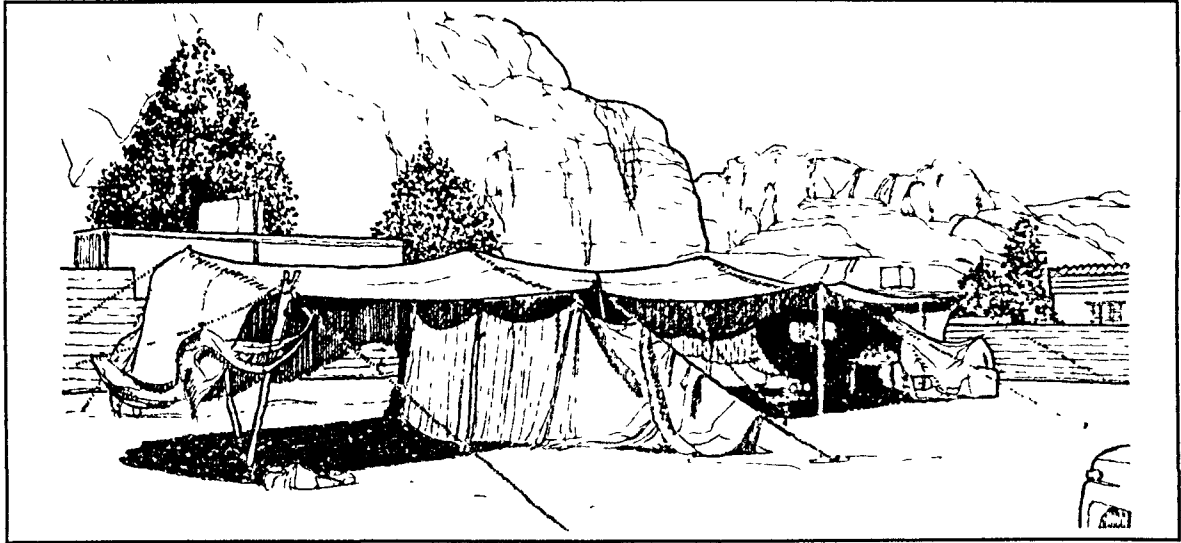


Figure (6.79): The tent pitched in the *mukhtar*'s cluster for his brother's son's wedding.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

After, the *mukhtar* asked Ali to warn the family that we would be coming to the family side to record the internal layout of the household. *Gorphet al a'ilah* occupies the central part of the family side of the household. It was bare of any furniture except the *matwa* where the mattresses, pillows and other items were stacked. Also, a book-shelf was located along the wall that separates the *a'ilah* from the *madhafah*. There is a cooler at the opposite corner to provide the *mukhtar*'s family and his guests with cold water. The room also has a ceiling fan. During winter, it is heated by a kerosene heater situated in the centre of the room. Its chimney pipes pass through the walls under the ceiling level of the two bedrooms to provide them with some heat.

Within the *mukhtar*'s *sahha*, a three spaces tent was pitched facing west. According to the *mukhtar*:

Nowadays, tents within our *sahas* are not meant to be our permanent homes. Tents are more of a message to younger generations that we are still Bedouins even after we have settled in concrete houses. We spend most of our time outside the concrete houses under the tents' shade. Here, Bedouins feel the freedom that they almost lost. For us, the sky and its stars are a better roof than the concrete one.

Interestingly, the tent was furnished to function as *gorphet al a'ilah*. Between the two central poles of the tent, an electrical lamp was hung to provide the tent with light during night time. Daifallah said that it is a common practice to move the television to the *sahha* so the family can watch their programs under the tent. In addition, the tent is equipped with some of the old oil lamps and flash lights.

Within the *sahha*, another interesting observation was recorded. Within the *sahha* there were two external kitchens. The first kitchen is located in the north-western corner of the lot. It is a cement block structure which is located independently from the house. The second *matbakh kharjee* is part of the tent. It is well equipped, since it is the one that is used more frequently than either the *matbakh dakhelee* or the one located in the tent. The family used it for cooking on hot summer days. Within this kitchen, there were two small cylindrical washing machines. One of them was labelled with a red painted cross. The *mukhtar* explains that the family uses these machines for washing clothes and preparing dairy products. The un-labelled machine is used to wash clothing, which then can be dried on the clotheslines fixed between the fig tree and a metal post fixed to the boundary wall.

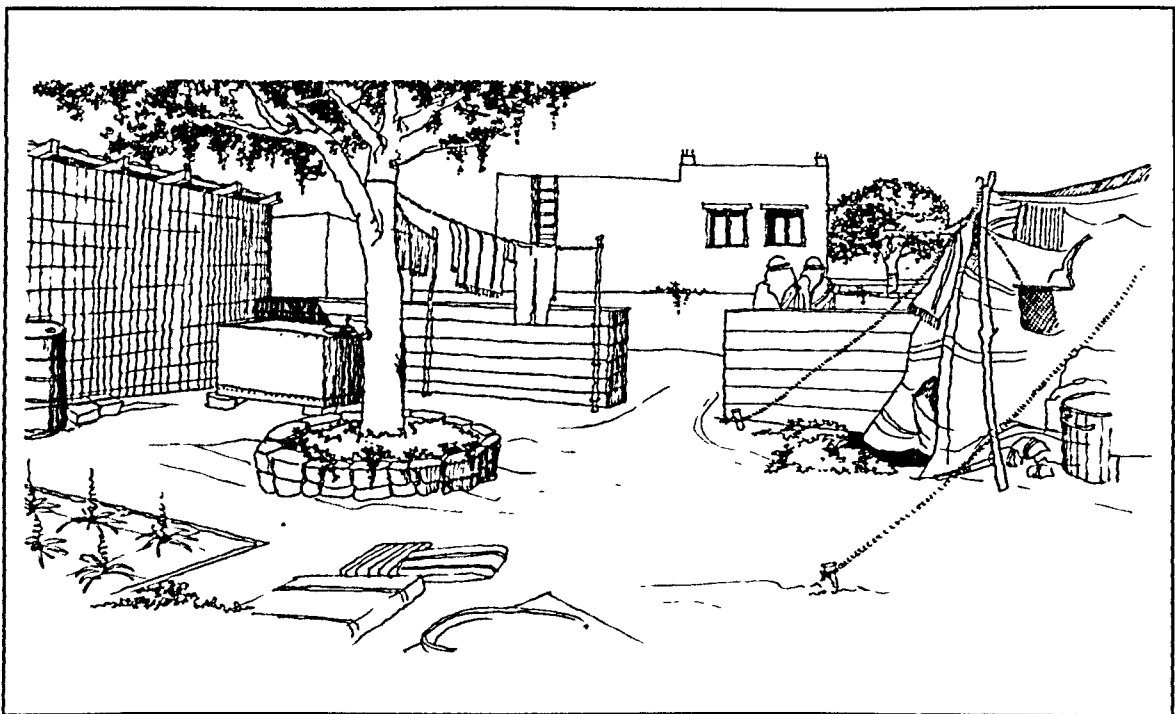


Figure (6.80): Some details of the tent pitched within the household's *sahha*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

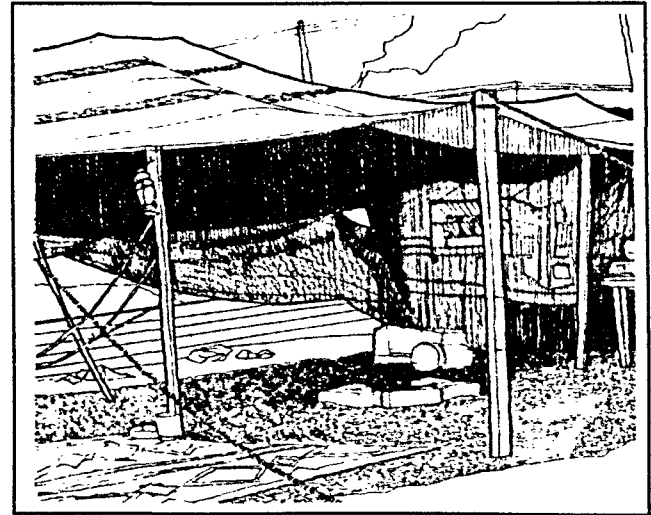
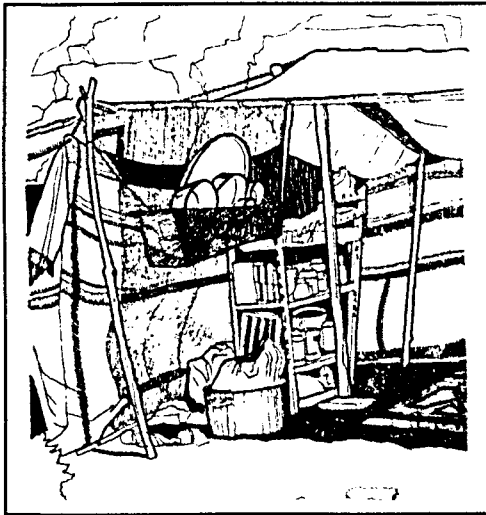


Figure (6.81): Some details of the tent pitched within the household's *sahha*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

On the Bedouin ceremonial occasions such as marriage, large quantities of food are usually cooked. While attending Majed's wedding, I noticed that the activity was done by men belonging to the *mukhtar's khamsa*. By the end of Majed's marriage ceremony, more than fifty *Mansaf* dishes were served to the *mukhtar's* guests. The tent was furnished with mattresses in two rows and the dishes were placed between them. Three water tanks were placed beside the tent where the guests washed their hands after the feast. After the feast, the guests also gave Majed the *nuqut* (marriage gift), a practice that I already observed in one of the marriage celebrations within the Bedouin camps.

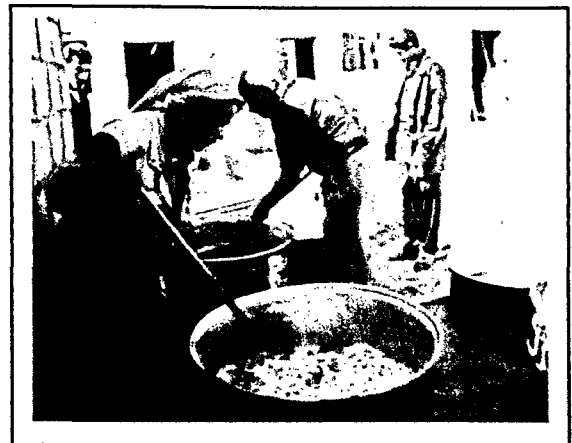


Figure (6.82): Showing the men's involvement in cooking on ceremonial occasions.

Source: Erga's pictorial collection, 2004.

The family owns two kinds of goats that they keep in separate pens. In addition to the ordinary black goats, they also own a special kind of goat called *shamyat* (Syrian brand). These are isolated in a special pen to prevent the black goats from butting them with their horns. The pen is located in the north-western corner of the *sahha*. Because of the animals, the family was unable to plant any kind of vegetation in the *sahha* except for some shade trees. Sabbah fenced in the western side yard as a protected area where some fruit trees, vegetables and herb patches were planted. The animals are watered and the patches are irrigated from the same water tank which is fed by a water pipe coming from the main municipality's water pipes.

To construct an understanding about Sabbah's cluster composition, and how the arrangement of households has been affected by the Bedouins' socio-cultural background, the following section documents some of Sabbah's siblings' households.

6.5.5 Mohammad Sabbah E'id Zalabia Household:

Mohammad is in his mid 40's. He is married to his cousin, *bent a'mm*, and has five children, two boys and three girls. In addition to his business in the construction industry, Mohammad owns a Toyota pick-up and works as a tourist guide. Mohammad's house is newly built of cement blocks covered by greenish plaster. It has two access points. The first connects Mohammad's *hosh* with the main cluster's *hosh*. The second is the household access from the street. It is Mohammad's car and pickup port that leads to the household *sahha* and *hosh*.

The significant feature in Mohammad's house is that there are two external doors at his *madkhal*. While Mohammad came from the door facing the *hosh* for greeting, he invited the research team and their company to enter the other door that leads to his 'Western' *madhafah*. "This is the visitor's entrance. I meet many tourists for my business, and they are received in this *diwan*". When he was asked about the use of the word *diwan*, Mohammad said: "*diwan* is more appropriate to describe my visitors' room...it is furnished as any *diwan* in any Jordanian city". Because Mohammad's wife was receiving some female guests, he asked Jumana to join them in *gorphet al a'ilah*.

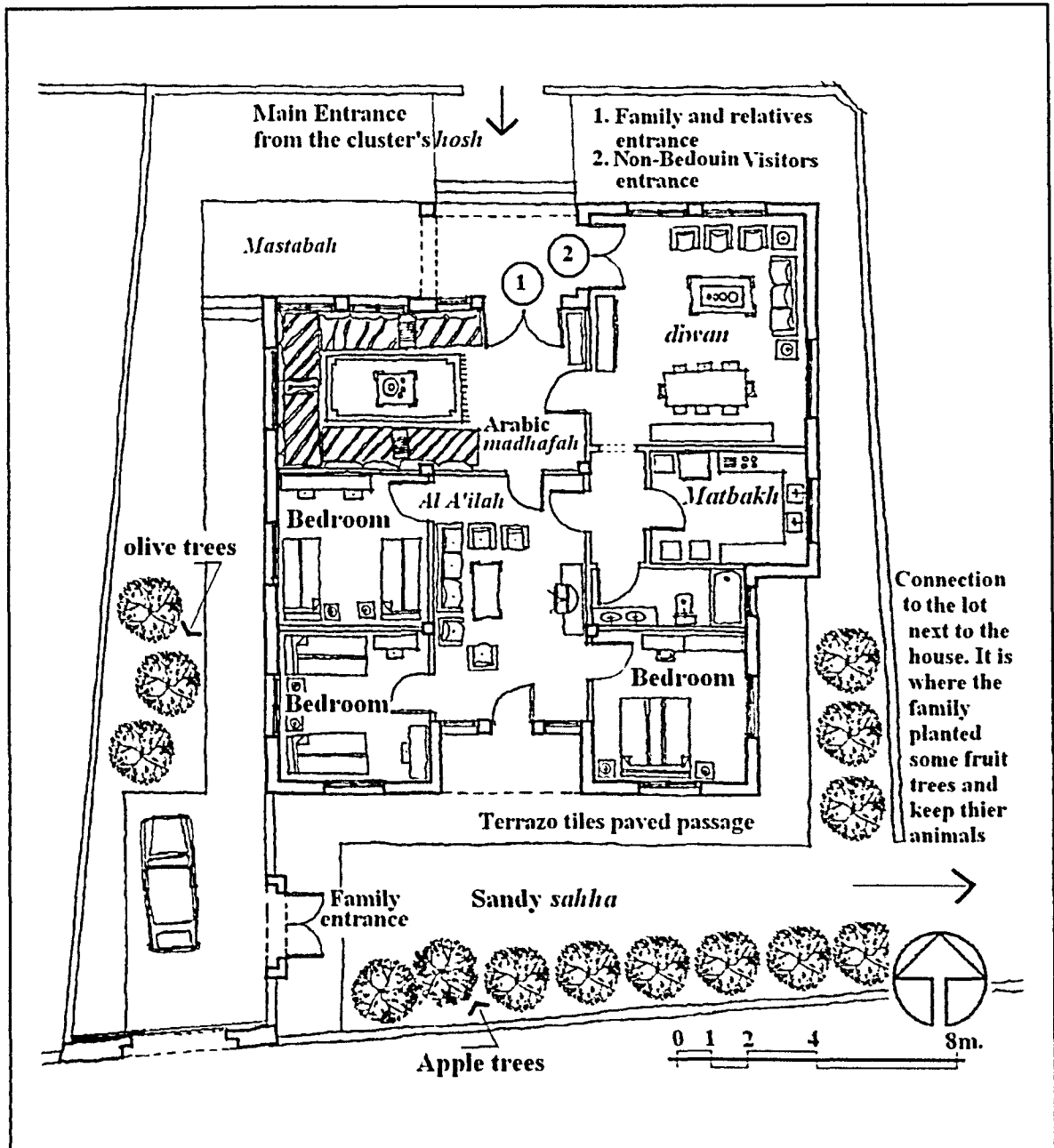


Figure (6.83) Mohammad's household's floor plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Mohammad's *diwan* is furnished with comfortable armchairs arranged in an L-shape around a fancy table and a dining table that could seat eight visitors at a time. The room is connected to the kitchen and the guest's toilet by a corridor. The entrance to the corridor is covered by a curtain to maintain Mohammad's family privacy. Mohammad's

house has only an internal toilet, *hammam*. Guests use the corridor to reach the *hammam*. Meanwhile, Mohammad makes sure that the kitchen door and the door that connects the kitchen with the *a'ilah* is closed to keep his family members' privacy.

After receiving the Bedouin's hospitality, coffee and then sweet tea, I asked for the host's permission to see the rest of the household. Through an internal door located next to the *diwan*'s main entrance, Mohammad took me to the Arabic *madhafah*. According to Mohammad, "It is part of the Bedouin culture. It is the space that we are proud of; it's the meeting place of my *khamisa* members and my Bedouin friends". Mohammad's *madhafah* is furnished with a decorative Persian rug and mattresses that form a U-shape around a low fancy table. On top of the table, a shiny set of brass coffee containers were located. Surprisingly, a rack was located next to the main door to place the guests' shoes.

Although Mohammad's house has a modern appearance, its internal layout is a replica of that in the tent. The house is divided into two zones, the men's section (*madhafah* and *diwan*) and the women's section (*a'ilah*). The *a'ilah* consists of the central *salah* (*gorphet al a'ilah*), bedrooms (*owadh noom*) and a kitchen (*matbakh dakhelee*). Unlike the other households recorded which were furnished with mattresses, Mohammad's *gorphet al a'ilah* is furnished with comfortable chairs arranged in a U-shape centred towards the television cabinet. The kitchen is well equipped when compared to the rest of the households that were investigated. Within the kitchen, a washing machine and dryer are located along its southern wall. This justifies the fact that no clotheslines were observed, within either the *sahha* or the side yards. The kitchen is also equipped with a refrigerator and a horizontal freezer. The *a'ilah* side is connected to a fenced-in *sahha*, which is also accessible from the driveway.

The *sahha* is used as a family gathering area as well as a playground for Mohammad's young children. Part of it is used as a fruit garden where Mohammad's family planted apple trees along the southern and western sides of the boundary wall. Another significant feature in Mohammad's household is the lack of any temporary structures that might be

used for animals or storage areas. Mohammad justified the lack of temporary structures as the following:

My family has everything they need within the house. The lot next to my house was bought from my father a few years ago. It will be my household expansion in the future when it is needed. Currently, we are using it as a garden. We keep our animals there. We have few *shamyat* and some sheep which gives the family the needed amount of milk. We are close to the market in the village and even when we want something that is not locally available, Ma'an or Aqaba are not too far from here.

Jumana, while socializing with Mohammad's wife and her female guests, was recording some of the conversations that these women were exchanging. One of these topics was the women's involvement in Rum village's public activities. Among them, there was an agreement that women's position is to stay home looking for the household and raising children. Mohammad's wife did not agree with the fact that men of Rum Village are the primary source of employment income to the households. According to Mohammad's wife, the phenomenon is related to three reasons. First, women are less educated than men and are therefore less qualified for many jobs, especially government employment. Second are the restrictions on women's mobility and public visibility, and finally, there are limited job opportunities available in Rum Village, therefore, for gender bias, these opportunities are given to the Zalabia males.

The logical question is: how do the women of Rum Village feel about working outside their households? Observations made in this fieldwork indicate that Rum Village's women regard working outside their households in different ways. Apart from the young and educated women, most of the women interviewed viewed their households as somewhere that they have no need to get away from. As stated by Mohammad's wife:

This can be related to the following: firstly, women are not obliged to seek employment outside their homes. According to the societal norms, it's the men's duty to support the household needs. Secondly, the ideology of honour (*sharaf*) teaches a woman to regard the home as the place where she feels secure and important.

6.5.6 Ali Sabbah Zalabia Household:

Ali Sabbah Zalabia, the *mukhtar*'s youngest son, is in his mid 30's and works as a tourist guide. He lives with his nuclear family that consists of his wife, newly born son and his mother. Ten years ago, when Sabbah entered into his second marriage, Ali's mother decided to move in with his family. Ali's family lives in a cement block house covered with greyish plaster. The house's main entrance is facing the cluster's *hosh*. It has a second back access from the surrounding street that Ali uses as a carport.

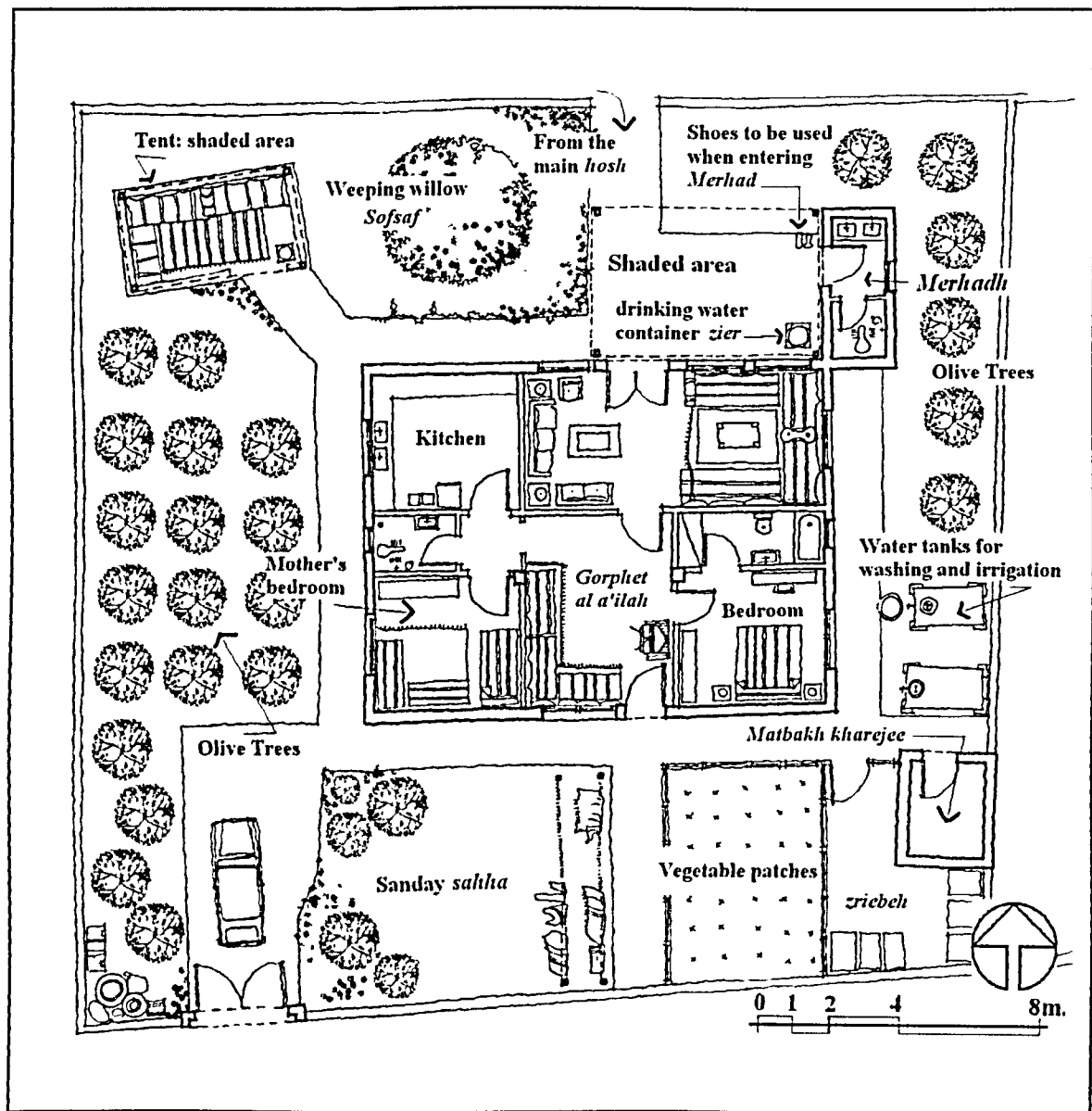


Figure (6.84): Ali Sabbah Zalabia household's plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

As Ali was informed that I would be visiting his household, the shaded area that Ali built in his *hosh* was furnished with mattresses that took an L-shape arrangement. There, I met Ali's mother who described the shaded area in a very intimate way, according to Ali's mother:

...*ya bnayee* (my son) I cannot stay all the day inside the house; it is nice but crowded and I need fresh air. During summer days, I live outside under this tent....I would like to do the same in winter, but Ali, Allah *yerdha a'leh* (God bless him) always insists to keep me warm inside the house."

Later, Ali's father in-law joined the gathering. He was accompanied with his brother who brought his *rababah* and played some Bedouin music.

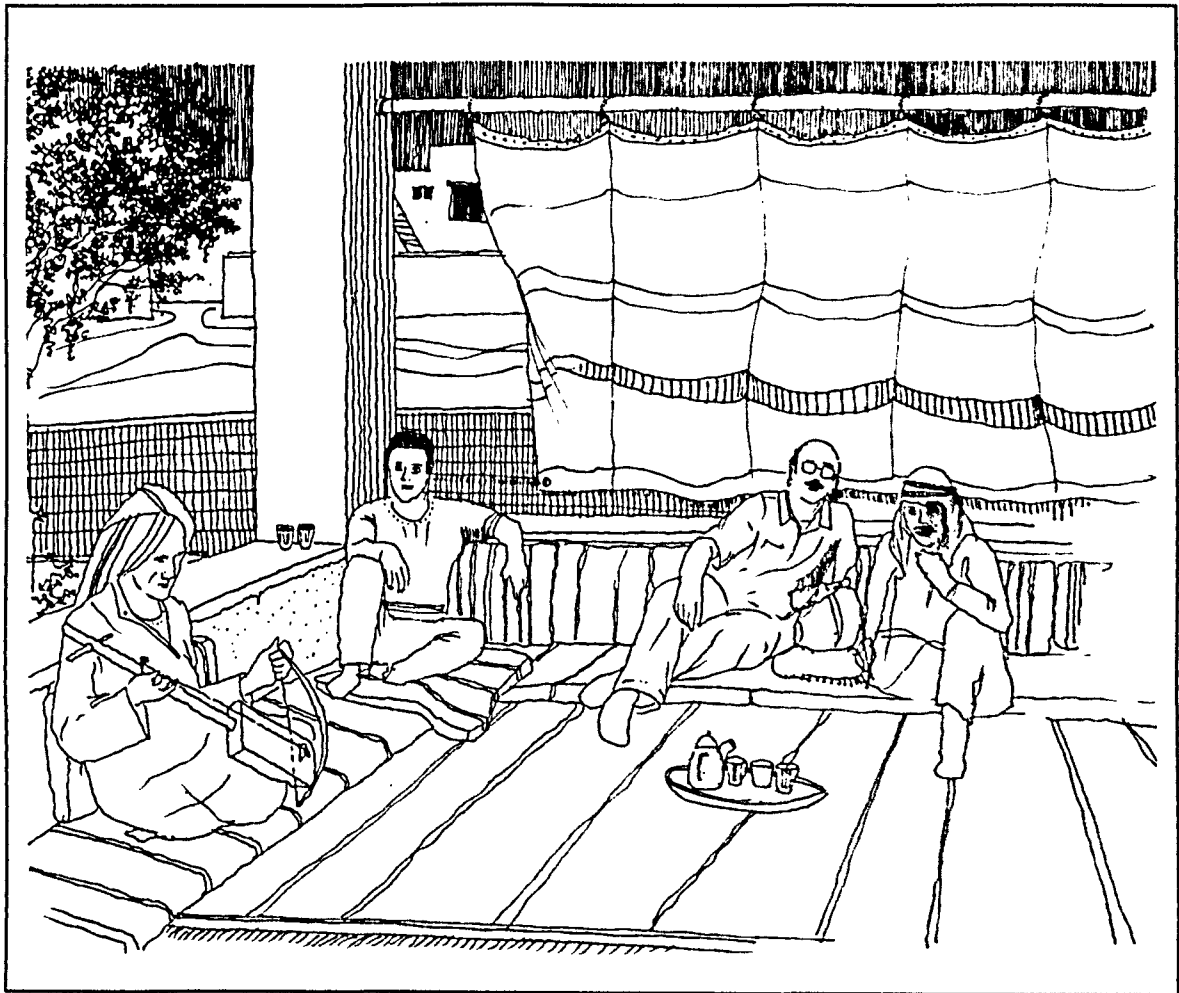


Figure (6.85): The shaded area located in the north-western side of the lot.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Before going to the *madhafah* as Ali suggested, I asked to have a tour around the house. It was noticed that the entrance to the house was roofed by a sun-shade supported by a metal framework. The sun-shade was made of a heavy dark greenish coloured fabric. Under the shade, the floor was paved by cement tiles. From the shaded area, the guest toilet can be approached. It contains a washing area consisting of two washing basins and a *merhadh* equipped with an oriental fixture, water tap and *ibreeg*. Ali commented about this arrangement in which he said: "I am not happy with this, but it's what I saw in the village before building my own house. During winter days, it is not comfortable to go outside the *madhafah* every time one wants to go to the toilet". As suggested by some of his guests, Ali was thinking of changing the location of the *merhadh* to be accessible from within the *madhafah* area. At the corner of Ali's house and the *merhadh*, a *zier* was located to provide cold drinking water.

Ali's household *sahha* can be approached from the side yards, *gorphet al a'ilah* and the car port. In the *sahha*, there is a hut made of unfinished cement blocks and roofed by metal sheets. Ali's family usually cooks outside the house. Unhappily, Ali described this unfinished building as follows:

It is the place where my mother does *khubez shrak*...she prefers this kitchen to the one inside the house. She always says that this one is hers while the *matbakh dakhelee* is my wife's...two different generational ideas, I am almost lost between them...I cannot disobey my mother, but at the same time we are the young generation and we want to be like you, we want to have a modern life-style like any of the city dwellers.

Behind the *matbakh kharjee* is an enclosure made of metal sheets supported by wooden posts. These posts are about a meter and a half in height and about 10 centimetres in diameter and form the animal's pen (*zriebeh*). According to Ali, it is a source of conflict between him and his old mother. While touring around the house, Ali was embarrassed by the existence of this enclosure. He expressed this embarrassment as the following: "We live near a main street and everyone can see this enclosure. I cannot convince my mother to give up this thing. We had problems because of it, but she cannot live without it". On a daily basis, the mother's *shamyat* are taken to the pasture with Mohammad's animals. As

the *shamyat* loves vegetables, Ali was forced to fence in his vegetable patches. Next to the patches is the sandy *sahha*. At its western edge, some apple trees are planted, but are not yet mature enough to produce. At the other edge, two metal frames are fixed into the ground. A plastic rope is fixed between them to function as a clothesline. The household side yards are planted with olive trees. Near *matbakh kharjee* are two water tanks the family uses for irrigating the vegetable patches, as well as washing clothes and dirty dishes. With the help of some of the cluster's women, Ali's mother picks the olives. Ali takes them to the press located in Aqaba to produce pure olive oil for the family's consumption. The olive seeds can be crushed by the press to be used as fuel for the fire when doing the *shrak*.

Gorphet al a'ilah is furnished with mattresses that take an L-shape arrangement. It was observed that there was no *matwa*. At the room's north-eastern corner a corridor is located to separate the kitchen from Ali's mother bedroom. The kitchen is equipped with a stove, refrigerator and washing machine. The mother's room consists of a single bed and two mattresses arranged in L-shape to be used as her private sitting room. Ali's and his wife's bedroom was a surprise. The room has its own bathroom which is an unusual arrangement in the village. Although Ali's house is smaller than his brother's, it has two bathrooms. In addition to Ali's private bathroom, another one is located between the kitchen and the mother's bedroom.

Ali's wife finished her high school at Rum Village. After, she was appointed as a teacher at the same school. In Rum Village, a girl's education is highly related to her family's socio-economic status. Girls of the very highest status *hamula* are educated to a high school or college level. Many of the female teachers in the village are drawn from the elite *hamulas*. Ali's wife lived in Aqaba with her uncle's family while studying at the teachers' college. She realized that in Aqaba "girls have more access and more freedom to decide for themselves...they can eat in public". Here, it is important to note that, eating in the street is perceived as shameful (*a'ib*). As informed by some of the research informants, in the past, Bedouin women never ate with their male in-laws, but such customs are now disappearing.

6.5.7 Ali Atieq Zalabia Household:

This house is an example of houses built by the Bedouins to prove their land ownership (placing hand). It was built into two stages. The first consists of two rooms made facing the village's main commercial spine. The rooms are accessible from a *mastabah* running along the rooms' eastern wall. At the *mastabah*'s two corners, two concrete columns were constructed to carry the room, which was never done.

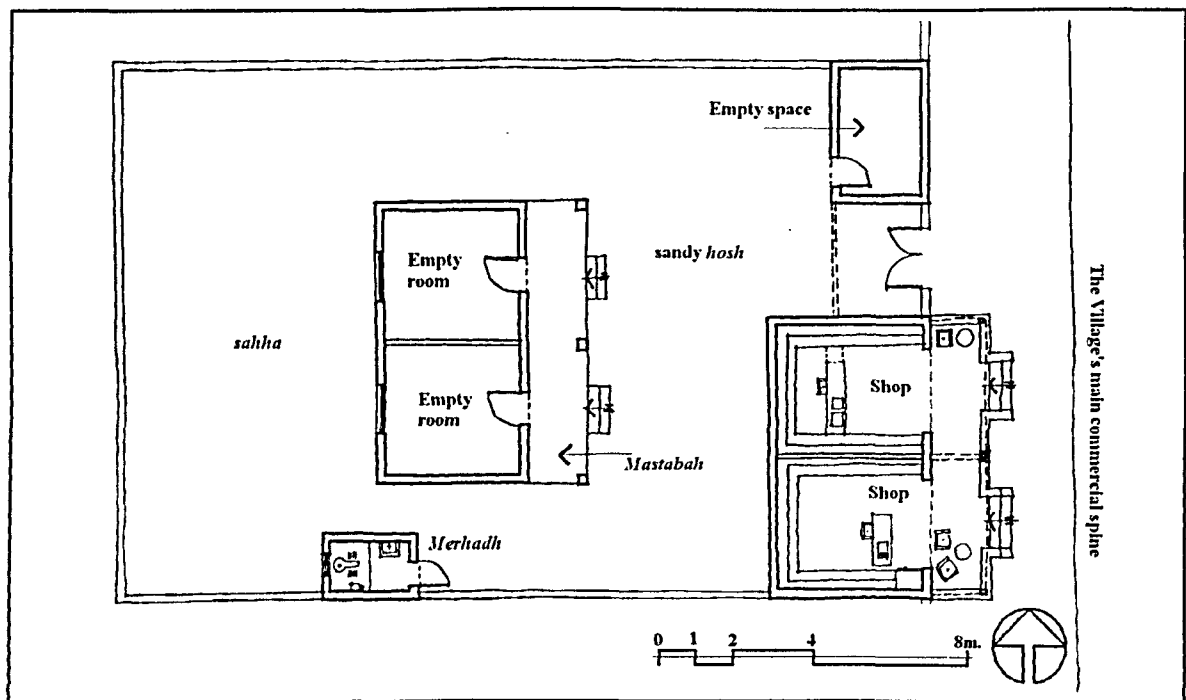


Figure (6.86): Ali Atieq Zalabia *hosh*, showing the rooms that he is using as shops.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

As part of the second stage, Ali constructed two rooms at the eastern boundary of the lot. The two rooms are used as shops in which one of them is administered by Ali. It specializes in selling climbing items and tourist guide books. After this was built, two small structures were added to the complex. The first is next to the shops, while the other is beside the original rooms to function as a *merhadh* serving the shops.

6.5.8 Majed Salman Zalabia Household:

Majed is in his late 50's. He has four children; two sons (Mahmoud and Nassar) and two daughters. Majed's wife was diagnosed with blood cancer. She died in 2001, about 6 months after her diagnosis. His two daughters are married and reside in the same area. They take turns looking after their father and un-married brothers. While Nassar is employed by the new Victors' Centre, Mahmoud is working with his father as a jeep driver and tour guide. He is usually hired by tourism operators and guides. Majed has two houses within the village. While this house was built to claim the land around it (*Wada' alyad*), the other was inherited from his father.

The house is located in the south-eastern part of Rum Village. It is built of unfinished cement blocks. The house is about twenty years old. It was built in two stages. The first consists of three row-rooms and a small structure located at the north-eastern corner of the lot. The structure serves as the family's kitchen, *hammam* and storage area. When tourism became the main source of income for Nasser's family, he built his *madhafah* to receive tourists.

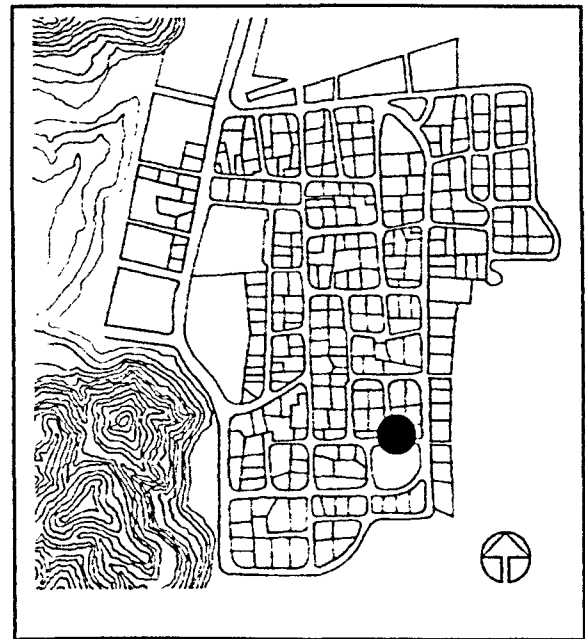


Figure (6.87): Majed's household location.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The household is surrounded by a pinkish plastered boundary wall as part of the walls built by the authority. It has two entrances leading to the *hosh*. The *hosh* is sandy except for the *mastabah* area. The *mastabah* is running along the wall of the three rooms and the *madhafah*. It is elevated about fifty centimetres above the *hosh's* sandy floor. Within the *hosh*, a tent was pitched. It was furnished with some mattresses, where Majed and his son Mahmoud receive their tourist groups.

The central room is the *a'ilah*, where Majed sleeps. The other two rooms are occupied by his two sons. After Majed got a warning notice that the structure located at the north-eastern corner of the lot was illegally built, he decided to add a fourth room to the original row-house to function as the household kitchen, *merhadh* and *hammam*, but he did not finish it. The reason as described by Majed: "after I got the verbal warning, we decided to build another room for house services. After we finished the columns and the concrete roof, we got a written warning that the whole house was illegally built, so we stopped working...since then we are using the room's concrete roof as a sun-shade".

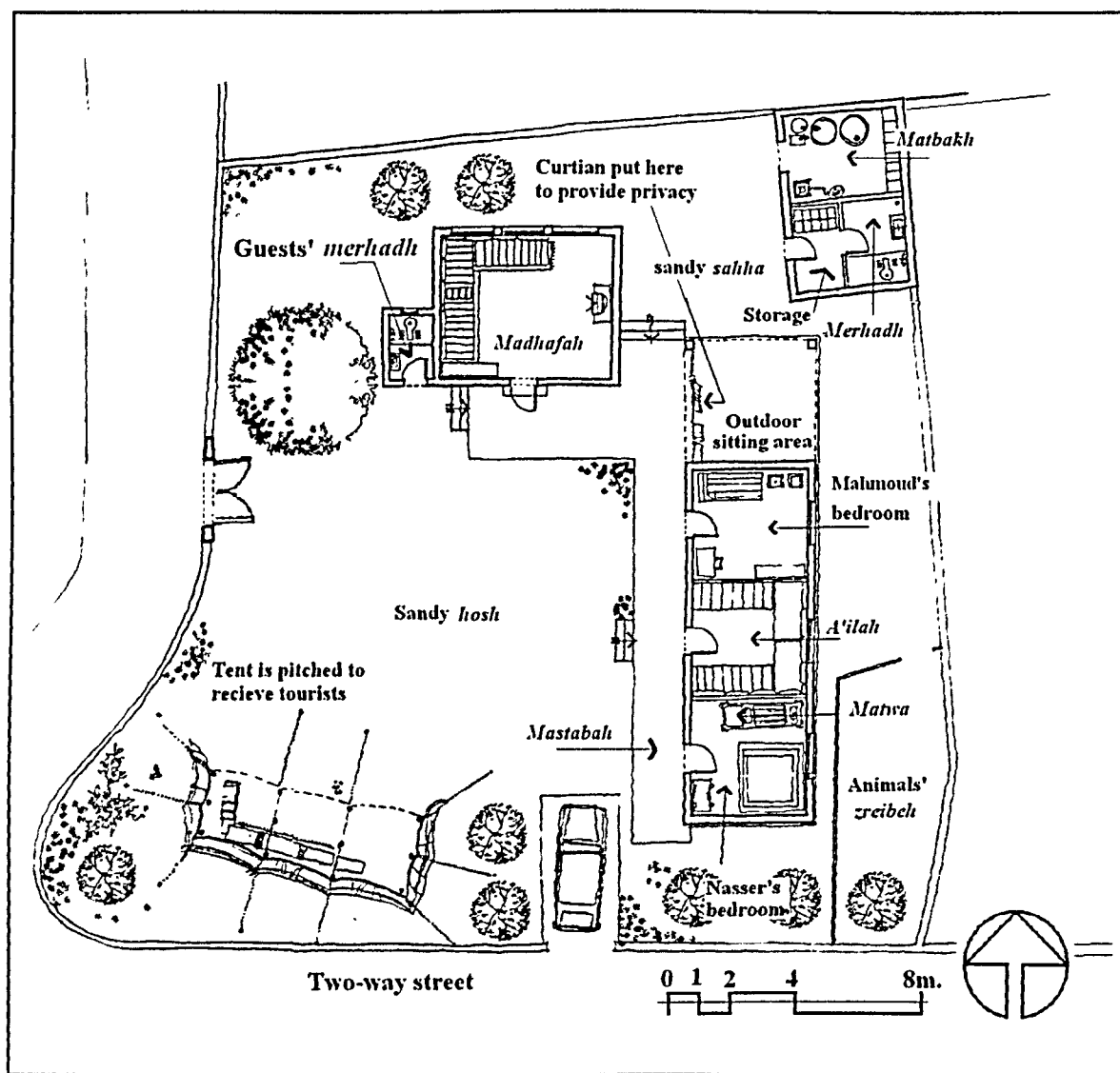


Figure (6.88): Majed Salman Zalabia household location and floor plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2003.

After several visits, it was observed that the north-eastern part of the household is the most active. There, many of the family's household activities take place. The daughters, who come at least three times a week to look after their father and brothers, use this space for cooking, making bread and cleaning dishes. As they are responsible for their own families, whenever they have time to socialize with their father, the daughters sit under the sun-shade. It was noticed that a curtain is hung between the two columns to provide the users' needed privacy.

The significance of Majed's house is the sitting of the *madhafah*. In contrast to the houses recorded, Majed's was isolated from the house by a distance. When I was received at the *madhafah*, the space was bare of any furniture rather than an old plastic rug decorated with some floral patterns and a table where the television is kept. Mattresses were brought from the *a'ilah* section. Mahmoud arranged them in an L-shape arrangement. Before entering the *a'ilah* and the *madhafah*, everyone is obliged to take the shoes off, as these are the places where Majed prays.

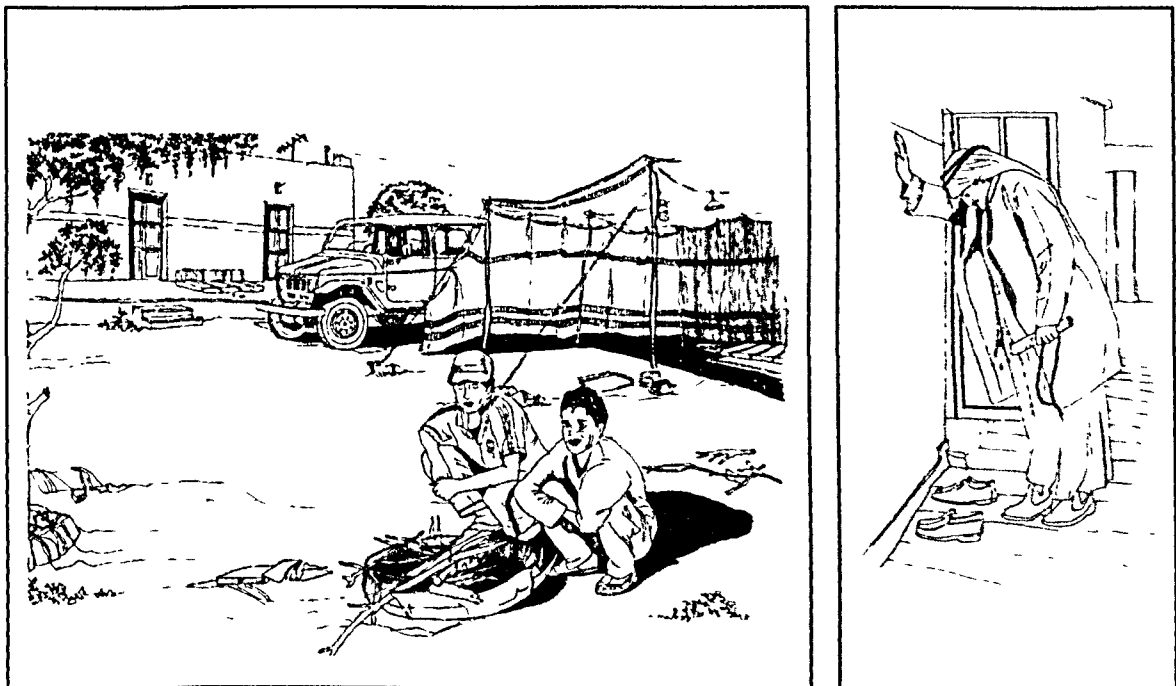


Figure (6.89): Majed's *hosh*, showing the tent and the row-rooms. The second shows the place, outside the *madhafah*, where everyone is obliged to take off shoes.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

5.3.9 Matlaq Alyan Zalabia and his son Ahmad:

The two houses are located at the south-western edge of Rum village. Matlaq is in his mid 60s. He had two wives, four children; two sons and two daughters. All of Matlaq's sons built their own houses around his lot. After marriage, the girls moved to live with their husbands within Rum Village. To keep his deceased brother's children within the family, Matlaq's second marriage was his brother's widow.

Matlaq's house was built in the mid 1970s. It was built in two stages. The first consists of three row-rooms. The central one is the distributor to the others. While the central one is the household main *a'ilah* room and the place where Matlaq sleeps, the side rooms both function as other *a'ilah* rooms to accommodate the requirements of the two wives. The second stage was built in the mid 1980s. It is a five by six meters room designated as the household *madhafah*.

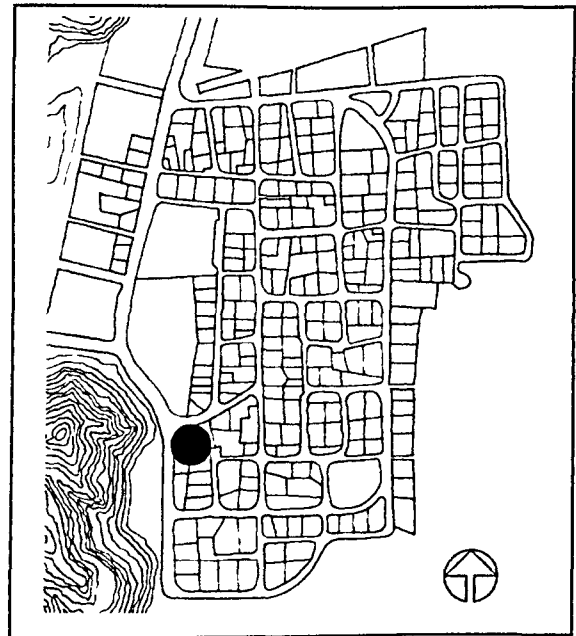


Figure (6.90): Matlaq's household.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

As the lot is served by two streets, the household has two entrances. The northern entrance is designated for the household guests, while the western entrance is for family and relatives. The significant feature in Matlaq's house is that he made the *sahha* in the front side of the household visible from the street. To give the *sahha* the needed privacy, Matlaq inserted steel poles on top of the boundary wall. In between the poles he fixed a heavy greenish garment to function as a visual barrier. The household *sahha* contains a tent that the family uses as a sun-shade. The tent is furnished with some mattresses of poor condition. At the north-western corner of the tent, the *zier* is located to provide the family with the needed cool drinking water.

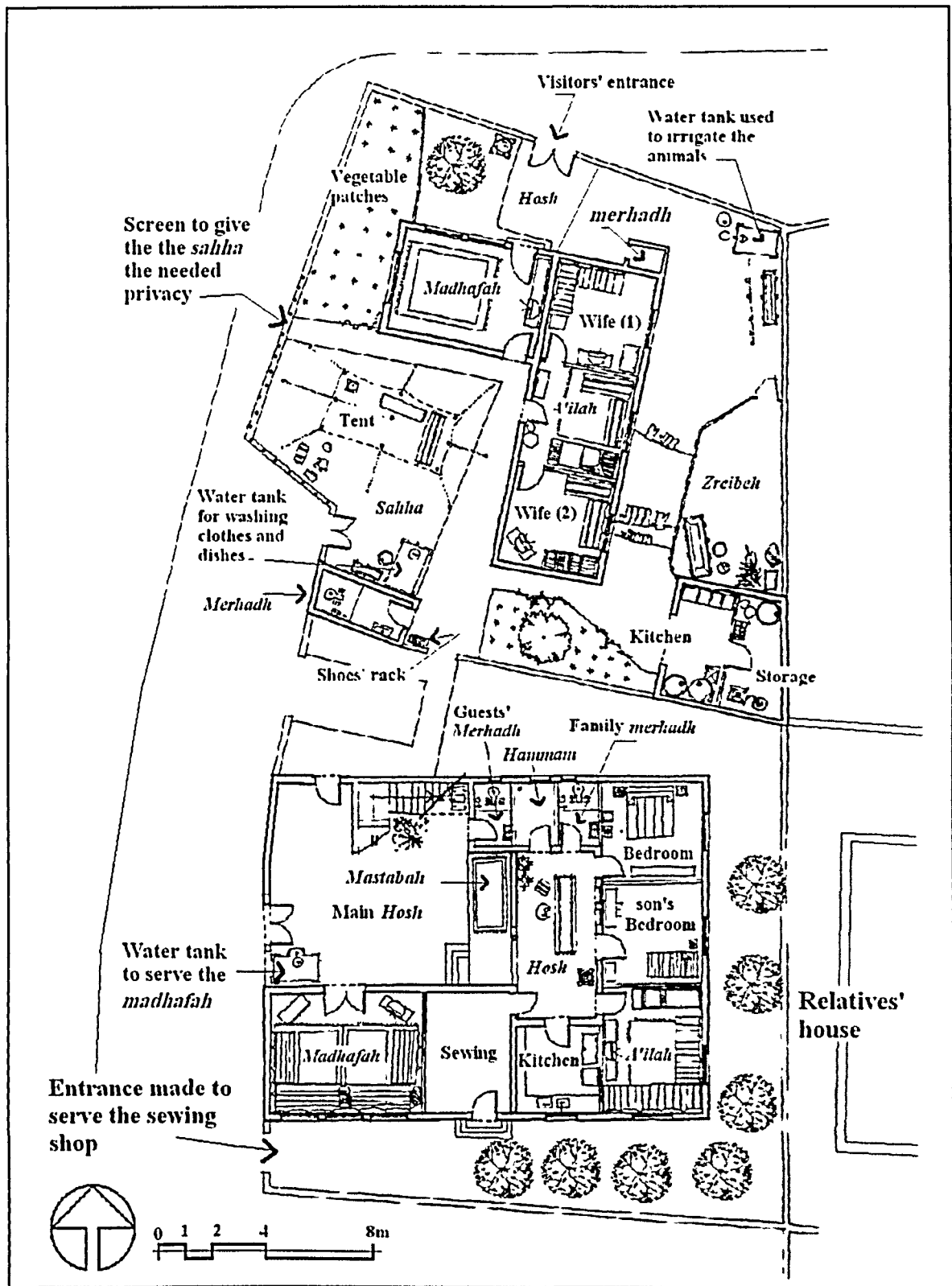


Figure (6.91): Matlaq Zalabia and his son Ahmad households' floor plans.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

At the south-western corner of the *sahha*, the family's toilet is located. It consists of two parts; washroom and a *merhadh*. Here, it is important to note that it was the only case where the *merhadh* is located next to the main road. Next to it, a water tank is located, where washing clothes and cleaning dishes takes place. Clotheslines are located behind the house, knotted between the windows metal frames and wooden posts as part of the *zriebeh*'s wall.

The south-eastern corner of Matlaq's lot is occupied by unfinished cement blocks covered by metal sheets. To keep the metal sheets in place, some cement blocks are placed over. It is the family's *matbakh* and storage. The structure is divided into two parts. The first is where the family keeps stacks of vegetables in one side and fuel barrels in the other. The second part is where they have a movable propane gas burner and some plastic barrels that contain olive oil and different staples, such as rice and lentil. Beside the kitchen, as well as at the north-western corner of the lot, the family has vegetable patches. It provides the family with needed vegetables such as tomato, onion, potatoes, beans and cucumbers.

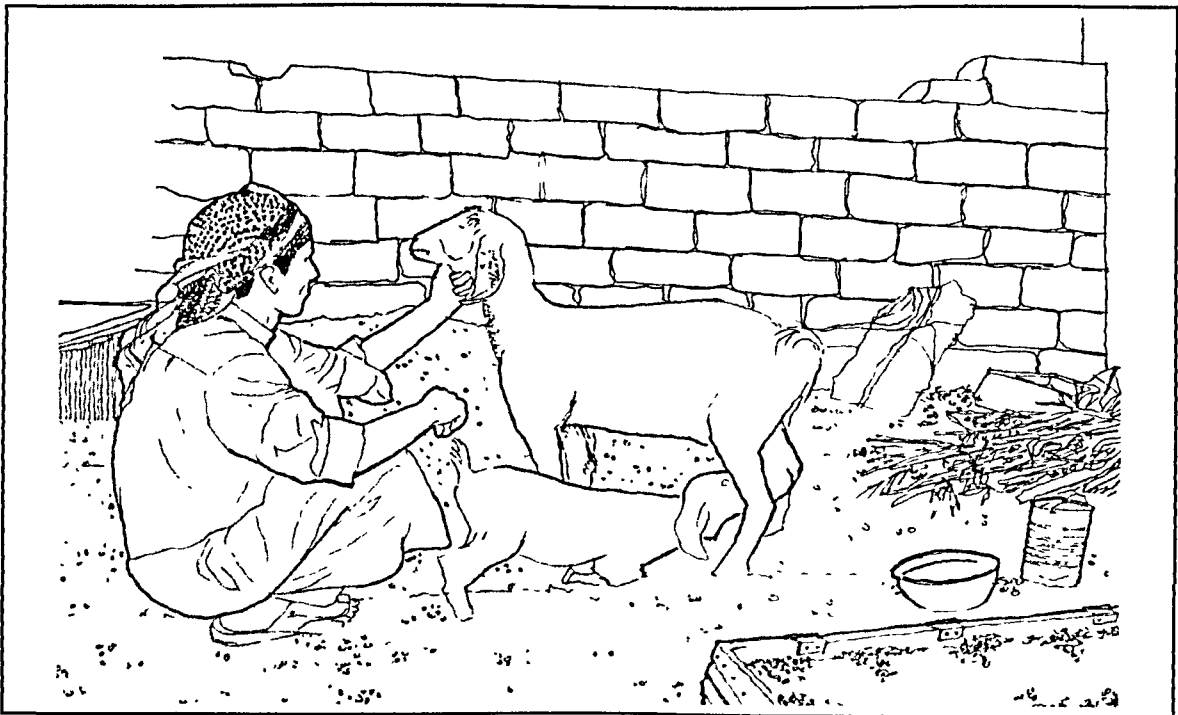


Figure (6.92): Matlaq is holding the ewe still to help the baby suckling.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Behind the *matbakh kharjee*, the family's goats and sheep are kept in the *zriebeh*. They own about twenty goats and sheep. Matlaq is the one who is responsible to take them to the pasture and bring them back by the sunset. At the north-eastern corner of the lot, a water tank is located to water the animals. Next to it a special rope (*rebeg*) is located. When the ewes are knotted up with it, it allows the loose young goats and sheep to suckle milk from their mothers.

The southern boundary wall of Matlaq's household has an opening that connects his lot with his son's, Ahmad. Ahmad is married by his cousin, *bint a'mm*. He has two children, a boy and a girl. The girl, who is the eldest, is married within the Zalabia. After marriage, she moved to live with her husband in his family's household.

Ahmad's house has three access points. The first one, which is Ahmad's car port, is used as the family entrance. The second is the pedestrian entrance that can be used by the outside visitors, relatives and the family. The third is the latest modification to the house to access the sewing workshop that his wife is running.

The house was built in three stages. The first one consists of three row-rooms. As informed by Daifallah, the rooms were built to prove Matlaq's ownership of the two lots. At that time, Ahmad's family used the *merhadh* and *kitchen* of Matlaq's house. The second stage consists of the addition of two structures. The first consists of two small spaces attached to the northern original room to function as the family's *hammam* and *merhadh*. The second was a room attached to the southern original room that functions as the *matbakh kharjee*. The addition completed a U-shape arrangement that contained a *mastabah* in the middle. After, a boundary wall was added that enclosed the *mastabah* as the household *hosh*. The third stage was the *madhafah* and the boundary wall that created the household main *hosh*. The *madhafah* was about five by nine meters. The latest modification was the reduction of the *madhafah* to be about five by six meters. It allowed the family to partition a small room to be used as a study, which was converted to a sewing workshop in a later stage. The *madhafah* is well furnished with a Bedouin rug and mattresses that take a U-shape arrangement. At the two corners of its wall adjacent to the

hosh, a television and a bookshelf are located symmetrically with the *madhafah*'s main door. The outer *hosh* serves mainly for the family males' and their guests activities. It contains a guests' *merhadh* and an open stair case that leads to the roof. The family uses the space under the stair as a storage area. During summer nights, the roof is the place where Ahmad and his family socialize and often sleep. With two *hosh*, the inner one is used by the family's females. As part of the outer *hosh*, Ahmad had a sun-shade over the *mastabah* where he socializes with his visiting relatives and friends.



Figure (6.93): Ahmad with his friend Hammed sitting under the shade at his *mastabah*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The internal *hosh* is the heart of Ahmad's family daily life. It serves as the family's sitting and resting place. It also includes various household chores such as cooking, washing dishes and clothes, drying food and clothes. During hot summer nights, it is the place where the family watches television and sleeps.

Ahmad's family is spiritually devout; a wide variety of their attitudes reflect reverence to Islam. They believe that work is worship (*al a'amal e'badah*) and express this often times. Ahmad's wife is one of the few women in Rum Village to take the initiative to work from home. The family decided to convert the study into a sewing workshop.

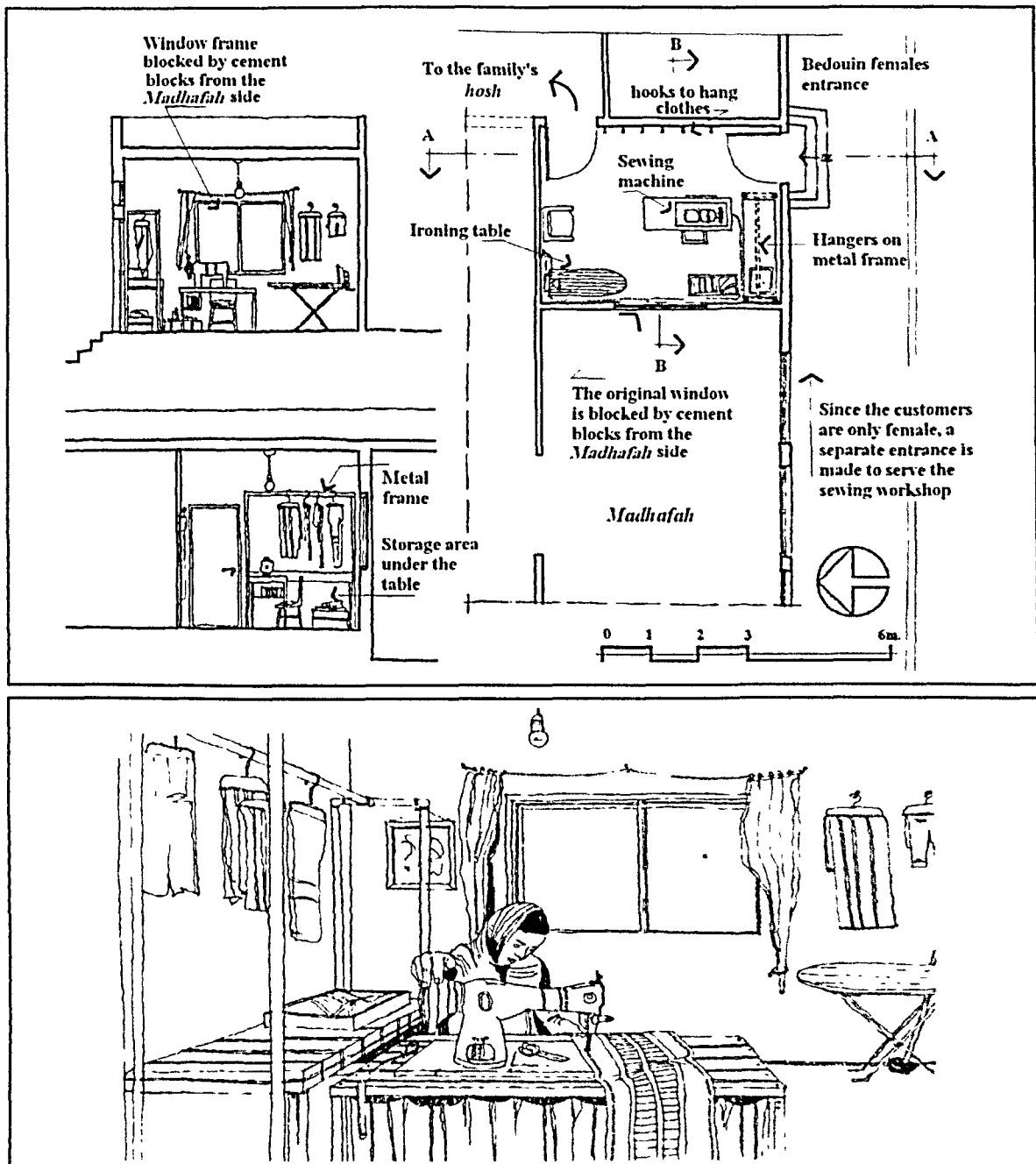


Figure (6.94): The first image shows Ahmad's wife sewing workshop plan and sections.

The second image shows the wife working on the sewing machine.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

To obtain privacy for the workshop, the window, which was located in the middle of the partition wall between the study and the *madhafah*, was closed by brick work from the *madhafah* side. According to Ahmad, the window frame was left in place from the workshop side for decorative purposes.

The workshop can be approached from the south-eastern corner of their lot. The entrance is made to give Bedouin women their privacy as they are the only clients of the workshop. In addition to the external door, the shop is connected to the family's *hosh*, which gives the wife privacy to move freely when the main *hosh* is occupied by male visitors.

The workshop is characterized by simple tools and primitive techniques. The addition of the workshop made Ahmad's household full of a rich mix of family, social and work activities. It is furnished with a wooden table where the sewing machine is placed, a working table, a steel frame used to hang finished products, a chair, and an ironing table.

In addition to her female Bedouin clients she provides some of the village's retailers with school uniforms. The retailers supply her with material and collect the finished garments through her husband. Her products are offered to the local market at prices almost thirty percent cheaper than the same items from the nearest towns and cities. In addition, she produces hand-sewn and hand-embroidered Bedouin dresses. Although she specializes in women's dresses, she produces men clothes as well.

6.5.10 Eiyad Mahmoud Swelhiyeen Households:

The cluster has the name of its elder person; Eiyad Mahmoud Swelhiyeen. He is in his late sixties. As most of the elders of Rum Village, Eiyad is involved in some livestock and agricultural activities. Eiyad has three children; two boys and a girl. While Nassar, the eldest son, is living next to his father's household, Ahmad is living in Aqaba where he works with the Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA). The girl, who remains unmarried, is still living in her father's house.

Eiyad's household and that of his son Nassar are located at the north-eastern corner of Rum village. They are surrounded by streets from three sides. The cluster has four entrances. Eiyad's household is accessible from the west side of the lot, while Nassar's is accessible from the east. From the north, the two households are accessible from a common entrance that leads to a courtyard. Eiyad's house is also connected with his relatives' through an opening made in part of the southern boundary wall of his lot.

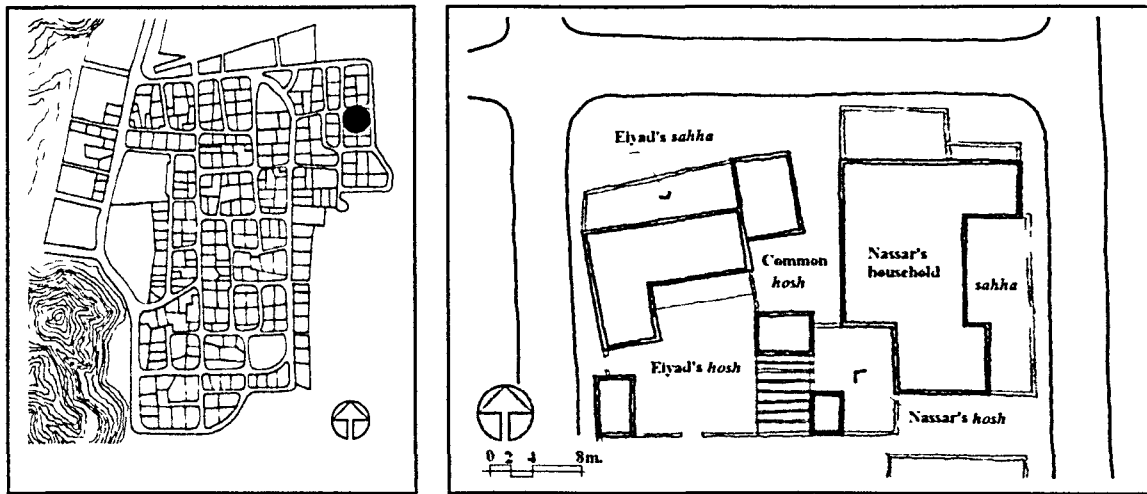


Figure (6.95): Eiyad and Nassar Swelhiyeen households' location.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Eiyad's household was built into two stages. The first consists of four rooms in an L-shape arrangement that contains a raised *mastabah* used as an external sitting room when weather permits. The central room is used as the *a'ilah*. It is the distributor to the other three rooms used as sleeping spaces by the family members. The only kitchen in the house is located at the south-western corner of the lot. Later, one of the rooms was internally modified to function as *matbakh dakhelee*.

The second stage was built in 1990. It is the household *madhafah* which is accessible from the courtyard located between the two houses. It is a rectangle of about five by eight meters. As in other cases, when I was received in the *madhafah*, the space was bare of any mattress. Upon my arrival, mattresses were brought from the family side and arranged in an L-shape. To serve the *madhafah's* guests, another *merhadh* was built next to the family's *merhadh*, but this one was accessible from the court.

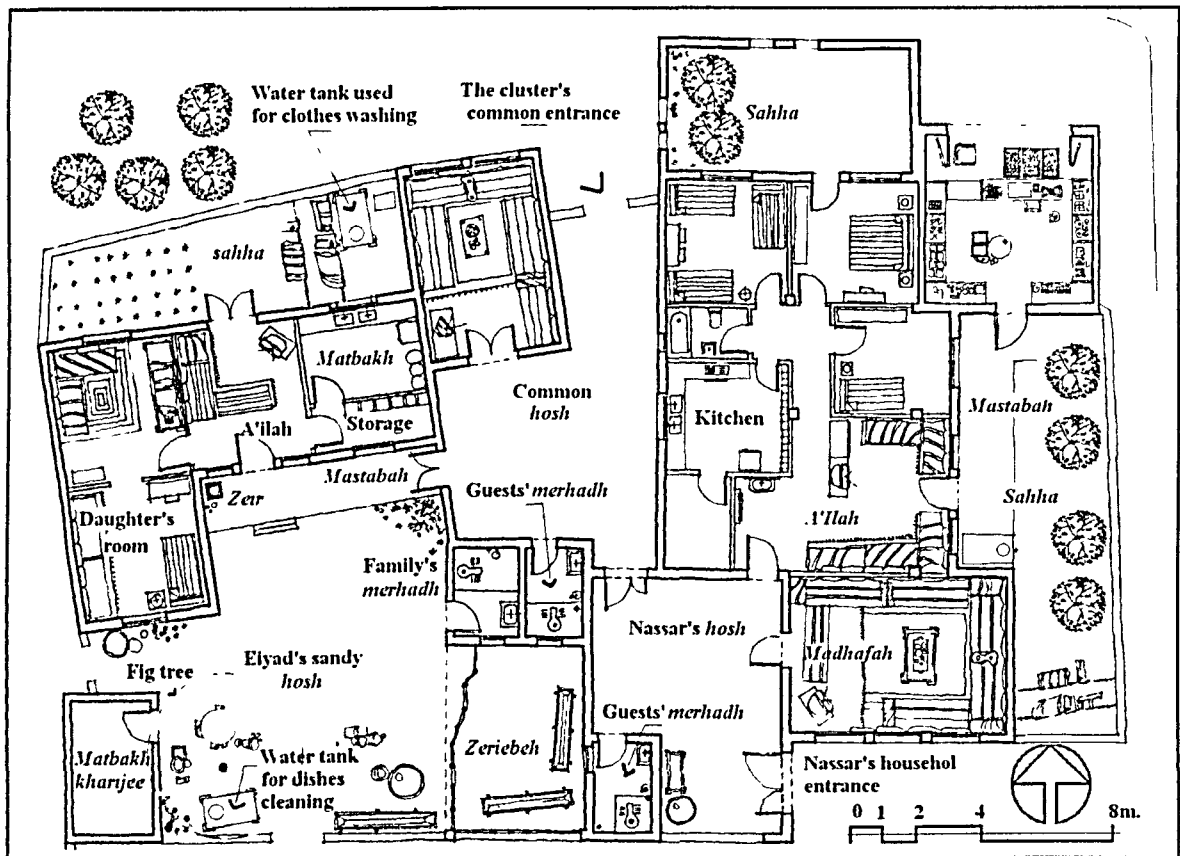


Figure (6.96): Eiyad and Nassar Swelhiyeen households' floor plans.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

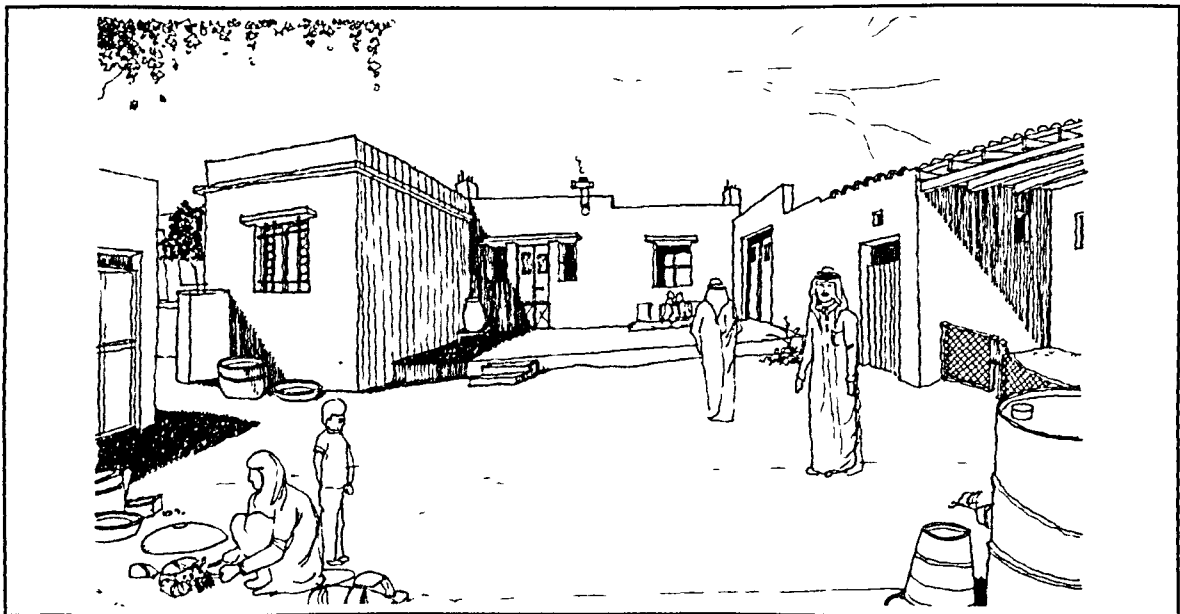


Figure (6.97): Eiyad Swelhiyeen households' family's *hosh*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.



Figure (6.98): Eiyad Swelhiyeen daughter washing dishes in the *sahha*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The household *hosh* is a typical one. At its south-western corner the *matbakh kharjee* is located. In front of this *matbakh* is the area designated for *shrak* making. Behind, a water tank is located where the family cleans their dirty dishes. The *sahha* is accessible from the *a'ilah* room. There, the family planted some vegetables that they irrigate from a water tank located at the *sahha*'s corner. The tank is also used to wash clothes, which the family dries on the clothesline fixed between the boundary wall and the window grille.

The inhabitants of Rum Village own less livestock than their relatives living in Wadi Rum. Due to the availability of spare time, Rum Village women are engaged in other activities, such as *jameed* making, weaving, and herb gathering. The *hosh* is the area where Eiyad's wife and daughter prepare the *shrak* and *jameed*; weave Bedouin items and dry herbs. During one of the visits, I observed that Eiyad's wife was using a hand- mill (*irh'ah*) for grinding wheat. Although the family uses pre-ground wheat, this was a special treat for the research team, as the wife believes that wheat ground with *irh'ah* is tastier than the pre-grinded one brought from the market.

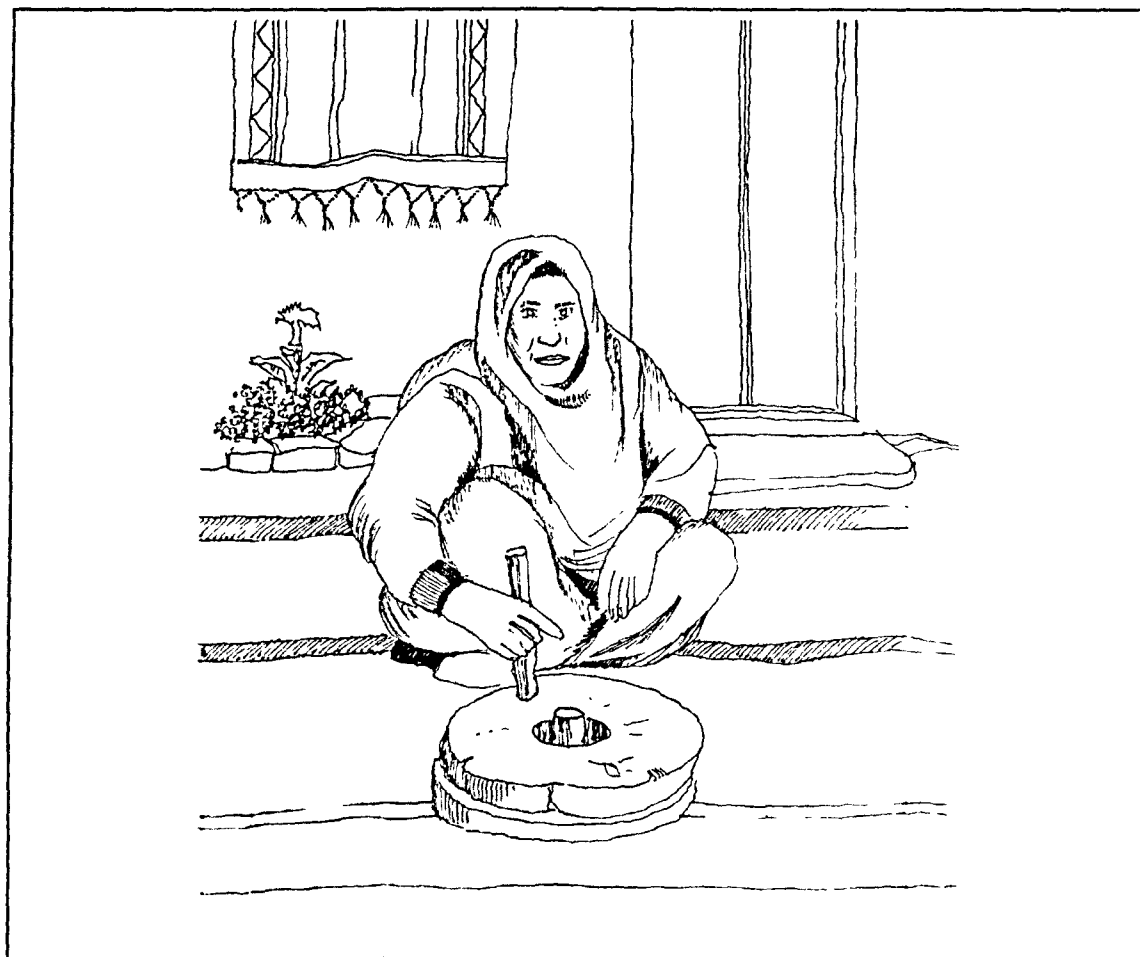


Figure (6.99): The stone rotating quern (*irh'ah*).

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Producing these items follows a similar process observed in the Bedouin camps in Wadi Rum. The only difference is that Eiyad's wife uses a small cylindrical washing machine to shake the milk and yogurt to produce *jameed*. They use the north-eastern corner of the *mastabah* to dry the *jameed* under the sun. Currently, the daughter is involved in some of RSCN's projects that aim to revive Bedouin embroidery, customs and weaving. The daughter complained that Rum Village lacks any training courses for women. She also complained about the lack of marketing facilities for products and the competition created by the Rest-House. The manager of the Rest-House, Mr. Mohammad Ali Hillawi, has a weaving shop where an Egyptian weaver delivers weaving materials upon order to tourists.

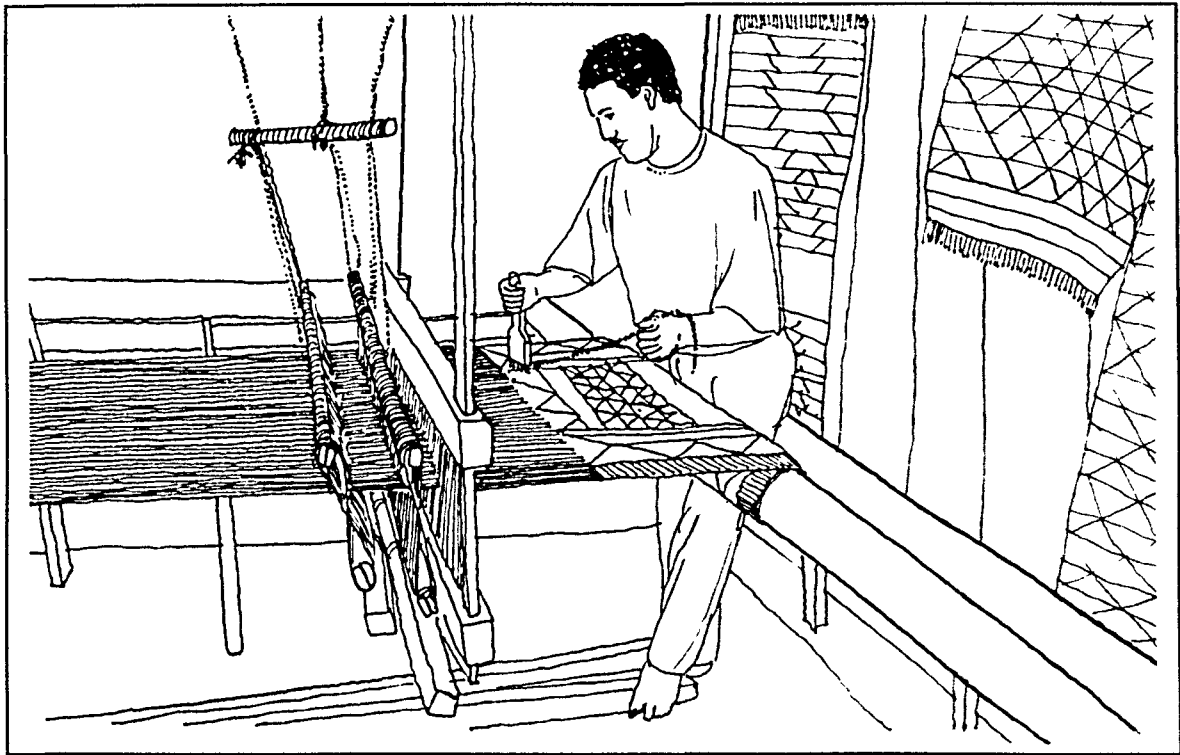


Figure (6.100): The Egyptian weaver working on one of the items.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The shop's woven items are different from the patterns the Bedouin women produce. Kabariti, the weaver, explained that the items that he produces match the items requested by tourists. No Bedouin items were displayed in the shop. There, the tourists buy Kabariti products and have no access to the products of the local Bedouin women.

Nassar's household spatial layout is different from his father's. It is more compact and can be described as a version of the *salah* house pattern. Unlike the father's house where rooms are almost of a multi use nature, the layout of Nassar's reflects a degree of speciality. The different rooms are grouped according to the function they serve.

The house has two entrances. The first is the family entrance while the other is the *madhafah's*. The family entrance leads to the *a'ilah* room. At the entry point, a wash-basin and coat hanger are located. The *a'ilah* serves as the distributor to the other spaces. It is furnished with mattresses that take a U-shape arrangement around the television

cabinet. The three bedrooms are furnished with beds, *khazanah* and clothes hangers. The parent's bedroom is the only access to the household's *sahha*. The bedrooms are served by one bathroom furnished with western style fixtures. Within the kitchen, a washing machine is located where the family's clothes are washed before been taken to the eastern *sahha* to dry over the clothes lines.

Because *jameed* making and weaving are time consuming activities, some of the interviewed women showed lack of interest to these activities. This is due to the shortage of time they had due to household chores and caring for children caring. Although it was not mentioned clearly, it was noticed that some of the household men rejected the idea of getting their females involved in theses activities on commercial bases. Therefore, most of the women are involved in house-gardening activity. Nassar's wife designated part of the *sahha* for planting vegetables, fruits, olive and herbs to be used for their household consumption, as well as for commercial purposes. It was also noticed that she is involved in herb gathering activity, since she is living at the fringes of Rum Village. In most of the recorded cases, this activity is usually associated with herding.

Among the Bedouins of Rum Village, hundreds of species of trees and shrubs are employed as *sheih* (cold, urinary tract infections), *rijil al hamamih* (diuretic and urinary tract infection), *hindabeh* (urinary tract infection), *babounij* (urinary retention, kidney pains and testicle pain) and *gaysoum* (cold, urinary tract infections). According to the Bedouin, some of these herbs are aimed at cleansing the body and soul of polluting influences.

From the household's *hosh*, the *madhafah* can be approached. It is almost five by eight meters of rectangular space. Under the pressure of Eiyad, Nassar's house was visited on a day different from what was scheduled previously. Therefore, my visit was a surprise for him and his family. The *madhafah* was bare of any furnishings except a plastic rug, one mattresses and a television cabinet located at the south-western corner of the space. Upon my arrival, more mattresses were brought from the *a'ilah*. At that time, Jumana was invited to join Nassar's wife and daughters in the *a'ilah*.

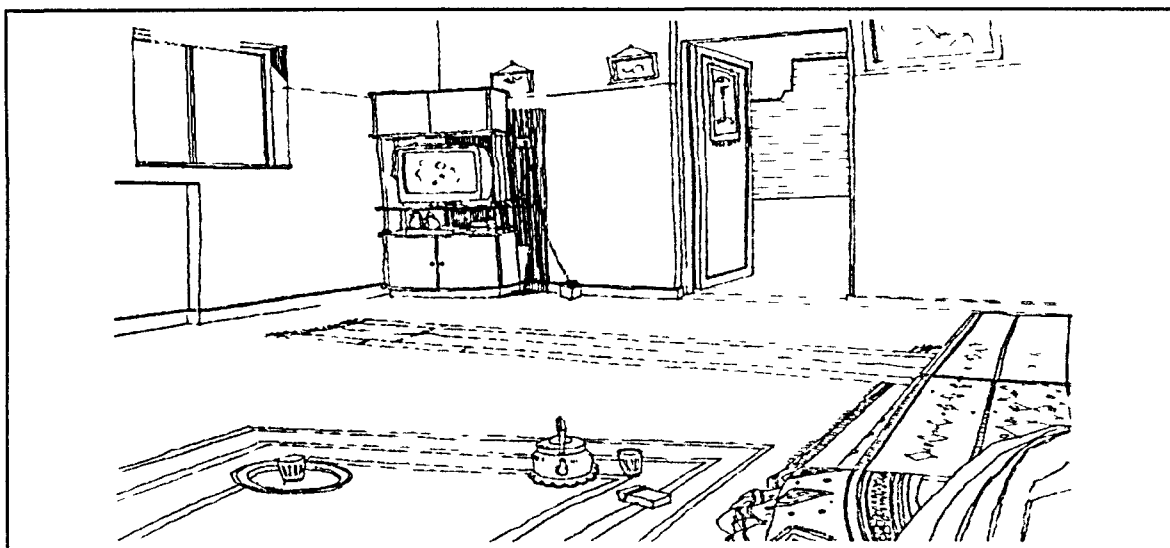


Figure (6.101): Nassar Eiyad Swelhiyeen *madhafa*.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

To occupy his time after retirement from the military, Nassar decided to start a small business. From the *sahha*, Nassar's grocery shop can be approached. In addition to the extra income the shop produces, it is the place where Nassar meets with his friends for socializing. Here, it is important to note that some of the items produced within the household, such as *jameed* and dried herbs are sold in the grocery shop.



Figure (6.102): Nassar Eiyad Swelhiyeen sitting in front of his shop.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004

6.5.11 Salem Faraj Zalabia Household:

Salem's case is a unique one which stems from the fact that he has no permanent house; rather he lives in a tent within Rum Village. Since the mid 1970s, Salem has pitched his tent on a lot located at the western edge of the village. As he had no financial resources to own livestock, Salem allocated a piece of land behind his tent and started farming different kinds of vegetables to sustain his family.

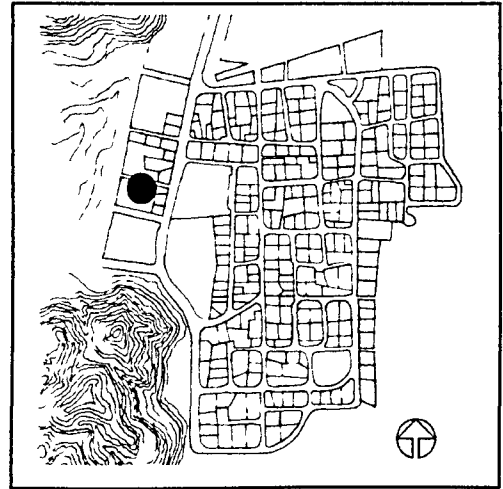


Figure (6.103): Salem's tent location.

Source: Researcher fieldwork, 2004.

In the beginning of the 1980s he built a small, single room structure to serve as the family *merhadh*. The structure was built out of unfinished cement blocks. In addition, he constructed a sun-shade supported by a metal frame made of water-pipes. The sun-shade is made of very old cloth. Under the shade, Salem has old plastic rugs where the family sits during the summer. The family uses a *zier*, which is covered by damp cloth to keep the water cool. Salem was prevented to provide his lot by any means of services such as water and electricity because the authorities classified his case as 'illegal'. Salem's tent and room were served by an electrical wire and water hose from one of his relatives' houses. Under the pressure of the Zalabia's sheikhs, the authorities eventually provided the site with electrical and water. Since it was constructed, the room has never been used for living. It was built only to prove his ownership to the land he is farming.

Salem's tent is not an ordinary Bedouin tent. It is an elongated octagonal structure supported by a metal frame. In the beginning of the 1970s, Salem brought this tent with him when he was visiting relatives living in Saudi Arabia. The tent is made of a heavy green cloth. It is in poor condition and even eked out by cardboard boxes, bits of sacking or sheets of wood and metal. Despite its poor condition, it provides shade from sun, shelter from any wind and provides privacy from passers by.

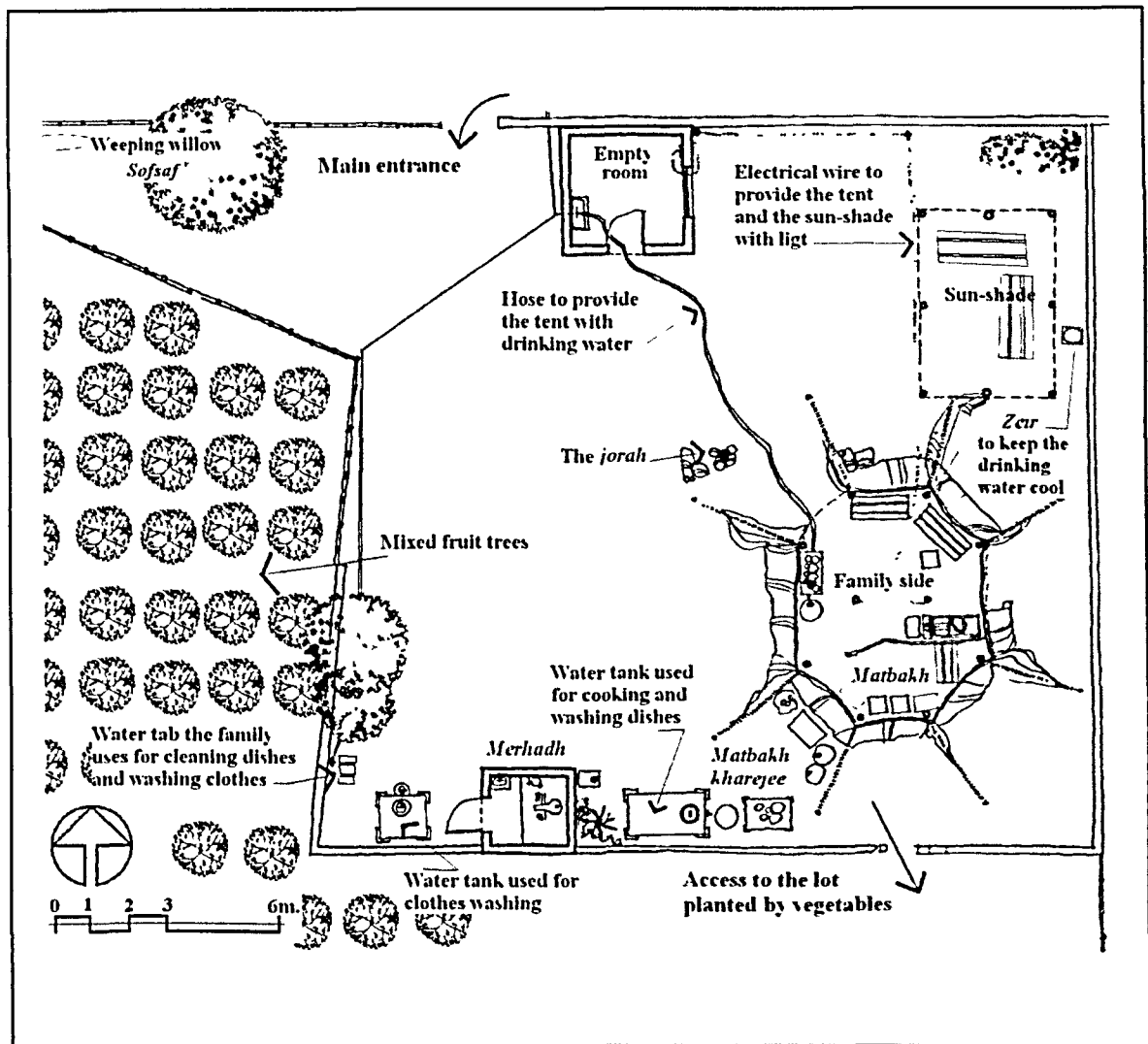


Figure (6.104): Salem Faraj Zalabia household plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Spatially, the tent is divided into two zones by an old *qata'* made from goats' hair. As the tent is Salem's family living space, no zone was designated for visitors. The right side is the family's kitchen. It is equipped with a propane gas stove and some shelves where the kitchen's utensils are stacked. Beside the *qata'*, the *matwa* was located where the family's mattresses, pillows and covers are stacked. Between the two central poles, an electrical wire was fixed from which a lamb was dangling to provide the *raba'* with the needed light. The *raba'* was furnished with some old mattresses and a table on which the coffee pot and water jug are placed.



Figure (6.105): Salem's tent from south-west (the site entry point).

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Although the kitchen contains a propane gas stove, most of the family's cooking is done outside in the *matbakh kharjee* beside the tent. Their *matbakh kharjee* is an open space. It is equipped by a portable propane burner, a table and some plastic containers filled with staples Bedouins need such as rice and lentils. The area also has a water tank used for cooking and washing dishes. The family's *merhadh* is located beside *matbakh kharjee*. The *merhadh* is also used as a *hammam*, where the family members' body washing takes place. It is a small structure that has no roof and is constructed of cement blocks. A smaller water tank is located beside it which is used for cleaning, ablution and washing dishes. The top of the water tank is where the family dries the dishes after washing. Next, a water tap is provided. It is also used for cleaning dishes and washing clothes. The sun-shade's metal frame and the tent's rope are used as clotheslines.

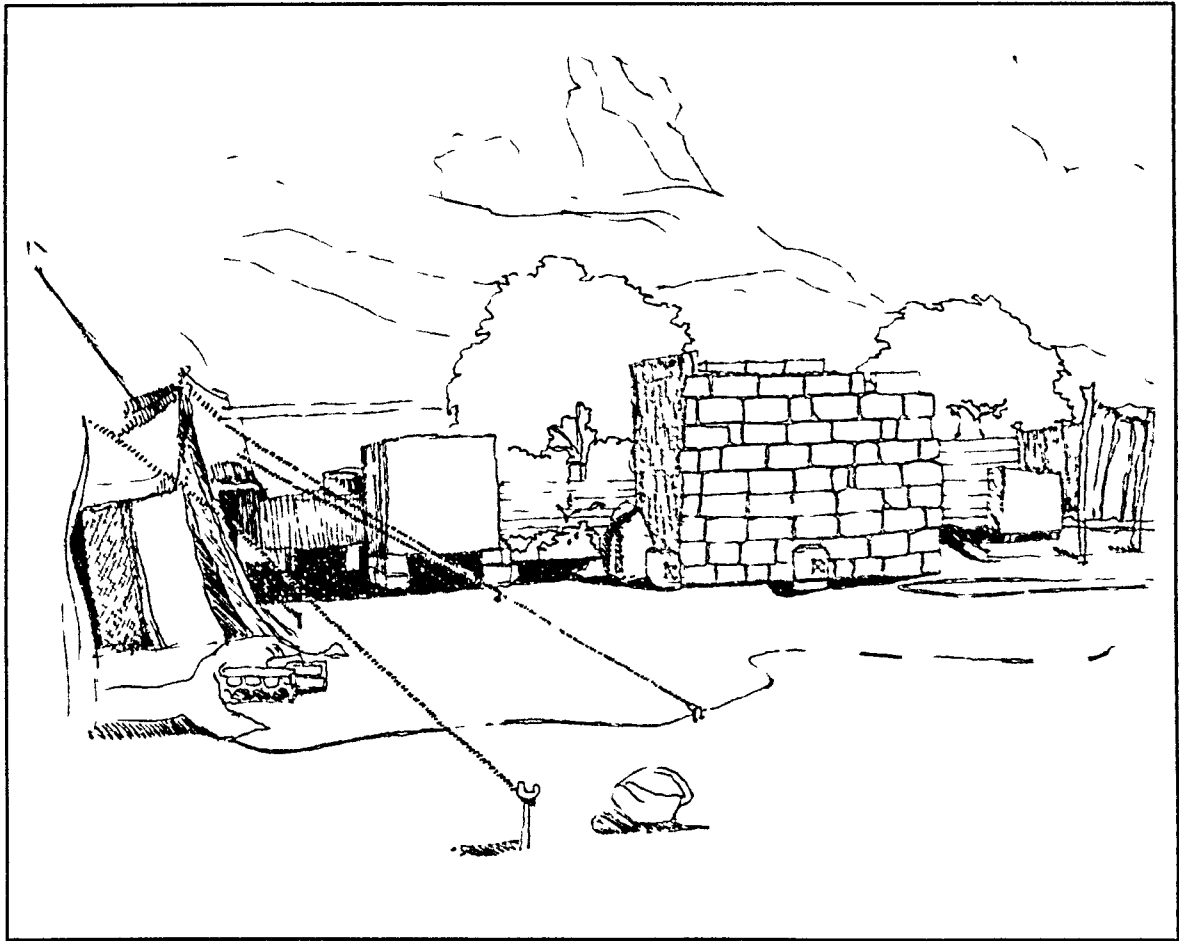


Figure (6.106): Salem's tent and surroundings from north-west (the tent's entrance).

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

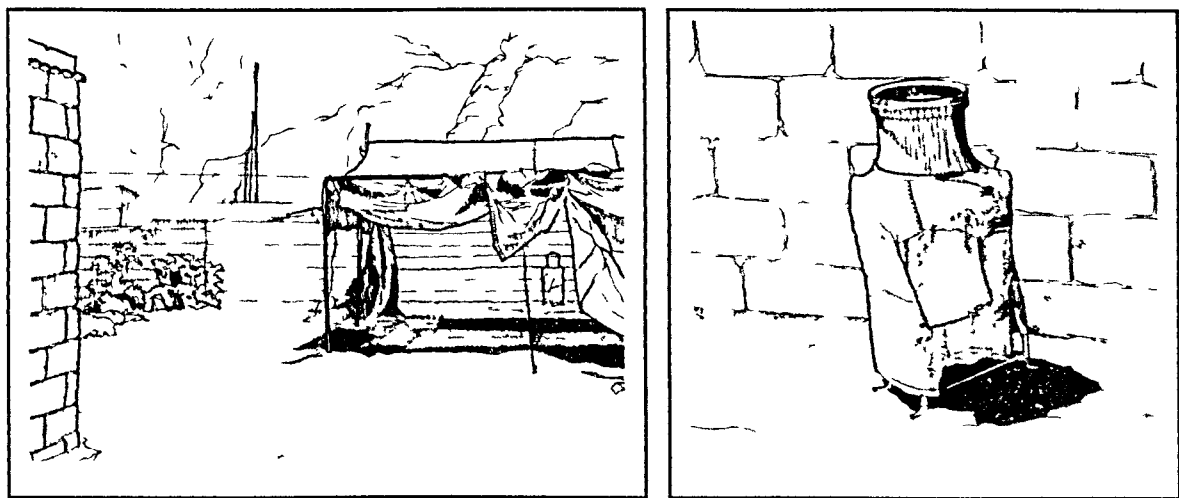


Figure (6.107): View shows Salem's sun-shade located beside the tent.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

6.5.12 Khalid Nawaf Zalabia Household:

Khalid is in his early forties and is married but has no children. Khalid's maternal grandmother lives with him permanently. Khalid's household was built in 1983, almost ten years before the establishment of Rum Village's boundaries. Because it exists outside the boundaries, it is one of the many cases labelled as illegal. As he claims: "the land was given to his father by the Zalabia's sheiks. Out of ignorance, my father lost the *koshan* that proves the land ownership. We never thought that one day we will be obligated to prove our ownership to the land that our grandfathers owned for so many years".

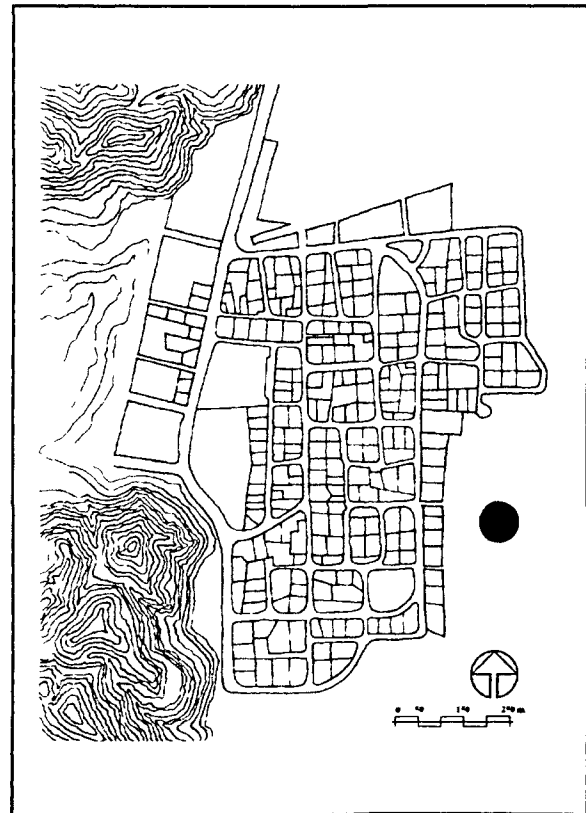


Figure (6.108): Khalid's household location.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Unlike most of the Rum Village residents, Khalid does not depend entirely on tourism for his livelihood. Agriculture is an important component of Khalid's household economy. Khalid is a farm owner near Dici Village, through which he produces a large part of his family's diet. The farm produces a variety of vegetables and fruit such as tomatoes, onions, okra, Arabic cucumbers (*fegus*) and watermelon. The farm's products are either consumed locally in Rum and Dici Villages or shipped to the nearest towns. Khalid hired one of the poor families in Rum Village to reside on his farm and take care of it. The household was built in several stages. The first is a three-space (*mtholath*) tent to receive tourists. To prove the land ownership, the second is a small structure located at the southern edge of Khalid's lot. It was used as a storage area for the agricultural tools Khalid was using. The third is a typical house of three row-rooms. While the central one is used as the a'ilah, the side rooms are used by Khalid, his wife and his grandmother as

bedrooms. At this stage, the small structure has been modified into two small spaces used as the family's *merhadh* and *hammam*. The fourth stage is the addition of the *madhafah*. It is a rectangular space of about five by six meters and was built mainly to host the tourist groups that Khalid might receive while highly involved in guiding tours. At this stage, a small structure was added at the north-eastern corner of his lot to function as the guests' *merhadh*. Later, it was converted to storage areas.

When Khalid was highly involved in tour guiding, he met Ashraf; an Egyptian migrant working in the Rest-House as a waiter. Ashraf's original profession was utensil polishing. This motivated Khalid to start a new business with the help of Ashraf. Khalid did the latest modification to his household to accommodate the new enterprise. It is a four by four room attached to the grandmother's room to function as a shop to polish utensils. When I asked Ashraf about the workshop he said:

This is a small workshop that polishes mainly aluminum utensils. Except for *Mansaf* cooking, the Bedouins replaced copper with aluminum. It is light yet strong, so even a large pot is easy to handle. It is perfectly safe for all cooking. Within the Wadi Rum community, the most popular cooking items are tomato and yogurt, which are acidic foods. Therefore, aluminum utensils can leach into the food and the pans may discolour. In addition to polishing by hand, we have *makhrattah* (buffing machine) that we use for polishing and trimming aluminum utensils

Here, it is important to note that, as I was informed by Khalid, most of the poor families sold their copper utensils as they are heavy to carry and expensive to maintain. The rest-house and some of the Zalabia's elite bought these items to re-sell to tourists, or to use as decorative pieces in their *madhafahs*. Those who own copper pots must re-polish them regularly. While watching the polishing procedure, I noticed that Ashraf sometimes uses his feet for polishing. According to Ashraf:

when we have heavy and thick copper dishes to be used for *Mansaf*, after heating the dish some polishing powder is applied, then I put a cloth on the dish so I can step over and twist my body to give the needed polishing.....it is an Egyptian polishing tradition.

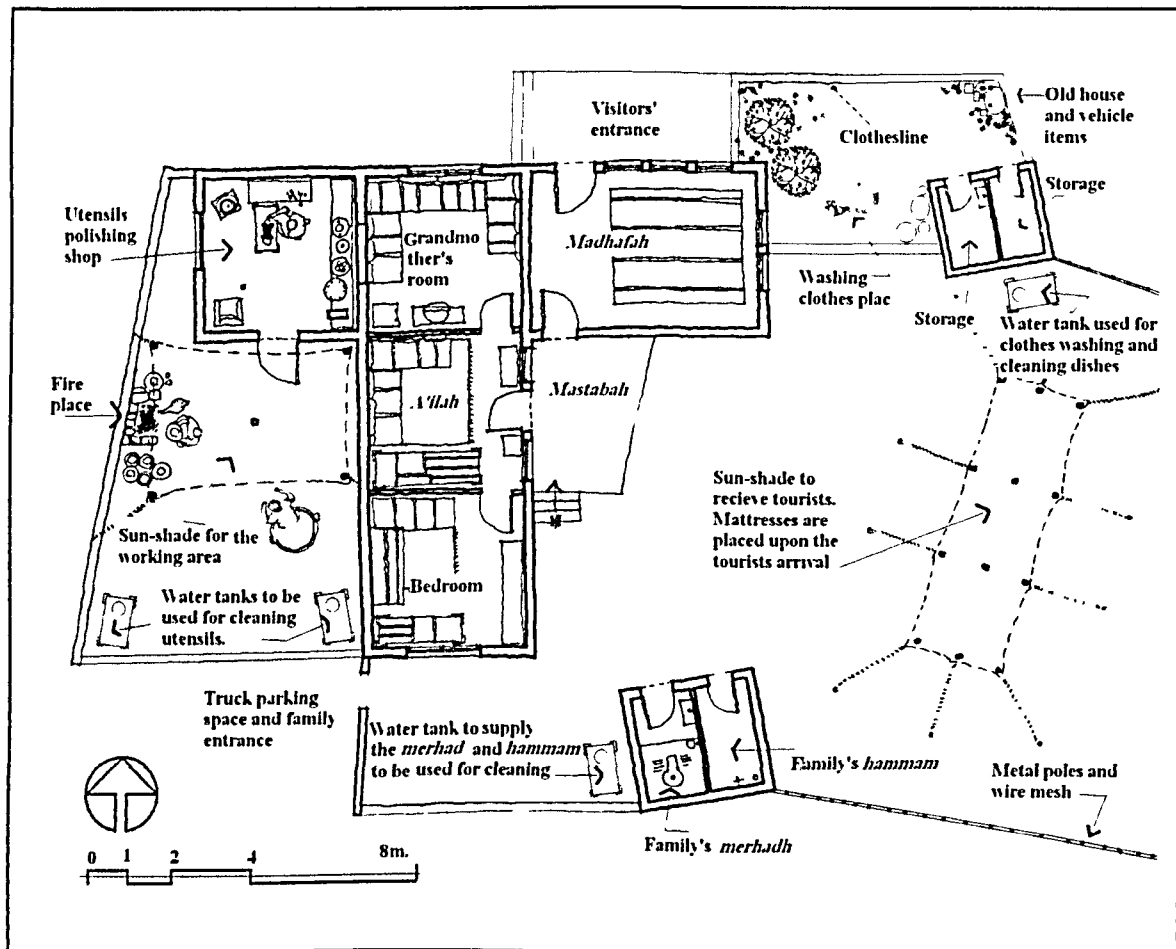


Figure (6.109): Khalid Nawaf Zalabia's household's floor plan.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

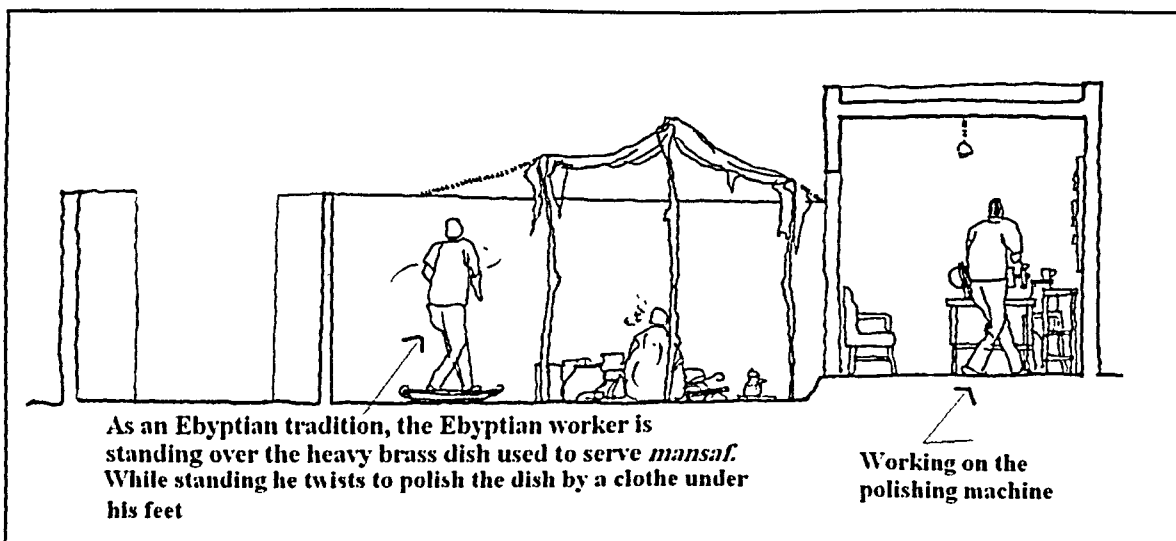


Figure (6.110): Shows the utensils polishing workshop.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

While visiting Khalid's household, I noticed that the tent is nothing more than a sun-shade as it has no *rwag* or *ruffah*. Khalid is no longer involved in tourist guiding. It was also observed that the household has no continuous boundary. Boundary walls are limited to the north-eastern corner of the lot and around the utensils polishing shop. Khalid explains: "people living in the village are relatives...we know each other, so there is no need for boundaries...in the village even if one forgets his door un-locked his household is safe". I asked Khalid about outsiders visiting him and the issue of privacy. He replied: "when I have strangers, my wife will be in the a'ilah, so I do not need boundary walls".

While I was socializing with Khalid, his wife and grandmother surprisingly came to greet everyone. While they shook hands with Jumana, they verbally greeted me. The grandmother was talkative. Her speech was always spiced with some Bedouin proverbs. She said:

...I belong to the Zawaydeh tribe. I lived in Dici till I became 17 years old. After, when I got married by a Zalabia tribesman, we moved to Rum Village. After his death, I came to live with my grandson. For me, Dici and Rum are the same...*kul al bilad e'nd ahlha sham*.

The proverb she used literally means: *all lands are sham in the eyes of their people*. The use of the proverb highlights her attachment to her tribal and kinsman areas. *Sham* here means the Arabic geographic designation of Damascus, western Syria and Lebanon. It was observed that Khalid's wife and grandmother have obvious intimate and affectionate feelings towards each other. At that time Khalid's wife directed her speech to the grandmother and said:

Jedaty (my grandmother) you are among your family...my mother is not near me and God sent you to be with me...I was married at the age of sixteen. I wished to have a mother in-law to complete what my mother taught me before marriage...now I have my grandmother to do so.

One of the wife's complaints was the lack of a municipal water line. It was observed that there were four water tanks located in different areas to provide the household with water.

In a later visit, Jumana recorded the wife's daily routine, in which she noticed that water supply is a real problem. She noticed that the north-eastern area of the lot is designated for clothes washing and drying, as well as for cleaning dirty dishes.



Figure (6.111): Khalid's brother's children visiting his family. In the background, Khalid's wife washing clothes.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Chapter Seven:

Synthesizing the Fieldwork Findings

7.1 Introduction:

This chapter synthesizes the findings of this study's fieldwork. It aims to analyze the causes and consequences of the transformations that have occurred and continue to occur within Wadi Rum's Bedouin society. The discussion that follows is built upon exploring three ideas, which are the contextual sources of change in Wadi Rum; the ways in the tourism industry in Wadi Rum affects the Bedouins' life patterns; and the ways in which the discourse of development affects the Bedouins' access to resources. These key ideas will be further discussed throughout this chapter by answering the following three questions:

7.2 The First Question:

What are the Contextual Sources of Change in Wadi Rum?

Over the last three decades, it was observed that Wadi Rum's Bedouin society has and continues to experience a process of change that affects almost every single aspect of their lives. This study's fieldwork has identified the sources of this change, which include state development policies, national and international tourism and globalization. These sources will be further explored in the following section of this chapter.

1. Formal Sedentarization Forces:

For many years, successive Jordanian governments have been anxious to incorporate the Jordanian Bedouin tribes into the country's mainstream 'modern' economy. To achieve this incorporation, these governments have implemented a number of development policies, which have contributed to change among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum. The early stage of this incorporation process was highly affected by the years of drought that occurred in southern Jordan in the early and the later part of the 1950s, which obliged the government of Jordan to seek international aid. During the 1950s and 1960s, these international experts, influenced by the modernization theory, were occupied by the assumption that each society is a strongly integrated system and that any change capable of jolting the inertia of that system can only come from the outside. These experts

believed that modernization occurs through “the elimination of traditions and through a process of mobilization capable of bringing about a positive and rational mentality leading individuals to universalist behaviour patterns” (Bocco, 2006, p. 322). According to this vision, these experts have privileged the role of the state as an agent in the process of sedentarization. As it was stated by one of the experts:

It must be understood that these nomads living outside the mainstream of modern civilization are, at present, unable to perceive their real interests, nor can they find unaided the means to improve their social level. It therefore appears essential for their own good that they leave this responsibility to their own government (A. S. Helaissi, 1959, p. 556, cited in Bocco, 2006, p. 312)

The vision that necessitates the role of the State as an agent of social change was supported by various international institutions, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). According to this institution, “successful innovation is very often best introduced by outsiders...It is necessary to choose appropriate innovators who are acceptable to the local community and whose presence will inspire admiration and stimulate emulation” (FAO,1972, p.12).

Based on the FAO and other international institutions’ recommendations, the Jordanian government decided to change its development approach during the mid 1970s. this was the era when settling the Zalabia sheikhs in model houses was used as an incentive to settle the tribe in Rum Village. Based upon this occurrence, the state realized that a true change in terms of development policies needs an agent. Therefore, military education; healthcare; financial support; and working with the tribal elite became key areas in which the government focused their efforts in the attempt to affect change amongst the Bedouins of Wadi Rum.

The introduction of schooling in Wadi Rum was one of the key modernization policies implemented by the Jordanian government in the 1950s and 1960s. By the mid 1980s the government played an active role to upgrade the educational facilities in Wadi Rum. The government’s actions manifested themselves in the expansion of the military boy’s school

to accommodate students up to the tenth grade, as well as the establishment of the first girl's school in this region. Here, it is essential to emphasize that schooling has created an educated young social class that have attained a 'modern' sense of self and personhood. While living among the Zalabia in Wadi Rum, I noticed that this group have started to take a leading position in the community's different activities and practices. This group has developed a good confident sense of themselves when dealing with the outsiders especially with tourists, without fear of losing self identity.

Another tool that was used to motivate sedentarization among Wadi Rum's tribal population was the provision of healthcare services. Before the mid 1980s, military clinics were distributed in some settlements in Southern Jordan but the distribution of these clinics was very uneven and the distances were often very large between the clinics. Thus, those individuals who needed healthcare encountered considerable difficulties in reaching a clinic and even more difficulties in reaching a hospital. In 1985, Rum Village's original health care centre, which previously consisted of only one room, was upgraded to become a comprehensive medical centre that has an on-site nurse as well as a visiting doctor, who began to come to the centre on a weekly basis.

In addition to the provision of educational and healthcare services to encourage sedentarization, the Jordanian government also realized that poverty is one of the key factors that acted as a barrier between the Bedouins and the ownership of permanent houses and thus settlement. Thus, the Housing Bank of Jordan began to play, and continues to play an important role in the process of sedentarization. The Housing Bank's regulation entitles all Jordanians to benefit from the Bank's low interest housing loans, as long as the constructed house is owned by the bank until the loan is fully paid back. This stipulation is aimed to encourage the Bedouins to construct homes, instead of living in tents, a mode of living which can in some ways maintain a sedentary lifestyle. In a similar attempt, the Jordanian Agricultural Bank also developed a policy to attempt to encourage sedentarization and support those already settled by providing credit to farmers, which allows them to drill wells; to purchase machinery; to maintain farms; and to purchase seeds and fuel. Unfortunately, according to various research informants

comments attained during the fieldwork component of this study, they reported many cases in which this support was misused as the rich tribesmen were often using the names of the poor to gain more financial support for their own means while paying the poorer population a fixed amount of this leant money. The rich tribesmen then paid the money back to the bank by using the name of the poor who never benefited from these loans.

In addition to the government's use of financial support as a policy to help move the Bedouin people away from nomadism and towards sedentism, the government also focussed on using the Bedouins' elite as another tool to promote change among the Bedouins. Among the Zalabia, as any other community, there are two types of elite. The first group of elite in this community deals with issues related to religion while the other is a group that bases their claims on political and/or economic resources of the community. Until the mid 1980s, the religious elite were extremely influential within the tribe and the government realized that the power of this group would be an obstacle to change and development. Thus, to achieve their development goals, the successive Jordanian governments made tremendous efforts to support the political and economic elite of the Zalabia who were more supportive to the changes that the governments were suggesting.

2. Informal Sedentarization Forces:

While the above mentioned policies represent the successive Jordanian governments' intervention, it is important to point out that not all the socio-cultural changes are the outcome of these policies. Some are the by-product of informal forces that affected and still affect the Bedouins' various aspects of life, such as the following:

Bedouins are proverbially conservative. The reasons for this are plain. They live normally in communities in which many of their main contacts are with people like themselves who share their values. They are bound to put more weight upon the good opinion of their kin and neighbours with whom they are in daily relations, and on whom they depend for essential help in times of stress or crisis, than upon the values of people superior in standing but remote from the locality. The impact of this conservatism started

to slowly decline when Wadi Rum became more and more the focus of tourism in southern Jordan. Here, it is important to point out that the 1980s represents the era of the great increase in communications of Wadi Rum's Bedouins with the outside world. Undoubtedly, this increase in communication is at the root of the changes that the Wadi Rum's Bedouin community is still experiencing. By the beginning of 1980s, transportation between Wadi Rum and the neighbouring towns developed. Jeeps and buses made rapid transport between Wadi Rum and towns not only of people but also of goods characteristic to urban life. This increase of interaction between the Bedouins and the urbanites encourages new markets for casual labour which draws men out of the Wadi Rum area sending them back armed with much information and some new ideas. By greatly increasing the range of social relations it has decreased the solidarity among the Bedouins, weakening the strength of their social controls on which their conservatism is founded. The Bedouins became dependent on the good-will of a host of other people outside Wadi Rum's region with different assumptions and ideas.

This increase of openness to the outside social boundaries of Wadi Rum also altered the marriage patterns among the Bedouins. According to the research's local informants, by the beginning of 1980s, some marriages started to take place from outside the Zalabia kinship. Some of these cases were Zalabia tribesmen marrying Jordanian urbanites or tourists who came to visit Wadi Rum. These marriages helped in bringing new ideas to Wadi Rum Bedouin community and therefore promoted more sedentary habits that affected and still affect the Bedouins life.

In addition to transportation, labour and change in marriage patterns, media technology such as radio, television, video and lately computers are the tools that penetrate modernity among the people of Wadi Rum. Media have altered the Bedouins life in many ways that affected their consumption patterns, such as clothes, food and drinks. It also affected their time management patterns. I noticed that, at certain nights, Bedouins stop their activities to watch some programs or listen to the national news. Most importantly, media has affected the Bedouins acceptance of others. The Jordanian television, as part of the government's communication policy, presents different

programs about a diversity of cultures as part of its policy to promote tourism. These programs enhance the Bedouins abilities to develop a sort of cultural adaptation and acceptance to other cultures. Here, to shed more light about this issue, the following section discusses the impact of national and international tourism on the sedentarization process of southern Jordan Bedouins.

3. National and International Tourism:

Jordan's strong and peaceful relations with many surrounding countries in the Middle East have made it a country of preference for various economic activities. The development of the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel has created an ideal environment for foreign capital investment in many of the economy's sectors, one of which is tourism. Stability in Jordan has encouraged foreign aid and assistance from other countries. Although the United States of America is by far the largest donor to Jordan's economy, the country also receives important technical assistance and grants from a wide variety of other donors. One of these granting donors is the World Bank, which is the Kingdom's largest creditor (Ministry of Finance, 2007). In the early 1980s one of the requirements set by the International Monetary Fund was that Jordan shift towards a market economy to begin restructuring the Jordanian debts to these donor institutions. Thus, Jordan undertook the task of liberalizing its economy, gradually privatizing its public sector and joining the New World Economic Order. The Jordanian economic profile had to be approved by the various donor agencies in order for Jordan to further receive loans. These donors' aid goes to planning, tourism and environmental protection in Jordan.

In this regard, since the mid 1980s, commitment to tourism as a development strategy for developing economies has fluctuated within the World Bank. The government of Jordan has borrowed about \$ 40 million from the World Bank for the Second Tourism Development Project (1997-2004), which is designed to create the conditions for an increase in sustainable and environmentally sound tourism in Petra and Wadi Rum, two important historic sites in Jordan. Following the experience of this project, in February 2007, the World Bank extended \$56 million in loans to assist financing tourism projects

in Jordan (Jordanian Tourism Board, 2007). The World Bank, as well as the other sources of foreign aid to Jordan has employed tourism as an agent to influence economic and socio-cultural change in Jordan. These foreign aid institutions view tourism as an integrated part of the globalization process they are promoting. Globalization is essentially a process by which an ever tightening network of ties that cut across national political boundaries connects communities in a single, interdependent whole, a shrinking world where local differences are steadily eroded and subsumed within a massive global social order (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 12). This definition implies that tourism is both a cause and a consequence of globalization. Globalization manifested itself within the tourism by the ways in which multinational corporations control the promotions, sales, transportation, accommodations and operations of industry. This study argues that such domination by multinationals has two major consequences: first are the challenges of competition and often the contradictions of interests among the various Jordanian governmental bureaucracies, national and international donor institutions and a range of civil society actors, which affect the Bedouins' social, cultural, economic, political and spatial patterns of living in Wadi Rum. Second, this domination of multinationals failed to include the majority of the host community in tourism development and therefore increases their marginality within the larger society. To further examine this argument, the following section offers a presentation of tourism development in Wadi Rum.

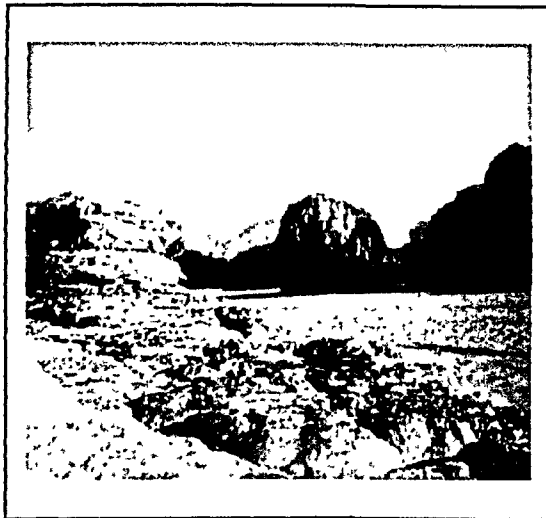


Fig (7.1): Natural landscape in Wadi Rum.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2004.

Until the beginning of the 1980s, the Jordanian governments' interventions into tourism activities in Wadi Rum's were very limited. This lack of government intervention in the area meant that the Bedouins were left to provide tourist services through their own means. The Zalabia tribesmen got involved in the tourism industry by assuming the role of jeep drivers for the tourists. These tribesmen were either contracted directly by the tourists, or hired, with marginal profit, by the tourists' group organizers, who came from Amman and other urban centers. The tribesmen also worked as desert guides as "they knew the best spots of taking pictures of the landscape, to admire a sunset, or to camp around a fire at night. Some also had good skills to take out adventure-driven visitors, such as hikers and climbers" (Chatelard, 2001, p. 3). Before the mid 1980s, when the number of tourists visiting Wadi Rum did not exceed a few dozens a year, the Bedouins level of involvement in the tourism industry allowed them to continue to maintain their multi-resource economy. While some of the Bedouin people continued to live in their tents in the *badia* to herd livestock, the majority of them had their main residence in the village and made a livelihood from guiding tourists. "Both of the activities were complementary within the economy of each household" (Chatelard, 2001, p. 3).

When the tourism industry in Wadi Rum started to grow beyond the planners' expectations, "the Jordanian government and private sector interests grew, and the real struggle over the future of the area began" (Brand, 2001, p. 573). To ensure its share in tourism industry in Wadi Rum, the Jordanian government established the Aqaba Regional Authority (ARA) in 1984, which was given the responsibility of developing and planning Aqaba governorate to which Wadi Rum administratively belongs. The establishment of ARA created conflict with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MTA), which "viewed any site attracted tourists as property within its administrative purview" (Brand, 2001, p. 573).

At this stage, in the middle of this conflict of interests between the government's bureaucracies, the local residents' voice was totally neglected by these bureaucracies. After some complaints sent by the local residents to the government, Queen Noor reacted by a visit to Rum Village to investigate the situation.

In 1988, Her Majesty Queen Noor visited Wadi Rum and noticed that there was no clear mechanism for local people to benefit from tourism. Following the visit, Queen Noor requested the formation of a special committee to study the organization of the Bedouins' participation in tourism (RTC, 1999, p. 7). Stemming from this committee's activities, on October 10th, 1990, the Rum Tourism Co-Operative (RTC) was officially registered as a non-government organization (NGO).

This co-operative is directed by an elected board from within its membership, with its main objective being to represent the local community and facilitate the sharing of the area's tourism benefits. Its membership is open to any of the area's Bedouin residents who are over the age of eighteen. Members are required to pay two Jordanian Dinars (JDs), as a membership fee and at least thirty JDs shares in the co-operative. The maximum amount of shares that any member can purchase in this cooperative is three hundred JDs. Members of the co-operative are technically committed to four specific principles. The first principle is that they should not join any other co-operatives that practice similar activities in the area. The second principle is that they should respect the decisions of the cooperative's board of directors. The third is that they should pay any additional fees requested by the board of directors. And finally they should also attend the general assembly and other meetings that the board of directors may request (RTC, 1999, p. 8-9).

Before the early 1990s, according to RTC's documents, tourism was modest, in which the local residents as well as RTC were content with the small number of visitors to the area and the government largely left them alone. After 1994, when the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan was signed, a dramatic increase in tourism to Wadi Rum occurred. Statistics showed that the number of tourists to Wadi Rum rocketed from a few dozen a year in the beginning of 1980s to 70,000 in 1996 (The Jordanian Board of Tourism, 2004). Here, it is essential to point out that the swift increase in the number of visitors to Wadi Rum had lead to a proliferation of car tracks and litter of non-biodegradable materials on the desert floor and graffiti increasingly marred the tops of many of Wadi Rum's mountains.

To cope with the global trends of conservation, in 1996, the Jordanian National Environment Strategy identified Wadi Rum to be an important site that required urgent action to ensure the region's protection, in which Wadi Rum was designated. As a result, Wadi Rum became the property of the Jordanian government's treasury, except the land of Rum village, which is privately owned. To overcome the environmental consequences of tourism and to meet the demands of the increase in visitors' numbers, the Jordanian government sought international aid. As a result, a number of foreign and multilateral institutions became involved in tourism development in Jordan. These institutions viewed tourism in Jordan as one economic sector with a great deal of potential in a country that is otherwise resource poor. Part of these foreign and multilateral institutions involvement, in 1996, the World Bank produced the Second Tourism Development Project which includes plans for the development of Wadi Rum. According to this project's documents, Jordan was granted 32 million US dollars to be spent on developing tourist sites in the country with the general objective of the project being to create "the conditions for an increase in sustainable and environmentally sound tourism" and to "realize tourism-related employment and income-generation potential" (World Bank Report 15485-JO, 1996, p. 2). In 1996, the Jordanian government decided to change Wadi Rum's designation into a tourist-service area with special regulations, a change that was made to meet the requirements of the World Bank.

World Bank's documents support the rationale for this project by presenting the situation in Wadi Rum in the following way:

To date there has been little focus on developing tourism while preserving it environmentally. The result is an increasing problem with litter, archaeological sites damaged by graffiti, unplanned vehicle tracks, and unsightly village. The Rum Village (Bedouin community), which only a few years ago contained just a few houses, now has more than 300 houses and is experiencing an alarming rate of growth. Current tourism activities are poorly organized and under funded, there is little effort to promote regulations to preserve the village, and there is no proposal to maximize the returns from tourism. Wadi Rum is at an important juncture, and steps must be taken to avoid further endangering the very fragile environmental balance that makes it so attractive" (World Bank Report 15485-JO, 1996, p. 8).

This quotation clearly indicates that the World Bank's Second Tourism Development Project, included plans for an alternative village to the existing Rum Village. The plan also included the rehabilitation of the existing Rum village to be a bed and breakfast resort, the construction of visitors' centre and the development of special regulations to conserve the area's ecological and archaeological resources (ASEZA, 2007).

The second Tourism Development Project had the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities take on the co-ordinator position, making them responsible for the overall implementation of the project, while the Aqaba Regional Authority (ARA) became responsible for directly implementing Wadi Rum's component of this project. Because the World Bank wanted both the private sector and the civil society involvement in this development project, the ARA arranged for a tender competition to fulfill the project's requirements. The competition was divided into two components. The first component of the competition was to design a visitors' centre that can function as the gateway to the protected area. It also includes the rehabilitation of the existing Rum Village into a bed and breakfast resort with special regulations. The competition was won by Shubeilat Badran Associates (SBA), which is an architectural firm based in Amman. The second component of the competition was the preparation of a conservation management plan. This plan was aimed to achieve the conservation of the area's ecological and archaeological resources, as well as the organization of the area's tourists' activities to increase tourism revenue. This competition was won by the Royal Society for Conservation of Nature (RSCN), meaning the RSCN was commissioned by the ARA to prepare the plans of conservation, as well as the recruitment and development of an on-site management team.

The ARA's policy for this project was naturally inspired by the World Bank's vision in which it promoted the concept of ecotourism. Based upon this policy the project had two different yet interrelated goals. The first goal was to educate the local Bedouins by implementing outreach programs that promoted the importance of the protected area and encouraged local communities and visitors to participate in its conservation. The second goal was to present the introduction of safeguarded ecologically sensitive areas and to

ensure that visitors, who visit these areas, will always be able to have a wilderness experience. Therefore, a zoning scheme was proposed that had the protected area divided into two zones:

A free access zone and a wilderness zone. Controls on visitor activities in the free access zone are minimal but in the wilderness zone there are limits on tourists and vehicle numbers and special events like marathons. Camping and climbing are also more restricted but access on foot or by camels is encouraged (ASEZA, <http://www.wadirum.jo>, 25, December, 2006).

The RSCN, with its dual nature mandate of both an independent conservation NGO and an agency with very limited experience in the area of tourism development, was experiencing challenges. These challenges are well described by Chatelard:

On one hand, many activities the Bedouin carry out, such as: hunting, animal husbandry, or the use of jeep in the desert is seen as threats to biodiversity and damage to that landscape and, therefore, as impeding the growth of ecotourism. On the other hand, these same Bedouins are the official targets of economic development that, in the long run, should financially and socially benefit from the new project (2001, p. 17).

In August 2000, the clash of interests between ARA and RSCN was accelerated when the Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA) Law was passed by the Jordanian Parliament. The passing of this law meant that the ASEZA replaced the ARA as well as stipulated that the ASEZA became the statutory institution that was empowered by regulatory, administrative, fiscal and economic responsibilities. The Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority, a private sector-driven development initiative, aimed to maximize private sector participation in duty free, tax-advantaged and flexible regulatory operations. The ASEZA is a government body that is directly related to the Prime Minister of Jordan and is authorized to facilitate investors to set up and operate a business in its territorial jurisdiction, which includes Wadi Rum (<http://aqabazone.com>, 26 December, 2006). Tension then developed between the ASEZA and the RSCN because the RSCN was unable to establish common grounds of collaboration with ASEZA whose main goal is to create big businesses in the area. The sources of tension between ASEZA

and RSCN can be classified into two major areas: the first was concerning Wadi Rum's conservation policy. That is when ASEZA refused "to pass regulations allowing the safeguard of Wadi Rum along the same lines as other protected area in the Kingdom (Jordan), in particular by permanently banning hotel construction, or the organization of large scale, environmentally damaging events such as the international marathon" (Chatelard, 2001, p. 6) and for the Royal Society for Conservation of Nature, these events do not promote environment sustainability, which was its major mandate. The second source of tension was the issue of relocation of the Bedouins out of Rum Village. The ASEZA was the group that was given the responsibility to implement the World Bank's proposed suggestion to relocate the Bedouins who live in Rum Village outside the boundaries of the protected area. Therefore, the ASEZA's officials proposed to incite the Bedouins to leave Rum Village, as it was deemed unsightly and too visible in the middle of the valley, as it was "Expressing negative aesthetic judgments about the actual settlement, experts (World Bank and ASEZA) stated that it has to be either removed or evacuated and turned into a touristic village" (Chatelard, 2001, p. 18).

The RSCN, from their role as the project's on-site management team, recognized the importance of the existence of the Bedouin life in the area. They also realized that the overwhelming majority of tourists were quite fond of the exotic and romantic aspects of Bedouin life. The RSCN's position about this issue put them in a direct opposition with the World Bank's project objectives that clearly suggested minimizing the nomadic and semi-nomadic presence within the boundaries of the protected area. Thus, to achieve the goal of relocation, various steps were carefully designed and passionately implemented by the Jordanian government. The first step undertaken was the construction of protected area boundaries and then making hunting as well as the removal of firewood forbidden within this entire area. The Bedouins were also forbidden to graze their goats and camels in specific areas within the protected area boundaries. The second step towards the relocation was the construction of a new Visitor's Centre, which contained most of the tourists' activities that had previously existed for years within Rum Village. According to the government's vision, the removal of these services outside the existing Rum Village will be an incentive for the Bedouins to leave following the economic revenues associated

with these tourists' services. As argued by Chatelard, the construction of this Visitor's Centre was an incentive that aimed "to create a dynamic that encourages the Bedouins to spontaneously leave their old village for the new one" (Chatelard, 2001, p. 18).

The Visitors' Centre, which is located at the northern edge of the protected area and about seven kilometres north of Rum Village, was carefully chosen in order to serve two purposes. The first purpose for this location is that it acts as a gateway to the protected area, as it is located at the southern slopes of two massive mountains that form a natural gateway to the protected area. The second reason for this location is that the Visitors' Centre acts as the southern edge to the new village to its north, a setting that provides "a physical barrier between the protected environment of the reserve and the man-made environment of the new village" (SBA, 1999, p. 31).

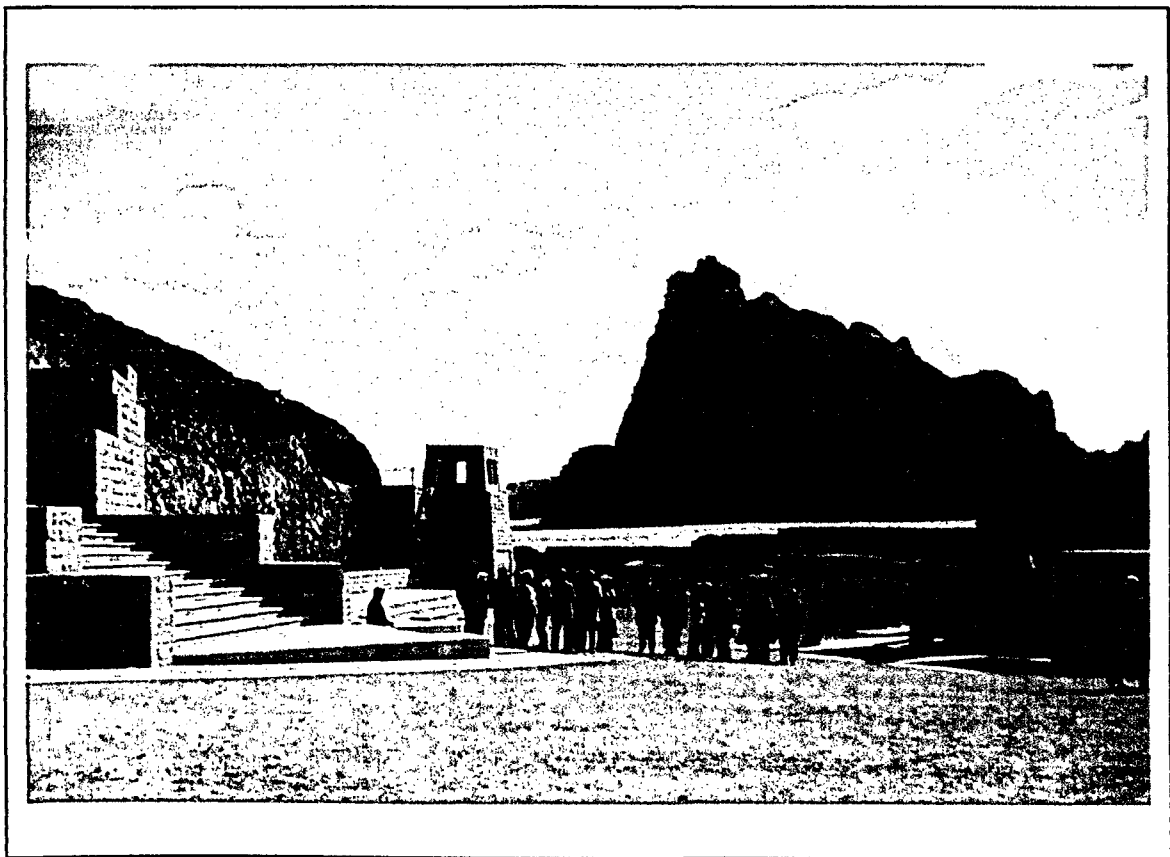


Figure (7.2): The main entry court to the new Visitors Centre. The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Mountain is shown in the background.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2007.

The Visitors' Centre is a large stylish building, which was completed in 2004. As a result of its location, tourists and Bedouins interaction has been controlled. All vehicle and camel tour fees to the protected area are collected at the gates, so all visitors are required to call in before proceeding with their itinerary. Visitors taking in private four wheel drive vehicles also need to register at the main gate.

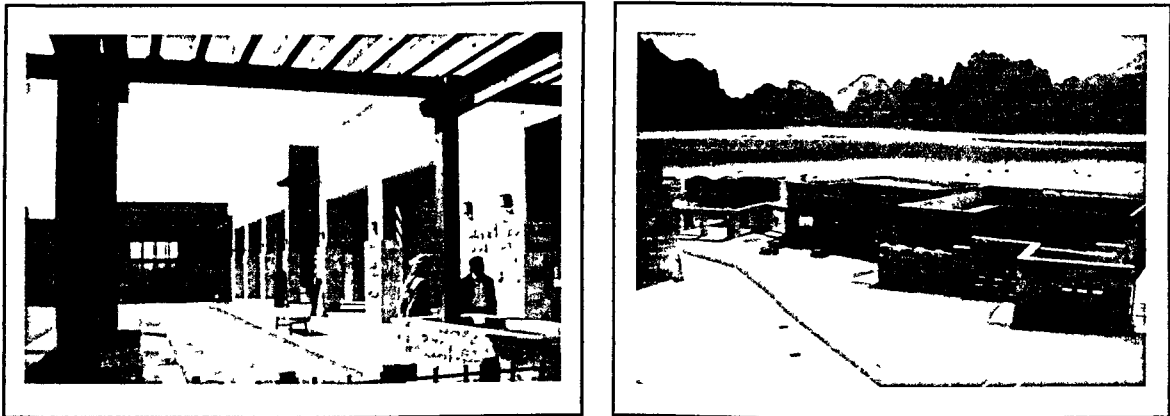


Figure (7.3): Different views showing the new Visitors Centre.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2007.

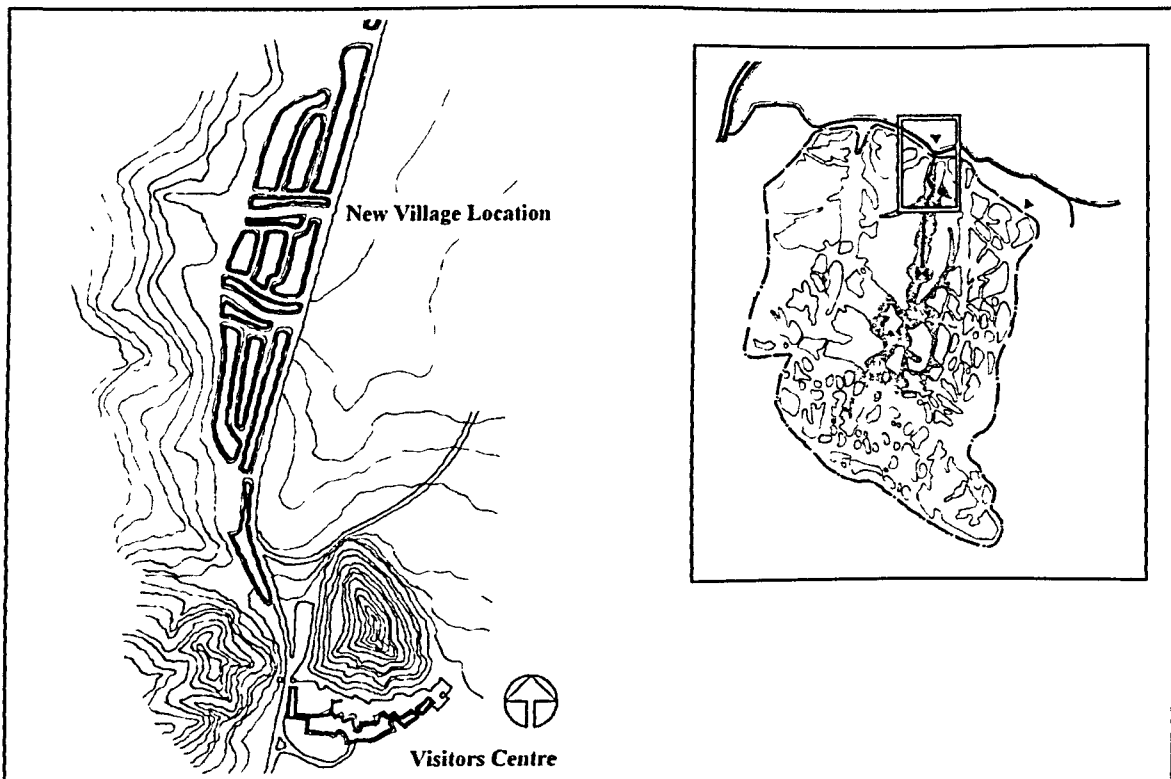


Fig (7.4): The location of the Visitors Centre and the proposed New Village.

Source: SBA Report, 1999.

The Visitors Centre as described by the design team “is the natural extension of Rum’s delicate environment. It is envisaged as a building that is in a complete harmony with its surroundings in terms of scale, articulation, and in the use of materials, colors and textures”. While describing the architectural design philosophy, the designers stated:

The building and the entrance gate will create a dramatic sense of arrival, and will initiate great expectations of the interior of the Wadi itself. The Visitors Centre prepares the visitor to be psychologically transferred into the serenity of the desert and the dreamlike atmosphere of this unique environment (SBA, 1999, p. 31).

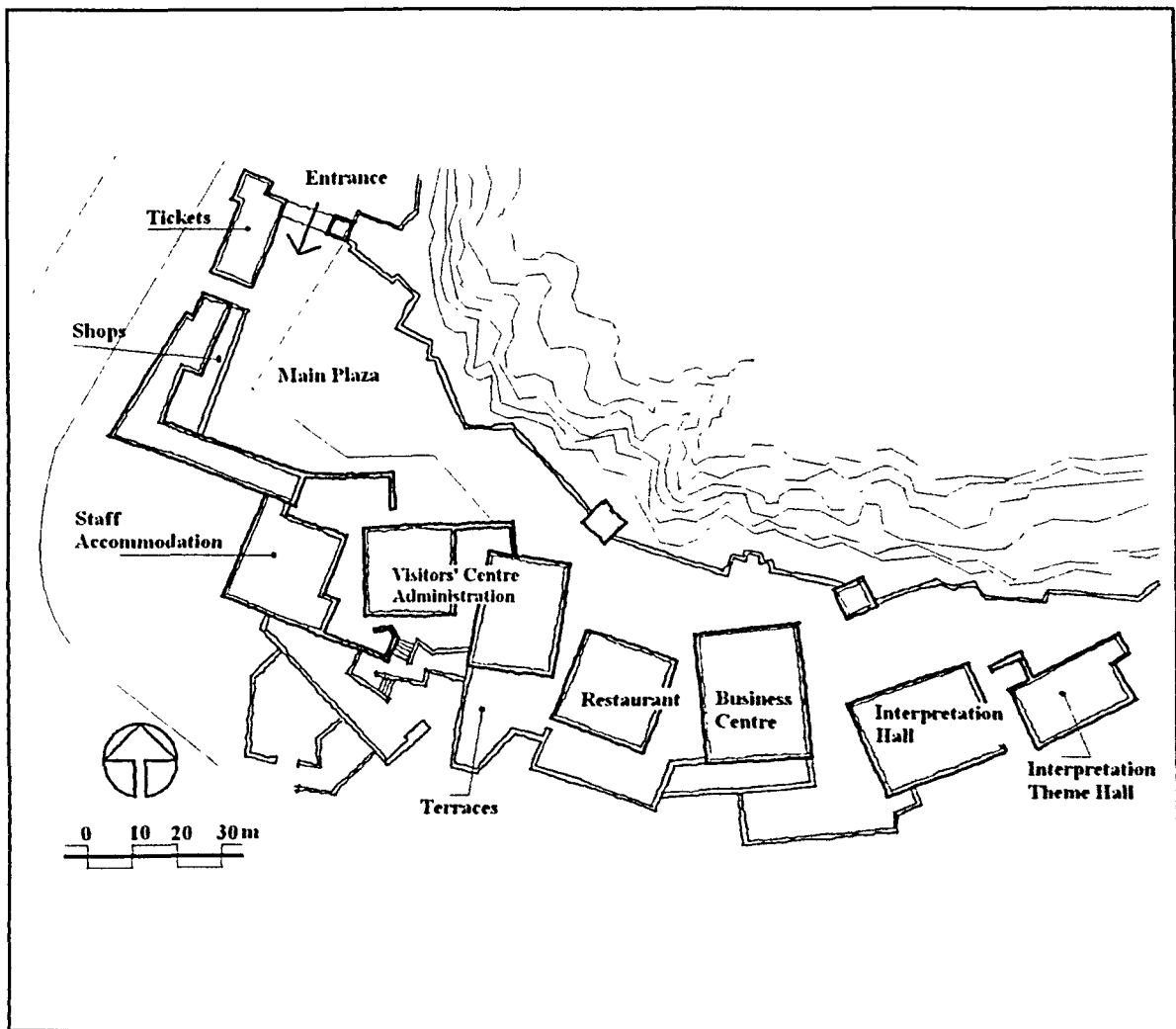


Figure (7.5): The Visitors Centre various buildings.

Source: Shubeilat Badran Associates Report, 1999.

The Visitors' Centre is located at the edge of a sloping hill facing the famous Seven Pillars of Wisdom Mountain which has been a source of inspiration to the design of the project. Echoing the name of the mountain, the project is divided into seven buildings: entrance and shops, staff accommodation, the Visitors' Centre administration, restaurant, business centre, interpretation hall, and interpretation theme hall. These buildings, as described by its design team:

Buildings are arranged organically with varying proportions, character and articulation to reflect the functional nature of each building...this complex of buildings is entered through a pedestrian plaza surrounded by shops...the buildings are linked together through a system of primary and secondary courts as well as terraces...a gateway at the south side of the plaza leads the visitors to a staging station providing vehicular transportation to the existing village and to venture further into the desert (SBA, 1999, p. 32).

The new village setting is formed by the location's physical constraints, which is the valley, topography and the existing road. According to SBA's design report, the main objectives for the new village are as follows: first, to gradually accommodate the transfer of population from the existing Rum Village. Second is to accommodate future population expansion in Wadi Rum by providing infrastructures, services and economic opportunities at a site close to the Visitors Centre. This study argues that the second objective cannot be understandable as the future expansion of Rum Village population is not a problem as the village can be expanded easily. Furthermore, this study argues that how can the future expansion a problem in the existed Rum Village when the unoccupied lots within the village is about twenty eight percent of the total lots?

The proposed land use for the new village, as described by its design team, "is intended to provide attractive living standards which will act as incentives for settlement by the Rum community" (SBA, 1999, p. 48). Here, it is important to point out that this study argues that this objective, as stated by SBA, sounds diplomatic in nature to justify the real objective that reflects the World Bank requirements. As stated in SBA's report, "the proposed new village provides a long term attractive solution to the negative environmental impacts of the existing Rum Village" (SBA, 1999, p. 48).

According to SBA's report, the new village will be divided into different zones as the following:

1. Zone one, it consists of a strip of commercial activities designed to function as the village wall and lining the main road. This represents phase one of the development.
2. Zone two; it exists within the village's residential zone. It contains the village's community and civic center with the public services and amenities. The community and civic areas were oriented towards the inside in the central portion of this strip.

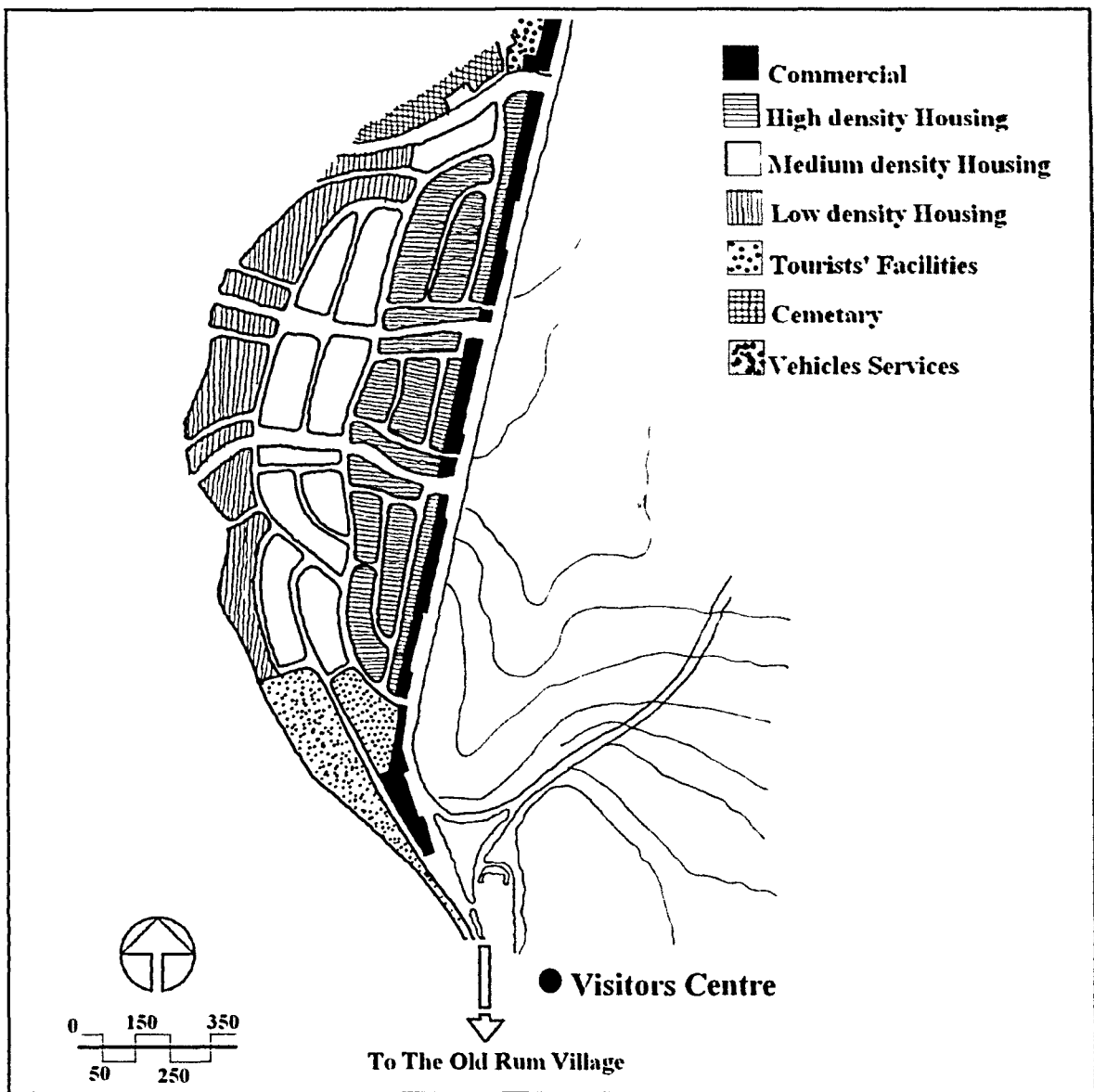


Figure (7.6): The proposed new village various components.

Source: Shubeilat Badran Associates Report, 1999.

3. Zone three; it is the residential areas of the village. This zone is designed to contain three layers. The first will accommodate the five years growth of population in high density housing. The expansion of the village up to the year 2020 will be accommodated in the other two layers. Layer two will be a medium density housing area varying between 500 and 1000 square meters. The third layer will be a low density housing areas varying between 1000 and 2000 square meters. This zone is defined naturally by the massive mountains in the west and south and by the valley to the north.
4. Zone four; it forms the intermediate tourists-related zone which exists between the village and the Visitor Center. This zone is subdivided into two main areas. Towards the western hill edges will be located hotel functions, taking advantage of the higher ground which provided better views of the surrounding landscape. The area immediately adjacent to the existing street is planned as an interaction zone, including various tourist related activities which will provide job opportunities to the locals, including a women's handicrafts center, a festival area, a Bedouin life theme area, and other activities.

After this brief about the nature of the development processes that are taking place in Wadi Rum, it is essential to construct a discussion about the impact of these development processes on the Bedouins of Wadi Rum life patterns.

7.3 The Second Question:

How Does Tourism Affect the Bedouins' Life Patterns?

This section, which further explores the ways in which the development of the tourism industry in Jordan has impacted upon the Bedouins' life, will be divided into three sub-sections. The first sub-section will examine how the tourism industry operates in Wadi Rum, which will illustrate the complex dynamics that exist between the Bedouins and other stakeholders in this industry. The second sub-section will analyze the various ways in which the tourism industry has had impact upon the Bedouins' economic, socio-cultural and spatial contexts and will demonstrate how the Bedouins perceive these impacts to have created some unfavourable socio-cultural and environmental changes to

this region. Based on these first two sub-sections, the third sub-section will address the question of how tourism development, sedentarization and the protected area threaten the Bedouins' life patterns and access to resources.

7.3.1 Tourism in Wadi Rum

The tourism industry in Wadi Rum has grown from an activity that occurred in tandem with the Bedouins' more traditional lifestyle activities, such as herding their livestock to an industry that appears to touch almost everyone's lives in the region. Currently, almost all of the Zalabia tribesmen, who are fifteen years old and older, are either engaged directly or indirectly in tourism activities. This observation matches Chatelard's observation that "nowadays, almost all male residents in Wadi Rum work with tourists at least part of their time, even if extended family households often have other sources of income" (2001, p. 24). These activities in which the tribesmen are involved include driving jeeps, renting camels, guiding tourists in the desert, receiving tourists, preparing Bedouin meals, providing sleeping accommodations and selling souvenirs to tourists. To attain a better understand of the ways in which the Bedouins are involved in these activities it is necessary to explore how this industry is organized in Wadi Rum.

Currently, Wadi Rum's tourism industry follows a hierarchical pattern. At the top of the pyramid there are the tour operators. These operators are the elite of the Zalabia tribe. They are the exclusive local organizers of the tourists' activities in Wadi Rum. Through their tribal power, financial abilities and government support, these tour operators totally or partially, own, supervise and/or manage tourism activities in the region. The second tier of this hierarchy belongs to the tourism service providers who receive contracts to run various tourist activities from the tour operators. The tourism service providers can be sub-divided into the three following categories. The first category is the surplus tourism service providers, who work for themselves by conducting guided tours in Wadi Rum. They are well known for their abilities in camel and horse trekking as well as trace tracking. The second sub-group is the subsistence tourism service providers. These are the jeep drivers and antique shops owners. The third sub-group of the second tier in this hierarchy, which is the lowest rank as perceived by Wadi Rum's tourism industry

stakeholders, is the marginal tourism service providers. This group consists of the poor Bedouins who live in the *barr* area and informally receive tourists. During the course of this study's fieldwork, I found, in many cases, that these poor Bedouins were living, or hired to live at the fringes of the desert close to Rum Village to accommodate short range tourists' trips. This structure illustrates that the tourist industry that exists within the protected area of Wadi Rum is an activity that is substantially shaped by brokers or middlemen.

These brokers or middlemen are a mixture of local community members (Zalabia's elite) and private sector operators, in which the key player is Mr. Mohammad Al Hillawi, the manager of the government owned Rest-House and several privileged tour operations. In addition to running these operations, Mr. Hillawi, is also the mediator among these various brokers and the organizer of desert tours and programs in cooperation with the RTC. In 1991, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MTA) franchised the Rest-House to Mr. Hillawi for a sum of 3000 JDs a year. At the end of 1996, his contract was renewed for another three years but for a much larger fee of 12000 JDs a year (RTC's Report, 1999, p. 15). Mr. Hillawi's management of the Rest-House in this region is one of the factors that can be seen to attribute to his powerful position in the tourism industry. To further understand the importance of the Rest-House and its management in Wadi Rum and how it has helped Mr. Hillawi to hold such a powerful role in this society, it is necessary to further explore this location in relation to tourists' activities in this region.

Before June 2005, when the new Visitors' Centre started to be the gateway to Wadi Rum in general, and to Rum Village in particular, visitors to the area, who were using buses or private cars could not go beyond the designated parking area next to the Rest-House. These visitors to Wadi Rum can be categorized into two basic groups. The first category of tourists are those that come to the area through organized tour groups on buses or four wheel drive vehicles owned or hired by registered tour operators. This category of tourists accounts for sixty-five percent of all visitors to the region. The other thirty-five percent of the tourist population, visiting the region, belong to the second category, which are the 'independent' tourists. These visitors arrive using their own vehicles or public

transportation. At the Rest-House, visitors or their licensed tour guides pay for the entry tickets into Wadi Rum. After paying to enter the area, the visitors are then made to spend some time with their guides in a Bedouin tent, which has been pitched next to the Rest-House. The tent is furnished with Bedouin rugs, mattresses and cushions. There, waiters, who are dressed in Bedouin outfits, serve the visitors Bedouin tea and coffee.

The provision of such a Bedouin atmosphere within the Rest-House compound serves dual purposes. First, it reflects Mr. Hillawi's vision that matches what Boniface and Fowler suggested that "tourists want extra-authenticity, that which is better than reality. They want a fantastic experience. They want stimulation...through simulation of life ways as we would wish them to be or to have been in the past" (1993, p. 7). Second, it is a hidden invitation from the Rest-House management that this can be the relaxing station after a journey into the harsh desert. Understanding that the vast majority of the tourists to Wadi Rum are one-day visitors, Mr. Hillawi, using his powerful connections with government's officials, designed the tours to the desert in a way that by the end of the day tourists come back to the Rest-House. In this regard, Chatelard noticed the following:

The area frequented by tourists in the desert is not very wide (roughly 15 by 20 kilometres) and can become relatively crowded during the high Spring and Autumn seasons when up to 300 visitors go back and forth daily from one spot to the other by jeeps, on camel-back or on foot...At the end of their tours, tourists are brought back to the rest-house and the time comes for buying souvenirs (2001, pp. 9-11).

Within this proximity described by Chatelard, in order to achieve the desired 'extra-authenticity', various types of camps, which are further described below, are strategically placed, either individually or together, close to almost every tourist site near Rum Village. To achieve this 'extra-authenticity,' Wadi Rum's tourism policymakers, with a push from some international institutions, such as the World Bank, adopted a philosophy of tourism development that commoditize local cultures and traditions, a philosophy that can be deemed heritage tourism. Heritage tourism aims to create some direct interactions between the tourists and the hosts' culture and spatial environments.

Based on this study's fieldwork findings, the following section outlines the different types of camps that are available for tourists in Wadi Rum.

1. Camps that consist of some scattered Bedouin tents that are meant for living, such as Attalla's camp. Within these camps, the Bedouins maintain a multi-resource economy. In addition to their involvement in tourism, their pastoral economic activities still exist, not as means of subsistence but rather as a means of earning extra money. While their camels can be rented to tourists, their livestock's meat and dairy products are produced to be sold at the local and nearest markets.
2. Scattered Bedouin tents, which are meant to provide services to the tourists' tours. Within these camps the Bedouins rely on tourism as their sole mean of income. Tourists are received either in a separate tent designated as *madhafah* or in the men's section of the camp's elder person's tent.
3. During the 1980s, when tourism in the region began to take on an organized pattern, the MTA allowed for the establishment of the third form, which are the specialized tourists' camps. While some of these camps are limited in terms of the services they provide, some are equivalent to two star hotels, such as the Captain Camp, which is located at the northern edge of Wadi Um Ishrin. This camp consists of tents and some permanent structures. It provides visitors with beds, toilets and showers. In addition to these facilities, some of the other camps provide guests with access to swimming pools.

It is important to point out that the second and third categories of camps, in most of the cases recorded, are registered in some of the Bedouin tribesmen's names, but are managed by the Rest-House or other non-Bedouin Jordanian tour organizers. Most of these tribesmen are actually quite poor and allow their names to be used for registration purposes in exchange for a small amount of money. It is also important to highlight that a great deal of the services that are offered by these camps are determined by the true organizers, which are the tour operators rather than the Bedouin tribesmen. As well the majority of employees at these camps are Egyptian migrants and urban Jordanians. Based upon these observations that I made, it is important to explore the ways in which the tourism industry in Wadi Rum impacts upon the Bedouins' life.



Figure (7.7): An example of tents pitched as tourists' stations in the desert.

Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

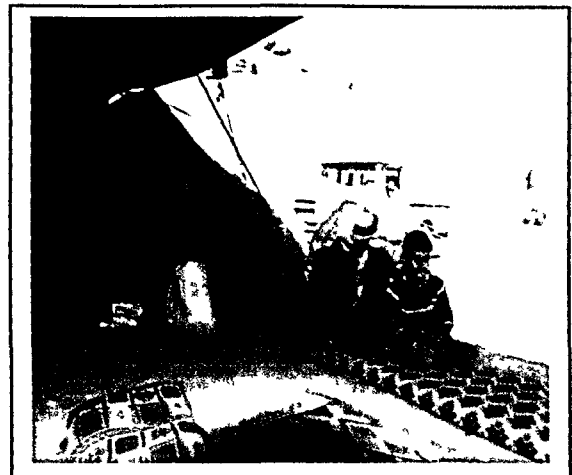
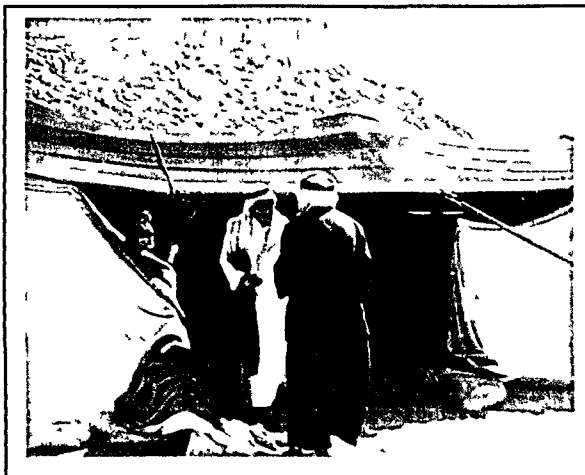


Figure (7.8): A Bedouin tent pitched to serve for the activities of living and receiving tourists near the Khazali Mountain.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

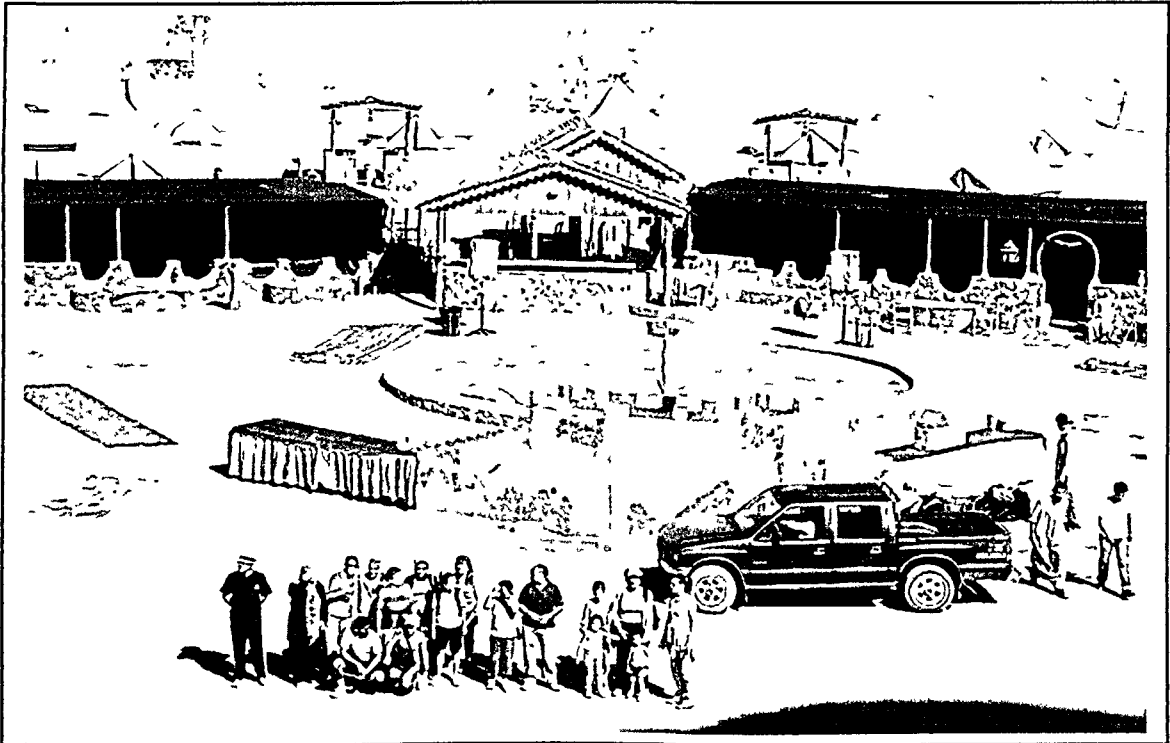


Figure (7.9): An example of the specialized camps, where fixed architectural elements are used in the camp's design.

Source: Mansour Mouasher's pictorial collection, 2005.

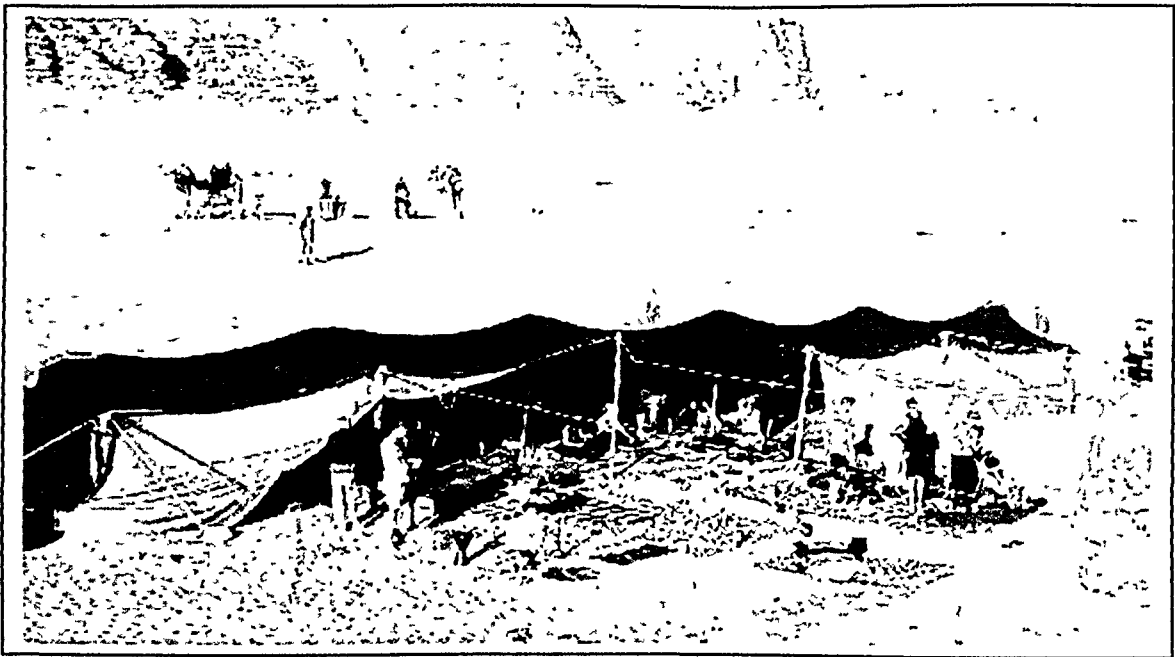


Figure (7.10): A specialized camp managed by the Rest House.

Source : Mansour Mouasher's pictorial collection, 2005.

Here, it is important to point out that the second and third categories, in most of the cases recorded, are registered by some of the Bedouin tribesmen's names, but are managed by the Rest-House or other non-Bedouin Jordanian tours' organizers. Most of them are poor and accept their names to be used for little amount of money. Services offered by these camps are determined by the true organizers. The majority of their staff are Egyptian migrants and urban Jordanians.



Figure (7.11): Comparison of activities. The first photo shows a Bedouin woman making *shrak* on the *saj*. The second photo shows an Egyptian migrant making *shrak* using a propane gas oven in one of the specialized camps.

Source: The Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

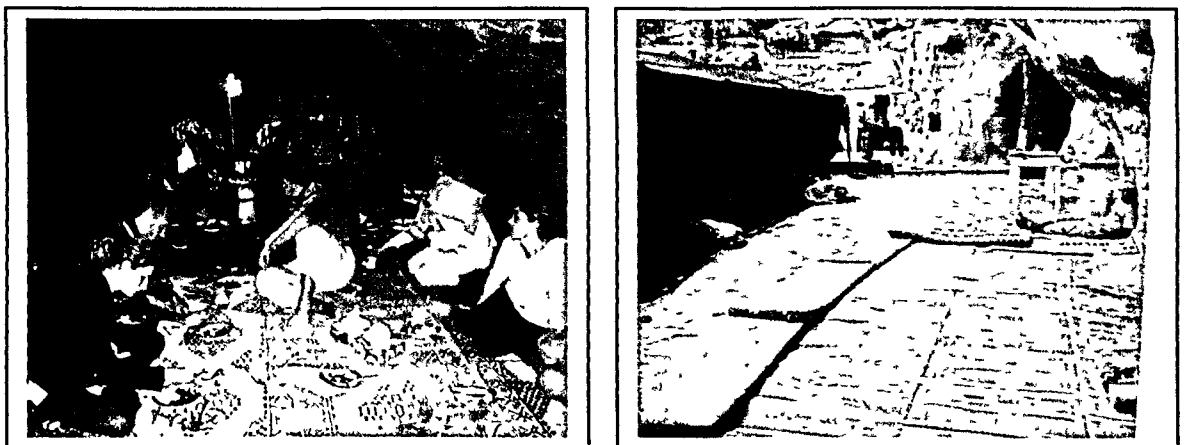


Figure (7.12): A group of tourists eating in a camp owned by a local tours operators. It shows also the way in which mattresses are laid to sleep outside the tent.

Source: <http://www.virtualtourist.com>

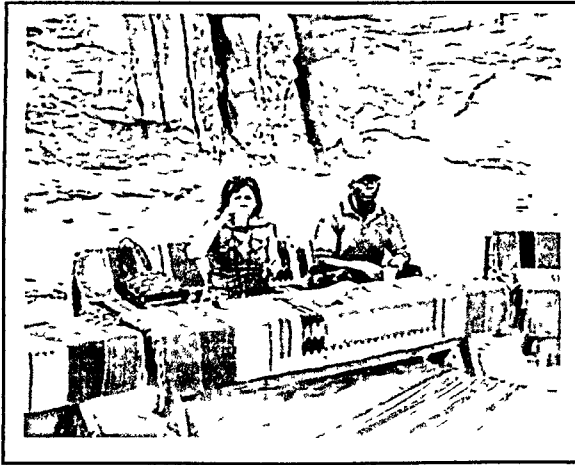


Figure (7.13): The first image shows the seating arrangement in a specialized camp. In contrast to the first image, the second illustrates a typical (informal) Bedouin tent seating arrangement.

Source: <http://www.virtualtourist.com>

7.3.2 Wadi Rum's Tourism Impact Assessment:

Since this section of the study focuses on the impact of tourism on the various aspects of life of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, it is important to begin this discussion by offering the reader a definition of the term impact. I am using this term to refer to the ways in which the local people in the area of Wadi Rum have responded and continue to respond to the presence of tourism in their region.

In assessing the impact of tourism on a specific region, studies often explore if tourism is good or bad, suitable or strange to the locality that is under study. This focus is extremely important when dealing with tourism initiatives in developing countries. This importance stems from the fact that these countries have been actively urged, often by international institutions and donors to be more involved in tourism initiatives to become more economically developed. These countries are usually urged to be involved in such projects even if their socio-cultural and physical infrastructures are not prepared for such involvement. The following discussion in this sub-section will first explore the various development projects that have been introduced in this area and how they have focused on using the tool of tourism as a means to develop Jordan's economy.

Until the early 1990s, Wadi Rum, in general, like many towns and villages in southern Jordan had continued to suffer major infrastructural problems. In 1994, water supply to Rum Village was insufficient, there was no electricity and television reception was very weak. The village had a clinic, but it had no medical materials or equipment. Most of the village's streets were unpaved including the main road which is the municipal one. The village had a school up to the sixth grade for boys and girls, however, female teachers refused to live in the village, opting to commute instead. In sum, up to 1994, the area remained poor with a majority of its residents depending on primitive tourism industry (*Sawt Al-Shae'b*, 30 November 1994). With these poor conditions, the Jordanian government was negotiating with international donors the possibilities of investments in the area. At that time, the competition between Aqaba Region Authority (ARA) and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MTA) continued over the control of the future of Wadi Rum. By late October 1995, MTA reported that it had already received seventy requests for permits to establish hotels in Wadi Rum (*Al-Dustur*, 22 October, 1995). Scholars, such as Laurie Brand, have criticised the whole situation and questioned the real intentions behind this competition. Criticising the performance of MTA:

Apparently unconcerned with the potential environmental impact, MTA initially took the position that no investment in Rum would be forbidden as long as it was based on previous study. Not to be trumped, the ARA insisted that this was Aqaba district land, regardless of use, and hence it, not MTA, had final say about the form that investment in Rum would take (Brand, 2001, p. 574).

Such a clash of interests has led the Jordanian government, in 1996, to call for the formation of a committee to follow up the state of tourism in Wadi Rum. To meet the World Bank's requirements and based on the recommendations of this committee, Wadi Rum was designated 'tourist-services' area. The designation aimed to prepare the area for the potential international tourism and the establishment of hotels, restaurants and other tourists' facilities. To facilitate Wadi Rum's conversion into a tourists' service area, the Jordanian government "decided to give those living in Rum village an alternative piece of land at the site of a proposed new village that the ARA had already decided to build, without consulting the Bedouins" (Brand, 2001, p. 574). The Bedouins, with their strong

attachment to the land of their ancestors, rejected the idea of relocation. Yet, the government continued to persuade them to leave by offering incentives and projects that aim to prepare the Bedouins for the shift.

Recently the United States Agency of International Development (USAID), recognizing the power of tourism in terms of how it could contribute to Jordan's economic growth, designed and started to implement the Jordan Tourism Development Project (*Siyaha*). *Siyaha*, literally meaning tourism, is a three-year, \$17 million project working with the Jordanian government, local communities, NGOs and tourism-related institutions to develop a dynamic, competitive tourism industry in different locations within Jordan. *Siyaha* is supporting the implementation of Jordan's National Tourism Strategy 2004-2010. The strategy, developed by a public-private sector partnership, aims to double the tourism industry through intensified marketing and promotion, an integrated approach to human resource and product development, and institutional and regulatory reform (Jordan's National Tourism Strategy, 2007, p. 55).

From 2005 to 2008, the project worked with its partners to spur private sector investment and business development, and expand employment throughout the Kingdom. Jordan's tourism industry will emerge as an international destination-of-choice that capitalizes on Jordan's culture and tradition of hospitality while preserving its historic and natural treasures. The announced philosophy of the project is based upon the government and World Bank belief that economic, social, cultural and environmentally sound development in the tourism industry requires strong institutions and up-to-date policies. Therefore, the project aims at:

Strengthening government institutions that manage the tourism industry and enhancing the legal and regulatory environment to respond to the vision outlined in Jordan's National Tourism Strategy 2004-2010 (<http://www.siyaha.org/v1/component1.php>, 2008).

In addition to its interest in developing strong institutions and modernizing the tourism laws, policies and regulations in Jordan, the project also aims to improve the management

of heritage sites. In collaboration, with the Department of Antiquities, this project aims to improve the preservation, conservation and management of Jordan's archaeological sites. By working to achieve this goal, *Siyaha* is contributing to the preservation of the country's historic treasures while improving visitors' experience in the country. *Siyaha* is developing comprehensive strategies to build the tourism economies in communities that feature key tourist attractions. While the project's (*Siyaha*) philosophy sounds promising, here, I argue that it is nothing more than slogans to gain the local communities support to developmental plans of Wadi Rum.

A discussion of *Siyaha*'s initiatives is important because one of *Siyaha*'s recipients was Wadi Rum. In partnership with ASEZA and RTC, this project aims to develop small programs that will increase income-generating opportunities for the locals in this area. In Wadi Rum, specifically, *Siyaha* has four core goals. The first goal is to develop and expand tourism experiences that a visitor can have to the region, such as their participation in camel treks, their ability to connect with the Bedouin culture and enhancing eco-campsites in the area. The second goal is to develop local handicrafts, especially through women's organizations and entrepreneurs. *Siyaha* also attempts to, empower women and the community by encouraging these groups to participate in tourism-related enterprises. And the final core goal for this project is to build the capacity of community-based organizations in Wadi Rum. Again, in reality there is a gap between what the project state and implement. Indeed, very limited locals were involved while the majority of participants came from Amman and the near urban centers.

To enrich the tourists' experience, a business plan was designed in 2006 with the collaboration of the RTC as the only NGO in Wadi Rum. The plan is related to using camels in such a way that reflects the authentic Bedouin culture specific to Wadi Rum. As the project believes, using camels for transportation is environmentally friendly and diminishes damaging effects from the heavy use of four wheel drive Jeeps by tourists. While exchanging emails with one of the tourists that I met in Rum Village, the tourist expressed the significance of camel tours, but at the same time, argued that some spots he visited were hard to reach without a Jeep.

In order to earn a large profit in a short period of time, the Bedouin camps that reside deep in the desert, based upon the enforcement of this idea to use camels as the sole mode of travel for tours in the region, moved closer to the main tourist' attractions around Rum Village. These new camps, and those deep inside the desert were deemed by ASEZA, the World Bank and USAID to be "not always up to what international tourists are used to or expect and thus can be detrimental for its owners" (USAID Newsletter April, 2007). To help the locals improve the state of these camps, *Siyaha*, in collaboration with ASEZA, proposed a system for improvement. The system includes "twenty six mandatory requirements, thirty six safety requirements, eighteen comfort requirements and finally twenty three requirements that consider authenticity and the environment" (ASEZA, 2007). These requirements attempted to unify campsites within the area and thus the majority of Bedouins considered the rules to interfere with their freedom to live in the ways in which their ancestors lived. Based upon these feelings of interference, the Bedouins rejected the implementation of this system until it became enforced by the law of ASEZA in 2007.

After this brief about some of the developmental projects in Wadi Rum, the discussion that follows is an analytical exploration as to how the development and expansion of Jordan's tourism industry has impacted upon various contexts of the Bedouins' social, cultural, economic, political and spatial contexts. The task of separating the ways in which tourism impacts these various contexts is difficult, and perhaps even impossible; yet, for the purposes of this discussion, the ways in which these impacts affect the different contexts will be separately addressed, even though their repercussions cannot be dissociated. Although most of the literature on the subject of tourism divided its impacts into positive and negative, this study will divide it into benefits and costs.

7.3.2.1 Tourism's Economic Benefits and Costs:

1. Tourism's Economic Benefits:

1.1. The Generation of Local Employments:

Undoubtedly, the influx of international tourists generates local employment, which is based both in the tourism sector as well as various support sectors, such as agriculture, pastoralism and construction. A strong tourism industry also generates foreign exchange

for the country and injects capital into the local economy. In terms of income stemming from tourist activities, it is important to note that, these activities in Wadi Rum can be divided into two categories, those which are officially regulated by the RTC and those that are not regulated. According to the RTC's records, which are based upon August 2007's figures, there are two hundred and fifty working vehicles in Wadi Rum. These records also indicate that approximately one hundred camels are registered for tours in the deserts (RTC's Report, 1999, p. 34). Here, I find it essential to point out that these figures are most likely inaccurate as there are many vehicles and camels not registered for taxation purposes. Thus, although in terms of employment, tourism stimulates some domestic industries, such as lodging facilities, transportation, handcrafts and guiding services, the most active domestic industry in relation to tourism in Wadi Rum is that of transportation.

This study's fieldwork found that tours for tourists in Wadi Rum can be divided into the following categories, the Classical tours; the Two-day trips; the Three-day trips; Camel-back ride trips; and Customized trips.

1. Classical tours:

This type of tour explores the main tourist sites of Wadi Rum. The duration of the trip can be for a few hours to a full day and night, depending on the tourists' time availabilities and interests. This type of experience can be done either by jeep or camel, with the starting point always being in the front yard of the Rest-House in Rum village. The tour passes through Lawrence's well and the sand dunes in Wadi Um Ishrin, where tourists can see some of the Nabatean Inscriptions. The trip continues to cover Lawrence's House and Barragh Canyon, where the group can stop for lunch. Following lunch the tour proceeds to visit Um Frouth, Khazali Canyon and the sunset site.

2. Two days trip:

This trip is offered to tourists who are looking to experience more than one day in the desert. The tour covers the same sites that are explored during the classical tour with the exception of the Barragh Canyon. After spending a night in a Bedouin tent, the group begins a camel ride for a 4-5 hour trip, which covers places that the jeep cannot reach.

3. Three days trip:

This type of adventure is mainly arranged for mountaineers. It covers the same principle sites as the other two trips but on the second day, the group heads south for nearly one hour to reach a climbing site. While the group practices climbing, the jeep waits for them at the other side of the mountain to continue the trip. After spending a night in a Bedouin camping site, they ride on camels back to Rum Village.

4. Camel-back ride trips:

There are two different ways to visit Wadi Rum's attractions by camels. The first way is by hiring some of the younger Bedouin men who will lead the camels on the tour. This trip covers the same tourist sites as described in the classical tour. The other way to make such a trip is to have a mounted guide lead the group of tourists, who ride their own camels. This type of trip, depending on the destinations, may be as long as 4 to 5 days in.

5. The customized trip:

This type of trip can be modified based upon the desire the individual tourists.

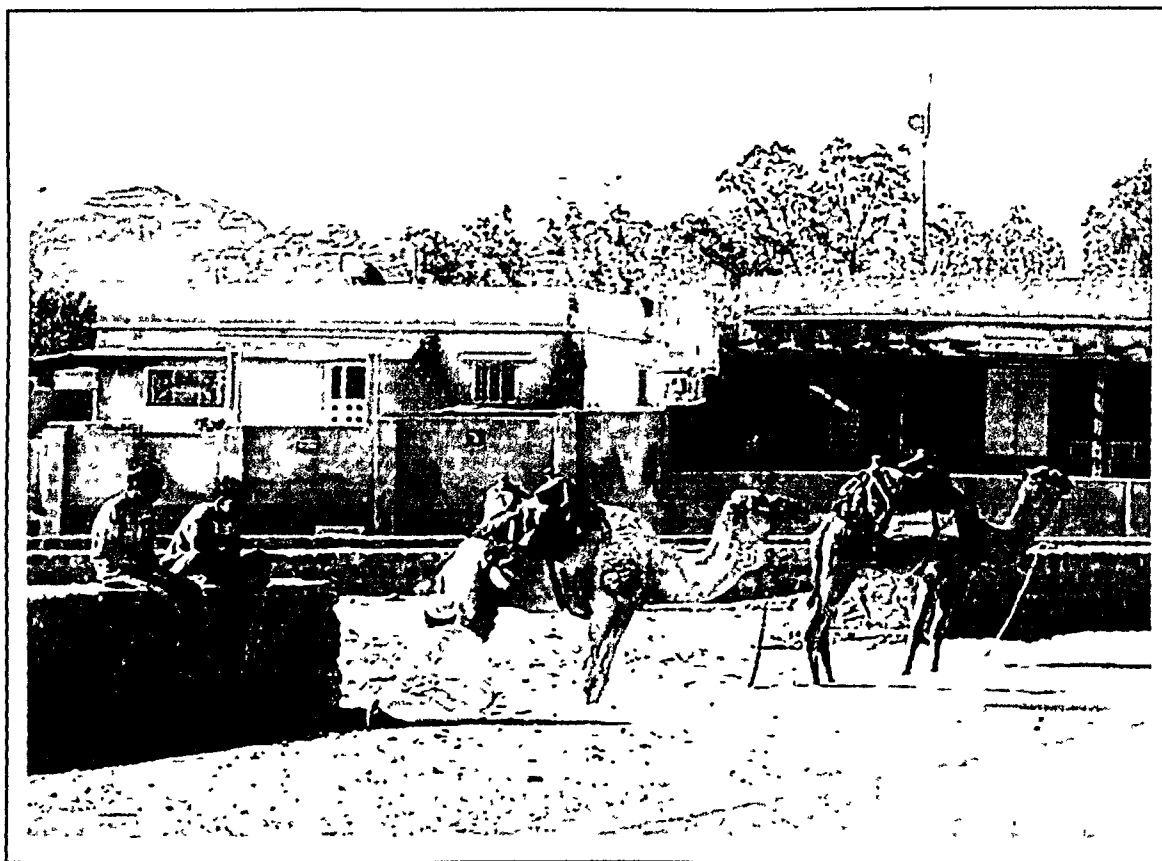


Fig (7.14): Bedouin young men offering camel-back rides into the desert.

Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

Here, it is important to note that these trips can be found within the *barr* area. This limitation is due to the zoning scheme produced by ASEZA. It allows tourists' activities to take place within the free zone only. Within this zone ASEZA implemented "special by-laws and codes of behaviour to support the conservation efforts in Wadi Rum" (<http://www.wadirum.jo/Rules.htm>). These regulations are as follows:

1. Drive your vehicle only on the designated tracks, or encourage your driver to do so.
2. Protect all nature: no hunting or collecting plants, rocks, artefacts or firewood.
3. Camp and climb only in the official sites. Use gas stoves or charcoal for fire.
4. Minimize use of fixed climbing gear and chalk and avoid damaging trees and shrubs.
5. Take your litter away: Burn toilet papers or use water. Bury human waste.
6. Minimize noise level; refrain from playing loud music.
7. Respect the life style of local people; wear appropriate dress.

As the tourism industry generates job opportunities in Wadi Rum, it adds to the flow of cash within the community. To understand the ways in which cash flow in Wadi Rum is enhanced by tourism, the following section sheds some light on the ways Zalabia tribesmen generate money.

1.2. The Generation Of Foreign Exchange:

In theory, a vehicle's owner's turn to drive a tourist into the desert would come around every five days. According to some local informants, the RTC records are not accurate when it comes to a driver's turn and are sometimes biased. In reality, a vehicle's owner may expect, at most, two or three turns per month. According to these informants, the owner of a single jeep registered with RTC can achieve an annual income of 1200 to 1500 Jordanian Dinar (JD). Here, it is important to note that some of the Bedouins own more than one vehicle. Camel rides were found less lucrative, as the average monthly income per camel does not exceed sixty JD. Another form of income that was observed is the specialist guides. For their contacts with domestic and foreign tour operators, those guides can be well paid without needing to depend on RTC or the Rest-House. As I was informed by one of the specialist guides, each guide might be paid around five hundred JDs for a six days trek. In addition, he is paid about seventy five JDs per month,

throughout the year, for storing the professional hikers and mountaineers equipment. In terms of income, the first category of camps, described earlier, habitually offers overnight hospitality to tourists. This authentic Bedouin night costs between eight and twelve Jordan Dinars (JD) per night, in which meals, tea and coffee is included. It was observed that when tourists ask about the rate, Bedouins refuse to discuss this. Two options might explain the behaviour. First is that they want to get the maximum they can get from the tourist. Second is their unwillingness to evaluate their hospitality. Unfortunately, neither RTC nor MTA have any estimation for the value of the business of these accommodations. Also, it was impossible for me to make an estimation due to the reluctance of Bedouins to discuss charging money for hospitality. According to RTC's administration, these activities provided by the un-registered Bedouins should be stopped. Officially, for their safety, all visitors camping in the desert should be registered at the Patrol Police Fort, but in reality, this rarely happens.

The above discussion, which illustrates the economic context of the tourism industry in Wadi Rum, is necessary to provide the reader with a better contextual understanding of how the economy brings benefits to Wadi Rum. Based upon the findings of my field research and my analysis of these findings, I discovered that tourism, as it brought benefits, impacted the Bedouins' lifestyles, occupations and understandings of land ownership. Although these changes are extremely interrelated and almost impossible to separate from one another, I will, for the purposes of this analysis, separately explore these changes to make this analysis more comprehensible for the reader.

2. Tourism's Economic Costs:

2.1. Changes within the Bedouins' lifestyle:

Undoubtedly, there have been many significant changes that have occurred in the lives of Wadi Rum's population because of their involvement in tourism. One of the major changes that has impacted upon the economic context of the Bedouins is a change in their lifestyle. The introduction of tourism, as an industry, has caused many Bedouins to move away from a lifestyle based solely on pure pastoralism and semi-agricultural activities to a lifestyle based upon tourism, a change that has enabled these Bedouins to

become wage earners. An example of such a change comes from one of the research participants, Hassan Audah Zalabia, a forty-seven year old male. He told me that until the age of twenty, he had been involved in camel herding with his father. But after the introduction of tourism initiatives, his way of life changed:

In 1984, and after my father's death, camels were the only source of income to the family. As I was the only male in the family, herding the camels was my responsibility. When tourism came to the area, I felt the easiness of the involvement in its activities compared to herding. In summer I may have to haul water frequently from remote resources for the camels, they are physically taxing to manage. Unlike my involvement in tourism where I can work for a few hours a day, camels' daily chores like hobbling and pasturing are daunting. Therefore, I sold some of the camels and bought a used Saudi Arabian's jeep. The jeep gave me good money, so I bought another one in 1997 (personal interview, 21 July, 2004).

Hassan's statement illustrates a trend that can be found among most of the young and middle aged in Wadi Rum who totally or partially abandoned pastoralism for the easiness of tourism activities. Hassan's family pitched some tents near the Khazali Mountains. In addition to the economic benefits that they achieve from their pastoral activities, Hassan's family used their pastoral means of production as tourist attractions. Their authentic tents, camels, socializing around the bonfire were used to entertain their visitors. These items brought Hassan and his family into direct contact with tourists. Hassan's family, as many other families in Wadi Rum, still practices some nomadic activities, but now it is part of the show. Hassan also realized that one of the important features of tourism in the southern Jordan is its strong seasonality. Hassan believes that seasonality of the tourism industry has impacted the economic context of the Bedouins. To deal with this seasonal fluctuation in the industry, Hassan emphasized the importance of maintaining a diverse way of life to ensure a stable economic context. As stated by Hassan (2004):

Unlike the majority of Zalabia, who become dependent on tourism, I possess a multi source economy. My involvement in tourism and pastoralism made me and my family survive the difficult time at the end of the 1980s, when tourism in Wadi Rum was very static.

What Hassan raised in his statement is an important issue to think about within the Bedouin context. To challenge seasonality or to work within its constraints is a destination management issue. Tourism seasonality for Hassan's family has two folds. On one hand, it affects the flow of cash into the family income. On the other hand, seasonality in tourism represents an opportunity to the family to give more attention to livestock economy in a way that the family can balance tourism alongside pastoralism.

2.2. Alteration of Land Value and Ownership System:

In addition to lifestyle and occupational changes, which have impacted upon the economic context of the Bedouins, tourism initiatives in the region have also had economic effects with regard to changing the concept of land value and the system of ownership for the Bedouin people. Until the mid 1970s, the Bedouins, when dealing with land issues, implemented their customary law *urf*. Yet since the 1970s, this customary law, *urf*, has experienced some changes. The basis for these changes stemmed from penetrations of governmental administration and a capitalist economy, which were presented into the Bedouins' life through various tourism initiatives. A major change is the commoditization of land which occurred when tourism became a prime source of income in this region. Because of this change, the meaning of the *dirah* (the tribal territory) also began to change. This process of change can be conceptualized into four stages, which illustrate the ideological shift that the Bedouins experienced in terms of their perception of the concept of territorialism. Prior to the introduction of tourism initiatives, the Bedouins believed that land was a communal resource and at this stage in their ideological process they believed that pasture and water resources were tribally-communal with everyone having free access to such resources. With the introduction of tourism, the Bedouins' camping behaviour changed with their camp becoming more stationary in nature. At this stage, with a mutual agreement among the Bedouins, based on their *urf*, land was divided among and named after its social unit, which is mainly the Bedouins' *hamula* rather than the tribe. Here, it is interesting to point out that among the Bedouins the "alienation of land to outsiders (is considered) as selling off a part of their identity" (Cole and Altorki, 1998, p. 200). This land division, after

tourism started to become a more systematic industry in the region, assumed a more formal pattern.

By the mid 1980s, the Bedouins began to delineate and demark their land from others. The earliest forms of demarcation were the use of stone piles (*rigem*, PL. *rjoun*). Later, the *rjoun* were built upon to construct fences. The final stage in the land demarcation process emerged in the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, when the Bedouins gradually started to adopt *wad' al-yad* concept, and performed some sedentary-oriented dry farming. While their ideology gradually shifted towards territorialism, their attitude began to shift towards individualism. Rather than practice a philosophy of collectivism, in which their ideology was previously based, they gradually became private property owners. According to Daifallah:

When the majority of the tribe was living in the desert, the tribe's *dirah* had no fixed boundaries, and yet we were able to solve problems that may occur about using resources within the different *dirahs* with our urf. The whole situation changed when we started settling down in Rum Village. At the beginning of the settlement, land divisions were fairly large, and the elderly people worked hard to keep land in their hands to keep the tribes unity. With the arrival of tourism, and when it started to take a systematic nature, land became of materialistic value in addition to the emotional. Tribesmen started to seek private ownership so they can be involved in tourism as such involvement required money (personal interview, 16 June, 2004).

This ideological shift, in terms of how resources and land were conceptualized also have more concrete impacts upon the economic context of the Bedouins in Wadi Rum. Thus, as is illustrated above, the development initiatives, using the tool of tourism projects, occurred in tandem with the process of the commoditization of land, especially within the boundaries of Rum Village. From my field work, it became apparent that two major economic consequences arose from using land for tourism development purposes in Wadi Rum. The first consequence is that the value of land, especially within Rum Village boundaries, rose, sometimes massively as the land became more sought after for tourism developments. The second consequence was issues of inequities that arose from the land ownership system. At the early stages of tourism development, many Bedouins,

especially the poor, did not possess the financial assets to get involved in the tourism industry. Therefore, they started selling their patrimony, including their land, often at low costs. Most of these sales were made to the Zalabia's elite. These sales often occurred between these two groups because the Bedouins consider the act of selling land to outsiders to be shameful. In many cases, the elite simply acted as middlemen to facilitate the selling of the Bedouin land to urban investors who were economically powerful and thus capable of investing in the tourism industry of this region. This concentration of land ownership in the hands of the Zalabia's elite was supported by the government, although, the government did realize that the Zalabia's monopoly on land ownership could have dire effects in the region. Therefore, in 1996, realizing the economic potential of Wadi Rum's tourism, and without consultation of the locals, the government expropriated the land and declared it a protected area. Here, it is important to note that the term 'protected' means the land had become state property (*Malkiah Khassah lil-dawlah*). By this expropriation, land became a thorny issue, especially when the government started to open new channels of privately-owned urban investments in the area. In terms of tourism, the Bedouins face growing competition from the influx of these investments. Therefore, a tense relationship began to develop between the Bedouin people, the governments and its investors.

7.3.2.2 Tourism's Socio-Cultural Benefits and Costs:

ASEZA's studies on tourism in Wadi Rum mainly focused on positive economic impacts of tourism, such as foreign exchange earnings, employment creation and infrastructure development without giving the needed attention to the industry's socio-cultural impacts. In this context, Murphy argued, that "if tourism is to merit its pseudonym of being 'the hospitality industry', it must look beyond its own doors and employees to consider the social and cultural impacts it is having on the host community at large" (1985, p. 133). This study realizes that socio-cultural impacts tend to contain a mixture of both positive and negative strands and affects both hosts and guests. For the purpose of this study a special concentration will be given to tourism's impacts on the Bedouin host community.

As with any type of economic development, tourism creates changes that affected the quality of life of the host community. These changes are influenced by two major factors: the tourist–host relationship and the development of the tourism industry itself. Social and cultural changes to host communities include changes in value systems, traditional lifestyles, family relationships, individual behaviour or community structure. Whereas economic and environmental indicators of tourism do lend themselves to objective measurement, the socio-cultural impacts are often highly qualitative and subjective in nature. Understanding that qualitative data can be represented by perceptual and attitudinal dimensions, and real-life events, a qualitative non-schedule-structured in-depth personal interview was chosen to support my research methodology. In this regard, this study realizes that opinions about and expectations from tourism can be very different depending on which population or occupational groups are considered. Furthermore, this study is aware that opinions about negative and positive impacts of tourism are subjected to the personal bias of the interviewees. Therefore, the classification of tourism impacts, as it will be presented later, are considered from the local residents' perspective. On this basis it was felt that the sample chosen should take account of this perspective. Therefore, for the benefit of this study, the four resident types defined by Krippendorff (1987, pp. 46-47) appeared to offer a common sense classification system. Type one includes people who are in continuous and direct contact with tourists. Because they depend on tourism and would perhaps be unemployed without it, they welcome visitors. Type two covers locals who are the proprietors of businesses which have no regular contact with tourists. For them, even more than the first group, tourism is a purely commercial matter. Type three represents locals who are in direct and frequent contact with tourists but who derive only part of their income from tourism. Members of this group do see the advantages resulting from tourism but they also feel more critical about it and point out its disadvantages. Type four includes locals who have no contact with tourists or see them only in passing. Based on this categorization, eight respondents from each category were selected for interviews. Therefore, thirty two residents and sixteen tourists were interviewed. Interviewing these four groups took the form of a face-to-face open discussion based on some basic questions such as: do you feel that tourism has affected the opportunities for local people in any way? Do you feel that family life is in any way

affected by tourism? Is the amount of time that you spend with your family altered in any way during the tourism season? Do you feel that community life is in any way affected by tourism? Do you feel that any resentment or stress exists between locals and tourists? Do you believe that encounters between tourists and local people can lead to a change in the attitude of local people? Do you feel that your way of life is temporarily altered in any way during the tourist season? Do you feel that as a result of tourism, development is more in the interest of visitors as opposed to locals? Do you feel that local people alter their behaviour in an attempt to emulate the behaviour of tourists? Based on these interviews, the following sections will explore the various ways in which tourism and its development initiatives have affected the Bedouin's socio-cultural context in Wadi Rum.

1. Tourism's Socio-Cultural Benefits:

1.1. Employment Creation and Financial Benefits:

One of the most important socio-economic impacts of tourism in Wadi Rum is its potential to create jobs. According to Abdullah Faheem Zalabia, who belongs to the second type of the local respondents, tourism is "the main industry, without it many of us wouldn't survive" (Personal interview, 14 October, 2004). Based on what Abdullah, as well as the majority of interviewees stated, tourism in Wadi Rum has successfully generated considerable income for local community members through contracts and joint venture partnerships with tours operators, traditional crafts and small-scale tourism ventures. Part of this money has been reinvested in community development projects such as recreational facilities (community hall), improving camp sites, small general dealers, as well as payment of salaries of employees in Rum Tourism Co-Operative.

1.2. The Improvement of Various Services:

As stated earlier till the mid 1990s, Rum Village continued to suffer major infrastructural problems. According to Daifallah:

We were isolated in the vast deserts of Wadi Rum, we did not have medical services, we did not have any kind of transportation to use in case of emergency and we did not have communication tools such as phones. Today, we have services that can be compared with most of the villages around us; with mobile phones we do not feel isolated while touring in the desert (personal interview, 25 October, 2004).

Daifallah's statement illustrates the changes occurring in the Rum Village's infrastructure. Furthermore, to improve the tourism sector in Wadi Rum, *Siyaha* introduced computer services to the area in the beginning of 2007. It is a one-year project aimed to serve as a business incubator and develop IT capabilities of local communities in the Wadi Rum area. The project was officially launched April 2007 by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)/Jordan Tourism Development Project (*Siyaha*), Aqaba Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA) and the Wadi Rum Protected Area management (http://www.siyaha.org/v1/releasedetails.php?rel_id=76, 2008).

1.3. The Cultural Rejuvenation:

Tourism in Wadi Rum has also promoted the rejuvenation and preservation of some of the following cultural products and practices:

1.3.1. The Bedouins' Nomadic Way of Life:

Tourism has helped in preserving the Bedouins' nomadic way of living when they got involved in tourists' Bedouin camps in Wadi Rum. These camps provide services such as accommodation in Bedouin tents, traditional Bedouin meals, music and dance, walking trails and trekking. These camps play a significant role in that they promote and preserve local culture that would otherwise be lost. For example, elderly people do the Bedouin music and dance in most of Wadi Rum's Camps. Young people are noted to be unfamiliar with some of the traditional songs and dancing as they spend most of their time at school, yet, spending some of their time within these camps is reviving their knowledge about some traits that distinguish their culture.

1.3.2. The Bedouins' Handcrafts:

Nowadays, Bedouin women make beautiful handicrafts including woven rugs, necklaces and bracelets. These are usually embroidered or embellished with beads, sequins and coins using traditional designs passed down through the generations. Bedouin children are often found selling these beautiful crafts around the camps in Wadi Rum. Many shops in Rum Village also sell these locally made

items on behalf of the Bedouin families. Among these handicrafts, textiles are the most popular and economically feasible. They are made to be used as furnishings and dress, to serve the everyday needs of the people and all major life ceremonies, from the simple to the most opulent. Here, it is important to point out that the involvement of Bedouin women in the production of these traditional handicrafts has impacted on the women's position within the community, as will be discussed further in a later stage of the study.

1.3.3. The Bedouins' Traditional Medicine:

Bedouin people are strong advocates of herbal medicine, this was their only source and hope of getting better when ill in the desert. They have hundreds of herbal cures and medicines, one of the most popular being camels milk. It is used for many conditions including stomach and digestive disorders, circulation problems and bone complaints. In addition they have vast knowledge of the desert plants and what they can be used for. These herbs are also used in preparing natural colours the Bedouin women use to dye the threads before using them for weaving.

1.3.4. The Bedouins' Traditional Sports:

Camel racing, for example, is one of the traditional practices that had disappeared from the area in the 1980s after the Zalabia tribes had started their transition from camel to goat breeders. With the growth in tourism in Wadi Rum camels started to gain back their important socio-economic position as one of the attractions to the tourists who are seeking authenticity in the desert.

2. Tourism's Socio-Cultural Costs:

2.1. Enclave Tourism:

Tourism that develops in remote areas and is largely owned and controlled by outsiders to its habitation has in recent literature been referred to as 'enclave tourism' (Britton, 1982) as in the case of Wadi Rum. Although the local Bedouin people of Wadi Rum are beginning to participate in tourism development, the area's tourism industry is largely

owned and controlled by non-Bedouin urban investors and companies. As tourism in Wadi Rum is enclave in nature and characterised by foreign ownership of tourism facilities, much socio-economic benefits such as better paying jobs, particularly those in management, are occupied by expatriates. The dominance of the industry by foreign investors and the non-local investment also reduces control over local resources. Omar Attalla Zalabia described the situation in Wadi Rum as:

If you go (talking to me, the researcher) to any of the camps in Wadi Rum, you will find a well dressed urban man sitting there doing nothing except giving orders. Those who suppose to take these orders with no complaint are us, the Zalabia tribesmen who work there beside Egyptian and Sudanese migrants. I know that we are new to tourism and we need to be trained to be efficiently involved, but even the government is not offering us any training as if the government officials are happy to see us in this way. Here in Wadi Rum, outsiders to the tribe are controlling its future (personal interview, 29 October, 2004).

Based on Omar's statement, it is essential to note that literature in the field of anthropology has emphasized that the loss of local autonomy is certainly the most negative long-term socio-cultural effect of tourism in a destination area.

A local resident may also suffer a loss of sense of place, as his/her surrounding is transformed to accommodate the requirements of a foreign-dominated tourism industry...resentment, antagonism and alienation often emerge between the host communities and the foreign tourism investors if efforts are not made to include local communities in the tourism business (Mbaiwa, 2004, p. 172).

The residents' loss of sense of belonging to a space or a place can be severe when related to issues such as relocation which will be explored further in the following section.

2.2. The Relocation to the New Village:

In response to questions that aimed at exploring the Bedouins' attitude towards the idea of relocation to the proposed new village, I noticed that the majority (85.7%) of the respondents were opposed to it, and about 11.4% of the respondents either had no idea or

did not want to comment on the issue of relocation because some of them felt they could be victimised by the government if they opposed its plans for re-locating the village. Among the majority of the Bedouins, the relocation by the government is perceived as a way of trying to deny them the use of resources upon which their livelihoods depend. Those who did not oppose the plans are the elite who benefit from the relocation.

2.3. Change in Community Characteristics:

According to Mathieson and Wall (1982), one major impact on culture of a destination is the transformation of the material and non-material forms of local culture. This transformation can be divided into two categories: revitalization, which can be a positive change, or commoditization. Tourism can turn local cultures into commodities when religious rituals, traditional ethnic rites and festivals are reduced and sanitized to conform to tourist expectations, resulting in what has been called 'reconstructive ethnicity'. Destinations also risks standardization in the process of satisfying tourists, desires for familiar facilities. Faraj E'id Zalabia, who belongs to the fourth type of respondents who have minimal contact with tourists, described the situation in Rum village as:

When I was younger, it was shameful to smoke in front of elders, nowadays, nothing is shameful anymore. Unfortunately, our young generations became ignorant and that for sure came with tourism. When I talk about Wadi Rum's history I like to differentiate between an era before tourism and after tourism. Before tourism there was respect and commitment to our cultural Bedouin values. Currently, our behaviours are modified in order to imitate tourists, we start to dress like them, talk like them and most painfully, we start to give up our religious values so that we do not offend them by our Islamic faith, yes it is to that degree we do try to cater to our guests (personal interview 23 September, 2004).

To explore Faraj's statement further, the following gives some detailed examples of how the Bedouin community perceives the changes as negative.

2.3.1. Increase in Young Generation Social Mobility:

Social mobility is usually defined as the movement or opportunities for movement between different social classes or occupational groups. The concept of social mobility

among the Bedouins, for many generations, used to be very restricted, since wealth and political power were usually concentrated with relatively small social groups within the tribe. However, the spread of tourism's income to a larger group, especially the young generations, has led to the creation of an expanded middle class with a high level of dynamism in investment. The creation of this class led to the fact that positioning within the Bedouin community has started to be measured more on the basis of income rather than on social indices such as political or social power. Within Wadi Rum's community, tourism is considered to be a more secure way to gain upward social mobility. Therefore, within the Zalabia, I noticed that the young males and women are the two groups who are pressing for more tourism involvement as they consider tourism to be the 'ticket' to modernization and change in their way of life.

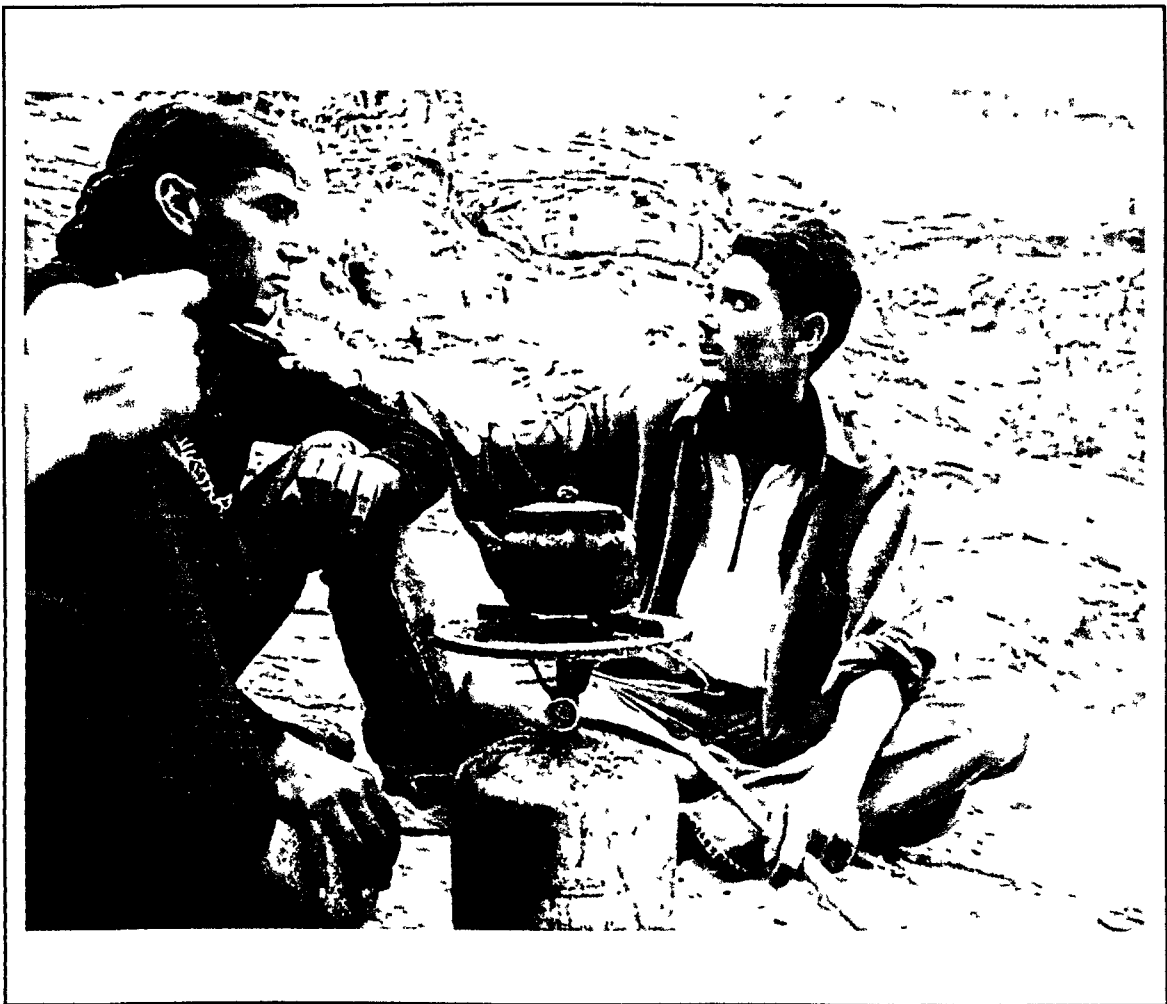


Figure (7.15): Young Bedouin tribesmen working as tour guides.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

Undoubtedly, the new situation where the young males and women started to gain a new position within the community did not match the majority of the Bedouins' vision of a 'good' community where they lead with their wealth and political power. Sixty five of the local respondents agreed on the sensitivity of the issue of the increase in social mobility of both the young generations and Bedouin women. These respondents perceive this increase in mobility as a negative socio-cultural impact brought on and enhanced by tourism affecting the community and the family structure and characteristics. Eiyad Mahmoud Swelhiyeen, who views tourism as the 'evil' affecting the Bedouins' life, stated the following:

According to our Bedouin customs the Zalabia tribe was divided into three social groups which are the sheikh, the tribal council and then the rest of the Zalabia. We were happy with this hierarchy. Nowadays, we almost have no sheikh, our leader are the young men who own money and cars. My son Nassar still, unlike his sons, believes in the hierarchy that is determined by age and political status rather than wealth. Nassar's sons, instead of building next to their grandfather and father, decided to build on their own land, although we live in the same village; we hardly see them as they are busy with their tourists (personal interview, 18 August, 2004).

Eiyad's statement can be easily contrasted with, Ali Nassar Zalabia, his grandson, who stated the following:

Both of my parents were pushing for my marriage even before I reached my eighteenth years of age. Obviously, the reason is to bring children that can keep the family's name. When I was talking about it with the tourists, which I guide to the desert, they found it as unfair and I agree with them...I need to live my life and choose who I want to marry. I started working when I was sixteen years old. When I reached twenty two, I bought a Saudi Arabian Toyota Jeep. With the money I saved, I decided to build my own house. My father suggested building some extra rooms as an extension to his house. Finally, I convinced my parents to have my own, but next to their house. Without my involvement in tourism, I would never be able to stand and decide for my future.

Tourism did not only produce change in young men's social mobility within the community, it also altered the women status, which will now be explored.

2.2.2 Changes to Women Status Within the Bedouin Community:

After spending some time among the Bedouins, I noticed although the majority of the Zalabia have moved to reside in permanent villages, this did not bring any substantial change in the lives of the women. Their social role had been very well-defined during the era of nomadism: women shepherded flocks and were responsible for fetching water, along with other traditional roles such as childbearing and care of the home. As Wadi Rum's Bedouin community became more sedentarized, due to taboos restricting their ability to move outside the physical boundaries of the extended family, Bedouin women's function was limited to being a housewife and mother. At this stage, the Bedouin women participation in supporting their families financially was limited to the domestic production of items that could be used for the family consumption. The situation started to change by the beginning of the 1990s, when tourism started to be the major source of income in Wadi Rum. Bedouin women started to work from home and produce items that can be used on a commercial basis, such as weaving, making detailed beadwork necklaces and bracelets which are either sold in Rum Village's shops or sold by their children in and around the village and the tourists' camps.

Recently, through tourism initiatives, Wadi Rum's Bedouin women are witnessing an empowerment movement that helped in increasing their social mobility within the community. Through tourism initiatives Bedouin women are unleashing their creative skills and becoming empowered while earning an income at the same time. For example, *Siyaha* identified weaving and ceramics production as potentially lucrative handicraft products which would also empower women through new employment opportunities within their community. *Siyaha* began to fund a small-scale project in Rum Village.

This grant was used to support the production of a diverse range of handicrafts, with the project employing twelve Bedouin women from Rum Village. According to the project's supervisor, a Zalabia Bedouin woman: "we produce leather handbags decorated with henna patterns, inviting fur rugs, unique frames and some Bedouin silver jewellery...the materials and designs used are all related to the Bedouins' environment" (personal interview, 5 November, 2004).

Although I perceive the Bedouin women empowerment as a positive socio-cultural change, more than fifty percent of the local respondents perceived it as negatively impacting their community. In their opinion, Bedouin women started to compete with men for the household leadership. One of those respondents, who insisted not to list his name, described the situation as the following:

Within my household live two of my sons and their families. The elder son's wife has devoted her time to her husband and children, she is a good wife and a good daughter in-law as I never asked her to do something she complained about. In contrast to the other daughter in-law...she went to the training course that RTC offered to the Bedouin woman and she started working on ceramic items to be sold to the tourists. Since then, she is not as she used to be. Nowadays, she is always busy with work and totally neglects her rooms and children (personal interview 23 August, 2004).

Although this statement represents the Zalabia's elder generations, I was surprised that most of the young men were sharing the same opinion when some of them described the Bedouin women is new social mobility as a threat to the families' stability.

2.2.3. Changes in the Rhythm of Life:

In addition to employment opportunities and how these opportunities have changed women's status in society, the media, and access to outside sources, has also tremendous impact on the Bedouin women's status in their community. This change stems from the fact that some of the television programs, as well as Bedouin women's direct contact with female tourists have made the Bedouin women aware of some issues that they were not aware of before. This change is illustrated in Erga, the American anthropologist's statement:

...after so many years of living with the Bedouins, it was observed that women started to show an interest in what could keep them younger such as skin creams and so on...they became as women everywhere, afraid of growing older for fear that the man will take off with a second younger wife...they became more of a consumer than a producer...they became interested more and more in junk food and had access to lots of sugar products (personal interview, 30 June, 2004)

As Jumana reported, most of the Bedouin women that she interviewed spent most of the time in front of the television, drinking tea or coffee, sharing gossips and smoking cigarettes.

2.2.4. The Increase in the Signs of Imitation:

The Bedouins of Wadi Rum adhere to their faith sincerely and fervently. However, I noticed that they are outwardly tolerant of all people and all faiths. They do not proselytize nor patronize. They are quite happy to talk about their beliefs and will listen to you attentively to find the common ground that people of all faiths share. Although they are tolerant, certain behaviours are considered as deviant and cannot be tolerated, such as alcoholism, crime, and prostitution and gambling. Although Islam forbids alcohol, I noticed that some of the Zalabia young people drink alcohol especially while entertaining their guests in the tourists' camps. When I asked one of these young people, he replied: "its part of the job requirement, if we do not drink with tourists then they may think that we are nor civilized" (personal interview 21 August, 2004). This local argument was supported by one of the tourists who considered drinking as a sign of positive change towards civilization. I was surprised from the way the respondent relate alcoholism to civilization, but I was astonished when I heard some of them using unaccepted and insulting expressions. One of them justified these expressions as it is normal to use as they hear it in one of the American movies in the television. Apart from the use of vulgar language, it is now fashionable among young people in Wadi Rum to imitate Americans or speak with an American accent when they have to address someone in English. To most of them, they are considered skilled in English when they speak with an American accent. This attitude has in the process resulted in the distortion and corruption of some local names when pronounced in English.

Another sign of imitation is their outside appearance. Undoubtedly, tourists visiting developing countries introduce and display a foreign way of life to host populations, especially if these tourists come from different socio-cultural backgrounds. As a result, a shift in local consumption patterns occurs towards Western products. In Wadi Rum, foreign tourists and tour operators have influenced the dress code, particularly of young

people. Young people generally imitate tourists in wearing safari-type clothing, such as khaki trousers/shorts and shirts, which were not common in the area before the introduction of tourism. According to Mohammad Yousef Zalabia:

For centuries the Bedouins wore what protected them from the desert sun, the *dishdash* and the *kaffiyah* are meant to cover the parts that can be burnt by the sun. Nowadays, our young people they are abandoning traditional dress to wear clothes that make them similar to the Americans. Some young local females have also been influenced and start to wear pantaloons and shirts and keep their hair uncovered...I do not know what more we can loose (personal interview, 25 July, 2004).

2.2.5. The Commoditization of the Host Culture:

The majority of the local respondents claimed that the Rest-House imitates the Bedouins' life style and that because the Rest-House is fully equipped its attractions are much stronger than what the Bedouins can offer the tourists. In contrast to the Bedouins' argument, the Rest-House's management claims that the Bedouins do not show the desire to want to collaborate with them to develop a better tourism sector in Wadi Rum.

During the course of my fieldwork, which spanned six months, I made successive trips to the various camps in Wadi Rum. These visits involved the preparation of measured drawings of selected locations, accompanied by observational notes, interviews with locals and tourists and, in most cases, photographs. Observations within the various camps were related to the theme of cultural identity.

Based on the findings of these visits, I would draw the following two arguments. First, the images given by the Rest-House and the specialized camp, which one could argue are constructed for the tourist's gaze, differ substantially from the images that one can see within the camps inhabited by the Zalabia tribesmen themselves, whether these camps were pitched for living or for the combination of living and business purposes. Second, the tourists' gaze, in its anticipation phase, is constructed through a variety of written or audio-visual media such as films, newspapers, television programs and tour operators' brochures. In Wadi Rum's tourism, the first stage of the tourists' gaze is based on the

images that the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MTA) and the Jordanian Board of Tourism (JBT) presented in their guidebooks, travel magazines and brochures leaflets that always presented Wadi Rum in stark contrast with Amman, the modern capital of Jordan, or with the historically significant Petra. Within MTA and JBT promotion documents, the most frequent images of Wadi Rum are those of the landscape that present Rum as an unspoiled stretch of empty desert. These images include little literature about the area and its population. These promotional images are well described by Chatelard, who stated:

In this desert landscape, close-up pictures indicating human presence are of three types. The first represents Bedouin men or boys in what is implicitly presented as their “traditional customs”, i.e. a white robe and a head chequered red and white head-dress, most of the time preparing or serving coffee or playing music. The Bedouin black goat-hair tent is also frequently shown, sometimes with camels nearby. Another favourite is the Desert police mounted on camels, wearing khaki robes and chequered head-dress, and armed with daggers. The second set presented Western rock climbers, hikers or campers. In this case, photos or films might include a jeep, and modern camping or climbing equipment. Bedouin are rarely around, and if so only in the background. The last type signals ancient human occupation by showing images of rock engravings or archaeological ruins (2001, p. 8).

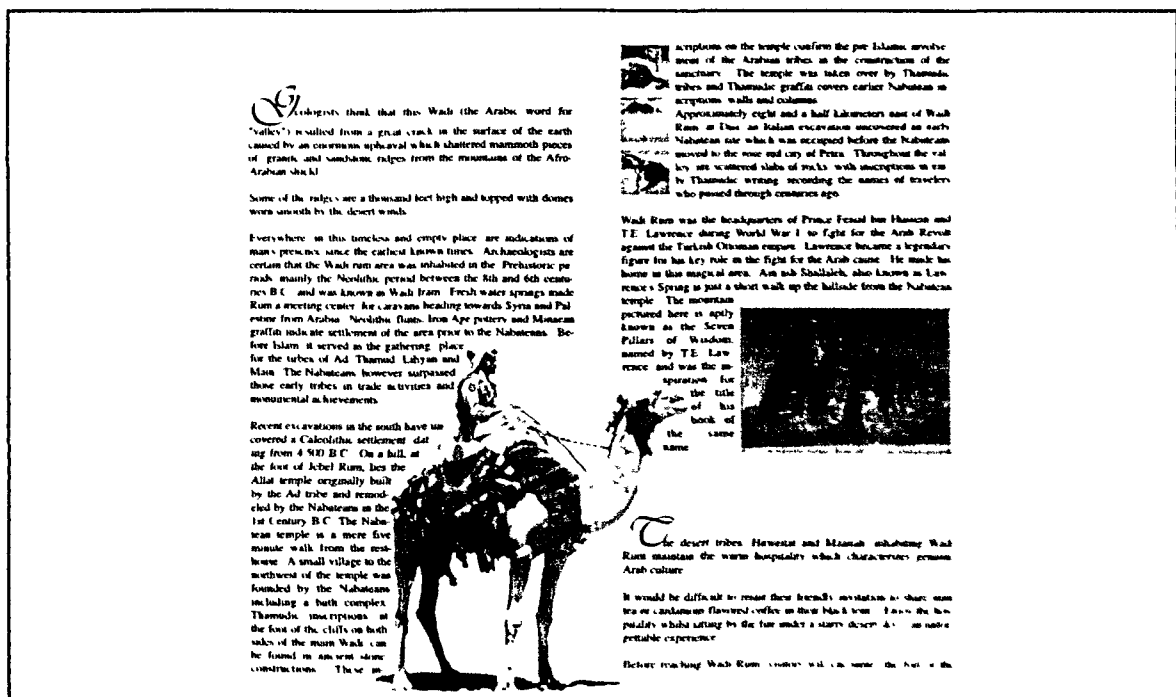


Figure (7.16): Wadi Rum's brochure published by MTA and JBT.

Source: Jordanian Board of Tourism, 2004.

Undoubtedly, these are the images that the tourists see in their homelands prior to their visit to Wadi Rum. Most of the promotional documents include images that present the specialized camps and the facilities that the Rest-House have while presenting the human occupation in Wadi Rum as temporary. These documents never show images of Rum Village itself. Therefore, prior to their visit to Wadi Rum, tourists construct mental images about the area based on the promotional documents presented by MTA and JBT. Those visitors who visit the area for the first time usually contrast these images to the reality of the area in which some dissatisfaction may occur especially when they compare the 'clean and romantic' images that the Rest-House present to the 'rough and poor' conditions that the real Zalabia Bedouins live.

What makes Wadi Rum so exceptional is its pink sand, surrounded by uniquely shaped massive mountains. Here, I felt the romantic tides of history of this particular desert. Lawrence had his headquarters here when he was able to unite the tribes together in the Arab Revolt. I felt like Indiana Jones as the landscape of Wadi Rum provides all the dunes you need to ride over and canyons you need to zoom through to feel like you're really Harrison Ford's stunt double all the way back in 1989 when he was filming *The Last Crusade*. I will also never forget the spectacular dinner we had under the stars that night in the Jordanian desert with a true Bedouin family, which at any scale cannot be compared to the fake image that the Rest-House offers about the Bedouin life. I am a history lover and that night we spent with the Bedouins made me feel the circumstances that Lawrence lived, that night made my trip worthy. That night made me feel like I was deceived by the promotion I got in New York prior to my trip to Jordan. I wish that the media that was given to me by the tour operator included more information about the real life in Wadi Rum, and then I would have planned to stay longer than one night (personal interview, 23 August, 2004).

Such interviews with tourists, especially those who spend more than one night or those returning to the area, illustrate that some differences can be observed between the Rest-House's camps and the more authentic camps in the region. One of the major observations in terms of the differences is that within the camps that are owned and managed by the Bedouins themselves, services are provided informally, as part of their genuine hospitality. The guests are seated on mattresses, either placed directly on the sandy floor or on a *bsat* (Bedouin rug). This contrasts with what the Rest-House provides.

In the Rest-House the mattresses are placed on raised platforms that are covered with rugs. In addition to the seating arrangements within the two camps, a difference can also be seen between the types of meals served. The fancy Mediterranean meals that the Rest-House serves contrast with the simple, local meals that the Bedouins serve to their guests.

Another core difference between the two settings is the evening activities that take place, specifically the musical evenings around the fire that the Bedouins organize for their visitors. The music of the southern Jordanian Bedouins' preserves an older form of Arabic folk music, which is closely linked to its Bedouin text that describes different nomadic customs. In addition to the singing, there is also the playing of musical instruments. Probably the most important instrument used throughout the region is the Bedouin *rababah*, played with a horsehair bow. It has a quadrilateral sound box, covered with goat skin and a single string made from horse-hair. Within the Bedouin camps, the *rababah* is customarily played by the *sháier* (poet singer) to accompany songs about heroism and love. In contrast to this informal structure of the Bedouins' camps, the specialized camps' hospitality assumes a formal pattern in the form of client and service provider. They entertain the tourists using some urban musical instruments such as *u'od* (lute) and instead of Bedouin songs they sing songs from Saudi Arabia and other Arab Gulf countries, which are not related to the Bedouin life.



Figure (7.17): Egyptians in Bedouin outfits, performing in a specialized camp.

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2004.



Fig (7.18): Different ways that the Bedouins entertain their tourists.

Source: Daifallah's pictorial collection, 2004.

These observations from my fieldwork are supported by an interview I conducted with a tourist who stated, in response to her experiences:

I spent several nights in Wadi Rum in different camps. We can tell the differences. Within a Bedouin family it is totally different. The night would be filled with excitement, making fire, telling stories, eating Bedouin food and drinking tea, several times. The most excitement was when I slept on the sand under the dome of uncountable stars...in some of the fancy camps in Wadi Rum, I saw things I already saw in the five stars hotels of Amman (personal interview, 23 August, 2004).

The tourist's comments about the things she had previously observed in Amman's five-star hotels referred to the belly dancers and alcoholic drinks that some of the specialized camps, authorised by the Rest-House administration, provided for their visitors. The authorization given from the Rest-House to the specialized camps to have belly dancers

and alcohol drinks stems from the fact that “the manager of the Rest-House has traveled to the west and has been to night clubs there. He thinks that this is the way most of the Westerners like to enjoy themselves and that he just need to provide a little exotic touch” (Chatelard, 2001, p. 30). The Bedouins view this authorization as a violation of their socio-cultural beliefs as it contradicts the Islamic teachings.



Fig (7.19): A Russian belly dancer performs for tourists in one of the specialized camps.

Source: http://www.pbase.com/mansour_mouasher, 2007.

Another source of conflict between the Bedouins and the Rest-House administration is the outfit that is used in the Rest-House itself and the specialized camps, which is the Bedouins' cultural marker. As Chatelard observed during her research in the area, the Bedouin dress has “a symbolic meaning and is connected to issues of collective identity, group prestige, respect and honour” (2001, p. 29). The Bedouins' dress represents an honour and social status between Bedouins and non-Bedouins. According to my informants, although some members of the younger generation dress casually in jeans and shirts, when they participate in social occasions, they dress in the style of true Bedouins. In contrast to this type of dressing, the Rest-House workers dress like Bedouins but this

type of dress is not true to the Bedouin's authenticity. As stated by Daifallah, "we have the right to dress according to our customs or be casual when and wherever we meet tourists...those strangers should not wear it at all, and pass for a Bedouin" (personal interview, 16 June, 2004). Although the 'urban' employees of the Rest-House dressing like Bedouins is a distressing issue for the Zalabia, a tourist who dresses like a Bedouin is not perceived as such, because the Zalabia know, subconsciously, that this tourist is not pretending to be a Bedouin. The Bedouins believe that any person who pretends to be a Bedouin constructs an incorrect image (*sorah maghlottah*) of the Bedouin culture.

Among the Zalabia, Bedouinism is not only an outfit but rather it is a complete package of human behaviours that they have been able to conserve for centuries. The Zalabia's elders view the specialized camps as a threat to their *a'adat w tagaleed* (convention and social norms). They consider the actions of a woman's performance of a belly dance or the drinking of alcohol as certainly not moral. The Bedouins also feel that through the Rest-house staff being involved in these activities or encouraging the tourists' engagement in these activities they are commercializing the Bedouins' culture in a degrading manner (Suleiman Salem Zalabia, personal interview, 24 August, 2004).

In addition to how the Bedouins feel about the Rest-House staff's commercialization of their culture, they also had similar feelings about hospitality. As I was informed by many of the local informants, the Bedouins do not feel they are selling hospitality, as they claimed the Rest-House does. Rather, for them, they believe that their hospitality towards tourists is genuinely produced, thus contrasting the artificial hospitality that is offered by the Rest-House and the specialized camps. At the same time, the Bedouins do not accept the positions that are offered at the Rest-House, positions that the Egyptian and Sudanese migrants often assume. There are two reasons, which were discovered during my fieldwork, as to why the Bedouins reject employment positions at the Rest-House. The first reason for their refusal to work at this location is because the Bedouins do not accept the idea of being at the disposal of tourists. The second reason for their refusal is based upon their tribal ethos, which believes that not all types of occupations

are suitable, especially if the occupation implies servility or dependence. As stated by one of the research informants:

Bedouins do not like to work as waiters or servants who take orders from others...we like to do things without any orders because we willingly want to do...this is why Egyptians and Sudanese accept working at the Rest-House...they accept being bossed around (personal interview, 2 November, 2004).

Although the reasons mentioned above are understandable, a less romantic but plausible theory is that the migrants are accepting wages that are considerably lower than what the Zalabia's tribesmen will accept. Here, it is important to note that RTC, on many occasions, tried to promote the importance of these positions among the Bedouin population, but, even currently, these efforts have failed to succeed.

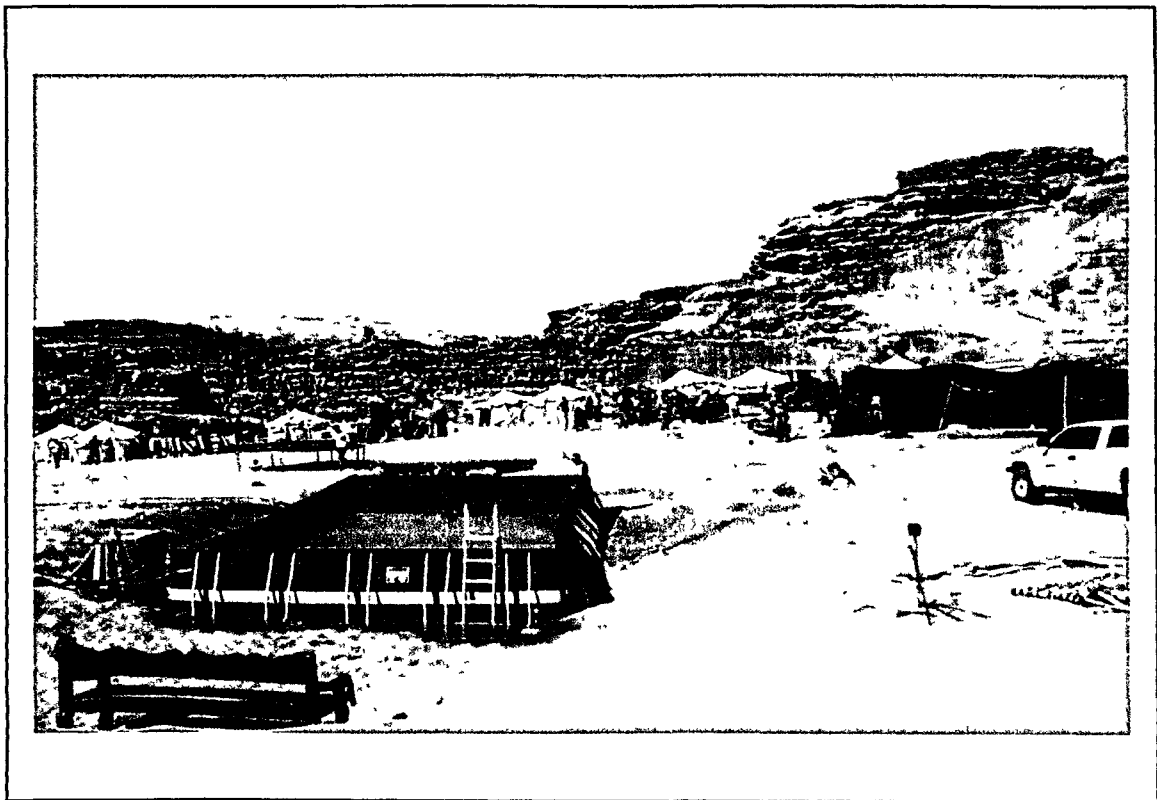


Figure (7.20): One of the specialized camps' swimming pools. Such an activity is considered as unlawful by the locals because it exposes females' bodies.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

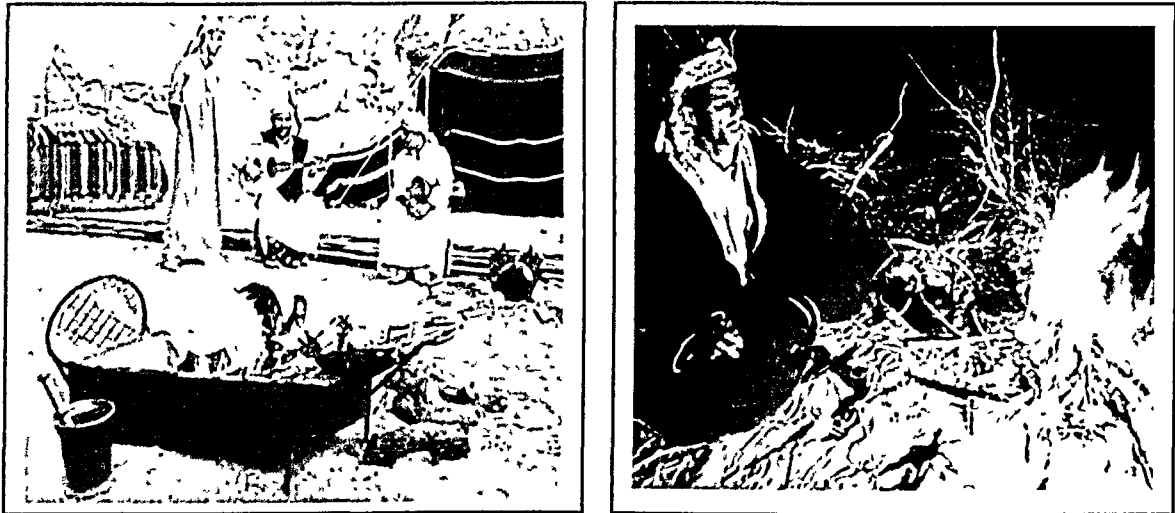


Figure (7.21): Different ways of starting bonfires in specialized camps and Bedouin camps.

Source: <http://www.virtualtourist.com>, 2005.

To sum up the socio-cultural impact on the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, this section examines the attitudes of both the Bedouins and their guests, the tourists. Among the respondents, more than ninety five percent commented that they like having tourists visit their community, as this is the key for a better future. Based on the research field work's findings and the recent feedback from the local informants, some conclusions can be made. Although there is a degree of satisfaction among the residents with what tourism is bringing to the area, there are some concerns about its future. A general consensus was observed among the tourists, especially those who visited the area often. They commented that with the rapid change that the area is experiencing, a search for another authentic destination would be the strategy for their coming vacations. This observation recalled what MacConnell concluded in his book, *The Tourist*. MacConnell's idea is that tourists attempt to "overcome the discontinuity of modernity" (1976, p. 13) by experiencing authenticity in other, pre-modern, times and places.

Another general consensus was recorded among some of the local respondents. One of them had asserted that the Bedouins started to feel caught in the middle of the government's and tourists' demands.

According to Attalla Ghanim Zalabia:

Undoubtedly, tourism has brought improvement into our life in Rum Village, but also brought changes that maybe we are not ready for it. Our houses are suitable for our needs, but certainly not for tourism especially when accommodating tourism is the concern. The government views our houses, as well as the way we live as backward, and therefore construct the high boundary walls to hide us. While the government is trying to hide us, tourists are more and more demanding; they become anxious to see more of our culture. The Bedouins are doing their best to create the balance between the government's and tourists' demands. According to our customs, tourists are irritating, but the area's economy needs them for survival (personal interview, 7 September, 2004).

When he was asked about how the Bedouins cope with the tourists' demands, the Military Boy's School Principal's responded: "because tourism started to be the systematic source of income, Bedouins of Wadi Rum are limited in their options, except to be patient" (personal interview, 17 July, 2004).

What the principal said recalled the findings of John Ap and John Crompton in their article *Resident's Strategies for Responding to Tourism Impact*. According to them, "resident's reactions to tourism could be placed on a continuum comprised of four stages: embracement, tolerance, adjustment and withdrawal" (1993, p. 48). Embracement describes those who eagerly welcome tourists and react more positively than accepting them. Tolerance meant "residents exhibited a degree of ambivalence towards tourism" (Ap and Crompton, p. 48). Those residents have a capacity to bear some of tourism's unpleasant aspects without resentment. This stems from their belief that tourism has a contribution to the community's economic vitality. Adjustment meant that residents sometimes avoid the inconveniences that the presence of visitors may create. Lastly is the withdrawal, which usually means that residents remove themselves temporarily or completely from the community. Although the first three strategies can be observed within Wadi Rum's context, the fourth does not exist. As stated by Daifallah's brother, "I hope we would never reach the time when we have to leave the area because of tourism's pressures" (personal interview, 17 June, 2004).

The discussion presented above emphasizes that the host-tourist relationship has a socio-cultural impact of both positive and negative strands and affects both hosts and guests. The following section discusses this relationship from its environmental context.

7.3.2.3 Tourism's Environmental Benefits and Costs:

Undoubtedly, tourism depends on the quality of its local environmental resources for success. Unfortunately, these resources are threatened by the development of the tourism industry itself. As tourism impacted Wadi Rum economically and socio-culturally, it impacted the area's environment, in a way that the following environmental benefits and costs can be outlined below:

1. Tourism's Environmental Benefits:

1.1. Tourism Increases Awareness About Environmental Issues:

Environmental degradation would appear to be the costly price that tourists' destinations have had to pay to develop economically. For its connection to economy, tourism can contribute directly to the conservation of sensitive areas and habitats. For the same connection, tourism has the potential to increase public appreciation of the environment and to spread awareness of environmental problems when it brings people into closer contact with nature and the environment. Based on my observations in Wadi Rum, I noticed that the Zalabia living in the Rum village have understood the connection between tourism revenues and keeping the Village as a welcoming environment. Therefore, they were keen to keep Rum Village as clean as possible for their visitors. Although this observation is obvious in Rum Village, deep in the desert, a different image was observed which will be outlined below.

1.2. Positive Attitudes Towards Wildlife Conservation:

Tourism can significantly contribute to environmental protection, conservation and restoration of biological diversity and sustainable use of natural resources. Because of their attractiveness, unspoilt sites and natural areas are identified as valuable and the need to keep the attraction alive can lead to the creation of national parks and wildlife parks. In Wadi Rum, new laws and regulations have been enacted by ASEZA to preserve the area's wildlife. Numerous animal and plant species have begun to thrive again.

Undoubtedly, the designation of Wadi Rum as protected was extremely positive in terms of making individuals aware of the need for ecological preservation, but this designation has also had negative impacts on the environmental context of the region. One of the most significant impacts is that the designation has forbidden the Bedouins from being able to graze their livestock in selected areas inside the protected area, thus depriving them access to sections of their tribal territory (*dirah*). More than twenty five of the respondents affirmed that the Bedouins were forced to reduce the size of their herds or negotiate access to other neighbouring tribes' *dirahs*. The vast majority of these respondents commented that the zoning was done without consultation with the locals. They stressed the importance of consulting the locals to promote the concepts of conservation of the nature of Wadi Rum. According to Ahmad Alyan Zalabia:

The creation of the protected area in Wadi Rum brought to the Zalabia some positive and negative impacts. For sure, the protected area created suitable circumstances for diverse tourism activities that attracted visitors of different interests. This had a very positive impact on the Zalabia's financial status. However, the protected area administration made a wrong assumption - that the Zalabia can live only on tourism. Yes we do depend on tourism, but also we are connected to the desert through our pastoral activities that even the young generation cannot live without. The protected area divided our pastoral land in a way that this land became useless as we cannot access most of its resources. The restriction that ASEZA put on our access to land is pushing the Zalabia to resist the idea of a protected area because it started to be a prison (personal interview, 24 August, 2004).

2. Tourism's Environmental Costs:

2.1. Litter Problem:

It was observed that trash had been carelessly left on the ground, especially around the camps that served a large number of tourists. This large amount of trash in the area is due to the fact that garbage collection services barely exist.

2.2. The Firewood Collecting Practice:

To meet the demands of tourism, it was observed that directly, or indirectly, the Bedouins and their visitors damage the area's vegetation either through human walking or gathering

firewood for camping. I observed that some of the camp owners, to meet their visitors' demands of gathering around a large bonfire during the night, would collect firewood in a way that could be considered aggressive on the environment. On several occasions, it was observed that they would tie a rope to their vehicles and then to a large bush and with their vehicles, they would drag the bushes out of the ground, roots intact. This abuse of the environment can be attributed to the following reasons. The first reason is the low level of awareness about the importance of native vegetation, especially in maintaining the area's tourism industry. The second reason for such abuses to the desert's environment is the absence of cheap alternatives to wood. Finally, ASEZA's environmental conservation regulations are not fully enforced and when they are enforced I observed, during my fieldwork, that these regulations were often ignored for the camps that were supported by the Rest-House.

2.3. Hunting and Poisoning of Wild Animals:

According to the fieldwork findings, hunting and even poisoning of wild animals is a common practice done by some of the Bedouins. The Bedouins then embalm the captured animals to be sold either directly to tourists or displayed in the village's souvenirs shops. Undoubtedly, hunting and poaching practices cause a considerable amount of disturbance to the area's wildlife that result in the migration of some species away from the area. It was surprising to discover that, in Wadi Rum, although hunting is un-regularized, it is sometimes practiced even by some of the government's VIPs.

2.4. Damage to the Archaeological Sites:

It was observed that there has been a marked increase in the defacement of archaeological sites by graffiti and the removal of some artefacts without permission. Again, this can be partly related to the Bedouins' weak level of environmental awareness, as well as the absence of a clear policy to protect these archaeological sites.

2.5. Waste Disposal in the Protected Area:

According to their customs, the Bedouins consider it disrespectful to defecate close to their living spaces. It is a belief in cleanliness as well as religious teachings. Therefore

the locations that have been designated for defecation are shallow depressions that the Bedouins dig at a considerable distance from their camps. As I was informed by the Zalabia's elders, prior to the *sheil* (moving to another camp site) the Bedouins bury these depressions that contain their excrements. Within the tourists' camps, as it was observed, the locations designated for defecation are actually mobile washrooms which are located within the camp itself. Under these defecation sites, the camps administration digs holes where a barrel is buried to collect waste. Unfortunately it was observed that the cleaning of these places is poorly done and when the camp moves these defecation sites are left exposed.

After this description of tourism's impacts upon the Bedouins' natural environment, the following section will examine tourism's impact on the Bedouins' built environment. The following presentation will be helpful to understand the recent changes occurring in Wadi Rum's built environment.

7.3.2.4 Tourism's Impact on the Bedouins' Built Environment:

Rum Village's built environment is a feature of the area's history of sedentarization that has been occurring since the 1960s. It is the process that has aimed to integrate the Bedouins of Wadi Rum into the national economic structure of Jordan. And as a result of these two decades of integration, changes have occurred to Wadi Rum's economic, socio-cultural and spatial contexts. Of these three contextual changes, the last two, the changes to the socio-cultural and the spatial contexts are seen mainly as consequences of changes that have occurred to the economic context. As Wadi Rum's economy is currently driven by tourism, it has induced profound changes in almost every aspect of the Bedouins' life, including their built environment.

To better understand the ways in which tourism has impacted the Bedouins' built environment, it is important to present a contextual background of the developments that have been proposed and actually have occurred in the area.

As I mentioned earlier, the competition that includes the rehabilitation of the existing Rum Village into a bed and breakfast resort with special regulations was won by Shubeilat Badran Associates (SBA), an architectural firm based in Amman. According to the competition scope of work Shubeilat Badran Associates were commissioned to establish:

A comprehensive operation in Wadi Rum, through the following objectives: first is the conservation of the area's ecological and archaeological resources. Second is maximizing the income opportunities for the local community, and finally is the organization of tourist activities to increase the area's tourism revenue (SBA's report, 1999, p. 4).

This report highlighted that a long term objective for this project was to improve the physical conditions of Rum Village. According to SBA, the new plan would create "the most significant opportunities to regenerate the economic life and physical characteristics of the village" (SBA's report, 1999, p. 4). In practical terms, the report stated that improving the state of Rum Village "is only likely to occur once the villagers have the option of relocating in the new village (proposed to be built near the new Visitors Centre) and benefiting from the redevelopment of their own land" (SBA's report, 1999, p. 34). After the release of this report, which accelerated the discourse of relocating the Bedouins from Rum Village, the Bedouins took a stand by starting to build new houses or improve the existing, as a strategy to enforce their existence in Rum Village. In Wadi Rum's Bedouin case, the aesthetic improvement of the village was not only nostalgia for the Bedouins' past time, nor purely the adoption of tourist discourse to increase economic gain. Rather, it was a defense mechanism born out of the fear of moving out of the village where they belong. Unsurprisingly, the government considered most of these improvements as illegal and did not enhance the 'unsightly' nature of the Rum Village's built environment.

Accordingly, part of their scope of work as stated in the competition documents, SBA proposed a master plan for the land use of Rum Village, which is illustrated in the following section from SBA's report.

The proposed land use plan is intended to control the negative physical impact of the existing village through gradual transition from high to low density zones in the eastern, northern and southern edges. In addition, the gradual transition into desert landscape is strengthened by the introduction of landscape buffer zones on the edges of the village, complementing the proposed village walls and enhancing views of the village form the northern and southern approaches (Ibid: 45).

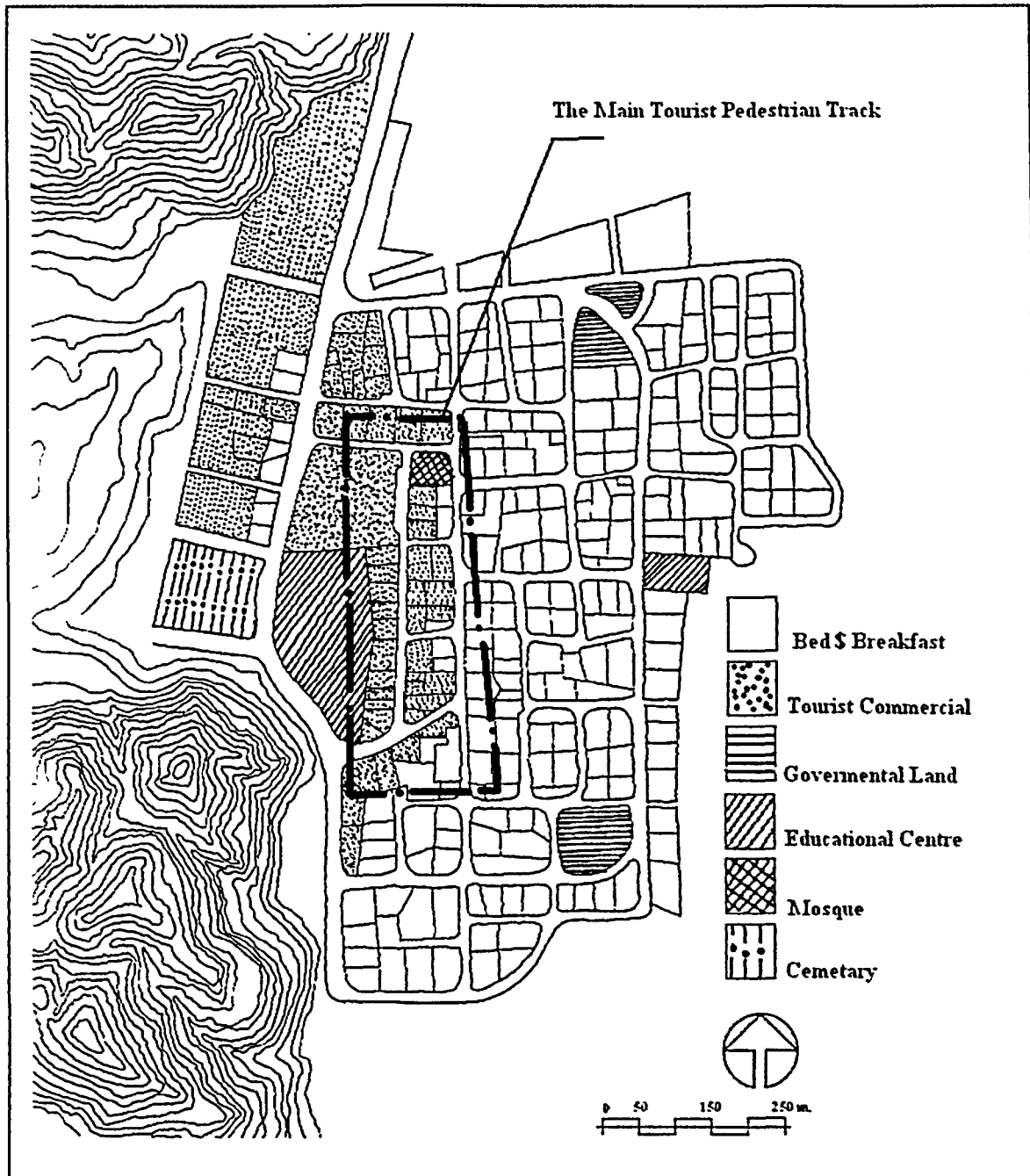


Fig (7.22): Proposed Land Use for Rum Village

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates , June 1999.

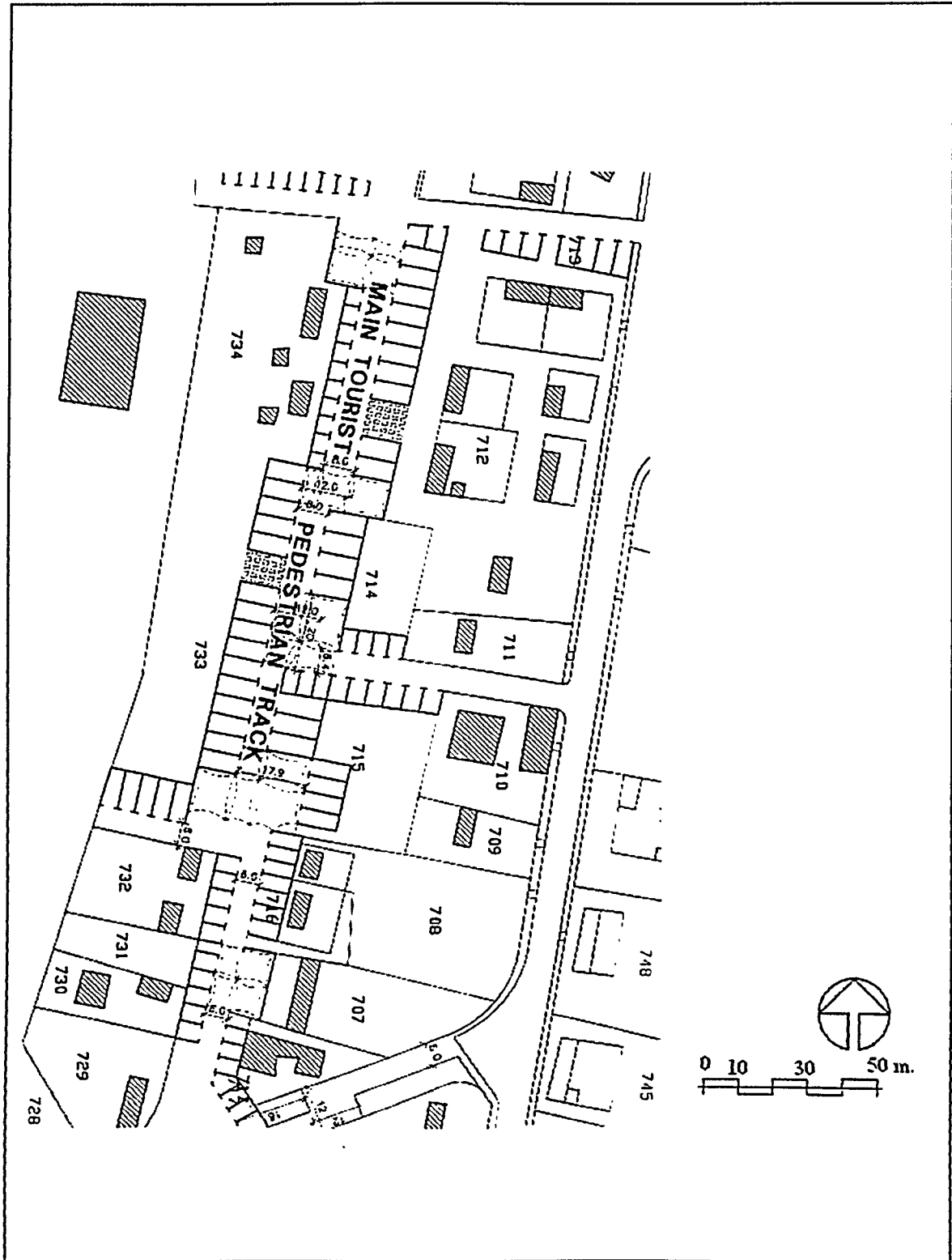


Fig (7.23): The main tourist pedestrian track.

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates, June 1999.

Resulting from SBA's plan, three major developments occurred in which the Rum Village was spatially affected. The first, and the most important development, has been the upgrade that has been done to the spinal road that runs through the village for about one and a half kilometres. This project started in 1996 and was finished by the end of 1997. Presently, along the two sides of this road, some commercial and touristic facilities are located. These facilities have increased in number during the past ten years. When the government started to upgrade the secondary roads in the village, these commercial and tourist activities started spreading out from the main road to cover different parts of Rum Village. Villagers, especially those who own houses along the village's spinal road, started to convert their houses, either wholly or partially, into tourist services. At that time, the first restaurants and coffee shops appeared in Rum Village. The process whereby villagers have taken to restoring and making tourist' accommodations is indicative of their increasing awareness of the aesthetic and economic values of their Bedouin life style. The second development that affected Rum Village drastically is when the government started the construction of high walls around the Bedouins' residential areas in 1997. These high walls were meant to hide the 'unsightly' rapid construction activities that the Bedouins started in the 1990s. When they were asked about these walls, the majority of the local respondents emphasized the negative impact of these walls on their kinsmen's clustering patterns. Khalid Nawaf Zalabia described these walls as the following:

I am living outside the village. Although my house is labelled as illegal because it was constructed outside the boundaries of Rum Village, I am thankful to God that my house is not within the boundaries otherwise I would be trapped as the majority of my kinsmen. I built my house outside the boundaries to prove our ownership to the land I built in. My father's house is at the centre of the Village surrounded by his *khamisa* households. The pinkish high walls divided my *khamisa*'s households and therefore affected negatively the bonds of my *hamula*. I am always wondering if this is what the government wants to do to control us. The government forgot that Wadi Rum is our homeland and it has always been a landscape of freedom. Nowadays, with these high walls, the government is changing Rum Village into a huge prison in which ASEZA's field team are the guards of this prison (personal interview, 12 November 2004)

What Khalid commented about was spatially observed when I documented the *mukhtar*'s cluster. While touring that part of the Village, the *mukhtar* showed me how these walls divided his *khamisa* who currently are living in different blocks separated by high walls.

The second development was the designation of the main tourists' track, as shown in figure (7.23). The tourist commercial zone and its supporting facilities, which include the Museum (existing Fort), Training Centres (existing schools,) Rest-House and parking in the western part of the village, form the main tourist attractions of the village and provide the potential for interaction between the locals and the tourists. As described by the design team:

This zone is centered on the main access road which links the village with both the Visitor Center to the north and the Reserve to the south. Lots in this zone will be transformed into a *suq*-type (commercial spine) development following the traditional desert caravansary or *khan* with spacious courtyards and Bedouin tents linking the various structures of this zone, providing a special thematic tour starting at the Rest-House and ending at the Museum and parking/launching area where visitors may start their tour into the desert (SBA, 1999, p. 45).

These plans which were prepared by SBA reflect the ideologies of its founders, ideologies that are based upon the principles of Islam. They believe that regulations of the built environment should function in accordance with the social principles of Islam. As urban planning decisions determine the shape of social life in the built environment of Muslims, urban zoning and land-use should focus on the reflection of the concept of *ummah* in architecture, which means that unity should be demonstrated among the built environment's users. This belief is reflected in the high walls that SBA designed to surround the Bedouins' houses as according to their design concept these high walls eliminate the social differences that the Bedouins' houses reflect.

Indeed, I argue that these walls would never eliminate but rather would hide the social differences. These walls are only cosmetic solution to a problem that needs more serious action to be solved. Interestingly, although the intentions of the SBA, ASEZA and the

World Bank are incredibly different, the SBA's design concept matches the demands of the World Bank and ASEZA in that it hides the Bedouins' built environment.

The third development was when SBA proposed regulations to improve the 'unsightly' image of Rum Village to be suitable for re-using the Bedouins' houses to bed and breakfast facilities. These regulations came in the form of a manual. This manual stated that in order to begin any type of construction activity in Rum Village, which includes constructing a new building; extending an existing building; or any external renovations, the Bedouins of Rum Village are urged to follow the manual's requirements to get this construction permitted. The manual includes the following regulations:

1. General Regulations

- 1.1. Authority's approval on proposed building drawings should be obtained prior to construction of any intended building in any zone.
- 1.2. Regulation zones are based on the approved Land Use Plan.
- 1.3. All residential plots are planned as bed and breakfast areas except plots planned as commercial.
- 1.4. Bed and Breakfast regulations can be implemented only if buildings have been upgraded according to enhancement regulations.
- 1.5. Site management engineers are responsible for evaluation of enhancement measures undertaken for any building.
- 1.6. Public and governmental buildings should be upgraded according to enhancement regulations to ensure comprehensive image of the village.
- 1.7. Colors and external finishing should comply with the regulations..

2. Tourist Commercial Areas:

- 2.1. Tourist commercial plots benefit from commercial regulations only on the side of the plot aligning the tourist pedestrian route.
- 2.2. Existing commercial buildings on streets not included in the tourist commercial zone are treated as part of the public buildings.
- 2.3. All proposed buildings have to be according to the approved building model.
- 2.4. All buildings' finishing materials have to be according to specified materials described in the approved model and specifications.

- 2.5. Depths of all shops within commercial zones should not be more than 10m, and maximum width of shops should not exceed 4.5m.
- 2.6. No buildings are allowed to be attached to shops from any side.
- 2.7. A minimum set back of 3m is required between shops and other residential buildings in the attached plot.
- 2.8. All buildings have to be of one story not to exceed 5.0m height including parapet.
- 2.9. Roofs of all buildings have to be flat with parapets not less than 1.5m height to conceal solar heaters, antennas and other structures.
- 2.10. All shop windows and doors have to be of metal sections with design and color similar to the proposed model.
- 2.11. All shops have to provide a platform covered with wooden pergola that provides shade to its entrance.
- 2.12. Goat hair Bedouin tents are encouraged at locations according to village layout, detail for fixing tent ropes to shop front.
- 2.13. Lighting- traditional lantern types, wall mounted are required. Its locations should match the specifications established in the model shop windows.
- 2.14. Signage- commercial sign boards should be designed and fixed according to one of the alternatives shown in shop models.

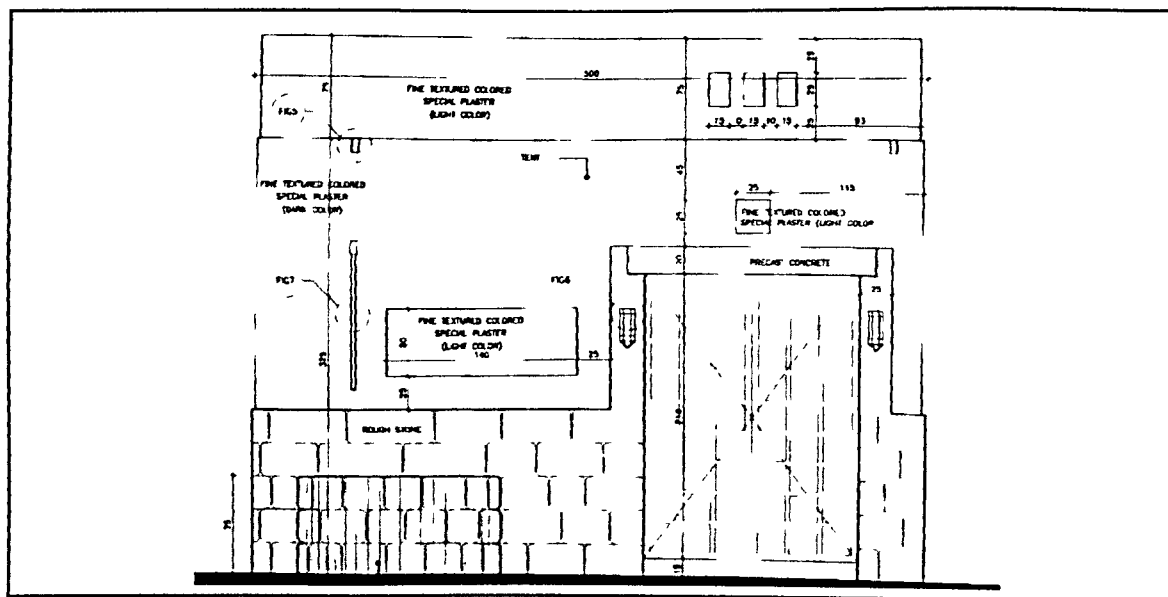


Fig (7.24): A proposed model for a shop window elevation and finishing materials.

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates, June 1999.

3. Residential plots

- 3.1. Newly designed buildings have to be according to the approved building model.
- 3.2. Existing and new buildings' finishing materials have to be according to the specified materials described in the approved model and specifications.
- 3.3. All residential units should have a boundary wall of 2m height.
- 3.4. Entrances have to be rendered according to entrance models attached.
- 3.5. All animal barn fences have to be fixed and articulated similar to fence model.
- 3.6. All buildings have to be of one story not to exceed 5.0m height including parapet.
- 3.7. Parapets not less than 1.5m height to conceal solar heaters, antennas.
- 3.8. Maximum percentage of built area in all plots not to exceed 45%.
- 3.9. All buildings should have septic tanks sited under the kitchen and toilet units.
- 3.10. Windows and doors: all external windows and doors have to be of metal sections.
- 3.11. Goat hair Bedouin tents are encouraged according to approved model.
- 3.12. Plant materials suggested for pavements have to comply with the approved list.
- 3.13. Colors of all finishing materials should be according to approved samples.
- 3.14. Lighting-traditional lantern types, wall mounted are encouraged.

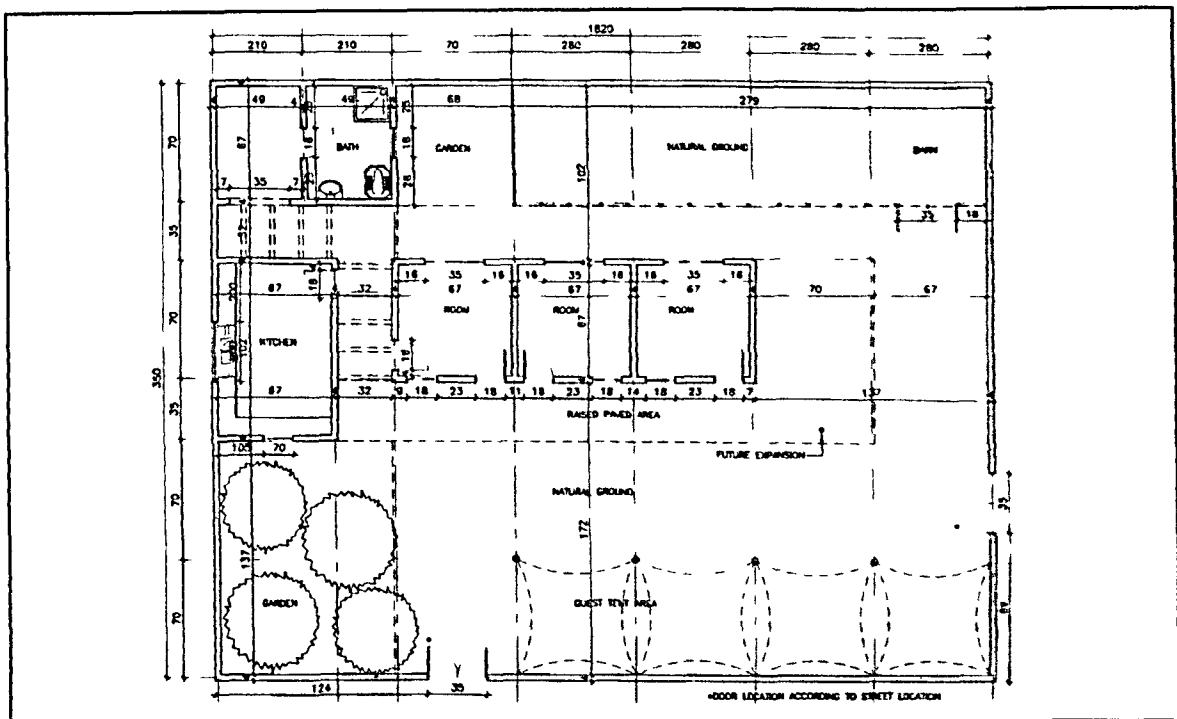


Fig (7.25): The proposed house model.

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates, June 1999.

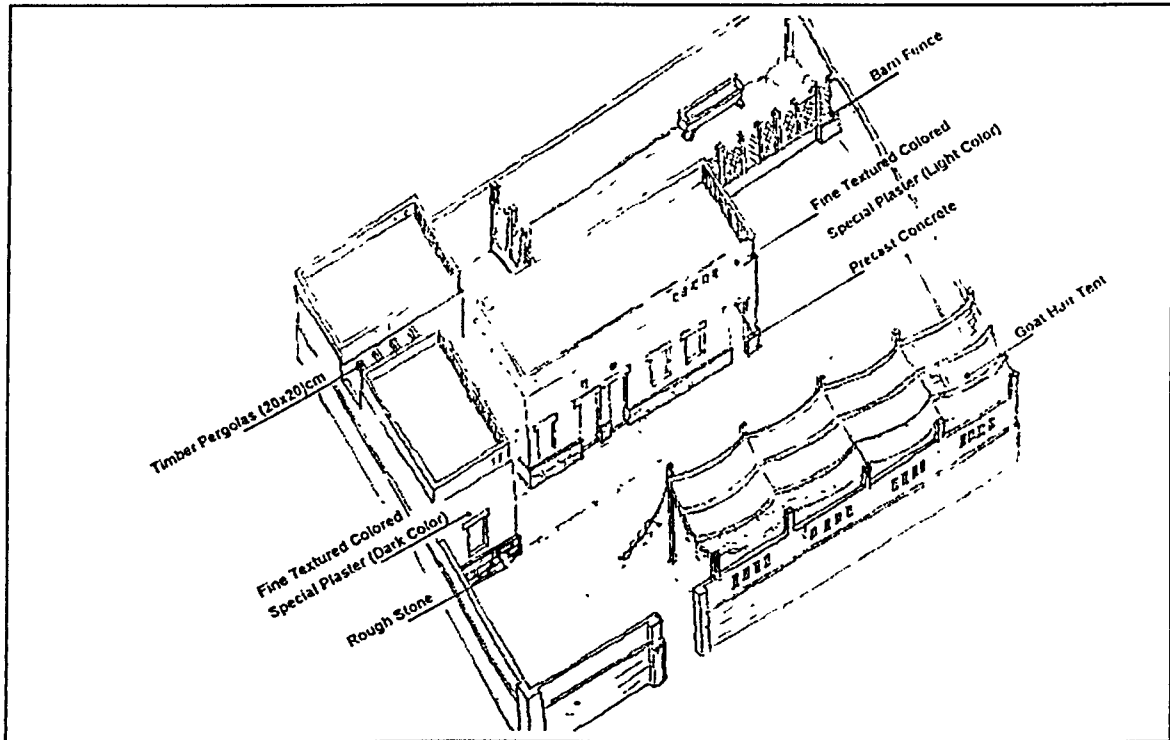


Fig (7.26): An Isometric showing the proposed house model.

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates, June 1999.

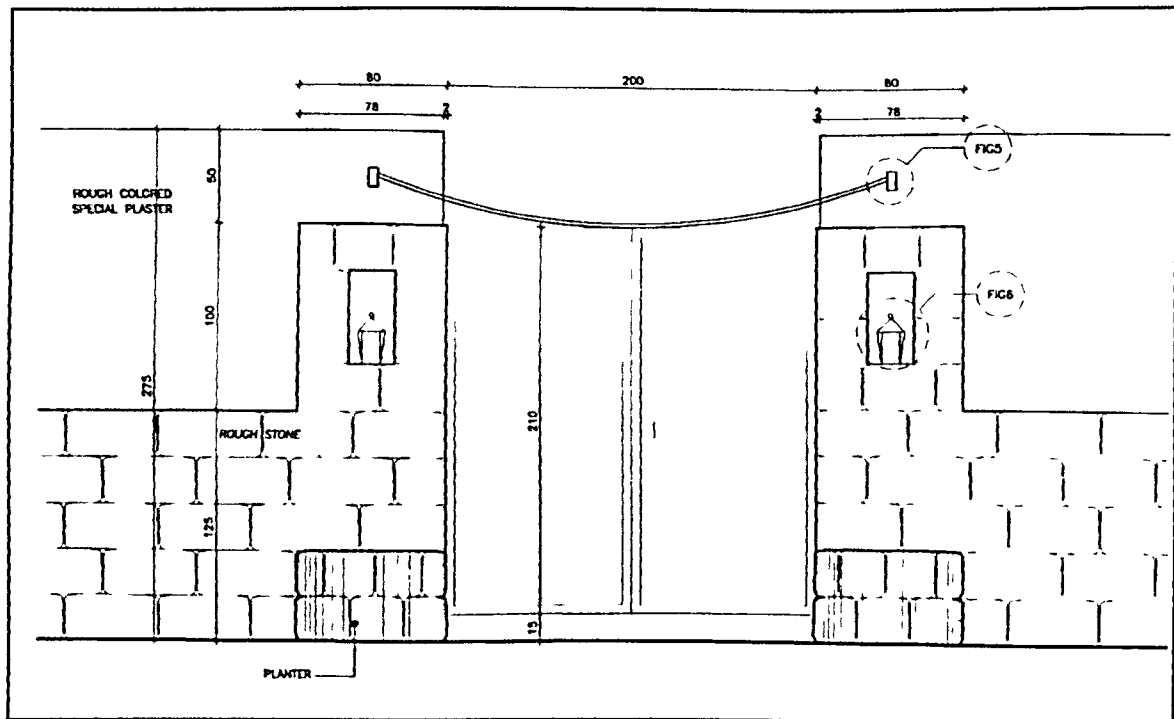


Fig (7.27): Detail of the steel entrance to the boundary wall of the model house.

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates, June 1999.

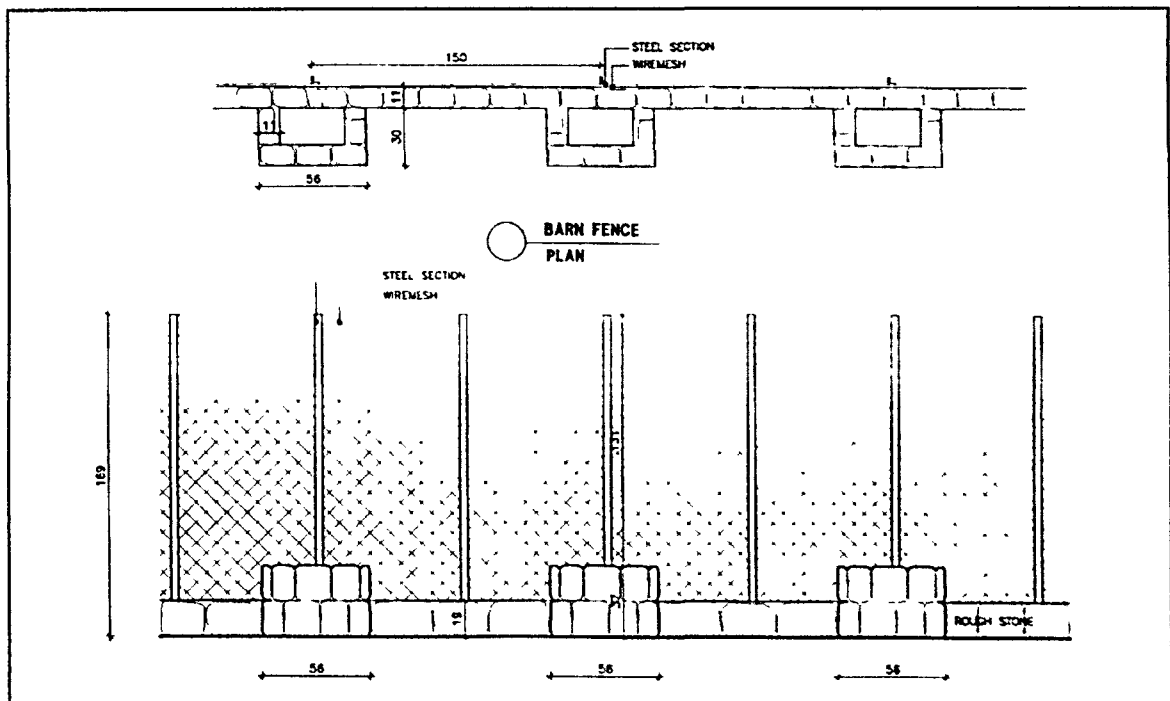


Fig (7.28): The proposed animal fence.

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates, June 1999.

4. Bed and Breakfast Rooms:

- 4.1. All residential plots are allowed to have only one bed and breakfast room (except for plots within the tourist commercial zone).
- 4.2. Bed and breakfast rooms should be constructed according to the proposed model.
- 4.3. Buildings within residential plots have to be upgraded according to the above regulations before initiating a bed and breakfast room.
- 4.4. A construction license has to be obtained from site management engineer before initiating a bed and breakfast room.
- 4.5. Exterior and interior finishes have to match the proposed model.
- 4.6. No openings towards inner residential buildings of the same plot containing the B&B room are allowed.
- 4.7. Service for B&B rooms should be from a door accessible from the main street.
- 4.8. B&B rooms have to be attached to one or two sides of the plot boundary wall.
- 4.9. A 5m minimal setback is required from all sides other than the side attached to boundary wall (SBA, 1999, p. 95-6).

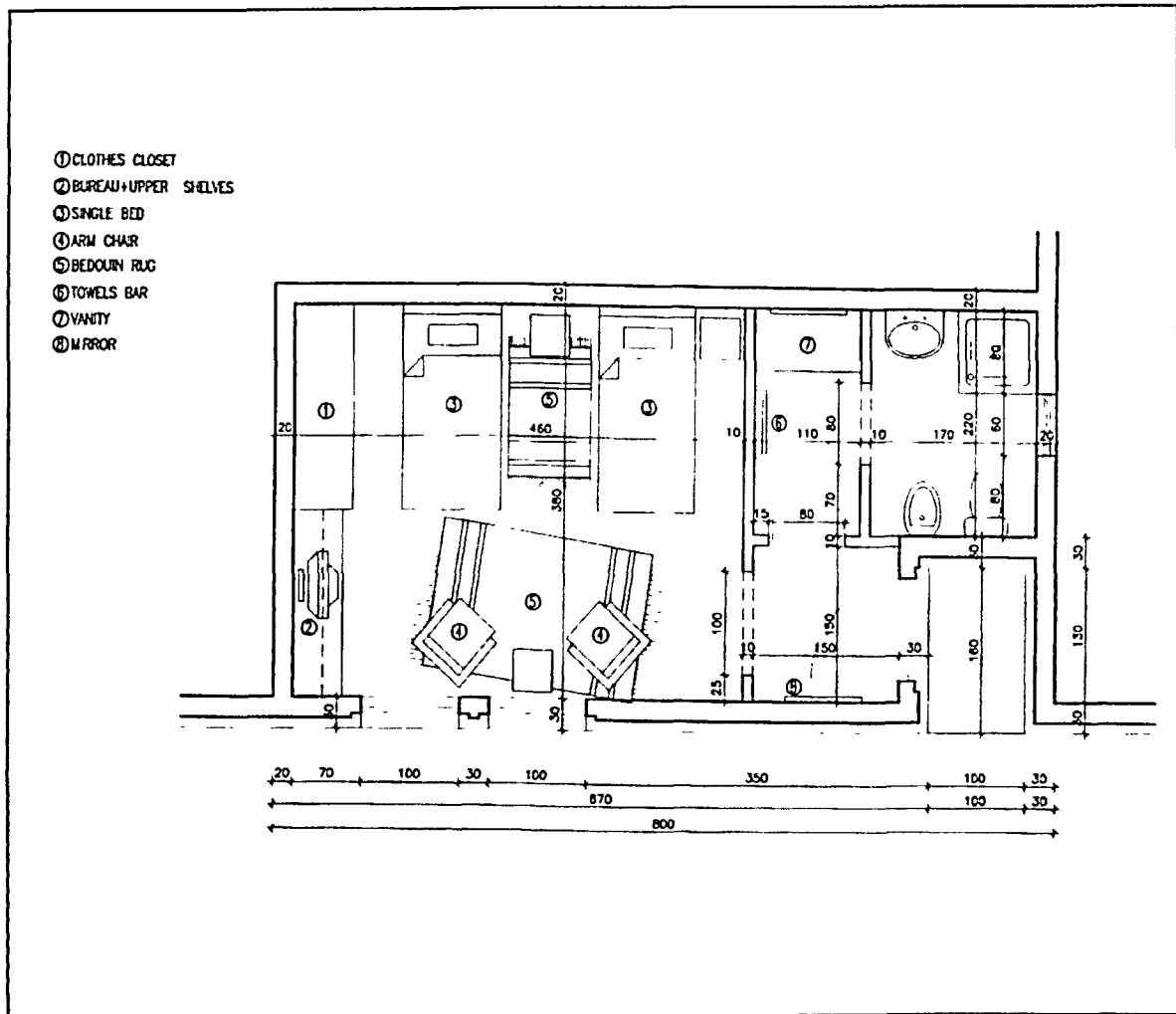


Fig (7.29): Bed and breakfast model room.

Source: Shubeilat Badran and Associates, June 1999.

Apparently, this regulations manual aimed to improve the aesthetic value of Rum Village's built environment. Although the improvement of the built environment sounds appealing to me, I argue that proposing as well as implementing these regulations had a hidden agenda in the preparation of Rum Village and its population to a transition leading to the relocation to the proposed new village outside the boundaries of the protected area. As part of this transitional stage, SBA proposed a new model house for any new residential development within Rum Village. According to the SBA design team, "the new model house was designed to be converted to a motel to serve tourists when its family is relocated to the new village" (1999, p. 54).

Daifallah, one of the research participants in this study, criticized this model house, by stating the following:

Our problem with the government stems from the fact that they underestimate our intelligence. The government and its agencies here in Wadi Rum came with a wrong assumption. They assumed that by giving the Bedouins some marginal incentives, the Bedouins will give in to the government plans. We know that what they want at the end is our relocation from our land. When SBA's team came to the Rum Village to do their surveying analysis, the architect described what they are planning to do. He told us that they are planning to develop the Village in a way that respects the Bedouins' ethnic needs. We felt happy to hear what he said. Later, we started to realize that what the architect said was away from what he implemented. For example, the model house design contradicts with the Bedouin needs. They allocate the *merhadh* behind the house; if our guests need to use the *merhadh* they have to go inside to the family side...how can this be respectful to the Bedouins' social and cultural needs (personal interview, 25 October, 2004).

Daifallah's comment is an example of the frustration felt among the Bedouins of Rum Village concerning the government interventions. While interviewing Daifallah, Abdullah E'id Zalabia, commented that "the idea of having a model house is a strange idea to our Bedouin culture" (personal interview, 25 October, 2004). Abdullah's cousin Farras, who was attending the interview, added the following:

I cannot wish that the director of the protected area be one of us. Simply, it is because none of us are qualified to be in such a specialized position. But, I really wish that he was someone from the region rather than from Amman. I wish he lived with us for some time before he became the director, so that he could understand what we need. In some ways, we are lucky because tourism has brought work and money, but also it brought expensive things. It opens the children's eyes to things that we were not used to seeing. Nowadays, they need more clothes and books. My two children abandoned the animal herding to be involved in tourism. Tourism also brought forbidden things. Now, I cannot take my animals where they like to go (personal interview, 25 October, 2004)

When I asked about the meaning of "forbidden things", Farras referred to the zoning scheme that ASEZA has implemented in the area. According to Farras, "even on little

alterations to our houses, we must use the stone and color of concrete that the authorities choose...no choices for us even for the colors we like...personally, I started to feel like I have been driven out from my Bedouin background...slowly, I am losing my Bedouin cultural identity” (personal interview, 25 October, 2004). Although these comments give the impression that the Bedouins of Rum village mostly perceive the government’s interventions in a negative sense, most of them acknowledged the fact that these interventions made some efforts to upgrade the Village’s infrastructure. This upgrade to the Village’s infrastructure is the fourth developmental intervention that affected Rum village’s built environment. This upgrade manifested itself in the form of supplying piped water, sewage and electricity. Electricity has made a major impact, not only on the context of the built environment, but also the economic and socio-cultural contexts of the Bedouins. Electricity has transformed the Bedouins’ working hours and the way some of the activities are done, such as using portable washing machines in the making of dairy products. Surprisingly it was observed that the electricity supply in Rum Village during the daytime period was much stronger than during the night time when it is most used and needed. The Authority provides all of the villages’ streets with lighting poles, which are characterised by their classical designs. The lighting pole’s concrete base takes the shape of a decorated steel column is placed with a very classical top that one can find in some of the most advanced tourism areas in Europe.

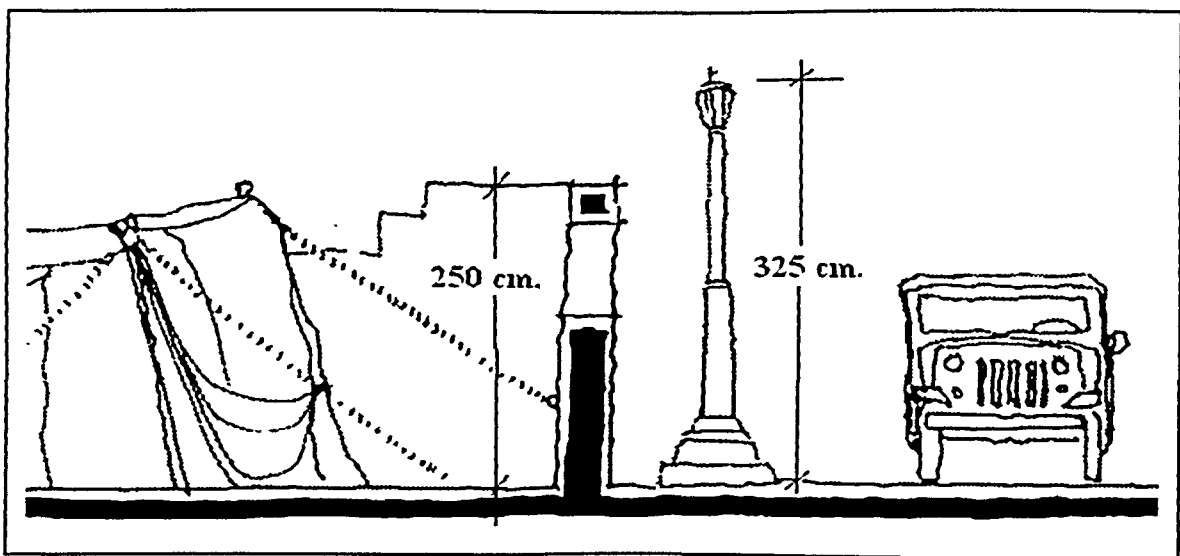


Fig (7.30): The classical lighting pole located at Rum Village’s streets.

Source: Researcher’s fieldwork, 2004.

To sum up the comments made by the local informants, I can draw a couple of conclusions. First, among the Bedouins, there is a general consensus about tourism's benefits and costs. Although this consensus manifests itself in a temporary satisfaction about the benefits of tourism, it holds a continuous fear of being forced out of their ancestral land. Second, the Bedouins realize that these developments, carried by the government to enhance their built environment, are nothing more than cosmetic changes to satisfy the tourists with disregard to the hosts' needs. Finally, there was a degree of satisfaction about the host-tourist relationship. Here, I argue that this satisfaction is a temporary one which could develop resentment because of the favouritism that the government is showing to tourism and its economic benefits.

When the tourists' respondents were asked about the issues of development in Rum Village and the tourist-host relationship, there was an agreement that one of the area's attractions is the Bedouins themselves. When they were asked about the area's architectural character, the tourists' answers differed according to the nature of their visits to the region, their duration and the way it was organized. Those who were one day visitors to the area did not have much interest in the area's architectural character. In contrast though, those tourists that were spending more than one day in the region emphasized that "the Bedouins' houses, although not well-constructed and well kept, is part of their culture, which we are interested in first" (personal interview, 15 October, 2004). Those who came through the Visitors' Centre on the Centre's packaged tours viewed Rum Village as 'unsightly'. When they were asked about the use of the term 'unsightly', the answer was that Rum Village "was described as such when the tour guide gave us a brief about the trip" (personal interview, 15 October, 2004). Yet, different from the perspective of this group of tourists, those who came to the region through personal connections with local guides viewed the village as part of the Bedouins' culture "that should be kept untouched" (personal interview, 15 October, 2004). A tourist from this specific group commented, "I really hope Rum Village remains as it is and does not become another Kan-Zaman or Taibet-Zaman" (personal interview, 15 October, 2004). The villages that this tourist was referring to are some vernacular villages that were

re-used to accommodate international tourists. Another tourist, who visited the area several times, stated the following:

I have been to different touristic places in Jordan, like Taibet-Zaman. It is nice but it is so obvious that the village is made-up to suit tourists' demands. I am afraid that Rum Village is going in that direction, and worse as it may include the relocation of the Bedouins who live in the village for so many years. The high boundary walls made Rum Village to appear as a ghost-village...I liked Rum Village more when I was able to see how the Bedouins are really living...now we have barriers between us and them. I asked myself, did I come all the way to see high pink walls and empty streets...I am begging the planners responsible for Wadi Rum development, please do not converge Wadi Rum and Rum Village into a touristic compound that we can find anywhere else (personal interview, 15 October, 2004).

These comments made by the tourists reflect that what they are looking for is a staged authenticity, rather they are looking for 'real' authenticity based on a direct interaction between them and the Bedouin host community. This contradicts ASEZA's vision that views the direct and 'uncontrolled' interaction as a threat to tourism development in Wadi Rum. According to one of the American tour operators that I met in the tourists' specialized camps:

For me, as lots of tourists think, I wanted to go to a place that has people living in their natural habitat, so that I would actually be able to see their culture. It is so obvious the planners of Wadi Rum's development did not understand the host-tourists relationship right. We as tourists know very well that the power of host cultures lies in their ways of offering hospitality, in which locals should have a full power to express their hospitality in a natural and authentic way. As for the character of the place, I spent some nights within a Bedouin family, I spent some nights in the Rest-House tent, and for me the nights with the real Bedouins are memorable. For the last ten years I visited Wadi Rum five times, and I spent some time with some Bedouin friends within their houses. Abdullah Zalabia is a Bedouin friend I met in 1995, at that time he had two rooms and today he had a large house that he built at different stages that I witnessed over the years. The latest stage was built to meet the demands of tourism; the separated guest room gave Abdullah the chance to receive tourists while preserving his family's privacy (personal interview, 25 September 2004).

To fully understand the ways in which these tourists' demands have impacted upon the context of the Bedouins' built environments, it is important to offer the reader an in-depth analysis of how the specific layouts have changed within the Bedouins' homes and extension. As a starting point, it is important to understand the mentality that stands behind the Bedouins' building activity. Abdullah E'id Zalabia, while describing his household's organization, stated the following:

The family is the foundation of our community; therefore, meeting its demands is an essential issue in the Bedouins' mentality. I got married when I was seventeen years old. My father gave me two options. The first one was to live within the extended family's tent, by pitching an extension to be my compartment. The second option was to pitch my own tent next to my father's. I preferred the second option as it gave the new bride more privacy. When my family started to grow and to meet my work requirements as a mechanic, I decided to build a small house in Rum Village. Because the family was small, I built two rooms in a way similar to my small tent with its two compartments, the *raba'* and *shigg*. With years, as my family grows, the house was growing with to satisfy the family's space demands, of course in a manner that suites my financial ability (personal interview, 23, October 2004).

Abdullah's description illustrates two issues. First, it illustrates that the Bedouins' homes are driven by two concepts, which are need and affordability. Due to these two concepts, Bedouin homes are of an incremental nature. For the Bedouin it does not seem natural to build a house all at once, or to wait until the dwelling is complete before moving into it. The second issue is the nature of building stages. Abdullah's household was built in different stages to meet the demands of his family as well as his business. As many of the Zalabia's, Abdullah's household, as well as Nassar's household, illustrates how work and living spaces can be physically integrated.

In the mid of 1990s, when tourism became the dominant source of income for the majority of Wadi Rum's families, this mentality started to change. In contrast to the incremental progression that Abdullah's household illustrates, Mohammad Eid Zalabia household's organization clearly illustrates the change in the Bedouins' building mentality. His house is about two hundred and fifty square meters, which was all built

during one stage. Apparently, this is an extraordinary size for a nuclear family, which only consisted of two people when Mohammad was married in 1995. His home did not represent the Bedouins' mentality, which advocates not using more space than is required. Yet in Mohammed's case, the size and the use of his house are used to emphasize his economic status. When he was asked about the size of his dwelling, Mohammad stated:

When I built this house, four factors affected my decision about its size and location. First, it is an investment towards the future of my children. Second, I wanted something different than what my relatives had. Third, it was to satisfy my father's demand that he wanted all of his children to be around his house. The fourth factor is that I wanted my children to be raised closer to their relatives (personal interview, 16 June, 2004).

Mohammad's statement reflects two issues. On one hand, Mohammad's household organization was made to satisfy his desires to live a slightly different style closer to modernity. On the other hand, by locating the house within his *khamisa's* cluster, Mohammad was not eager to abandon the norms that strengthen the Zalabia's way of life; namely, the values of tribal unity and the family cohesion. The use value of Mohammad's house accentuates the way in which the Bedouins' cultural transformation can be mirrored spatially. The duality of spaces, the Arabic *madhafah* and the western *diwan* can be perceived as part of the modernization process that the Rum Village's architectural product is passing through. Although it can be understood as a desire to achieve a certain degree of modernity, the duality can also be seen as a commitment to the Bedouins' core values, especially those values attached to Bedouin women's status within the household.

This duality was observed in almost every household this study covered. It accentuates the Bedouins' ethnic need to preserve the family's privacy. This duality divides the Bedouins' household into two spheres, the public and the private spheres. In most of the houses that I recorded, the *madhafah* was added to accentuate two separate spheres, the tourist space, where the Zalabia tribesmen, as I observed, felt free to show a different social attitude that allowed them to mingle with female tourists, have parties and drink alcohol, and the non-tourist space that is designated for the family (*a'ilah*) where the old ways persist.

This separation between tourists' and non-tourists' spaces can be observed at the settlement level too. The Rum Village's main road, where the tourists' activities are concentrated, is the area where the tourists can practice some habits, such as drinking alcohol (within the Rest-House and some private shops), that they are not allowed within the residential areas. This tourists' sphere is also the area where the Zalabia's tribesmen are running tourism businesses. The other sphere is the Village's residential areas. Because of this division, the back residential streets of the village have thus come to represent for tourists something akin to a living museum, and many tourists spend some of their time wandering through the narrow winding streets looking for experiences of what they consider to be the traditional elements of Wadi Rum's life: camels, tents within yards, and Bedouins going about their daily life. Here, it is essential to point out that tourists are welcomed to do so, as long as they do not harm the privacy of the Bedouins' households.

In addition to tourism's impact on the physical appearance of the Rum Village's built environment, tourism's cash flow has affected the villagers' consumption patterns. Tourism's developments and income introduced some new technologies to the Bedouins' households. These technologies include running water, stoves, portable fans, ceiling fans, air conditioners, washing machines, refrigerators, televisions, telephones, and lately, computer and cellular phones. Although some theorists might claim that the introduction of technology only has negative consequences, Pocius argues, in *A Place to Belong: community order and every day space in Galvert*, that the "incorporation of new objects into a culture did not necessarily mean that they would have a negative impact, and in fact, they were often accepted because they appropriately coincide with exciting values" (1991, p. 11). To a certain degree Pocius' assertion matches what I have observed during my fieldwork in terms of the community's response to the introduction of the washing machine and how it affected the Bedouin's activities of washing clothes and the preparation of some dairy products. While this new form of technology helped to make washing a relatively easier task, it also enhanced the Bedouins' desire of privacy because these machines allowed Bedouin women who own them, especially those who belong to the Zalabia elite, to perform this activity inside their households rather than having to go

outside of their homes to wash their clothes. This sense of privacy was enhanced even further if the women also owned their own clothes dryer. A similar positive impact to the context of the Bedouins' built environment can be drawn from the introduction of stoves, which has affected the Bedouins' activity of cooking. The stove has also enhanced women's privacy because the women can now conduct this activity within the privacy of their own homes. The introduction of cooling devices, such as fans, and air conditioners, has also had impact upon the more masculine component of the Bedouin community that *Madhafahs* have become more populated with clusters of men who gather there to socialize during hot summer days and nights.

In addition to these physical changes, another form of change was observed that indirectly affected the Bedouins' built environment, as well as their behavioural patterns within the built environment. It is the change in the behaviour of some of the Bedouins towards 'traditional' marriage patterns. As it was illustrated earlier, tourism is largely the domain of Bedouin tribesmen, where most of them feel relatively free from many of the restrictions normally present in Rum Village life. While I was spending time in the Rest-House, I observed that among the Zalabia's tribesmen, especially the young generation, while male tourists are accepted and welcomed, newly arrived women generally receive a great deal more attention. I also noticed that female tourists are more comfortable dealing with the Bedouins than the male tourists. When Jabber Alyan Zalabia was asked about this phenomenon, he sarcastically replied:

This is the way it should be. Naturally, attention should be given to the attractive ladies. Ladies who come to Wadi Rum are shiny and attractive, and they like to have Bedouin males talking to them and giving them attention. Because we are handsome, dark skin, young and strong men, you know, we are good sexually...we can do it twenty-four hours...this made Wadi Rum as a heaven on earth, (referring to the Koranic phrases on this topic) in real heaven we are allowed to have seventy wives...Wadi Rum is like that now, it is raining girls here (personal interview, 23 October, 2004).

At first, I did not take Jabber's statement serious, whereas later, I found that I was wrong when more than ten of my local young respondents approved what Jabber said. Furthermore, one of the young female tourists that I interviewed stated the following:

The charm that the Bedouin young men display here is so great. I do not get looked at when I am at home, everyone is busy when their lives. Then I came here and I have ten guys all looking up admiringly at me. If there is any girl here who says she does not like it, she is lying. Any girl who did not make the most of it and have a good time here would be missing a lot (personal interview, 23 October 2004).

To cross check this information, I asked other female tourists about what this female tourist told me. Two young women from New Zealand approved what I have been told, and added: "it is nice to get a bit of attention especially if it comes from exotic men like these Bedouins" (personal interview, 23 October 2004).

As I was informed by many of my research informants, in Rum Village, the presence of long-term tourist girlfriends has steadily increased in recent years. Daifallah attributed this phenomenon to the Zalabia's young tribesmen desire to maintain a good flow of tourism through these relationships. Some of these relationships turned to be successful marriages. Atieq Attallah Zalabia commented:

I had a girlfriend, a foreign girlfriend, and we found that we were so compatible for each other. At first, I took the relationship as an adventure for fun and business. Later, I realized that I could not find the same characteristics of her in any Arabian woman, she thinks so freely and is so easy to communicate with. We got married after a three-year long distance relationship in which we were exchanging phone calls and electronic mails. When she came back in 2002, we got married. Of course, my family tried to stop this marriage, but we did not care about anybody else (personal interview, 12 September 2004).

With all fairness, it is important to note that in contrast to Atieq's successful marriage, there were many examples where marriage failed after few months. As I was told by Linda, Atieq's Russian wife, a Romanian woman, who got married last, is recently

getting divorced. Linda explained the situation as the following: “as she used to tell me, at the beginning he was so charming, but lately he turned out to be very possessive in which he treated her like a possession” (personal interview, 12 September 2004).

Culturally speaking, the introduction of these local-foreign marriages brings about changes, as it introduces new cultural elements that can be described as a hybrid. This hybridization of the Bedouin culture and the ‘foreign’ culture created some tremendous effects on the Bedouins’ built environment, in terms of furnishings, finishing materials and use of spaces. In terms of furnishings, local-foreign marriages households include extra possessions as a kind of social defense mechanism towards any criticism subjected to the marriage. One of the study’s local informants expressed the fact that his brother, who is married to an American woman, has saved his earnings for two years in order to have his house fully furnished. Although *madhafahs* and *a’ilas* of the local-foreign marriages households have the same spatial configuration as any household in the villages, in terms of furnishings, there has been a dramatic increase in the display of possessions for purely decorative purposes. The same observation was made within the Zalabia’s elite household, but for a different reason. Within the elite households, it was observed that finishes used are an important statement about the status of the household’s owner in the community.

Apart from the physical changes that occurred in the Bedouins’ households in terms of size, building material and spatial organization, I observed continuity in the nature of the use of the spaces within these households. This continuity made the Bedouins’ behaviour in their permanent homes a direct offshoot of their behaviour within the tents. As it was the case of the tent’s space, the permanent houses’ spaces are multifunctional. This multifunctional use of spaces contrasts with the nomenclature of domestic spaces among the urbanites of Jordan, which indicates a highly specialized division of spaces according to function. Here, it is important to point out that within the local-foreign marriage households, division of spaces followed the Jordanian urbanites patterns. Among the urbanites, “rooms are often named with reference to a permanent fixture that defines the primary activity of that room” (Layne, 1994, p. 65). The urbanites usually refer to the

activity in a direct way, such as bedroom, bathroom, dining room, washroom and laundry room. Yet for the Bedouins, either those living in tents or in permanent houses, spaces are defined by the kind of people who use the space rather than the purpose for which the space is used. This fluidity was inherited from the Bedouins' tent, because of the portability of the abode's furnishings, almost all "the non-productive households' activities can and are done in a variety of places throughout the tent" (Layne, 1994, p. 65). Based on the fluidity of the tent's spaces, the spaces within the Bedouins' houses are also continually created and re-created. Therefore, the essence of the Bedouins' architectonics is the creation of space through the establishment of their life routine and the re-establishment of domestic spaces. This relationship between one's life patterns and the use of domestic space can be reflected and also taken a step further in Gilsenan's book, *Recognizing Islam: Religion and Society in the Modern Arab World* when he suggested that, among the Arabs, in general, and among the Bedouins, in particular, "space means relationship" (1982, p. 171). This argument illustrates that, the function of a given space depends on the time of the day, the people involved and the duration and purpose of the occasion within the space. This demonstrates very well the observations I made that the introduction of new building materials, new furnishings and new technologies into the Bedouins households did not result in the eradication of the Bedouins' nomadic ways, with some exceptional cases such as the local-marriages households. One of the first observations that I made in Rum Village was of the existence of Bedouin tents, which were pitched next to the houses in the village. During the course of my six months of fieldwork, I noticed that these tents were kept even when the purpose that they were pitched for was complete. As Daifallah commented:

It is true that these tents were pitched to accommodate ceremonial occasions, but they also serve other purposes. On one hand, they represent an escape from the concrete houses. Under these tents, the Bedouins feel freedom (*al-hurriyah*). Unlike the concrete houses, these tents give *hurriyah* that only a desert life permits. Also, these tents are the symbols of our Bedouin authenticity. The difference between the hospitality given to the tourists in the Rest-House, or even in the camps, and hospitality in our houses and tents is very essential to our Bedouin identity. The Rest-House deals with tourists as clients. We deal with them as temporary residents, *lifayif*, just as our ancestors did with guests (personal interview, 25 October, 2004).

Daifallah's statement illustrates the degree of intimacy that the Bedouins of Rum Village have towards their cultural values inherited from their ancestors. Explaining the meanings associated to these pitched tents, Daifallah added the following:

We regard the value of bread and salt (*aysh w milh*) which is the ethics associated with sharing food. We serve the tourists what we, as Bedouins, drink and eat. We deal with them as part of our household, and never treat them as clients. According to our customs, the tourist is our guest for three days. Then he is on his own. Of course, he is free to leave at any time, but if he wishes to stay, we respect the three day hospitality that we inherited from our ancestors. During these three days, a guest is never asked why he came and from where did he come. Even if he's an enemy, if he comes in peace, we eat bread and salt with him to assure that there is no hostility (personal interview, 25 October, 2004)

By performing this customary act for the tourists, which reflects the Bedouins' identity, the tribesmen are acknowledging the role that their authenticity plays in Wadi Rum's tourism services. One of the tourist's respondents commented about their appreciation for the authentic component that is offered within the local tourism industry's services in Wadi Rum:

What I like most about Rum Village is the opportunity of participating in authentic events and experiencing the Bedouins the way they are living in their natural habitat. I came to the area with a very specific interest. After I watched Lawrence of Arabia, so many years ago, it made me interested in seeing the real Bedouin people and to be involved spontaneously with their authentic events, such as sleeping in the tent, cooking and eating Bedouin meals and watching their dances (personal interview, 23 October, 2004).

Another Canadian female tourist, who worked for six months at one of the Jordanian newspapers as an exchange employee, actually lived with a Bedouin family for a few weeks. During her stay in Wadi Rum she visited and stayed over in some of the camps inhabited by the Bedouins. She also lived with some Bedouin families in Rum Village and observed some of the changes that took place in their living patterns. While she

shared the same feeling towards the desired authenticity, she did not hide her concerns about the future of Wadi Rum and its Bedouin population. According to Barbara:

The village had become so modernized in the space of just a few years. At that time of her first visit, many Bedouin women were cooking on an open fire, in their backyards. Although the majority still practice this, some of them are not doing that anymore. The family's economic status, whom I was living with, had improved so much from being involved in tourism. They earned enough to refurbish the modern kitchen inside their old house. For them, especially for the wife, this is a positive improvement. For me, this romantic and authentic way of life is on its way to vanishing, and that is very sad (personal interview, 25 October, 2004).

Indeed, Barbara's concerns about Wadi Rum's future represent concerns that the majority of both the tourists and local interviewees expressed. To construct a better understanding about the area's future, the following section will be devoted to discussing some related issues.

7.4 Question Three:

How Does Development Affect the Bedouins' Access to Resources?

This question, of how the discourse of development affects the Bedouins' access to resources, frames the issue of conflict over resources in the context of tourism development, sedentarization and the establishment of the protected area in Wadi Rum. This section will focus on the Bedouins' perceptions about access to resources and thus it relies on extracting phrases and comments that the interviewees used and were relevant to the aspects of tourism, sedentarization and the protected area.

Based upon fieldwork findings, I discovered that the majority of the interviewees perceived tourism to be synonymous with development. Surprisingly, especially among the younger generations, a conceptual differentiation between tourism (*Siyaha*) and development (*tanmiyah*) was made. Imran Ali Zalabia, who in addition to his government employment practices tourism and agricultural activities, defined *tanmiyah* as "the upgrading of the different aspects of the Bedouins' life" (personal interview, 16

October, 2004). For him, tourism is an activity that is viewed favourably by the Bedouins because of the economic benefits it created in Wadi Rum. When he was asked about the reason why he practices different economic activities, Imran commented that “putting all of my eggs in one basket is a crazy thing to do...working with the government gives me a steady income that compensates for the fluctuation in tourism and agriculture” (Ibid: 2004). Interestingly, Imran, as well as other interviewees, when classifying tourism as a favourable economic activity, also criticized the urbanization that came with tourism. According to them, urbanization, associated with the limitations that the government made on their freedom of movement, is seen to be in conflict with their interests. In this regard, it was noticed that the Bedouins are caught between the importance of tourism as a source of income and the conflict it creates over access to land and grazing activities.

Mohammad E'id Zalabia, who practices various multi-source economic activities to make a living, affirmed that, “it was a great day when tourism came to Wadi Rum, but with time we started to lose our land that we owned and inherited from generation to generation...the Bedouin land today is owned by the non-Bedouins” (personal interview, 16 June, 2004). According to Mohammad, “Bedouins are facing a growing competition from the influx of non-Bedouin investors from outside Rum area”.

When the issue of the protected area was raised, a diversity of reactions was recorded. The elders perceived the concept of the protected area as a raid (*ghazw*) to the Bedouins' tribal land. Matlaq Alyan Zalabia made an interesting connection between the Zalabia's tribal history and the introduction of the concept of protected area in Wadi Rum. According to Matlaq:

My father used to tell me some stories about the Zalabia's tribal raids that he participated in when he was young...when the grandfathers resided with the Howaitat, they used to *ghazw* the weak tribes in southern Jordan and take whatever they have, but they never kill people...this is what the government and its followers who come from Amman do to Wadi Rum...they came to *ghazw* the Zalabia...they know that we are weak to defend ourselves in front of their power...they raided us and took our land...they left us alive, but they are doing their best to keep us weak and poor to be always in need for their support (personal interview, 25 October, 2004).

What Matlaq said annoyed his son Ahmad, who worked with RSCN's on-site team. Ahmad views the protected area as a regulation of some activities that the Bedouins practice that harm the nature of the area, such as over-grazing, hunting, fire-wood collecting...etc (personal interview, 25 October, 2004). Matlaq responded to Ahmad's with the following comment:

My dear son...this is what they (RSCN, ASEZA and Urban Investors) inserted in your innocent mind...those people say what they do not mean. These officials have their own agenda in Wadi Rum and you as well as others, are only the tools to implement this agenda in Wadi Rum and Rum Village (personal interview, 25 October, 2004).

Somewhere in between these two extreme points of views is the opinion that the majority of the Bedouins of Wadi Rum hold about the ways in which development initiatives have impacted upon the Bedouins' access to resources. They view the establishment of the protected area as a process of framing, defining and solidifying their socio-cultural, economic, political and environmental connections to Wadi Rum. Although they often have extremely negative perspectives about the introduction of this protected area, more than half of the respondents valued the protected area because it preserves the places where it is left (*tabi'ee*) natural. As one of my research participants explained:

The Bedouins like to live in the *tabi'ah* (nature) because they start their lives there...even those who were born in Rum Village, *tabi'ah* represents the only breathing space, free of any sign of *umran* (urbanization) (personal interview, 25 October, 2004).

While about fifty percent of the local interviewees appreciated the efforts of preserving Wadi Rum's natural and archaeological environments, they did not hide their concerns about the consequences that come with these efforts, such as the possibility of relocating the Bedouins outside the boundaries of the protected area. The Bedouins view relocation as the next step after fixing the boundaries of the protected area. Here, it is essential to emphasize that relocation, as Scudder points out, results in multi-dimensional stress including psychological, socio-cultural, economic and spatial stress. This study's

literature review illustrated that relocated people, through 'clinging', fall back on the familiar and attempt to recreate their lost community through rituals and ceremonies, even when the environment is unsuitable and the host community is unsympathetic. Scudder's idea of clinging has a definite implication in Rum Village's context, as a similar process took place in the village. By the mid 1990s, the Bedouins started a rapid growth of building activity. On one hand, it was a verbal message to the government that indicated rejection of the idea of relocation and on the other, through *wad' al-yad* concept, it was a mechanism to provide evidence that they owned the village land. I recently received information, via electronic mail, from a local informant in Wadi Rum that another verbal message has been sent to the government because the Bedouins have reactivated the role of the Central *madhafah* in Rum Village to act as the village's community centre. This reactivation means that they have started to use their sheikh's *madhafah* as a gathering place as well as the place where they receive visitors who are outsiders to the Zalabia. In addition to its function as the place where the sheikh receives his formal guests, such as government officials, the *madhafah* also has an administrative role. It is the place where the village's tribal council meets to discuss the various issues that concern the community. In his *madhafah*, as the reference of social control in the village, the sheikh and the tribe's council "could compel any villagers to appear in the *madhafah* to explain his actions" (Antoun, 1972, p. 108).

As described by local informants, the sheiks' *madhafah* is about an 8 x 8 meter square hall and the main door remains open all day long to receive guests. The *madhafah* has comfortable furniture for guests. The floor is covered with some Bedouin carpets and furnished with thick mattresses made of wool, which are arranged in a u-shape, opposite the wall that contains the main entrance. Along the u-shape, pillows are arranged against the wall to give the guest's back the most comfort. At the end of each mattress, which is about two meters length, there were many cushions arranged in a specific way to be used as armrests. In the centre of the u-shape arrangement, there is a movable charcoal stove (*mangal*) and a low table on which the coffee utensils are placed. The coffee is prepared on a special brazier (*mawgadah*) located either in the far corner of the *madhafah*, or in the storage area, after the fire is set outside.

Because this central *madhafah* is collective, it symbolizes power among the local residents. In a way, this can also be a sign of socio-cultural change when it is perceived as an alternative form of civil society.

Here, in the light of these verbal messages that the local residents are sending to the government, one may question if these messages are a reflection of the locals' frustrations about the impacts that tourism introduced to the community. Thus, to conclude this discussion about the impact of tourism on the region of Wadi Rum, it is essential to make a reference to Ap's and Crompton's embracement-withdrawal strategy, which "recognizes that at any time there may be a diversity of reactions to tourism in a community and that these reactions will be manifested by different behavioural strategies" (1993, p. 49). Within Wadi Rum's context, because of the small-scale nature of the tourism industry, it can be concluded, at the present time, that the Bedouins' community reactions are within the range of strategies that can make them adaptable to tourism impact. The responses of the locals suggested that there is a potential for growing resentment against tourism and any development it may bring to the area.

On July 7th, 2007, the final seven winners of the New World Wonders were announced in Lisbon. These sites were: India's Taj Mahal; Peru's Machu Piccu, The Great Wall of China; Rome's Coliseum; Brazil's Statue of Christ the Redeemer; Mexico's Mayan Ruins; and Jordan's ancient Nabatean City of Petra. Here, it is important to emphasize that Petra occupied the second position in a poll, via telephone and the internet, which allegedly generated 100 million votes. Figures recently released from Jordan's Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities predicted that the numbers of visitors to the Kingdom is likely to triple and visitors to Wadi Rum will at least double. This increase, undoubtedly, will add to the international pressure that the government of Jordan is facing towards meeting the demands of modernization. According to Geraldine Chatelard:

The Jordanian power elite, like many others of its kind, is left with no choice but to adopt the language of donor agencies, an evidence of the growing hegemony exerted by international financial institutions on social and political processes in countries of the Third World (2001, p. 20).

Based upon Chatelard's argument the state and its government may be viewed as an agent of global modernity. According to this global vision, societies across the globe are supposed to eventually adopt the modern world's thoughts and norms and thus their dominant social order should become modern. Within this context, some important questions must be raised. Where Wadi Rum's tourism was a small-scale industry, Bedouins were able to adapt to the tourism development using simple strategies; what will occur in the area with the predicted rapid increase in tourist numbers? How can the negative impact of these increases to the tourism industry in the area be minimized if it continues to expand?

Embodied in these questions is the issue of planning. Therefore, the following section of this study will address some issues related to the concept of planning in tourism, which aims to establish a theoretical foundation upon which a better understanding of Wadi Rum future will be built.

7.5 Towards an Integrated Approach to Planning:

Planning is a complex and extremely ambiguous concept. Because of the concept's multi-faceted connections, which include considerations of social, economic, political, psychological, anthropological and technological factors, it is difficult to define. The concept's ambiguity has also made its implications ambiguous.

Inskeep, in his book *Tourism Planning*, discusses the issue of ambiguity surrounding tourism planning's definition. In this regard, he emphasizes that tourism planning applies the same basic concepts and approaches of general planning, "but adapted to the particular characteristics of the tourism system" (1991, p. 25). Tourism planning is carried out at all levels of development - international, national, regional, sub-regional, as well as specific localities. The international level of planning is primarily concerned with international transportation services, the flow and tour programming of tourists among different countries, complementary development of major attraction features and facilities in nearby countries, and multi-country marketing strategies and promotion programs. "The international planning level is rather weak because it depends on the cooperation of

individual countries” (Inskeep, 1991, p. 34). The national level of tourism planning focuses on several elements, such as, tourism policy, tourist attractions, infrastructure, accommodations, tourism marketing and education and training programs. The regional level of tourism planning is focused on one region of a country, in terms of developing regional policies, access and internal transportation network and facilities, regional tourist attractions, regional levels of education and training and regional environmental, socio-cultural and economic considerations and impact analysis. Sub-regional planning is a more specifically focused planning than the regional level. The last category of tourism planning is the development area land use planning, which is a more detailed level of planning that “indicates the specific areas for hotel and other types of accommodations, retail shops and other tourists facilities, recreation, parks and conservation areas, the transportation system of roads, walkways and other elements” (Inskeep, 1991, p. 37).

This study’s literature review that focused on the planning for tourism development discovered that there are six approaches to planning, which are the following:

1. Continuous and flexible approach:

Continuity and flexibility are common characteristics of the contemporary planning approach to tourism development. Continuity may refer to planning processes that are incrementally built on continuous research. Flexibility implies that plans are open to adjustments based on monitoring and feedback. Murphy emphasizes the importance of these characteristics to tourism planning when he contends:

The new planning-approach to tourism development must combine planning (the initial goal and development strategy) with management (day to day, season to season operational decisions), because the ability to adjust to changing markets or seasonal conditions is of paramount importance in such a competitive business (1985, p. 153).

2. System approach:

Literature provides diverse meanings for the term system. This variation depends upon the context of the term used. When it is related to tourism, the system consists of many components, such as market, travel, destination, demand, supply,

transportation...etc. Accordingly, tourism is viewed as an “interrelated system and should be planned as such” (Inskeep, 1991, p. 29). The system approach to tourism planning has two advantages. First, since the system approach is flexible, it can be applied at various levels with different emphasis at each level. Second, it provides a programmed learning and continuous improvement. Because of the interrelated nature of the system’s components, Murphy (1985) emphasizes the importance of monitoring when applying a system approach to planning.

3. Comprehensive planning approach:

Comprehensive planning represents a holistic approach to planning. In this sense, literature indicates that the purpose of comprehensive planning is to create a degree of coherence between all relevant elements of tourism, including its institutional, environmental and socio-economic implications.

4. Integrated planning approach:

The term integration refers to the approach in which tourism, as an industry, is treated as an integrated system in itself and also integrated into the overall plans of development of the area. This idea can be illustrated in the following quotation “any tourism development plan has to be integrated into the nation’s socio-economic and political policies, into the natural and man-made environments, into the related sectors of the economy and its financial schemes, and into the international tourism market (Baud-Bovy, 1982, p. 308).

5. Sustainable development approach:

The review of the literature in this field indicates that development implies a number of processes which can be also considered as its objectives. While the main objective of sustainable development is to meet human needs and wants, it also “proposes to carry developmental achievements into the future in such a way that future generations are not left worse off” (Tosun & Jenkins, 1991, p. 103). According to Tosun and Jenkins, “sustainable tourism development is the management of all resources in such a way that can fulfill economic, social and aesthetic needs while

maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems” (1991, p. 102).

6. Community approach:

The concept of community approach to planning can be better understood as a framework of actions that has political and socio-economic functions. Here, it can be argued that the application of community planning depends upon the political system of the state. The approach is ushered in by the decentralization trend that encourages the community involvement in the discussion-making process. Scholars, such as Murphy (1985, 1992), Haywood (1988) and Woodley (1993) proposed that the community approach to tourism planning and management must be advocated as one way to create harmonious host-guest relationships within destination communities. According to Woodley, community approach to tourism development suggests the development of a “community as a core-component of a tourism destination area or tourism product. As the same time, it suggests some control by residents over tourism development and management” (1993, p. 137).

7.6 Towards Wadi Rum’s Integrated Planning:

For several decades, Jordan, as most developing countries, has depended on technical assistance from developed countries’ consultants. These consultants were asked to prepare master plans or development programs that were usually supported and sometimes funded by international agencies. In literature related to development, this trend has always been subject to criticism for a wide variety of reasons. The first reason for such criticism is the lack of consultation with the local communities during the planning process. Another criticism is based upon the inadequate commitment the consultants often had towards the implementation of the project they already planned for. The final reason for this criticism is based upon the developing country’s failure to achieve national self-reliance because of an excessive dependence on expertise coming from developed countries (Fanik, 2001, p. 34-6). This criticism has motivated some of the international agencies, such as the World Tourism Organization (WTO) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to revise their planning models. These revised

models illustrate an increased commitment to local level community consultation throughout the planning process.

Planning in Jordan has been and continues to be highly centralized. Development plans are both centrally created and executed. This approach, similar to the approach to development, which was discussed above, has been subject to considerable criticism. Critics, such as Abu Kharmah (1991) and Fanik (2001) have pointed to the issue of lack of consultation with the targeted populations, which leads to the absence of a sense of ownership and to inflexible planning processes. Critics have also pointed to the lack of sensitivity in dealing with and accommodating local knowledge in the planning processes.

In this regard, I would argue that this current centralized top-down approach to planning in Jordan might succeed in increasing tourist arrivals, and therefore increase the flow of economic benefits to the country and perhaps a specific region, but I would argue that it fails to deliver development to civil society at large especially where parts are poor or disadvantaged. I would also argue that, at a practical level, if development progresses in a style or at a scale that is not supported by local residents, there is a great chance for such development to fail at the implementation stage. Thus I would suggest that local participation at the different stages of planning can lead to development that is acceptable by local residents, and therefore is more likely to be economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. A rational question that can be raised here is whether the community planning approach is applicable to Wadi Rum's case and how such an approach, if applicable, can be implemented.

Based on their studies that focused on indigenous population, scholars, such as Bulter and Hinch (1996) pointed out that careful planning is required to achieve two major objectives. The first objective is to get the maximum economic benefits and the second benefit is that the planning fits into the indigenous people cultures and economies. In this regard, these scholars have contended that the process of development must embody local participation if it is to succeed, even in the short run.

Aaron Zazueta, a social anthropologist, emphasized that the reasoning behind indigenous people's participation, should exceed its perspective as a human right but rather be based upon a recognition of the community's local knowledge. According to Zazueta:

First, if ways to involve marginal people in policy making are found, projects and programs will better respond to their needs. Second, it is in the interest of these populations to support policies and projects that will directly improve environmental management...and third, once people's basic needs are met, they will be more willing to invest in the well-being of future generations (1995, p. 1).

A central issue in community involvement in development is the extent to which local control exists. Here, it is important to emphasize that the extent of the local's involvement in planning processes depends on answers that can be generated to the questions of who benefits from development and how they benefit. Tosun and Jenkins, in *The Evolution of Tourism Planning in third World Countries*, have asserted that "community participation requires decentralization which it is, suggested will give an opportunity to local people to become involved in the decision-making process" (1991, p. 1). Scholars, such as Mowforth and Munt (1998) have approached the question differently. Instead of questioning who benefits, they have discussed some mechanism about who participates, and how. They reveal methods such as: meetings; selected interviews; public attitude surveys; mail out surveys; focus groups and the Delphi technique to answer such questions. According to Mowforth and Munt, meetings have an advantage over the other forms of gathering information as they can be conducted by locals even without the administrative and professional supervision that the other forms might require.

In their book, *Participatory Appraisal for Community Assessment*, Pretty and Hine, have developed a typology of participation, which outlines seven different levels of public involvement, which are outlined below (1999, p. 45):

1. **Manipulative participation:** At this level, participation is simply pretence, with people's representatives on official boards but who are not elected and have no power.

2. **Passive participation:** People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without listening to people's responses.
3. **Participation by consultation:** People participate by being consulted, and external professionals listen to their views. Such a consultation process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's point of views.
4. **Participation for material incentives:** People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for material incentives. People have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives run out.
5. **Functional participation:** People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organizations. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become a self-dependent process.
6. **Interactive participation:** People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones within the community. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. The groups involved in this participation take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. **Self-mobilization:** People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for the resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used.

During the course of the fieldwork stage for this research project, the issue of the locals' lack of involvement in the development of their area was continuously raised by the interviewees. There was a consensus that community participation in the decision-making process is crucial to meet the local residents' needs and aspirations. While interviewing

the local residents, the question of why they should participate and when to participate were central to the discussions. These issues are further explored in the following quotation from Abdullah Zalabia, the principal of Wadi Rum's Military School.

Participation in our opinion does not always mean to participate in decision making...we are not in a position to make decisions, especially in issues that we are not knowledgeable of, such as making long-term policies. This needs specialized people to do it, where part of their scope of work is to teach us, as the area's local residents, how to take decisions appropriate for the area's long-term planning. Our involvement (*musharakeh*) can help others to know our needs and priorities and to understand us in a better way that might be helpful in taking the right decision. We are also aware that *musharakeh* can be a way to manipulate us in a way that makes the Bedouins appear as if they are taking decisions while indeed they are not (personal interview, 17 July, 2004).

According to A'wadh, the Military School principal's father, what Abdullah said mirrors the way that decision-making was carried out in the Bedouin society (personal interview, 17 July, 2004). Decision making among the Bedouins is often based on discussion. Social issues concerning the tribe are discussed by members who give their advice to help guide the sheikh in the decision-making process. Consultation in the *majlis* is a long-standing behaviour that is practiced within the Bedouin society. According to A'wadh, among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, there was an agreement among the different sheikhs that "Everyone is involved in the decision and the decision is made by everyone...it is customary to give a person the freedom to decide as he knows what he wants and knows what are the consequences of his decision" (personal interview, 17 July, 2004). Here, it is essential to note that although participation is a vague and uncertain concept, among the Bedouins it has some definite implications. As stated by A'wadh, participation is not a strange concept to the Bedouin population, rather they have been accustomed to participation and were practicing it for centuries. Among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, it was observed that nearly every aspect of their daily life requires some kind of participation. The concept can be materialized in different ways known locally as *tkaful* (to bail out), *faza'a* (to support) or *o'wneh* (to give a hand). Although, different terms are used to describe participation all of them literally mean mutual aid.

While the literature reviewed above indicates the applicability of the concept of public participation within Wadi Rum's community, the question remains: who participates and how should these participants get involved?

These questions have been elaborately discussed by Paul's book *Community Participation in Development Projects*. Paul presents participation's objectives as a continuum from efficiency to empowerment. According to this continuum, a list of five objectives was proposed (Paul as cited in Festner, 1991, p. 191). The first objective is that of project efficiency, which can be achieved by using participation to promote agreement, cooperation and interaction among beneficiaries and between them and the implementing agency. The second objective is that when cost sharing is the objective of participation, this sharing should be done by contributing labour and money to maintain the project. The third objective is that participation tends to enhance the project's effectiveness. The fourth objective is that participants help in building the beneficiaries' capacity when they are allowed, after preparation, to play a role in the management and monitoring of the implementation of the project. The final objective of participation is its empowerment, which can be seen as building confidence, insight and understanding and developing skills. It creates an equitable share of power, political awareness and strength.

In the same context, Paul discussed the intensity and instruments of community participation in which he distinguishes four levels that describe the manner in which participation's objectives can be accomplished. These levels, as cited in Festner's book, *Settlement Planning and Participation under Principles of Pluralism* (1993), are described as the following: the first method is the sharing of information. This method is important because sharing of information with beneficiaries facilitates collective or individual action. The second method is consultation. By consulting, beneficiaries have the opportunities to interact and provide feedback, which can be taken into account during the design and implementation stages. The third method is the decision-making. Scholars, such as Oakley and Marsden have distinguished between 'real' and 'unreal' participation in decision-making processes. For Oakley and Marsden, "a real decision-making process would require a radical change to existing bureaucratic structures and

planning procedures...only this process will lead to empowerment” (1984, p. 21). The final method is the initiation action, which is the level when the community members are able to take the initiative on their own. Although these ideas from Paul illustrate ways in which local residents can be involved in and develop skills through their participation in the development process there are, undoubtedly, a number of challenges that the community-based planning approach may face. The following paragraph will identify these challenges in greater detail.

Identifying the challenges to involving local residents in the participation process of development, as well as proposing solutions to these challenges, may assist both the local communities and the planning authorities in effectively overcoming the impacts of these challenges. In Wadi Rum’s context, perhaps the most influential challenge is the lack of information and research about the region and its population. A community-based approach to planning requires basic information about the area that will be planned. In Jordan, although the Department of General Statistics is considered one of the most active government agencies, statistics that focus on nomadic populations are not comparable in standard to the level of statistics that the department has about the country’s urbanite. The reason is that the nomadic Bedouins are an elusive community that is hard, if not impossible to control for accurate counting purposes (Department of General Statistics, 2004). Therefore, the nomadic people, especially those inhabiting the desert of Southern Jordan, have a very limited amount of baseline data, which is necessary to make informed and sustainable decisions for their development. Therefore, a collaborative effort from the different government agencies, academic institutions and the non-governmental organizations to improve the availability of the information about the nomadic Bedouins is a necessity.

Another challenge in being able to have local residents of Wadi Rum participate in the development process is the way of securing political support for such participation. Successful planning initiatives rely on the support of key political power and the right kind of community leadership. This kind of support is crucial, especially in countries where planning decision-making processes are centralized. Although the nomadic people

receive special care from the monarchy, their connections with government agencies is limited to their parliament members. For the Bedouins of Wadi Rum, unfortunately, even this connection is not actively working for their benefit since they belong to the weak tribal section of Howaitat. The stronger section, Al-Jazi, has the financial and political power to have one of its tribesmen represent the Southern Jordan Bedouins in Parliament. Even if his support is guaranteed, elected officials unfortunately usually serve for short terms and often may not have the motivation to see beyond their relatively short tenure.

Therefore, this study believes that it is the academic institutions', as well as the NGOs responsibility to fill this political gap and carry the Bedouins' voices to attain the needed political support. Such support would increase the likelihood that the Bedouins' participation in the development planning and the plan itself will be implemented in a timely fashion with resources and staff assigned to the planning tasks.

The third challenge in terms of enabling the Bedouins' involvement in community-based planning is the lack of effective local mechanisms that may help towards their involvement. Undoubtedly, a plan to be implemented needs a socio-political structure to put it in place. In Wadi Rum's context, although the community is organized tribally, their existing governance's structure, which may be able to manage local and small-scale developments, cannot effectively meet the demands of the more complicated issues, which will exist in their tourism sector's future. Therefore, there is a need for an organizer who can initiate the possibility of participation from all sectors of the community.

This study argues that Wadi Rum's school teachers can initiate a community organizing process by which people are brought together to act in common self-interest. Cathy Fleischer, in her book, *Teachers Organizing for Change: Making literacy learning everybody's business* introduces the reader to the literature and practices of community organizing that are defined as "people working together to get things done" (2000, p. 13). Here, it is important to emphasize that in order to secure participation of the Bedouins in the planning process of development initiatives; they need a representative from the

community. For the Bedouins to develop this representative they can use Fleischer's idea and use the teachers in the community to reach out to their diverse members. Fleischer illustrates how teachers can use their knowledge of classroom organization in turn to build upon the theory and practices of community organizing to expand to parent outreach. Fleischer illustrates how teaching and community organizing are similar, because teachers are natural organizers:

Think what we do everyday to create and sustain communities in our classrooms. We take a bunch of disparate individuals, sometimes up to thirty-five or forty at a time, who bring diverse backgrounds, experiences, socioeconomic factors, race, gender, interest, reading level, skills, strengths, and motivations, and somehow - at our best - manage to form a cohesive group (Fleischer, 2000, p. 13).

Accepting the idea that the concept of participation is a valid concept within Wadi Rum's community, how can this concept be related to the Bedouins' built environment? To construct a discussion about this validity, the following section focuses on the issue of community participation in architecture.

The discussion of the concept of community participation in architecture, first initiated in the 1960s, became a buzzword by mid 1970s after the sites and services housing schemes received funding and acceptance by the World Bank in the developing countries (Hamdi, 1991, p. 76). However, it is important to understand the meaning of community participation as it has been misused and abused in many projects claiming to have community participation as a project component. This study argues that the misuse and abuse of the concept stems from the lack of rational understanding of the concepts of community and participation. Nabeel Hamdi in his book, *Action Planning for Cities: A Guide to Community Practice*, points out that the term community has both "social and spatial dimensions" and that generally the people within a community come together to achieve a common objective, even if they have certain differences (1997, p. 67). Hamdi's definition demonstrates clearly that a community generally has two certain elements, that is, physical boundaries and social interests common among the people.

Abraham Charles (1971) and Nabeel Hamdi (1991, 1997) present an opposing view that the communities are not necessarily always organized and cohesive and sometimes lack the 'sense of community' and 'social identity'. Nabeel Hamdi (1997) explains that for community participatory projects, it is not a must to have an already well organized community right from the beginning but the sense of community can be achieved during the course of the project, which can also be one of the objectives of including community participation in development projects (p. 67).

In reference to the concept of participation, community participation means some form of involvement of people, with similar needs and goals, in decisions affecting their lives. Nabeel Hamdi defines community participation as a powerful idea which "refers to the process by which professionals, families, community groups, government officials, and others get together to work something out, preferably in a formal or informal partnership" (1991: 75). For the purpose of this study, community participation can be defined as the theory that the local community should be given an active role in programs and improvements directly affecting it. Here, it is important to point out that the two definitions offered by Abraham and Hamdi indicate that by applying the concept of community participation it is only rational to give control of affairs and decisions to people most affected by programs and improvements of their built environments. However, this study argues that delegating powers to people is not an easy task and involves great inquiry into the change in the attitudes of the authorities and professionals.

Scholars, such as Turner (1972; 1976), Habraken (1983), Hatch (1985) , Hamdi (1991; 1997) and Sanoff (2000) have affirmed that when people are in control of the decisions about the design, construction and management of their housing, the process and product will enhance their social well being. For Turner, "participation does not necessarily imply self-help home building by undernourished and over-worked people without credit; with inadequate tools and poor materials...The central issue is that of control and power to decide" (1976, p. 133). Hatch (1985) in, *Towards a Theory of Participation in Architecture* stated that the purpose of participation is not producing good buildings, rather good citizens in good societies. Along this understanding, community participation

has several benefits to users, as well as designers. To users, housing satisfaction can be enhanced as people can build according to their financial abilities and feel freedom to express their identities. To designers, it enriches their experiences as it gives them the chance to have better face-to-face communication with users. According to Sanoff (2000), the involvement of community members may take place through a wide range of participatory processes and techniques, which are defined as the following:

1. Charrette: a process that convenes interest groups in intensive, interactive meetings that last up to several days.
2. Community action plan: a process that empowers communities to design, implement and manage their own community programs.
3. Focus groups: an unstructured interview consisting of several individuals, permitting discussion of ideas.
4. Group interaction: a process in which interpersonal techniques are used to facilitate discussions and solve problems.
5. Participatory action research: an empowerment process that involves participants in research and decision-making.
6. Public forum: an open meeting held by an organization or agency to present information about a project at any time during the process.
7. Strategic planning: a process for developing strategies and action plans to identify and resolve issues.
8. Visioning: a process for thinking about how the community should be and finding ways to identify, strengthen and work towards that end.
9. Workshop: a working session to discuss issues in order to reach an understanding of their importance.

To approach the concept of community participation operationally, Turner divides the process into three basic components; planning, construction and management (1976, p. 28). Nabeel Hamdi adds two more stages to the overall process; initiation, planning, design, implementation and maintenance. Initiation is the first stage of the process in which the project's goals and scope are identified. The planning stage involves working out the project details, budgeting and resource identification. In the design stage, the

details are further developed, with the actual execution of the project in the implementation or construction phase. The maintenance or management stage is a long-term process and involves the upkeep of the project (Hamdi, 1991, p. 72).

The involvement of communities at different stages of the project determines the level of participation. Probably the best way to explain different levels of participation in terms of community involvement in various stages of the projects is by understanding what Sherry Arnstein calls "*A Ladder of Citizen Participation*" (1969, p. 217).

The bottom two rungs of the ladder are the Manipulation and Therapy. These levels represent the least citizen participation or the non-participation. Rungs three, four and five are the levels of "tokenism" that allow the citizens to hear and to have a voice. Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a partnership, which is presented in rung six, that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders. At the topmost rungs are the delegated power and citizen control, where citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217).

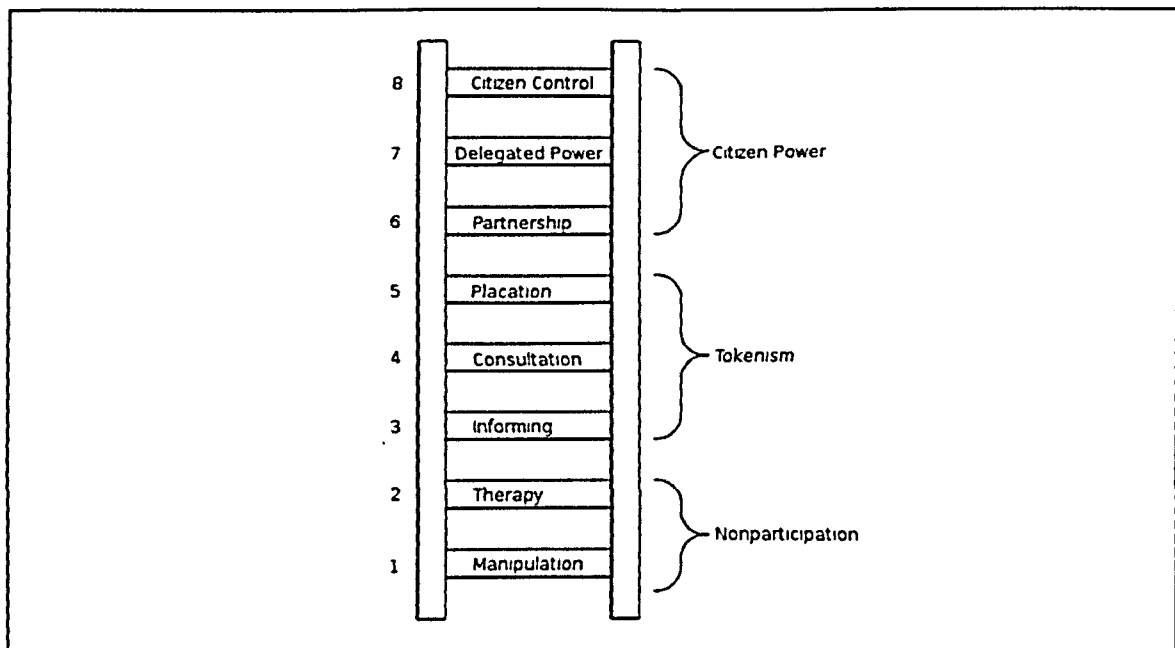


Figure (7.31): The Ladder of Citizen Participation.

Source: Sherry Arnstein, *The Ladder of Citizen Participation*, 1969, p. 217.

Broadly speaking, community participation can be of two types; in the form of top-down programs or bottom-up initiatives (Moser, 1989, p. 91). According to Moser, in *Community Participation in Urban Projects in the Third World*, by the end of the 1960s, bottom-up community participation initiatives started to surface along with top-down participation programs in the form of squatter settlements around the world. By the 1970s, many Third World governments and donor agencies realized the potential of these community-based initiatives which resulted in a major change of approach in housing in the form of upgrading and sites and services projects. According to Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation, citizens' involvement in top-down programs can be found within the manipulation and therapy rungs, while in the bottom-up initiatives, their involvement is within the citizen power and tokenism. Here, it is essential to point out that I advocate for the bottom-up community-based approach. I believe that this approach can yield significant physical and social achievements. At the physical level, the community involvement can be used to achieve material benefits in the form of pointed development projects (sewage, water supply delivery, etc). At the social level, this approach can lead to the social development of the community members in the forms of empowerment, independence, etc. I also believe that the community participation approach has some limitations and constraints. First, the employment of the community-based approach is a time-consuming process and since time is directly proportional to money in such situations, it is quite difficult to justify such an approach due to high expenditures. Second is the fear among governments of uncontrolled empowerment of people. Finally, it is the governments' lack of trust in local communities' ability to make sensible decisions.

Although most of the available literature emphasizes the essentiality of participation, I would argue that public participation on a mass scale is an idealistic dream. I would also argue that mass public participation, if it happens without careful preparation, which means training local communities, may cause unwanted consequences in that it may defeat the purpose of achieving an integrated planning approach that balances the economic, community and ecological pillars of development. Achieving this balance would be difficult or even impossible when one of these pillars is idealized or romanticized on the account of the others.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Chapter Eight:

Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Conclusions:

For the past four decades the successive Jordanian governments perceived the southern Jordan Bedouins' mobility as a thorny issue that should be resolved. This perception has been based on two specific reasons. The first reason is based upon historical and political perspectives. The Zalabia have kinship ties with some of the Bedouin tribes that inhabit the northern region of Saudi Arabia. This region was occupied by the Wahhabi followers who were considered to be a threat to the existence of the Hashemite, the ruling family of Jordan. Because of their kinship ties and their nomadic nature, the Zalabia used to move regularly across the Jordanian-Saudi political borders. The Jordanian governments conceived this movement as a threat to national security, where the Zalabia were often accused of being involved in weapons smuggling through the Jordanian-Saudi borderlines. The second reason stems from an economic perspective. The Zalabia inhabit in a spectacular location, which serves as an important tourist attraction for international and domestic tourists. The successive Jordanian governments perceived the Zalabia's direct and uncontrolled interaction with tourists as an obstacle to the assurance of the state's share in tourism revenues. For these reasons, the Zalabia have been subjected to a state-sponsored sedentarization process that aimed and still aims at solving their 'nomadic problem'.

As was illustrated in chapter three of this study, the sedentarization of the southern Jordan Bedouins has taken different forms at different moments of their history. Along the history of this sedentarization, the overarching notion was the assimilation and integration of the Bedouins into the mainstream of Jordanian society. To ensure the results of the assimilation and integration processes, the successive Jordanian governments have carried out a range of developmental plans that aim at 'civilizing' and 'modernizing' the Bedouin portion of the country's population. While the main slogan of these developmental plans was to improve the well-being of the Bedouin community, these developmental plans were carefully designed to transform the Bedouins from 'traditional' subsistence-oriented to 'modern' cash-oriented producers.

As chapter seven of this study has illustrated, the process of modernization, which effectively aimed to establish the conditions of modernity among the Zalabia of Wadi Rum, has had unfortunate consequences, and often intensified the problems it was ostensibly designed to resolve.

For the Zalabia, the most obvious consequence of modernization is the increased marginalization that resulted from their dependency on others, especially on the government projects and programs oriented towards tourism to fulfill their needs. Indeed, this dependency has resulted in three consequences. First, this dependency has resulted in the Zalabia's loss of control over their customary means of production and survival. Second, this dependency has marginalized the Bedouins of Wadi Rum and made them more isolated from other Bedouins inhabiting the southern part of Jordan. Furthermore, this dependency on the tourism industry has started to create intra-tribal conflicts between the Zalabia and the Bedouin tribes living around the Protected Area, who are competing with the Zalabia for benefits from the area's tourism sector. The third consequence is the Bedouin community's gradual loss of its economic self-sufficiency, as well as the deep and sustaining relationship between them and their environments. Interestingly, my fieldwork findings illustrate that the majority of the Zalabia of Wadi Rum are aware of these consequences. Zeid Falah Zalabia, a Patrol Policeman has expressed the following:

Before the mid 1990s, Wadi Rum's economy was a mixture of livestock herding, agriculture and tourism. Because of tourism, most of the Zalabia partially abandoned pastoralism and agriculture in which we started to buy our vegetables from the Zawaydeh, who live in Dici Village, and are still practicing agriculture. Our animals were one of the most important sources of meat and dairy products in the region, and now we consume the subsidized meat that the government imports from Sudan. Our economy has become so dependent on tourism and government loans. To be honest, that is the least that the government can do to support us after they took our land and gave it away to the strangers coming from Amman...The funny part is that some tribes surrounding us feel jealous that we have all the area's tourism's attractions...because of their jealousy they started to avoid dealing with us...they are our kinsmen, but because of tourism we started to act like enemies (personal interview, 10 September 2004).

What Zeid mentioned matches the concerns that the Military School Principal expressed when he stated the following:

As much as we appreciate the government's efforts to improve Wadi Rum and its population, we cannot hide our worries about the future of our coming generations. One may ask me why I am worried about the coming rather than the present generations. My answer will be simply, at present, although we depend on tourism, we supplement this dependency by other sources of income like livestock, agriculture and government employment. The coming generations, as I predict, will be lost in the middle of modernity...they will be totally depending on government employment or tourism...with such a dependency on tourism and very limited government employment, tell me what kind of future they will be facing...I can see that this dependency will continue to cause more alienation and marginalization which we are already facing nowadays (personal interview, 17 July, 2004).

The *mukhtar* shared his kinsmen the same concerns when he stated:

Nature and government are responsible for the current circumstances that the Zalabia tribesmen are living. Drought years have exhausted our cash savings...agriculture needs a capital that the majority of the Zalabia do not have, and even if we had the capital, we do not have control on our ancestral land, the government has exploited it for its benefits and the benefits of the rich investors who came from Amman. Nowadays, we do not have resources except tourism, and even this resource we might lose it if you are to be relocated outside the boundaries of an area that attracts tourism (personal interview, 15 June 2004).

Zeid's, Abdullah's and the *mukhtar's* statements reflect the concerns of the majority of Wadi Rum's population about their future. To explore the local residents concerns, the following section offers the reader an in-depth analysis about Wadi Rum's development plans. This section's main objective is to construct a rational understanding about the ability of Wadi Rum's development plans to create favourable conditions for its economic, socio-cultural and environmental future. This section aims to develop criteria that analyze and evaluate proposed future developmental plans.

The formulation of the criteria depends on two sources. The first source is the data that was collected from my fieldwork, which is based upon the interviews that I conducted among the Bedouins of Wadi Rum. The second source used to formulate these criteria is the literature, which was primarily obtained from the field of alternative tourism development.

To examine the appropriateness of development plans to an area and its population, this study identifies three general criteria of analysis, which are the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental. Within these criteria, a special concentration is given to tourism, which stems from the role it played, and continues to play in shaping Wadi Rum's future.

1. The Economic Criterion:

This criterion aims to examine the following questions:

- 1.1. Do the development plans encourage the community's economic diversity?
- 1.2. Do the development plans provide job opportunities for the local communities?
- 1.3. Do the development plans provide equitable distribution of economic benefits?

2. The Socio-cultural Criterion:

This criterion aims to examine the following questions:

- 2.1. Has the Bedouins' socio-cultural background been taken into account for the developmental thinking?
- 2.2. Have the Bedouins' ethnic needs and desires been taken into consideration in the development plans?
- 2.3. Have the Bedouins' usufructory rights been recognized in the development plans?
- 2.4. Has the Bedouins' social change been encouraged by the development plans?
- 2.5. Has the concept of participation been encouraged by the development plans?

3. The Environmental Criterion:

This criterion aims to examine the following questions:

- 3.1. Do the development plans achieve the preservation of ecosystem integrity?
- 3.2. Do the development plans promote and achieve a sustainable use of resources?
- 3.3. Do the development plans recognize the Bedouins' local knowledge?

The following section draws some conclusions by examining the ability of Wadi Rum's development plans to create favourable conditions for its economic, socio-cultural and environmental future. This examining process will be based on highlighting some answers related to the above mentioned questions.

8.1.1 The Economic Criterion:

1. Encouragement of the Community's Economic Diversity:

ASEZA as a government agency responsible for the development of Wadi Rum expressed the following:

Wadi Rum protected area was set-up, not just to conserve landscape and wildlife, but also to give the local communities new opportunities to benefit from the protection of nature. This has been done in three main ways: first, entrance fees are shared with local communities. A portion of each visitor's entrance charge is given directly to local tourism co-operatives. Second, appropriate tourism development is being supported throughout the protected area, tied to protection measures that try to minimize the harmful effects of visitors pressure. Third, small craft and souvenir businesses are being developed with Bedouin women to generate more economic benefits from the protected area. Many of the ancient inscriptions carved on the rocks of Wadi Rum have been given a new lease on life as decorations for locally produced crafts...this helps to provide jobs and extra income for underprivileged families (www.wadirum.jo/Helping.htm Jan, 2008).

This statement, from ASEZA's website, has expressed the attention that the institution gave to the issue of involving the Bedouins in tourism initiatives. Indeed, ASEZA's developmental plans have encouraged tourism on the account of pastoral and agricultural activities. The survey of the residents' attitudes towards tourism development in Wadi Rum reveals that the locals' dependency on the industry is high. The surveys' findings support my argument that one of ASEZA's strategies is to increase the locals' dependency on tourism, which makes controlling them an easy task. The surveys illustrate that there is a process of restructuring the local economy away from its original pastoral occupations to a tourism-related service providing sector.

2. Provide Job Opportunities for the Local Residents:

The role of tourism in Jordan follows the logic of tourism industries anywhere else. Tourism is important for the job opportunities it brings to the region. By creating job opportunities at different levels, the tourism industry in Jordan helps to absorb relatively low-skilled labourers who would otherwise be unemployed due to the restructuring of the Jordanian economy. Although tourism has the potential to absorb low-skilled local residents, unfortunately, that is not the case in Wadi Rum. Most of the job opportunities that were created by this industry went to many of the unskilled Jordanian urbanites or Egyptian and/or Sudanese migrants.

Here, one may argue that the Zalabia tribesmen share some responsibility as they refused, for their tribal pride, to fulfill positions within the tourism industry that the immigrants accepted. While agreeing with this argument, I also argue that those immigrants accept wages that are sometimes less than the minimum wage decided by the Jordanian government, which are not enough to support large families as those of Wadi Rum's.

3. Equitable Distribution of Economic Benefits:

Economic benefits created by tourism in Wadi Rum are to be equitably distributed to the local Bedouin communities living in Wadi Rum Region. Indeed, the Bedouin communities that live outside the boundaries of the protected area, especially the Zawaydeh who are located at Dici Village outside the protected area, are receiving benefits more than those living within the protected area. This situation stems from the fact that Dici Village lies above one of the largest ground water basins in the country. The salinity in this basin is one of the lowest in the country, which makes its water very suitable for drinking purposes.

Therefore, to pacify the Zawaydeh, who own most of the land in the basin's area, the government shows some favouritism in terms of distributing the tourism benefits. Undoubtedly, such a bias had a negative impact on the relationships that bind the Bedouins themselves.

8.1.2 The Socio-cultural Criterion:

Although the concept of culture is ambiguous and subject to fierce debate, there is a general agreement among scholars about its centrality in development studies. In recent years, development has undergone a turn in which culture is given due significance as a factor affecting, and in turn, affected by development projects and programs. To examine this relationship, the socio-cultural criterion covers the following issues:

1. Integrating the Bedouins' Culture into Development Thinking:

Anthropological literature introduced a number of case studies where culture has been taken into consideration in development. The literature reviewed in this study, illustrates that culture has been taken seriously, where policies for culturally appropriate development have come to the forefront. For the purpose of my study I will discuss, in the following section, if and how the Bedouins of Wadi Rum's culture was taken into consideration in the development plans for this region.

In relation to this issue my findings demonstrates two issues. The first issue is that, undoubtedly, the Bedouins' culture was poorly considered as a component of the plans surrounding Wadi Rum's development. The second issue was that although their culture was considered, the development plans undermined the Bedouins' culture and did not take it seriously. These findings support Chatelard's (2001) and Brand's (2001) observations who noticed from their own studies in Wadi Rum that the Bedouins' presence has been perceived as problematic in most development thinking by the successive Jordanian governments and urban elites.

Motivated by Chatelard and Brand's studies, I approached ASEZA to obtain the latest studies they did about Wadi Rum's socio-cultural issues. After reviewing the socio-economic surveys that ASEZA prepared about Wadi Rum and its people, I have consulted some Jordanian anthropologists and sociologists. One of the reviewers described these studies as superficial because they lacked in-depth exploration and analysis of the economic, socio-cultural and political issues in Wadi Rum. Some of the local respondents commented that these studies have started ill. After further verification of the

local respondent's use of the term 'ill', I found that the research team that prepared these studies was commissioned by the World Bank. The research team consisted of two overseas researchers who were assisted by a Jordanian researcher. I also found that these local interviewees were not randomly chosen but rather they were nominated by the Zalabia's elite. After consulting some of my research informants to verify the tribesmen that these studies interviewed, I came to the realization that these tribesmen did not represent the needy Zalabia tribesmen. One of the anthropologists that I consulted related the avoidance of including random interviewees to the overseas researchers' desire not to include an in-depth study about the Bedouin's culture.

As part of their international institutions' policies, the overseas experts promote globalization. The process tends to erode social, cultural and economic differences manifest by boundaries and identities. However, this process made achievable by the cultural imperialism where local identities are disappearing through cultural unification towards the Western cultural model. The overseas researchers believed that achieving this purpose needed to avoid interviewing "normal" Bedouins who would reflect the true needs of the area. Rather, they preferred to interview certain tribesmen who are closer to urbanity rather than nomadism. Such a trend to promote globalization is not new and can be found in different cases within the Third World countries. In some of these cases, especially when the targeted population is supported by some social activists, anti-globalization processes can be found. This erosion (globalization) is counter-reacted by a localization process by the local residents that attempts to precisely fixate and tighten their local boundaries and identities (Abu Hoseh, personal interview, 21 November 2004)

Here, within the southern Jordan Bedouins context, it is important to emphasize that such localization processes do not necessarily mean a rejection of the concept of change but rather they are a rejection to the methods of implementation in which the Bedouins feel that they are receiving the results rather than being allowed to participate in the process.

2. Meeting the Bedouins' Needs:

"Needs" is an ambiguous term that can be understood in various ways, depending upon the person that identifies the needs. These definitions vary from being limited to physical

needs like food, clothing, shelter, water and basic education, to a more sophisticated level where the term is used as synonymous to the term satisfying beneficiaries' wants. In Wadi Rum's development context, it is an unavoidable fact that policy-makers, planners and the overseas planning experts belong to ethnic groupings that are different than the Bedouins. Although ASEZA's policy-makers and planners are Jordanians, a gap exists between the Bedouins' and policy-makers' perception about the concept of ethnic needs. Because of the limited understanding of the Bedouins' culture, ASEZA's planning officials, influenced by the World Bank experts meet the most obvious physical needs of the Bedouins by providing basic services, such as running water and electricity. Such provisions of basic services supported my argument that a deeper understanding of the Bedouin society's needs does not exist or is ignored. For example, the policy-makers, planners and the overseas planning experts did not give enough attention to the Bedouins' dual economy and the Bedouins' rights to access their tribal resources. Instead of encouraging the Bedouins' pastoral economy in conjunction with the tourism sector developments, Wadi Rum's development plans ignored this aspect of Bedouins' culture. This ignorance stems from the planners' beliefs that pastoral economic activities are not helpful to achieve a fast Bedouins' settlement.

3. The Recognition of the Bedouins' Usufructory Rights:

Historically, neither by the colonial nor the postcolonial authorities, have nomadic communities been regarded as sufficiently 'civilized' to possess rights over their territories. Under international law, states can occupy any empty territory within their political boundaries. This principle has been extensively used by colonial and postcolonial powers in relation to nomadic peoples' territories, which were regarded as belonging to no one and open to colonization. Within the Fertile Crescent region, the creation of the new states and the demarcation of political boundaries put a heavy strain on the Bedouins' nomadic way of life. Newly created states often find themselves in conflict situations with their nomad population (Meir, 1988, p. 1997). While states tend to govern people and land by sets of laws and regulations, nomads were used to obeying their own set of codes and values called *urf*. For the Bedouins, land tenure is a question of striking a balance between the need for social control and fairness in access to land and

the unequally pressing need for authoritarian control over land. As stated by one of the local informants, the laws created by the Jordanian government to assure their control over the land never considered the Bedouins' customary laws (*urf*). Indeed, *urf*, as the nomadic system of land use, was seen by the successive Jordanian governments as an outdated and non-rational organization of land utilization. The government ignorance to the Bedouins *urf* can be understood in the context that meeting the Bedouins' needs of land rights signifies the government's recognition of the Bedouins claims which is the thing that the Jordanian government does not want to happen.

4. Encouraging the Bedouins' Social Change:

There would most likely be no significant disagreement with the statement that culture consists of learned modes of behaviour that are socially transmitted from one generation to the next and from one society or individual to another. At the same time there will be an agreement about the adaptive nature of culture to changes, either from within or from outside its society.

Here, I argue that Wadi Rum's development plans have recognized the adaptive nature of the Bedouin culture, but, at the same time these plans recognized that a well structured culture like the Bedouins' would need a long process to naturally and gradually change, which is not helpful to the short range objectives of these developmental plans. These plans alternative was obviously occupied by the assumption that modernization of the Bedouin's society requires changing or sometimes eliminating their customary beliefs and cultural artefacts and instead adopting those of the apparently advanced societies and groups.

5. Encouraging a practical Bedouins' Community Participation:

Literature on nomadic Bedouins illustrates that they have practiced participation for centuries. For them, community participation was a mechanism to survive the harshness of living in the desert conditions. Due to their sedentarization, their collectivistic nature, manifested in their solidarity (*a'sabiyah*), started to decline in favour of individualism. Sedentarization has transformed their community participation from being a necessity for

survival to a social trait that preserves the continuity of their tribal identity. Although they have the potential to be involved in community participation, unfortunately, the local residents' participation was neither employed for the benefit of the area's needs assessment nor planning. My fieldwork's findings illustrated that the Bedouins' participation in the development initiatives in Wadi Rum was limited to be told what has been decided or has already happened.

8.1.3 Environmental Criterion:

To evaluate the ways in which the environmental dimension of development has been included in Wadi Rum's development plan, the following concepts cover some aspects related to the region's natural and built environment developments:

1. Building on the Ecosystem Integrity:

The Bedouin-environment relationship is a connection that can easily be misunderstood. Historically, the southern Jordan's indigenous people, the Bedouins, survived on the frugal offerings of their setting by maintaining a set of ethics and practices that were strongly based on their philosophy of conservation. The Bedouins' philosophy in relation to conservation is that people are part of the land, as opposed to the belief that people own the land, and they consider themselves to be true guardians. Some examples of these practices are that live trees were not used for firewood; animals were only hunted for food when needed; and pastures were visited at certain times of the year to allow the land the time necessary to recuperate.

Unfortunately, this system of co-existence between the natural resources and their users, has been affected by the introduction of tourism as the main economic resource. To meet the demands of the tourism industry in Wadi Rum, the system was abandoned to ensure and increase the economic benefits of tourism. As was illustrated in chapter seven, the Bedouins started to abuse their natural resources for the satisfaction of the tourists to maximize economic benefits from tourism. While I agree with the importance of protecting Wadi Rum's outstanding scenic views, rich biological diversity and rich cultural heritage, I would argue that ASEZA's Wadi Rum's conservation framework, at

the implementation stage, fell short of achieving its goals. On many occasions, a gap was observed between the theory of this conservation framework and its practice. As was mentioned earlier, while the Bedouins were prohibited to practice hunting in the area, the activity was allowed for outsiders, specifically some important members of the Jordanian government. Such favouritism towards these important government members, associated with the belief that the land is customary theirs, the Bedouins did not fully obey the protected area's rules and regulations.

2. Recognition of the Bedouins' Local Knowledge:

The term local knowledge can be interpreted in different ways. For this paper, the term refers to the Bedouins long-standing knowledge of resource use. Local knowledge is an embodiment of different modes of thought and epistemology and has become an important facet in the process of constructing development plans for countries and populations throughout the world, specifically in relation to sustainable development plans.

Principle 22 of the Rio Declaration underlines the role of indigenous people in sustainable development in these words: "indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices" (United Nations, Report, conf.151/26 vol. 1, 1992). While the United Nations continued to urge the various governments, especially those in the Third World countries, the Jordanian government did not respond positively. In reality, the locals' knowledge was marginalized in Wadi Rum.

Unsurprisingly, when one of the ASEZA's officials was asked about the reason for this marginalization, he replied that "undoubtedly the Bedouins' knowledge is important, but making use of it is unsafe to the area's development. Currently, when they are hardly involved in the area's development, we find it very hard to control them and their activities. No one can imagine what will be the case if they were fully engaged" (ASEZA, 12 June, 2004).

3. Sustainable Use of Resources:

Conservation conflicts arise when natural-resource shortages develop in the face of steadily increasing demands from a growing human population. Controversy frequently surrounds how a resource should be used, allocated, and for whom should it be used or allocated. In relation to this idea, literature on the subject of nomadism, illustrates that the nomadic Bedouins practiced a sustainable use of resources for centuries. For the Bedouins, a sustainable use of resources is a mechanism that helps them survive the scarcity of the essential resources, such as water and pasture in their desert environment. Yet, with the introduction of tourism in the region, their sustainable use of resources started to give way to the demands of tourists' activities and the Bedouins began to move away from being friendly to their natural environment and its inhabitants. In this regard, credit should be given to ASEZA's plans because of the attention it gave to the issue of conserving the natural environment in Wadi Rum. According to these development plans, the growing pressures from visitors, and especially from off-road vehicles, is damaging the fragile desert ecology and also creating the loss of wildlife through illegal hunting. The restricted conservation plan that ASEZA implemented in the region did achieve strong results in terms of environmental control. Yet, although ASEZA's developmental plans are credited for contributing to the sustainability of Wadi Rum's natural resources, the plans still undermined or even ignored the sustainability of the area's human resources. This ignorance is partly because of the lack of extensive socio-cultural studies that conduct an in-depth study into the Bedouins' ways of living in an attempt to extract an understanding as to what can be used to sustain both the natural and human resources of Wadi Rum.

4. The Promotion of Culturally Sound Built Environments:

The idea of the built environment as a product of social structure and political ideology is by no means new. As one of the pioneers in the field of vernacular architecture and symbolism, Amos Rapoport (1977) has detailed the way in which social organization is expressed in spatial form. Rapoport, as well as other social scientists, has made a distinction that is essential to attain a proper understanding of the social meaning of the built environment. These theorists assert that the social meaning of the built environment

is not static. Rather, the meanings associated with particular symbolic environments tend to be modified as social values change in response to changing patterns of social, cultural, political, economic and environmental contexts and changing life-styles. In connecting symbolism to spatial form, Rapoport (1977) asserts that vernacular buildings make good models for sustainable design lessons. These buildings are comprehensible due to their often simple forms and resourceful use of materials and technology. They tend to respond to climatic conditions using passive, low-energy strategies to provide for human comfort, which are strategies that are integral to the form, orientation and materiality of the buildings. Vernacular architecture also demonstrates an economical use of local building resources and is, therefore, an ideal resource for teaching sustainable design.

The development plans for Wadi Rum did not give attention to the Bedouins' vernacular architecture to abstract lessons for a more culturally and environmentally responsive type of architectural development. As mentioned earlier, this lack of attention stemmed from the fact that these plans did not take the Bedouins' socio-cultural background seriously, neither when these plans put restricted regulations on the area's architectural development nor when it proposed to relocate the Bedouins to a new village. Even what project proposed as model housing and constructed for its final product was just a shallow imitation of the village's architecture, thus demonstrating that the project leaders lacked an understanding of the nature of change that the Bedouins are currently passing through.

8.2 Recommendations:

8.2.1 The Economic Context:

1. Encouragement of the Community's Economic Diversity:

A diverse economic framework creates strength in the community because it does not rely solely on one single economic sector. This diversity protects the community from negative repercussions should any significant segment of the economy experience a serious decline. Prior to the introduction of tourism in Wadi Rum, the Bedouin community that inhabited the area was well known for its multi-resource economy. The Zalabia used to practice a dual economic pattern, which was comprised of simple agriculture and animal husbandry. Recently, these patterns have been abandoned in favour of tourism. To ensure its success, developmental plans should take the concept of economic diversification into consideration to promote the Bedouins' initiatives and the management of their resources. Here, it is not my intention to present tourism as the evil responsible for all the problems that Wadi Rum is facing. Here, I argue that a balance is required in which the developmental plans should encourage a degree of diversity. Such diversity is necessary to maintain both tourism and the Bedouins' pastoral activities. The fieldwork findings illustrate that tourists are attracted to Wadi Rum's archaeological as well as its socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, maintaining a degree of pastoral living patterns is essential in keeping the tourism development in the area.

2. Shifting to an Alternative Tourism Development Paradigm:

One of the shortcomings of Jordanian tourism development policies is that tourist sites are almost always promoted as if they are empty sites and give little attention to its inhabitants. One of the tourists that I interviewed in Wadi Rum stated the following:

Wadi Rum is very similar to Saint Catherine in Sinai, Negev in Israel and Abaggar in Algeria...these sites are desert areas, but their inhabitants are different. The Howaitat who live in Saudi Arabia are different from the same tribe inhabiting Wadi Rum. The Zalabia are friendlier to tourists. As a tourist, what make a place attractive are the inhabitants who make the place liveable...one can find hotels everywhere within urban areas, in the desert, tourists like to see the authentic way of living (Personal interview, 23 July, 2004)

The tourist's statement expressed that one of the cultural components of a given place is the people who inhabit that place. The tourist's statement highlights the need for a shift in tourism development paradigms. Based on the findings from my fieldwork, I would suggest that these paradigms have to shift; first, from a destination-centered paradigm to one that is people-centered in order to meet tourists' and local residents' needs in an effective way. The second shift that I would recommend is a move away from a consumption and pleasure driven paradigm to a paradigm that values both tourists and the local population in that the tourists and the locals are both appreciative of what they can offer to one another. The final paradigmatic shift that I would recommend is one away from a market tourism industry to ecotourism development that involves all stakeholders and appreciates what they can all offer to the industry.

3. Promote Ownership and Management of Alternative Tourism Activities:

Mass tourism in Wadi Rum has created a gap between the tourism industry and the local residents. It was stated by the majority of interviewees that profits from tourism are generated outside the community, with most of the profits going to the Rest-House and the urban tour operators. As stated by Ali Yousef Swelhiyeen, the competition between the Bedouins, the Rest-House and urban tour operators has affected Wadi Rum's environment, in which "Bedouins became unfriendly with the environment" (personal interview, 21, September 2004). Ali further explains the conflict between these groups in the following quotation.

Due to the Rest-House way of attracting tourists, which is based on promoting Wadi Rum as a touristic geographical place, the Bedouin community is almost excluded except its members who are close to the Rest-House administration. The Rest-House has designed tours that appreciate the place rather than the connection of the place and its people...the tourists see in Wadi Rum what the Rest-House is wanting them to see (Ali Yousef Swelhiyeen, 2004).

Ali's statement shows the dominant role that the Rest-House plays in Wadi Rum's tourism industry. To create balance between the demands of the Rest-House administration, the Bedouins and the tourists' expectation, in addition to the Rest-House

activities, this study recommends the adaptation of small-scale, low impact and community-based ecotourism activities. These activities should incorporate the informal economic activities in which the Bedouins are currently involved, such as renting camels for tourists; transporting tourists, preparing Bedouin meals; and selling souvenirs. Through the recognition of this informal exchange of economic activities, the Bedouins could be considered economic stakeholders in the tourism industry within Wadi Rum, which would ensure their acceptance of further development initiatives in the region.

4. Improving Wadi Rum's Marketing Policy:

One of the shortcomings of the marketing policy of Wadi Rum's tourism industry is the emphases that the planners have put on providing attractive services to tourists even if these services are harmful to the host community. They based their policies on the philosophy that the customer is always right. Although, in the business world, such a philosophy is valid, sometimes it undermines the host community. Therefore, such a philosophy should be reconceptualised to acknowledge the host community as a key component of any tourism development process in Wadi Rum.

8.2.2 The Socio-Cultural Context:

1. The Importance of Constructing a Socio-Cultural Background Study:

This study recommends that planning needs to be taken in a culture-specific approach in which appropriate socio-cultural studies should be prepared prior to any implementation of development plans in a specific region. Within these planning processes special attention should be given to the rate of change as it can be argued that the problem of development and modernization are less related to the phenomenon of change itself than to radical, abrupt and excessively rapid cultural change. As Rapoport and Hardie assert, "the faster the rate of change the more disruptive and potentially destructive it is" (1991, p. 38).

In Wadi Rum, like many other places all over the world where economic benefits are the major factor in development, the rate of change and its consequences are the last to think about. Indeed, Wadi Rum's future planning adopted the assumption that is often made,

which is that modernization of a society or a group requires throwing away all their inherited beliefs and cultural artefacts and instead adopting those of the apparently advanced societies and groups. This study believes that such an assumption is antithetical to the objectives of enduring and successful transformations. Rather future development processes should be taken as a “movement of persons or groups along a cultural dimension from what is defined by the cultural norms as traditional toward what is defined by the same culture as modern” (Rogers, 1969, p. 18).

Based upon this understanding of development, this study recommends that planning should respect the Bedouins as a cultural entity by itself. Planners should not invest in the physical side of sedentarization and neglect the socio-cultural and economic sides. Urbanization, however, is but one of the processes through which a community may be integrated into a larger socio-cultural system. Some communities, such as the Bedouins, can be incorporated into states and nations as regionally specialized subcultures which do not undergo urbanization at all and thus are readapted rather than transformed.

2. The Importance of Focusing on “People Development”:

There are a variety of approaches to community development that can be appropriate to Wadi Rum’s context and serve the community’s needs and desires. The methods to be used depend on the characteristics of the community that would become apparent from the socio-cultural study, which was suggested above. The information collected by these socio-cultural studies should be used for a diagnosis that covers as many aspects of community life as possible. Such a study would be helpful in serving the purpose of shifting the development paradigm towards people as the main resource of development.

Because of the Bedouins’ communal nature, some socio-cultural characteristics can be employed for the benefits of its development. The Bedouins are characterized by their solidarity (*a’sabiyah*), which can be of a double fold. While it can be used as an asset to community development, it also can be an obstacle. Because of their closed social relationships that are based on kinship, a change within such a community needs to be carefully approached. Such an approach should be based on a methodology that seeks to

uncover and highlight the strengths within communities as a means for development. This approach is helpful in empowering the community to create positive and meaningful changes that can be accepted from within the community. Therefore, this study recommends that instead of focusing on the community's deficiencies and problems, it is more appropriate to raise the community's awareness about the different aspects that might be helpful for their development. Such a methodology is helpful to empower the community to become stronger and more self-reliant by discovering, mapping and mobilizing all of their local assets.

3. Developing a Framework of Social Change:

Studies on the connection between culture and tourism remain focused on describing the impacts that have been brought to a community through tourism. These studies are useful in raising awareness about the positive and negative impacts of tourism on a community but offer minimal direct use in an application sense, especially when it comes to issues such as continuity and change. As in the case of Wadi Rum, there is always a need to develop a predictive model to understand cultural change and tourism's role in such a change. The typical problem of this approach is how to identify indicators of cultural change, a method to identify and classify the importance of these indicators. Here, it is important to emphasize that appropriate planning should be taken to be culture-specific or even group specific.

When change is directed or enforced, such as the case in Wadi Rum, three issues are essential to understand and therefore predict for socio-cultural change. First is the extent of the differences in life-style, social organization, values and preferences between the existing conditions of the group and the targeted status of the change. The greater the distance is, the more disruptive the change. The second issue is the rate of change, in which it can be concluded that the faster the rate of change the more disruptive and even destructive it may be to the community.

In this regard, based on this study's findings, the Zalabia's cultural values can be categorized into persisting, changing, disappearing and newly adopted (naturally and/or enforced) values, as follows:

	Persisting		Changing		Disappearing		New	
	P.	C.	P.	C.	P.	C.	P.	C.
Praying								
Bread Making								
Cooking								
Tea and Coffee								
Sleeping								
Water Fetching								
Heating								
Clothes Washing								
Socializing								
Body Hygiene								
Child care								
Animal Care								
Marriage								
Funerals								
New Child Birth								
Month of Ramadan								
Mobility								
Hunting								
Camel Racing								
Raiding / Revenge								

Figure (8.1): Wadi Rum's Bedouins' activities, in which (P) refers to performance and (C) refers to context.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

	Persisting		Changing		Disappearing		New	
	P.	C.	P.	C.	P.	C.	P.	C.
Kin Clustering								
Cluster Naming								
Cluster Ownership								
Segregation								
H. Organization								
Water Supply								
Use of <i>Madhafah</i>								
Use of <i>A'ilah</i>								
Use of Bedrooms								
Use of <i>Salah</i>								
Use of Kitchen								
Use of Toilets								
Use of <i>Hosh</i>								
Use of <i>Sahha</i>								
Use of Boundaries								
House Orientation								
New Materials								
Windows Size								
Furniture								
Animal keeping								

Figure (8.2): Wadi Rum's Bedouins' household's space use.

Source: Researcher's fieldwork, 2004.

The model starts with identifying the elements that are changing slowly or not at all. A baseline, in a form of a starting point, in the past can be determined and then changes or lack of them, within the different socio-cultural traits can be traced, recorded and

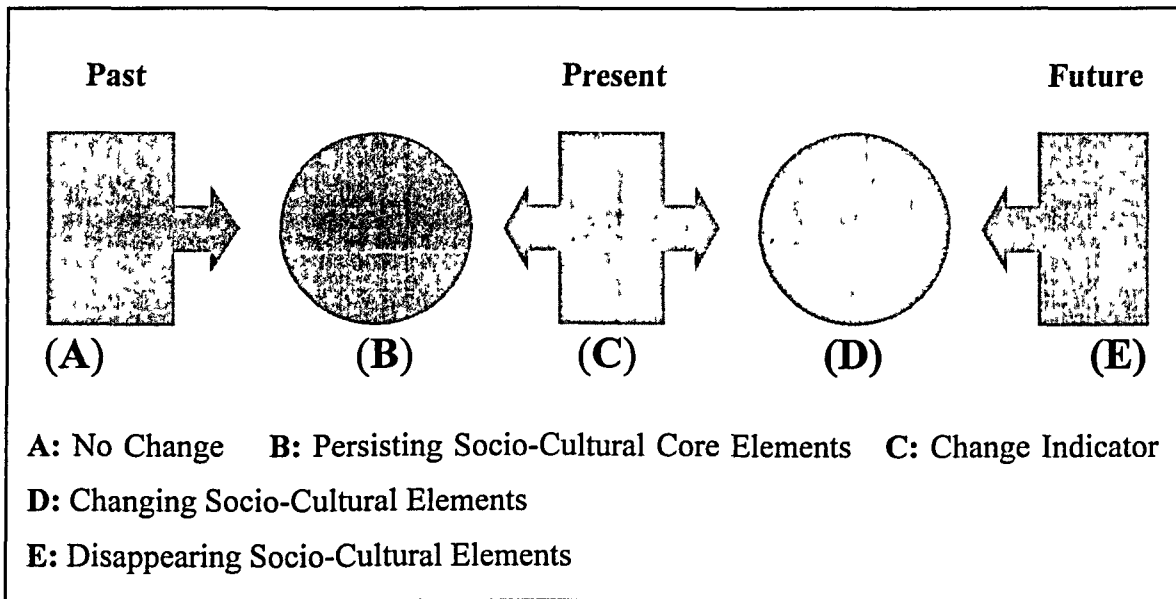


Figure (8.3): Model for predicting socio-cultural change within the Bedouin community.
Source: Researcher's analysis, 2008.

3. Motivating the Bedouins' Community Participation:

Participation is a vague and uncertain concept. To avoid this vagueness and uncertainty, this study recommends promoting what we can call authentic community participation. *From this term many questions can be raised here, such as what does the term authenticity mean and who decides upon this authenticity?* The following paragraphs will explore these questions in greater detail.

This study believes that participation is not a physical ingredient, which when added to a project framework will ensure that the excluded sections of the community will participate and therefore become empowered and voice their views. This study also believes that getting the community involved in a mass participatory process is an idealistic dream. Rationally, participatory processes can be meaningfully appropriate when they are bounded by its contextual framework that can create the needed authenticity. Therefore, authenticity is subjective in the sense that the different types of



participation are for different kinds of situations, tasks and goals. The primary challenge for development professionals is to develop methods, which can enable professionals to adopt behaviours and attitudes that are truly participatory, non-dominating and empowering. To overcome such a challenge, this study recommends abstracting lessons from the Bedouins socio-cultural background and adopting participatory methods from those they have implemented for centuries. Such a rationale would yield the needed authenticity that, in turn, would enhance the concept of social acceptability to both the participatory approach and its objectives. In this regard, this study recommends that transparency in exchanging information is a key issue in the process of enhancing the Bedouins' notions of participation. The simplest form of this transparency is to give the local residents full access to information about the area's developmental plans, which unfortunately has not been the case in the current development process in Wadi Rum. Local residents were, and still are, not allowed to access these development plans. Even I was only given limited access to Wadi Rum's physical plan, and was denied access to information on the economic plans and the other issues related to the area's planning.

4. Recognition of the Bedouins' Usufructory Rights:

Anthropological literature about the Bedouins demonstrates the pride the Bedouins express for their customary law (*urf*). For the Bedouins, *urf* is not only a system of solving conflicts but rather it is one of the major sources of their tribal identity. In Jordan, the state does not formally recognize *urf* and has made all citizens, including the Bedouins, subjected to the Jordanian state law, which is a law that is derived from both the British and the French laws. This study recommends that to ensure success and social acceptance developmental plans should provide considerable recognition to the Bedouins' customary law (*urf*) in terms of land use and access to resources.

8.2.3 The Environmental Context:

1. The Importance of Shifting the Environment Development Paradigms:

Undoubtedly, the quality of the environment, both natural and man-made, is essential to tourism. Tourism development can put pressure on natural resources when it increases consumption in areas where resources are already scarce. At the centre of this topic, one

can find the controversial relationship between tourism development and conservation movements. Conservation thinking and practice has evolved considerably over the past two decades. The emphasis has shifted, at least in theory, away from the preservationist practices of 'fortress conservation' to the new trends of biodiversity utilization. The Jordanian conservation policies still evolve around the fortress conservation school of thought. RSCN, the Jordanian Royal Non-Governmental Organization, at least in theory, aims to conserve the biodiversity of Jordan. Indeed, its programs are intensively oriented towards the preservation of nature even if the price is the exclusion of human inhabitants in these areas. The following recommendations highlight the shift that is required in terms of the environment development paradigms.

2. The Recognition of the Bedouins' Local Knowledge:

Undoubtedly, social acceptance is a criterion that has a great influence on the success of any planning process for protected areas. To gain this acceptance, the Bedouins' wisdom can be used to an advantage. The Bedouins' culture, knowledge systems and their institutions provide useful frameworks, ideas, guiding principles, procedures and practices that can serve as foundations for effective endogenous development options. Including the local knowledge of the inhabitants of the region in the development planning process would be a suitable approach to gain the societal support that makes the implementation stage more acceptable, and therefore successful.

3. The Sustainable Use of Resources:

Sustainable development is a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the natural environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but in the indefinite future. The exhaustion of resources is largely determined by the rate of consumption of natural resources. The use of natural resources can lead to a variety of environmental impacts. In addition to the direct impacts of natural resources extraction, it disrupts the materials' natural cycles of renewal. To use natural resources sustainably, plans should re-evaluate which resources can be used and how and when to use them. Generally, sustainable resource use occurs when the rate of consumption can continue

forever without damaging the environment. To be achieved, environmental planning should encourage the use of renewable resources.

4. The Development of Special Regulations for Sustainable Use of Resources:

As a mechanism to preserve Wadi Rum's natural resources, a protected area with special regulations should be established. Although this sounds as if there is no regulation at present, which is not the case, indeed, RSCN has subjected Wadi Rum to a set of regulations that aimed to preserve the area's natural resources only. This study recommends developing the already existed regulations to cover issues related to both the natural and man-made environments. They should aim at maintaining a balance between socio-cultural, economic and environmental sustainability. These guidelines can be useful to the following users: the Bedouin community, the regional development organisations, the tourism organisations, tourism operators, the cultural heritage agencies and managers, the tourism businesses and the local government to develop plans for the strategic development of local or regional tourism and to help develop particular projects.

Generally, where indigenous people are attached to a protected area, its management can be categorized into three approaches. The first approach is the unrestricted co-management in which there is comprehensive participation of indigenous people in the protected area management programs. Specifically, the indigenous people become part of the management committees or similar groups where they can be responsible for implementing particular management measures. The second approach is the restricted co-management category in which the indigenous people's participation is limited to specific activities depending on negotiations between them and the protected area staff. The third category is non-participatory management where decisions are taken by the protected area staff.

It may be too idealistic to recommend the Bedouins' full or un-restricted involvement in the proposed protected area's management. Firstly it is essential to understand that, according to the Jordanian political and administration school of thought, the management of such a project would be generally hierarchical and bureaucratic. Secondly

this idea is slightly too idealistic because of the Bedouins' low literacy level, lack of management experience and communication skills. Therefore, at least as a starting point, this study recommends the Bedouins' restricted involvement in the management of the protected area. Case studies indicate that co-management, even when it is restricted, has proved to be one effective means to construct a future foundation for eventual unrestricted co-management. This incremental involvement is more likely to achieve desired management outcomes for the Bedouins. As mentioned before, the university-community partnership may offer training courses to certify some of the Bedouins to become professionally equipped in the day-to-day running of the protected area as rangers and field officers, interpretive tour guides and artefacts producers for tourists.

5. The Development of Sustainable Tourism within the Protected Area:

Although providing the Bedouins of Wadi Rum with full access to resources may sound idealistic and harmful to the ecology, this study argues that there is a need to give the Bedouins some accessibility to the area's resources. I make this suggestion based upon the belief that this accessibility would ensure their acceptance to the guidelines of the protected area and enhance their relationship to both the protected area and its ecology. To protect Wadi Rum's fragility, this study recommends a seasonal or temporal limitation to this proposed accessibility to resources. Such limitations would allow local residents and their guests the opportunity to practice some activities that can be managed and controlled on a seasonal basis. For example, Bedouins can practice the hunting of certain types of species during the right season after having permission from the protected area's management. To avoid misuse when rangers are not available during night time, camping in areas of high environmental sensitivity could be restricted. Within these areas vehicles could also be restricted but access to the areas on foot or by camels and horses could be encouraged. Monitoring of the practices will be an essential component of the management process as it is the systematic and periodic measurement of key indicators of biophysical and social conditions. Here, it is important to mention that the term systematic means that an explicit plan should exist to set indicators, chart how and when these areas should be monitored, and show how the resulting data will be used. Periodic means that indicators are measured at predetermined stages. There are two particular

components to the process of monitoring tourism in protected areas. The first component is monitoring visitors' and the locals' environmental and social impacts and the second component is monitoring service quality.

6. Conserving Wadi Rum's Cultural Heritage:

The successive Jordanian governments were, and still are interested in promoting the concept of heritage tourism for the benefit of its economic agenda. Here, theoretically, a heritage feature is defined as a human work that covers oral and physical aspects, or a place that gives evidence of human activity or has spiritual or cultural meaning, and that has been determined to be of historic value. Unfortunately, at the practical level, within the government's promotion of the concept of heritage tourism, the Bedouins were never recognized as an integral part of Wadi Rum's heritage.

In Wadi Rum, while the government objective is to maximize the economic benefits from cultural and heritage sites, these sites were left without having a clear policy for protection from the local communities' and their visitors' misuse. Throughout Jordan's history, a conscious trade-off has occurred whereby conservation values were compromised for tourism. Because of such a trade-off there are several kinds of threats to heritage in Wadi Rum. The most obvious threat is tourism and its associated consequences, such as walking tracks, vehicles tracks, camping sites and other facilities. Having the area open to the public and private sectors' economic development forms another kind of threat to the area's heritage. The cost of focusing on quantitative rather than qualitative development has resulted in the compromise of the environment. To meet tourism's demands, some of the local residents and visitors misuse Wadi Rum's heritage. Regrettably, theft and vandalism of artefacts occurs from time to time. Here, it is important to emphasize that Wadi Rum's rock formations, rock art, historical sites (Lawrence House, Patrol Police Fort), the Bedouins' oral history and artefacts are considered to be non-renewable resources that need to be conserved to maintain the region and culture's sustainability. Therefore, this study recommends the establishment of a clear policy that can create a balance between the conservation of Wadi Rum's heritage and the prosperity of its tourism industry.

7. Measures To Minimize the Negative Impact of Conservation:

In much of the developing world, conservation efforts have been largely based on the assumption that human actions negatively affect the environment. An example of the ideologies that have been used towards the conservation of the environment is the displacement of any human existence inhabiting that environment. John Galaty, in his article, *Unsettling Realities: Pastoral Land Rights and Conservation in East Africa*, discusses the indigenous-land relationship and its connection to the discourse of development. He begins his discussion by questioning “is human displacement the price to be paid for conserving wildlife in Africa?” (Galaty, 2002, p. 51). When applied to Wadi Rum’s context, Galaty’s argument can be clearly understood.

If human and wildlife interests fundamentally clash, reasoning goes, human land use and settlement may be incompatible with sustaining complex habitats for wildlife...then, logically, conflict between humans and wildlife should decline when they are physically separated through the creation of protected reserves (2002, p. 51).

Indeed, the creation of the ‘fortressed’ protected area in Wadi Rum did not stop the accusation that the Bedouins of the area are negatively impacting upon the region’s environment and acting as obstacles to the area’s tourism development, and thus were recommended to be displaced. The World Bank’s documents criticized the concept of displacement:

When people are forcibly moved, production systems may be dismantled, long-established residential settlements are disorganized, the kinship groups are scattered...traditional authority and management systems can lose leaders. Symbolic markers, such as ancestral shrines and graves, are abandoned, breaking links with the past and with peoples’ cultural identity (1994, p. iii-iv).

Critics of the World Bank policies within developing countries, such as Laurie Brand, have indicated that a discrepancy occurs between the World Bank’s theory and practice. Within Wadi Rum’s developmental plans, sponsored and funded by the World Bank, the Bedouins’ eviction from their land was encouraged in the name of conservation. The

Bedouins have no choice and they must, sooner or later, move elsewhere, suffering the consequences of this process, which will most likely have extremely negative effects on the entire community. The perceived failings and injustice of the concept of 'fortress conservation', combined with the increased prominence of paradigms of participation and democratisation at a global level, have produced a trend towards 'community conservation'. Therefore, this study recommends the implementation of a 'community-based conservation', or 'community-based natural resource management', which devolves authority over natural resources to local groups and minimizes the negative impacts of top-down conservation policies.

8. Measures Towards Wadi Rum's Sustainable Housing Environment:

The relationship between domestic architecture and socio-cultural variables has been the subject of many studies. These studies have concluded that residential architecture's form and organization are greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs. The following quotation illustrates where the link between form and life patterns is most obvious.

It is implicitly accepted that there is a link between behaviour and form in two senses: first, in the sense that an understanding of behaviour patterns, including desires, motivations and feelings, is essential to the understanding of built form, since built form is the physical embodiment of these patterns, and second, in the sense that forms, once built, affect behaviour and the way of life (Rapoport, 1969, p. 16).

Wadi Rum is a community in both the social and spatial sense. In this regard, this study recommends examining the Bedouins as being culture-specific in which their built forms have certain qualities that suit their social, cultural, economic and spatial needs and desires. In this sense, this study is calling for culturally responsive architecture.

For practicality sake, this recommendation is formulated to suit two scenarios. The first scenario, which is the one that this study advocates for, is when the professionals work with the Bedouins to upgrade their existing built environments according to their needs and priorities. For this plan to be facilitated, some rules can be implemented. These rules

should be properly promoted to gain the community acceptance prior to the implementation phase. The promotion can be achieved through focus group meetings and outreach visits. The other scenario, which is more likely to happen, is when the Bedouins are evacuated and forced to settle in the new village outside the boundaries of the protected area. Based on the Jordanian government's approach to housing provision, the Bedouins will be settled in finished housing units. Such 'government hand-outs' were always built for the people but never with them, which has resulted in communities rarely gaining a sense of ownership and responsibility. To overcome the shortcomings of this approach, this study is promoting the concept of architecture for empowerment. Here, the concept of empowerment implies that, the Bedouins can be involved in the different stages of housing provision. Such a participatory approach's most obvious advantage is the achievement of a sense of ownership and pride that the users gain. Within this approach, an adaptation is required from the authorities, community and the professionals. The authorities need to change their attitude towards people, on one hand while on the other hand; the people need to be guided for participation and making informed decisions. Professionals such as the architects and planners can perform a crucial role here and act as mediators and teachers in community-based projects.

Here, it is important to note that, at any scale, the concept is not a new one. "The architecture of empowerment is not an abandonment of the traditional role of the architect as a form-giver, or of the urban planner as land-use specialist; rather, it is an enrichment of these professions" (Serageldin, 1997, p. 8). Based on this understanding, it can be concluded that involving the community in the planning process is a step towards achieving what we can call the architecture of self-expression. In this regard, this study argues that in contrast to the conventional 'professional' way of providing a finished product, designs for the poor must leave them an option for the future. This option is the key element in achieving viable and culturally responsive architecture. In this regard, this study recommends taking the Bedouins' vernacular architecture seriously as an inspirational source for developing both the existing and the future Bedouins' built environment. This study warns of limiting the benefits that can be achieved from the Bedouins' vernacular built forms to the imitation of its built forms without understanding

the rationale that stands behind them. Rapoport, who discourages imitation, suggests that a more, “valid approach is to derive more or less general lessons and principles by analysing vernacular environments using...models and the like, and applying these lessons to design” (as cited in Asquith & Vellinga, 2006, p. 182). Away from imitating it’s built from, the Bedouins’ vernacular architecture offers lessons that can be applied to the design of their future housing projects. The following are some recommendations that illustrate how the Bedouins’ vernacular architecture can be used in a meaningful way to produce new housing projects that can be described as culturally responsive:

9. The Rejuvenation of Vernacular Building Rituals:

As mentioned in several parts of this study, among the Bedouins the concept of mutual-aid was actively employed in the performance of different activities such as animal herding, milking and sheering and in the process of moving the camp; the *sheil*. Among the Bedouins of southern Jordan, this mutual-aid is manifested in the *o’wneh* concept, literally meaning giving a hand. This study recommends rejuvenating the concept of *o’wneh* as a Bedouin housing production process. Self-help housing allows families to build each other’s homes in a joint, community-based effort. In this mutual self-help model participants build “sweat equity” through their own labour. Self-help housing reduces the costs of construction and operation, encourages meaningful involvement on the part of the housing recipients, and provides valuable skills and training for participants. Another form of this rejuvenation process is to encourage the Bedouins to build progressive houses. Progressive housing, however, where households are built or improved incrementally by the Bedouins *o’wneh* is the way in which most of Rum Village’s houses were produced. For the Bedouins limited financial resources, progressive housing is a preference or perhaps a necessity, therefore it is recommended by this study as the method of construction for any new housing project.

11. Encouraging Sustainability Through Housing:

Unlike conventional housing, in which work and living are always separated, the Bedouins’ houses, whether it is a mobile tent or a permanent house, represents a rich mix of family, social and work activities. Such a rich mix of activities makes the Bedouin

household a productive unit within the community and helps in sustaining its family living patterns. Unlike the plan that Shubeilat Badran Associates (SBA) prepared in the new village, where houses and commercial activities are totally separated, I recommend a mixed-use where the Bedouin are allowed to incorporate commercial activities within their households.

Definitely, this cannot be achieved without understanding the Bedouins' various aspects of life. Here, I argue that adopting a human ecology perspective is a key issue in solving the Bedouins' housing problems. 'Human ecology', here, refers to the study of the dynamic interrelationships between human populations and the physical, biotic, cultural and social characteristics of their environment and the biosphere.

12. Building Codes and Regulations:

I also argue that applying the human ecology perspective would not be effective without a mechanism that enforces the implementation phase. In this regard I believe that one of the most significant variables determining the appropriateness of the resulting housing environment is building codes, standards and regulations. Along this understanding, the regulations that SBA introduced actually hamper achieving a human ecology that can be appropriate to both the inhabitants and their ecological system.

Unfortunately, SBA's building regulations were established without understanding the constituents' social, cultural, economic and spatial contexts. I believe that SBA's building regulations comprise a structure of detailed statutory rules that are introduced by inadequately trained staff. The result is insensitive building codes, standards and regulations to indigenous technologies and building rituals. The obvious reason is that SBA's building regulations have been copied from the building codes implemented in urban areas of Jordan, which in turn have been enacted in some developed countries such as England and France. Undoubtedly, such building regulations originated in developed countries have different objectives and conditions from those currently found in the developing world (UNCHS, 1980, p. 39).

8.3 Significance of the Study:

In most developing countries, governments and foreign agencies are involved in developing programs in rural areas. Because of its geographic and economic importance, Wadi Rum was subjected to a number of developing programs. Unfortunately, these developing programs did not give the needed attention to the Bedouins housing issues. By contributing to research in this area, I attempted to add to the body of knowledge regarding house forms and living patterns in the religious and cultural context. This knowledge can be significant at various levels as follows:

8.3.1 Raising Awareness:

The main objective is to add to the growing awareness of the importance of taking the end users' social, cultural and economic contexts into consideration in development programs. This may help in the provision of a more socio-culturally appropriate housing or settlement upgrading. In this context, it is essential to emphasize the importance of studying the past and abstract some lessons that can shed light on the present as well as on the future. In this regard, I argue that Wadi Rum's vernacular architecture has evolved from within its Bedouin community and perfected itself with the test of time in conformity with societal, climatic and technological conditions. I believe that Wadi Rum's vernacular architecture (buildings and tents) is a human construct that results from the interrelations between ecological, economic, material, political and social factors, which have been modified over at least a thousand years. Wadi Rum's natural and cultural heritage shows how humans have adapted to extreme conditions of ecosystems over long periods of time. The mechanisms used for these adaptive processes can provide lessons for future generations.

8.3.2 Abstracting Lessons:

Paul Oliver stated that the vernacular makes up 90 per cent of the world's buildings and consists of approximately 800 million dwellings (2003, p. 43). This percentage, arguably, cannot be ignored within the context of future housing research. Despite this statistic, the vernacular is often ignored in both architectural education and from within the architectural profession. Here, I argue that lessons

from the vernacular are often used primarily to record and document building traditions and typological changes, which was the main objective of this study. According to Amos Rapoport:

Vernacular environments provide an unequalled, and only possible, 'laboratory' with a vast range of human responses to an equally vast range of problems; cultural, technological, of resources (including materials), site, climate, ways of making a living and so on. This increases the 'repertoire' of both problems and successful and unsuccessful solutions, of processes and products, of ambience, and at scales from semi-fixed elements to cultural landscapes (Rapoport, 2006, p. 181).

I also argue that this recording and documenting of vernacular buildings and tents in Wadi Rum, although it is the main objective, it is not an end, rather it is a process. Once the vernacular is seen not as a static building form, but as constantly evolving, reacting to changes in the communities that shaped its form, it will become higher on the agenda in architectural education and more considered in the world of the practitioner concerned with conservation and the sustainability of the built environment. Practitioner should understand and implement the importance of connecting housing to its users. According to Paul Oliver (1981:41):

A town is made of buildings, but a community is made of people; a house is a structure but a home is much more. The distinctions are not trivial, nor are they sentimental or romantic: they are fundamental to the understanding of the difference between the provision of shelter which serves to protect and the creation of domestic environments that express the deep structures of society.

8.3.3 Steps for Further Research:

The above listed recommendations are just a portion of the possibilities that would benefit the Bedouins. Future researchers continuing with the gathering of information concerning the Bedouins can only supply further suggestions to this

present list of ideas. For these future researchers, this study represents a single step of a long walk towards developing a data-base of knowledge about the phenomenon of Bedouinism, in general, and the Bedouins of southern Jordan, in particular. However, along this walk, many questions would remain concerning the future of the southern Jordan Bedouins. Some of these questions include the following: What will be the future of traditional Bedouin life and culture? How can the Bedouins fulfill the needed change, envisioned by the policy makers, which is to be integrated into the mainstream society? Yet within this process of attempting to fit into mainstream society will they also be able to maintain their own identity? How can authorities help the Bedouin achieve this desired change?

Answers to these questions in future research work will be crucial in providing a comprehensive picture of the future of Bedouin communities. While this research was conducted in a specific location, its findings indicate that there is a necessity for more regional studies in order to attain a better understanding of the Bedouins' sedentarization process.

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RESEARCH COMPLIANCE CERTIFICATE



Research Ethics Board Office
1555 Peel Street, 11th floor
Montreal, Quebec H3A 3L8
Tel: (514)398-6831 Fax: (514)398-4644

October 1, 2008

Musa Tarawneh
School of Architecture

RE: Sedentarization and tourism: the case of the Zalabia Bedouin tribe of Southern Jordan

The above research project received retrospective ethics review and was found to have been conducted in an ethically acceptable manner.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Cath Lu".

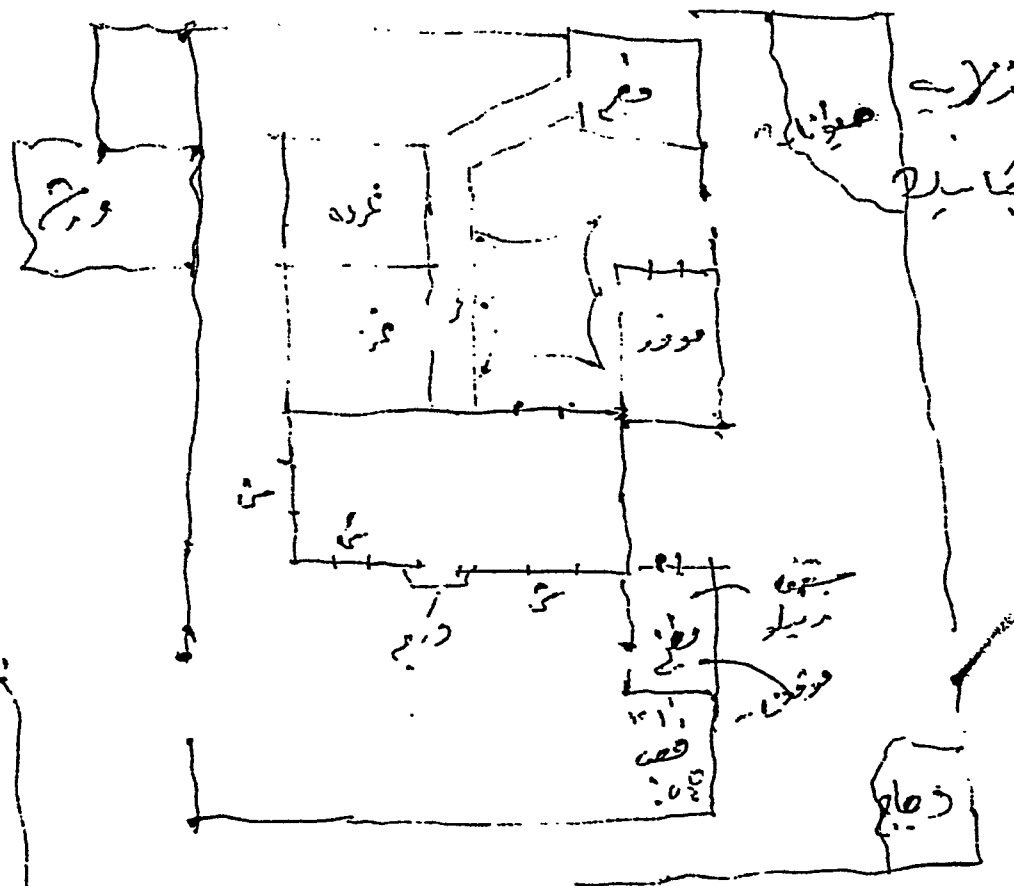
Catherine Lu, Ph.D.
Chair, Research Ethics Board-1

cc: Prof. V. Bhatt

APPENDIX

**SAMPLE INTERVIEW WITH WADI RUM'S LOCAL
BEDOUINS**

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**REGULATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF
WADI RUM**

Regulation No. (24) for the Year 2001
Regulation for the Development of Wadi Rum Area

**Issued in Accordance with Articles (11) and (56) of the Aqaba Special Economic Zone
Law No. (32) for the Year 2000**

Article (1)

This Regulation shall be known as the (Regulation for the Development of Wadi Rum Area for the Year 2001), and shall come into effect as of the date of its publication in the Official Gazette.

Article (2)

The following words and phrases wherever mentioned in this Regulation shall have the meanings ascribed thereto hereunder unless the context indicates otherwise:

Law	: The Aqaba Special Economic Zone Law.
Authority	: The Authority of the Zone.
Board	: The Board of Commissioners.
Chief Commissioner	: The Chairman of the Board.
Commissioner	: The Commissioner of Environmental Affairs.
Wadi Rum Area	: The Area announced pursuant to the decision No (18) by the Board of the Aqaba Regional Authority in its session No 1/96, dated 1/7/1996, and any amendments thereon approved by the Board after the enforcement of the provisions of this Regulation and endorsed by the Council of Ministers.
Infrastructure	: All movable and immovable facilities, amenities and installations falling within Wadi Rum Area's perimeters including roadways, pedestrians and riding animals' passage ways, camp sites, collecting garbage and waste installations, billboards and land border marks.

Article (3)

The Authority shall, in coordination with the relevant bodies, assume the following powers in the Wadi Rum Area:

- A- Developing Wadi Rum Area and premises thereof, improving its efficiency to achieve growth in all aspects therein, promoting tourism, developing basic services therein and creating work opportunities in fields of tourists, handicrafts, mountain climbing and desert guiding to improve life conditions of the Area's inhabitants.
- B- Preserving the historical heritage, geological compositions and unique natural landscapes of Wadi Rum Area.
- C- Preserving wild creatures whether plants, animals and birds in the Area.
- D- Relocating endangered wild creatures such as (Badan) and Arabian gazelle by means of creating appropriate environment for such in the area, and maintaining the original environment conditions which is appropriate thereto and any other means.

- E- Preserving historical places, facilitating access thereto and providing necessary information thereabout through different means to introduce such.
- F- Preserving Wadi Rum Area's environment, preventing pollution sources and preserving public safety.
- G- Increasing level of environmental education and awareness to identify importance and vulnerability of environment and methods of preserving and sustaining such.
- H- Exchanging expertise and information with relevant local and international bodies.

Article (4)

A- A special committee named the "Wadi Rum Area Committee" shall be formed in the Authority to administer the Area, under the Chairmanship of the Commissioner, and the membership of the following:

- Wadi Rum Area's Director Vice-Chairman
- One representative of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities nominated by the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities.
- Three Members appointed by the Chief Commissioner upon the Commissioner's recommendation provided they include representative(s) of local community.

B- The Committee shall undertake the following tasks:

- 1- Establishing the policy necessary for Wadi Rum Area's administration, development and improvement in accordance with the accredited Environmental Management Plan, and submitting such to the Chief Commissioner to be presented to the Board to issue a decision thereon.
- 2- Preparing an annual administration plan for Wadi Rum Area subject to the Board's approval, and overseeing its implementation.
- 3- Defining necessary allocations for the Wadi Rum Area's expenditures to be approved by the Board and listed within the Area's annual budget.
- 4- Drafting administrative, financial and technical instructions and submitting them to the Chief Commissioner to be presented to the Board to issue a decision thereon.
- 5- Seeking the advice of people of expertise and competence in preparing necessary studies to develop and promote Wadi Rum Area.
- 6- Any other tasks required for Wadi Rum Area's good performance and assigned thereto by the Chief Commissioner.

Article (5)

A- The Committee shall convene its meetings upon an invitation by the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman in his absence at least once every month. The quorum shall be met upon the attendance of the majority of the members, provided that the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman shall be one of them. The Committee shall issue its decisions by majority vote of its members. If the votes are tied, then the vote of the meeting's Chairman shall be determinant.

B- The Committee shall document all its activities and shall submit its decisions and recommendations to the Chief Commissioner to adopt necessary actions thereon.

Article (6)

A- The Director of Wadi Rum Area shall oversee the implementation the Environmental Management Plan for the Area, which includes the following:

- 1- The roadmap for vehicles allowed to enter the Area, and lanes for pedestrians and riding animals.
- 2- The appropriate locations to establish and develop tourist camp sites within Wadi Rum Area to harbor tourists and provide them with any necessary services.
- 3- The hiking places and routs and training the Area's habitants on hiking and rescue operations.
- 4- The pastures within Wadi Rum Area in accordance with pasturing seasons, and monitoring livestock movement.
- 5- The specific entrance and exit points to visit Wadi Rum Area, and monitoring such through approved scouts by the Authority.

B- In order to achieve the purposes and goals of Wadi Rum Area, the Director shall assume the following authorities:

- 1- Issuing daily permits necessary to allow owners of private cars entering Wadi Rum Area.
- 2- Regulating the use of private vehicles which belong to the inhabitants of the Area for transporting tourists to their destinations.
- 3- Establishing specifications of vehicles for tourist transport whether as to the outer appearance or the type of upholstery or the technical and mechanical readiness of the vehicle and the requirements to be met in the driver.
- 4- Establishing bases to facilitate the use of all facilities within Wadi Rum Area so as to insure the safety and comfort of tourists.

Article (7)

Subject to the provisions of any enacted legislation in the Kingdom, the Board may, upon the Chief Commissioner's recommendation, contract with competent parties to develop or manage any part of the Wadi Rum Area in accordance with a contract concluded for this purpose.

Article (8)

A- The amounts incurred to Wadi Rum Area from implementing the provisions of this Regulation and the compensations resulting from violating its provisions shall be allocated in a special account within the Authority's budget to expend therefrom on the purposes and activities of Wadi Rum Area and villages of Deseh Basin.

B- The Committee of Wadi Rum Area may accept donations and grants given thereto subject to the Board's approval, provided that the Council of Minister's approval is secured where the source of such donations is non-Jordanian.

Article (9)

A- Subject to legal liability, it shall be prohibited to undertake any actions, activities or procedures that may result in the destruction, damage or deterioration of the natural environment, or damaging the wild and plant life, or affect the esthetic of Wadi Rum Area. In particular, it shall be prohibited to undertake the following:

- 1- Constructing within the Wadi Rum Area's perimeters, excluding the village site existing in Rum and the visitor's center, provided that provisions of zoning and the instructions issued in accordance with this Regulation are taken into account when constructing therein.

- 2- Entering and exiting Wadi Rum Area from other than the specified areas.
- 3- Entering to no-entry places without official authorization.
- 4- Mining, stone-crashing and engraving and quarries.
- 5- Hunting, transferring or harming wild animals, birds and reptiles, or undertaking any action that may lead to harming such.
- 6- Destroying or damaging geological compositions or places that are considered habitation, reproduction or migration places of species of animals, birds and plants.
- 7- Writing, painting or engraving any compositions of Wadi Rum Area.
- 8- Timbering or destroying plant cover (Flura).
- 9- Polluting soil, water or air resources.
- 10- Entering exotic (alien) animal or plant species to Wadi Rum Area.
- 11- Undertaking any procedures which affect Wadi Rum Area's environment such as lighting fire or littering within the Area.
- 12- Driving vehicles outside the designated roads.
- 13- Pasturing in other than the allowed areas and seasons.

B- Subject to legal liability, it shall also be prohibited to engage in any tourist, agricultural, industrial, commercial, service, collective or individual sporting activities or conducting military exercises unless pursuant to a permit obtained by the Chief Commissioner or Commissioner as the case may be, and according to the conditions and basis established in accordance with the instructions issued by the Board for this purpose.

Article (10)

The Wadi Rum Area's employees, public security forces shall be entitled to seize any offence, organize a violation ticket and undertake any appropriate procedures according to the provisions of Environmental Protection Law, any enacted legislation and this Regulation. The forms for the violations minutes and any procedures related thereto shall be specified pursuant to instructions issued by the Board for this purpose.

Article (11)

The committed violations shall be referred to the Governor of Aqaba to undertake necessary legal actions against violators.

Article (12)

A- The Board shall issue the necessary instructions for implementing the provisions of this Regulation, including the following:

- 1- Determining charges collected by the Wadi Rum Area's Committee in exchange of using its facilities and the services rendered therein.
- 2- Specifying the forms of adopted documents necessary for expenditure and receipt and persons authorized to sign such.

B- The instructions issued in accordance with the provisions of this Regulation shall be published in the Official Gazette.