

Bedouin, not a Bad-One.

*The Bedoul Bedouins' Struggle for Identity, Place and
Belonging in Petra, Jordan.*

by

Andrew Leary.

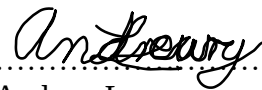


A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian
National University

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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is the result of original work carried out by the author


.....
Andrew Leary

Acknowledgements.

After so many, often painful, years there are so many people to acknowledge and thank. It goes without saying, but cannot be borne without the saying, that my first acknowledgement and eternal thanks belongs to the Bedoul Bedouin of Petra. The Abu Mohammed family (pseudonym though this is, they know who they are) who took me in and made me one of their own, and without the support of the Bedoul in general this research would not have been possible, without the support of the Abu Mohammed family this is doubly so; I thank them from the deepest recesses of my heart. Likewise, all of my close friends and research participants in Jordan.

Here, it is, that I acknowledge and thank my long-suffering supervisory panel, my chair Professor Francesca Merlan, who has given me the space to bring this to fruition that I needed under the circumstances, without ever applying the screws as it were. Also, Professor Nic Peterson, who, I think, had a greater impact than he might realise with well-placed and sagacious pieces of advice, particularly in the leadup to fieldwork, not to mention help while I was in Jordan. And lastly, but absolutely nowise the least, Professor Simone Dennis who always knew just what it was that I needed, and when, to kick things along when I was lost and foundered in the mire of detail. She also taught me how to teach and gave me the chance to do it, which has, through the years, helped refine the work, not to mention allowed me to support myself and my little family. To these three my undying gratitude must go.

But, at ANU, there are more to thank, among them, Associate Professor Patrick Guinness, who, with characteristic gentle kindness, was always ready to offer advice and guidance. Professor Philip Taylor, who knew where this thesis was going and offered critically accurate advice long before I came close to understanding how important that advice was. And Dr Magot Lyon, who, with wry humour and a cuttingly sardonic sense of irony sewed a few of

the seeds that have guided this work. Dr Don Gardner and Dr Heloisa Mariath also deserve thanks. Thank you all.

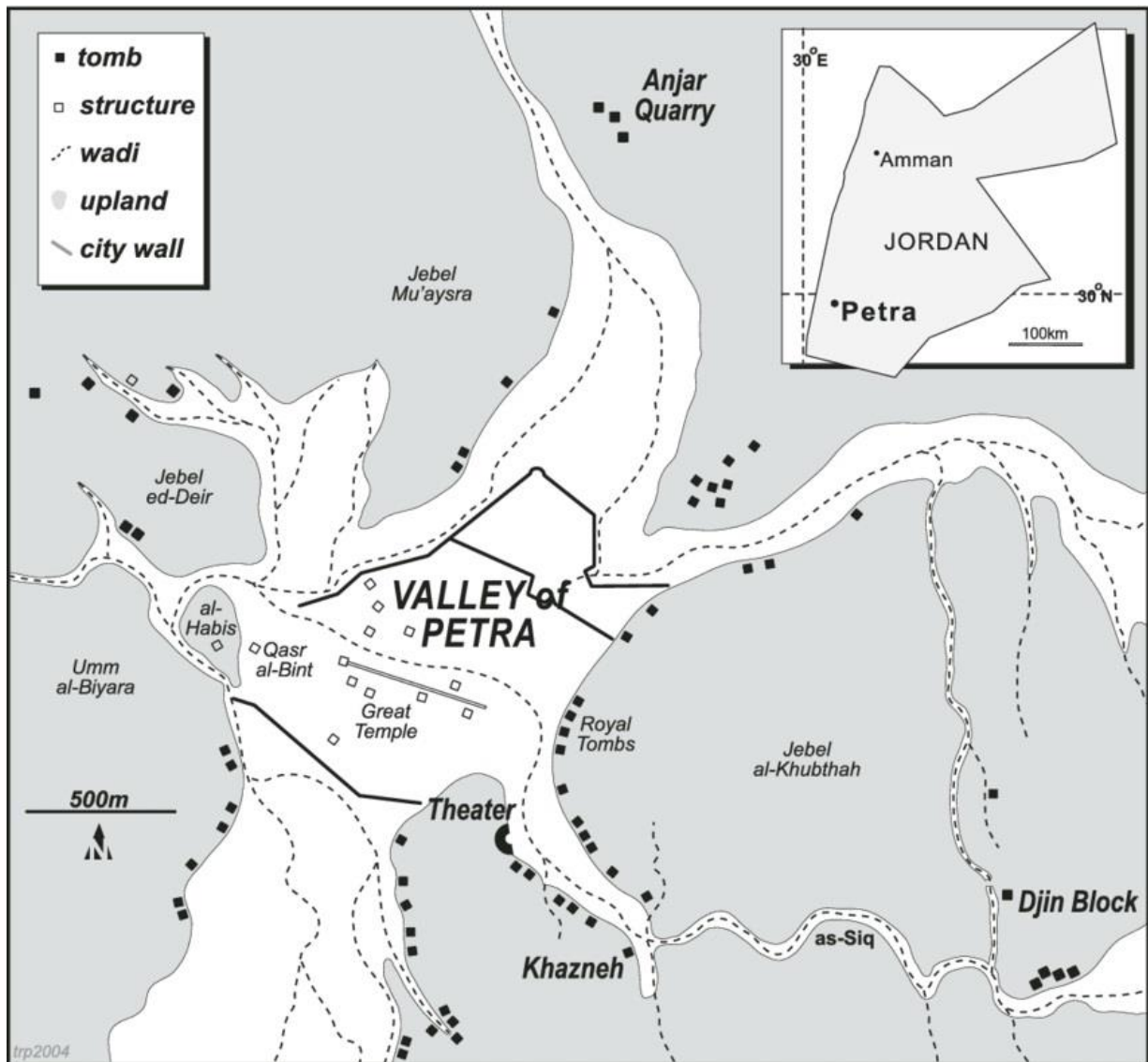
I also thank my friend, Daniel Lee who passed a non-anthropological eye over this work and gave insightful and valuable advice. Here I also thank my family, Judy and Bob Bowes, Richard and Diedre Beath, Danton Leary and Miho Kikuchi, and particularly my wife, Ying-Cheng. And friends, Kynan Stephenson, Mark Petricevic, Nick Wong, Jesse Balderson, Jake Miazek, Pat Swanwick, Adenn Nardi, Nimalan Nandapalan, Dave Mohr, Nigel Turner, Chak Yu, Yoke Fung, Rebeca Anderson, Dane Alston and Damien Jonkergouw. Friends and family, all of whom have consistently provided support when, in the depths of unrelenting inexorable pain, I was unable to forge ahead. Their support, and my panel's patience, have allowed me to get this far. And my final, and foundational, thanks go to Oliver Cheng, for without years of his teaching, patient encouragement, kind guidance, and humble living example of all that is great in humanity, none of this would have ever been conceived.

Abstract.

The Bedoul Bedouin of Petra, Jordan, had made their home in the long-emptied tombs of the Nabataeans for centuries. But, from the late 1960s steps were taken to remove the Bedoul from their home and transform Petra into the premier tourist attraction in Jordan; and by 1985 the Bedoul had been moved to the new village of Umm Sayhoun on the edge of the Petra Archaeological Park. Lacking the promised economic development programmes that were to replace the livelihoods the Bedoul lost in their move from Petra, they plunged headlong, and willingly, into work in the tourism trade. But a loss of traditional livelihoods was the least of the challenges facing the Bedoul. Petra became something new, a Lost City, that apparently had nothing to do with Bedouin, while Bedouin themselves became ‘traditional’ ancestor figures for Jordan and an anachronism, who should (according to popular opinion) have been nomads and not connected to a Lost City. With these conceptions of place and identity overlaid upon them and their relationship to Petra the Bedoul have continued to struggle for Bedouin identity and a place in Petra through their engagement in tourism and deployment of Bedouin ideals surrounding hospitality. The Bedoul mount a political struggle, armed with the tools they have and their work in the tourism industry to reassert both their vision of Petra and their vision of their Bedouin identity.

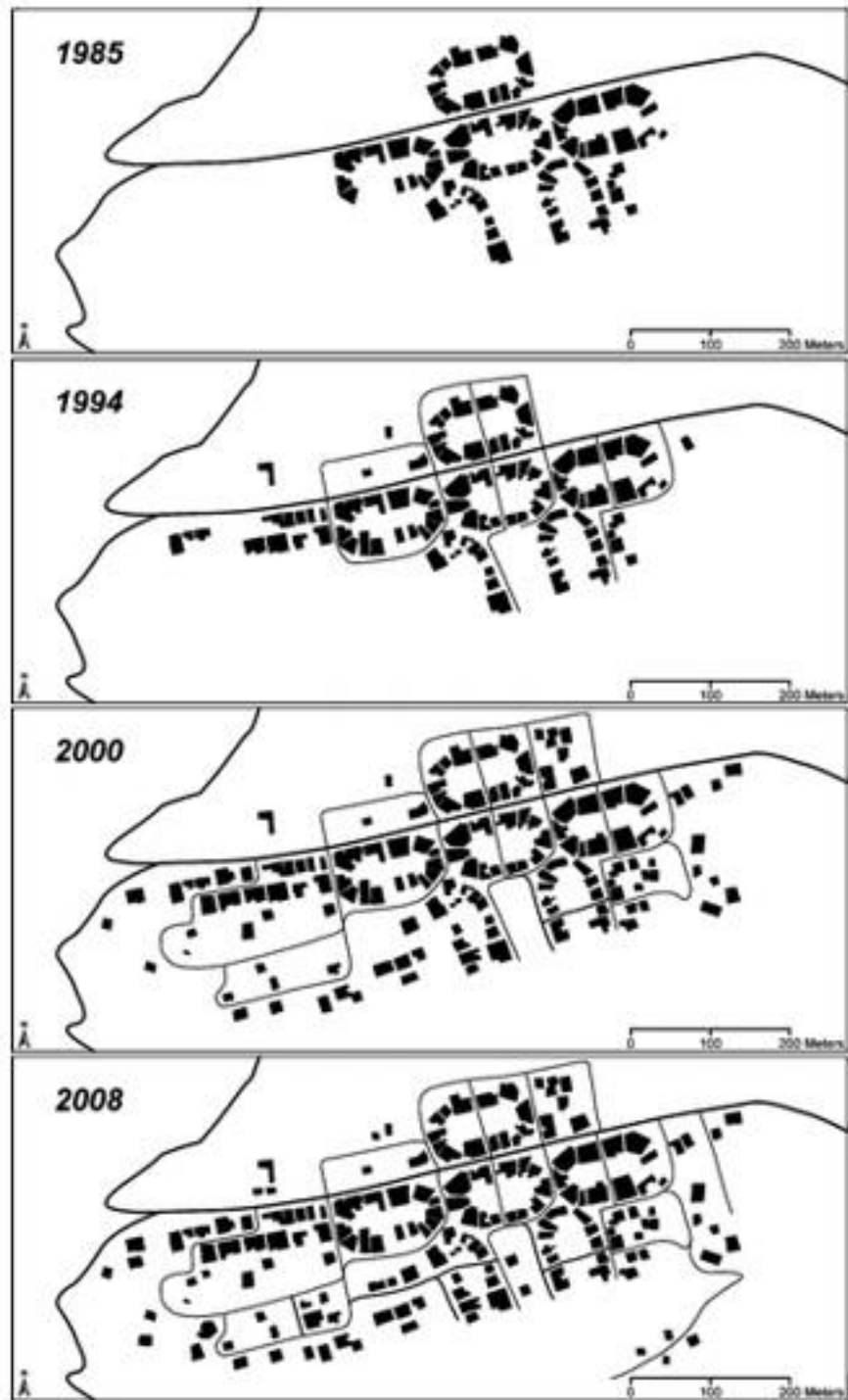


Ali Abu Huweymel Mūwassa



Map of Petra: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-the-Valley-of-Petra-Jordan_fig1_283377038

Accessed 16/12/2020.



Village of Umm Sayhoun (Angel 2012: 109)

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Chapter One: Introduction.

Every day, just before the morning call to prayer rings out across the village, Salem crawls out of bed and goes looking for his father. Salem is a boisterous five year old, and once he is out of bed, the rest of the family have to wake up too. Salem's father, Rashd Abu Mohammed, who is 36, can't leave him alone for too long; Salem just recently learned how to play with matches and has nearly set the house on fire on at least one occasion already. Rashd, who throughout the summer sleeps on the roof of their one-story home, usually tells Salem to go and catch his two donkeys and then climbs down from the roof to get ready for the day. Having forgotten the donkeys, Salem runs about the front courtyard of the house where the rest of the family sleeps in the summer. He drags his older brothers and sisters out of bed, while his mother Rakheyah, defends her youngest child Atif, 18 months old, from Salem's playful attentions, and starts making breakfast for the family. Rashd gets his donkeys ready for a day's work in Petra.

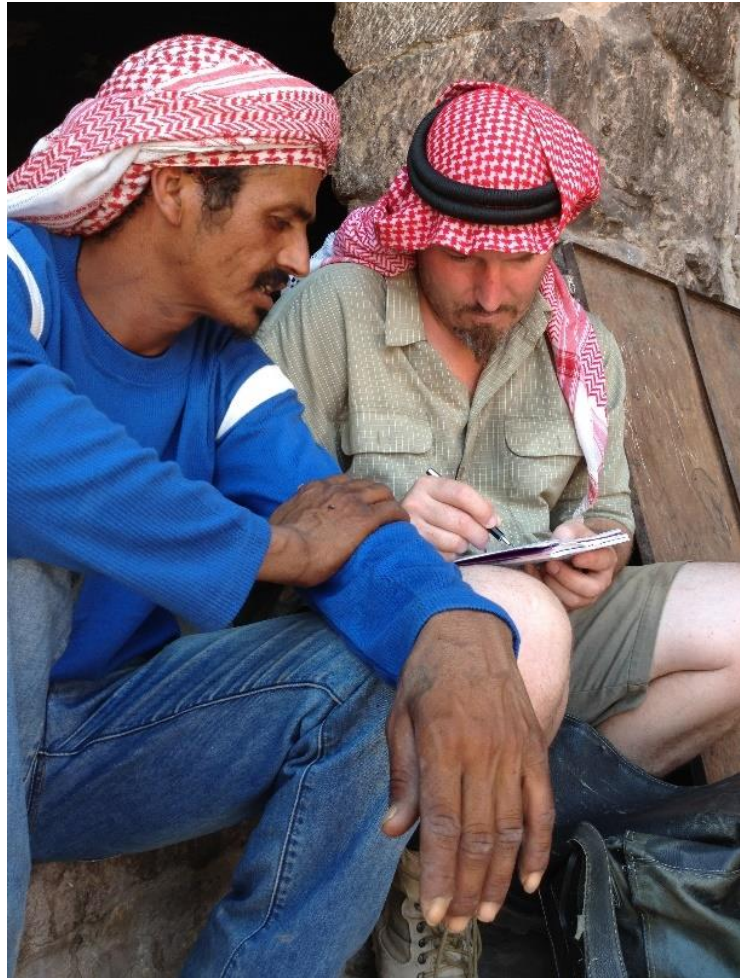
Slowly the village comes to life as everyone, like Rashd, prepares for work. The village is filled with the sound of life, children playing and squealing, men and women talking, donkeys braying as they are fed and watered and camels groaning as they are saddled. The sound of trucks fills the air as fruit and vegetable sellers drive through the village with shouts of "*Yallah Bendura! Yallah Batata!.....*," (.....! يلا بندورة! يلا بطاطا!; Quickly Tomato! Quickly Potato!.....). There is the roar of the gas-bottle seller's, and the scrap-metal merchant's, trucks as they drive through the village honking their horns announcing their arrival. People wave to the fruit and vegetable sellers, or the gas bottle seller, and buy what they need, and sell scrap metal to the scrap metal man, if they have any.

Rashd Abu Mohammed left, author right

As Rashd saddles his two donkeys his younger brother Tufiq, 21 years old, who lives in the large Abu Mohammed family home next door, gets his own donkeys ready for the day.

However, Tufiq doesn't go to Petra to work with tourists like most in the village. He uses his donkeys to carry water and barley

to his small herd of goats which he keeps on Petra's Khubtha Mountain. Tufiq avoids tourism work as much as he can; he prefers to go with his goats, leading them through the tangle of valleys and gorges carved out of Khubtha's dome-like summit by the wind and rain, in search of forage. Tufiq Abu Mohammed is generally considered to be "very Bedouin" throughout the village; but he is unusual: most women and men work with the tourists.



Tufiq Abu Mohammed

Many men around the same age as Rashid, a few older and many younger, work as donkey guides trying their best to earn a living by guiding tourists through Petra. And just as many

women, and a lot of men too, work selling souvenirs; there is only one woman who works as a donkey guide. Others work in one of the few officially licensed shops in the park, while still others work in the constantly changing number of technically illegal shops. There are also 34 registered camels on which people ferry tourists through the ancient city. And there are a few Bedouin who have horses and the precious “horse numbers”, registration numbers, which allow them to work as horse guides between Petra’s visitors centre and the *Bāb al-Sīq*, the entrance to the gorge that leads into Petra. Even more importantly, the horse numbers provide their owners with a stipend- a small cut of every ticket sold in Petra. There is not a family in the Bedouin village of Umm Sayhoun that does not rely on the tourism trade in one way or another for their livelihood.

Every morning there is an exodus from the village as people head to work. Individually, or in groups, the Bedouin travel down into Petra, the Bedouin’s former home. Men and women on donkeys, and afoot, descend the steep and slippery sandstone trail down the side of the Umm Sayhoun ridge into Wadi Mataha, the dry sandy course of a creek formed by a millennia of flash floods, which follows the western base of Khubtha running southwards. As Wadi Mataha eventually snakes off to the west people leave its course, continue south climbing the hill of sand buttressed against the base of Khubtha, and then go past the enormous Royal Tombs down into the main city area of Petra to ply their various trades. Others climb into any and every truck that is going to Petra from the village, laden with souvenirs, drinks and food that they will try to sell to tourists. And the camel guides, avoiding the steep and slippery side of Umm Sayhoun, for camels are not as sure footed as donkeys, take the longer, but gentler, descent into Wadi Turkamaniya, to the west of the village, then follow that valley southwards into the basin area of Petra.

While the others are going to herd tourists for the day, Tufiq Abu Mohammed prepares to herd his goats. Tufiq, having saddled one of his donkeys, then fills between two to four

plastic 25-litre drums with water and ties them together by the handles with whatever scrap of rope comes to hand. He then loads the water, sometimes up to 100 litres, onto the donkey and ties a feedbag full of barley, and some bread and yoghurt for his own lunch, to the saddle, and sets off for Jabal Khubtha. Tufiq follows the same path down the south side of Umm Sayhoun as the rest of the Bedouin, and then goes along Wadi Mataha, but instead of cresting the hill at the south-western foot of Khubtha into the main city area of Petra, Tufiq climbs the ancient Nabataean stairway, carved out of solid rock, up to the summit. The ascent to the summit takes Tufiq around 45 minutes, but he is strong, attuned to the climb and moves fast, and drives the heavily laden donkey onwards with taps on the rump and cries of “*herewan!*” the word used specifically for driving donkeys.



Tufiq Abu Mohammed off to work

Once he reaches the top of the mountain Tufiq unloads the donkey, feeds and waters it, and starts calling his goats. As he digs sand out of an ancient trough carved out of the stone of the

mountain, Tufiq calls his goats with guttural shouts of “*Gnegggghhh! Gnegggghhh!*” followed by a rapid succession of “*Hekh, Hekh, Hekh, Hekh, Hekh*”. Tufiq repeats the calls as he fills the trough with water, pours barley out on a broad flat and clean rock, and waits for his goats to arrive. Eventually his herd of eighteen goats comes bleating looking for food and water. As the goats eat, Tufiq goes to hunt grouse, which he has set traps for, always careful to avoid being bitten by snakes inadvertently caught in his traps. He also looks for hawk and eagle nests from which he can get chicks to sell or keep as pets. Once he has checked his traps Tufiq returns to his goats and gives his favourite a bath with water and Golden dish washing detergent, and makes sure the amulet he made from the sole of an old shoe and hung around its neck is secure- to protect it from jealous people looking at it with “hard eyes”. As the goats finish their barley, Tufiq leaves the donkey to rest and leads the goats off into the tangle of gorges and sandy coves hidden throughout Khubtha’s labyrinthine summit calling his goats behind him. Tufiq, with as much agility as his goats, scrambles over the rocky mountaintop leading them to the numerous patches of natural fodder growing in the maze of sandy depressions that crosscut Khubtha’s summit.



Tufiq baiting a trap



Far below, down in the city, and among the tourists, Rashd rides one donkey, while leading the other, offering to guide people throughout Petra. As the waves of tourists walk along the main path, past spectacular, towering, facades, a mixture of Nabataean and classical Greek

and Roman architecture hewn from the living rock, Rashd, like the other donkey guides, approaches tourists and cheerfully offers a ride on a “Bedouin taxi” or “Bedouin Ferrari”. Most tourists get the joke and laugh as the Bedouin, always careful to add that the taxis and Ferraris are equipped with independent suspension, air conditioning and power steering, break the ice. Most of the tourists pass on by content to explore the ruinous city alone; those in groups are usually herded along by their licensed tour guide; keeping them on a tight schedule, he tells them to ignore the Bedouin.



Donkey guide in Petra

Some of the donkey guides, particularly the younger men, appear aggressive and dangerous to many of the tourists, particularly the younger women. Rashd however, whether he knows it

or not, has a manner that easily engenders trust. While the other guides try to make the tourists laugh, tell them jokes and cycle through the word “hello” in as many European or Asian languages as they can until they get a response, Rashd simply says hello in the lingua franca of English and asks where the tourist is from. Calmly, gently and confidently, Rashd engages with the tourists, telling them about Petra and the guiding services he can offer; and about the Bedouin who once lived in Petra. And perhaps, more often than average, he dismounts, helps a tourist mount each of his donkeys, and walks along driving them and the tourists with shouts of “*herewan!*” If he has more than two tourists, he calls a trusted friend to help him, and they split the fare.

Many times, after an entire day spent with Rashd, in the evening tourists return to his home in the village where they enjoy a meal of mansaf or kabseh prepared by Rakheyah. On these occasions the tourists, usually unbeknownst to themselves, receive the valorised “Bedouin hospitality” that the tour brochures tell them abounds in Jordan. However, *this* Bedouin hospitality is unmediated by the global tourism trade. It comes from a genuine desire to provide hospitality, and it feeds into cycles of reputation, status and politics that circulate through the village, through Petra and between the Bedoul and their Beni Layth¹ neighbours from Wadi Musa, of which the tourists are totally oblivious; and this hospitality is, when provided without the appropriate licence from the Ministry of Tourism, strictly speaking, not entirely legal. Rashid, Rakheyah and the family quietly sit and watch the tourists eat as custom demands; they refuse to join the meal and only eat what is left later in the kitchen. Some of these tourists even return to Petra, and Rakheyah and Rashd’s home, year after year, no longer tourists but friends.

It’s in this encounter that this thesis is situated; this encounter, and thousands like it. An opportune moment, a spontaneous offer of a meal in the village, and evening shared between Bedoul and their guests. Or, a day spent entertaining guests in Petra. The giving of tea, a shared lunch of flat-bread, a can of tuna and thick yoghurt; and the giving of gifts. Bedoul of all ages, of all financial means, would consistently operate in such a way. They would regularly sacrifice a day’s income in time, money or both, given the chance to entertain tourists as guests. The question is, essentially, why? Why sacrifice a livelihood, to entertain

¹ The Beni Layth are the majority population of Wadi Musa and have been for hundreds of years. The Beni Layth assert that they are Bedouin and *the* Bedouin of Petra while the Bedoul assert that the Beni Layth are not Bedouin, not the Bedouin of Petra and are actually *falāḥin* (farmers). They are the main adversaries of the Bedoul Bedouin and will feature heavily in the pages to come. From the outset however, it should be known that while this thesis contains a lot of information about the Beni Layth it is not a thesis about them. This work is about the Bedoul and aside from conversations with Beni Layth that I had, all information about the Beni Layth comes via the Bedoul and is so likely to be somewhat one sided.

tourists. If one were cynical, and a few of the Bedoul are, one might suggest dishonest motives; one might suggest the Bedoul who operate so, wish to exploit unsuspecting tourists.

Yet, given the diversity of Bedoul who operate in such a way, everyone from children to the elderly, men and women, boys and girls, it's hard to believe they would all be deviously aiming to exploit tourists. And in the countless such encounters I saw, not once did I see such a thing either. The guiding question of this thesis became: how do the Bedoul interact with the tourists? Why do they interact with tourists in a way that is apparently counter to their own livelihoods and wellbeing? And, to what ends do they turn their work in tourism? The short answer is, they turn tourism, to political purposes to prosecute their rights in Petra.

And the tourists, they come from all over the world to visit what could, reasonably, be considered one of the most spectacular sites, in one of the most spectacular landscapes, in the world. I, probably like most people of my generation, first caught a glimpse of Petra as a child when Harrison Ford, as the intrepid archaeologist Indiana Jones, entered the Khazneh, the most famous of Petra's monuments, on his search for the Holy Grail. On the TV screen in my father's house in Brisbane, Petra looked like a Lost City, possessed by the sands of time, as well as those of the desert; and, for a credulous child, like myself, possibly, even possessed by an ancient living Crusader Knight. I wondered if such a place could actually exist in reality.

With thoughts of ancient lost cities, mystery, perhaps crusaders, and judging by the many Indiana Jones impersonators, also Indiana Jones, the tourists trail along after their guides, pausing before particular monuments and tombs. They learn about the Nabataeans, about their trading empire, their architecture and how they built Petra in the tangle of the Shara Mountains for protection from invaders, and to exploit the enormous amounts of water that are shed by the mountains in winter flash floods and spring snow melt. Tourists then learn

about the series of earthquakes that rocked and diminished the city through the centuries, and the eventual conquest of Petra by the Roman Empire. They hear how the Byzantine Empire ruled Petra after the split of the Roman Empire into east and west, how they built a number of churches, and converted a tomb into a monastery, carved Christian crosses in the stone over springs in the mountains and how Christianity superseded the paganism of Petra. Tourists occasionally also might hear about the European Crusaders, attempting to regain Christian lands lost in the Islamic expansion, who lived in their little fortress atop Jabal Habis in the Petra basin and the more substantial castle of al-Wu'ayra on the eastern flank of Jabal Khubtha. Finally, the tourists learn how Petra was re-“discovered” in 1812 by the Swiss explorer Johann Ludwig Burckhardt. Occasionally, a guide will draw the tourist's attention to the “gypsies” who work as donkey or camel guides and sell souvenirs and refreshments, but tourists only learn about the Bedoul Bedouin of Petra from the Bedouin themselves.

Petra has, since the late 1970s and early 1980s, become Jordan's most lucrative national product and the biggest draw card attracting tourists to the country. And for Petra to become such an important tourist attraction it necessarily underwent monumental changes. From the outset of Petra's development for tourism the removal of the Bedoul Bedouin from the site was a central concern (Brand 2001: 964). From late 1984 the Bedoul were scheduled to move out of their homes in the caves of Petra into their new village (Shoup 1985: 283) situated on the ridge of Umm Sayhoun which marks the northern boundary of the Petra Archaeological Park. As the Bedoul moved out most of the material traces of their community, evidence of their generations of life, in Petra was obliterated. The very physicality of Petra, which at that time resembled more a village than a Lost City (Bille 2012: 110), was scrubbed clean. Aside from a small handful of Bedoul cave homes, all that was left in Petra were the ruins of what had been built by the Nabataeans, the Romans, the Byzantines and the rubble of a few Crusaders.

Yet the physical changes that forged Petra anew were only the beginning of its transformation from a Bedouin village, and entirely domesticated space, to a mythical Lost City. As Petra's importance for tourism grew so too has a constellation of discourses shaping it (Foucault 2004: 74). They have, with a minute, subtle and incremental creep infiltrated every aspect of life in Petra for the Bedouin and come to order the very reality of what Petra itself might be. And, this constellation of discourses also orders what Bedouin might be too.

Archaeology, monument restoration and preservation, history, environmental protection, development, nationalism and tourism have all come to exert their expertise on both Petra and the Bedouin who live there. And in many cases the ideologies implicated in these changes have become truth. Petra, beginning with its physical transformation from Bedouin village to Lost City, has also become, ideationally, something quite new, a new kind of place, with new rules and regulations. The parameters of what Petra can be have narrowed, and entire portions of its history have been erased.

In the present, the physical transformation of Petra (the clearing away of hundreds of years' worth of Bedouin material culture related to their habitation of the site) and the ideological reconstruction and narrowing of Petra (in line with the dictates of the aforesaid discursive formations) have combined in a mutually supportive feedback loop that perpetuates a new mythos of Petra. Petra appears physically, and is presented ideologically, as something that it probably has never been in the entirety of its history; it is presented as a Lost City. It is treated/presented, touristically, archeologically and administratively as though the Bedouin, and others who have periodically inhabited the site, have no connection to the place. Indeed, in the marketing material presented by the Petra Authority² which administers the site, it is as though the Bedouin never existed.

² The Petra Development & Tourism Region Authority: People simply refer to it, in English, as the Petra Authority, in Arabic as Maḥmīāt al-Batrā': محميات البتراء.

Petra's existence has been narrowed to little more than archaeological interpretations of what it meant for its Nabataean founders, Roman conquerors, their Byzantine successors, Burkhardt who visited it in 1812 and the Jordanian state which is its current custodian (the crusaders only occasionally get a mention). Petra's existence has also been narrowed to its meaning in terms of tourism and Jordan's economic development and an archaeological reading that seems to exclude hundreds of years of Bedouin habitation as contamination to be sifted out of Petra's true archaeological heritage. The effects of such narrowings of Petra's existence have structured forms of practice that collide and grind against one another. For, in spite of all that Petra has been turned into, the proverbial fly in the ointment, is the tenacious continuation of Bedouin existence in the site and their dogged refusal to be pushed out of their homeland.

The story of the Bedouin up to the present is one of great change, monumental loss, resistance, resilience and a seemingly endless ability to adapt. The Bedouin story is also one of great ambiguity. Yet, lest it be thought that change, displacement and tourism are all bad, it should be understood from the outset that most Bedouin themselves seem to have a propensity to look on the brighter side of life and are willing to acknowledge that much about moving out of Petra and work in the tourism industry is actually rather beneficial, even enjoyable. Yet, when one spends long enough in the Bedouin community, a sense of grief, anger, injustice, becomes apparent; one senses that a wound was opened in 1984 and it has festered ever since. One also gets the distinct impression that there is a continuing struggle going on. It is a struggle that people talk of endlessly, but in most cases, they rarely ever talk of it in terms of struggle and resistance.

Often, I would walk down into Petra with the intention of talking to people about marriage, kinship systems, the usual stuff anthropologists are supposed to ask about, and get absolutely nowhere. Conversations would start with talk of things like marriage or relatedness but

always be steered towards the subject of Petra and the Bedoul's relationship with it. Once it was generally known that I was in the community to do research about the lives of the Bedoul Bedouin, with almost everyone I spoke with, the major topic of discussion whenever I showed up was their treatment at the hands of the Petra Authority and the conditions they face living near, and working in, Petra. Bedoul shop keepers, donkey guides, camel guides, even the older children selling jewellery and postcards, would all talk endlessly about how the Petra Authority, UNESCO, USAID, the Jordanian Government and their neighbours in Wadi Musa all want to make life hard for the Bedouin and even force them right out of Petra.

Like the rest of us the Bedoul are struggling with modernity and all that goes with it, and they are trying to forge their place in it all; yet, more concretely, the Bedoul Bedouin are in a unique, enviable, or unenviable, position depending on your point of view, in which they were the inhabitants of the ground upon which the Jordanian government enacts a range of policy for archaeological monument preservation, tourism development, and social and economic development of the state, and its citizens. It is also the ground on which tourism peddles various representations of reality which, while having a profound effect on the life of the Bedouin, do not actually mesh with reality as it is lived by the Bedouin. And if all of this were not enough, the Bedoul, as Bedouin, are themselves the target of similar efforts on the part of the state, UNESCO and the tourism industry to shape representations of Bedouin identity, culture and heritage (Al-Mahadin 2007; Bille 2012) that jar against the actual experience of life for the Bedoul, this I will argue, also brings about a profound sense of loss, ambivalence and ambiguity within the community as they struggle to hang on to who they are as *Bedouin* as well as their place in Petra.

Petra, as the point of convergence for a number of grand overarching things, discourses, which operate shaping reality in certain ways, overtly or covertly, and even accidentally, has conceptually been torn out from under the Bedoul community. Petra imagined in a very

specific way, etched onto the landscape of Petra, *literally carved into the Nabataean ruins* with jackhammers and heavy machinery as the Bedoul village was ripped out, went through a process of renovation which altered it irrevocably from the Bedoul point of view. As the *Bedoul* materiality of Petra was smashed and carted away in the back of a truck to be disposed of Petra was transformed into that Lost City of the Nabataeans that Burkhardt supposedly found in the desert in 1812 with the Bedouin still in its midst³. As the Jordanian state and various other organisations wanted to make Petra into a tourist attraction Petra became a “despoiled, severely exploited land long abused by the combined forces of man and the natural forces of wind, water, and gravity”; the authors of the 1968 USAID report (USAID 1968: 2 in Brand 2001: 964) rendered such a view into text making it a truth. Petra also became a World Heritage site of vulnerable monuments of preeminent archaeological importance and a fragile surrounding ecosystem that is in danger of despoliation, both of which are in need of protection, mainly from its Bedouin custodians.

Petra was also recast as abandoned while its Bedoul inhabitants continued on with their lives despite their world changing around them.

The corollary of what Petra has been turned into through the last few decades, is what Bedouin have been imagined to be. As tourism, development and nation building all turned their expert gaze towards the Bedouin the most basic assumptions about Bedouin have also been narrowed, generally, to the perceptions held of them by outsiders. Elements of what Bedouin themselves see as being Bedouin, ‘tribe’⁴/lineage/family, and various ways of life that have always amounted to more than simply nomadism and pastoralism (though these are

³ At least they were still residents of Petra though, according to Burkhardt’s account, Petra appeared abandoned even though his Beni Layth guide was well on his guard and appeared as apprehensive of discovery as he was of Burkhardt’s motives. Burkhardt visited in summer during which the Bedoul were in the surrounding mountains and the Wadi Sabra region to the south in line with their bi-annual migratory patterns which lasted till a period roughly from the late 1960s through to the 1970s.

⁴ When speaking English Bedoul typically use the words tribe or family to describe what they would, in Arabic, typically refer to as ‘shyra or *gabila*- عشيرة and قبيلة.

significant) have had their significance undermined. At its crudest the assumption of what Bedouin are is that they are nomads, or now perhaps they are becoming “urban nomads”? (Fuleihan 2011). Even as late as June 2008 the USAID-Jordan: *Jordan Tourism Development in the Petra Region Interpretive Plan* still maintained that Bedouin are mobile people who “have lived in an essentially unaltered way” (USAID 2008: 23); they gather what they need from the desert for themselves and their animals. The interpretive plan goes on that “while some Bedouin have become more settled, all retain many aspects of their nomadic lifestyle” (USAID 2008: 23). Such readings of what Bedouin are supposed to be hinges Bedouin identity on a reasonably narrow set of variables (nomadism, pastoralism, life in arid to semi-arid regions, and segmentary kinship/social structure) in essentialist ways (Layne 1994: 13) that often don’t (if they ever) account for the diversity of actual Bedouin existence. Bedouin are characterised as unaltered and nomadic, the flexibility of Bedouin social structures and the economic versatility that this engenders is ignored. Also ignored is that pastoralism, and arguably nomadism, are a periodic response to fluctuating social and economic conditions and not a full time occupation for anyone other than the most specialised pastoralists (Marx 2006: 78). The report goes on to describe the movement patterns of Bedouin as connected to the exhaustion of pasture hinting to assumptions of overgrazing and poor land use practices against which Petra must be protected.

The crux of what this imagining of what Bedouin are supposed to be, for the Bedoul⁵, is that they, the Bedoul specifically, must not have a rightful place in Petra, they are nomadic interlopers who wantonly exploit the landscape and the monuments and move on. They are nomads who, for some reason, simply stuck around in Petra longer than they ought to have, leading to that “despoiled, severely exploited land” (USAID1968: 2 in Brand 2001: 964). As nomads *they* can have no *real* connection to the land as sedentary farmers presumably would

⁵ How the Bedoul reckon Bedouin identity will be discussed in chapter 2.

(Al-Mahadin 2007: 92 & 95). Yet, in Jordan's nation building efforts and tourism industry, not to mention in a great deal of scholarly work (Layne 1994: 9) Bedouin are also imagined "as the basis for 'Jordanianness' at the national level" (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96). The national level imagining of Jordan, and Jordanians, as Bedouin presents an image of an homogenous national community that on the one hand essentialises Bedouin, and on the other, positions them against the other most prevalent major nationwide identity- Palestinian (Al-Mahadin 2007: 90). And so, as national signifier, Bedouin find themselves co-opted and turned to the ends of making the Jordanian Palestinian population an alien outsider for the purposes of regime survival (Al-Mahadin 2007: 100). Bedouin are also imagined as authentic representations of the un-alienated pre-modern life, free from the differentiating tendencies of modernity, which tourists seem to need in order to mark the difference between modern and premodern (MacCannell 1976: 12).

So, what has emerged, is a somewhat paradoxical situation in which Bedouin identity (or at least a motivated imagining of Bedouin identity) has on the one hand been laden with a negative valence and used to justify the relocation of the Bedouin out of Petra and various restrictions placed on Bedouin activities in Petra. On the other hand, the same set of signifiers – nomadism, pastoralism, hospitality, apparent pre-modernness – laden with a positive valence, serve as nation building tools and are marketed to tourists as things intrinsically Jordanian, and "authentic". Ironically, the Bedouin, like most Bedouin, only partially, occasionally, and conditionally ever conform/ed to such stereotypical views of Bedouin identity. When moved out of Petra they hadn't been nomads for a few hundred years; and while maintaining herds of goats and some camels, horses and donkeys/mules, were, by most accounts I heard from them, mostly working in tourism. But the image of the destructive nomad worked against them. Now that Bedouin identity is valuable, their non-nomadic way

of life, and the fact that they have worked overwhelmingly in tourism for decades undermines their status as “true” Bedouin to non-Bedouin Jordanians and tourists alike.

Under this grinding weight of a convergence of Lost Cities, monument preservation, environmental protection, displacement, development, nation building, tourism and identity politics the Bedouin struggle to survive. The realities of most of these things are not theirs, or at least not of their making, though they endure the sharp end of their implementation and so have them thrust into their position. Nor do the effects of such implementations quite mesh with the realities of Bedouin life and experience of Petra and tourism; though through these the realities of life Bedouin are manipulated and they are forced to adapt, as Bedouin tend to do, yet again.

Throughout peoples’ every-day experience of life the structural constraints of society impinge upon people and make themselves felt in subtle ways that are usually reduced to individuated concerns; that is to say, through the totalising apparatuses of the state individuals fetishise structural concerns as their own (Foucault 1994: 334). In Petra, structural concerns make themselves felt acutely, and they are not individuated; Bedouin find the basis for the formation of individual subjectivity in the Bedouin tribal system and social life first, the modern nation state of Jordan is an often antagonistic and distant second with the tourism industry and work in Petra mediating between the two. The complaints of many Bedouin in Petra are not just an example of people complaining about “the government” or other effects of other things they can’t really do much about. They are an articulation of the daily struggles they face at the point of the ideological and physical implementation of a host of imaginings of place and people.

For the Bedouin, Petra is no Lost City, it certainly wasn’t discovered by Burkhardt, it is not a despoiled landscape. And for Bedouin Petra is certainly much more than an archaeological

site. For the Bedoul, Petra is home. Likewise, Bedouin are not nomads unconnected to any specific area of land. Bedouin might be nomads, but it is not necessarily a defining, or even particularly important feature of who they are; though it is being turned into one. Crucially, for Bedoul, and indeed Bedouin in general, connection to land is not only a reality but a definite condition of their thousands of years of survival as a distinctly definable group in the Middle East and North Africa.

Yet as Petra has been eviscerated of its Bedouin materiality and memory the Bedoul are also gutted of a crucial aspect of who they are. Place for Bedouin is not constituted by the physicality of the location but by the people who occupy the space (Al-Mahadin 2007: 92).

Al-Mahadin (2007: 92) goes on to state that the

pastoral existence's most striking feature resides then in its relative detachment from bounded space/locale. The Bedouin mechanisms of survival, prior to sedentarisation, had assigned symbolic meaning primarily to the group within which he or she lived, divorced from any differentiating notions of space.

However, I argue that this cuts Bedouin relationships to space short of what they actually are, and potentially leads precisely to the justifications that have enabled governments the world over to displace mobile peoples the world over from their homelands: the assertion that, as nomads, they can't have deep connections to territory.

For the Bedoul Bedouin of Petra space is not simply the stage on which their group solidarities are played out at any given point in time, space is not simply the backdrop to social life, it is an extension of it. The "symbolic meanings" (Al-Mahadin 2007: 92) of the social groups that Bedouin people belong to are *transcribed onto the space that people occupy*. Space and social life are mutually constitutive, and together they constitute particular forms of personhood. Bedoul Bedouin are who they are because of their relationship with

Petra and, until the slow but steady mystification of their relationship with Petra, Petra was as much constituted by the Bedoul. Through the creation of the Lost City, through the creation of the Bedouin as pre-modern nomads for the tourism industry, part of who and what the Bedoul are, is amputated, making a mockery of UNESCO's efforts to protect the "intangible cultural heritage" of the Bedouin; and the life that Petra had prior to the Bedoul's eviction from Petra is extinguished. As Johnathan Shoup (1985: 283), an anthropologist who visited Petra in 1984 just prior to the Bedoul's move out of Petra, noted, "when the Bidul⁶ have all left, Petra will be a dead city".

In this the selective presentation of what Bedouin are meant to be (nomads, pastoralists, premodern and importantly unattached to land), and selective representation of Petra's history (the Nabataeans to Romans, on to Burkhardt then modern Jordan), the many tourists who pass through each year are confronted by Petra as a Lost City. All trace of unauthorised human habitation has been carefully erased, or almost all of it; and the only human habitation deemed acceptable for touristic consumption is that of the Nabataeans, Romans and Byzantines and perhaps some crusaders; the Bedouin don't count. In constructing Petra as a ruined city that was once the centre of ancient civilisations, there is no particular mention of the Bedoul who lived there for centuries, and only cursory acknowledgement of "the Bedouin" who "once lived within the boundaries of the world heritage site" (USAID 2008: 23). The monumental tombs that were formerly the resting places of Nabataean elites, and a Roman governor or two, and homes to the Bedouin, are now empty caverns; some of them are slowly filling with sand, others with garbage. The ground is littered with the rubble of a once thriving ancient city. A few of the free-standing monuments have been re-erected, others, like the great temple, are unearthed by archaeologists; of the free-standing buildings

⁶ This is Shoup's spelling for the Bedoul. Various authors have used different spelling, I prefer Bedoul as it seems to my ear to be the English rendering which fits best the local pronunciation of the word in Arabic.

only the Qasr al-Bint has stood firmly through the earthquakes and changing geopolitical conditions of the ancient world that lead to the city's demise. But the happy little Bedoul community that filled the ruins with life for generations is gone. That Petra only lives on in the sad memories of Bedoul old enough to have lived there and serves as a painful reminder of harder, but happier, times lost.

In Jordan's compartmentalised tourism industry, which erects divisions between the ancient, the biblical and the cultural, Petra fits into the 'ancient', not the 'cultural' where Bedouin are supposed to reside⁷. In this touristic configuration the Bedoul, in Petra, are an anomaly. They are objects of cultural tourism, who do not 'play the role' of touristic Bedouin and they are located in a Lost City that is, due to its status of ancient, supposed to be devoid of a contemporary culture struggling for survival and recognition. It is within this context that Bedoul Bedouin work in the tourism industry in their home of Petra. Faced with both their eviction from the city and the erasure of *their* history in Petra, and their continuing struggle for legitimacy, their right to live and work in the site, their work in tourism takes on aspects that go beyond the necessity of survival, or reinvigoration/re-valuation of their culture and empowerment through mechanisms of the market (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 7).

Bedoul continually try to break tourists out of the authorised tourist zone and incorporate them into their own networks of hospitality and reciprocity. They play the role of Bedoul Bedouin, the Bedouin of Petra, not some sanitised (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96) cultural tourism Bedouin. Their work in tourism is a unique example of an indigenous tourism that plays an important part in the daily political struggle over place. The minutiae of Bedoul interactions with the tourists each day is a reassertion of their presence in Petra, it is a constant struggle to

⁷ Throughout my fieldwork I periodically visited other tourism sites across Jordan and recorded the central themes through which they were presented to tourists and found that they generally focus on one central theme generally conforming to ancient, religious and cultural even where the site could fit into any or even all of those categories.

reassert *Bedoulness* back onto Petra via tourists and the tourism industry with the Petra Authority, UNESCO, the government, and the Beni Layth as audience and adversary.

This thesis seeks to trace the minute workings of a Bedoul vernacular politics through which they struggle to drive home their right to place, their identity as Bedouin and Petra's status as a *Bedoul Bedouin* place in addition to its being a Nabataean and Jordanian place. This place, Petra, has always been more than the ruins and the rubble, the desert and the mountains surrounding it, for the Bedoul. For the Bedouin Petra is part of their personhood, part of their individual and collective identities; it is an intrinsic part of who they are. Yet now Petra has been, is being, constructed, physically and discursively, in very particular ways by the Jordanian state and the various organisations with a stake in Petra. This has changed the ways the Bedoul can relate to Petra, and just what it is they relate to. These changes in Petra also change the social landscape in Petra, they change how people can relate to place, and to each other in that place. And this orders Bedoul life in Petra today.

The struggle for Bedoul is to continually reaffirm their right to Petra, and their rights in Petra. In order to do this, they necessarily use the resources they have at their disposal; namely work in the tourism industry. Bedoul, through the years, have plunged headlong into tourism work. In doing so they have brought tourism work into their own Bedoul way of doing things. They have created a form of tourism along the lines of what is meaningful to them, rather than simply conforming to an economically rational form of tourism industry that has been imposed upon them; this is something they generally avoid conforming to in its totality.

Bedoul resist as best they can the minute (and not so minute) forms of discipline that are exerted upon them and Petra by the various discursive formations operating in the place, when it is tactically expedient to do so. However, this thesis attempts to show how the

Bedouin appropriate elements of the new order that is imposed upon them and Petra, filter it through their own values, ways of doing things, their own logic, and turn it back, strategically, onto that new order as a political weapon. What this thesis seeks to elaborate, is that such an appropriation for the Bedouin, though beginning as a tactic (de Certeau 1998: xix) such re-appropriation, through incorporation into the Bedouin Bedouins' social logic which itself is prior to that new order imposed on Petra, is turned back as a political weapon in the form of strategy (de Certeau 1998: xix).

For de Certeau (ibid) strategy is the domain, and preserve, of institutions, of networks of power, and becomes possible when such "can be isolated from an 'environment'" (ibid). Strategy "assumes a place that can be circumscribed as *proper*" (ibid, emphasis original), from which relationships with entities exterior to it can be generated. As such, strategy suggests an overarching locus within which a unified system of power may deploy a network of discipline, and by extension, shape external relations. To put it bluntly, and perhaps simplistically, strategy is the domain of the state, its institutions, organisations within it, and systems of authority. As such, the Petra Authority, is the primary strategic organisation in Petra. But, the Bedouin too, as the people who overlaid their presence and culturally generated understandings of place, and who shaped their own, and Petra's, fortunes in the face of allies and adversaries exterior to themselves and Petra, themselves constitute a locus of strategy.

Tactic, on the other hand is without a "proper ... spatial or institutional localisation" (ibid) and so also without the border dividing self from other. And so, nor does the tactical colonise space and take it over, rather it operates in a fragmentary way undergirded by no unified ground from which to challenge the imposition and exercises of power (ibid). Without place, "a tactic depends on time-it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be 'sized on the wing.' ... The weak must continually turn to their own ends forces alien to them" (ibid). de Certeau (ibid) notes that many everyday practices are tactical. These "ways of operating"

(ibid) are “victories of the ‘weak’ over the ‘strong’ (whether the strength be that of powerful people or the violence of things or of an imposed order, etc.), clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, ‘hunter’s cunning,’ maneuvers (sic), polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries poetic as well as warlike” (ibid).

Tactics are the preserve of the weak who have a unified, strategic, order imposed upon them, who do their best to struggle within it by taking from it what they need, and try to evade the imposition of what they don’t. In Petra today the place of the Bedoul (particularly in relation to the tourism industry and the Petra Authority) appears tactical. And indeed, much of the Bedoul’s day to day activity takes a tactical form. But, I argue, because they have a prior strategic stake in Petra, they also have the wherewithal to turn back their tactically garnered impositions in strategic form.

Some Notes on Fieldwork & Methodology.

Time/s of My Fieldwork.

I first met members of the Abu Mohammed family in 2007 while I was in Jordan attending an Australian National University short Arabic language course as part of my major in Arabic. Myself and some other ANU students were introduced to the family by yet another ANU student living in Jordan at the time. We spent the better part of a week travelling around the desert in southern Jordan with them, and it was at this stage that the idea for this research was born. Initially it started off as a simple question about how the Bedoul merge work in tourism with their pre-tourism related work, and the effects of tourism work on perceptions of their status as Bedouin.

Eventually, with the completion of my Bachelor and Honours and the beginning of my PhD in 2010, I returned to Jordan, and Petra in May 2011 to do what I hoped would be 18 months of fieldwork with the Bedouin. Immediately I set about following up contact with people at the University of Jordan, obtaining the necessary research permissions from the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities and the Petra Authority, and not least of all, re-establishing my acquaintance with members of the Abu Mohammed family in Umm Sayhoun.

Of this process the only part that went smoothly was reacquainting myself with the Abu Mohammed family. People at the university told me that had I gone to the university as soon as I arrived they could have helped me with various things, even given me an office (it was only after I pointed out to them that I had arrived in the country less than 24 hours before, and they were the first people I had come to talk to, that I realised they were really telling me they didn't *want* to help me without actually stating the fact). The people at the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities told me I had to talk to people in the Petra Authority, and that they couldn't help me. And after I arrived in Wadi Musa the people at the Petra Authority told me I had to return to Amman and talk to people in the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities to get research permission (who told me again that I had to talk to people in the Petra Authority).

Once I had finally gained permission to do research from the Petra Authority and moved into a vacant apartment in the Abu Mohammed family's block of houses, I started my fieldwork. However, on the second day of Ramadan, Tuesday 2nd of August 2011, what was become a pivotal moment in not only my research, but my life generally, occurred. After a trip to the Bedouin camp at al-Batah the day before, I developed a sickness that nearly killed me. Basma came home and found me delirious and feverish and had Rashd rush me to the doctor. The upshot if it all was, that once I recovered somewhat from my sickness my immune system was ruined. All the same, I managed to complete 14 of my anticipated 18 months of fieldwork. What eventually sent me home early was my inability to retain a visa

any further without the commissioner of the Petra Authority vouching for me, which by that stage he was absolutely not going to do (below I discuss why in time).

Upon my return to Canberra on the 28th of September 2012, my ruined immune system would catch up with me when, after (stupidly) lifting inappropriately, I injured my back. The combination of injured back and bad immune system enabled a bacterial infection to get into my lower spine and gradually over the next 6 to 7 years of non-diagnosis ruin my back. And hence the elongated nature of the write-up of this thesis. Yet, happily, after a mammoth course of antibiotics, and gradual physiotherapy and regaining my fitness, I have managed to *mostly* overcome the effects of my illness and injury. What needs to be noted by my readers however, is that there *has* been an unusually extended lapse in time between my fieldwork and the completion of this dissertation. As such there has been some change in life in Petra, as well as the appointment of a new commissioner. Time moves on....

Gender.

One of the things that might strike readers as unusual, perhaps even somewhat jarring, about this thesis is that it is written from an overwhelmingly masculine point of view. The vast majority of my research participants are male, the majority of people I could observe, spend time with, in Petra and the village of Umm Sayhoun, were men; as am I. When I initiated my fieldwork in the northern summer of 2011, though in a long-term relationship, I was, all the same, unmarried. Going into the Bedouin Sunni Muslim community of Petra, this meant that I was from the outset restricted in who I could interact with, who I could spend time with, and who would and wouldn't be likely to participate in my research.

The Bedouin community of Petra, like Muslim communities across the Arab World, maintain certain, and varying, degrees of gender segregation. What this meant for me as an unmarried man was that the opportunity to spend time with women, to get their point of view,

was limited; not to mention that, as a man, my comprehension of that point of view would be, no doubt, perhaps somewhat limited. Had I remained something of an outsider throughout my time in Petra I possibly could have tried to work around local gender relations and claim ignorance (and that is assuming that the women with whom I shouldn't interact with so casually themselves would be willing to talk to me, which is doubtful) yet to do so would have entrenched my outsider status. Given the political and economic tension between the inhabitants of Petra and Wadi Musa, and the 'bad press' the Bedouin were getting from a handful of tourists and a reporter at the time, such a situation would have made my research untenable. In short, to do my research, the Bedouin had to trust me.

Fairly shortly after arriving in the community I was taken in by the family of Dreybeyah Abu Mohammed al-Jdelāt al-Bedoul⁸. I had met most of the Abu Mohammed family in 2007 and spent a short time with them then so I wasn't a total stranger to them. About three months after my arrival in the village I was told to make a decision on which family (sub clan) of the Bedouin I was to become. Though I had friends among all of the families, and at that time actually knew more, and was closer to, members of the Mūwassa family than the al-Jdelāt family, since I lived with Abu Mohammed al-Jdelāt, I decided to be al-Jdelāt.

It was at this point that Dreybeyah and Basma took me as an adopted son, and I was given the name Auda Dreybeyah Abu Mohammed al-Jdelāt. It was also at this point that I was taken aside by my adoptive brother, Abdallah, who in his cheerful and joking way made it very seriously clear to me that I was now part of their *khamisa*⁹ and so was mutually responsible for the honour, reputation and behaviour of the whole family, just as they were all mutually responsible for mine. And so, I was warned that any misbehaviour on my part

⁸ All names of living people are pseudonyms except for one person whose identity would be impossible to disguise. The names of people who were dead, or people who died, during my fieldwork are their real names.

⁹ Kindred mutually descended from a common ancestor five generations in the past.

would reflect upon, and bring possible repercussions for, them all. In other words, I was told to behave myself.

Once I had been taken in by the Abu Mohammed family it made my relationship to many people through the community fairly clear, and for me it gradually allowed me to understand who was who and how they were related, and how they were now related to me. This also opened up to me a family life that I wouldn't have otherwise seen; and enabled me to relate to many women as son, brother, cousin and nephew which, to various degrees, allowed me a glimpse into a part of life in Petra that I otherwise wouldn't have seen much of at all. Additionally, I did eventually manage to spend much time with, mostly, elderly women throughout Petra as they tended their stalls. This was permissible mainly because it was in public, and because many of these women became, to a degree, my aunts.

Yet, all the same, factors conspired to shape my fieldwork, and the subsequent product of that fieldwork, in such a way that it is written with less of a female voice than what is perhaps expected in anthropology today. There has, up to now, never been an ethnography written (or at least published) about the Bedouin Bedouin; this work is only a step along the path. I think, were it feasible, what is needed is for someone who could see into the areas of the community I couldn't access, goes to Petra to do further research, and provide a more nuanced account of those areas of life than I was able.

Officialdom.

Another, and obvious, gap in my research relates to the official bodies which have a stake in regulating Petra and the surrounding communities. The main organisation controlling Petra is the Petra Authority (PA) which is an independent arm of the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. After initial introductions to some members of the Petra Authority, and

primarily its Commissioner, I was given permission to do research, and permission to enter Petra on a monthly basis. After my initial month I was summoned to the commissioner's office and quizzed about how my research was going. It was also suggested that "so the Petra Authority could help the Bedouin", I should hand over all of my data. I was also instructed to broaden the scope of my research to include the Beni Layth community of Wadi Musa. Then I was given another month of access to Petra after which this process was repeated; after the second interview with the commissioner my access to Petra was extended for three months.

On my next meeting with the commissioner, he repeated his request for my raw data, "so they could help the Bedouin". I explained to the commissioner my obligations to my research participants and their confidentiality under the Australian National University's Human Research Ethics policy and hence my subsequent inability to furnish him with my data; I did however promise to send him regular and detailed reports on my research, which I faithfully did. I also pointed out that though my initial research plan was to spend time with many more people than just the Bedouin, my supervisory panel recommended I restrict it to one community: that of the Bedouin in Petra. In the earlier stages of my research, he was willing to accept that as sufficient, and at that point he grudgingly gave me another month in Petra. Our next meeting, however, was to be far less cordial.

At about the five-to-six-month mark in my fieldwork I returned to the Petra Authority commissioner's office hoping to renew my permission to enter Petra. The commissioner angrily demanded that I hand over to him, personally, all of my data; he said that he wanted to know what the Bedouin were saying about him and the Petra Authority. I reiterated to him that I couldn't give him my data and so betray the trust of my research participants¹⁰. He told

¹⁰ Given the usually acrimonious relationship between the Bedouin and the Petra Authority, and their attitudes towards that particular commissioner himself, had I handed over my data I have no doubt it would have led to my ostracism from the community.

me that until I gave him my data, he wouldn't give me permission to enter Petra. This marked the end of any relationship I had, or could have had, with the Petra Authority and was the last time, despite my efforts, that I had any significant interaction with its staff. It shut down a whole area of potential research and a source of information about the day-to-day regulation, operation and administration of Petra, the surrounding region and the tourists that visit. It also cut me off from one of my most important fieldsites, Petra. Yet, in Jordan's tangled webs of bureaucracy and *wasta* there are always more than a couple of ways to 'skin a cat'; it wasn't the end of my research.

As for the other regulatory bodies in Petra? Whenever I visited the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities in Amman, I was always sent back to the Petra Authority in Wadi Musa. And unfortunately, my attempts to engage with UNESCO, USAID and The Petra National Trust were also fruitless¹¹. Though I received polite emails from various secretaries assuring me that people were happy to talk to me, any follow-up I made ended in dead ends. In the end, I had to work with what I had, and that was the Bedoul and their trust. Perhaps my naiveté put me in such a situation, perhaps a more experienced fieldworker could have done a much better job of managing their relationship with officialdom. On the upside however, at least by making myself as unpopular with the Petra Authority as the Bedoul themselves are, it showed the Bedoul they could trust me.

Methods & Methodology.

I will never forget the feeling of being at such a loss as when I had moved into the village, set up my home, sat at my desk cross legged on the floor and wondered 'what now?' How does one actually *do* fieldwork? In that moment, seemingly alone, so far from home and all

¹¹ I might be being paranoid but I have a sneaking suspicion that I was blacklisted by Petra's commissioner.

that is familiar, the feeling of isolation is palpable, as was my feeling that I had absolutely no idea of what I was doing. As immediately as I could I went into Petra simply to get to know the site. In the process of doing that I got to know people. I started to look for patterns, things like what kinds of shops were where, who worked in them, who the animal guides were, where they worked, what kinds of animals they used; all of these things were apprehensible fairly quickly.

From here I developed a kind of methodology that was free flowing and open. I would just see where the Bedoul took me, figuratively and literally. Though I would analyse my data every other day¹² and look for patterns to follow up on in an effort to learn why and how people did things, usually my efforts to steer my research in definite directions came right off the rails. The Bedoul I interacted with fairly quickly made their mind up about what I should research and why. I simply ‘went with the flow’ as it were.

As I got to know Petra, I also got to know more and more people who worked and lived there. Gradually I formed friendships with a very diverse segment of the community. This led me to opportunities to sit and talk with people, to join them in their work guiding tourists, with donkeys, mules and camels. Mainly through members of the Abu Mohammed family, I had the opportunity to join in their guiding and camping trips outside of the Petra region. I also became close to a few of the people who operate licenced tour companies in the Bedouin village.

The range of work I became involved in was quite diverse. I did a reasonable amount of donkey guiding. I wasn’t particularly successful economically from this. Most tourists were completely confused as to why another guy who looked like a tourist was offering to guide

¹² I’m sure that from the Bedoul point of view I seemed to develop a sleeping disorder whereby I spent every second day asleep locked in my house- it was the only way I could find to have the time to process my data; nor did it help that eventually I did develop a sleeping disorder for real.

them through Petra on a donkey. Many of the Bedouin thought it was pretty funny though. It did however give me a deep understanding of how all aspects of guiding with donkeys and mules worked, as well as its importance beyond purely economic ends. I also did a fair amount of camel guiding too. Camel guiding is much more restricted than donkey guiding, and is regulated; and as a camel guide I seemed much more convincing to tourists than as a donkey guide for some strange reason.

I spent many hours sitting at peoples' shops talking with them. As we talked, taking notes was impractical, it was totally distracting for people (it was also impossible while riding around on a camel or a donkey, much less hiking up a mountainside). I would furtively jot down notes as they served customers. Likewise, audio or visual recording was out of the question, particularly early on. Some of the Bedouin had, shortly before my arrival in the village, allowed some tourists and a reporter film and record them. The photos, video and audio were then published online and used to represent the Bedouin in a very bad light. As a result, none of my research participants were willing to allow me to record audio of our conversations; eventually many people did allow me to film them, however. The range of our conversations though varied, was always 'organic'; any efforts of mine to steer conversations towards topics I thought important were usually futile. My conversations with people led me in directions they thought important and so have had the effect of leading me to my data and the results of this research.

I did a great deal of tourism related work with people in Petra and beyond. I also expanded my range of activity outside Petra too, as well as outside of tourism. This was a fortunate consequence of the Petra Authority's commissioner banning me from Petra. I managed to gain an appreciation of the wide range of non-tourism economic activity that the Bedouin engage in. From farming, fruit production, goat and sheep pastoralism, horse, donkey, mule and camel trading, production of dairy products, capturing of birds of prey for sale, hunting,

production, acquisition and sale of antiquities (real and fake)..... the list is all but endless; Bedoul will find a way to make a living from almost anything.

There are a number of large, licenced tour companies run from the village and I was also able to work in some of these companies. I primarily worked in typing up tour itineraries, made quotes for tours, and helped in some website design too. On a couple of occasions, I was able to act in the capacity of a sort of assistant guide for them too.

The overall effect of my tracking of people's work was to eventually see a web of interrelated activities, all operated along the lines of an individual enterprise, but with connections through resources to other individual enterprises. It was my place in a Bedouin family, and participation in family life, in things like wedding negotiations (as an observer), as well as weddings themselves (as a participant), funerals and so on, and even harvesting olives from the family's olive trees, that enabled me to see how economic activities were mapped onto kin and extended-kin networks.

The way I conducted my fieldwork, each day with an idea of what I thought might be important, going into Petra and in the end letting the Bedoul lead me where they would, has also led to the presentation of my research in this thesis. I regarded every interaction I had in Petra, every detail I saw, heard, smelt, the way people dressed, spoke, as social and cultural strata under which the artefact of my research was buried. As I conducted participant observation, interviews, took genealogies, I also traced the minutiae of behaviour from which I extracted my information. This constituted the stratigraphy of my anthropological excavations; and that stratigraphy proved to be as richly endowed with information as the artefacts I drew from it.

This has led to the narrative style in which I have written this thesis. I have had to write up my analysis weaving literature and theory with segments of complete stratigraphy recorded

as-is in Petra in order to contextualise my conclusions. For, in the end, it was what the Bedouls couldn't always articulate to me in plain speaking, or obviously explainable behaviour, that led me to an understanding of their connection to Petra, their struggle to hold on to their homeland and its relationship with their ways of work and life generally. It was the unspoken, un-noticed, the taken for granted, surrounding everything they did and said, the oft discarded sociocultural stratigraphic detritus, that finally came to be the subject of this thesis. And it is, presented in full, herein for others to dig through too.

Another feature of the thesis that relates to its presentation, and one I have struggled with from the day I started trying to write it, is the ordering of the various elements of my argument and related subject matters, and the literature dealing with those various subject matters. Like a Bedouin social/lineage structure, everything that relates to life in Petra is, to the eye of an outsider, completely mixed up, convoluted and confusing. Initially I tried to present an encapsulation of the argument and a traditional-type literature review here in the introduction; but after about four or five iterations of that, I abandoned that idea and decided to present ethnographic/context details, concepts and literature as I came to each subject through the entire thesis. This has led to a couple of issues (which I have come to the conclusion are the lesser of two evils) that readers may find with the thesis.

The first issue is that some background information and literature may seem to be lacking in the earlier stages of the thesis. For example, it might not be entirely clear how the Bedouls came to live on the ridge of Umm Sayhoun and so be in possession of land that actually belonged to their adversaries, the Hassanat clan of the Beni Layth (it was appropriated for the purposes of building the village by the Jordanian state). Another example might be that, here in the introduction, a reader may be none the wiser what a Bedouin actually even is (dealt with in chapter 2). For me, having lived in Umm Sayhoun, this stuff became self-evident, and I have relied on my advisory panel to make me aware of where further explanation is

required; I hope I have managed to go some way towards addressing their concerns and apologise for where I have fallen short. For literature, for example surrounding the Bedoul (of which there is not an enormous amount), I have endeavoured to address it as it becomes a major factor in the argument (again, in chapter 2). Unfortunately, this does (due to the second issue which I will address presently) have a tendency to leave questions unanswered, even if temporarily, as I present my argument.

The second issue that I foresee as being a little problematic for a reader is that there is a bit of repetition throughout the thesis that I have discovered, despite my best efforts, I can't cut without compromising the presentation of various issues. This is probably exacerbated by the fact that the Bedoul, young and old, woman and man, made it abundantly clear to me that *they knew* what I should be researching, and reiterated it often. This meant that what I got from them was consistently repetitive too. Even without repetition in the information I was gaining from my research community, in a community where kinship, politics, economic action and a connection to hearth, home and homeland are all intimately entwined, interconnected and mutually constitutive, separating out subject matter and presenting it without significant repetition proved to be a task beyond my limited abilities. All I can do is apologise again, beg some indulgence from my readers, and perhaps, some forgiveness too.

Thesis Structure.

Chapter two charts the interlaced history of Petra and the Bedoul, as well as literature, bringing readers up to date concerning the present situation¹³ in the Bedouin Village of Umm Sayhoun and in Petra. I will discuss the process that the Bedouin went through in being moved out of the Petra Archaeological Park and some issues concerning the creation of the village of Umm Sayhoun. In chapter two I will also address issues surrounding the way

¹³ Or at least the situation as it was in 2011 and 2012 when I did my fieldwork.

Bedouin have been conceptualised throughout these processes by various people involved. Bedouin have, for a very long time, been essentialised as both nomads and pastoralists (Layne 1994: 13), and in a similar essentialising way the ruins and landscape of Petra have been (by various experts and organisations¹⁴) perceived and then discursively constructed as degraded, in danger of ruination, and so in need of protection.

Such understandings, or perhaps misunderstandings, of Bedouin and Petra feed into and reinforce the policies that saw the Bedouin removed from Petra. They feed and reinforce the creation of Petra as a Lost City (see chapter three) and the perception that the Bedouin, as Bedouin, and thus nomads, can have no place in Petra. And they feed and reinforce the touristic treatment of both Bedouin and Petra that underlies the struggle that the Bedouin engage in to reassert their right to Petra and the means by which they prosecute that struggle.

In chapter three I will describe the process through which Petra has come to be transformed from a Bedouin village to a Lost City and monument. With the removal of most of the Bedouin from Petra, Petra underwent a process of physical and ideological development that not only turns it into a particular type of place, narrowing possible alternative readings of what it could be, but also narrows the parameters of the sociality permissible within the site leaving only sociality related to archaeology and tourism as valid. Such narrowing undermines the legitimacy of much of the life that went on in Petra before it was turned into a Lost City.

Yet the Bedouin too have been shaped in specific ways. As Petra was narrowed to little more than ancient capital of the Nabataeans, so too were the Bedouin narrowed, through nationalistic and tourism discourses, to be national signifiers for Jordan (Layne 1994; Al-

¹⁴ USAID for example USAID: 1968. United States Agency for International Development. *Master Plan for the Protection and Use of the Petra National Park*. Washington DC: USAID. in Brand, Laurie A. 2001. 'Displacement for Development? The Impacts of Changing State-Society Relations' in *World Displacement*. 2001. 29(6): 961-976.

Mahadin 2007). The dual process of reduction has the effect of splitting Petra and the Bedouin conceptually apart from one another. The split then feeds into the way Petra is managed and especially into the everyday encounters between the Bedouin and the thousands of tourists that flow through Petra each year.

Chapter four draws from the work of Marc Augé (1995) to discuss the transformation of Petra from what he called an anthropological place to a non-place that I argue has taken place as the Bedouin were removed from their land and Petra was constructed as a Lost City and marketed to tourists. In chapter four I also discuss issues of Bedouin sociality and personhood that make the Bedouin and Petra mutually constitutive of each other. I argue that for Bedouin their constructions/understandings of place are intrinsic to their understandings and construction of personhood; they are fluid, gendered, and slide between scales of public and private and are intimately bound together.

This Bedouin understanding and construction of place and the people in it is contrasted to the ideological, and physical, construction of Petra as a Lost City and is the foundation of the Bedouin challenge to all that would see them driven out of their homeland. However, the Bedouin don't come out of such a construction of Petra unscathed. For a people so intimately intertwined with their place on the land, to change the nature of the land, is, too, to change the nature of the people themselves.

In chapter five, through the narrative, I chart Bedouin involvement in the tourism industry in Petra and highlight some of the tensions between the tourists and Bedouin. I also develop the Bedouin's *apparently* touristically situated presence in Petra, as opposed to their own understandings of their place in Petra. The convergence of: Petra archaeologically constructed, and then touristically marketed as a Lost City, and then: the apparently purely

touristic and exploitative¹⁵ presence of the Bedoul in Petra, unite to create a form of sociality in Petra that serves to reinforce the conceptual split of the Bedoul from Petra.

Yet Bedoul are forced, by the sheer struggle for survival, to work within this sociological situation in Petra. Bedoul everyday go into Petra, engage with tourists, and have to, at least to a fair degree, conform to what the Petra Authority will allow them to do. In doing this the Bedoul themselves submit themselves to the prevailing disciplinary restrictions of the tourism industry and so, to some degree, set themselves up in the very image that undermines their presence in Petra.

In chapter six I describe the ways in which Bedoul Bedouin reconfigure tourism to conform to the values that they hold dear, operate in ways that are meaningful to themselves rather than in strictly profit driven terms and adapt it to suit their needs in terms of reiterating their connection to Petra. Bedoul Bedouin frequently operate in tourism in ways that not only don't make much economic sense if maximisation of profit is one's aim, but their way of doing tourism often even costs them money as they spend money buying tourists food and water, and even engage in tour guiding for free.

Rather, Bedoul work in tourism in ways that draw tourism, and invite tourists, into a vision of Petra as the Bedoul *dira* (their tribal territory) instead of the Petra Archaeological Park and a Lost City. This mode of operation positions the Bedoul as *hosts* and *protectors*, and the tourists as *guests* instead of service providers and customers respectively. It is only the Bedoul who have the right to work unrestricted in Petra as Bedoul *dira*, and I argue that in working in tourism in these ways imposes, for the Bedoul if not necessarily the tourists, a deliberately Bedouin framework in the tourism industry in Petra. Importantly this process also emphasises the Bedouls' collective belonging in Petra as, according to the breakup of

¹⁵ Many people, tourists and Jordanian alike, think that the Bedoul are in Petra for no other reason than to exploit tourists.

territory in the Petra region, it is only the Bedoul who can claim the right of host and protector in Petra; as such, by working in tourism in such ways the Bedoul are going beyond making money to survive but also enacting and practicing their belonging in Petra, and Petra's belonging to them.

In chapter seven I get to the crux of the way and the why of Bedoul Bedouin's work in the tourism industry. They do of course work in tourism in order to gain an income, and they do this with ideas of maximising their income compared to expenditure of effort to earn that income, yet so much of what they do goes beyond economic concerns that simple economics can't explain it alone. In chapter six I note how Bedoul reiterate their belonging in and to Petra, that is only the beginning of the process, for Bedoul don't need to reiterate that belonging in a vacuum, they do so in relation to the Petra Authority which manages Petra, and their Beni Layth neighbours in the town of Wadi Musa.

It is the two groups, the Petra Authority (as the primary managing body of Petra) and the Beni Layth of Wadi Musa that together pose the two most immediate challenges to the Bedoul's belonging in Petra. However, the Petra Authority and the Beni Layth are not entirely separate political organisations. In Jordan, where government structures and inter-group political action are merged through the *wasta* system (Al-Ramahi 2008: 37), government structures can often be seen as conduits for partisan politics; and it is the Bedoul's contention that the Beni Layth, long in a better position to gain employment in local government (Shoup 1985: 286) including the Petra Authority, turn the Petra Authority towards the furtherance of their own ends at the expense of the Bedoul.

It is in this wider social and political context that I argue that Bedoul work throughout the tourism industry in Petra in the ways that they do. They utilise tourism to reiterate their belonging to and in Petra as a political counter to their neighbours' utilisation of the Petra

Authority to prosecute their aims. And hence I argue that Bedouin tourism work in Petra is, for them, at base a profoundly politically meaningful exercise.

Chapter 2: The Bedoul Bedouin of Petra.

Goats were bleating overhead as Rashd and I rode donkeys down to the cave where Salamah Sāmahyn, the oldest person in Petra, lived on the road to Stoh. Looking up as we approached Salamah's home, we could see a small herd of goats leaping and bounding over the façade of the ancient Nabataean tomb, perched on the tiniest of ledges, around twenty meters off the ground, frolicking in the sun. Salamah shuffled out to greet us dragging a *farāsha*¹⁶ along behind him and was accompanied by a grand, or great/great, grandchild. Salamah was reputed to be 125 years old and was by far the oldest of the Bedouin. People guessed that 125 was probably a bit *too* old, and since there were no records of just when he was born everyone pieced together his age from memories of the great events that he had seen and guessed him to be between 105 and 110 years old.



Salamah Sāmahyn

Salamah stood, perhaps, a little more than five feet tall and was dressed in a tattered old grey *dishdāsh*¹⁷ and an old, chequered vest. His feet and head were bare, he had a thin tuft of grey-white fuzzy hair encircling his head, and his face was scored with deep lines, especially his brow and around his eyes, that gave him a stony appearance. On his bare right foot, we could see the famous stump of his big toe.

¹⁶ A *farāsha* is small thin foam mattress ranging between, perhaps, 3-5cm thick, 40cm wide and anywhere from 150cm to 200cm long. They are typically covered in some sort of printed cotton cloth and are universally used as lounges and beds around the home. Along with a pot of sugary tea and little glasses a *farāsha* is usually among the first things produced for guests when they come to visit.

¹⁷ Ankle length shirt typically worn by men in many Arab countries, also called a *dishdāsha* or *Thoub*.

As a youngster, only in his 80s, he was bitten on the toe by a snake and decided to amputate it with his *shabriya*¹⁸ to stop the poison spreading. After the amputation he heated the blade of his *shabriya* red-hot in a fire and cauterised the wound to stop the bleeding. Though small, he had the reputation for being tough, a ‘real Bedouin’.

Salamah was born in Petra and had lived there his entire life. He had faint memories of Ottoman times and seeing the Great Arab Revolt come through the region and the creation of modern Jordan. His cave was much as it was when all the Bedouin still lived in Petra, very simple with minimal furnishings, Salamah didn’t even have a door, just a curtain in the tomb’s entrance. His only furnishings were a few old 44-gallon drums with the tops cut off and a few old suitcases, all used for storage, some *farāshas* that served as couches and his bed, and he had some blankets. Though perhaps short on material possessions Salamah and his late wife Hathra had raised six children in Petra, one daughter and five sons, his oldest surviving child being a son of 75, and he now had more grand, great-grand (and so on) children than he could count; he and Hathra had left quite a legacy. Since she died, he had lived alone in his cave, looked after by the family of one of his sons who lives in another cave nearby.

Rashd and I had ridden over from the village to talk with Salamah about life in Petra before the tourists, before Jordan, and about what he, and the other Bedouin, did when he was young. Salamah and his gently fading memories were a living testament to a growing body of literature that has conceptually pulled Bedouin out of the desert, out of nomadism, and contextualised them as an integral part of the societies, and economies, of West Asia and North Africa (Marx 2006: 78, 81, 82). This literature also recounts the great diversity of Bedouin ways of life and the immense flexibility and adaptability of Bedouin social

¹⁸ A form of general purpose dagger popular in Jordan, it has a straighter and more narrow blade than the more commonly known broad and deeply curved *Jimbiya* popular on the Arab Peninsular.

structures that has enabled them to live on as a discernible social group through momentous changes that have gripped their part of the world (Fabietti 2006: 582; Rowe 2006: 599).

Pastoralism and nomadism, certainly a major aspect of Bedouin life and their economies, are, and always have been, only but aspects of those economies.

Bedouin have always been more than simply desert dwelling pastoralists (Chatty 2006a: 25) and have maintained multi resource economic systems for a very long time and continue to do so today (Chatty 2006a: 10, 25; Chatty 2010: 25; Fabietti 2006: 582; Rowe 2006: 603; Mier & Tsoar 1996: 48). Further, as Rowe (2006: 616) has demonstrated for Bedouin in Jordan's northeast, that as economic conditions become more complex or harder¹⁹ the multi resource economic strategies which they deploy become more sophisticated as do the uses they make of the resources available to them. This is certainly the case among the Bedouin of Petra too. This literature is also giving Bedouin their rightful place on the ranges, in the steppe and deserts that have provided them with many of the resources upon which they have depended for a very long time.

As ecosystems are coming to be understood as a result of particular historical circumstances, which include their relationship with human populations, people like Bedouin are coming to be seen as an integral part of those ecosystems, a key component of their development and functioning (Chatty & Colchester 2002: 8); and the same has been said of the Bedouin of Petra (Koorring & Simms 1995: 6). According to Chatty (2006a: 2), there is growing evidence that pastoralism is not the source of environmental degradation and desertification it is often assumed to be (Mier & Tsoar 1996: 40). Pastoralism practiced by people like Bedouin is actually better adapted to environmental conditions than "western ranching or agricultural

¹⁹ Rowe's (2006:615) work was conducted at a time when the Jordanian government stopped providing livestock feed subsidies which caused a period of considerable economic stress before livestock markets stabilised.

systems” (Chatty 2006a: 2). Kooring and Simms (1995: 6), discussing the position of the Bedoul in Petra, place them not only as “part of the landscape” but also as participating in a Bedouin rendition of ancient Nabataean land use practices. They note the way that the Bedoul used the remnants of Nabataean infrastructure, such as threshing floors, and farmland in their own agricultural production (Kooring & Simms 1995: 6-7). The old assumptions held of Bedouin as nomads who are unconnected to any particular area of land, who are destructive, wasteful and exploit the land until it is turned into a desert and then move on (Chatty 2002: 236; Chatty 2003: 87, 90; Chatty 2006a: 12; Chatty 2006b: 500; Meir & Tsoar 1996: 40; Bocco 2006: 324), are soundly challenged by this research.

This literature presents a fine-grained account of the complexity of Bedouin ways of life; it shows them diverse in their livelihood strategies, and varying in their mobility and sedentism. Bedouin are equipped with social structures that support such diversity and they are generally in possession of knowledge that enables them to live off the land in sustainable ways. Yet Bedouin, and the Bedoul like Bedouin across the Arab World, live every day with the consequences of their categorisation (by the state for example) as destructive nomadic pastoralists and the various economic, development and conservation projects that have been formulated to deal with them. Bocco (2006: 308) states, in the context of sedentarisation programmes, that such development initiatives, established by governments and international agencies, “reveal the representations these experts have of nomadic pastoralism”. Bocco (2006: 308) continues saying that “by masking their pre-established conceptions with sociological jargon, the experts transformed them into scientific postulates which were then used to justify or support development activities”.

Chatty (2003: 87) provides a striking example of the situation described by Bocco above in her discussion of environmental protection initiatives in the Syrian steppe and rangelands dating from the 1960s. From this time “the language of environmental degradation,

desertification and overgrazing entered the political vocabulary of technicians, diplomats and politicians alike” and Chatty (2003: 91) documents the process through which these assumptions underpinned the policies that were applied to the landscape, and people, of the Syrian steppe “without any empirical studies or baseline data from which to judge” the conditions pertaining on the steppe at the time; “no scientific study was ever undertaken to determine whether or not the rangeland was overgrazed or suffered from ‘desertification’” (Chatty 2003: 93). The pre-established representations of pastoralist people held by technicians and others involved with protecting the Syrian steppe’s ecosystems were applied uncritically and used to formulate policies which restricted Bedouin access to great areas of their traditional rangeland (Chatty 2003: 95).

Leading up to the displacement of the Bedouin from Petra the Bedouin were treated in a manner consistent with the cases presented by Bocco and Chatty. Brand (2001: 964), discussing the process through which the Jordanian Government moved the Bedouin out of Petra in the 1980s, quotes the 1968 USAID report which first tabled the potential for Petra to serve as a lucrative source of income for Jordan’s economic development. According to the USAID (1968: 22 in Brand 2001: 964) report Petra was:

a despoiled, severely exploited land, long abused by the combined forces of man and the natural forces of wind, water, and gravity, this area comprising approximately 122 square kilometres is today the range of sedentary Bedouin tribes who with their goats, guns, plows, and their endless quest for antiquities are, without malice, quickly converting this area to a wasteland ultimately fit for neither Bedouin nor tourist.

As with the Syrian case discussed by Chatty (2003: 93) above one wonders a) how the Bedouin survived in Petra for (according to their own estimates) up to 6 hundred years if they were so quickly turning Petra and its surrounds into a wasteland; and b) just what did the authors of the USAID report take as a basis for comparison to the state of Petra in the 1960s.

The characterisation of Petra and the surrounding countryside as ecologically damaged without explanation or qualification is a feature that continues more recently as well, for example see Abu Tayeh and Mustafa (2011: 89). However, another feature of work on Petra and its people is exemplified by the 2008 USAID-Jordan: *Jordan Tourism Development in the Petra Region* interpretive plan. There is no mention of the Bedouin of Petra specifically. All of the local inhabitants, Bedouin and farmers alike, are conflated as “Bedouin Tribes” irrespective of tribal affiliation or competing claims to Bedouin identity or identification.

This conflation of all local groups in the Petra region is also a trend found in literature seeking to make sense of various impacts of tourism. For Alhasanat (2010) and Alhasanat and Hyasat (2011) all residents of the Petra region are collapsed into the category of “Petraians” and for Alrwajfah, Almeida-Garcia and Cortes-Macias (2019), drawing on data from six different communities in the region (Alrwajfah, Almeida-Garcia & Cortes-Macias 2019: 7), everyone living in the region are simply “residents” of Petra. Likewise, Haddad, Harahsheh and Boluk (2019) note that they are writing on the attitudes towards tourism held by the Bedouin of Petra. They draw on the work of, among others, Shoup (1985), Kooring and Simms (1995), Abu Tayeh and Mustafa (2011) and Alhasanat (2010) to make general statements about Bedouin attitudes towards the various impacts of Tourism. While Shoup, Kooring and Simms, and Abu Tayeh and Mustafa make explicit reference to the different groups, the uneven impact of tourism on them and the acrimonious relations among the different groups, Alhasanat, if one were of a slightly cynical disposition, might be thought to deliberately elide these same differences.

For Alhasanat (2010), Alhasanat and Hyasat (2011), Alrwajfah, Almeida-Garcia and Cortes-Macias (2019) and Haddad, Harahsheh and Boluk (2019), as with the 2008 USAID report, there is no acknowledgement that there were differential impacts upon the various different

local groups around Petra²⁰ with the Bedouin suffering the most trauma and dislocation from Petra's conversion to a tourist attraction (Shoup 1985: 283). All locals are categorised as Bedouin, local residents, or "Petraians", who are characterised as the passive victims of the pernicious effects of tourist behaviour (Alhasanat 2010: 376; Alhasanat & Hyasat 2011: 146; Haddad, Harahsheh & Boluk 2019: 502-504). The Bedouin (and even all Jordanians) are also characterised as "Muslims, conservative and traditional" (Haddad, Harahsheh & Boluk 2019: 504) and so can only have their culture damaged by contact with tourism. In addition to this tendency to conflate, Bedouin are also described as mobile people who "have lived in an essentially unaltered way" (USAID 2008: 23), presumably for hundreds of years. The Bedouin are frozen in time, and in their nomadic pastoralist lifestyle are handed the blame for the desolate state that Petra is apparently in, and any involvement with tourism (or at least immoral tourists) can only be deleterious for their culture.

Going further, a striking aspect of the very short section of the USAID interpretive plan that covers the 'problem' of Petra's Bedouin concerns the Bedouin's relationship with modernity and technology. They are presented as pre-moderns who have had to make "some adjustments to the modern world" (USAID 2008: 23), primarily through the uptake of modern technologies such as "a small pickup truck, plastic water containers, or a kerosene stove" (USAID 2008: 24). The USAID report, published in 2008, describes a way of life the Bedouin of Petra would have found archaic in the latter half of the 1980s. The Bedouin relationship with modernity voiced in the USAID document, and reinforced through the writing of various researchers, leads into two aspects that will be dealt with in time, tourism industry representations of Bedouin (Chapter 3) and their impact, and the Bedouin's own

²⁰ Beni Layth in Wadi Musa, Amarny in Bydha/Little Petra and Bedouin in Petra.

struggle with what they call the “wall of technology” (below) and what it means for their feelings of who they are.

But going further still than touristic representations of Bedouinness and the Bedouins’ feelings about technology, in Jordan, Bedouin have come to represent some form of national sentiment and cultural essence (Al-Mahadin 2007). This tendency, combined with the touristic exoticism of Bedouin and their treatment in literature, has the effect of making a monument of them, or rather the idea of them and their culture. Drawing on the work of Michael Herzfeld (1991) I argue in this thesis that this monumentalisation of Bedouin has the effect of splitting them off conceptually from Petra and delegitimizing much about who they are in the present and their contemporary way of life.

But what is it to be Bedouin according to the Bedoul? This is a question that the Bedoul struggle with (and it is also a question that pervades politics between the Bedoul and the Beni Layth). It’s not *really* an issue for Bedoul in relation to the touristic image of what a Bedouin is²¹, if that were a problem for them, I suspect that they would make an effort to conform to its narrow parameters, at least in front of tourists, which they don’t do at all. Rather Bedoul questions of Bedouinness are more in relation to the ways in which they used to live before they moved from Petra to the village, and in relation to the ideals they hold of what a Bedouin should do and be. For them, the Bedoul of the past, who lived *in* Petra, who did not rely on technology, who could care for animals appropriately, and who had the know-how to survive in the desert, are *real* Bedouin. Arguably, such a view is reasonably common in Jordan, among Bedouin and non-Bedouin alike and particularly so in the touristic presentation of Bedouin identity. In relation to the Bedoul specifically, because few of them

²¹ That is to say, not directly as though they feel the need/feel pressured to conform to such a touristic image and that their ideas of being Bedouin are somehow directly challenged by the touristic image. In a round about way however the touristic image has an influence which will be discussed in chapter 3.

lead a life that resembles this old image, they tend to be seen (and even, occasionally, see themselves) as particularly un-Bedouin by plenty of people in Jordan; this is amplified by the negative attitudes many outsiders have towards the Bedouin's approach to tourism work and tourists. All the same, the narrowed image of the touristic Bedouin does set the frame in which much of Bedouin social life resides as well as informs much of the discourse structuring tourist ideas of what Bedouin are, and tourism-based interactions with tourists.

The stereotypical image of a Bedouin, and the one prevalent in tourism advertising, and it seems in the minds of tourists not to mention many urban Jordanians (Chatelard 2005: 5), is that of a nomadic camel pastoralist who lives in the desert (or for Arabs the *bādiya* (بادية) roughly equating to semi-arid steppe). Going back into the late Ottoman period Bedouin tended to differentiate themselves from other groups surrounding them by referring to themselves simply as Arab (Lewis 2009: 3) and Musil (1928: 44) notes how the Rwala Bedouin of northern Arabia of the early 20th century divided people into two categories. People who lived in permanent houses were *ḥaḍir* (حضر a word connoting civilisation and urban living) while those living in tents were Arab; and even now Bedouin across the Petra region and through the south of Jordan differentiate themselves from *falāḥin* (فلاحين formally peasants but generally meaning farmers). There is certainly some truth to this image, and it has a long history in literature recounting Bedouin ways of life; for example, Lady Anne Blunt (1879; 2013a & 2013b), Alois Musil (1928), T. E. Lawrence (2000), Wilfred Thesiger (1978) and in the writing of Burkhardt (2005). In addition to such accounts of Bedouin life, Chatelard (2005: 4) notes that there is a long history of work by travellers, scholars, colonial officials focussing on Bedouin that have also influenced western representations of Bedouin more generally. Chatelard (ibid) goes on to state that to the 1950s such descriptions of Bedouin and their lives focused on a constellation of cultural traits “such as nomadism, land use, feud, kinship and leadership organisation”.

This stereotypical image also recounts the nature of the term Bedouin (*Bedu* in Arabic بدو). Cole (2003: 235) notes that in the past the term *Bedu* encapsulated a way of life rather than an identity. Used as such Bedouin might rightly say something like “we used to be Bedouin, but not anymore” as I heard very often in Petra. Yet, when I asked about something a person did, I would hear equally as often “we do that because we are Bedouin, that’s the Bedouin way” (It wasn’t uncommon to hear this phrase literally seconds after hearing the first). Used in this way, this older rendering of the word *Bedu*, denotes life in the arid and semi-arid areas of land generally unsuited to agricultural production, life primarily (or exclusively) as a pastoralist, as well as some measure of residential mobility.

But for Bedouin this older idea of what a Bedouin is also carries with it a range of qualities as well as denoting a way of life; indeed, the two things aren’t really separate, and the personal qualities are usually considered necessary to survive the way of life. For Bedouin, to be Bedouin means to be hardy or tough, to be able to endure a life of hardship without the conveniences of modern life such as running water, electricity and telecommunications technology²². It also means knowledge, specifically knowledge of how to survive in ‘the desert’ whether that be the *bādiya* or *al-ṣaḥra* (الصحراء the desert proper, opposed to semi-arid to arid steppe). Such knowledge is knowledge of navigation, useful plants for humans and animals, how to hunt, how to find water and forage for animals, how to handle livestock like goats, sheep, camels, horses, mules and donkeys; and these are all things that a great many Bedouin, in the present, retain knowledge of.

But the qualities of a Bedouin in this sense relate to more than just survival. This older form of the term *Bedu* for Bedouin also alludes to personal qualities and behaviours relating to

²² In Petra this idea of toughness applies to women just as much to men. Indeed, many of the people who exhibit most openly the qualities of resilience thought necessary for life in the *bādiya* are, generally, older women.

sociality. Things such as generosity, hospitality and protection, family duty, honesty and contributing to the public good to name a few; essentially things making someone a good person. It relates to behaviours like repaying debts and reciprocating loans, of giving people the benefit of the doubt unless they remove doubt by their own bad behaviour, it also means talking with people, enjoying their company and not for example, sitting staring at a television set while in the company of others. Within this estimation of what it is to be *Bedu* are also included ideas about avoiding bad things such as causing trouble for yourself and family members, getting into fights, and ideally not drinking alcohol, but if you do, doing it in private, are a few examples of behaviours to avoid.

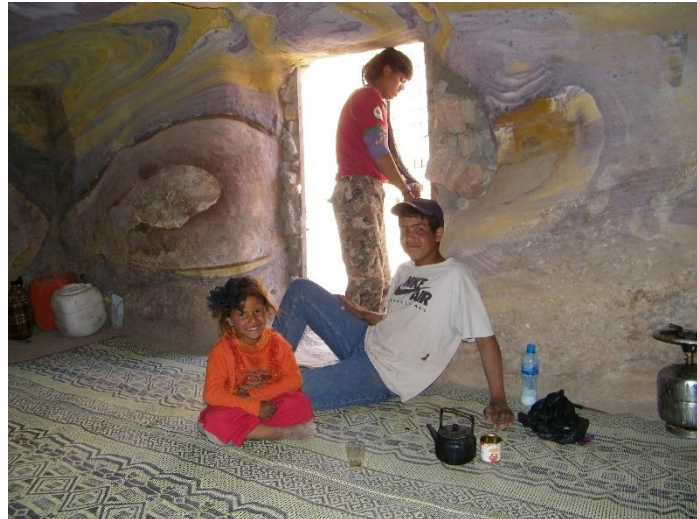
For Bedouin specifically, and most likely other Bedouin in Jordan too, being *Bedu*, or at least more *Bedu*, also includes not too much work with tourists, and ideally, working with animals. It is for this reason that people generally thought Tufiq Abu Muhammad was a *real* Bedouin, or *verry* Bedouin. As noted earlier, Tufiq during my fieldwork, did almost no work involving tourism preferring to spend his days on and around Jabal Khubtha looking after his goats and hunting grouse, eagles and hawks. This combined with Tufiq's sobriety (he never drank alcohol that I ever knew about and unusually for a Bedouin male past the age of about 15 nor did he smoke), his wholesale respectful attitude and demeanour towards others, generosity, and conscientiousness in looking after his parents all positioned him as one who embodied most of the ideals of what it was to be more/a real Bedouin; especially atypical given his young age (barely 20).

Towards the latter half of my fieldwork Tufiq also began to live, some nights of the week, in a cave a short way outside the village too and so eschewed the technological problems of village life such as electricity, running water, television and so on (again, atypically, he never even had a mobile phone while I was in Petra). This undoubtedly made him even more

Bedouin. Particularly so in comparison to other younger guys who had moved into Petra on a part time basis more often than not to get out from under parental surveillance and spend the night drinking (as well as other things) with tourists in a cave; behaviours that would have detracted from their status as 'real' Bedouin.

Tufiq's cave

From this point though, there are a few complicating factors that are problematising what it is to be Bedouin, in general, and certainly for the Bedouin. As just noted above, it is obvious from various sources



that Bedouin have always been more than just nomadic desert dwelling pastoralists. For example, Marx (2006: 78, 81, 82) notes that Bedouin have always engaged in more than just pastoralism and nomadism and have always been an integral part of the settled societies around them. Toth (2006: 51) also describes how Bedouin actively engage in economic options outside pastoralism when ecological conditions warrant such action. Toth (2006: 53) further notes that nomads have been self-sedentarising for as long as there have been nomads, whenever conditions required it. This deployment of multi resource economies by Bedouin has been noted by numerous authors for example, Peters (1990: 120 & 265), Cole (1975: 108), Lancaster (1997: 114, 20-21, 100, 104-111, 131, 145-148), Chatty (2006a: 10) Chatty (2010: 25), Rowe (2006: 599) and is also something that Bedouin have consistently engaged in. Yet the question might be asked, would a Bedouin family who settle for a while in a stone

or brick house²³ in order to produce a barley crop refer to themselves as *Bedu* or *falāhin*?

Without the ability to go back in time and ask, I can only guess, but I speculate that the answer would have resembled something like the Bedoul's answer to my questions noted above, something to the effect of "well, we aren't Bedouin, we are farmers. But we are still Bedouin".

Arguably the designation Bedouin has always carried with it more meaning than that of a term only describing a way of life; and at present in Jordan, especially in Petra, it has contentious political implications. This too, is not new. Chatty (2006a: 8) has noted that given the levels of contestation surrounding the use of the term Bedouin, and who may be a Bedouin, that it might just be better to question who says who a Bedouin is and why; apt when discussing politics in Petra. And Bocco (2006: 324), reiterating Cole (2003: 235), has gone on to demonstrate that while in the past the term has been used to describe a pastoral nomad it has now come to describe a tribally based political identity.

As noted, in Jordan, Bedouin Identity has been taken on by the state mainly in an effort to contain perceived threats to Jordan's stability in relation to the substantial Palestinian presence in the country (Al-Mahadin 2007: 90) making it a political identity for more than just actual Bedouin. Arguably, this has led to a valorising of ideas surrounding Bedouin identity in the country (if not necessarily *actual* Bedouin, who are generally seen as a bit backwards by urban populations). This is particularly so as tourism, a very important industry in Jordan, makes ample use of positive imagery of Bedouin as a selling point. That said though, I never experienced much negativity from Bedouin towards Palestinians, nor the other way around, while in Jordan. Bedouin seemed to see Palestinian Jordanians as fellow

²³ What Bedoul still refer to as bayt al-hajar (بيت الحجر stone house) opposed to bayt al-sha' (بيت الشعر hair house) suggesting that they haven't quite gotten to the point where a stone/brick house is the ultimate definition of a house.

Jordanians rather than outsiders and they regarded Palestinians in Israel as being rather badly, and unfairly treated by the Israeli state. The Palestinian Jordanian attitude towards Bedouin (to the extent that I could discern at least) can be summed up by the words, said to me, of a Palestinian taxi driver in Amman “عندهم البدو قلب ابيض, يس كلهم مجنون في الرأس”: “Bedouins have a white [pure/noble] heart, but they are all crazy in the head”.

In Petra today, given its centrality in Jordanian tourism, for the locals, whether Bedouin or Beni Layth, Bedouin identity is of central political importance; even if Bedouin identity is not an element in the marketing of Petra itself. And just who can be covered by the term Bedouin, and just what it means, tends to follow three general lines, however, they can't usually really be teased apart in function as they all tend to feed from and/or into one another. Yet, all the same, as analytical concepts they can be fairly clearly delineated, provided one doesn't allow the analytical delineation to dictate reality. Firstly, there is the stereotypical/tourist image of Bedouinness which, I would argue, is relatively close to, and in chapter 3 argue is, related to and based on something similar to the Jordanian state's Bedouin ancestor figure discussed by Al-Mahadin (2007). This image of Bedouinness is narrowed to ideas of pastoralism, nomadism, living in the desert, in a tent, wearing of traditional clothes, hospitality; and it is lodged in the past with little allowance for adjustments to the realities of life in the 21st century. This is an image common among much of Jordan's non-Bedouin population too. As Chatelard (2005: 5) says, that while urban and non-Bedouin Jordanians may have Bedouin ancestry, ancestors are OK, they consider *actual* Bedouin something of a “socio-developmental anomaly” (ibid) and objects worthy of derision.

This form of what it is to be Bedouin I never found to be really taken seriously in Petra by anyone other than tourists. Unfortunately though, when the tourists ran into genuine Bedouin- their Bedouin guides usually, they would generally question the Bedouin status as Bedouin rather than the stereotype they came to Petra equipped with. And when their doubts about the

Bedoul appeared to be justified (if not actually planted in the first place) by Jordanian outsiders to Petra also asserting that the Bedoul are indeed *not* Bedouin, the Bedoul's status as actual Bedouin in the tourism context is delegitimised. The second strand of what it means to be Bedouin tends to compound this sense of delegitimation.

Secondly, there is the old idea about *Bedu* referring to a way of life, such as being a pastoralist. It is this, and their own ancestors, against which Bedoul typically measure themselves and often find themselves lacking in Bedouinness. With the move of the community out of Petra to the village, and a shift from a mixed economy with a bit of work in tourism, to a primarily tourism-based economy with a little mixed economy kept in reserve, many Bedoul consider that they are not *really* Bedouin these days. I heard this sentiment repeated often, and as noted, use of (to reliance on) technology exacerbates this feeling for many Bedoul. The question of nomadism never figured all that heavily in this configuration for Bedoul, though it can be a consideration depending on the context of discussions about Bedouin identity and with whom one is speaking. That said though, from the time Bedoul moved to Petra somewhere to the order of 4 hundred years ago or more, they haven't been nomads, though up to probably the 1970/80s (and for some since) they did practice bi-annual²⁴ residential mobility²⁵. For Bedoul, the loss, slipping away, or giving up of, a way of life that included pastoralism, living in Petra in a cave, and not relying on (and probably being distracted by) various forms of technology signals for them, at least to some degree, a loss also of being Bedouin.

In the context of tourism in Petra, in the interactions between Bedoul and tourists, this second strand of what it means for the Bedoul to be a Bedouin is somewhat complicated itself

²⁴ Bedoul typically used to move twice in a year: out of Petra into the surrounding countryside as the weather warmed and back into the caves of Petra as it began to become cold again.

²⁵ The Bedoul in Petra are all but completely sedentary. Many of the Bedoul in al-Heymeymeh to the south of Petra on the Desert Highway however are much more mobile than the Bedoul in Petra.

by the first stereotypical/touristic view of what it is to be Bedouin. Given that the first view is based to some degree in reality, even if reality some time in the past, - so things like pastoralism, nomadism etc, and through stereotypical and narrowed, it is still inclusive of cultural practices and ideals that are meaningful to the Bedoul, and were so historically too. So, the first and second strands of Bedouinness have some overlap.

Further, since people probably seldom consider culture as a process and see it as thing-like and experience it as fairly static, for the Bedoul when they gauge their lives against the lives of their ancestors, and for the tourists when the Bedoul don't match the touristic/historical presentation of what Bedouin ought to be, there can appear to be rupture when there is in fact cultural continuity though also adaptation through time. Unfortunately, what can happen then is that both groups, the Bedoul on one side, and the tourists on the other, can wind up agreeing that the Bedoul are not 'real' Bedouin, though they come to this conclusion for completely different reasons. Then, in tourism interactions, tourists questioning the Bedoul's authenticity as Bedouin (touristic stereotype), comes through to the Bedoul as the tourists questioning the Bedoul's authenticity as Bedouins (Bedoul in the present measured up against *Bedu* as a way of life/their own ancestors), leaving Bedoul feelings of inadequacy apparently justified.

And, thirdly, is the political identity as Bedouin. For the Bedoul this is unequivocally the most tangible element of Bedouin identity in the present. The political identity of being Bedouin does not exist in isolation from the two other strands of Bedouinness above, indeed the second strand is at least half the basis of the political identity, however, I would argue that it is much more important. To be considered Bedouin in this sense for the Bedoul one must be part of a group recognised as Bedouin, typically recognised by other Bedouin. To have this recognition in the present your group needs to have been Bedouin in the past.

For example, in the immediate Petra region specifically, so Petra, Wadi Musa and Bydha²⁶ (Little Petra), the Bedoul and Amaryn consider that each other are all Bedouin though some Amaryn (mostly elderly²⁷) do disapprove of the way Bedoul interact with the tourists. For contrast, I never once heard either Bedoul or Amaryn accept that the Beni Layth are Bedouin. For their part, some Bedoul told me that the Beni Layth aren't even real Arabs but are in fact a bunch of Turks that ran out of money on their way home from Hajj centuries ago and so settled in Wadi Musa. On the other hand, the Beni Layth I had a relationship with consistently assured me that they were the real Bedouin, and the real Bedouin of Petra at that, not the Bedoul; and that actually, the Bedoul are not really Bedouin at all but gypsies. They seemed non-committal on whether or not Amaryn are Bedouin though they didn't really think much of the Amaryn either.

Going further afield, all other Bedouin I interacted with in Jordan: Sayidyn, Azazmeh and various Howeitat Bedouin, all considered that the Bedoul are indeed Bedouin. Even Rwala and Harb Bedouin from Saudi Arabia that I met in Petra somehow knew the Bedoul as a subset of the Howeitat. None of the non-Bedoul Jordanian Bedouin I interacted with accepted the Beni Layth as Bedouin though some of the Sayidyn working in Petra, when asked directly if the Beni Layth are therefore *falāḥin* as Bedoul assert, said "Beni Layth, well..., they are.....something else"; though they didn't care to elaborate on just what they thought Beni Layth are²⁸. In addition to recognition from other recognised Bedouin groups, on an individual level, inclusion in the structures of Bedouin social organisation is the deciding factor. The two go hand in hand and are more or less inseparable. If you are included in the

²⁶ Literally White; Bydha in the local Bedoul dialect, Beyda بيضة in standard Arabic.

²⁷ Many elderly Bedoul also disapprove of how the younger generation interact with tourists.

²⁸ Given that this exchange came from some Sayidyn Bedouin working in Petra such evasiveness could have been their way of not disagreeing with the Bedoul surrounding them (none as far as I know were in earshot). All the same, from Al-Batah to Wadi Araba and everywhere in between, all firmly entrenched in Sayidyn territory, Sayidyn told me that they didn't consider the Beni Layth to be Bedouin.

social structures of *bayt*, *ibn Amm*, *khamisa*, *fakhadh* and *qabyala/ 'shyra*²⁹ of a group of recognised Bedouin you, as an individual, will be recognised as Bedouin irrespective of being a pastoralist much less a nomad, or even living in a rural setting.

So, though the second idea of Bedouinness limits Bedouin identity to a way of life the final rendering of what it means to be Bedouin sets one up for recognition as Bedouin through belonging to a descent group that is recognised as Bedouin by other Bedouin. This means that provided one's ancestors were Bedouin (way of life) one is today a Bedouin (has the tribally based political identity (Bocco 2006: 324)). The first and stereotypical view of Bedouinness plays out jarringly in Petra through interactions with the tourists in which the Bedouin's legitimacy as Bedouin is often questioned, leading many Bedouin to mount a defence of their Bedouinness and to educate often sceptical tourists on what a Bedouin is, even as they tell increasingly confused and sceptical tourists "well.....we aren't *real* Bedouin anymore.....but we are still Bedouin". It is also before, and to, the tourists that much of the politics surrounding Bedouin identity is played out, not only by the Bedouin but also the Beni Layth, though these groups are two of the primary targets of such political action more so than the tourists.

More recently another interpretation of what it means to be Bedouin has started to emerge, though it had yet to gain a footing among Bedouin during the time of my fieldwork (although it appeared obvious according to many of the Australian tourists I met). That is: Bedouin as an indigenous people. Work framing Bedouin as indigenous is mainly emerging out of the colonialist conditions pertaining in Israel where there is a clear non-Arab settler population

²⁹ *Bayt* (بيت): household/family usually not more than two generations removed, *ibn Amm* (ابن عم): literally father's brother's son but connoting a patrilineal kindred up to three to five generations removed, *khamisa* (خمسة): literally five but connoting a patrilineal kindred up to five generations removed, *fakhadh* (فخذ): literally thigh connoting sub-clan as in the legs upon which the clan stands upon, *qabila/ 'shyra* (قبيلة/ عشيرة): nation/clan/tribe. For a detailed discussion see Lancaster (1997: 24-42: Chapter 3 The *Bedu* System- The Generative Genealogy).

putting pressure on Palestinian Bedouin along with the non-Bedouin Palestinian population; for examples see the work of Oren Yiftachel, Bataya Roded and Alexander Kedar (2016) and Lana Tatour (2019).

While the relationship between the Bedouin and the Petra Authority, and the Jordanian state in general, could quite reasonably be considered to resemble the relationship between an indigenous people and a colonial authority the Bedouin never used ideas of indigeneity in overt ways to describe their position. They would certainly make the point that they were in Petra long before the Jordanian state was established, and that they are the original inhabitants of Petra (after the Nabataeans of course), not the outsiders, many of whom, staff the Petra Authority. But that said, I never got the sense that they see the Jordanian state as a colonialist imposition, just that it (and by extension the Beni Layth³⁰) unjustly meddles in their affairs, treats them badly in relation to Petra and excludes them from much of the planning surrounding the operation of Petra as a tourist attraction and an archaeological site. The state's legitimacy in governing the whole area and even Petra was never really called into question, to me at least. Indeed, many Bedouin made the point of explicitly stating that Petra needed to be managed and protected and that the state needed to be involved in such management and protection; they just wished that the state would involve them too.

Bedouin History in Petra.

The Bedouin history in Petra is the latest chapter in a millennia-old story of continuing habitation in the Petra region. There is a Stone Age village that has been excavated between Petra and Little Petra that dates from around 7000 BC; and the Edomites are believed to have

³⁰ To be addressed in chapter 6.

lived in Petra from about the eighth to the sixth century BC (Bienkowski 1990: 91). As noted earlier, the Nabataeans are the ones who created the city from about the second century BCE; and the Romans eventually conquered them, incorporating the city into the Roman Empire. The city also became part of the Byzantine Empire after the split of the Roman Empire. During the crusades there was a small European presence in Petra, from then on Petra was, apparently, “lost”.

European conceit aside, as John Shoup (1985: 279), who did research in Petra in the 1980s states, “Petra was never “lost.” It is fully described in a number of medieval Arabic geographies”; from the 12th century, Petra is described as being inhabited by Bedouin (McKenzie 1991: 139). Petra came back into the European imagination with its ‘rediscovery’ by Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (2005) in 1812 (Shoup 1985: 279; McKenzie 1991: 140; Koorring & Simms 1995: 1). Between the 12th and 19th centuries, McKenzie (1991: 139) who has written concisely on the more recent history of Petra, states that there is little record about how the caves of Petra were utilised. Discovering precisely which Bedouin lived there during this time is probably impossible.

I was told, at least, that the first Bedouin to inhabit Petra were the Sayidyn Bedouin, a fairly large and reasonably politically influential group in southern Jordan, who now dominate the mountains to the south and west of Petra and parts of Wadi Araba to the west. The Sayidyn Bedouin have generally good relations with the Bedoul and a few of them work in Petra as business partners to some of the Bedoul. According to Sayidyn Bedouin who work in Petra, it seems that their ancestors deemed the mountains and Wadi Araba better, and more spacious, for their herds of goats and camels and so moved out into the desert after which the Bedoul moved in. The earliest reference to Bedoul Bedouin in Petra appears to date from Burckhardt’s visit in 1812, in which he describes being the guest of an impoverished family of “Djaylat” Bedouin to the south of Petra (Burkhardt 2005: 434). Given the apparently

uninhabited state of Petra during Burckhardt's visit, which was in the middle of summer, and the corresponding migratory patterns and destinations of the various clans of Bedoul Bedouin who at the time spent the winter in Petra and the summer throughout the surrounding countryside, it is most likely that the Djaylat family that Burkhardt met were members of the al-Jdelāt clan of the Bedoul.

In the years after Burkhardt's visit it appears that Petra was inhabited, or at least claimed, by various different local groups, including the Layathna (Beni Layth), the Amaryn Bedouin as well as Howeitat Bedouin³¹ (McKenzie 1991: 140-141). Yet, it seems that through the first half of the 19th century Petra was most consistently claimed and periodically occupied by a clan of the Howeitat called Bedun or el-Beden (McKenzie 1991: 140), led by one sheikh Mukeibil Abu Zeitun, who, according to Musil (1908: 54 in McKenzie 1991: 140) were the same group as the Bedoul Bedouin³². In the latter half of the 19th century Amaryn Bedouin (who now dominate the area around Bydha) claimed that they had controlled Petra at some

³¹ To some degree claims of "ownership" of Petra are perspectival. The Beni Layth in Wadi Musa claim land up to close to the *siq* into Petra and so inhabited a number of tombs around there so they might claim to have "owned" Petra. They might have managed to take actual possession of parts of Petra proper in the past too, and so base ownership claims on that. The Amaryn seem to have also acquired possession of parts of Petra proper in the past too, however they have for a long time only been in possession of Little Petra. The Howeitat are the largest and most politically significant group of Bedouin in the south of Jordan and have been for a very long time. Different groups of Howeitat Bedouin traveled through Petra when they were nomads and so would have had claims to "ownership" of Petra as, from what I was told, they extracted tribute from the Beni Layth for their habitation of Wadi Musa. Additionally, since the Bedoul are a sub section of Howeitat, it might be said that Howeitat own Petra.

³² The Bedoul relationship with to the Howeitat appears to be long standing and most likely arose as a tribute, or *khṭa* (brothers/brotherhood خوة), relationship some time in the distant past. Bedoul recount their own history in areas stretching from Aqaba, around Wadi Rum, Heymeymeh and Petra, all of which have been within the gamut of various different Howeitat clans and likely leading to the close relationship. Today Bedoul openly identify themselves as Howeitat to Bedouin coming from areas distant from Jordan (from Saudi Arabia for example) and often use Howeitat as the final element of identity when naming themselves, for example Ahmad Ali al-Jdelāt al-Bedoul al-Howeitat, and they are, from what I observed, recognised as Howeitat by other Howeitat groups I saw them interact with. In terms beyond identification the political relationship appears only to be activated during times of large scale political tension with outsiders, usually the Beni Layth, or the state, for example the police. On these occasions Bedoul sheikhs reinforced by their Howeitat counterparts would seek to negotiate a resolution to the political crisis. I was given two main examples of this, 1) when the police shot three of the Bedoul, killing one of them. 2) when members of the Beni Layth sought to block the road to Umm Sayhoun causing difficulties for the Bedoul in gaining food and gas. I was told that on both occasions, Howeitat sheikhs intervened on behalf of the Bedoul leading to a peaceful resolution of the issue.

time but had lost control to both the Beni Layth and Howeitat (el-Beden/Bedoul) (McKenzie 1991: 140).

As more visitors to Petra spent more time in the city, particularly in the rainy season and winter, the extent of Bedouin habitation of the site became clearer. In March 1847 the British intellectual and social theorist Harriet Martineau (1884: 4, 9, 10, 13, 28 & 32 in McKenzie 1991: 141) observed a large population in Petra and noted that the caves were being used as homes as well as animal shelters. While Palmer (1871: 55 in McKenzie 1991: 141) reported that “every tomb had its owner, who dwells there with his wives and family during the cold or wet weather”. By the turn of the 20th century Petra was occupied by “Beduin” (sic) (Forder1923: 12-15 in McKenzie 1991: 140), with the “‘Layathaney’ [Beni Layth/Layathna] as ‘other inhabitants of or near Petra’” (Forder1923: 12-15 in McKenzie 1991: 140; McKenzie 1991: 140).

Forder (1923: 12-15 in McKenzie 1991: 142) noting the seasonal migrations of the Bedoul tells us that “for a few months during the cold rainy season of the year a few families of Bedouin, with their goats’ hair tents and a few of their goats, find a home and shelter in the valleys and excavations, but as soon as the weather permits they go to the highlands, and Petra is left to its loneliness”. And later, Canaan (1930: 80 in McKenzie 1991: 142) noted of the Bedoul that “in the winter season they spend between two and three months in the caves of Petra; in the spring they encamp around the wadis, while the summer is spent at the tops of the high mountains of Petra or one of the surrounding ridges”. By the 1950s, with a growing amount of archaeological work being undertaken in Petra, Bedoul were provided with an incentive to remain longer in the city (McKenzie 1991: 143) rather than moving into the surrounding countryside. Finally, by the early 1980s, most Bedoul were living in the caves all year round (McKenzie 1991: 143).

Nomads? Pastoralists?

Rashd and I sat side by side on the step in the door to Salamah's cave, me with pen and notebook poised to quickly jot down everything Salamah said, Rashd ready to help translate when my Arabic fell short of the task³³. I asked Salamah about life in Petra when he was young, what sorts of things he and the other Bedouin did back then. Salamah drew us back to a time before there were many tourists in Petra and before there was a country called Jordan, or even Transjordan. Petra was more like an outpost on the edge of civilisation at that stage. To reach Petra was hard and had to be done as the Bedouin did, usually on horse, camel or donkey; or on foot. And you had to negotiate with different people to get there safely. But there were, even back then some who made the trip and a few archaeologists of course.

Salamah was a boy in these times, he said "a long time ago life was different, now we have cars and things, but in the past the only way to get around was on a donkey or a camel; or you had to walk". He said that he used to herd goats in the mountains all around Petra. Salamah told us that he would spend days in the mountains with them, leading them to different patches of food and water; and he would just sit and watch them and play his flute as he kept them safe from wolves and hyenas. A note of sorrow inflected Salamah's countenance as he remarked "I can't go far from my cave now, I get tired quickly and my legs are not so steady anymore"; though, as all in the village were often proud to say, old Salamah could still get up and present traditional Bedouin dances to the few tourists who found him.

Salamah continued "I can't go far from the cave now, but I wish I was strong like I was when I was younger. If I were strong" he told us "I wouldn't sit around here all day! I would walk goats down the Shara Mountains and across Araba and up the other side all the way to

³³ Strangely enough I found Salamah's old Bedouin Arabic much easier to understand than that of many of the younger generation in the village; it seemed to conform a little more to the Modern Standard Arabic that I had learned in university and may give clues to changes in dialect through the generations.

Gaza and sell them like we used to”. Remembering a funny story from his youth he said with a smile, “Once some Bedouin [Bedoul³⁴] took goats to Gaza for sale. Somehow, after the Bedouin left to come home, the goats got away from their new owners and walked all the way home to Petra by themselves. Their old owners found them and decided it must have been god’s will and so kept them”. Salamah told us that they took goats to Gaza sometimes, but it was a long way away, he used to help his mother and father sell their sheep and goats not far away at Showbak mostly.

I asked Salamah where people used to live and how far from Petra they travelled? He told us that aside from trips to places like Gaza, or the other popular market town Bir Siba, people mostly stayed in Petra. He said that they had everything they needed in Petra, for the most part at least, everything else they got from traveling merchants or when they went to town. But back then Bedoul lived spread out all through Petra, not cramped up in a little village like today. In the winter everyone, or most people, lived in the caves but when the weather was warm, in the summer, people moved out throughout the *dira*³⁵, they lived in a tent if they had one. Others just lived outside, plenty of people didn’t have a tent to live in. “Like me” said Salamah “I herded goats all through the mountains in Petra and stayed out all night with them [he never bothered with a tent]”. Bedoul lived in and around Petra; and while they might have moved biannually between the caves and the surrounding region, despite what USAID might have thought in 2008, they haven’t been nomads for a very long time.

³⁴ When speaking about themselves Bedoul tend to use Bedoul and Bedouin interchangeably while when they mention other Bedouin, they will refer to them specifically by name, for example they might refer to Sayidyn Bedouin as either just Sayidyn or as Sayidyn Bedouin. When referring to Beni Layth they tend to either say Beni Layth, the farming people, or particularly when speaking Arabic, *fālahyn*

³⁵ Typically Bedouin would graze their animals over a much larger territory than that land which is considered to belong exclusively to them. The wider area would usually be shared by various different groups of people. A *dira*, these days at least, is the land within the total range of a group of Bedouin in which they have exclusive rights of use and access which is ordinarily negotiated with neighbouring groups, or taken by force in the past.

As we were talking one of Salamah's Daughters in law came over bringing some bread for the old man; since Hathra had died she had cooked for Salamah and her family looked after him. The goats that were above bouncing about on the cliff face in the sun had joined us below and were probably hopeful of the possibility of a few scraps of bread; Salamah's grandchild jumped up and chased them off. The goats brought Salamah back to our conversation and he said "in the old days lots of people collected firewood from the juniper trees too, while they walked through the mountains with their goats. Sometimes people would sell the firewood, or they would just use it themselves. And if there were good winter rain and snow people would plant barley and wheat on their farmland". Salamah continued, "people used the wheat themselves, to make bread but the barley was to feed the goats".

As we all sat around the entrance to the cave, with the goats creeping and bleating closer, Salamah motioned with a wave of his arm at the steep hillside in front of his cave on the other side of the road and the dry creek between the hillside and road, and mentioned how dry the land had become. He looked at Rashd and me and said "it just doesn't rain anymore like it used to; and its much hotter now. And if there are clouds in the sky, it gets even hotter!" It was becoming evident that Salamah was getting tired, and a few times when I asked him things, he said that he had forgotten, that his memory was starting to go, he couldn't remember things from when he was a young man. Rashd leaned over to me and said in English that Salamah's perception of time was fading, for example that he thought that the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 happened only a year or two ago.

Rashd and I decided we should go and let Salamah rest, and his daughter in law approved, saying that he should rest now. She told us that we could come back another day and talk some more. As we stood up to go thanking Salamah for his time and patience, he made us promise to come back and write down more of what he remembered from the old days. We mounted our donkeys and rode off discussing how much tea and sugar to bring as a gift when

we returned, but the promise to return and write down Salamah's stories was one we couldn't keep. About two weeks after our visit Salamah slipped and fell, in his great age he broke his hip. His son and daughter in law's family wasn't far away and rushed him to the hospital near Teybeh where he was very well looked after by his extended family and hospital staff. He hung on for around another month, by all accounts at peace and at ease, and eventually passed away surrounded by his multitudinous family.

Salamah Sāmahyn was the oldest of the Bedoul and took with him to the grave an untapped wealth of knowledge of Bedoul history in Petra, however even many Bedouin as young as their mid-thirties have memories of living in Petra, before the move to the village. While we were guiding tourists through Petra once Rashd pointed out to me the cave he grew up in. When he was a child a cave not far from the mountain of Jabal Habis on the southern side of the Petra basin, beneath the gaze of the great mountain of Jabal Umm al-Byara, was the Abu Mohammed family home. At that time, the family consisted of Rashd's parents, Basma and Dreybeyah, his two older brothers, Awad and Abdallah, a younger sister Latifah and an infant younger brother Khalid. The family survived partially on what Dreybeyah, well known as a good horseman, could earn as a horse guide ferrying tourists from the visitor's centre outside Petra and all through the city. They also had a herd of goats, which Rashd and his brothers and sister tended; and their mother, Basma, made dairy products from the goat's milk and tent cloth and various other things from their hair. For most Bedoul Bedouin at this time, life was similar. People made a livelihood from a combination of pastoralism, farming, fruit and dairy production and a slow, but steadily growing amount of work in the growing tourism industry.



Dreybeyah Abu Mohammed (centre) Tufiq is to the right

Yet their work in tourism was slow in growing. Shoup (1985: 282) describes the Bedouin response to tourism as slow compared with the Beni Layth in Wadi Musa who gained early control over the industry in the region. During the 1980s, while they still lived in Petra, Bedouin involvement with tourism was limited to a small number of people providing

refreshments to tourists, selling some real and fake antiquities as well as postcards, and a few Bedoul had gained the registration numbers required to be horse guides (Shoup 1985: 282). Shoup (1985: 282-283) also reports that the manager of the Forum Hotel in Wadi Musa contracted some Bedoul Bedouin to provide a meal of mansaf near the monastery and a goat hair tent to offer guests “a ‘real taste’ of Bedouin life” (Shoup 1985: 283).

The effects of the growing tourism industry in Petra were great for the Bedoul Bedouin (Shoup 1985: 283). At the time of Shoup’s visit the Bedoul still lived throughout Petra using the caves as their permanent homes. However, with plans to make Petra Jordan’s premier tourist attraction, the Bedoul were to be moved out of the site that they had called home for centuries. Plans to evict the Bedoul from Petra dated back to at least the 1968 *USAID Master Plan for the Protection and Use of the Petra National Park* (Brand 2001: 964), and Shoup (1985: 283) noted that there had been an abortive attempt to remove the Bedoul in the early 1970s.

Shoup (1985: 283) and Brand (2001: 964) both state that there were concerns about the destructiveness of the Bedoul’s traditional residential and economic practices in Petra and the requirement of the park’s closure to “settlement, livestock grazing, farming, mineral exploration, and shooting” (Brand 2001: 964). Petra seems to have been characterised as “a despoiled... wasteland” (USAID 1968: 2 in Brand 2001: 964) from the outset. It is not clear what, if anything, was used as a baseline for comparison to determine just how environmentally degraded Petra was. Bedoul pastoralism, farming and residential patterns in the tombs were declared incompatible with the imperatives of monument preservation, environmental protection, and tourism (Kooring & Simms 1995: 4), and their displacement from the park was, from the very beginnings of its development for tourism, a key policy (Shoup 1985: 283; Brand 2001: 964; Kooring & Simms 1995: 3).

Before their move out of Petra, the Bedoul community numbered approximately 1500 people, divided into five families consisting of around 100 households (Shoup 1985: 288). Each of the five families, al-Jdelāt (sometimes Abu Jdalad), al-Faqyr/Faqyra, Mūwassa, Jamada and Sāmahyn, (الجمدة, السامحين, الفقير, الموسى, الجديلات respectively) had an area of Petra that was generally dominated by their presence; however, there were no clearly defined rules guiding where people should live, people chose the best caves closest to the people they liked the most. And, along with the Bedoul Bedouin there was a sixth family, Manaja (المناجعة), who are a family of Bedouin originally from the Ras Negeb area on the plateau above Wadi Rum, who also lived in Petra, and made the best of life along with the Bedoul.

There are conflicting discussions about the origins, and meaning of, the name Bedoul (البدول). Many non-Bedoul residents of the Petra region, particularly in Wadi Musa, assert that the name Bedoul comes from the Arabic root “*badala*” (بَدَّلَ) which generally means to change but carries connotations of replacement or exchange. This assertion is coupled with the explanation that the Bedoul lived in Petra during the Islamic conquest of the region and were forced to convert, or change, their religion from Christianity to Islam (Shoup 1985: 289). By the time of my fieldwork in 2011/2012 however, the religion the Bedoul allegedly converted- from has changed from Christianity to Judaism. This explanation however is one sided and comes from a group who is antagonistic towards the Bedouin and are in fierce competition with them for tourism work. It is also contradicted by the further assertion, from the same people, that the Bedoul only arrived in Petra sometime between the First World War and the 1950s (or even as late as the 1970s/1980s depending on who it is telling the story); an assertion similar to one made during the time of Shoup’s (1985: 289) research. Given the fierce competition for tourism work between the locals of Wadi Musa (most of whom are Beni Layth) and the Bedoul, it’s my feeling that the above accounts of the origin of the

Bedoul name are an attempt to undermine the legitimacy of Bedoul access to Petra; this possibility was first proposed by Kooring and Simms (1995: 3).

Another possible origin of the name comes from the belief that the Bedoul Bedouin are the descendants of a Nabataean prince named Badl and that the word Bedoul means “clan of Badl” (Shoup 1985: 289). This could be a device to assert the legitimacy of the Bedoul presence in Petra against attempts by others to undermine their presence there. It could also be a way of appealing to tourists by asserting that the Bedoul are the same people as the Nabataeans. There is an idea among some Bedoul that this could be the case, that they are the descendants of the Nabataeans. This doesn’t come from archaeology of Bedoul habitation of Petra, but the strange coincidence that Rashd, as a child, bore a striking resemblance to the head of a Nabataean statue excavated in Petra. When he was about eleven years old, Rashd was photographed by many archaeologists who came to Petra and compared him to the statue. However, despite this coincidence, it is doubtful that many archaeologists entertain the idea that the Bedoul are descendants of the Nabataeans; and since the story contradicts the Bedoul’s own origin stories I doubt that they themselves see the relationship as straight forward as it appears.

During my time in Petra, I often heard people say that the Bedoul are the same as the Nabataeans, however the link was more subtle than the Bedoul being the continual inhabitants of Petra from the glory days of the Nabataeans. Rather, as they learn more about the Nabataeans from various archaeological sources, people would tell me that before they created their empire the Nabataeans were Bedouin who migrated across the Arab peninsula and northwards towards Syria. They created their empire, and Petra, and once they were conquered by the Romans and Petra eventually abandoned, the Nabataeans returned to life in the desert as Bedouin once more. And, according to many Bedoul, it was from these ex-Nabataean Bedouin that they, like other Bedouin, can trace some origins.

I was also given a third explanation for the origins of the name Bedoul; that the name can be traced back to the cunning and wisdom of an al-Jdelāt sheikh who outwitted would-be raiders who coveted his camels in the Aqaba region. I was told that his cunning and wisdom could be described by an archaic Bedouin word “*bidl*” (بِدْل). The story goes that this sheikh, knowing that a raiding party was coming for his livestock, drove his herd through the desert deliberately laying down camel and goat tracks everywhere. Once he had established a number of false trails for the raiders to track his animals, he drove his herds into a sheltered place and, wrapping himself in his cloak, bodily, rolled around on the ground over their true tracks to destroy them in such a way as to not leave any of his own tracks that could be recognised by the raiders, such as footprints, and so substitute them all with the tracks of his rolling body which would be unrecognisable to the raiders. The raiders were thwarted, and the sheik prospered, and word of his ruse earned him the nick name Bidl³⁶, Bedoul is thought, by some, to be a derivative of this. Yet, regardless of the origins of the Bedoul and their name, they are, as some of them correctly point out, a “reality on the ground” in Petra and their presence there is indisputable.

In Rashd’s childhood the main city area of Petra, the caves to the south along the base of Jabal Umm al-Byara, many of the caves around Jabal al-Dayr, to the north of Umm al-Byara, and all around Khubtha and Jabal Madhba were full of life. Some families also lived further to the south than Petra proper, in caves around Stoh (around the Snake Monument) and beyond, to and in Ras Sabra and into Wadi Sabra. As families grew too big for one cave, they would find another, to turn into an extra room, or a bigger cave, for a whole new home. Centuries of sand were cleaned out of the tombs, walls and roof cleaned, painted, and concrete laid on the floor. People made doors and even windows to keep out the wind and

³⁶ While trying to discover why Bidl was an appropriate nickname for the sheikh the only explanation I ever got was that Bidl was an archaic Bedouin word to describe cunning or craftiness.

winter rain and made gardens and planted olive trees nearby. Much of the Bedouin community spent the winter living in the caves, shielded from the cold and rain by the mountains; the caves retain a surprising amount of warmth throughout the winter. In the summer, they would move out of their caves into black goat hair tents, sometimes as far south as Wadi Sabra where they would graze goats³⁷ and some people had planted orchards. Or, they would stay in the land between Stoh and Ras Sabra, or to the North West near Bydha, where they would grow barley on rugged rolling hills, ploughed with a wooden plough and a donkey; or they might just pitch a tent near their cave to take advantage of the cool summer breezes and escape the heat.

The area of land, which was in the past, used by the Bedoul, extended from the north at the base of the ridge of Umm Sayhoun southward to and through Wadi Sabra near to around where it turns into more a gorge than a valley and intersects with Wadi Tiben, while the eastern boundary was at the summit of the steep ascent to the desert plateau that rises sharply to the east as the Shara Mountains cascade westward down into the great rift valley of Wadi Araba. To the west, the extent of Bedoul land was marked by the highest mountain in the area, Jabal Haroun, and the plummeting descent of the mountains into the desert below. Throughout this area Bedoul had a recognised right to use the land. Neighbouring Bedouin groups, particularly Amaryn Bedouin from the Bydha region to the north and west of Petra, but also Sayidyn Bedouin from Wadi Araba and the mountains south of Petra, would routinely share grazing in the mountains around Petra, but Petra itself and the land between it, Wadi Sabra, the plateau and Jabal Haroun belonged to the Bedoul.

³⁷ Nearly all the Bedoul I spoke with about livestock maintained that goats are better than sheep. They regard goats as tougher, better adapted to the mountainous terrain in Petra, better able to graze on the available forage and though not generally as profitable as sheep, overall a better investment.

Prior to the creation of Jordan there was very little official recognition of Bedouin ownership of Petra, or any land surrounding it, in any bureaucratic legalistic sense. Indeed, the only bureaucratic structures available to serve such a function were Ottoman, depended on the ability of the Ottoman authorities to extend their rule over the area and were transitory at best³⁸. Yet, there are even now, some Bedouin who have title deeds³⁹ to allotments of land that date from the Ottoman period, and keep them as proof that their ancestors did indeed live in Petra, but they are the exception rather than the rule; and the Ottoman era deeds are not recognised by the Jordanian state. Among the different groups surrounding Petra land ownership was decided by a mixture of possession, negotiation and agreed conventions between individuals, families and different '*shyra*'⁴⁰. Areas of land that people could legitimately use were fluid and permeable; a practice mirrored among Bedouin groups throughout the region (Rae, Arab & Nordblom 2002: 216-217).

In 1923, Emir, later King, Abdallah I met with representatives of the five Bedouin families, headed by the Faqyra sheikh, and overall sheikh of the Bedouin, Huweymel Salem Eid, to decide on the ownership of Petra (Koorring & Simms 1995: 2). The Bedouin were given two options, to have their possession of Petra legally recognised, for which they would pay taxes, or alternatively, allow the crown to hold Petra in trust for them. The Bedouin were unable to afford the tax. As a result, the Bedouin accepted Abdullah I's offer to recognise Bedouin rights to the land in and around Petra, and its use, if they were to accept crown trusteeship (effectively the offer was for Petra to be owned and administered by the state which would

³⁸ For a detailed discussion of the waxing and waning of Ottoman rule see Lewis 2009.

³⁹ The Ottomans attempted various times to enforce their rule throughout their frontier often imposing taxes and trying to formalise land ownership: see Lewis 2009.

⁴⁰ The word '*shyra*' عشيرة (and *qabila/gabila* قبيلة) may be understood to mean clan, nation, a people or family and is one level of association of relationality in a stratified segmentary social/kinship system that Bedouin use. When speaking in English Bedouin generally use the word family or tribe to denote '*shyra*' and other levels. It may or may not actually connote kinship ties, even though people usually talk overwhelmingly in kinship terms (typically referring to nearly anyone as cousin when speaking English), and its exact meaning often depends on the context of its use.

guarantee their right to live in and gain a livelihood from Petra) over their domains (Kooring & Simms 1995: 2). From that time, to the 1980s, Bedouin continued to inhabit Petra and live more or less as they had for many years, with gradually changing residential patterns and a slow, but slowly growing, involvement in the tourism industry. In 1968, the USAID assessment of Petra, and its potential to play a key role in Jordan's economic development, would change the Bedouin's relationship with Petra irrevocably. The report recommending that the Bedouin community be removed from Petra (Brand 2001: 964; Kooring & Simms 1995: 3) eventually precipitated their displacement from the site. Displacement was deemed desirable for a number of reasons, but primarily, for the protection of Petra from degradation, but also for the benefit of the Bedouin themselves through development; and from my many conversations with them on the subject, these were benefits the Bedouin were eager to receive.

Yet the move out of Petra was fraught with difficulties, and from the perspective of the Bedouin treachery, from the outset. The initial difficulty was deciding just where the Bedouin community should live. According to Kooring and Sims (1996: 6) the Bedouin themselves had proposed a settlement to the south towards Wadi Sabra and not too far from the town of Teybeh Zaman, squarely within the boundaries of Bedouin land. This was however also squarely within the boundaries of the Petra National Park and unacceptable for the government. The government made a proposal to build the village to the northeast of Petra far above Wadi Musa on the heights of the desert plateau. Such an option, according to Bedouin, would have cut them off entirely from their grazing land as well as farmland throughout Petra and made work with tourism very difficult for most of the community. The eventual location of the village, the ridge of Umm Sayhoun, was agreed upon and deemed the best of a bad situation by the Bedouin. The ridge of Umm Sayhoun originally belonged to the Hassanat clan of the Beni Layth and the Jordanian government appropriated the land from them (Brand

2001: 965) in order to house the Bedoul; it's something the Beni Layth in general, and the Hassanat in particular, have never forgiven the Bedoul for. This decision had consequences that the Bedoul are still struggling with today.

Further problems arose in terms of the nature of the settlement. The houses initially proposed were two-bedroom homes that were supposed to house two families (Shoup 1985: 283; Brand 2001: 965); and they were monumentally inadequate to the task. There were also no concessions made for the housing of Bedoul livestock in the village either. An example of the proposed housing was built on Umm Sayhoun and roundly rejected by the Bedouin (Shoup 1995: 283). UNESCO then developed an alternative settlement structure that considered the importance of livestock and the housing requirements of the Bedoul (Brand 2001: 965). Unfortunately, when the World Bank began funding the construction of the village (Brand 2001: 965) they reverted to the original, rejected, village format with the only concession for this change made by the government being that each house would only contain one family (Shoup 1985: 284); a reversal Bedoul still blame UNESCO for.

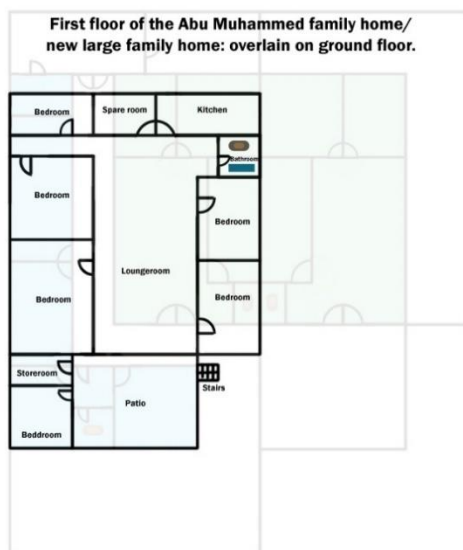


Interior of a two-bedroom home

Initially 100 Bedoul families were scheduled to move to the village. But, given that there was to only be one family per house rather than the anticipated two, the number of families to

move was reduced to 60 or so (Shoup 1985: 284). According to Shoup (ibid) the 40 left over families were to remain in Petra until additional housing was provided. Many of them are still waiting for houses to this day. When Shoup (1985: 288) wrote his paper he estimated that the Bedoul community numbered around 1500 people across about 100 households. From this, we can reasonably suppose that around 900 people in 60 households must have moved to Umm Sayhoun. The population of Umm Sayhoun, by most Bedoul estimates today, has reached between three to five (sometimes even six) thousand people.

As the population has grown, so too has the village. The Abu Mohammed family home for example, started off as two of the original houses built side by side with a shared wall. Dreybeyah and the family lived in one, and his eldest son Awad and his new family lived in the one next door. Awad, as his family grew, eventually bought another house not far away and Rashd moved into Awad's old house when he got married, but the house itself has also grown, so that it now more resembles an apartment complex than the two original houses. A whole new L shaped apartment has been built on the side of one house and the total roof area of these two houses (one original house and the new L shaped house) combined has been converted into another large home in which most of the family's children have grown up. The roof of the large new house is walled in and serves an area for various activities and as the future floor of a third-story house to be built. I asked Dreybeyah about this one day and he said that when his youngest son, Ewereh, gets married they might build a house up there for him, the ones downstairs were all earmarked for Ewereh's unmarried older brothers.



The situation is the same across the village, few of the original houses are recognisable from the outside as they have been built on and around as families have grown and newly married sons⁴¹ needed houses. Any land there set aside for farming, which I was told was a stupid idea in the first place⁴², has all been consumed by housing and the few patches of undeveloped land are owned by

people who are yet to build. Taryk Ali al-Jdelāt was one such landowner. Talking with him at his little illegal shop ‘*Harrods of Petra*’ I asked him about the situation. His shop was little more than a wooden shelter propped up on four posts with a board sitting on some rocks as a

⁴¹ Bedoul generally practice patrilocality.

⁴² People told me that the Hassanat didn’t use Umm Sayhoun for farming because nothing grows there; it was absurd to think, that if actual farmers couldn’t get anything to grow there, the Bedoul could.

shop counter. He had asked me one day what I thought he might do to catch tourists' eyes, some marketing gimmick to draw them in, so I had photoshopped then printed a sign for him combining the Harrods of London logo with the word Petra underneath it and we created "*Harrods of Petra*". Taryk had glued the print to a wooden board then nailed the sign to the shop; the absurdity of the concept got plenty of laughs from the tourists, but little business for him (and no copyright infringement suits from the real Harrods thankfully).

Harrods of Petra



Taryk is considered an expert on Bedoul history and culture and still lived in a cave in Petra; he said that he hated going to the village, but he does have his block of land there in case he ever wants to build a house. He said that people had offered him quite a bit of money for the land, but he has no interest in selling so it sits vacant, much to the irritation of some. Taryk preferred to live in a cave than the village.



Taryk Ali al-Jdelāt

As the village grew, the houses grew outwards and upwards. Now the limits of horizontal expansion have been reached, the boundaries of the land given to the Bedoul are full and the authorities are either reluctant, unwilling or unable to attempt to appropriate any more land from the Beni Layth who still own everything around the north and east of the ridge. Since the horizontal expansion of the village reached its limits, the authorities have since put limits on vertical expansion too. And, as the other directions, to the south and west, are out of the question due to their archaeological potential, the only options left to people, particularly young men as they want to marry, and their families whose responsibility it is to provide a home for the new bride⁴³, is to either move into a cave in Petra or to try to buy land in the

⁴³ Bedoul have a system of bride wealth which typically, though not always, includes the family of the groom providing a house for the bride; at times a house may be financed by both the groom's and the bride's family, particularly where they are closely related. In the past when people lived in caves the process was as simple as cleaning out a vacant cave to move into, and when people lived in tents it was common for it to belong to the bride. Yet, still, today for many people the prospect of a man getting married without being able to provide a house for their bride is entirely unacceptable, as is the prospect of marrying a man who cannot provide a house.

nearby village of Bydha, primarily inhabited by Amaryn Bedouin (which is considered infinitely preferable to moving to Wadi Musa and being surrounded by Beni Layth).

Umm Sayhoun



Umm Sayhoun and the Petra Basin



Village of Bydha

Compounding the problem of overcrowding is the failure of the authorities to provide the promised animal facilities in the village. Brand (2001: 965) notes that the intent in providing the Bedoul with farmland was to turn them into farmers, but, there was little to no effort to develop any farming potential the Bedouin had; there were “no agricultural or other economic projects ... initiated to ensure the Bdul [Brand’s spelling] could earn a living after leaving Petra” (Brand 2001: 965). Besides, the farmland on Umm Sayhoun was barren and useless. The two sure economic activities the Bedoul have maintained, to varying degrees, has been work in tourism which for a great number of people means donkey guiding, and goat pastoralism. Shoup (1985: 284) noted that in 1984 that none of the Bedoul moving to the village felt as though it meant that they should give up pastoralism, whatever the regulations in the archaeological park. The same pertains today; every household that can, will have at least a

few goats from which to get milk and keep as a reserve source of cash. As Taryk Ali commented to me one day, “we are Bedouin!, we would keep goats on the roof of the house if we had to”; (indeed there is at least one family in the village that does exactly that).

The concentration of people in the village, and that a great many of them work with horses, camels, mules, and a huge number of donkeys, has meant that the village is, on any typical day or night, swarming with livestock. When people moved to the village and found nowhere to house their animals, they began building facilities themselves. On the southern side of the village there is a small ridge separated from the main ridge by a small valley; this little valley is the main area in which people have built their own animal shelters. There are also two other clusters of animal housing on the north slope of Umm Sayhoun and another on the side of the road to Bydha to the south of the village but the one on the southern side overlooking Petra is the biggest.

Animal Shelters south of the village



Animal Shelters south of the village

The shelters are all made of a mixture of concrete and concrete-bricks and are typically an average of perhaps three to four meters squared, most have a roof of concrete and a door improvised out of any material that comes to hand. On one of our goat herding outings up Jabal Khubtha Tufiq had pointed out to me the great wooden framework for the even greater wooden gates that the Petra Authority had erected on the stairs up to the summit of Khubtha to prevent people from accessing it when the park closed for the night. Laughing, Tufiq told me that some Bedouin had decided that it was an egregious waste of good wood to put gates in such a silly spot; and the PA..... thinking they could stop the Bedouin accessing their own land? The gates lasted a few nights only before they were torn down, broken apart, and used for doors on people's animal shelters. No one knew just who pulled the gates down, but the PA apparently couldn't be bothered replacing them.

Yet, now, the government has banned the building of any more animal shelters. According to Tufiq, the police will come and tear down any new ones that anyone tries to build. As the population of the village has grown, and more people rely on tourism work involving animal labour, the animal population has also grown. Just as the human population of the village has outgrown the village so too has the animal population outgrown the animal shelters. Now, donkeys are hitched for the night in the streets, as are camels, but they often get loose. Horses, which are less hardy than donkeys, camels and mules, usually have preference for the shelters, or people's enclosed yards, but there are still plenty of horses roaming through the village; and there are many stray dogs too, which people generally hate with a passion. Goats too, wander through the village, getting into garbage bins along with the donkeys, as well as people's gardens causing havoc.

The night is typically filled with the sound of braying donkeys and the clatter of hooves and barking dogs as they chase donkeys through the street, and if one is unwise enough to leave the door to their house open for the night in summer, they are likely to have a donkey break

in and make a mess of everything (as I discovered). The animals are blamed for the mosquitos that seem to infest the village during the summer, and the constant dust in the air which people blame for the respiratory illness of their children. These problems cause further problems when the owners of stray donkeys are presented with demands for compensation when their animals break things, or destroy olive trees, vegetable gardens or break into and ransack animal feed storerooms.

Despite these problems, associated with living in an overcrowded village, and all the animals, there is a greater problem for the Bedoul which brings about ambivalence and causes people a great deal of anxiety about who they are. As noted above, it is the fact of living in a village, the influence of technology, and work in tourism that fuels much of the uncertainty about their current status as Bedouin. Early on in my time in the village I attended a wedding and found myself sitting with a son of the paramount sheikh of the Bedoul, a young man in his thirties called Marwan Faqyra. This wedding included the customary goat hair tent set up in the open space before the groom's family home. However, it was done a little more like the traditional format than most, and instead of the usual hundreds of plastic chairs and tables arranged before the tent for the feast on the third day, there were mats set out for people to sit and kneel on while they ate from great trays of mansaf set out on the mats.



Wedding

Weddings typically last for three days and end with a feast at sundown on the third day, which anyone and everyone in the village can attend. Weddings only usually occur during the summer, and people typically try to time their weddings so that there are at least two or three weddings on at the same time; no one relishes the prospect of having to try and feed the entire village, or face the embarrassment of having some guests go hungry. Marwan and I were sitting on a mat at right angles to the tent, which was full of important looking elderly men; everyone had finished eating and were engaged in conversation. Marwan, like so many, told me that Bedouin aren't *real* Bedouin anymore, he said "Bedouin culture is like maqluba⁴⁴ now, upside down. If you want to study *real* Bedouin culture, you have to go to the eastern desert". As he was talking someone turned off the string of lights that was hung along the front of the tent roof plunging the tent into darkness. Immediately there was a cacophony of old men in

⁴⁴ Literally "upside down" مقلوبة maqluba is a dish of, typically, chicken, vegetables and rice which is constructed in a large pot upside down to how it will be presented on a large platter when it is tipped out of the pot.

the tent shouting for the lights to be turned back on. Motioning towards the old men, Marwan said somewhat scornfully, “in the past they didn’t have lights! They might have had a lamp, that was it! And that’s how *Bedu* lived. Now? Look at what happens when the lights go out; they all start to cry about it” As he said that he made a face and mockingly rubbed the knuckles of his index fingers under his eyes, like a weeping child.

On another occasion I was waiting for a ride into Wadi Musa to do some shopping I couldn’t do in the village and couple of guys I knew came along. One was Gassam Faqyra, who was in his early 40s and quite an innovator in the use of social media, like Facebook, in tourism. The other was Yousef al-Jdelāt, who spent most of his time as a donkey guide. Gassam told me that I had to write about everything that happened there, about everything I see, the good and the bad, record the times when people are happy and when they are sad. He said “I don’t really like to live in the village, I don’t like the way village life makes people. Life in the village has changed people” he told me that people call it “the wall of technology”. He described it for me saying “we have electricity, running water and satellite TV. We get around 500 channels on TV, many from Europe, and much of it is pornography, right there on TV, children can watch it. This is very bad for people”.

Gassam told me that he didn’t live in his house in the village, which was just down the road from where we were standing. He preferred to live in his cave on the road to Bydha, which he also used in tourism, inviting tourists to spend the night “couch surfing” in his cave; he just brought them to his house in the village to use the shower and toilet. Gassam also said “the influence of tourists has brought bad things too, like extra-marital sex, and alcohol. Many of the young guys drink too much.” He and Yousef continued on their way, and I found a lift to town. That conversation I had with Gassam, quite early in my time in Petra, hit upon something that I found repeated often, but only by the older generation, who had strong memories of life in Petra and the caves. There is a consistent feeling that their changed way

of life, their residence in the village, the associated technology of that, and increases of work in tourism, instead of with goats or farming, has changed Bedoul somehow.

But of equal, and inextricably intertwined, concern for the Bedoul was the appropriation of almost the entire area of land that they had traditionally regarded as their homeland, their *dira*, and the complete lack of any economic incorporation into the Petra Archaeological Park (Brand 2001: 965). This was matched by the non-development of any viable economic alternatives to replace the farming, pastoralism and other enterprises that were to be forbidden in the park (Brand 2001: 965).

Under these circumstances the Bedoul community plunged headlong into the tourism industry. The Bedouin's involvement in the tourism industry is multifaceted and generally, or perhaps ideally, forms one economic option among many in the struggle for survival. Bedouin, always more than just nomadic pastoralists (Chatty 2006a: 25) typically deploy multi resource economic systems to create a buffer against times of stress, whether social, political, environmental or economic. They never have, so to speak, 'all their eggs in one basket' (Chatty 2006a: 10, 25; Fabietti 2006: 582; Rowe 2006: 603). This is certainly the ideal, though oftentimes not attainable, preference for Bedoul Bedouin as well⁴⁵.

Bedoul Bedouin, especially since the late 1980s and through the 1990s, have largely divested from most other areas of economic activity and focused almost exclusively on the tourism industry. Yet, though heavily invested in tourism, there is a great diversity of activities *within* tourism which most members of most families will undertake thus providing variable sources of income to the family as a whole and job opportunities to family members. And while they do work overwhelmingly in tourism nearly all Bedoul will retain some non-

⁴⁵ The reality in Petra is that a fair portion of the community don't have the resources to maintain the required diversity that would enable them to weather major and prolonged downturns in the tourism economy without relying on a good amount of support from friends and their extended family. Such was the case for increasing numbers of people during my fieldwork as the effects of the Arab Spring on tourism continued.

tourism form of enterprise such as a herd of goats, some fruit trees, some camels or crops when there is sufficient rain (or a combination of these); ‘just in case’.

However, Bedoul engagement in tourism is not necessarily something they have been *forced* to do simply as a necessity, something they would rather not do. Most of the Bedouin in Petra are more than happy to engage in the tourism industry and do so actively, even enthusiastically. Most Bedoul businesses run as something of a cross between a family enterprise, in which extended families at least potentially or partially finance various family members to operate an ‘arm’ of the family business, and an individual business venture totally under the control of the individual business ‘owner’. Most of these extended interrelated ‘business networks’ in the past have combined work in a number of areas. A whole range of work was included and spread out across entire families including, but not limited to: pastoralism (goats, sheep, camels, horses etc.), dairy production (milk, *jameed*, *samin* etc.), farming (barley, wheat), fruit growing (olives, lemons, oranges etc.), collection of firewood (the highly prized juniper which grows throughout the region) and the tourism industry in all of its facets.

Yet with the displacement of the Bedoul from Petra, the official prohibitions on farming and pastoralism in Petra⁴⁶, and the huge growth of the tourism industry in Petra, and Jordan generally, Bedoul have largely poured most of their efforts into tourism. And so today there is not a family in the Bedoul village of Umm Sayhoun that is not heavily dependent on the tourism industry for a major part, and in some cases all, of their income and survival.

⁴⁶ Officially speaking the Bedoul are prohibited from any of their old livelihood strategies in Petra, the reality is however more flexible. People told me that despite the rules, some of the government officials in the area take the old Bedouin ways into consideration, and the given poor condition of the tourism industry as well, and turn a blind eye to many of the things some Bedoul need to do simply to survive.

Memories.

Each cave, monument, valley and craggy mountain holds generations-deep memories of Bedoul life in Petra. Every ridge, mountain, valley, cave and hill in the Petra region is associated with the Bedoul and their lives in Petra, whatever the Nabataeans did there. The Nabataeans are a legend, they have been unearthed by archaeologists, and for the Bedoul it is the Bedoul who are one and the same as Petra, not the Nabataeans. What Salamah Sāmahyn told Rashd and me that summer's afternoon was to be reiterated to me by a wide portion of the community when I would ask them about Bedoul life in Petra. They survived by combining a great many things, farming, pastoralism, fruit growing, dairy production, the list goes on; as does the practice of diversifying livelihood options even now.

The range of livelihood strategies deployed by the Bedoul, when they lived in Petra, and since they moved to the village, has always been as diverse as the imaginations applied to the available resources within the particular economic and social context in which people found themselves. Ways of survival, for the Bedoul, have always been conditional. When pastoralism is lucrative, those with the resources will invest in it. When it isn't, they divest and put their money into other options, including tourism. And the important point in all of this is that the Bedoul Bedouin survived not by periodically passing through Petra on their way to somewhere else, but by living, permanently, in Petra. Though pastoralists in some measure, Bedoul have not been nomadic since at least the time they arrived in Petra in the distant past.

Yet, taken for granted, at the base of their identity, as nomadic pastoralists with little connection to Petra, the Bedoul were moved out of the site and all but a very small number of people were to be prevented from accessing the land that had sustained them for generations (Brand 2001: 965). As Brand (2001: 965) states, there was “no thought to the economic (or

other) incorporation of the Bdul or the Liyathna⁴⁷” into the Petra Archaeological Park. The multiplicity of livelihood activities that the Bedoul Bedouin pursued within the boundaries of their *dira*, which was almost entirely swallowed up by the park were, essentially, outlawed. Furthermore, the options, what few there were, offered to them as part of the move were geared to change the Bedouin into farmers (Brand 2001: 965), something Brand (2001: 965) clearly states they are not; and the Bedoul today would vehemently agree with Brand’s statement, “we are Bedouin, not farming people!” is a common refrain⁴⁸.

Assumptions of nomadism and pastoralism applied to Bedouin, according to Marx, (2006: 87) demonstrates a “profoundly unhistorical point of view [that] assumes that their traditional way of life continues unchanged through the ages”. And these assumptions appear to have made it easy for the architects of the Bedouin’s displacement from Petra to ignore the absolute reliance that the community did have on the Petra region. Bedoul, categorised as Bedouin nomads who have “for thousands of years lived in an essentially unaltered way” (USAID 2008: 23), after all should have had no special connection to Petra and its surrounds. The reality, however, could not be further from such renderings of what it is to be Bedouin, and their displacement has put them in an increasingly precarious position today as they were displaced onto the land of other people, their rather unfriendly neighbours, the Beni Layth. Displaced from Petra as they were, and drawn to a reliance on tourism for their livelihoods as they are, displacement and tourism combine, for the Bedoul, in particular ways that feed into struggles about who they are, being Bedouin, and rights to place.

⁴⁷ Brand’s spelling of Layathna; most Beni Layth seemed to prefer Beni Layth to Layathna during my fieldwork.

⁴⁸ This brings in aspects of Bedoul identity that crosscut local politics and competition with their neighbours the Layathna. These issues go beyond the actual livelihood strategies such designations as farmer of Bedouin seem to represent and concern more than pastoralism and farming; they will be dealt with in chapter 7.

Chapter 3: Creating a Lost City.

Petra is presented in guidebooks, travelogues, travel articles in newspapers, and segments on television travel programmes, as the ancient city of the Nabataeans. The popular travel guide *Lonely Planet: Jordan* (Walker 2012: 159-160), charts the history of Petra, and the immediate area, beginning with the establishment of the Neolithic village excavated near Bydha, on to the Nabataeans and Petra, to the Romans, and on to the earthquakes that were a major factor in the city's demise. The *Lonely Planet* concludes its history section with a brief paragraph about the westerners who have passed through, beginning with Burckhardt, who 'discovered' Petra, to David Roberts, who painted Petra, on to a few words about the multitude of archaeologists who have unearthed Petra. The Bedouin barely get mentioned until the reader comes to the "Dangers & Annoyances" (Walker 2012: 160) section, where they are accused of "overcharging" and "the hard sell"; and the author gives warnings about the irritation caused by the many Bedouin children running around. The Bedouin are in the writing but as auxiliary characters, presented as either dangers, annoyances or quaint interludes with tea for tourists to enjoy, to get a taste of authentic local culture, while they discover the ancient wonders of Petra. Though the Bedouin are there, the city is presented to the reader, the prospective visitor, as void of contemporary life other than that associated with the tourism industry.

This vision of what Petra is is presented in a particular way; it is shaped by a host of factors. The tourist's "gaze" (Urry 1990: 1) that falls on Petra a thousand times a day is not arbitrary. Certainly, as Urry (1990: 1) states, the tourist gaze is not a single thing, it varies culturally, by socioeconomic position and history, and arguably it is even individually particular. It is driven by a number of discursive (Foucault 2004: 121) formations which serve to put limits on its multiplicity. Though the object of the tourist's gaze may be multivocal (Turner 1970:

50) and apprehended in a multitude of different ways by a multitude of people at an individualistic level of meaning, it is still the product of a motivated presentation of a *particular* vision of reality that is independent of, and informs how, individuals apprehend reality and hence contains a uniformity presented to all who visit despite their various interpretations.

The result is that individuated interpretations (already primed through tourist education media) of things like the Treasury (and arguably the whole of Petra and even the Bedouin) are hemmed in by the presented reality, i.e. the reality contained within and peddled by tourism guidebooks and the tourism industry generally; after all, the object of this imposed version of reality, Petra, is literally rock solid. So, for example, for individual tourists the Treasury might be an ancient Nabataean tomb, it might be something in which the tourist saw Indiana Jones find the Holy Grail, it might, for some American Evangelical Christians, be a place the Israelites were sheltered during the Exodus. Irrespective of the differences of such interpretations, they all draw from a commonality of ancientness, of ruination, of lost civilisations.

As such, such objects as the Treasury at Petra carry with them a condensation of “key aspects of culture” (Turner 1970: 50), and history, selectively and ideologically written onto them, to the exclusion of others. For example, Petra’s apparent status as an ancient abandoned social and cultural landscape, may be symbolised in the image of the Treasury⁴⁹, bereft of any context relating to its existence or use through the centuries in which it has existed. Without such anthropological context the ancient nature of the Treasury’s materiality comes to the fore while its use and meaning (for the Nabataeans *and* the Bedouin) recedes.

⁴⁹ The image of the Treasury of Petra is ubiquitous across Jordan, it symbolizes Petra generally, and even Jordan itself. This is a domestically engineered phenomenon (see Al Mahadin 2007) as well as one pervasive in tourism advertising coming from outside Jordan, the *Lonely Planet: Jordan* for example, has the Treasury on the front and back cover. The image is directed to Jordanians and outsiders alike, by both Jordanians and outsiders.

What's left is the proverbial blank slate onto which motivated and particular visions of reality might be imposed, typically for contemporary social, political and/or economic purposes. In the case of Petra this social organisation of the tourist gaze (Urry 1990: 1) extends to the manipulation of the very physicality of Petra itself. In 1985 the Jordanian state and its workers carved it into the landscape with a jackhammer as Bedouin houses were ruined, the material culture of the Bedouin overlain on the Nabataean ruins broken up and removed. It was carved into the mountains over the remnants of the Nabataean city creating a particular presentation of Petra; and it is carved into Petra's landscape through the eradication of the Petra of the Bedouin.

Yet there are two processes occurring here that go beyond motivated presentation of a particular history; they are entirely dependent upon such a construction of Petra and its history- and the tourism industry. Both processes relate to the actual social relations, on the ground, and specifically what they turn Petra into simply as a consequence of their occurrence. Describing the second of these processes is the overall work of this thesis, it is the Bedouin response to: a) their eviction from Petra, b) their move into the tourism industry for their livelihood, and c) their lives lived in Umm Sayhoun and all the political/social/economic wrangling that they struggle through. However, to apprehend all of this we must first apprehend the first, somewhat insidious, process.

This first process is part of modernity, it comes with the structure of the tourism industry, the actions of the tourists, and their interactions with the Bedouin, and importantly, with Petra. It is also part of the position of the Bedouin in relation to the Jordanian state, bodies like UNESCO, USAID, and various other organisations which have a stake in Petra, these things that structure, impinge upon, the nature of social relations in Petra. And the place of this chapter is to describe how the differentiating tendencies of modernity, which mark off ancient from modern, 'developed' from 'un/der-developed' and subordinate all to middle class

values, (MacCannell 1976: 11), structure Petra in a very particular way that narrows the possibilities of what Petra might be conceived to be. This then will be built upon in chapter four which describes how the aforementioned process strips Petra of its status as ‘place’ and create what Augé (1995) has called a ‘non-place’.

Visiting Petra.

Tourists visiting Petra get there from the town of Wadi Musa. In Wadi Musa they stay in one of the many hotels, eat in the multitude of restaurants, and shop in the many gift shops where they can buy everything from Petra themed postcards, fourteen for 3 dinars, to hand woven silk rugs imported from Iran for up to, and exceeding, 1,500 dinars. In the town tourists are surrounded by motifs of ancient architecture- faux stone columns and stylised representations of Petra’s Treasury, that pervade the town, and neon signs, hanging from telegraph poles, proclaim Petra’s status as one of the New Seven Wonders of the World; it seems that the entire town is geared to focus visitors’ attention on Petra.

After a short time spent in Wadi Musa, surrounded by reminders (real and fake) of Petra’s ancient heritage, tourists leave their hotels in anticipation of ancient wonders and visit Petra. To get there they must walk along the gently downwards-sloping path from the Petra Visitor’s Centre towards the opening of the *siq*, the narrow cleft hewn between the mountains, that forms the front entrance into Petra; they amble along, in groups, with guides, or individually. They begin their journey by making their way to the gate; they buy or present their ticket to the Petra Archaeological Park (PAP) employee in the ticket booth then pass through the non-functioning metal detector⁵⁰, staffed by members of the Jordanian Tourist

⁵⁰ In all the times I walked through it I can’t recall ever seeing it plugged into the electricity outlet.

Police, who sleepily monitor the thousands of tourists flowing by. Once through the gate, they move onto the gravelly path heading roughly west and are confronted by the horse guides who offer horse rides into Petra; the guides are always careful to point out that the horse ride “is included in the ticket”⁵¹.



Horse Station at the entrance to Petra

The horse guides greet with a smile and explain to the often confused and suspicious tourists that the horse rides are, indeed, free; each ticket purchased in Petra entitles its owner to a horse ride on one of the brightly decorated horses. To the left of the gate at the head of the horse track, that runs parallel to the walking track, there is a sheltered area with mounting-blocks where most of the horses are hitched awaiting a rider. Tourists who accept the offer are led to the guide’s horse and aided aboard. The saddles are adorned with rugs and blankets, often a small *khurj*- a colourful hand-woven set of woollen saddlebags, is slung across the horse’s back and pinned under the saddle and contains the guide’s lunch. Some of the horses are harnessed with matching hand woven woollen bridle, halter and breast-collar sets decorated with tassels and cowry shells, all of which suggests an “Arabian” or “Bedouin” flavour to the adventure of visiting Petra; but, as will be argued in the pages to come, that flavour of Petra, the Bedouin one, is contrary to and to some degree competes with, the official presentation. As the more adventurous tourists gallop off, or just walk, depending on the level of their confidence (or

⁵¹ To work as a horse guide, one must have a horse registration number. For every owner of a “horse number” there is a monthly stipend which is paid for by ticket sales in Petra (I was told anywhere from three to five Dinars for every ticket sold). This money subtracted from each of the tickets sold is pooled then equally distributed among horse number owners irrespective of them working as horse guides, or indeed even owning a horse. In this way the horse guides get money from each tourist and so say “the horse ride is included in the ticket price”.

overconfidence) on a horse's back, others may accept a ride on one of the many horse-drawn wagons that are, ostensibly, to provide transport to infirm or elderly visitors only. Most tourists, however, choose to simply walk into Petra.

The tourists, one way or another, make their way towards the opening of the *siq*; they walk along surrounded by the beginnings of the Shara Mountains. Like the rocky tip of a headland as it is swallowed by the sea, the mountains form a jagged barrier between the high Jordanian desert plateau and the plummeting depths of Wadi Araba. It takes around ten minutes to walk down the path, with the horse track, and the clattering hooves of its traffic, running alongside; the two trails are separated by a low stone wall. The surrounding landscape is barren and rocky. As the tourists walk down the path it gradually descends and the mountains rise up on either side, Jabal Khubtha on the right and the rugged rolling hill-mountains of al-Madras on the left, they come to the Djinn Blocks and the Obelisk Tomb, some pause to take photos, most continue, in eager anticipation of a glimpse of the Treasury, made famous by Indiana Jones and his quest for the Holy Grail. Eventually the river of tourism comes to the opening of the *siq*, and the 'Indiana Jones Gift Shop'; people in Petra know how to make the most of publicity and a good opportunity.

Here, the tourists who were adventurous enough to ride a horse into Petra, are told they must dismount since, to the disappointment of many, saddle horses are not allowed into the *siq*, and that though the horse ride was free, i.e. the guide's service, they should "give a 5-dinar tip to the horse"; the carriage horses continue clattering their way into the *siq*. The opening to the *siq* is only a few meters across and its walls soar almost vertically, to what seems a hundred feet and more, and the path descends sharply for a distance of between five to ten meters to the cobblestoned floor. The effect of entering the *siq* is akin to entering a subterranean cavern, the effect is augmented by the height of the walls and the way they restrict direct sunlight from entering. The sound of the tourist's voices combines and becomes

amplified in the narrow stony passage, an incoherent tangle of a multitude of voices, accents and languages, as they bounce off the sandstone walls, punctuated by the clattering of the carriage horses' hooves on the stone flagged floor.

Entrance to the Siq



In the Siq

In the Siq



The *siq* winds its way between the towering cliffs, sometimes far enough apart to give a glimpse of the sky above, sometimes the walls overhang each other and block out the sky. Along the walls there are the remnants of the water channels that once carried water into the ancient city and the floor is paved with great hunks of stone so weathered by the passage of thousands of feet, hooves and millennia of floods that the horse

drawn carriages bounce and crash over the uneven surface as the horses strain, the carriage drivers shout “BEEP BEEP!” mimicking a car horn, and tourists jump out of their way. The passage, cool and shady, enclosed, focuses perception into a tunnel like vision through the *siq* which is, finally, and spectacularly, concentrated on the sudden appearance of the Treasury as it comes into view, framed, and partly obscured by the narrow exit of the *siq* into Petra. In the morning, with the sun shining directly upon it from the East, the Treasury almost glows a bright pinkish-red, all the brighter given the viewing tourist’s position in the dark, enclosed, *siq*.

alKhazneh from the Siq



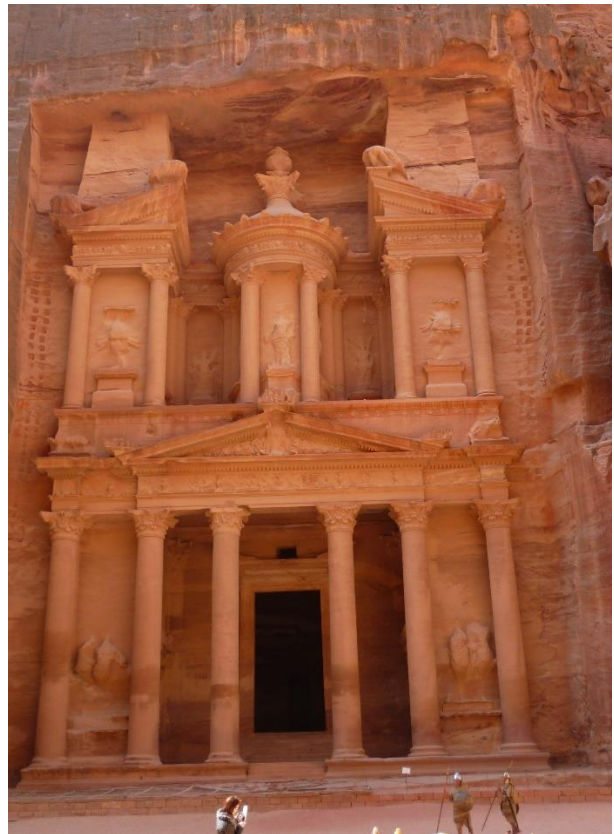
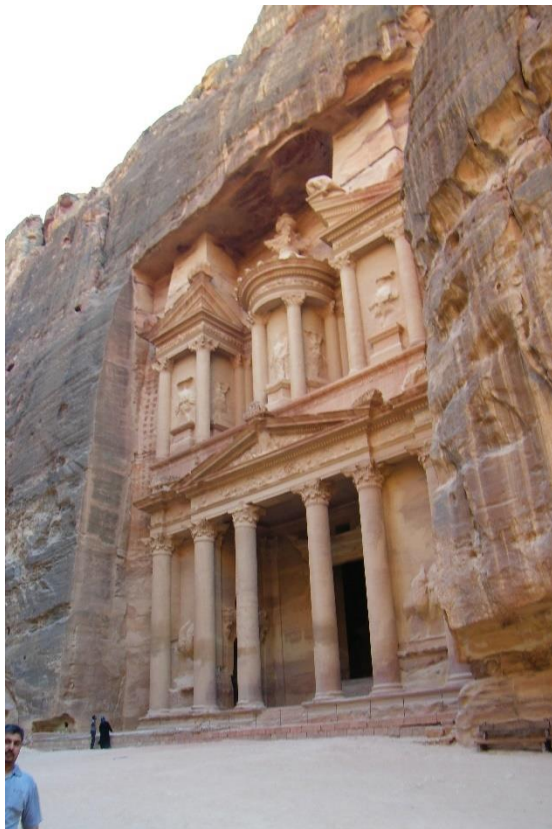
The journey through the *siq* is a journey through a conscientiously ancient space. The *siq*, once filled with a tangle of oleander bushes and the Moses⁵² stream running through it, is now sanitised of all contemporary material except that associated with the needs of tourists; there are a few wooden benches, on which tourists may rest, some rubbish bins, and a few places where concrete has been laid on the ground to replace the ancient paving stones and a retaining wall or two. The distinction between the ancient place and the modern, transitory, crowd passing through it is stark; and when combined with travel guidebooks, further prepares tourists to enter a Lost City, further focuses the “tourist gaze” (Urry 1990: 1) on the ancient, obfuscating the contemporary. And, the first glimpse one catches of the Treasury, partly obscured by the walls of the *siq*, as one rounds the last corner, gives a tantalising image of the mysterious abandoned place. Only the upper portion is visible, a classical façade carved out of the solid sandstone, well preserved, but weathered just enough to confirm that it is indeed ancient. In that instant, with only the top of the Treasury visible at first, Petra promises to deliver this strange thing called authenticity that the tourists seek (MacCannell 1976: 3). The tourists’ gaze, pre-conditioned by the media and a host of tourism industry experts (Urry 1990: 1) have been conditioned to expect a Lost City, kind of like the one Burkhardt found, Indiana Jones found on the silver screen, or the one they read about in the *Lonely Planet* (Walker 2012: 158-193) guidebook. This Lost City is as much a creation of archaeological practice as the absence of a Bedouin iteration of Petra is. Though the *siq* has had some areas of concrete laid down to protect it from flooding, it is generally made up of ancient stonework, though re-laid and made in restoration work. Likewise the broken pillar in the façade of the Treasury was re-erected and secured in place. Other areas of excavation that have been done, or are continuing, are around the Great Temple and the Palace of the Winged

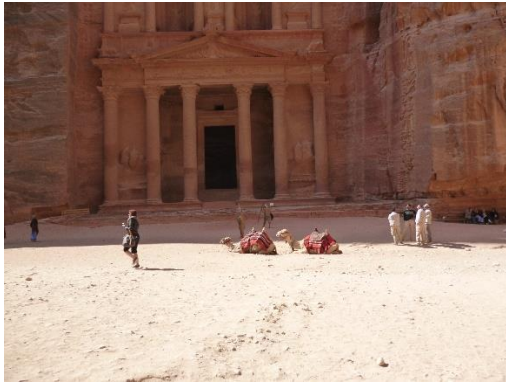
⁵² Far above at the entrance to the town of Wadi Musa is Ain Musa, there is a spring which is allegedly the place Moses struck his staff against the stone to provide water to the thirsty Israelites. Water from the spring used to flow down the valley, through the *siq* and into Petra; it was diverted to provide irrigation to peoples’ fruit trees.

Lions, which were underway during my fieldwork. There is usually quite a bit of restoration work going on in Petra at any given time too. The stairs up to the Monastery have undergone restoration, as have the stairs to the High Place of Sacrifice. More often than not Bedouin are hired as labourers for both excavations and restoration work. As such they are brought into archaeological practice as accomplices to their own exclusion to the site as archaeological discourse structures Petra excluding them.

When tourists round the final bend in the *siq* and the treasury becomes completely visible, the scene that greets tourists, however, is somewhat different to the ancient and empty landscape which tourism and archaeology has primed them to expect.

al-Khazneh





Tourists milling in front of al-Khazneh

The space before the Treasury is narrow, hemmed in by Khubtha and Jabal Madhba, and it is teeming with life and its sociality, all firmly lodged in the present. Before the Treasury a crowd of tourists mixed with Bedouin, camels, horse drawn carriages, tourist police and members of the Desert Patrol in their kaki *thoubs* and red *mendeels*⁵³. At certain times of the day, there are even a couple of Nabataean warriors, equipped with fanciful Romanesque armour, helmets and spears guarding the Treasury. To the left of the *siq*'s exit is the Treasury Gift Shop, which sells everything from coffee and tea, to high quality silver jewellery, postcards, silver alloy lampshades, swords, T-shirts, *mendeels*, snacks and all manner of souvenirs. To the right, the path leads away from the Treasury through a short but narrow passage between Jabals Madhba and Khubtha, in the passage tourists find the donkeys of the donkey guides tethered as they wait for their owners and their tourist customers. And, echoing through the small gorge, is the constant sound of a diesel engine as it runs an electrical generator to supply the gift shop with electricity.

⁵³ The typical Arab headdress, in standard Arabic is called a *kufiyah* but is known by a variety of names. The Bedouin in Petra generally call it a *mendeel*.



Nabataean warriors

As the tourists stop before the Treasury, waiting in vain for other tourists to get out of the way so they can take a photo, untrammelled by tourists, they are routinely approached by a few elderly Bedouin men. One of the first Bedouin they get to meet is often Dreybeyah Abu Mohammed, Rashd and Tufiq's father. He, and the others, offer to sell tourists Nabataean and Roman coins; a few offer reasonably high-quality silver jewellery. Some of the tourists, the more wise and worldly ones, warn their fellows that the coins and jewellery are all fakes, not realising that most of the stuff is actually genuine, or that most of the old men speak English, and a smattering of a few other languages. The old Bedouin men usually hang about the exit of the *siq* and get the tourists as soon as they emerge from it.

A little further in, near the gift shop, there is often a collection of dusty, barefoot, Bedouin children armed with packs of fourteen Petra-postcards and necklaces made from camel bone, stone beads and coral; probably the children the author of the *Lonely Planet: Jordan* finds so irritating. The children try to engage the tourists, showing them the jewellery and postcards,

most of which goes for around three to six dinars a piece. The open space in front of the Treasury is where the camel guides couch their camels waiting for customers. Most of the tourists are happy just to have their photo taken with a camel, a few accept a short ride around in a circle in front of the Treasury, fewer still actually take a ride from the Treasury down into the main city area of Petra. And there is usually a group of donkey guides waiting around the tables in front of the gift shop to offer the tourists a ride on a 'Bedouin Ferrari'.

As the tourists shake themselves loose from the crowd that seems to be perpetually gathered in front of the Treasury, they proceeded to the northwest into the short passage between Khubtha and Madhba and on to the main city area of Petra. The cliffs on either side have façades carved into them; some of them only have the roofs exposed above the centuries of sand washed into the passage by floods, others are high up on the cliff faces. The path slopes downwards and curves to the left, then to the right, eventually the path opens out and the flank of Jabal Khubtha runs off to the north forming its western face, and Madhba's to the west.

High up on Khubtha's western side are the huge Royal Tombs. If the Nabataeans designed the Treasury to stun visitors as they exited the *siq*, the Royal Tombs must have been designed to instil awe and perhaps intimidate by their sheer scale. Unlike the Treasury, the Royal Tombs are not sheltered from the weather, their grandeur has eroded and left only a rough hint of the intricately carved statues and patterns that once adorned them. On the left side of the path there is an ancient staircase carved in a fissure in the mountain, the walls of which are home to yet more tombs, leading to the top of Jabal Madhba, to the High Place of Sacrifice. Further along, to the left of the path, carved out of the side of Jabal Madhba is the theatre, fenced off to protect it from tourist's feet, people view it from the path. And, high above the theatre, in the semi-circular cliff face formed in the theatre's construction, are yet more façades with their characteristic step-shaped roofs.



Royal Tombs

The path continues, now following the base of Jabal Madhba as it slowly curves due west. To the right there is another path that leads up to the Royal Tombs, carved out of Khubtha's western face; and ahead is the Colonnaded Street, paved with marble and flanked by columns of varying height and the tumbled down remains of others. Now, away from the imposing bulk of the mountains, on either side of the path are hills gently rising and running longitudinally to the west. The hills are strewn with the rubble of what were some of the freestanding structures in Petra.

As the tourists near the end of the Colonnaded Street, they come to the Great Temple on the left and the Temple of the Winged Lions on the right, both unearthed by archaeologists. In front of them, slightly to the left is the Qasr al-Bint (Palace of the Pharaoh's Daughter), and behind that Nazal's Camp⁵⁴, made famous by Agatha Christy and her *Appointment with Death*. On the opposite side of the path to the Qasr al-Bint are the bulk of the camel guides and their couched camels awaiting tired tourists on their return trip from the Monastery. And running in a north to south direction are the huge mountains that mark the western edge of the

⁵⁴ Now a stone building rather than a camp.

main city of Petra, Jabal al-Dayr and Jabal Umm al-Byara, concealed between them near the Crown Plaza Resort is the path leading to the Monastery, the last monument most visitors to Petra usually see. For the tourists energetic enough to make the climb up to the summits of Khubtha, Madhba, or Jabal al-Dayr, they do so along ancient stairways carved from the living stone and find yet more tombs and monuments along the way. At the monastery, they even walk the last few steps over partly exposed segments of great stone columns partially buried in the sand and find the enormous mass of the monastery towering before them, carved out of an entire mountainside.

Everywhere there are tombs, their sizes range from that of a small cave, no bigger than the average bedroom, to enormous caverns, such as the Urn Tomb, among the Royal Tombs carved out of Khubtha's western face. There are few that tourists are prevented from entering, most they can clamber through as they wish. The openings to the caves are bare, many rounded and weathered, and sand has been blown in over the years to fill the caves, and much rubbish too. The walls of the tombs, bare sandstone, appear to ripple like the surface of some psychedelic pond. Waves of reds and pinks cut through by lines of yellows, black and white, stratification of sediment, give the cave walls beautiful patterns. The tourist's feet sink into the layers of dust accumulated on the floors of the caves. As the dust swirls gently up one can smell and taste it, and dry decomposed goat faeces; only the roofs of the caves, many still coated with generations old layers of black soot from fires, give a hint of their former status as resting places, homes, for living humans – the Bedouin. This illusion, the windswept mysterious and ancient place, has only existed since around 1985, only since then has the bulk of Petra filled with dust and begun to take on the veneer of the ancient Lost City devoid of a living population to fill it.

Deconstruction, Reconstruction.

As Bedoul families moved into the village of Wahdat al-Bedoul⁵⁵ built on the ridge on Umm Sayhoun government workers moved into Petra to destroy the remnants of the Bedoul's Petra. The homes that had been developed over the course of generations by the Bedouin were incongruous with the image of Petra that the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities wanted to present and likely from the beginning, seen as a form of modern contamination over what the Nabataeans had left; the Bedoul houses were torn out of the mountains. Doors and windows were ripped out of the caves, concrete floors were smashed and cleared out, and painted walls were scrubbed clean. Where people had gardens and olive trees, they were uprooted, and the remains discarded. Some of the homes had large stone walls built up to enclose them, like the one Rashd's older brother Awad had in the side of Khubtha, these walls were smashed; the remains are still strewn across the ground before the empty tombs. All that was left of Petra is what the Nabataeans and Romans left when they deserted it.

⁵⁵ In Arabic the village is officially called Wahdat al-Bedoul, it is also called Bedoul Housing or Umm Sayhoun; the Bedouin usually refer to it simply as al-Wahdat.



Examples of Bedouin cave homes

The Bedouin residential presence in Petra was erased; their homes and gardens were gone. The physical deconstruction and removal of almost all traces of generations of Bedouin habitation left Petra void of any physical history that could be linked to a contemporary, living, population. Petra was now emptied of life, it was left to the elements and the windswept sand in a way, to an extent, that it possibly rarely, or never, had been in its entire history. And the wind swept the sand into tombs that had been kept clean for generations burying them, so they look, now, as though they have been that way for a thousand years. Petra was turned into a clean, albeit sandy, slate onto which the Jordanian state, and various

other organisations, could write a new history; a history in line with the needs of the state and the tourism industry.

With the physical sanitisation of Petra, it was reconstructed as a Lost City at the level of discourse driven by the state, international aid organisations, UNESCO, the tourism industry, and archaeology. Such a presentation of Petra could now be reconciled with its physical appearance without the messiness of living people, the Bedouin, getting in the way and posing uncomfortable questions about ownership, land rights and the plight of displaced peoples. This conceptual reconstruction of Petra informs and is further entrenched by its place in mass media, in the public imagination and in the conditioned experiences sought out by the thousands of tourists who walk through the *siq* every day.

The creation of Petra as Lost City is not, I argue, a simply cynical manipulation of history, and its artefacts, for the sake of making a few dinars. MacCannell (1976: 3) noted long ago that the modern concern for naturalness, for authenticity, is not simply a nostalgic or decadent attachment “to the souvenirs of destroyed epochs and cultures. They are also components of the conquering spirit of Modernity- the grounds of its unifying consciousness.” The incorporation of places like Petra, into the self-conscious identities of nation states, is much more than a transparent presentation of a convenient image of place. Modernity’s differentiating tendencies (MacCannell 1976: 11) allow history to become a negotiable good (Herzfeld 1991: xi) and enables the nation state to impose a “monumental view of history” (Herzfeld 1991: 5) onto places like Rethemnos (Herzfeld 1991), or Thebes (van der Spek 2011), or Petra. Such a view of history seeps into the spaces of the everyday lives of the people who live in such places as the nation state rolls out a raft of regulation to protect them; and arguably to protect their ideological construction of place too. van der Spek (2011), writing about Thebes in Egypt, gives a particularly good account of the role of archaeology in this process which is at play in Petra too.

Herzfeld (1991: 10) wrote that there is a chasm separating monumental time, which orders monumental views of history, and social time which constitutes the minutiae of people's everyday lives. Social time consists of events that are one of a kind, it is the realm of the real and cuts to real people's experience. Herzfeld (1991: 10) echoing MacCannell's (1976: 45) analysis of the universality of the "tourism sight" notes, monumental time is however reductive and generic and reduces social experience to collective predictability. Monumental time focuses "on the past constituted by categories and stereotypes" (Herzfeld 1991: 10). When "bureaucratic modernity strives to represent familiar domestic spaces as monumental" (Herzfeld 1991: 5) such sights/sites attain the "institutional support" (MacCannell 1976: 44) necessary to ensure their "sociosymbolic meanings" (ibid) tending towards universality; they incorporate "natural, social, historical and cultural domains in a single representation" (MacCannell 1976: 45) emerging from their status as tourist attractions.

In Petra archaeological practice informs the basis of a related ideological construction. Petra existed, like most old cities around the world – London, Paris, Damascus, Baghdad, Thebes, etc. as a continual social, cultural and material presence over the ruins of past epochs. The Bedouin, like the residents of Qurna of Thebes (van der Spek 2011: xix) had utilised the ruins of the ancients to construct composite dwellings. However, as in Thebes, archaeological practice in Petra focuses in on the ancient and discards the modern as unworthy of academic scrutiny leading to the erasure of a centuries old human presence and the valorisation of the ancient remains as the only legitimate object of study; the only thing that can legitimately exist in the space.

Thus, Petra has been conceptually narrowed and monumentalised; its status as home to a living community and domestic, social space is eradicated. Social time fades before the institutional imposition of monumental time (Herzfeld 1991: 10), and the physical and discursive construction of place as monument elides the domesticity that Petra had as a

Bedouin village and so flushes out the sociality associated with the Bedouin. Yet this process of monumentalisation goes further. With Bedouin peoples themselves folded into tourism and nationalist construction in Jordan, they too go through a process of monumentalisation.

Tourism's Trinity in Jordan.

The once domestic spaces of Petra are no more, they are driven out by the monumental, which imposes a view of time, of history and life that has no space for the messy unpredictability of everyday struggles for survival. In Petra the Bedouin, or most of them, were pushed out of the city with their only option to settle in the village of Umm Sayhoun. The ambiguity of Petra, as an historical artefact, ancient ruined city and place inhabited by a living population, with a long history of shaping the site to their needs, was replaced with the singular image of the site as the Lost City; and the physical production of Petra as such eradicated almost all vestiges of the Bedouin. Petra became a monumental representation of a sanitised vision of history that did not include the Bedouin; for, what are a modern living group of Bedouin to the grandeur of such monumental constructions? And Petra took its place among the other of Jordan's monumental tourism sites/sights, such as Umm Qays, Jerash and the Baptism Site on the Jordan River, to name but a few.

Each element of such constructions, as tourist attractions like Petra, come from "basically the same elements" (MacCannell 1976: 26) with differing arrangements ensuring their "authenticity" and contribute to the organisation of attitudes towards other like constructions (MacCannell 1976: 27). In Jordan each element of tourism is arrayed into a schema which I argue essentially conforms to one of three general categories: 'ancient', 'religious' and 'cultural', which all, as monumentally defined, feed into discourses of Jordanian national and cultural heritage.

The different sites as they roughly relate to their three categories may loosely be described as Petra, Jerash, Umm Qays and a few other areas (Perhaps, Showbak Castle; Ajlun Castle; Karak Castle etc.) conforming to the Ancient (and perhaps historical). Religious places abound, with many sites in Madaba, the Dead Sea, Mount Nebo and the Baptism Site standing as prime examples. Finally, there are the Cultural sites which include environmental heritage and some elements of history directly related to the establishment of Jordan. To some degree the Religious and Ancient sites all feed into the discourse of Jordanian heritage, as the Jordanian state and the Hashemite monarchy are imagined as cultural and political successors to the empires that went before them (Al-Mahadin 2007: 88). However, there is a direct analogy between the events following the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of Jordan that is missing in the continuity from the Nabataeans, Romans, Byzantines to the Hashemites. Cultural places are many and may include Wadi Araba, Feynan, Wadi Mujib, to name a few; but probably the best example of these places is Wadi Rum. This is particularly the case as Wadi Rum seems to vacillate between cultural heritage (a place of Bedouins) and a place of nature, or more simply, the desert (Chatelard 2005).

Each of these places, in each of these categories, just like Petra, has been demarcated as monumental and takes on the characteristics of stereotype and universality. The Baptism site, though ancient, is overwhelmingly a place of religious significance, as allegedly, the site of Jesus's baptism by John the Baptist. Likewise, Mount Nebo and the church there, while also ancient, is the place Moses apparently looked upon the Promised Land and could go no further, and so is marked as overridingly religious in nature. Petra itself, though containing elements of religious significance to Christians, Muslims and Jews (Byzantine churches; a monastery, the tomb of Haroun/Arron on Jabal Haroun and peripherally the Moses Spring at Ain Musa), is however marked as Ancient. Petra is the capital of the Nabataeans; it was the seat of the Roman Governorate of Arabia Petraea and for a time a Byzantine and then

crusader outpost. Petra's ancient heritage overrides its religious significance which pales in comparison.

The last category in Jordan's tourism trinity, the Cultural, is the one that further entrenches Petra's status as ancient and further conceptually eradicates the Bedouin connection to the place. Places like Wadi Rum, and the city of al-Aqaba, were important in the establishment of Jordan during the Great Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire, as were people like Prince Faisal Bin Hussein, the British officer T.E. Lawrence and Auda Abu Taya⁵⁶. These places and names are written into the Jordanian story of cultural heritage, and figure highly in Jordan's tourism industry. And a crucial element in this story of heritage are also the Bedouin who made up part of the army that fought to throw off Ottoman rule.



Abdalla I



T. E. Lawrence, Wadi Rum

The People in Jordan's Cultural Tourism.

Al-Mahadin (2007: 87), following Bhabha (1994), understands

identities [as] fluid articulations of subjectivity. Their manifest components are usually the outcome of problematisations underpinned by epistemic violence in

⁵⁶ One gets the impression in Jordan that Prince Faisal has been written out of Jordan's story and replaced by his Brother Prince Abdallah who later became King of Jordan. Lawrence is one name among many in Jordan's history vis-a-vis British military personnel like Peake who founded the Arab Legion or Glubb Pasha who founded the Desert Patrol.

which certain components are suppressed and excluded while others are brought to the forefront and emphasised or re-inscribed.

Al-Mahadin (2007: 87) goes on to describe how since the 1970s, the Jordanian state and the Hashemite regime have constructed both Petra and Bedouin as “identity signifiers” (ibid) to reinforce their own position and power in Jordan in response to challenges from Palestinian organisations operating in the country before that time⁵⁷.

According to Al-Mahadin (2007: 90) the Hashemites, have cast the history of Ottoman rule in the region as degenerate and ineffectual, presented themselves as representatives of pan-Arabism and legitimate religious authority and, importantly, cast the region’s Bedouin as “an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1991) for the burgeoning state of Jordan...” (Al-Mahadin 2007: 90). This, in the aftermath of the civil war of 1970, has positioned Bedouin “as the *main* national signifier of Jordanian identity in opposition to the only other locally salient identity, the Palestinian-Jordanian one” (Al-Mahadin 2007: 90; emphasis original).

As Jordan’s Bedouin became ideal national signifiers for political purposes, they also eventually became lucrative national signifiers for touristic purposes. Al-Mahadin (2007: 93), drawing from Mafi (2002: 216), demonstrates the close links, in the late 1950s and into the

⁵⁷ Al-Mahadin provides a detailed discussion of the political challenges faced by the Hashemites in the aftermath of their loss of East Jerusalem and the West Bank. She points to the emergence of a distinct Palestinian identity in existence in Jordan and the support enjoyed by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). Al-Mahadin explains the Hashemites’ need to establish their re-imagined community of Jordan sans-west bank and east Jerusalem to counter the threat posed by the PLO and the Palestinian population which supported it, and, one would imagine, the idea promoted in some Israeli circles that Palestinians are all actually just Jordanian and so have no right to any land west of the Jordan River. This all led to a delegitimization of Palestinian identity in Jordan. For example after 31st July 1988 when Jordan cut administrative ties with the West Bank, Palestinian refugees arriving in Jordan no longer had Jordanian citizenship and face a very precarious position in Jordan. Similarly, the existing Palestinian population in Jordan, despite contributing greatly to the development of the country (see Al-Mahadin) and probably being the dominant demographic in the civil service (outside of the military/security forces) are politically marginalised to a degree in relation to the East Bank population of Jordan. It is also notable that Palestinian Jordanians in the image of Jordan presented to the outside world are largely invisible. Other than the broad outline of such events, given that this thesis focuses on the Bedouin of Petra and their regional micro-political struggle for their place in Petra, and not the national level political situation between the state and its Palestinian population, focus on the Palestinian question in Jordan is unnecessary. For the Bedouin of Petra, their personal attitudes toward Palestinians both in Jordan and Israel are sympathetic. For Palestinians in Jordan, they see themselves as all fellow Jordanians; for Palestinians in Israel, they have sympathy for their plight and feel anger for the way they are treated by the Israeli state.

1960s, between Jordanian tourism and its biblical history, and the biblical sites within its domains as well as the image presented by the Hashemite regime as protectors of the holy places in Jerusalem. However, with the loss of the West Bank, and so many biblically significant sites, to Israel in 1967 and the events of Black September in 1970 vis-à-vis the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Jordanian state recast itself as “Bedouin” rather than as the Holy Land (Al-Mahadin 2007: 95). Indeed, not only has the nation state of Jordan been recast as Bedouin in general (Al-Mahadin 2007: 95; Layne 1994: 10), but the segmentary tribal social structures of Bedouin have been positioned as a universal trait of all Jordanians (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96; Layne 1994: 10) and of a patriarchal state, itself with the King as the father of the nation (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96), with the Hashemite monarchs positioned as Bedouin, something they have never been (Layne 1994: 12).

The Jordanian nation was recast as ‘Bedouin’ through the 1970s; at this time regime survival was the primary preoccupation of the process, tourism was of little concern (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96). Meanwhile, as Jordan was rendered ‘Bedouin’, the Bedouin required sanitisation; there was a deletion “from the collective memory and popular culture” (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96) of many aspects of Bedouin history and values while Bedouin values congruent with the needs of the state, primarily hospitality, became valorised (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96). With the shift away from the Holy Land as the basis for Jordan’s identity and tourism industry and the growth of Petra and Bedouin as replacements, Bedouin have come to be folded into Jordan’s tourism landscape as the very representation of what it is to be Jordanian. As the following quote from King Hussein’s website, in Al-Mahadin (2007: 96) demonstrates:

Many of the characteristics of the Jordanian and Arab society are found in their strongest form in Bedouin culture. For instance, Bedouins are most famous for their hospitality, and it is part of their creed-rooted in the harshness of desert

*life-that no traveller is turned away. The tribal structure of Arab society is also most visible among the Bedouins, where the clan is at the centre of social life*⁵⁸.

As Bedouin culture has gone through the process of sanitisation, and they have been raised to the level of national signifier, Bedouin people, or at least the image and idea of them and their 'culture', have gone through the same process of monumentalisation that has gripped tourist sites/sights like Petra. The intimacies of Bedouin life as it is lived by real Bedouin, their multifarious histories and ways of life, their domestic intimacies, and their multivalenced struggle for survival, that can never be reduced to a single representation, are obfuscated. In tourism's domain, that of state ideology and arguably in the minds of development experts and organisations such as UNESCO and USAID, Bedouin are presented in as particular and one dimensional a way as Petra is. They are hospitable, of the desert, the 'real' ones are nomads, in tourism brochures they are overwhelmingly men, usually armed with a coffee pot, and they are 'traditional': that is to say- stuck in the past.

Bedouin culture, their personhood, *they themselves*, become a monument. They are a monument to Jordan's past, its heritage, they represent what it is to be an essential Jordanian. They are marketed to tourists. And the minutiae of everyday life and the struggle to survive as a Bedouin in modern Jordan, all that that cannot be reduced to a stereotype, all that does

⁵⁸ In a similar vein the Hashemites have also been transformed into Bedouin as the following passage from Layne (1994: 12) demonstrates: "Given such a close association of these monarchs with Jordan, the fact that they are so frequently mistakenly identified as Bedouin is especially important. The Hashemites are referred to as Bedouin in the movie *Lawrence of Arabia*, and both King Abdallah and King Hussein have individually been portrayed as Bedouin on numerous occasions. According to Wilson (1987:6), Abdallah was often portrayed both in the Middle East and the West as a Bedouin despite the fact that he grew up in two of the most important nineteenth-century cities of the Middle East, Mecca and Istanbul. King Hussein is also routinely identified as a Bedouin, at least by Western observers. For instance, Day (1986:2) describes the average Americans (sic) view of Hussein as "the courageous and very lucky Bedouin king" and in an article in the *New York Times* Thomas L. Friedman (7 August 1988) asserts that "about two-thirds of Jordan's 2.8 million inhabitants are Palestinian, with the remainder Bedouins like King Hussein." (while Jordan's cutting administrative ties with the West Bank on 31st of July 1988 may have complicated Friedman's quote in regard to what proportion of Jordan's population is Palestinian, the main point is his assertion that King Hussein is Bedouin).

not sit quite right as ‘monument’ serves not to undermine the monumental representation of Bedouinness but rather serves to undermine Bedouins’ status as ‘real Bedouin’.

I will call this touristically marketed and consumed construction of Bedouin the ‘touristic Bedouin’. If the image of the Bedouin on which the Jordanian state initially built itself is a sanitised stereotyped simulation (Baudrillard 1994: 3) of actual Bedouin ways of life from the past then the ‘touristic Bedouin’ is a simulacrum (Baudrillard 1994: 4) of that simulation rendering it, like Alcida Ramos’ (1994) Indian: hyperreal (Baudrillard 1994: 3). The ‘touristic Bedouin’ gains its apparent authenticity not from the actual historically valid cultural practices that actual Bedouin used to, and still do, carry out, but from its apparent exoticism and premodernism.

For all its faults and stereotyped essentialism, what fuels the ideas of Bedouin upon which the Jordanian state built its persona are at least historically valid. Afterall, as Chatelard (2005: 5) notes, though many non-Bedouin urban Jordanians may talk about their Bedouin *ancestors* and see actual living Bedouin as a survival from the past and a developmental anomaly, I suspect they don’t typically question the status of these Bedouin *as* Bedouin. The ‘touristic Bedouin’ rather, built on exoticised images of the sanitised, historically narrowed presentation of Bedouin, gains its authenticity out of its distance (social, cultural, temporal, and spatial) from the modernist perspective of the tourists. From my observations any Bedouin in a tourist encounter that doesn’t exhibit the constellation of qualities suggested by the ‘touristic Bedouin’ is deemed by tourists to, at best be losing or have lost their culture, at worst, not be Bedouin at all⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ Indeed, it was exactly such an observation in 2007, while traipsing around the desert on horseback with Bedoul Bedouin, that gave genesis to this research. I was one of a group of students from ANU attending an Arabic language course in Jordan. A group of us spent some time with the some Bedoul and one of the ANU students (who I think of as an ‘anti-tourist’) anticipated spending some genuine time with Bedouins, perhaps living in a goat hair tent herding camels or something. Instead, the student was rather disheartened to

The ‘touristic Bedouin’ is obviously an idea rather than a real person and why I refer to it as ‘it’ specifically; though, as many Bedouin in Jordan, especially in places like Petra and Wadi Rum work overwhelmingly in the tourism industry, real Bedouin in Jordan might often switch in and out of playing the role of the ‘touristic Bedouin’. And importantly, as the ‘touristic Bedouin’ has become an important trope in Jordan’s tourism and national discourse, the ‘touristic Bedouin’ has come to play a part in informing ‘truths’ surrounding the self-understandings of what Bedouinness is among the Bedouin of Petra; though I never thought to ask, I’d hazard a guess and say that there wouldn’t be *too* many of them who have read either Foucault or Baudrillard and so look with a critical eye at the construction (though not impossible, after all, they aren’t the uneducated hillbillies that many Jordanians think they are, nor the noble savages that tourists seek out). This tends to create for them an ambivalence about their status as Bedouin in the present.

Bedouin generally don’t conform to Bedouin stereotypes as ‘touristic Bedouin’, yet consciousness that they don’t live the way their ancestors did, and their ancestors’ apparent similarities to the ‘touristic Bedouin’, given the ‘touristic Bedouin’s’ underpinnings in representations of the past, lead many Bedouin to feel a sense of dislocation from their ideals about who they are as Bedouin.

For many Bedouin there is an idea that an authentic way of Bedouin life should include an ability to live, and knowledge of life, in the *badiya*, life with the animals, and a non-reliance on technology. They look back upon the life they led in Petra, or for the younger ones the stories about life in Petra from their parents, and feel that that way of life conforms with their own ideals of what it is to be a real Bedouin. This way of life is then contrasted with the life

discover, as they put it, to actually be doing something ‘touristy’ with a group of people who obviously weren’t *real* Bedouin.

they live now and leads many Bedouin to the opinion that they are somehow no longer *real* Bedouin.

Yet this ambivalence is not underlain by fairly superficial representations of Bedouiness as whether or not they get around wearing a thoub or greet tourists with a coffee pot in hand⁶⁰. Whenever I would speak with them, Bedouin across the board would always bring such discussions about their ‘authenticity’ back to discussions about the kind of life they lost moving out of Petra and the quality of the social relations that now pertain between people in the village. Life in the village, and with the tourists, rather than the *badiya* and the animals, for them has led to a fracturing of Bedouin from one another, a weakening of social obligations and mutual respect and it is these things that *they* feel undermine their status as *real* Bedouin, not how much they conform to the touristic image.

The tensions between ideas of the ‘touristic Bedouin’, and the national stereotype’s ‘monumental culture’, and real Bedouin lives will be discussed in chapters to come. The primary point to make here is that in the trinity of Jordanian tourism, Bedouin, according to the bulk of material produced publicising and promoting tourism in Jordan, belong firmly rooted in the Cultural. Bedouin belong in the desert, they belong in places like Wadi Araba, and especially Wadi Rum, they are the hospitable, benevolent custodians of Jordan’s fragile natural heritage in the desert wastelands, when they are not being cast as despoilers of that desert that is (Chatty 2003: 87). For countless tourists and even large numbers of Jordanians Bedouin don’t belong in Lost Cities.

⁶⁰ That said though, they do indeed very often greet tourists with a little teapot in hand (or at least on the fire); hospitality dispensed consistently in Petra just wouldn’t be hospitality at all unless initiated with offerings of a glass of tea (if not often coffee, which is typically only in abundance during weddings or funerals).

Bedouin Out of Place.

With Petra's construction as a Lost City in the tourism industry, and falling into the tourism category of ancient in Jordan's tourism landscape, the Bedouin presence in Petra, every day as they go about trying to earn a living appears anomalous to most tourists; and from conversations I had with many non-local Jordanians visiting Petra, their presence appears just as anomalous and irritating to many Jordanians too. In official marketing material there is no mention of Bedouin being in any way connected to Petra, and all activities in sightseeing, and various fields of research are all firmly focused on the ancient. Indeed, the blurb on the back page of the brochure handed out at the ticket booth sums it up well:

*Petra is unique in every respect, having something to offer the historian, anthropologist, archaeologist, geologist, architect and the naturalist, all of whom regularly come to Petra to conduct their studies and be in touch with the **ancient past**⁶¹.*

Nowhere in Petra on any official signage provided by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, or by USAID (of which there is much), that I could find at least, is there so much as a mention of the Bedouin of Petra; except for one place: the very old, and probably forgotten, sign describing the monument to Aaron near the summit of Jabal Haroun.

On the very old, what looks like brass, sign up near the tomb of Aaron, there is a short description of the tomb and its importance as a holy site for the local Bedouin and Amaryn Bedouin as well as the Beni Layth. Everywhere else throughout Petra signage is squarely focused on the ancient with no mention at all that any of it was important to the Bedouin as their home; descriptions of ruins tell of their history, possible uses, sometimes there is mention of construction methods, and a few places have representations of what the ruin probably looked like many, many, years ago. There is no need to account for the ghosts of

⁶¹ I got the brochure in 2011, it is published by the: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities P.O.Box 224 Amman 11118 Jordan Tel: +962 6 4603360 Fax: +962 6 4648465 Email: tourism@mota.gov.jo . Emphasis mine.

Bedouin habitation, that is a Petra that was removed. With the removal of most of the Bedouin version of Petra there was left that clean slate onto which Petra's ancient history could be interpreted/reinscribed.

Such ancient and narrow interpretations of what Petra is, and what its history has been, go well beyond its presentation to tourists. Arguably they go right to the core of official understandings of what Petra is and how it should be treated, and they align with ideas about what Bedouin are and the sort of relationships they can have with place. In the 2008 USAID interpretive plan for the development of Petra, for example, Bedouin are described as mobile people who "have lived in an essentially unaltered way" (USAID 2008: 23), they gather what they need from the desert for themselves and their animals; and, that "while some Bedouin have become more settled, all retain many aspects of their nomadic lifestyle" (USAID 2008: 23).

There is, at each level, a conceptual gulf between the ancient Petra, the Lost City, and the unaltered, traditional Bedouin who are nomads and therefore not connected to place. In Petra's physicality, most material traces of Bedouin habitation have been removed and replaced by informative material that focuses on Petra's ancient status. In tourism marketing Bedouin are either annoyances or dangerous, or quaint interludes, (Walker 2012: 160) in the ancient city. In the literature informing Petra's conversion into a national park and the removal of the Bedouin, such as the 1968 USAID *Master Plan for the Protection and use of the Petra National Park* cited in Brand (2001: 964), and in more recent literature that continues to inform the operation of Petra, such as the USAID 2008 interpretive plan, there is a clear distinction between the ancient ruins that need protection, and the Bedouin, who, as Bedouin are, or at least should have been, nomads simply passing through.

Even in conversations with Jordanians from all walks of life, from hotel receptionists, taxi drivers, to lecturers in ‘Tourism Management’ from the University of Jordan, there is the gulf between the ancient city of Petra and the Bedoul Bedouin. When discussing my research with one such lecturer he told me in concerned knowing tones (as though he was worried I had been taken in by lies and he was trying to warn me) “they aren’t *really* Bedouin you know. They have only been in Petra since tourism became popular, they don’t belong there”. At this I pointed out the literature going back to Burkhardt that mentions the Bedoul presence in Petra and then asked, “if they aren’t Bedouin what are they, and where should they go?” The lecturer replied with a shrug “I don’t know what they are, but we should move them out of Petra back out into the desert with the rest of the Bedouin”.

The confines of what Petra is, and what Bedouin are, have been narrowed and, at least at a conceptual level that seeps into state and tourism practice, the two categories take on an element of mutual exclusivity. As Bedouin, or not as Bedouin depending on who one is talking with⁶², the Bedoul don’t belong in Petra, they belong in the ‘desert’ somewhere, anywhere, probably Wadi Rum or maybe Wadi Araba, because Petra is a Nabataean city it is not a Bedouin place. Petra shouldn’t have anyone living in or near it.

Yet the lecturer’s sentiments noted above, and the similar sentiments of many others too, hint at the primary underlying problem with Petra’s construction as a Lost City at all levels, the eradication of the Bedoul history of habitation in Petra and the Bedoul’s status as Bedouin; they are, in the words of one of the Bedoul themselves “a reality on the ground”. Their undeniable presence, the reality of their generations of deep and intimate connection to Petra, is thrown back into the teeth of all who would disconnect them from the place through their everyday struggle to earn a living from tourists every day in Petra.

⁶² The important debate about the Bedouin status of the Bedoul vis their Wadi Musa neighbours will be discussed in a chapter 7.

For many tourists, the presence of the Bedoul is jarring. In the many hours I spent sitting around cafes and shops in Petra I had the opportunity to talk with many tourists. Once initial introductions were made, a little small talk of our travels, eventually I would explain to the tourists that I actually live in Petra to do research with the Bedoul, it was surprising how consistently the question “why are they [Bedoul] even in Petra?” would come up. A large number of the tourists had travelled through various parts of Jordan, and often Petra was the last and most important thing they visited. They had visited the other ancient places, the religious, and some of the cultural too, and come to tacitly accept the tripartite distinction of tourism sites without even knowledge of the division. For most of them, too, Bedouin belonged in the desert, like the Bedouin they had been the guests of in Wadi Rum.

Instead, in Petra, many tourists feel acutely the ever-present spectre of Bedoul Bedouin mounted on donkeys, camels, or armed with jewellery and postcards, desperate to make a sale and so hopefully feed the family for another day⁶³. However, the problem cuts across the grain of both the construction of Petra and that of Bedouin. To the tourists the Bedoul are out of place, they sully and mar the Lost City by their presence.

To tourists Bedoul hold out the risk of undermining the uniqueness, the ‘authenticity’, of the experience of visiting a Lost City. For many tourists it’s bad enough that there are other tourists around (MacCannell 1976: 10); it can be quite amusing watching tourists get cranky waiting in vain for other tourists to get out of the way so they can take a photo of a monument without other tourists in the photo. But at a site/sight like Petra, tourists are to be, regrettably it seems, expected. What really rubs many tourists up the wrong way is the apparently

⁶³ During the time I was in Petra 2011-2012 things were indeed beginning to get that desperate for many people in the community. As of writing of this, late 2015, with a continuing civil war in Syria and the danger of ISIS/ISIL/DAESH looming large, things are desperate in Petra indeed.

inexplicable presence of a whole tribe of dark eyed swarthy ‘gypsies’⁶⁴. This post of a tourist reviewing their visit to Petra on the popular website *TripAdvisor* puts it succinctly:

*Unfortunately the constant harassment by local gypsies asking to buy things or horse rides drives you nuts. Kids trying to scam you telling you you have dropped something when you haven't. Animals are treated very badly, sores on their heats from the straps. We saw horses being kicked in the chest by handlers and also constantly being beaten by metal chains. DON'T RIDE THE ANIMALS!!! Don't encourage these people.*⁶⁵

The Bedoul struggle for survival in the homeland that was ripped out from under them with the creation of the Petra Archaeological Park is reduced to “constant harassment”.

But further, for tourists attuned to the ‘touristic Bedouin’ they run into on their adventures in Jordan’s cultural tourism landscape, the Bedoul, who singularly appear to shun the touristic trappings⁶⁶ of the ‘touristic Bedouin’ barely appear to be Bedouin at all. Dressed in cargo pants, a T-shirt with John Cena, Eminem, Che Guevara or Bob Marley on it and listening to ‘gangsta rap’, or Bob Marley, on their mobile phone, Bedoul more often than not appear a little too familiar to the tourists to be ‘true Bedouin’; they are not ‘authentic’ enough. That is, they do not conform to the image of monumental Bedouin culture set by the state and marketed to tourists, and so, as I heard tourists lament many times, the Bedoul are, inevitably, ‘losing their culture’.

In the construction of Petra as a lost city, in the construction of Bedouin as the ancestor/ideal type identity of all Jordan and Jordanians, in the exclusive positioning of each

⁶⁴ Many locals of Wadi Musa who work as tour guides in Petra tell tourists that the Bedoul are not Bedouin but actually Gypsies. There are communities of people considered to be Gypsies in Jordan who are roundly reviled by most Jordanians including Bedouin; by terming Bedoul as such these guides not only undermine Bedoul identity as Bedouin but also insult them.

⁶⁵ http://www.tripadvisor.com.au/ShowUserReviews-g318895-d319461-r319038009-Petra_World_Heritage_Site-Petra_Wadi_Musa_Ma_in_Governorate.html The grammatical and spelling errors as well as the emphasis are all in the original quote.

⁶⁶ In fourteen months in Petra I only met one Bedoul Bedouin who made a conscious effort to “dress like a Bedouin” to impress tourists. When I questioned him about it I got the impression that he thought that if he wore a nice white thoub, cartridge belt, dagger and mendeel he looked more presentable and professional in the way someone would wearing a suit to an office job. Even he didn’t really play up a Bedouin identity through costume.

of these elements in Jordan's tourism landscape the Bedoul lose out twice over. Firstly, the Bedoul connection to their homeland is obfuscated and then mystified, their continuing presence in Petra takes on an aspect of trespass, and secondly their very status as Bedouin is undermined. For the general tourist that passes through Petra it's almost as if the Bedoul are too Bedouin for Petra but not Bedouin enough to be consumed as Bedouin.

A Special Space Opens.

In this tangle of representations, of people and place, the place of the Bedoul is tough; and in the next chapter it may even appear to get worse. The structuring of Petra and Bedouin, and the place of the Bedoul caught in the middle of it all leads to a particular form of social relations between people, other people, and place in Petra. Following Mark Augé (1995) I will argue that the unintended consequences of the processes that shape Petra and life there, turn Petra into a "non-place (Augé 1995). However all yet may not be lost. After all, perhaps non-places may turn out to be places too.

Chapter 4: People and Changing Places.

On a sunny early-winter's day Atallah Haroun, a donkey guide in his early 20s, and I sat on the edge of the terrace outside the Urn Tomb talking with Ali Abu Huweymel Mūwassa. Ali is the proprietor of a large stall set up along the right wall of the Urn Tomb's front terrace and sells all manner of souvenirs from head dresses, hand woven woollen horse harness, daggers, jewellery and anything else that might sell.



Ali Pointing to the cave he lived in, Atallah Haroun sitting to the left

Ali told Atallah and me about life in Petra; Atallah was too young to have ever lived in Petra, despite what he told the tourists⁶⁷. Ali, however, grew up entirely in Petra; his family lived in a series of interlinked caves in the northern flank of Jabal Madhba, almost directly across from the Urn Tomb. Ali, always the comedian, had me take a photo of him pointing at

⁶⁷ Most of the donkey guides too young to have lived in Petra regale tourists with stories of having lived there in a cave, not just Atallah.

his childhood home and instructed me to put it in the middle of my ‘book’, he had me take two other photos too, to put on the front and the back cover, so I “could make [him] famous”. He said that as a boy he herded goats all over Petra, “I know every hole in Petra” he said, and went on that, though people did herd goats, they did a lot more than that “before the government took the land off the Bedouin, we used to grow crops too; even corn”.

Ali told us about how on his wedding night he and his new wife moved into the last cave on the right of the interlinked caves inhabited by his family. For a week before they moved in there Ali and his brother Taryk Mūwassa, who now owns the shop below the Urn Tomb next to Musa al-Jdelāt’s (a cousin of Rashd and Tufiq’s) café, had painted the cave walls white and then overlain them with murals of palm trees and flowers. The paintings are still on the cave walls; for some reason they weren’t sandblasted like the rest. Ali said that they even hooked the cave up to power from a generator and had a TV set attached to an antenna for better reception. Ali and his wife, and by that time children, moved to Umm Sayhoun with most of the rest of the community; now their first family home is full of sand and rubbish, only the murals remain, dusty and faded.



A group of tourists slowly made their way up the stairs to the Urn Tomb, pausing to take photos of the view across the Petra Basin and to marvel at the tomb's façade. Ali jumped up off his *farāsha*, on which he lounged, perched precariously close the edge of the terrace (above a drop of about 20 meters), and cheerfully greeted the tourists. Like a master showman Ali gathered the tourists around himself then led them to the front of his shop assuring them with a smile that "looking is free" they only had to pay if they bought something. Ali's smile turned into theatrical sadness as he lamented to the tourists that, though healthily stocked, his "shop is sad, because business is slow". Singling out an American man Ali sidled up alongside him and said in a brash salesman like voice "buy a gift for the wife!" and then with a wry grin and lowered tone ".....or the secretary". Ali's theatrics were working and he got a laugh out of the tour group; the American man said "If I bought a present for my secretary I'd probably not have a wife".

Ali turned to a couple of the women in the group and in knowing, hushed conspiratorial tones said to them “I have these pistols here” picking up a non-functional ornamental six shot revolver, “they are only for women! There is (sic) six bullets in them and if your husband buys something for his secretary you can use one of the bullets on him. And there’s still another five left in case he does something else wrong!” The tourists all laughed again and one of the women picked up another pistol and pretended to shoot someone who I guess was her husband. Then, like a school teacher drawing the attention of an unruly class, Ali raised an index finger and said to the two women “or, if you use one bullet to get *rid* of your *old* husband, you can get a fresh *new* one; and you can still get five more! [husbands if necessary]”. Ali turned to the group in general and boastfully said “I have letters from women all over the world telling me that since they bought the pistol from me, they never have any problems from their husbands”. The tourists laughed again and had a look at Ali’s shop; they eventually drifted off into the cavernous interior of the Urn Tomb. I have seen him perform this routine in German and French as well as English, or even a combination of all three for mixed tour groups.

Ali re-joined Atallah and me and picked up where he had left off. This was the usual way that conversations went in Petra, punctuated by performances for the tourists. Ali said that when he was a boy Bedoul used the land all through Petra, but now that the Bedouin have moved to the village “the government doesn’t think we own any land”. I asked Ali if the government recognises any Bedoul ownership of Petra? He just shrugged and said “we don’t have papers” (title to the land). The lack of ‘papers’ for their land was a subject that many Bedoul brought up for me. It refers to title deeds to the land, and goes back to 1923 when the Bedoul were offered formal recognition of their ownership of Petra (Kooring and Sims 1995: 2). It seems that while the Bedoul couldn’t afford to pay the taxes that would accompany such formal recognition, and so accepted government trusteeship of their land (ibid), the Beni

Layth *could* afford tax and were granted legal recognition of their ownership of land in and around Wadi Musa. We spoke about the boundaries of the Bedoul *dira* and Ali said that nearly all of the Bedoul *dira* is in the Petra Archaeological Park and that no one is allowed to use any of it. Then he re-considered and said that “well, there’s parts we can use but there’s no water or electricity out there either so it’s really hard to actually use it”, he sighed and said “they diverted the water from the Moses Spring⁶⁸ in town years ago to give water to the people in town for their farms”. The diversion of that water disrupted life for the Bedoul in favour of their Beni Layth neighbours back then and signalled what is, for the Bedoul, the beginning of a never-ending pattern of the government⁶⁹ making the Bedoul suffer for the people of Wadi Musa’s benefit. Ali continued saying that he thought that the government, or the Beni Layth, want the Bedoul to leave Petra, and said “we get nothing; they must want life to be hard for us”. He said “the people in Wadi Musa [Beni Layth] have papers for their land, and they are strong, they will never give up any of their land for the Bedoul’s benefit”⁷⁰.

Performances for tourists, salesmanship and economic transactions shape a large portion of daily life in Petra for Bedoul now, as it usually pertains to their interactions with tourists at least. But this narrow range of action, and the tourism industry’s, as well as officialdom’s, obfuscation of the Bedoul place in Petra, seeps into how the Bedoul feel they can relate to Petra too. Turning Petra into a Lost City and moving the Bedouin out of it did more than simply dispossess the Bedouin of their homes and a majority of their land, and removing

⁶⁸ The Moses Spring is a spring at the top end of Wadi Musa at Ain Musa, reputedly the place mentioned in the bible where Moses struck his staff on a stone to produce water for the thirsty Israelites. The spring used to run all the way down to and through Petra.

⁶⁹ Bedoul generally speak in terms of “the government” by which they can mean one or all of the national government, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities as well as the local government in Petra and also the Petra Authority.

⁷⁰ Here Ali was referring to the fact that Umm Sayhoun was built on Hassanat Beni Layth land appropriated for the purpose by the government in the 80s. It is now full leaving Bedoul with no room to build without the prospect of spilling out onto more Beni Layth land to the north of the village (to the east, though Beni Layth land, the land rises sharply to the plateau and further east and south towards Wadi Musa is an almost sheer cliff face and so totally unsuited to settlement); a proposition that everyone agreed that the Hassanat would fiercely resist.

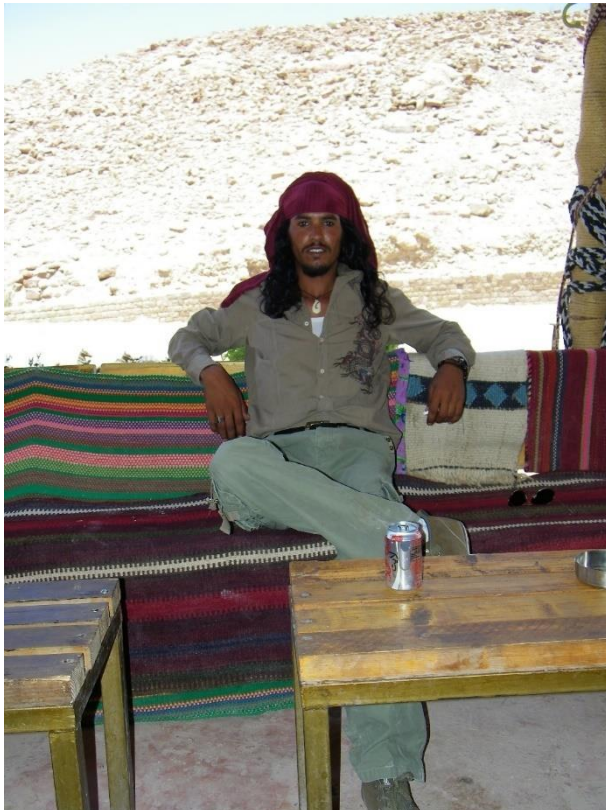
most traces of centuries of Bedouin habitation did more than cleanse Petra of the vernacular debris of habitation that were overlain on, intermingling with, and obscuring the ruined traces of Nabataean civilisation.

Petra underwent a process of being turned into something special, in tourism, and national terms for Jordan; it had to be *turned into* a monument. Whatever Petra was for the Nabataeans, before Burkhardt showed up, and for a good long while afterwards, Petra was just *home* for the Bedouin. It was an entirely domestic place, it was utilitarian, familiar and exuded what it is to be Bedouin. In the sand, wind, the psychedelic patterns in the sandstone, in the juniper and the medicinal herbs that grow through the mountains, in the goats, their distinctive pungent smell, and the fire blackened roofs of the caves, the Bedouin saw, and see, themselves. Petra was and is more than the monuments, it is an integral part of the social, cultural and political life of the Bedouin.

In turning Petra into a Lost City, void of contemporary life other than what is touristically acceptable, or, perhaps, that which must be tolerated, those who shaped Petra at a discursive/ideological and physical level have created more than simply a Lost City, they have created an entire social landscape which is overlain on the effaced Bedouin manifestation of Petra; so, what we see of Petra today, and much of the Bedouin experience of it, is a palimpsest. The vision of Petra as Lost City, and its place within the tourism landscape of Jordan, and arguably the globe, serves to structure particular forms of sociality between Petra, the management bodies that shape operations in the city, the visitors that pour through the gates and the Bedouin who live and work in the site; as well as others.

And, furthermore, in creating the 'touristic Bedouin' and monumentalising Bedouin culture the idea of what Bedouin are, and are supposed to be, is likewise narrowed to exclude the bulk of the reality of life for actual Bedouin people. The Bedouin, the Bedouin, position in Petra is undermined, and Bedouin Bedouin who overwhelmingly do not conform to the

touristically sanctioned image are delegitimated *as Bedouin*. Bedouin are too Bedouin to belong in Petra or any other place other than ‘the desert’ somewhere, yet, wearing cargo pants and a T shirt, often looking more like the actor Johnny Dep’s rendition of a pirate⁷¹ than the ‘touristic Bedouin’, they are nowhere near Bedouin enough; they have, apparently, after all, ‘lost their culture’.



Khalid, one of the many Jack Sparrows

As the Lost City has been built, with all the institutions needed to support it and perpetuate its myth, and the population, mostly transient, to fill it with a detached populous, *and* the touristic Bedouin has been born, endowed with, typically, *his*, monumental culture - sanitised, narrowed and marketable, - there is created a form of life, culture and sociality in Petra that appears to undermine *place*. But for so many years, and even today, Petra remains some sort of place meaningful to the Bedouin; though exactly what that is has been altered and is under contestation. There are then, two renditions of place. There is the Lost City, which is the dominant of the two; and there is the Bedouin rendition of Petra that has undergone a process of destabilisation as the Lost City and tourism have come to the fore of their lives.

⁷¹ The Captain Jack Sparrow look had become extremely popular among many of the younger Bedouin men, mainly donkey or camel guides; so much so that at least one donkey guide even started to get around wearing a costume tricorne hat. It is a mixture of Johnny Dep’s character (probably) coincidentally doing things that Bedouin have done since time immemorial anyway, such as having long, often braided hair, styles of facial hair and wearing eye liner, or *kohl*, and Bedouin actively taking on some elements of Captain Jack Sparrow’s costume.

Petra; a Place.

Dean MacCannell (1976: 3) tells us that “for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles.” And, perhaps haunted by the spectre of Said (1995), Augé (1995: 10) possibly cuts to the core of the tourist’s concern for ‘authenticity’ by noting that “the European, Western ‘here’ assumes its full meaning in relation to the distant elsewhere...”. Augé (ibid) was discussing the possibilities of anthropological scrutiny being turned upon Europe, as well as the ‘elsewhere’ but his insight gives us clues to touristic presentations of the ‘other’ in relation to the tourists’ ‘us’. This development, for him, was coming to “take account of a multitude of interacting elements that arise from immediate reality, but are not readily divisible into ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ categories” (Augé 1995: 12) since “all the institutional forms that have to be recognised in order to grasp social life... play a role, on all the continents, that grows more important by the day” (ibid).

With this acknowledgement of the totality of our shared human experience, in this context, Augé (ibid) goes on to say that “it is not Europe that is under scrutiny but contemporaneity itself, in all the aggressive and disturbing aspects of reality at its most immediate.” Despite the allusions (delusions?) of authenticity seeking tourists, and the institutions that operate to supply them with, apparently, authentic experience, contemporaneity is in operation everywhere; even in Petra. As such, when a people, a people like the Bedouin, struggle to survive, firmly embedded in contemporaneity, in a milieu in which they are positioned as a remnant of the past, there emerges a tension. This tension, based on representations, half-truths to fantasy, all the same, has real consequences.

What does this make of the tourist's search for authenticity⁷², for a real experience, in some far-flung exotic location that is laden with authenticity and 'real' culture seemingly by virtue of it not being 'western' and/or 'modern'? In Petra, the Lost City, with its non-touristic Bedouin inexplicably clogging up the ancient authenticity that should flow from such places, something interesting happens. In Petra, that construction, the tourist fantasy that shapes the presentation and understandings of Petra, is positioned as objectively authentic, as real, and is what the tourists go there to see; and what various institutions are there to manage. After all what could be more real than the physicality of the stone out of which Petra has been carved? It is literally rock-solid. While simultaneously the realities of the life of the Bedouin, the actual on the ground actions of their daily lives, and the lives of the tourists who interact with them, "contemporaneity [and all] the aggressive and disturbing aspects of reality at its most immediate" (Augé 1995: 12), are positioned as an anomaly, as a possible danger or annoyance (Walker 2012: 160), as not belonging and somehow a false or flawed representation of Petra *and* Bedouin life.

Petra is two kinds of place at once.

Augé's (1995: 42) notion of an "anthropological place" is twofold, it is that of the ordinary, it "is simply a place: occupied by the indigenous inhabitants who live in it, cultivate it, defend it...". This place is also the one deciphered by the ethnologist (Augé 1995: 42) as they map a peoples "economic, social, political and religious geography" and transcribe this onto the land (Augé 1995: 43).

⁷² I hope that, throughout, my use of the word "authentic" or "authenticity" is understood as somehow facetious, perhaps sarcastic even, and ambiguous. I do not suggest that there is some real objective authentic thing out there or that what tourists find to be "authentic" is indeed somehow real; the opposite may actually be the case. I mirror in many ways its use by the tourists I spoke to and observed, and the tourism industry. It is kind of a catchall for some vague yet inexplicable notion felt by tourists, and possibly others, that what they are seeing, experiencing, is somehow more profound than what they feel and experience in their everyday lives.

This place, the anthropological place, shared by the locals and the ethnologist alike, is, like the Lost City, a construction; it was discovered at some stage by its inhabitants and its construction is underpinned by origin stories situating people in place, as if from time immemorial (Augé 1995: 43-44). It is a closed world, where everything is known, where “all the inhabitants have to do is *recognize* (sic) themselves in it when the need arises” (Augé 1995: 44 emphasis original); and that, though the origins of the group may be diverse, once the group is established, in place, they are “united by the identity of the place” (Augé 1995: 45).

Yet, Augé (1995: 46) goes on to say that people are not entirely fooled by their own constructions of place, these constructions are only a “semi-fantasy” (ibid). There is no doubt about the reality of place, and no one is unaware of their own histories of migration that, once upon a time, situated people in place; essentially, that everyone once came from an elsewhere. Nor is the “ethnologist’s illusion” (Augé 1995: 47) entirely illusory either; this person, through their efforts at understanding, may well work backward as it were and identify people with place, however, even they are as aware as the locals themselves that those locals have a history of mobility and attachment to multiple places (ibid).

The reality underlying these semi-fantasies and part-illusions, for Augé (1995: 51) is that “the organization (sic) of space and the founding of places, inside a given social group, comprise one of the stakes and one of the modalities of collective and individual practice”. Groups of people, and the individuals that they are comprised of, must be simultaneously aware of identity and social relations and to mark the boundaries of identity, at various different levels, and signify relations between individuals and groups. Augé (ibid) states that “the handling of space is one means to this end...” People transcribe their identity onto place, and they continually draw identity from that place in a mutually supportive feedback loop, that allows them to mark the distinctions between ‘them’ and ‘us’.

It is this “concrete and symbolic construction of space” (Augé 1995: 51) that Augé (ibid) designates as the ‘anthropological place’. Anthropological places are places of identity, of relations and of history (Augé 1995: 52). The layout of the place, its divisions, and the configuration of things in space, reflect for individuals the spatial and social distribution of social and interpersonal relations placing individuals in society as well as in space (Augé 1995: 52-53). And “place becomes necessarily historical from the moment when – combining identity with relations – it is defined by a minimal stability” (Augé 1995: 54). It is the place built by the ancestors, and is filled with their ghosts, for the locals it is the site of their history.

Yet “the inhabitant of an anthropological place does not make history; he lives in it” (Augé 1995: 55); Augé makes here an important distinction that in Petra is mapped out onto what it is to be Bedouin. For real Bedouin people struggling to make the best of life from day to day, those that live in “social time” (Herzfeld 1991: 10) and live what we might call ‘social culture’, history is indeed just the passing of time. For the touristic Bedouin however, endowed with their monumental culture, history is something different; mostly because they are an artefact of history and don’t belong in the present as anything other than a tourist attraction. The tension arises, however, when real people living real lives continue to live in historical sites; and worse, those people have the temerity to live in that monumental place living a social life all the while endowed with a monumental identity and culture. Essentially the social and the monumental clash and continue to grind against one another.

As Ali’s story above indicates, in Petra space has long been understood by the Bedouin in a particular way that unites them, their presence, with the land and monuments of Petra, and infuses those monuments and the land into who they feel that they are. Petra, the anthropological place, the social/cultural place, marks boundaries and identity, it underpins and grounds relations and situates histories. And, furthermore, placement of a group of

people in Petra, as opposed to Wadi Musa, Wadi Araba or Little Petra, positions them in historical relationships with the wider region surrounding Petra and the other groups of people that live in the area. It is the Bedoul who are ‘of Petra’⁷³, this is an historical fact, and one of the reasons why Bedoul Bedouin become so upset when their neighbours, and adversaries, the Beni Layth lay claims to being ‘of Petra’. For Bedoul the very act of their neighbours claiming connection to Petra, whether or not these claims are accompanied by a refutation of Bedoul belonging (which they very often are) is not just an appropriation of rights to Petra or to Bedouin identity. It is an overtly political act grounded in belonging in and to particular configurations of space. Bedoul see it as an attempt to undermine the legitimacy of Bedoul existence as Bedouin, existence in Petra and even as Jordanian. According to Beni Layth tour guides that I witnessed teaching tourists about the Bedoul, the nomad group Bedoul belong to are not the valorised Bedouin of Jordan but rather the despised ‘gypsies’ who are, apparently, not even Jordanian at all.

I would argue that, underlying at least a large portion of the accusation of Bedoul non-belonging in Petra is Petra the Lost City’s conversion to monument, void of contemporary life, and construction as what Augé (1995: 78) refers to as a non-place. In the non-place, gone are the relational, social and historical referents that contribute to the identity and belonging of a group of people. The non-place is transitory, it is a place through which one passes through (perhaps, like a tourist attraction for instance) and to which one would typically not form an attachment. Petra the Lost City as a tourist attraction operates as, and has been imposed upon the Bedoul, as a non-place to which *they* should have no connection or claim; this opens a space into which the Beni Layth can and do insert a claim to belonging in Petra.

⁷³ This may be exemplified by the names for different Bedoul communities: Bedoul from Petra are Bedoul alBatra while the Bedoul from Heymeymeh are called Bedoul al-Heymeymeh while those from Aqaba are Bedoul al-Aqaba.

Scales of Public and Private.

The Bedoul connection to land happens in ways that are much more fluid, penetrating and conscious even than that found in the anthropological place described by Augé (1995). Though he does note that even nomadic societies have knowledge of the systematic mapping of nature feeding their constructions of place (Augé 1995: 44); I would go so far as to suggest that perhaps nomadic societies are even more aware, and feel more acutely, the sociological construction of 'their place' than populations that, due to their sedentary nature, can afford to take 'their place' for granted. Al-Mahadin (2007: 91) states "the Bedouins' relationship with a fixed locality is shaky at best because they are constantly being forced to change the 'space' of activity", and is, in this, seemingly undermining the veracity of Bedouin connections to place, however she goes on to quote Palumbo (2000: 71) who gives us the real insight to precisely why an occupied space is of such intimate concern for Bedouin. Bedouin, or nomads, incorporate "the whole of space under his own skin, because his tent is a house that never interrupts his progress, but on the contrary accompanies it: *space is an extension, a prosthesis or a vehicle* for his own movement" (Palumbo 2000: 7 in Al-Mahadin 2007: 91; emphasis mine).

For Bedoul, to a degree, space is malleable, may be defined by the people who occupy it at any given moment, by the people who have enduring connections to it and, reminiscent of John Locke (2012: 11) mix their labour with it. And what shapes this are the relations pertaining between people in place, which are, through the act of interaction in place, inscribed onto place. For the Bedoul, they are not only identified by their occupation of and history in Petra, but their social relations are writ into the land, the land as a prosthetic extension of themselves and their sociality. Petra is an extension of the reality of Bedoul existence. Bedoul, before their eviction from Petra, didn't stand as an element in the monumental history of Petra, that was the place of the Nabataeans who carved it out of the

mountains. Back then the Bedoul were a living element of Petra's continuing story and an ongoing evolution of its story. Bedoul, as Bedouin, at that time had themselves not yet been monumentalised and assigned the status of Jordanian national signifier and ancestral figure (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96) and were still living in history (Augé 1995: 55).

One of the earliest things that I noticed on becoming a resident of the village of Umm Sayhoun was the propensity for life, often private life, to spill out onto the streets, the open spaces around houses and everywhere in between. There seemed to me to be little division, or perhaps rather strange fluctuations, between what I understood as private space and public space. What would in my mind be undoubtedly public space, like the street by someone's back door, could be treated, to some degree, as though it were private space. Likewise, inside people's homes, space, or some spaces, seemed to vacillate between public and private too. There seemed to me to be varying degrees of public and private space, across the entire village, that could change, to just as varying degrees, its *status* as public or private.

As time wore on, and I became accustomed to life in the village, and Petra, it became apparent to me that what had a major influence on the public/private status of space, as well as various shades in-between, were the people who occupied space. Early on one of the most confronting things for me, as a rather private person, for example was that, as an unmarried man, any space I was in, even my bedroom in my house, might be (and often was) looked upon, to some degree as public space and accessible by almost anyone. I should add, by almost anyone male. It would be unacceptable for a woman of marriageable age not related to me (of the family who adopted me) to come unaccompanied into my house let alone my bedroom. On the occasions that I did have lone female Bedouin visitors at my house for whatever reason they wouldn't pass the threshold of the house.

However, this distinction of public and private space is not exclusively dependant on the people in the space at all times, there is a pole from overtly public and undoubtedly private space; and such spaces tend to be gendered. Space that was wide open to anyone, such as the main street through the village, is definitely a public, and so masculine, space. The village itself, to some degree, might be considered something of a private space for all Bedouin, however the main thoroughfare through the village is open to anyone passing through, and as such is probably the most public place in the village. It is common to see men and boys gathered in groups talking on the main street, however it is reasonably uncommon to see Bedouin women lingering in the main street; yet one might see tourists of all genders sitting and chatting with their Bedouin hosts if they visit the village.

As one moves further into the village, space becomes more nuanced and can shift in its public/private range reflecting the relationships between the people in it, however this space still has some overt element of public or private which influences how it might be used. In the older, original sections of the village houses are situated in six roughly oval shaped rings⁷⁴ that surround open spaces. These open spaces are the site of much day to day interaction. In the warmer months throughout the evenings friends and families lounge on *farāshas*, drink tea and talk on the edges of these spaces close to their homes. Women and men participate in these evenings of conversation together as such spaces are a kind of public-private space; however, they are public to the degree that anyone can be in these spaces; they are public, yet intimate, spaces.

Also, in the summer, which is the usual time for weddings, which last for three days, these spaces are taken over as the site of the male half of the wedding ceremony. In the area at the

⁷⁴ There is one ring of houses on the North side of the road and five on the southern side of the road; the rest of the village has grown up around these rings of houses extending mainly to the East and West along the ridge.

front of the groom's parent's house a black goat hair tent is erected and from morning till late in the evening men come and go, lounge around talking, drinking coffee⁷⁵ and tea and smoking; this area is decidedly public at this time. Simultaneously, the house, which is typically only meters away is converted into one great private area.

At normal times the little houses, built during the move from Petra, tend to be divisible into different parts in terms of public and private areas. Most of these houses have a substantial courtyard built in front of them now which, most of the time, is the main public area of the house. Once one enters the house proper one comes into a large family room from which there are two bedrooms a kitchen and a toilet. The large family room is, particularly in the cold months, a space for receiving visitors. The life that goes on outside, in courtyards or the big open space in the summer transfers into this area in the winter. In this sense, what could in the summer, be a privately inflected space (the large family room), switches to a publicly inflected space in the winter. The other rooms of the house, however, are private space into which most non-family members would never go.

During weddings the entire area of the house is turned into something of a giant private space. It is not uncommon for enormous tarpaulins to be draped over, almost, the whole house to enclose everything including the front courtyard so as to provide a private space in which the women's part of the wedding celebration can proceed. Who is permitted to enter these areas depends on their gender and their relationship with the groom and bride's families. While all women who attend the wedding would attend this half of the celebration the only men who are permitted to enter the area are the immediate male relatives of the groom and the bride⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ Weddings are the only time that people tend to drink much coffee, typically people drink extremely sweet black tea; and in copious amounts.

⁷⁶ These related men would typically give warning before they enter so that any women present who they are not related to have time to cover themselves with an *abaya* and *hijab* or *niqab*.

Further, while the male half of the wedding in the goat hair tent remains a public place irrespective of the presence of men and women, the public/private status of the enclosed space in the house will fluctuate depending on the presence of different people. For example, in the enclosed private space of the women's half of the wedding celebrations it is common for women to take off all sorts of coverings to reveal expensive dresses, hair and makeup as well as to sing, make music and dance. Yet if male relatives of the groom or bride were to enter the space they would bring some element of the public with them and so it would be typical for women present, who are not related to these men, and so cannot have a privately inflected social relationship with them, to cover their hair, make up and so on, reducing their private space down to that contained within the clothes and head dress they are wearing.

Wedding celebrations where the divisions between public/private and between the spaces of women and men are at their most stark and are brought to the fore in a significant way are probably the most obvious manifestation of this, however they are simply one manifestation of something that structures people's connection to each other and to space and is in play every moment of their lives. To a degree, women and men themselves represent elements of private and public space which is carried with them everywhere they go. This merging of people and space in the very personhood of Bedouin women and men inflects the physical space in which they stand at any given time; and the social relations between people in physical space is inscribed in physical space while those particular people are in it.

Space Throughout Bedoul Territory; and Beyond.

In the spaces where people live the slide along the scale of public and private depending on the people in space is more nuanced and subtle than it is in areas further out in the Bedoul *dīra*. The open spaces of the area Bedoul have called home for centuries are open to all, generally speaking, or at least all Bedoul. Outside of residential areas and spaces that are

inhabited by people for work, or relaxing, space tends to fall into categories of free to everyone (who is Bedoul) or areas that are divided up between the five families of the Bedoul, and further subdivided for different families which constitute them. Extending out from the Bedoul *dira* land is further divided up between the different groups in the region; each of which have similar systems of land distribution and social relationships with it, to the Bedoul.

Umm Sayhoun (right) with most of the Bedoul dira



One dreary winter's day I was sitting with Taryk Ali at his little shop *Harrods's of Petra*. I asked Taryk about the arrangements the different '*shyra*⁷⁷ had come to to sort out land ownership and access in and around Petra. He said that those sorts of agreements were as old as Ottoman times and that since then the arrangements have been the same, everyone kind of just knew what they were. Taryk was getting into a bad mood, he looked at me shaking his head and said "there will be a lot of tourists in Petra tomorrow; it will be Friday" then he said

⁷⁷ The plural is *ashair* اعشائر I use a transliteration of the singular for both for the sake of simplicity.

in an irritated way “Arabs... I don’t like coming here on Friday. They are... ‘different’ tourists; they touch everything [in his shop] and make a mess, and never buy *anything*”⁷⁸.

As if to confirm what he said, right on cue, a middle-aged Arab tourist, a day early, was walking up the stairs, paused and picked a souvenir up off the shelf of Taryk’s shop and asked how much it was. He told her the price, which she wasn’t interested in paying, and as she put the souvenir back, she knocked the whole shelf over sending souvenirs sprawling across the path. Embarrassed, she muttered “sorry” and scurried off up the stairs; Taryk angrily called out after her in English, perhaps for my benefit, perhaps on the chance she wouldn’t understand exactly what he said and be too offended, “what!? I’m going to take ‘SORRY’ to the bank?! And change it? [to money]”. Taryk and I rearranged the illustrious *Harrods of Petra*, he, the whole time muttering something about Arab tourists. Once the shop was back in order, he continued talking about land arrangements.

He told me that everyone knew the basic arrangements between the ‘*shyra*. Bedoul knew where their land was, the Amaryn next door in and around Little Petra knew theirs, and so did the Sayidyn to the west and south of Petra; and the farmers in Wadi Musa too. And they all knew too where the hazy, porous, boundaries between these homelands, where anyone had access, were as well. None of this had anything to do with the government; these things were in place before Jordan existed. Taryk continued, saying that when individuals wanted access to a piece of land, people could work it out among themselves, but if a whole lot of people wanted to graze goats in someone else’s territory, then the sheikhs would do the negotiating. I asked him “so if some Amaryn wanted to bring their goats to Khubtha (on the north-eastern edge of, but still squarely within, the bounds of the Bedoul *dira*) could they just show up and use the land there?” Taryk replied “no! If Amaryn come to Khubtha we would kick them

⁷⁸ Friday is typically the day that local Jordanian tourists visit Petra, and visitors from Lebanon and other nearby countries too.

out!” he had a think about that and then said “if one or two Amaryn came, who cares? There’s room⁷⁹. If there were a hundred?.... This would be a problem”. Given that there were a number of people from the village who had camels in the care of Sudanese camel herders in Wadi Araba I asked him if Bedoul made similar arrangements with others, like Sayidyn, in Wadi Araba? Taryk replied “yeah; but Wadi Araba is so big there’s plenty of room for everyone. Here [in Petra] it’s small”.

Some more tourists came along, this time Americans, and had a look at some souvenirs; one took a photo of *Harrods of Petra* laughing about it with his wife, none bought anything unfortunately, though they were polite. Taryk said that sometimes he doesn’t really care if he doesn’t sell anything, he still gets his salary from the Petra Authority for taking care of the cistern in Jabal Khubtha that supplies the water for the toilets; he really has the shop for something to do rather than to make much money. He gets to meet people from all over the world and talk with them; he said that that was the main point. Once the tourists were gone, I asked Taryk if any of the Bedouin, or the farmers, wrote down the agreements that they came to about land and he said “no, people didn’t care about that sort of thing [in the past]. They thought they would move, they didn’t think they would stay, Bedouin don’t think about that”. The Bedoul in the past, though certainly not at present, saw their stay in Petra as provisional and nomadism as an option to be taken up again when, and if, conditions demanded it⁸⁰.

Yet the Bedoul residence in Petra was of such duration and permanency that they had carved out a territory of their own which was recognised by the other Bedouin and farming

⁷⁹ Bedoul have typically friendly relations with the Amaryn.

⁸⁰ The degree to which nomadic pastoralism may still be an option for Bedoul today varies. There are still Bedoul pastoralists in the al-Heymeymeh and Diesi regions near Wadi Rum who continue to live in goat hair tents and move periodically. Yet to what degree Bedoul from Petra would consider nomadic pastoralism an option probably depends on a number of factors such as age, the degree to which they have become accustomed to the comforts of living in a house, available resources and even personal preference. I doubt that the bulk of the Bedoul al-Batra would entertain the idea however as I suspect that they would be wary of leaving Petra en masse in case it would de-legitimize their claim to the area.

communities in the region, each of whom had their respective territory, equally recognised by the rest. The boundaries, though clearly defined and widely known, were never solid but were permeable to varying degrees upon negotiation. These territories could also be open to contestation and conflict, the very presence of the Bedoul in Petra today is facing such contestation by their Beni Layth neighbours. The arrangements that pertained between the different *'shyra* for large blocks of territory were mirrored in miniature within the Bedoul territory and negotiated among the five families and lineages within those.

I asked Taryk about the way people from the Bedoul negotiated land use within the *dira* and he said that it was a similar arrangement to that between *'shyra* but maybe a little easier, less formal. People usually wouldn't need any Sheikhs to help them negotiate for something like that. Taryk said "if someone wants to use someone else's land for farming they have to come and ask." Taryk added that there would be payment for the use of farmland too; but it was wide open to negotiation and not strictly defined though there is a general principle that giving the land owner a third of the crop off the land was an acceptable deal. This was a principle that many people had told me still pertains today, when there is enough rain to justify farming at least. It also pertains between people who own animals, like horses and camels, and people who rent them for use in tourism⁸¹. Then Taryk said with a shrug "if you [the generic you, not me specifically] wanted to use my land I'll just let you, you don't need to give me anything." People shared what they had, and Taryk, at least, had the attitude that what went round came round and if he wasn't using land someone else may as well; they would help him out some other time in the future.

⁸¹ For example, when a person rents a camel from another who owns the camel and the camel registration number required to work in Petra, the generally accepted fair rental price for the animal is a third of the income generated. Some people may require more or less for the rent of their animals, some simply allow their friends to use the animal for free.

Even people who had done little to no farming in their life knew what land they were entitled to use, and though they may not know just whose land was exactly where, they still knew their own and where the boundaries were. One day, after a trip to the Sayidyn Bedouin camp at al-Batah, my adoptive brother Abdallah, his best friend Ali Abu Atallah and I were riding donkeys high up on the cliff face along the eastern side of Wadi Sabra to the south of Petra. We had just crossed back into the Bedoul *dīra* on our way home and could see a huge section of it hundreds of meters below us stretching to the north and west. Abdallah had always maintained that since I was there to learn about Bedouin, I should have the opportunity to visit ‘real Bedouin’ who still live in tents and move with the goats and camels. He had introduced me to some of his Sayidyn friends from al-Batah (to the south of Petra near the town of Teybeh Zaman) and also reacquainted me with an old friend, Salem Eid al-Jdelāt whose family lives in a black goat hair tent and herds camels and goats in Diesi near Wadi Rum and were from the Bedoul al-Heymeymeh ⁸².

⁸² A few generations ago a number of families left Petra and moved to the new town of Heymeymeh on the desert highway near Wadi Rum. According to oral histories Bedoul had a connection with old Heymeymeh before they went to Petra. The Bedoul families who had made the move are now known as Bedoul al-Heymeymeh, the Bedoul who stayed in Petra are known as Bedoul al-Batra.



Abdallah left, and Ali right

Abdallah and Ali pointed out to me the markers that demarcated the boundary of the Bedoul land, a triangulation of notable mountain peaks and valleys (including but not restricted to- Jabal Haroun, Wadi Sabra, the cliffs we were riding along and the ridge of Umm Sayhoun), and Abdallah then pointed out the land that belonged to his family, the al-

Jdelāt, demarcated in a similar way. Abdallah was still young, only in his late thirties and hadn't done any farming⁸³, though he said if there was ever enough rain, he might do so. Ali however was much older, an adult when everyone moved to the village, and, for a Bedouin, a keen farmer. Ali is from the Sāmahyn family and was in the process of building a dam in the midst of the Sāmahyn land on the eastern side of Wadi Sabra a little further north than the al-Jdelāt section. He said that there hadn't been enough rain for farming in years so he had decided to build the dam in a deep and narrow gully to see if he could capture enough water to irrigate a barley crop. The whole area was fairly steep and rocky, and Ali would have to plough the land with a donkey and a wooden plough, but, he said, if he could get a crop out of it for his goats, and a bit to sell, it would be worth it.

As we rode along Ali and Abdallah reminisced about the countryside being lush and green with barley after good winter rain and snow. They spoke about everyone coming out and dealing with the crops, and the goats eating the stubble after harvest. They also spoke about how dry it had been for years now leaving the landscape barren, red and Mars like. The donkeys, always sure footed, ambled along the rough and narrow track, occasionally Abdallah who was riding along behind me would lean forward and smack my donkey on the backside with a strip of rubber windscreen-wiper he was using as a quirt and shout “*herewan!*” to get it moving faster; though experienced with horses I couldn't for the life of me figure out how to ride a donkey.

In the village, in residential areas still in Petra today (for example around Stoh), and further throughout Petra the distribution of land and the distribution of people in space both shapes social relations and is shaped by social relations. Space, and the people and their sociality in it, are mutually constitutive. Space, though it may have something of an inherent element of

⁸³ Not as an adult at least, he did have distant memories of helping his family farm as a small child before they moved from Petra to Umm Sayhoun.

public or private depending on where it is, will be influenced in this regard- its status of public/private- by the people in the space. Likewise, given the sliding gendered nature of spaces associated with the public and private, people may fit into gendered roles as appropriate to the space and the social circumstances present. And so, to some degree the public/private status of people might slide too.

Away from the residential areas of Bedoul land, now the majority of their *dira*, the land is divided up in such a way as to be open for use to anyone, or divided into parcels of farmland belonging to different families⁸⁴. In places like Jabal Khubtha, Tufiq Abu Mohammed's favourite place for his goats, anyone can hunt grouse, or eagle and hawk chicks, anyone can herd goats and get water from Nabataean cisterns. Anyone who is Bedoul or has negotiated with some Bedoul representatives, that is. In the areas that are amenable to farming the land is divided and belongs to families who know where their land is. Having farmland in Petra is the single defining feature that divides Bedoul about whether or not the sixth family, the Manaja are Bedoul or a different '*shyra* entirely. Many people told me that since the Manaja family came to Petra, settled there and married into the other five Bedoul families, which also married into theirs, the Manaja are Bedoul now. Conversely, just as many people told me that though they have established themselves in Petra the Manaja are *not quite* Bedoul because they don't own any farmland in the *dira*.

Going further outwards the division of land between the different Bedouin in the region, and the farmers in Wadi Musa, positions the different groups on land and in relation to the other groups of the region. In the past, possession of land depended on conquest and occupation, and the ability to hold onto land once a group occupied it. Some groups could simply take land from others, the powerful ones, some had to negotiate access (or alternatively

⁸⁴ As far as I could ever gather only farmland is divided between families. Land used for pastoralism appears to be open to all.

protection), yet either way the social relations that structured peoples' relationship to others, their access to land also structured understandings of space.

People may well have expected to move on at some point, as Taryk Ali told me, however people couldn't just move on to anywhere; in a land of mobile and sedentary populations the elsewhere is inevitably someone else's home range. At every step as a group of nomads might move through space, in the permeable hazy boundaries between the homelands of others, they would eventually have to negotiate through spaces that were defined by the people on them, and constitutive of those social groups. In the Petra region, for a very long time the land has been divided between the Bedoul, the Amaryn, the Sayidyn and the Beni Layth, each with their respective homelands; and the al-Mara'i Howeitat (Shoup 1985: 278) and the Ibin Jazi Howeitat, with whom the Bedoul are affiliated, historically migrated through the area and were one of the most powerful and influential groups in the area. Each group knew where their land was, what land was permeable and what the relations between themselves and the others were like; and how these relations were written into the land.

However, as the place of the Bedoul in Petra has been destabilised by the creation of Petra as Lost City and so unequivocally a monument, the Bedoul connection to Petra and Petra's status as Bedoul territory have become obscure, and so easily challenged by other groups, particularly the Beni Layth, who are in political competition with the Bedoul. As a non-place (Augé 1995: 78) it is relatively easy to frame the contemporary Bedoul presence in Petra as a form of trespass. With mystification of the Bedoul connection to Petra, the accusations of trespass and the subsequent apparently 'uninhabited' nature of Petra as a Lost City there is created something akin to a status of *terra nullius* for Petra, into which Beni Layth insert their claims of habitation and ownership of Petra.

A New Configuration.

The construction of the Bedouin village (Wahdat al-Bedoul) on the ridge of Umm Sayhoun transgressed the age old, largely agreed upon, and taken for granted land tenure and use arrangements between the different local groups in and around Petra. It thrust the Bedoul community onto the land of their adversaries, the Beni Layth, and began the undermining of the Bedoul collective attachment to their old homes in Petra. The move of the Bedouin out of Petra, the destruction of almost all traces of their habitation of the site, the various regulations imposed on activity in Petra in relation to work and the utter lack of acknowledgment of the Bedoul place in Petra at the level of Petra-presented-touristically has created a form of life in Petra that jars against Bedoul understandings of place.

I sat one day with the group of women who own the shops that run along the path at the base of Jabal Khubtha in front of the Royal Tombs. The shops are all informal, technically illegal, and owned by older women with families to support. There were few tourists that day; it was miserable weather and the continuing trouble in Egypt, and the escalating trouble in Syria, had continued to gut the tourism industry in Jordan and all the Bedoul were feeling the effects. As I walked past, I was called in for tea by one of the women, Argilla Umm Hussein, and invited to sit.

There were a number of people there, Taryk Ali (of *Harrods of Petra*) was there, and one of my aunties, Umm Fahd; none of them could be bothered staying at their own shops as there weren't enough tourist to justify the effort. From behind the shop where we were gathered, they would simply shout "have a look madam/sir!" or "looking is free!" if they saw one of the few tourists in Petra that day glance at their shop down the path. Thinking about what Ali Abu Huweymel at the Urn Tomb had said, about Bedoul still having some land they could use in the archaeological park, I asked them why they all agreed to live in Umm Sayhoun,

rather than insist the village was built somewhere else, on Bedoul land, perhaps to the south in the Ras Sabra Region below Teybeh. I had run the thought by plenty of people and it only got a lukewarm response, yet it is, according to Kooring and Simms (1995: 6) the original location proposed by the Bedoul for the village. Everyone agreed with Argilla when she told me that Umm Sayhoun ended up being the best solution in a bad situation. This was the common answer when I asked the older ones, who were actually involved in the process.

Argilla continued saying that the sheikh of the time, Mortloq Faqyra, convinced everyone that it would be a good idea to build the village on Umm Sayhoun, that the government would resist building it any closer to their land. Umm Fahd agreed with her that this may well have been the case but added that old Mortloq was well out of his depth dealing with the government and hinted that a sheikh better equipped may have gotten a better result. Argilla said angrily “If we were as well educated and as politically smart as our sons are now, we would never have moved!” a statement to which the whole group gave nodding approval. Argilla continued, agreeing with Umm Fahd, that Mortloq had done a bad job of negotiating with the government. She said that he was a good old man, and a very good sheikh, but he was from the old days, when sheikhs negotiated with other sheikhs and even the king, not with bureaucrats and people like USAID and UNESCO; she said they were far too crafty for him. But, at least he had gotten them Umm Sayhoun; that was far better than the alternative that the government had offered.

I asked everyone where the government had proposed to build the village and Umm Fahd flung her arm towards the North East and said “all the way up there!, on the ridge high above Wadi Musa⁸⁵!; how do they expect that we would be able to get to work from all the way up

⁸⁵ The proposed location for the village is only a further few kilometres away from Petra than Umm Sayhoun as the crow flies however it is a few hundred meters higher up on the plateau above both Umm Sayhoun and Wadi Musa. To get to Petra from up there one must go through Wadi Musa, or alternatively attempt a perilous descent down the steep mountainside covered with very loose and very large rock.

there?!” Umm Fahd then added that the “land the village is built on, the whole ridge of Umm Sayhoun, actually belonged to the Hassanat family, from the farming people [Beni Layth] in Wadi Musa”. The government had taken it off them to build the village on and the farmers had never forgiven the Bedouin for the loss. Umm Fahd said that it was only right that the farming people should pay *some* price for Petra too and lose some land; it was the Bedouin who were paying the biggest Price, and the farmers get most of the benefits. But they all agreed that the decision was leading to great trouble now.

Umm Fahd went on saying that “now, since all of the land [on Umm Sayhoun] had been consumed for housing, and that the little that hasn’t been built on yet is owned by people who are planning to build later, there’s nowhere to go, it’s like living on a ship!” she exclaimed. She pointed to the south and said bitterly “that way is the park [Petra Archaeological Park]” pointing to the east and north “and that way are the farmers, and they won’t give an inch more land to us”, and then pointing to the north west “and the only place left, there, the government tells us there are buried artefacts so we can’t build there!” Argilla added that only last night a group of thirty boys⁸⁶ from the village had gone to the government (she didn’t specify just what branch) and declared that if there wasn’t more land released for building somewhere that they would all get married and move back into Petra.

The women all decided that enough work today was enough and began closing up shop, pulling canvas and plastic tarpaulins over the shops and tying them down. The shops, all along the path, were shut up in a matter of a couple of minutes with most of the women mounted on donkeys and on their way home to the village. As they rode away, they joked and laughed, said that perhaps tomorrow the weather would be better and there might be more tourists; they rode past the caves that they once called home, the caves in which some of them

⁸⁶ Unmarried men in their late teens to early/mid-twenties.

were born, and had given birth, and seen their families grow and loved ones pass away. Yet there were only the memories of those times now to hold onto. All traces of their homes in the caves of Petra were gone, their gardens, the painted walls of the caves and the concrete floors. Tourists could wander freely through what were once, for the Bedoul, the most intimate of spaces.

Petra has become something different to what it was, in the Lost City there is a different way of life to that which those Bedoul grandmothers all remember. And though they, like everyone else in the community, have adapted to struggle on making the best of life they can, that new way of life, and the new configuration of place, and the Bedoul place in it, has created modes of sociality that continually split the Bedoul off from their place in Petra. For the Bedoul the creation of the Lost City, the foregrounding of Petra's Nabataean origins and history and the eradication of the Bedoul history in Petra, is an historically and archeologically validated façade which positions Petra as nothing more than the Nabataean capital. In the words of one Bedoul donkey guide and tour company owner, Huweymel Taryk, (who also happens to have a master's degree in archaeological monument preservation) "they [government, UNESCO, USAID] are killing a living culture to save a dead one".

What emerges is a place in which the identificatory, the relational, and the historical have no living referent, these crucial markers of anthropological place have no anthropomorphic focus, and cease to be meaningful. Petra becomes a non-place (Augé 1995: 78). Yet in Petra life goes on, the tourists visit, the Bedouin work and the various government/NGO stake holders draft and implement policy. What results is a way of life and interaction in Petra full of ambiguity and tension.

Chapter 5: Of Tourists, Dolls, Donkeys and Daggers.

I was sitting in Abu Latif's café one day, not far from the Great Temple, hoping to chat with him. Abu Latif was in his mid to late 40s, is taller than most of the Bedouin, but is very lean like most; he has a jovial easy-going manner and a sharp wit. He has spent the majority of his life in Petra and is a skilful archaeological monument restorer, like his father before him. He has worked on much of the restoration work undertaken in the city over the years but is now content to run the shop/café that his family owns a share in along with a number of other families. The shop has an elevated concrete slab before it that serves as something of a veranda on which he has tables and chairs set up for the tourists; Abu Latif has also planted a flower garden around it which occasionally gets him in trouble with the Petra Authority. When there are no tourists in the café Abu Latif can usually be found sitting on the seats on the shop veranda with a group of other Bedouin chatting and drinking tea. Very few people, tourists or Bedouin, can get past the shop, along the road, without being subjected to Abu Latif's hilarious wit. During quiet periods in the shop, he usually keeps everyone nearby in constant laughter with his comedic commentary on the people passing by.

Abu Latif's café



He had recently broken down the internal dividing wall in the café and expanded the shop to twice its size. Formerly it was divided in two, a front and a back section; the front being the café, the back a vacant shop, but given that no one was renting the back section, Abu Latif decided he may as well use it himself. There was a substantial number of tourists in the newly expanded café that day. The group was sitting around on the low bench seating with the low tables covered with glasses of minted tea and Turkish coffee or wandering about the shop looking at the souvenirs on offer. Hanging from the beam along the front of the shop were silver alloy lamp shades beautifully etched and inlaid with little gems of coloured glass, draped over all the bench seats were hand woven woollen rugs, and there were various pieces of laminated wood and camel bone furniture about. Some pieces were small coffee tables, some were folding side-tables and stools, all of them were for sale, and all were covered in yet more souvenirs; swords, daggers, vases, cups, old fashioned coffee pots (many of which are genuinely very old), chess and backgammon sets, Petra themed T-shirts and, of course, Arab head dresses were everywhere. Abu Latif even had a set of glass-faced wooden display cabinets full of high-end silver jewellery⁸⁷ for sale in the shop and he had recently acquired a number of hand-painted black velvet pictures of Petra too, giving the shop an odd retro 70's vibe.

⁸⁷ Many shops sell very high quality, high purity, silver jewellery. It never has the price advertised, rather people will ascertain the current silver prices, weigh the piece of jewellery on a set of scales and negotiate a price with the buyer.



Abu Latif (right) and donkey guides

The prospect of talking with Abu Latif wasn't looking good, he was busy, running to and fro with a pump spray pack on his back, he was spraying water on the concrete floor to wet down the dust in between

taking orders from the tourists in French, German, English and a smattering of Russian then shouting the orders in Arabic to his shop assistants behind the marble shop counter. It was an unusually busy day right across Petra, and busy days tended to be quiet days for me, in terms of interviews at least, as people were keen to make hay while the sun shone; when there were tourists in Petra, people didn't have time for my silly questions. As I sat watching the scene, mostly filled with two tour groups of elderly Europeans, Ali al-Jdelāt, a 21 year old donkey guide, and my adoptive cousin, came by with his donkeys, Warda and Shakira, both of whom were being ridden by a young Russian woman.



Ali

Ali is a well-regarded and handsome young man; he is polite, easy going, he has a quick smile and is known for generosity. Importantly, he isn't a drinker, and doesn't make drunken trouble in the village like some of the young men; though he is known to find plenty of 'girlfriends'

among the tourists. While numerous and consistent sexual encounters with female tourists may have made Ali an object of admiration among boys and younger men close to his own

age, many of the older generation, men and women, in the community roundly condemn the practice. Yet, even for the older ones, given Ali's generally good behaviour, respectful attitude, not to mention sobriety, a few... or perhaps, rather, numerous and consistent ... sexual indiscretions with tourists wasn't the worst thing in the world, on balance.

Ali had seen me sitting in the front of Abu Latif's café and halted his donkeys in front of me and said to the tourists with a grin "this is Auda⁸⁸; he lives in the village with the Bedouin". The tourists, both attractive young women in their 20s, seemed decidedly underwhelmed at being introduced to some guy with a pen and a notebook at a café; I got the impression they weren't particularly impressed with Ali either. He said to me in Arabic that one of them was *extremely* rude, and neither of them was very talkative. He told me he was taking them up to the Byzantine Church and asked if I wanted to come along. I looked into the café, Abu Latif was run off his feet, the floor would dry, and the dust roll across it through the tourists feet almost as soon as he wet it, he had a never ending stream of orders to relay to his helpers and growing number of tea and coffee cups to collect. He was too busy to talk.

I threw my notebook, pen and water bottle into my bag, jumped down from the café's veranda and fell in step behind Warda and Shakira with Ali as he drove them and their Russian passengers across the road and up the hill towards the Byzantine Church. Behind us another big tour group, perhaps thirty people, was being lead along the road by a licenced tour guide; we could hear Abu Latif call out "come in for happy hour, [and with a laugh] every hour is happy hour in Petra! 2 Dinars for a bottle of water; come in and enjoy the natural air conditioning [the wind]". Hovering around the fringes of the group were a few of the younger donkey guides, mostly children, hoping to peel a tourist or two from the group for a donkey ride. Ali gave one of his donkeys a shove on the rump and yelled "*herewan!*",

⁸⁸ I was given the name Auda by a neighbour who decided since I was to live with the Bedouin I ought to have a Bedouin name.

and told me in Arabic, so the tourists wouldn't understand, that the rude one thought that he wanted to "try to get with her". "She thinks she is *too* beautiful!" Ali added bitterly, explaining that he was simply being nice and he wasn't making advances towards her at all.

Just how innocent Ali's intentions were, and to what extent he hadn't flirted with the tourist/s I didn't ask; though the rude one was indeed rude, many tourists were, but she did seem somewhat more condescending and arrogant than average. As we came to the top of the little ridge with the ruined church we passed a small stall set up by Basma Faqyra; her shop consisted of little more than a steel re-bar frame with some tattered old black goat hair tent cloth draped over it. She was a single mother, and struggling to earn enough money to support her children from the shop; her husband had died, leaving her alone with four little mouths to feed. Her youngest child, a cute, scruffy little urchin of about four, with wild shaggy, dusty and long red-brown hair yelled at Ali's tourists in English "have a look! Happy hour! Just 2 dinars!"... It's always happy hour in Petra. Her mother, holding up a handmade cloth doll for the tourists to see, called out to Ali telling him to bring the women over to look at her shop. Ali pointed the shop out to the tourists but the rude one curtly told him that they wanted to look at the church; the other- not as rude- young woman, appeared apologetic but didn't seem to want to contradict her friend. Ali helped the women off the donkeys, and they wandered into the church; we sat outside on the ruins of ancient columns and waited.

Basma Faqyra' shop before she renovated it and replaced the hessian with tent cloth



And so we sat and waited for the tourists to return. The sun was warm, and it was a beautiful day. A little below us on the main road we could see tour groups herded along like flocks of sheep by their

tour guides. Whenever two big groups would collide the tour guides would hold up little paddles, resembling a table tennis paddle, which had a particular colour or symbol on it representing a tour company. As each guide walked backwards through the oncoming opposing group while facing their own group, they would call out for their group to move towards them and the paddle; gradually the two groups would diffuse into one another, then, like a cell dividing, separate again, the right tourists clustered around the nucleus of their guide. Weaving in and out of the groups was a continual stream of donkey and camel guides, both with and without tourists. The camels were popular for tourists returning from the Monastery, who did not want to walk the few kilometres back to the main entry at the Siq; the donkeys, which were capable of safely going nearly anywhere in Petra were very busy carting tourists to and fro.

After a while Ali said to me “I’m going to make her [the rude tourist] walk!” and he told me to take one of his donkeys up to Mousa al-Jdelāt’s café under the Royal Tombs in Jabal Khubtha and leave it there, he would come by and get it later. Unsure about the idea I asked him what he was going to tell the tourist, to explain why her donkey was gone; he said something about telling her someone else needed to use it, and added that she hadn’t paid him anything for the ride yet, and he wouldn’t charge her for the ride up to the church.

I mounted a donkey, Warda or Shakira, I don't know which it was, and started back down the path we had just come up. As I rode past Basma the widow's makeshift shop I made a joke about how resistant the donkey was and how I had no idea how to get it moving; her infant daughter, springing into action and coming to my rescue, threw a rock at the donkey and roared a ferocious "*HEREWAN!!!*" at it then grabbed a stick to come and whip it into motion. Her mother, laughing, called her back. Inch by inch the donkey crept back down the trail. I looked back, and just before the crest of the ridge obscured my view, saw Ali help the not so rude tourist onto his remaining donkey, and another young donkey guide who had come by with his tourists, loaded the rude one onto a spare donkey he had. As I approached Abu Latif's café I could see him, not so busy now, and a couple of donkey guides sitting in front of the shop, already laughing at my less than convincing donkey skills. At Abu Latif's invitation to sit, I explained to them the situation, that Ali wanted to make a rude tourist walk and that I was to take the donkey to Mousa's café. Abu Latif laughed and said "you'll get there faster if *you* carry the *donkey*"; and then went on to entertain the others with ideas about how that might be accomplished.

As the donkey and I trudged slowly up the trail towards Mousa's café we were surrounded by tourists. They would come in waves, herded along by licenced tour guides in their distinctive vests and with identification cards hanging around their necks on a lanyard, and their paddles. Here and there the guide would halt the group and explain something about a monument or some ruins and as the crowd stood listening to their guide young Bedouin men, and some of them perhaps not so young as they once were⁸⁹, would approach the group calling out "Bedouin taxi! Take a Bedouin taxi to the Monastery". As the donkey mounted guides gathered around the groups, like cowboys encircling a herd of cattle, itinerant souvenir

⁸⁹ Donkey guiding is generally considered "young men's" work. Once men begin to become elderly most (though not all) tend to look for less strenuous work. It's also not work generally done by women at all; while I was in Petra there was only one woman who worked as a donkey guide after her husband had died.

sellers would drift through the crowd. Mostly children, boys and girls, they would either meekly or cheekily, there never seemed to be anything in-between, grab a tourist by the hand in order to grab the tourist's attention. With arms laden with coral and camel bone jewellery they would display their wares and ask for, perhaps, 3 Dinars apiece. Some of the itinerant souvenir sellers are elderly men and women, but most are children.



Child itinerant souvenir seller

Some of the tourists would kindly chat with the children, others would shrink away in disgust as though the kids bore some sort of contagion; but mostly they just tried their best to ignore them. Tourists in groups generally did well ignoring the donkey guides too, they were safely herded along by their official licenced guides who often acted as something of a go-between in between the tourists and the donkey guides. Tourists who were not part of an organised tour group however had to deal with the donkey guides themselves. As the donkey guides approached these 'independent' tourists they would select the ones they thought would most likely take up an offer for a ride: families with small children, elderly couples or groups

who couldn't walk so fast, younger adventurous seeming tourists who might be up for some fun. Some of the donkey guides, usually the young unmarried boys/men, would try their luck with female tourists possibly in the hope a romantic interlude. They would all offer their services to whoever they thought might 'bite'⁹⁰ and take a donkey ride. Generally, there were always a few tourists who would 'bite' and take up the offer of a donkey, but most didn't. Most of the tourists were content to explore the ancient ruinous city unencumbered with the realities of modern people struggling to earn a living.

Ali's donkey plodded along the path, occasionally stopping to look around and ignoring my exhortations to keep it moving. Occasionally, as a donkey guide rode past, he would lean over and whip it on the rump with a laugh to help me out sending my uncooperative donkey bounding along at a trot for a few meters before it would settle back into its preferred pace. A little old lady who had set up a shop on the side of the road laughed and told me that she figured the donkey was in charge, not me; I assured her that that was, indeed, apparently the case. Her shop was nothing more than a plank of wood that had been wrapped in shiny white nylon cloth set atop a couple of little piles of stone. The board was covered in the same coral and camel bone jewellery that the itinerant sellers carried, with the addition of a few stainless steel etched 'Roman' bracelets and a few of the old-fashioned handmade cloth dolls that many of the women in the village sewed from old worn out clothes.

⁹⁰ Bedoul donkey guides typically refer to soliciting business as 'fishing'. This occasionally has connotations of trying to initiate romantic relations with female tourists but for the most part simply refers to trying to drum up donkey guiding work.



A fairly permanent 'illegal' stall

She was just one of about thirty elderly women, and a few elderly men, who set up these very simple little stalls when the tourists were about. One of the other women nearby, sitting under the shade of an oleander bush tending a fire called out to me “*Ya Auda, sooblashy*” (hay Auda come and drink [literally pour] tea⁹¹. يا عودة صب الشاي). I turned her down, too much incredibly sugary tea was already becoming too much for me to handle. Her shop was the same, set up just for the day in the hope of many tourists and to be dismantled that afternoon. I eventually arrived at Mousa’s café and found it full to capacity with tourists. Taryk Mūwassa, (a brother of Ali Abu Huweymel Mūwassa of the Urn Tomb) who has a souvenir shop attached to Mousa’s cafe, was among the tourists carrying around an armful of souvenirs trying to sell a few and Mousa al-Jdelāt, the café manager and my adoptive cousin, was shouting irritably at his nephew Salman who worked in the café for him. Salman is a good-looking kid of about 16 or 17, and like most boys his age, on the edge of manhood, was careful to exhibit his still awkward manliness and autonomy. He often liked me to use my

⁹¹ In standard Arabic, as I have it written here, the phrase sounds like *Ya Auda soob asshay*; the Bedoul way of saying it sounds more like *Ya Auda soobla shy* where the act of pouring tea is equivalent to sitting to drink tea with people and tea is pronounced more like *shy* than the standard *shay*.

fountain pen to draw fake tattoos of eagles, snakes, scorpions and swords and daggers on his arms; he hadn't quite worked up courage enough to get a real one just yet, a rather painful process carried out by hand with a pot of 'Chinese ink' and a large sewing needle. And like many boys his age the world over he was easily distracted by the members of the opposite sex, as he was presently.

Salman showing off his tattoos



Walking into the shop after hitching Ali's donkey outside I said "hi" to Salman as I went by, but he was engrossed in conversation with three Jordanian high school girls all about his own age, they were exchanging mobile phone numbers. I didn't want to cramp his style, so I went and found a seat. Mousa was still yelling at him, between taking orders for tea, coffee and food, demanding that he get back to work

but to no effect. Taryk Mūwassa plonked down in the seat beside me with a sigh and complained that "the quality of the tourists now is just not the same [as in the past]. They want everything for nothing". He said that he hadn't sold *anything* in a café *full* of tourists; he was a little bit cranky about it. Taryk and I just sat there, he wasn't much in the mood to talk, and we quietly watched the tourists flow by down the main road like a river. The donkey guides drifted in and out of the stream, occasionally a camel guide would trot past breaking through the crowd sending tourists scurrying out of the way on either side of the camel, so they resembled the bow wave of a ship. The old women, and the few old men, with their shops made of wooden boards on stones would call out "have a look! Just one dinar during

happy hour”; happy hour was a long hour. And the itinerant sellers continued to drift through the crowd.

Taryk Mūwassa (left) and his eldest son



Divisions.

Looking at this scene from a point of view other than a Bedouin one the divisions here are sharp. There are, primarily, three of them. First, there is Petra, the ancient place, the Lost City, rightfully void of any contemporary residential debris. One might, with some imagination, see that allegedly barren haunting place that was allegedly discovered by Burkhardt in 1812. It is an empty landscape strewn with naught but caves and rubble, leftovers from the glory days of the Nabataeans. Second, there are the tourists, and their guides as well as the infrastructure of the tourism industry overlain on the Lost City. The

transient modern populace of Petra, passing through it each day registering the monuments and the presentations of the reconstructed history of the Nabataeans and leaving Petra to its quietude each night. They leave, having trodden lightly, careful to leave no trace⁹², so the ruins are there for others to wonder at without the interference of modernity's traces. The few of modernity's traces that must be tolerated: toilets, the sounds of diesel motors running generators, the official shops, and the people working in the shops, all exist seemingly alongside the tourists and their needs.

These two divisions are *starkly* divided, there is a distance between them; one is ancient, monumental, frozen in the past fixed upon a specific period of Petra's history to the exclusion of others, and needs protection from the destructive contaminating profanity of modernity. The other modern, much of it transitory, should come into Petra in the day and leave that afternoon, including the workers in the shops. The divide is between the modern and the ancient, they are set apart as incommensurable, two different qualities and quantities; they are divided by a conceptual gulf of a thousand years as though Petra was laid to rest with its abandonment by the Nabataeans and only uncovered in the modern age by Burkhardt and the archaeologists and presented to the tourists. Yet they *operate* in the same conceptual space, that of the tourism industry. Archaeology and the tourism industry in a troubled alliance, but an alliance, nonetheless. The second division, tourists, tour guides, tourism industry, interacts with the first division, ancient Petra, within tightly defined parameters.

These first two divisions are the result of very particular presentations of Place. One, the Lost City, bolstered by archaeology, monument and environmental preservation/protection and so forth. The other, the tourist attraction, which draws from the first presentation, the

⁹² Or at least they are expected to leave without a trace; the reality is that graffiti, among other things, is a large problem. One might find things like "Susanne NYC 2009" scrawled onto, or even carved into, many of the façades in many languages. I often wondered what Susanne, presumably of New York City, would think of Abdallah of Amman defacing the Washington Monument in a similar way (why wouldn't he after all, he probably graffitied Petra too).

archaeological one, and markets Petra, and educates tourists in terms of the archaeological presentation. This is a monumental presentation of what Petra is and it exists as a non-place (Augé 1995: 78); and it exists at the expense of what Petra was in social terms for the Bedouin precluding the social constructions of place they represent. These two specific representations of place, and the obfuscated nature of the sociality of Bedouin Petra, have a powerful hand in the construction of a very particular formulation of sociality through their very operation. The interactions of tourists, guides, officials, with Petra...in Petra, shaped by what Petra *must* be, can be conceived *as*- a monument and archaeological site, set up social interaction in Petra in equally particular ways. Ways that are just as restrictive as the representations of place- Lost City, tourist attraction- they are forged in.

The third division is the presence of the Bedouin in Petra, or at least those who aren't connected to the infrastructure and operation of tourism in obviously formal ways. For the Bedouin themselves their presence is entirely natural, explicable, and correct; for them Petra didn't lie in slumber between the time of the Nabataeans and the modern age. For the Bedouin, Petra is a profoundly social place, or in Augé's (1995: 51) terms, an anthropological place, marked by the passage of ordinary time, of ordinary life, and movement of the seasons- even the tourism season; it is a place in which the Bedouin recognise themselves and their generations of history in that place. For the tourist throng, for the official view of bodies like the Petra Authority, groups like The Petra National Trust, the 'Friends of Petra'⁹³, the presence of the Bedouin is not only an historically based inconvenience, at odds with their collective vision of Petra (and how it should be exploited and managed) but also their general ideas about what Bedouin ideally should be. As Bedouin, the Bedouin don't really fit into the proffered monumental vision of Petra; they are messy and out of place. Furthermore, as such,

⁹³ Friends of Petra is essentially a non-governmental organisation consisting of, mainly, Amman based Jordanian elites who seek to preserve Petra and lobby government for that end. They have in the past recommended the removal of the Bedouin from Petra.

they don't really conform to the idealised views of what Bedouin are either; Bedouin don't conform to the monumentalised image of the 'touristic Bedouin'. The tensions between these differing understandings of people and place and the particular forms of everyday interaction between tourists and Bedouin in Petra they create are the focus of this chapter. These everyday interactions themselves are laden with tensions that then fold back into and bolster assumptions of people and place, and the apparent split between the Bedouin and Petra on many levels.

For the people with a stake in managing and presenting Petra, the ones who would deign to speak with me at least, the Bedouin were Bedouin (or sometimes not Bedouin) who were traveling through once and just didn't continue on their nomadic journey as they thought Bedouin should. Or, alternatively, they came from somewhere, a somewhere almost never specified⁹⁴, to Petra and somehow inexplicably muscled their way in. Both propositions are typically most often explained with allusions to the supposed Bedouin wish to exploit the tourism industry⁹⁵. Such assumptions about the Bedouin presence in Petra, that they are there for no other reason than to exploit tourism, then serve to fold, awkwardly fold, the Bedouin into the operation of tourism in Petra. The Bedouin, who don't really fit neatly into the official presentation of Petra, are thus caught up into tourism's particular sociality and become a part of its operation.

All these things that have set about creating the Lost City, that structure surface level interrelations between Petra, tourists and Bedouin, and ideals about Bedouin and their monumentalised culture, set up a way of life, interaction, economics and practice that

⁹⁴ On the occasions that I would press people on where the Bedouin supposedly came from if people gave a location, it was often Israel in the post WW2 period. Whether or not people actually believe this themselves is questionable, either way I'd say it was an attempt to undermine Bedouin belonging in Petra by further insinuating that Bedouin are not real Jordanians or even real Muslims.

⁹⁵ Whenever many people in Jordan bring this matter up, they are often ignorant of, or wish to avoid, the fact that Bedouin habitation of Petra predates the tourism industry by centuries.

undermine Petra as Place; or, at least, it undermines Petra as a living place with connections to living People.

Zones of Tourism.

The focus of tourism in Petra is overwhelmingly on the monuments left by the Nabataeans. The city is often described as a giant necropolis, though it is believed to have been home to somewhere around 30,000 living people too (Joukowsky 2001: 2). Tour guides describe who is thought to have been buried in particular tombs⁹⁶. Tour guides describe how the tombs were built, some talk about the construction of the facades, where the scaffolding is thought to have been positioned, the precision required in carving accurately in a solid sandstone mountainside (after all, the Nabataeans couldn't just replace a few stone blocks if they got it wrong) some guides talk about how the cavernous interiors were carved out from the top down and the tools (some of which have been found) that the Nabataeans used. The focus for the tourists, the interpretation presented by the guides, zeros in on the physicality of Petra and the archaeological and historical presentation of the Nabataeans.

The place of the Bedouin in this milieu, from a tourist/tourism-administration point of view is that of a service provider, small stall keeper, an informal guide with a donkey, or a camel guide; and an inconvenience. The Bedouin are not a part of the touristic presentation of Nabataean Petra but rather, apparently, an appendage of the tourism industry overlain on the touristic construction of place. The Bedouin relationality with each other and place, historical connection to Petra (and Petra's Bedouin history) and the mutual identification of Bedouin

⁹⁶ As far as I was ever able to discern the only tomb archaeologists and historians know for sure the occupant of is the tomb of the Roman Governor of Arabia Petraea, Sextus Florentinus.

with Petra and Petra with Bedoul are further subverted by the apparently purely touristic commercialism of the contemporary Bedoul place in touristically-presented-Petra.

In touristically-presented-Petra the Petra that the tourists engage with, and the sociality expressed in archaeological and historical reconstructions is dead; it is the dead Nabataean culture, mediated through the tourism industry that tourists partake of. As noted above, Marc Augé (1991: 77) writes “if a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place”. In this sense, at this level, Petra *is* still a place rather than a non-place but Petra has its relational, historical and identificatory qualities *shifted*.

Petra’s place-hood, its status as anthropological place, is connected to modern representations of the long dead Nabataean culture. With the undercutting of the Bedoul place in Petra, and the utter erasure of their history in the touristic presentations of Petra as well as their contemporary position apparently touristically and economically situated, Petra, as an anthropological place with relational, historical and identificatory qualities relating it to the Bedouin is smothered. Petra in such a guise has become a non-*Bedouin*-place and they, the Bedouin themselves, whose presence is undeniable, appear to many tourists and park management as an, often irritating, anomaly. All of this creates, and operates in, something of a bubble of highly particular sociality, a particular ‘tourist zone’.

Tourists accompanied by their guides, flowing through Petra like a river of people, enter and pass through Petra in what I refer to as the tourist zone. To a degree, all of Petra, and much of Wadi Musa, indeed much of Jordan, is a tourist zone. The tourist zone is anything in which tourists engage through their travels in Jordan. Taxis, busses and hire cars, with their little

green square on left side of their numberplate⁹⁷, hotels, restaurants, bars, tour locations- Petra, Dead Sea, Jerash and so on, all constitute a tourist zone, or parts of it. It is a conceptual space in which tourism business proceeds. Even tourists who don't have guides, those that visit Petra independently seeking their 'authentic' experience, travel in the tourist zone.

The tourist zone is a conceptual space that is overlaid on physical space, and people, and inserts a particular rationality, and sociality, into that physical space. It, like any ordered place, is marked by its laws, those of market exchange, those of bureaucracy, insurance, regulation; the place is patrolled by the aptly named Tourist Police. The people who spend most of their time inhabiting the tourist zone, other than tourists, mainly tour guides but many people who work in the tourist zone, are subject to accreditation and licencing: as guides, as proprietors of travel companies, of hotels, and so on. And the underlying rationale of the operation of the tourism zone is commercialism.

And importantly, ideally, the tourist zone should be kept separate from the rest of life, and for what will come in the next chapter, hospitality (Shryock 2004: 41). This is also something that Shoup (1985: 286) noted in relation to the Beni Layth having enough control over tourism encounters so that they were able to "keep their dealings with foreigners on a purely business level and foreigners have not invaded their own personal lives to a great extent" (ibid). The Bedoul however, started off their adventure with tourism firmly embedded in tourist zone as tourism grew in Petra while the Bedoul still lived there. They do, as I will go on to argue however, attempt to draw tourists out of it.

Tourists come to Petra to see the Lost City, they come to see something they saw, perhaps, in a movie, or a documentary. They learn about the physicality of Petra, the Nabataeans, and

⁹⁷ All vehicles in Jordan that have insurance allowing them to transport tourists/the public have a little green square on their numberplate. If anyone transports tourists without the appropriate insurance/registration and numberplate, they can get in trouble with the police.

consume modern archaeologically informed touristically presented representations of Petra's construction, Nabataean usage and history. Tour guides, the more highly educated or conscientious ones at least, explain different aspects of Nabataean culture to tourists, tell them about the Nabataeans' use of the different parts of the tombs, about their gods and sacrifices to them. The physicality of Petra, stretched out before the tourists, is explained and understood in relation to the dead culture of the Nabataeans. In this sense what is presented is a place of relations, identities and history, Petra *is* in this sense an anthropological place (Augé 1995: 51). Or, perhaps more correctly, since the culture and people it represents ceased to exist over a thousand years ago, Petra in this sense is an 'archaeological place'. In this Petra has become a place of phantoms, haunted by tourism's presentations of the ghostly culture, civilisation, of the Nabataeans. It is like the hundreds of tombs, what the Nabataeans probably thought were to be their final resting places⁹⁸, exude the souls of the dead to mingle with the tourists.

Yet this phantom, archaeological place is constructed, and operates firmly in the tourist zone. In Petra the kind of social landscape created as a consequence of the tourist zone operates to turn Petra into a non-place *for the Bedouin* as they are positioned firmly in the tourist zone. In their interactions with the tourists, as licenced shop keepers, small stall holders, itinerant sellers, donkey and camel guides, formal or informal, the structure of Bedouin social interaction with tourists, and Petra's various managerial 'stakeholders' places them firmly in relationship with the tourism industry which itself is overlain on the 'purity' of Petra's 'true' ancient Nabataean identity.

Bedouin, with their monumentalised culture, which eradicates the vast diversity of Bedouin ways of life and positions them socially and culturally in the past, should, apparently, find

⁹⁸ Finding an un-looted tomb in Petra is a rare thing indeed; I only ever spoke to one, very old, Bedouin who said, many years ago, he found a grave that still had its original occupant, and grave goods, in it.

their relational, historical and identificatory relations to place in the desert, somewhere, anywhere... anywhere but Petra. This cuts them off, *a priori*, from a relationship to a place presented as an ancient city. This cutting-off is then made twofold in Petra's reconstruction and presentation as a Lost City with no history other than that relating to the Nabataeans. This conceptual splitting of the Bedoul from Petra is then lived out, in every day social interactions with tourists, as the Bedoul are forced to relate to tourists, and to Petra, through the operation of the tourism industry in order simply to survive in what has been, for hundreds of years, their homeland.

I believe it is this apparent *touristically bounded* presence of the Bedoul in Petra that enables many people to claim that the Bedoul have no long-term connection to Petra; claims that then feed back into and re-enforce the Petra/Bedoul conceptual split. The evolution of these claims is telling. Shoup (1985: 289) reports that the Bedoul were said to have arrived in Petra from Sinai "only 20 years ago" (so about 1964/5). By the time of my fieldwork the Bedoul were said (mainly by people from Wadi Musa) to have arrived in Petra only in the 1970s, or even as late as the 1980s (only a few years before the publication of Shoup's paper). And, according to many people from Amman to Wadi Musa they arrived there for no other reason than to exploit the tourism industry in Petra. I also suspect that this is the reason for many Bedoul to continue to claim that they are the descendants of the Nabataeans, even though their own origin stories tell of them originating in Yemen (al-Jdelāt), Egypt and/or Hejaz (al-Faqyr) and Palestine (Sāmahyn, Mūwassa and Jamada).

Taryk Mūwassa, slowly becoming less cranky, and I sat in Musa's café watching young Salman talking to the three Jordanian high school girls. Taryk was watching Salman with a critical eye; he was always very critical of the way many of the Bedouin boys and young men

interacted with female tourists; but said that at least the three girls were dressed properly⁹⁹.

One of his pet peeves were scantily clad tourists, men and women, (Russians always seemed the worst for it in his opinion) who, according to him, had no respect for themselves or the people around them. Most of the young donkey guides certainly never expressed any discomfort to me about some of the clothes worn (or lack of clothes worn), mainly by female tourists¹⁰⁰. Taryk was becoming more amenable to conversation, so I asked him about how tourists had changed from the ones visiting Petra in the past, something he always noted.

He told me that in the past, when the Bedoul still lived in Petra, the tourists were of much better quality. He said that it would not be unusual for many tourists to come to Petra and spend a week or even two as guests in people's caves, this was something that many of the older Bedouin told me. He said they would spend more money, haggle less over the prices of souvenirs and were generally much more interested in how the Bedoul had lived in Petra for so long. Now however they were stingy, rude, wanted everything for nothing would come into Petra on a day tour, mainly from Israel, not even buy so much as a bottle of water, as everything was supplied to them beforehand in Israel, and be gone in hours having seen little more of Petra than the Treasury. He told me that in the past, when the Bedoul still lived in the caves, tourists were more guests than tourists. They would stay in the cave with their Bedoul hosts, got to know peoples' families, got to know about how they, the Bedoul, lived and generally saw the Bedouins' version of Petra. This had all changed since the move to the village.

⁹⁹ All three were wearing clothes typical of Jordanian high school girls, long dress, hijab and a dull green coloured coat that resembles a trench coat, buttoned and belted up, over everything.

¹⁰⁰ Not only because they probably appreciated scantily clad female tourists; many Bedoul appear to have quite a strong live and let live attitude towards others in general, and consider how tourists dress to be a matter for their own concern.



Hearing Taryk talk like this was interesting for me. Of the Bedouin I became close to he was the most forward looking and ‘modern’ of them all. He did not regret the move to the village in the way most others did. While they had much ambivalence about it, seeing the good, the bad, and acknowledging that fact that Petra needed to be protected even from them to a degree, yet feeling a profound sense of loss, Taryk saw the move as overwhelmingly positive. He was also the only one of my close friends who dismissed Bedouin social and kinship structures (a fairly typical Bedouin segmentary social structure¹⁰¹) as now archaic and meaningless. He also used to tell me that any of the legalistic functions these social structures had were now obsolete. If asked about any of those subjects he was the only Bedouin who would get a little irritated by the questions tell me “Now we have laws, courts and police; now we have a government. None of that stuff matters any more”; and then change the subject, usually, to the present bad quality of tourists and other matters relating to business.

Taryk picked up a *shabriya* that he had lying on the table with other souvenirs and told me that he has them especially made by a dagger/sword maker in Amman, and that they are really high quality “they aren’t the touristy souvenir rubbish that everyone else sells! These are really good!” he exclaimed. He went on to tell me that he pays anywhere from 20 to 40 dinars for most of them, some of the really good ones he pays up to 60 JD and that he only marks them up by about 15-20 JD from the wholesale price he pays for them. And of the

¹⁰¹ For an exceptional analysis of Bedouin social structure see Lancaster, W. 1991 (1981). *The Rwala Bedouin Today*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, INC.

mark-up he said he was willing to lose about 5 to 7, maybe even 10 Dinars, in the haggling. Taryk stopped in mid-sentence, jumped up and went to his store a few meters away. There were some tourists there; the lesson he was giving me about the Bedoul place in Petra, their relationship with tourists, and *shabriyas*, was about to be played out for real.



Taryk's shop



The tourists appeared to be a father and (adult) son, Americans, and it seemed the son was hell bent on buying a dagger. I edged a bit closer to watch Taryk in action. He started telling them that the *shabriyas* were all *really* good quality, made specifically *for him*, of *his* design by a real dagger maker in Amman; he even pointed out the little embossed image of the Treasury of Petra in the metal of the hilt of each dagger and the maker's signature on the blade. The son looked at Taryk and said dismissively "I could buy this over there [pointing at a shop on the other side of the main road] for 5 JD; I'll give you 10 for it". Taryk, seemingly smothering some amount of irritation and frustration tried to explain that there was a big difference between his daggers and the ones across the street "mine are *real*; not stuff made just for souvenirs" he then blurted out "that one", pointing at the *shabriya* in the tourist's hand, "is worth 45 JD".

The tourist picked up another, slightly smaller, but still good quality, dagger and said "how much for this one?... I'll give you 5". Taryk was dumbstruck for a moment then blurted out "that one is worth 35 JD!" The tourist looking dubiously at Taryk said "come on, they're

selling ones just like this over there for..." Taryk cut him off and said heatedly "well fuck off over there and buy one; I wouldn't sell it to you now even if you offered me double the price" and snatched the dagger out of the tourist's hand and put it back on the shop counter. I thought for a moment that they might actually fight however the older tourist grabbed the younger one and they both wandered off with the younger one muttering under his breath and the older one chiding Taryk for being rude. Taryk told him to "fuck off" too.

Taryk came and sat back down next to me fuming with anger. This was a perfect example of what he meant when he was telling me that, in his opinion, the tourists were just not of the same quality now as in the past. The point he was getting to with the daggers, which he went on to emphasise, was that even though he is selling good quality, genuine things, not "touristy crap", the tourists look at it all in the same way as if he, and the rest of the Bedouin, are there in Petra, for absolutely no other reason, than to rip them off rather than make an honest living. He even reiterated that he was willing to let most of his mark up, and therefore profit, go if only the tourists were willing to cover his costs and maybe a few dinars more.

The scene reminded me of Ali's experience with the rude Russian tourist up at the Byzantine Church, and the way she rebuffed any thought of looking at the widow Basma Faqyra's hand sewn dolls (her attitude towards Ali may or may not have been justified, I didn't see their interaction earlier, though she was rude to me too, and I had only just met her). It also reminded me of sitting with Umm Faisal at her shop on the way to the Monastery; she was one of my closest grandmotherly friends. She asked a tourist who was walking by if she had a light so she could light a fire to make tea (in a combination of Arabic and broken English; Umm Faisal doesn't have much English). The tourist, an American woman in her twenties, turned, enraged, and shouted at Umm Faisal "I don't want to *buy ANYTHING!*" I pointed out to her that Umm Faisal was just asking for a light, that she wasn't trying to sell her anything; the tourist screamed at me "I don't fucken (sic) smoke either" and

stormed off. Umm Faisal, who at least understood “I don’t fucken smoke either” looked at me and said in Arabic, “I don’t smoke either, I just want to make tea”.

A similar scene is also played out, however with a little poetic justice involved, on the way to the Monastery (or more to the point on the way back) at the shop of the elderly Rakheyah Mūwassa and her daughter Fatimah many times a day. Their shop sits on a straight level section of the path where the ancient Nabataean stairs have eroded and crumbled so the path has been diverted to the right, past the shop, and on to a new section of stairway; where the original Nabataean stairs were is now a near vertical drop of about four meters¹⁰². Spend a day sitting with Rakheyah and Fatimah and one will come to realise that they probably save a few hundred tourists a day from stepping off the little cliff with warnings of “come to the right” or “the path is this way” (in English, Arabic as well as a smattering of French and German¹⁰³). Invariably the tourists, striding on where they think the path is¹⁰⁴, brush off the warnings with “no thanks”, “I’m not interested”, “I bought one earlier” and any number of similar platitudes¹⁰⁵. Many of the tourists nearly topple over the edge (some of which I actually saw physically rescued by Fatimah).

After seeing countless more examples of this kind, so many that I ended up with a much more negative opinion of tourists than most of the Bedouin I ever spoke with about it, an incident that summed up what, to me, seemed to be the general tourist attitude towards the Bedouins came one day when I was with some donkey guides. One of the guides asked a middle-aged English woman if she would like a donkey ride. Sitting under a carob tree, red of

¹⁰² Why there’s no sign there warning people I don’t know, as I’m sure people would have fallen down the old eroded stairs.

¹⁰³ Interestingly many Bedouin seem to be able to tell where a tourist is from, and speak to them in the appropriate language, simply by looking at them. It’s not often they get it wrong.

¹⁰⁴ This section of the descent from the Monastery does appear quite deceptive to the eye, even with full knowledge of the change in the path and while looking out for it I nearly stepped off the edge a time or two.

¹⁰⁵ Not all the tourists are, by any means, rude, probably the majority are quite polite in their offhand dismissals of Rakheyah and Fatimah’s attempts to keep them safe.

face and sweaty of brow, in a weary tone of voice she told them she wasn't interested in having anything to do with them, she just wanted to see Petra. She then looked at me, thinking I was a tourist, and asked if I wasn't sick of Bedouins getting in my way, always trying to sell me stuff I didn't want and rip me off. I told her that I actually lived there and was doing research about the Bedouins' lives. She just looked at me and asked, "*why are they even here?*"

One might, perhaps, get the hint that my negativity towards tourists lives on, yet as many of the Bedouin told me, the tourists really don't know any better, they are just going on what they think they know about Petra, and on what they hear from the time they arrive in Jordan, to the time they arrive in Petra. There is, officially at least, nothing in the experience of visiting Petra that could give any other impression of the Bedouin than that they are there purely because of tourism.

When Taryk Mūwassa's "good quality tourists" visited Petra in the past there was no ambiguity about why the Bedouin were in Petra, it was their home; the place was not a Lost City, it was still a Bedouin village. At that time Petra was a social place overlain on the Nabataean monuments. And if the Bedouin sold some refreshments, jewellery and souvenirs out of their cave homes, or at a stall set up by a path, or offered donkey, horse¹⁰⁶ rides, it was all done alongside everything else they did in Petra to survive. They collected water from the springs and cisterns in the city, they had olive trees here and there and goats everywhere.

¹⁰⁶ Years ago, horses were not restricted within Petra. Now saddle horses are not supposed to enter the *Siq* and the only horses one sees in Petra for the most part are those ridden by mounted Tourist Police (aside from the odd carriage horse, which generally are not supposed to go past the Treasury).



Mifleh's house (Mifleh himself can be seen sitting centre) is a good example of what Bedouin houses would have been approaching before the Bedouin moved out of Petra

But now Petra is unequivocally a monument, and with monumentalisation, in the tourist zone overlain on the Lost City, the eradication of Bedouin residential materiality and history, the Bedouins' presence in Petra is narrowed to crass, and evidently for many of the tourists, highly irritating, even intrusive, commercial opportunism that interferes with their experience of the Lost City of Petra. The general trend of the day to day interactions between Bedouin and tourists reaffirms what the tourists assume to be, and experience as, the crass and commercially exploitative nature of the Bedouin presence in the Lost City.

The Bedouin present themselves, on the face of it, as a service provider, a shop keeper offering souvenirs, a café owner selling refreshments, a donkey guide selling rides on a donkey or an itinerant seller of trinkets; all with no obvious reason, or explanation in educational material about the place, for their presence in Petra. The tourists, armed with guidebooks, forewarned by seemingly well-meaning Jordanians from Amman to Wadi Musa, and jaded by the inability to walk the street nearly anywhere in Jordan (frequented by tourists at least) without people trying to sell them things, often believe the worst before they even get to Petra.

Quite a number of times I posed as a naïve tourist on my way to Petra to see what sorts of stories I would get from bus and taxi drivers, as well as hotel workers and others about the Bedouin of Petra, in many parts of Jordan. I was told, among other things, to never drink the tea offered by the Bedouins in Petra as it is drugged and they will rob me once I passed out from the drugs¹⁰⁷, that the Bedouin dramatically overcharge for everything they sell, that everything they sell is fake¹⁰⁸, that I would be beaten and robbed, women would be raped and people even killed if they went to the Bedouin village after dark. Also, quite a number of times, once I let the person in on the secret, that I was not a tourist and in fact had lived in the Bedouin village for quite some time, to my astonishment, they would actually ask me if any of the stories they just told me were true.

Given the kinds of things that the Bedouin know are said about them by many people working in the tourism industry in Jordan they hardly hold a grudge against scared, wary, or sceptical tourists. And many of the tourists, if they take the time to get to know their Bedouin guides or stall keepers and a little about their lives, do come to see through propaganda; these would, from what I saw, be a minority. However, the gap between- what many tourists believe, the way this shapes their attitudes towards the Bedouin, the absence of the Bedouin history of Petra and the structure of interaction in Petra between tourists and Bedouin- and the reality of Bedouin history and life in Petra, serves to negate Bedouin connections to Petra reinforcing Petra as a non-Bedouin-place.

¹⁰⁷ This assertion is so prevalent and well known among the Bedouin themselves that many of the younger Bedouin in Petra offer tea to tourists with a grin warning them that that they have drugged the tea..... with mint and sage, which they habitually put in their extremely sugary tea. Others directly ask the often surprised tourists how many people told them that the Bedouin drug the tea, drink a glass-full themselves, then offer a glass to the tourists.

¹⁰⁸ It is actually illegal to sell genuine archaeological artefacts (typically ancient coins) in Petra so it is only natural that many fakes are sold, as they are across Jordan, in place of real artefacts, however many Bedouin do take the risk and sell genuine artefacts all the same; again, as is the case across the whole of Jordan.

Leading to a Vernacular politics.

Petra as a non-Bedouin-place, and the Bedoul as both Bedouin and possibly not Bedouin at all, depending on who one is talking to, as well as being, apparently, touristically situated in Petra, serves to structure social interaction, on a daily basis, in a way that feeds back into the split between the Bedouin and Petra and perpetuates that split. It all leads to the “*why are they even here?*” and many other tensions, misunderstandings and frustrations for both the Bedouin and the tourists.

Taryk eventually calmed down after his confrontation with the American tourists. His mood was probably helped along by some of the usual cheerful teasing he got from his shopkeeping neighbour Abdullatif Sayidyn¹⁰⁹ who had joined us at our table in the café. Abdullatif liked to tease Taryk about his prospects of marrying another wife and his likelihood, or rather unlikelihood, of surviving his current wife’s wrath if he so much as broached the prospect; it’s her permission Taryk would need to marry a second wife. Taryk played along and asserted shrewdly, “*I might get another wife*”; laughing, Abdullatif said “*yeah, then your wife would kill you; she has her foot on your neck*”¹¹⁰. Taryk, evidently fed up with trying to sell souvenirs in Musa’s café, sighed, gathered up all of his souvenirs scattered on the table before us and suddenly stood bolt upright, then said cheerfully “*I’m taking it to the streets*” and wandered out onto the main road in front of the café which had a steady stream of tourists flowing by.

¹⁰⁹ Abdullatif has the shop on the other side of Taryk’s shop from Musa’s café and is one of a few Sayidyn Bedouin who have partnerships with some of the Bedoul and operate shops in Petra too.

¹¹⁰ Marriage is a constant and perpetual subject of conversation as well as joking and teasing for both women and men of all ages in Petra. As far as I know Taryk never had any intention of marrying another, however Abdullatif and a couple of others always got a kick out of teasing him about the prospect and the insinuation that his wife “*had her foot on his neck*” - that he was “*under the thumb*”.

As Taryk wandered around trying his hand as an itinerant seller, something he did from time to time, and I sat wondering if it was just a coincidence or if he really was a fan of the *Doobie Brothers*, Ali al-Jdelāt arrived with his habitual cheerful grin and one donkey ridden by a young American woman to retrieve his other donkey. As they halted next to his hitched donkey, he pointed at me and said to the tourist, “this is Auda, he lives with the Bedouin” then to me in Arabic, “we are off to the High Place [of sacrifice on Jabal Madhba]; want to come?” I declined the offer. The tourist, and Ali as he swung up on his donkey, both waved and both went trotting over to the stairs up to the High Place. Getting that donkey to trot, a feat I couldn’t manage.

Such are the minute to minute, day to day, ups and downs of making a living from tourism in Petra for the Bedoul. One minute they are confronted by rude, arrogant, obnoxious tourists, the next, by tourists willing to interact with them honestly; and most of the Bedoul themselves seem to always end up cheerful enough at the end of it all and look on the brighter side of life. Besides, when confronted by these rude, arrogant, obnoxious, and often slightly frightened, tourists Bedoul would often point out to me that they rarely hold the tourists responsible for such feelings. The Bedoul know the political background behind the lies the tourists are told about them; it’s the Jordanians who perpetuate such falsehoods the Bedoul really resent. That said though, in the moment, confronted by a rude tourist, some of the Bedoul do get a little cranky, after all, they are only human. Yet the Bedoul do feel deeply their separation from Petra, even when they are in its heart, even the most ‘modern’ and forward looking of them, like Taryk. They gave voice to that feeling of separation to me every day while I was there. Many stated it clearly, others through commentaries on the changing nature of tourists, like Taryk, others again, on commentaries on the Bedouin’s relationship with the Petra Authority and UNESCO (like Abu Latif at his café was constantly want to do).

These feelings and expressions of separation, while constant and palpable, are, however, only the beginnings of the Bedoul reaction to the forces that have turned Petra into a Lost City. Just as the physical then conceptual construction of Petra as a Lost City combined with the operation of the tourism industry lead to specific structures of social interaction in Petra these same then feed into the Bedoul's response to the entire construction through the last strong foothold they have in Petra: the very work they do with the tourists. It is through their work that they mount a vernacular political challenge to all the forces that seek to move them on as the Bedouin, according to many should have done.

Chapter 6: Transgressing an Imposed Vision of Place.

On a bright sunny and warm summer morning I walked out of Umm Sayhoun on my way to Petra and ran into a friend and cousin, Qassem Eid al-Jdelāt. He was walking back to the village very early from Petra and we met near the animal enclosures on the southern side of the village, he was coming down into the little valley that separates the main Ridge of Umm Sayhoun from a shorter narrower spit of parallel ridge before the sharp southern descent into Petra. As I was walking up the side of the little ridge we met and exchanged greetings. He held out his phone showing me a message he had gotten from a Japanese woman and wanted me to read it for him¹¹¹.

Qassem Eid al-Jdelāt (centre)



¹¹¹ The text message was in English not Japanese, Qassem's spoken English is excellent, his reading and writing however are not so good.

The message, sent all the way from Japan, was of concern and alarm, “What’s wrong Qassem? Are you in some sort of trouble? I’m on the train right now and can’t talk”. Qassem was a little irritated that she wouldn’t answer his calls and was only texting, something he couldn’t do so effectively. He was also confused about why being on a train should in any way inhibit one’s ability to talk on the phone. I told him that, as far as I knew, in Japan it’s usually considered to be quite rude, and at least a little selfish, to talk on the phone while on a train; and that the person was asking him if he was in trouble. He explained that he needed to get some money to contribute to a cousin’s wedding preparations and was asking the Japanese lady, someone he had guided and gotten to know in Petra, for financial help.

Qassem, saying he was still not quite sure what being on a train had to do with talking on a phone, wandered off towards the village to get some more phone credit so he could try to call the Japanese lady again; I continued on my way to Petra. At the top of the small ridge, I met Argilla Mūwassa, an elderly lady, in her 80s, who had a herd of goats in a Besser brick enclosure. Each morning she would let them out of the enclosure and would take them down the side of Umm Sayhoun into Petra to forage. However, since I usually seemed to walk by at about the same time, we had worked out a kind of intuitive arrangement where she would let them out of the enclosure, shout at me and wave her arm in the direction of Jabal Khubtha and yell “Wadi Mataha!” (the valley roughly separating Jabal Khubtha and Umm Sayhoun) then make an arm motion like she was pushing something along, point at me, and then the goats¹¹²; and so I would herd them down the side of the ridge and leave them in Wadi Mataha. In the evenings she would call them back for water and lock them in the enclosure again. It spared her the climb down and back up the steep slippery ridge each morning.

¹¹² Given her Marcel Marceau routine, and the fact that we had never actually spoken other than a “hello” as I walked by, I can only surmise that she figured I didn’t speak Arabic.

As I walked behind the herd of about fifteen goats, without really being conscious of doing it, it dawned on me that I was walking to their left or right, calling out to them, to keep them in the right direction just as I had learned to do on a horse behind cattle from childhood, it occurred to me too just how ingrained and instinctive doing such things could become; done beyond thought. From this it also crept into mind, just how beyond thought the Bedoul place and practice in Petra must be for the Bedoul and then what an impact the erasure of the evidence of one's place in a place might have on people when their practice in, their practice *of*, their place continues in spite of all that would seek to regulate, to rationalise them in, or remove them from, such a place.

I began to think of Bedoul involvement in tourism in terms beyond the tourism industry, beyond the capitalist economy in which it was founded and the Bedoul, for generations, have been imbedded; I started to look at Bedoul tourism work in a more holistic way than as simply a form of economic activity to be integrated into their non-tourism economic activity. I began to think about Bedoul tourism in terms of how they have worked it into their lives based on their pre-tourism ideas about how things should be done rather than 'dropping everything', as it were, and simply doing what tourism management people might have expected, wanted, them to do. And I started thinking about Bedoul tourism activity symbolically. Not so much its economic aspects, these, as I had witnessed, were definitely about earning money and putting food on the table (so to speak- on a great big tray on the floor, would be more accurate), something that was gradually becoming harder to do for many in the community. But rather, the actual ways Bedouin went about *doing* tourism work and the things that appeared to be stemming from this; things that couldn't be reduced to calculable economics and dinar values.

In the back of my mind, I was thinking about all the times I had watched a violent episode break out in the village, usually as the result of some wrongdoing by someone from a

different sub clan from the violent person. Typically, a great crowd would gather to watch; usually one person, the person wronged, would be going off for vengeance, and making it quite well known that that's what they were doing. This person, invariably a young male 20s to early 30s, would be in a frenzy, more often than not slashing left and right with a large kitchen knife, or often a *shabriya*. Surrounding them would be their family members, fathers, brothers, male cousins, uncles, sometimes mothers, sisters, female cousins or aunties, though much less so and in far fewer numbers. Once in a while a brother or male cousin would also join the knife wielder in their frenzied attempts for vengeance, but usually it was a single person. The crowd gathered immediately around this frenzied person would be doing their best to disarm and restrain their aggrieved relative.

In all the times I watched this happen I noticed something I found quite puzzling. Why were these people so often so easily disarmed and restrained? Granted, it usually took a number of people to restrain them so it *looked* as though it was hard to restrain them, however it never took much for someone to get the weapon out of their hand and toss it on a nearby roof for retrieval once everything went back to normal. On the one occasion I was asked to intervene in such a scene I was asked to restrain my friend, the donkey guide Atallah Haroun. Atallah is twice the size of most of most Bedoul men, yet I found it shockingly easy to restrain him single handedly¹¹³. Also, if one is so intent on vengeance, why broadcast it to the entire village rather than use stealth and ensure the job is done without interference? On all but one of these occasions there were never any casualties, no one ever got stabbed or slashed. The one exception was the night people wanted to attack Atallah Haroun; someone from the aggrieved party got stabbed. I suspect it was an accident, they got too close to the frenzied

¹¹³ I'm a little, but not a great deal bigger, than he is.

knife wielder, for there were never any repercussions for it¹¹⁴; none that I ever found out about at least.



Atallah Haroun

Such events were reasonably regular in the village. They usually happened late in the evening, and it seemed the entire village would be watching, standing on rooftops and even trailing the aggrieved and their kin in a larger group that would stand back and watch. It occurred to me that what we were all watching was a display, a performance. Granted, one that *could* end in bloodshed, but a performance none the less where even the frenzied knife wielding central character probably preferred a peaceful outcome in the end; once their point was made.

With all this in mind, I began to think of the *way* and the *why* of how Bedoul carry out their tourism work in a manner that tries to account for the performance of such work and the ends that performance might seek to attain. And I began to think of how Bedoul tourism work

¹¹⁴ Atallah was attacked by a number of stick wielding assailants who beat him for some slight he gave them. He later tracked them down individually and beat each one of them; and so seemed to break the rules as far as seeking vengeance went. Unfortunately for him they came from two different sub clans of Bedoul so later that night he had the close kin of these people from two different groups calling for his blood congregated around his house. He burst from the house and fought the lot almost single handily (around 150 people, he had two young, and possibly silly, cousins trying to help him) his oldest brother then dragged him back to the house and his sister and farther asked me to restrain him; his older brother was not targeted in any attack though he went into the midst of the melee to rescue Atalla. At some point one person from the assailants' group was stabbed, it seems accidentally. That night the matter was resolved by a number of sheikhs from various sub clans and the overall Bedoul sheikh. The next morning the entire matter was resolved. I never found out just who got stabbed or what happened to them. It was the most serious of these incidents I saw in my 14 months in the village.

wasn't the makings of the best of a bad situation, a making do with what was lumped upon them, but was, rather, an active integration of a new set of resources into the economic, symbolic, political (et al) world of Bedoul life in Petra, and *Bedoul practice of Petra*.

As I tailed the goats down the side of Umm Sayhoun I started to think of the instinctuality of the Bedouins' practice in Petra, their relation to the plants and animals, the sand, wind, caves, the winter flash floods, the archaeologists, bureaucracies and the tourists. And I started to think about what the Bedoul made of all these things; for there were many times I sat and watched Bedouin do things that, not only made no economic sense in terms of maximisation of profit through tourism, but actually seemed completely counterproductive to that end.

As I left the goats to their own devices in Wadi Mataha and continued into Petra along the western foot of Jabal Khubtha, I passed the caves that people once called home. I walked past the cisterns and water channels that were once, in Nabataean Petra as well as Bedoul Petra, maintained and full of water, stepping over lumps of sandstone, ancient building blocks, a few still with small traces of modern mortar on them, that were torn out of Bedoul homes and strewn before the barren caves, the memories that so many, especially elderly, Bedoul related to me of life in Petra haunted the quiet and sunny Wadi Mataha.

Yet, Wadi Mataha, shrouded in my second-hand memories of Bedoul life in the caves, is however, like the rest of Petra and the surrounding Bedoul *dira* (AKA the Petra Archaeological Park), still haunted, today, by the extant traces of Bedoul social, cultural, economic etcetera, practice that once dominated life in the Petra region. In the Lost City it is only the Nabataean way of life that thrived, in the Bedoul's Petra however, the Petra, hidden by the discursive stratification laid over it by archaeological and touristic practice, it was Bedoul life that dominated and drew from their own sociocultural structures and the

landscape for centuries; and struggles to do so now and into the future, as it is the logic of Bedoul life and connection to Petra that continues to inform how they conduct business.

Or, as Sahlins (1976: 18) has put it more generally, in “tribal social-economic formations: a domination of practical action by cultural conception rather than conception by action” orders the ways in which people go about the business of making use of the various resources available to them; indeed the very values and meaning applied to those resources and what one might do with them find their origin in a cultural logic that precedes the resources available (Sahlins 1976: 19).

From sending a herd of goats off to graze in the morning and calling them back in the evening, planting and irrigating fruit trees in various little nooks and crannies throughout Petra, collecting birds from nests, or traps, on Jabal Khubtha and elsewhere, to building a dam in the hope of a water supply to irrigate a crop of barley in the farmland to the south near Ras Sabra, they are all traces of Bedoul life from the past continuing on in the present. Work with the tourists, at a shop, as an itinerant seller, at *Harrods of Petra* and the rest of the small illegal makeshift stalls, and as a donkey or camel guide is no different at base. They are all organised along lines guided by kinship and social networks, follow logics and rationales meaningful to the Bedoul beyond simple economic utility and all, ‘traditional’ *and* tourism related, articulate with the capitalist economic system. Only the manifestation and expression of such practice differs from the more ‘traditional’ ways of life; even seeking financial help from a Japanese tourist friend for a cousin’s wedding expands ways of securing financial assistance, common enough among Bedoul, out to a wider social field. However, these ongoing examples of Bedoul practice in Petra labour under, within, an imposed order, that of the strategically (de Certeau 1988: xix) unified imposition of the Lost City as well as the bureaucratically ordered grids of discipline (de Certeau 1988: xiv) associated with tourism, monument/environmental conservation and the capitalist economy in general.

There is a tension as Bedoul struggle in Petra, working within the confines of an imposed economic-social-cultural order: tourism, archaeology, zombie Nabataean culture, and make the best of it that they can. Yet, as many Bedoul took pains to make clear to me, they are not just passive recipients of this top-down imposition. Bedoul who articulated their feelings about the political situation in Petra, past and present, to me sought to make it unambiguously clear that they have never been cowed into anything against their will. From the original move out of Petra, the regulation of the legal stalls in Petra, to the shape of camel and donkey guiding, even issues of ownership of the land on Umm Sayhoun, have always, according to literally every single Bedoul Bedouin I spoke with on these subjects, been the result of intense political struggles that cross-cut the Bedoul community, their neighbours in Wadi Musa, various arms of the Jordanian government, USAID and UNESCO. Bedoul continually mount a resistance to what they see as undue interference in their lives by outsiders, the seemingly hollow and arbitrary imposition of bureaucratic will (by the ‘government’) and the further apparently cynically motivated use and manipulation of bureaucratic structures (by their adversaries from Wadi Musa) to their disadvantage.

Yet, for the Bedoul such resistance goes beyond the tactical reappropriation of spaces (de Certeau 1988: xiv) and things organised into a Lost City; I argue that Bedoul resistance to the Lost City (et al) itself is strategic, though their strategic response is, due to the de-legitimation of the Bedoul place in Petra, confronted by tourists and Petra management alike as piecemeal and tactical in nature. And quite often such political wrangling between the Bedoul and outsiders showed up gaps *within* the Bedoul community¹¹⁵ as much as it did

¹¹⁵ I accompanied a friend, Thyfallah Ali al-Jdelât (a brother of Taryk Ali al-Jdelât of *Harrods of Petra*), to a meeting of a large group of Bedoul who worked in Petra. The meeting was mainly to organize how they all might agitate for their shops in Petra to be included in a plan to provide Petra with solar power from the solar power plant being constructed at the western end of the village. It was widely believed that the power plant was there solely for the benefit of the Crown Plaza resort only and that Bedoul shops were be excluded. Watching Thyfallah trying to propose a course of action and seek agreement brought images to mind of him

alliances and enmities between the community and individuals and administrative bodies from outside the community. The place from which Bedoul strategy emanates is their kin and social structures and their ‘tribally’ organised political approach to life. They apply politics within the Bedoul social organisation just as they do without it.

Likewise, working in Petra, Bedoul feel acutely the various and apparently quite capricious, often seemingly arbitrary and even contradictory, regulations imposed on Petra in general, and especially upon their work patterns. Yet, the tourism industry, and to a large degree archaeology, and related sub fields such as monument restoration/preservation, are more than things that set the parameters, or limitations, of Bedoul practice in Petra and interactions with tourists and others. They are also more than discursive structures that have guided the present shape of Petra, physically and ideologically, presenting the world with the Lost City, prioritising Petra’s Nabataean history and erasing the history of the Bedoul.

In Petra, tourism, archaeology, and development practice, even half thought out and partially implemented development practice, constitute a “dominant economic order” (de Certeau 1988: xii) that pervades the place it has demarcated, that sets up flows of currency, that opens the possibility for creativity never envisioned by its architects. And while setting out regulations, rules, prioritising one reality dug up from the sand of Petra while eliding another extant in the present, it also provides the raw material from which the Bedouin create *their* vision of tourism.

trying to herd cats. As we were walking back to his house, I asked him about how he thought the meeting went. He said to me “we are Bedouin, even when we agree on everything, we can’t agree on anything”.

Interlacings.

To understand the place of Bedoul tourism practice in Petra, the uses beyond economics to which they turn it, and then to understand many of the reasons they so tenaciously and dogmatically refuse to relinquish their right to it, even when many in Jordan reject any notion that they have such a right, we need to understand the nature of their tourism work, how it fits into the broader picture of their way of life and their history in Petra in terms beyond the parameters set by tourism management and regulatory bodies, such as the PA. The relationship between the Bedoul and Tourism in Petra is not just something we need to understand in terms of “impacts on the local community” (Alhasanat 2010; Abu Tayeh & Mustafa 2011; Alhasanat & Hayasat 2011), or how tourism has changed people’s lives for better and/or worse (ibid). To do this is to position the Bedoul (and others) as the passive victims of their circumstances. Rather, we need to look at Bedoul tourism practice as a meaningful “way of operating” (de Certeau 1988: xi) which encompasses more than just earning a living and making do. In doing so we will also come to a deeper appreciation of the Bedoul Bedouins’ connection to Petra and the surrounding region.

In chapter three I spoke about the divided nature of tourism in Jordan, about the divisions between the ancient, the Biblical/religious and the cultural/modern/natural history. I described how, in Jordan’s tourism landscape, a landscape that has a pervasive presence in Jordan and an enormous impact on the lives of, probably most, people in the country, there are clear boundaries between each category. These boundaries, though clear, are, when one bothers to look past the marketing material and performances of tour guides and other locals in the industry, fairly obviously an affectation. Yet, affectations though they are, they are driven by tourism management ideologues and bureaucracies which are likewise also informed by their own affectations imposed on the messiness of reality. As such these

affectations, and the instruments of discipline that implement them (management/regulatory bodies/the Petra Authority) have constructed Petra not only as a Lost City, this ancient place, but also, as I discussed in the last chapter, as an ironically modern disciplinary space (de Certeau 1988: 96).

Further, as I have noted, the Bedouin themselves have not escaped such a motivated construction. Bedouin, the apparent ancestors of Jordanian identity, as “national signifiers” (Al-Mahadin 2007: 86; 90) for the entire country, have had the image of themselves fed to them through the tourism industry and so have had their ideas of what a Bedouin ought to be complicated. Though Bedouin themselves seem to have an ambivalence about their own current status as Bedouin vis-a-vis *their ancestors* who lived in Petra and rarely, if ever, make an attempt to conform to *touristic* stereotypes of Bedouinness, they do confront, daily, the *results* of the touristic construction of Bedouin identity in their interactions with tourists and treatment by the PA. In every tourist interaction, and especially in the political wrangling over Bedouin identity, Bedouin confront *tourist*, *tourism* and *official/managerial* notions of what a Bedouin *should* be in the context of their work in tourism and their place in Petra. And as such have an externally imposed disciplinary regime of Bedouinness thrust upon them as well.

Both the construction of Petra as Lost City, and the disciplinary flows that pervade the place, as well as narrowed, sanitised (Al-Mahadin 2007: 96) and touristically defined notions of Bedouinness, and the disciplinary flows associated with this, converge to order Bedouin interactions with tourists and their work in the Petra region; and not just work related to tourism but any work that proceeds in the archaeological park. The Bedouin were originally not meant to work in Petra (according to the regulatory regime constructed by park management) in any great numbers (Brand 2001: 965) however, given the lack of alternatives

provided in the move to Umm Sayhoun (ibid), the Bedoul necessarily took on tourism work and articulated it with the various other forms of work they did throughout the area.

These very institutions, seeking to limit Bedoul use of Petra, led to the inevitable headlong Bedoul rush into the tourism industry. The overall result was for the Bedouin to be involved in tourism on a mass scale never intended by Petra Archaeological Park management. So, crucially, the majority of the Bedoul work in ways that are only partially regulated, or are completely unregulated by park management, and they do so within the bounds of the tourism industry that has developed in Petra; most of the Bedouin work within the official structures of tourism in unofficial ways- as outsiders.

Diving headfirst into tourism, generally quite enthusiastically, the Bedouin took the very things that were there, growing in Petra, that pushed them out and undermine their connection to the place, and turned them to their own ends. Yet, as I noted in the last chapter, Bedoul do this (from the point of view of tourists, and regulatory bodies) within the narrow parameters of tourism.

Herding Tourists in the [Ancient] City.

Leaving Wadi Mataha and walking up the small ridge towards the royal tombs I had a good view of the main area of Petra and could see that there were few tourists that day. A couple of donkey guides rode past me, on their way back to the village; I asked them if they were going home? “*mā fī sīyāḥ*” “ما في سياح” came the reply, “no tourists”. Across the Petra basin I could see quite a few donkey guides drifting off towards Umm Sayhoun by various routes, and there weren’t many camel guides around either. Walking along the track before the Royal Tombs I could see that all the shops were shut up tight, and Taryk Ali wasn’t at *Harrods of*

Petra either. I got to Musa's café and found Taryk Mūwassa sitting in his usual spot, looking tired and cranky.

I sat down next to Taryk and asked how things were going, he replied that the tourists, what few there were, weren't buying anything. He said that he would come into *Petra* in the morning, take an hour to set up his shop and not sell a single thing; tourists would offer to pay him less than a third of his wholesale cost for an item. Then at the end of the day, he would take an hour to pack up then go home empty handed. Luckily (or due to shrewd business sense) for Taryk, when tourism *was* good in *Petra* he had made a lot of money, invested it in some camels and a camel registration number, real-estate from the *Petra* region to as far away as Amman and a few grocery stores, and now no longer had to rely on his souvenir stall for his income¹¹⁶, unlike many Bedouin in *Petra*; money from the shop was really "just for the children"¹¹⁷ as he would tell me. He was too tired and irritated to be bothered talking much. So, I went for a walk up *Jabal Madhba*.

As I reached the first flat section of the path up the mountain, near to where a group of teenage girls had set up a small stall selling trinkets, I heard someone call out to me. About 40 meters away from the path, on the edge of the mountainside I could see a group of tourists and some donkey guides. I went over to say hello. The tourists were a group of 3 Americans, (a couple and another young woman) and a young Danish woman; all were in their early to mid-20s. They were with Atallah Abu Mohammed, my adoptive brother and black-sheep of the Abu Mohammed family, and two cousins Mousa and Faisal (Mousa and Faisal are also cousins not brothers).

¹¹⁶ Taryk had done very well financially through his investments and was, generally, considered to be the richest person in the community.

¹¹⁷ Taryk always told me that he really had the souvenir shop attached to Mousa's café so he could make a little cash each day to buy nice things for his children; his real income came from his various investments.



Atallah Abu Mohammed showing of his newly done genuine tattoo

Atallah, in his mid-20s, had the distinctive look of his mother's side of the family, like his older brother Rashd. Once, while guiding tourists through the Shara Mountains, wadi Araba and back to Petra via Wadi Sabra, Rashd and I spoke about Atallah. Rashd explained to me how the brother between him and Atallah, Khalid, had drunk himself to a

heart attack at the age of 27 and how himself and the rest of the family were desperately worried that Atallah was following Khalid's footsteps. Rashd told me that many of the boys in the village go and get arak and drink all night, they cause trouble, trouble that draws in whole families whether the family likes it or not, and that Atallah had fallen in with a bad crowd.

Rashd had told me the names of Atallah's friends, all people I knew well, and which of them were bad and to be avoided; and he told me how his efforts at pulling Atallah away from them had been in vain. Though I didn't say it to Rashd at the time, from watching Atallah, I suspected that any attempt to pull him away would actually feed resentment and

send him further into his seedy friends' embrace. Rashd explained that all, or at least most, of the boys (males in their late teens to early twenties) go through a stage where they like to drink and have fun, and seek encounters with female tourists; he had done the same, like the rest, but there comes a time when they have to grow up, usually when they get married.

For Khalid Abu Mohammed, marriage came too late, he died only a month before he was due to be married and now Atallah was avoiding marriage with every bit of agility he could muster, much to his mother's disappointment and despair. In the meantime, he had strayed from home, had become distant from his family and spent most of his time with a few friends, and countless tourists¹¹⁸, in a cave in Petra, drinking. Rashd and the rest of the family were sick with worry over Atallah but were unable to do much, if anything, about it.

I was glad to see Atallah now with his cousins Mousa and Faisal, both of whom had good reputations. Though Mousa liked to drink, he never caused any trouble and kept it to himself; and Faisal wasn't a drinker at all. Atallah introduced me to the tourists, with the usual explanations about me living with the Bedouin, then invited me to join them for the rest of the day. Atallah and the others had already shown the tourists around most of Petra, and the tourists were due to meet a friend for dinner that afternoon in town, so Atalla proposed that they take the tourists up to the High Place of Sacrifice, then back to the entrance of Petra via al-Madras¹¹⁹. Further plans were then formulated that, after the tourists had had dinner, they

¹¹⁸ By no means all tourists who stay in the caves with young Bedouin men are there for sexual relations with them. Many tourists, female and male, eschew staying in hotels in order to spend a night or two in a cave simply as guests. And possibly more often than not Bedouin men simply want the company, to play host and also to make a few Dinars.

¹¹⁹ al-Madras is the area to the south east of Petra that extends from the side of Wadi Musa (the actual valley not the town situated further up the valley) and extends around to the south eastern side, and summit, of Jabal Madhba. It is an area of hilly/mountainous/gravelly terrain pock marked with caves and cisterns. Not many tourists ever really go through it, though it is an alternative way into Petra between the front entrance and the summit of Jabal Madhba.

would come back to Petra and visit the cave on Jabal Khubtha, where Atallah and some of his seedy friends spent most of their time, for some drinks.

After a slow climb up Jabal Madhba and some time spent up there we all walked through al-Madras, the tourists seemed to be enjoying themselves; and they asked me what I thought they should give the Bedouin for their guiding services. They explained that at no point had Atallah or the others even actually proposed to be their guides or asked them to pay them anything. They simply started hanging out together and the Bedouin guys just started showing them around in Petra. The tourists explained that they realised that the Bedouin made a living from guiding tourists and that they were willing to give them some sort of remuneration; they just didn't know how much, and the Bedouin had deflected any attempted discussions about it. I told them I'd find out.

We made it to the entrance of Petra substantially later than Atallah had told the tourists we would get there¹²⁰ and they met their friend for dinner. Once the tourists wandered off, I turned to Atallah, Musa and Faisal and told them that the tourists were asking me what they should pay them. The three seemed a little awkward with the subject and told me that the tourists could pay them whatever or nothing; anything was fine by them. Eventually they told me to come up with a number that I thought was fair. Countless times I observed Atallah and his friends, as well as other groups of guides, spend the whole day with a group of tourists, showing them Petra, seeing them safe on their way back to their hotel at the end of the day, and not ask for so much as a dinar at the end of it all; often they would even pay for the tourists' taxi/car back to their hotel too.

In relation to this I had been contacted, during my fieldwork and after, by women who had gained an idea that the Bedouin guys do this in order to form sexual relationships with

¹²⁰ I noticed that Bedouin estimates of the time/distance it would take to get anywhere were consistently about a third of the time/distance it actually took.

foreign women. I also tracked down numerous posts in social media on various websites¹²¹ where (as far as I could tell) women who felt that they had been swindled warned others against being taken in by the Bedouin's duplicity. The usual accusation was that the young Bedouin men simultaneously have multiple girlfriends from all around the world and probably even a wife and kids in Umm Sayhoun and that the reason that they guided tourists for free was to a) attempt to gain sex from tourist women, and b) to form longer term attachments through which they could continue to milk money from these women once they had returned to their homes, usually in Europe or North America.

Further accusations were that these Bedouin men would tell the tourists hard luck stories about how hard their life was and how poor they are, to gain sympathy and presumably make demands for money appear more reasonable. While in reality these men were supposed to live a life of luxury and ease in the village, that they mostly drove around luxury European cars (BMW and Mercedes-Benz seemed to be the imagined choice of young Bedouin men)¹²² and that this scam is highly organised and that even whole families are in on it. It was a string of such accusations posted to social media and someone at least claiming to be a journalist who wrote an online news article about such shenanigans that made the Bedouin unwilling for me to film or even audio record my interviews and conversations with them early on during my fieldwork.

After fourteen months living in the village, I can say that if these young Bedouin men live a life of luxury and all drive around in expensive European cars they hid it from me spectacularly well; through one guy did occasionally stick a BMW badge to his donkey's

¹²¹ For a few examples: <https://meimeichu.com/jordan/jordan-bedouin-love-scam-in-petra/> <https://www.albawaba.com/loop/female-visitors-beware-are-%E2%80%98bedouin-romance-scammers%E2%80%99-making-petra-unsafe-1166498> <https://www.offbeattravelling.com/petras-darkest-secret-the-bedouin-women-scammers/> <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/mena/the-love-pirates-of-petra-female-tourists-fall-victim-to-romance-scam-in-jordan-1.757516>

¹²² Often these accusations included a word or two about the Bedouin men being waited on hand and foot by their subservient wives.

forehead (I guess he preferred BMW to Ferrari). Likewise, if it is a highly organised industry with whole families involved, I could find not a single solitary trace of it in fourteen months living cheek by jowl with the community; they'd have to have been master illusionists to keep it all hidden.

The reality is more complex and far less conspiratorial, or even conniving, than what some foreigners might believe. Many young Bedouin men certainly would try to initiate sexual relations with female tourists if they could. They behaved more or less like many young men everywhere else in the world where young men and women exist. I always found it odd that many of the tourists, male and female, who brought this up with me in Petra seemed happy to expect this going out to a bar on a Friday night in the US or UK but somehow Bedouin boys were expected to be different. When challenged on this the tourists would usually say something about the Bedouin being Muslims and such behaviour apparently not being 'part of their culture'. But, all this considered, I don't think offering to guide tourists for free was necessarily part of this behaviour for a number of reasons which I will elaborate on below.

First however I will pause briefly to note that while Bedouin boys would pursue female tourists, they themselves were often as much (possibly more so) pursued by female tourists¹²³. The exploits of Ali al-Jdelāt mentioned in the previous chapter are a testament to this sort of behaviour, and it is reasonably widespread among the younger unmarried men, and probably a few married men too though, as noted, older Bedouin tend to frown upon it. Yet, I never saw examples of this that were predatory (granted I certainly wasn't around to record every instance of this), as if the Bedouin men were simply after sex and money. Ali

¹²³ I was told of one occasion of a Bedouin man being pursued by a male tourist too. The Bedouin, like Muslims, even religious people, all over the world, tend to have a dim view of homosexuality at least publicly, certainly if measured against Australian standards. That said though, the young guy who told me about a homosexual man propositioning him while simultaneously exposing himself, seemed pretty relaxed about it all. He just told me that he said to the guy "No thanks, I prefer to be with women" and seemed more amazed that the gay man had a genital piercing.

(who was probably the most prolific example) never got any money from female tourists that I ever heard about.

And others, though not Ali, often seemed to be as interested in longer term relationships. Indeed, my donkey guiding friend Atallah Haroun, and Atallah Abu Mohammed's cousin Faisal al-Jdelāt, were both in long term relationships with women from Germany and Norway respectively (and still are many years later, both married; Atallah Haroun now with a child and his wife spending much of the year in Petra; Faisal spending some of the year in Petra, some of it in Norway most years). Unfortunately, though, many, probably most, of these relationships don't last; and, from my observations of the fallout of one example, the subsequent divorce and child custody battles can be acrimonious indeed.

In terms of seeking to gain money from foreigners, this does happen, and I can attest that Bedouin stories of financial difficulty are not fabricated. During my fieldwork in 2011-2012 life was indeed becoming very tough for the community, Bedouin boys didn't need to invent stories of impoverishment. They, along with the rest of the community, were living it¹²⁴. Yet, being men, they were also expected to come up with obligatory cash contributions to contribute to various family related needs: a wedding for a cousin/s perhaps, or a funeral, medical expenses, to pay the electricity/water bill, to simply buy food, the range of expenses is endless. All examples of Bedouin seeking cash from foreigners, myself included, that I was acquainted with were of this nature. And in the entire village there was only one Mercedes-Benz, and it was probably about 40/50 years old. Indeed, where Bedouin men did own a car, it was often the first thing sold in order to raise cash for various expenses; no one in the community was living in the lap of luxury on money swindled from foreign women.

¹²⁴ Being less stable in terms of resources they tended to be more impoverished than most except perhaps widows with infant children. Both categories of people tended to rely heavily on extended kin networks for survival.

All of that said, I don't think guiding tourists for free is much about seeking sex and scamming money as online warnings and accusations suggest. The primary reason for this is that a) if it were all about swindling people the community would probably be richer than it is. Guiding for free is of such common occurrence that if these Bedouin guides were gaining money from even a quarter of the tourists they guided for free, they would be quite well off.

b) It is not only female tourists who are offered free guiding services. Men and women, in groups of men, women, and mixed, are constantly offered free services and goods by Bedouin. Indeed in 2007 when I first went to Petra¹²⁵ as part of a group of ANU students Attalla Abu Mohammed and Attalla Haroun guided us all over Petra for a full day, refused to accept any payment¹²⁶, took us home to the Abu Mohammed family home for dinner with the family and then organised and tried to pay for a car back to Wadi Musa at the end of it all. At the time I thought it was because we (the ANU students) had a couple weeks earlier already gotten to know them; I didn't realise it was common practice at the time. c) It is not only male donkey/camel guides who do this. I witnessed men and women offer free goods and services to tourists constantly throughout Petra. Shop keepers, in official stalls or makeshift ones, itinerant sellers both adult and child, all would offer free goods and/or services to tourists. These things might have been as simple as a glass of tea, a small souvenir, some of their lunch, an extra souvenir or two if the tourist bought something, invitations to come to dinner in the village, the list goes on.

In total, the practice of providing free goods and services to tourists is so widespread and undertaken by such a diverse cross section of the community, many of whom wouldn't even know how to scam tourists (elderly who don't know how to use a mobile phone or

¹²⁵ On my first meeting with the Bedouin we travelled through the surrounding region, we didn't go to Petra at that stage.

¹²⁶ We eventually forced them to take something though they seemed a bit embarrassed by it.

computer¹²⁷ for example, or younger children) that I can't credit accusations of a network of scammers. While I'm sympathetic to people who feel themselves victims of a scam, particularly when they don't actually understand what goes on in the community, and granted that I didn't see every interaction between Bedouin and tourists, in light of what I did see there are other explanations; namely, hospitality.

Traveling around Jordan one quickly comes to recognise a phrase heard constantly, *ahlan wa sahlān* أهلاً وسهلاً welcome. It is not only a Jordanian thing, Arabs, across the Arab World, greet with the phrase *ahlan wa sahlān*, or various alterations of it (*ahlayin* اهلين is a common one). The words have connotation of (*ahala* أَهْلَ) family, familiarity, solidarity and welcome and (*sahala* سَهْلَ) ease/easy, of soft flat fields or ground, by extension grasslands or easy to live in country; taken together in the form of *ahlan wa sahlān* means welcome, can mean hello, but contains more than these terms in English. It is an expression of greeting, of welcome and usually the first step in an offer of hospitality. And hospitality in Jordan (and the Arab World generally) is serious business.

Young (2007: 47) states that “hospitality is a ubiquitous component of life in the Arab societies of the Middle East”. While noting that “no systematic survey of hospitality across a wide range of Arab societies has been done” (Young 2007: 49) he does point out that, hospitality, as it appears in various ethnographic works, tends to be divided into two sets of practices, “those which separate the women of the host household from the male guests and those which demonstrate the hosts’ desire to feed their guests properly and earn a reputation for generosity (Meneley 1996: 4 in Young 2007: 49). As such, accounts of hospitality usually centre around ideals of “family honour and sexual shame” (Young 2007: 49). In cases in which hospitality is provided to men by men, and to women by women, the separation of

¹²⁷ Trying to explain the concept of YouTube to Drebeayah Abu Mohammed gave me an insight into the technological naivety of many in the community (and I'm pretty naïve about technology myself).

women (among the hosts) from men (among the guests) easily falls into ideas of honour and shame surrounding segregation of the genders. However, as Young (2007: 49) notes that while this might be a reasonable starting point it doesn't entirely account for variation in hospitality practices, notably those in which female hosts readily provide hospitality to male guests, and goes on to demonstrate that various practices of hospitality among the Rashaayda Bedouin are a definition and redefinition of household membership that establish relations of reciprocity between households (Young 2007: 51).

That hospitality is about integration and reciprocity is well understood; the first thing that happens when one comes to the house or tent of not just Bedouin but Jordanians in general, is that one is invited in and served tea and or coffee and obliged to drink, usually, three cups. There is an idea that a guest should be hosted, even if that guest is the bitterest of enemies, and protected from molestation, even if the threat came from one's own kin. To turn a guest away is a shameful thing indeed, but worse, in the desert, such an act could prove fatal. In the past for Bedouin, as Bedoul would tell me, the guest today may be the host whose hospitality might well save your life tomorrow. Less dramatically however, such reciprocity usually takes the form of assisting people when they are in need and being assisted in turn. Within the Bedoul community the "relations of reciprocity between households" among the Rashaayda Bedouin described by Young (2007: 51) are of such importance that I suspect that without them many households wouldn't survive downturns in tourism.

Many Bedoul would relate to me how providing for the good of the community, and in Petra for them, the good of the community extended to the tourists and their out-of-town guides too, was something that they loved to do, or would if they had the means. Just a few examples were Taryk Ali at *Harrods of Petra* who was often of the opinion that he should somehow acquire a water cooler to service the tourists (free of charge) who walk up the stairs past his shop. The hardnosed businessman Taryk Muwassa who, despite his undeniable

business acumen and subsequent success (possibly because of it) was constantly willing to show his gratitude to those he considered good quality tourists by being willing to pare down his profit from a sale and then give them an extra small thing or two for free as a gift, or indeed simply offer to share his lunch with whatever tourists happened to be sharing his customary table in Musa's café (and for his part I never heard a single hint of Musa ever resenting this).

Another outlaying perpetual hospitality is Marwan Faqyra at the End of the World who always kept an antiquated Aladdin Pump-a-Drink thermos well stocked with syrupy tea for tourists' refreshment when they arrived all the way to, arguably, the last point in Petra that most tourists got to at the end of the day. And on the subject of tea, nearly every reasonably sedentary makeshift shop keeper from one end of Petra to the other would keep a little fire blackened and charcoal encrusted stainless-steel teapot warm and offer tea to passers-by all day, Bedouin, tourists and even student anthropologists. Even the Egyptian cleaners in Petra would offer tea when having a tea break at a shady spot in the *siq* and one of their most regular guests was Drebeyah Abu Mohammed as he shuffled home from Petra via the *siq*, indeed it was through being invited to drink tea with him and the Egyptians that I was able to get to know them.

But for the Bedouin offering tea anyone and everyone and a few trinkets to tourists is not the only hospitality they engage in. They constantly try to draw tourists away from the hotels in Wadi Musa offering to host them as *guests* rather than customers in their homes in Umm Sayhoun. People are able to provide this to greater or lesser degree depending on their home situation and resources, but even where a relatively impoverished son, working as a donkey guide, would bring some tourists home to spend the night, he could rely on his parents, usually his mother, to put together food and drink and ensure that the tourist had copious

amounts of bedding as well as shower and toilet facilities (they'd often sacrifice a warm blanket themselves to keep their guests warm on a winter's night).

It is my argument that the Bedoul do this not only out of custom, to appear generous, to acquire a good reputation (the tourists for instance have no idea about that angle for the most part) or an enthusiasm to play host. Rather they do all of this for those reasons as well as to engage with tourists in a way that goes beyond the commercial relationship of customer and service provider. They try to engage with tourist on a level beyond that by attempting to turn them from outsider (tourist) to insider (guest).

Shryock (2004: 36) notes how "hospitality creates a moral space in which outsiders can be treated as provisional members of the house" thus also noting the integrative aspects of hospitality outlined by Young (2007). Shryock (2004: 36) continues by elucidating how this is achieved by guest and host sharing a cup of black coffee. Through this seemingly simple act of commensality a relationship is established in which both parties understand that a relationship of safety and mutual obligation has been established. And while, as noted above, the integrative and reciprocity-based elements of hospitality are very important for the Bedoul, within the community and without, they do not operate in isolation from the political implications of hospitality.

For the tourists, there is usually no hint of understanding that the people they are bumping into in Wadi Musa are different, and more often than not a little hostile, to the Bedoul in Petra. Both groups tell the tourists that they are the *real* Bedouin, and the *real* Bedouin of Petra. It is understandable that the tourists would have no idea of the world of politics that they are caught up in, even if passively; as far as many of them know every inhabitant of Jordan is a Bedouin, and have little inkling past stereotypes what that means. But by being brought into an insider relationship with the Bedoul, on their ground in Petra (and Umm

Sayhoun) the tourists become a key player in the Bedoul's ability to engage in the politics of hospitality that really plays out between them and others, namely the Beni Layth in Wadi Musa but arguably the PA as well, that make counter claims to Petra. Against those claims the *Bedoul* are the ones in a position to be hosts, offer protection and safety to guests in Petra. It is these political implications of hospitality that enable them to hammer home their claim to Petra against those who mount counter claims.

Shryock (ibid) notes that when his Balgawi Bedouin research participants in Jordan would explain what hospitality means "they stressed concepts of security, protection, and respect, as if to imply that insecurity, danger, and disrespect were ever-present alternatives that had to be vigorously held at bay". In the days before the state had extended its authority over the vast stretches of *Badiya* that Bedouin call home, when Bedouin largely had to rely on themselves for protection, that insecurity, danger, and disrespect might have been an ever-present threat to physical safety as well as to reputation. In modern Jordan however though the threat to physical safety is not *as* present¹²⁸, the treat to reputation is (ibid).

It is this threat to reputation, and by extension the ill effects of earning a bad reputation, that leads to Shryock's (ibid) research participants stating that "the host must fear the guest". Guests, while they are guests, are characterised as being held captive, they are said to be "prisoners of the host" (Shryock 2004: 37); and they are also, "a privileged audience. Ideal representations are played out for them, and things that suggest inadequacy are sheltered from their view" (ibid). And further, again as stated by Shryock's (2004: 36) research participants, when the guest leaves, they are a 'poet' who can (and probably will) broadcast to all and sundry any adequacies and/or inadequacies deemed present during their time as a 'prisoner of

¹²⁸ Though not a regular occurrence it is not extremely uncommon for young Bedoul men to be assaulted when visiting Wadi Musa. I had a number of such occurrences related to me by the victims. Alcohol may have been a contributing factor.

the host'. In all of this, within the integration and reciprocity, protection, the safety and mutual obligation "reputations are at stake" (ibid), making the whole exercise of hospitality highly important beyond, and about more than, any single set of variables.

In this sense hospitality for Bedouin (and many others across the Arab World) approaches something akin to a total social phenomenon as potlach in the Maussian sense. Mauss (2002: 49) notes that potlach folds together ritual, religion, mythology, social structure, kinship, economics, juridical principles and morality. The economy of hospitality might be, at base, reputation and honour, but it certainly includes issues of morality, economics, ritual and religion and politics, among other things. That is not to say that when Bedouin, or anyone else, engage in hospitality they are cynically thinking about economic or political advantage; I suspect that for most Bedouin hospitality is offered with good and heartfelt generous intentions. But all the same, Bedouin do understand, and definitely *feel*, how hospitality is about more than simply generosity. They feel pride in their hospitableness, and they most certainly feel shame when hospitality falls short or where one of their number behaves inhospitably to a tourist that has done nothing to deserve such treatment (or even just behaves in shameful ways before tourists).

But what is important for Bedouin in Petra, and their attempts to engage a host/guest relationship in their encounters with tourists, is the way space enters the provision of, or more to the point *the right to provide*, hospitality. For example, van der Spek (2011: 129), notes the historical "lack of appreciation" among western travellers to the Thebes Necropolis in Egypt for the local Qurnawi's (who had lived in the necropolis for generations and still work there in tourism) customs of hospitality and the ways that, for the locals, they *are territorially based* and revolve around provision of protection to strangers and encompass economically motivated forms of allegiance and politics. Likewise, in his research with Balgawi Bedouin in Jordan, Shryock (2008: 405, emphasis mine) notes that his research focuses on "feasting,

the protection of strangers, generosity, the entertainment of guests, and other practices that define civility and power among Bedouin” and that “because these practices *entail control over space and a local theory of sovereignty*” hospitality has been of just as much interest to the Ottomans, the British after the first world war, and the Jordanian state into the present as it is to the Bedouin who engage in it. Shryock (ibid) describes a picture of sumptuous hospitality dispensed by Balgawi sheikhs that has probably grown through history from Ottoman times to the early years of modern Jordan that rings strikingly similar to the image presented by Lancaster (1997: 82-82) for Rwala sheikhs, also in Jordan, who also notes that such grandiose displays of hospitality have probably grown from Ottoman times (Lancaster 1997: 82) and forms an important element in “impression management” and an overt “public statement” (Lancaster 1997: 83)¹²⁹.

But, for the most part grand gestures of hospitality are well beyond the means of even the wealthiest of Bedouin, wedding feasts probably come the closest, yet hospitality is an abiding concern, young and old, rich and poor alike. It is an abiding concern because it represents two important elements of Bedouin life, a) what it says about them, as a community and b) what it says in terms of their connection to Petra. In Petra, while surrounded by tourists, in the midst of eking out a living, they would constantly reiterate for me what hospitality means for them. Layer by layer they would explain, to the best of their ability, that on one level Petra belonged to all of Jordan and indeed all of humanity¹³⁰. As such it is the responsibility of all Jordanians to not just welcome tourists to Petra, but also be sure to ensure that tourists left

¹²⁹ Lancaster (1997: 82-85) and Shryock (2008: 405) agree on the ways in which as far back as Ottoman times Bedouin were granted titles, lands, and wealth as a way of binding them closer to state rule and that such increased their wealth substantially; though only Shryock notes the direct application of hospitality as a tool of state control. Lancaster (1997: 85) does however note that such enormous resources combined with a role played in dispensing hospitality gives the sons of the wealthy an opportunity to gather the information and build the good reputation upon which influence, perhaps political power (to the extent it is regarded as power) which reputation builds.

¹³⁰ To what degree this is an idea that they have developed among themselves or perhaps from engagement with literature like that coming down from UNESCO or the Jordanians state I didn't consider to ask at the time; it is possible that it's a bit of both.

with a good impression of Petra and all of Jordan, and that tourists should be safe in Petra¹³¹.

This safety aspect is serious. While tourists are for the most part safe from harm or molestation from people, the terrain of Petra is such that many of the places that tourists travel can be very dangerous with people falling and breaking limbs (a few while I was there) and even being killed.

Yet going beyond this ideal that Petra is important for all Jordan (and such commentaries were often deployed in criticism of the poor performance of licenced tour guides from outside the Bedoul community) Bedoul who spoke of these issues would bring overall responsibility and *right* to provide hospitality within the Petra Archaeological Park back to the Bedoul community noting that in Petra such responsibility is theirs by right, and that such a right eclipses the responsibilities of other Jordanians. They would note that Petra is *their* homeland, their *dira*, and hence the responsibility and right to welcome guests and to ensure their safety was theirs as much as it would be if the guests were welcomed into their home. And given the way space is inflected with the identity of the people occupying it, Petra, as the Bedoul *dira*, is indeed as good as their house in Umm Sayhoun, even if the government doesn't recognise any official Bedoul ownership of Petra. Ultimately, though not exclusively, providing hospitality in Petra is a statement of sovereignty.

Yet, in line with the problematising of hospitality in Jordan outlined by Shryock (2004) relating to its commodification and the way it is "nationalised in unprecedented ways" (Shryock 2004: 37), Bedoul also feel a tension between the provision of hospitality in a commercialised context- of being a service provider for a tourist -and providing that service

¹³¹ Indeed, many Bedoul would highlight this safety aspect by pointing out that when king Abdallah and his family visit Petra (by no means considered tourists) he would leave his security people outside and tour Petra apparently assured that no one would dare try to harm him while he is among the Bedoul and that they would ensure his and his family's safety (obviously I never had an opportunity to ask the King his opinion on this matter). This would often be related to point out how the minister of Tourism and Antiquities would be surrounded by security personnel as though they were more important than the king and didn't trust the Bedouin.

within the context of their *dira* in the position of rightful host to a guest. To accept payment for a service is entirely expected for Bedoul. They certainly engage in the wide array of tourism related work they do in order to earn a living, but to accept money for offering hospitality is unthinkable.

Where there is a clear division between service and hospitality (at least to the Bedoul), they can get a little put out when tourists (who more often than not don't realise the separation) offer to pay¹³². The most common example of this is when Bedoul offer tea or food at their shops (not the major café/gift shops throughout Petra) as an act of generosity and hospitality. Invariably most tourists pull out a dinar or two and try to pay for the tea etc. and the Bedoul, who don't usually get offended, explain that they are offering hospitality and cannot accept any payment.

On the other hand, in cases where the line between a service provided for payment versus hospitality is a little more ambiguous for both the Bedoul and certainly the tourists, there can be difficulty. For the Bedoul there is certainly the opportunity to act as host to the tourist as guest, which is the primary motivation. Where this happens *in* Petra, it is typically they younger donkey guides who play host. Mostly they don't have the resources to put on a feast at home in the village, and usually don't have a wife at home they can call and ask to prepare it either; however, it is not *that* uncommon for these guides to call their mother and request that they do so. For these younger, usually unmarried, men the best opportunity for playing host is to guide tourists through Petra for the day for free. Alternatively, it is common for these younger guides to have access to a cave decked out to receive guests. Usually the cave

¹³² On this score I offended Rashid Abu Mohammed early in my fieldwork. He took the day off work and passed some guaranteed work to a friend in order to help me with various administrative tasks I needed to live in the village (registering as a member of the Abu Mohammed household and a few other things). Knowing he had sacrificed a day's work I offered to compensate him for the loss, not even pay him for his help, I just didn't want him, or his family suffer for my benefit. He got quite upset with me and when I explained he agreed to take the compensation, more to make me feel better I suspect, but also warned me to NEVER offer him money for his help again.

will 'belong' to one of the guides who has outlaid the expense and labour of fitting it out but it will be utilised by him and a group of other guides close to him.

In these cases, there is usually no overt statement of the day becoming hospitality rather than a service to be paid for. I suspect that often the guides themselves don't really think it through much until they have figured out that they enjoy that particular group of tourists' company as much as the tourists do theirs. Either way, soon enough the guides begin deflecting any inquiries about what the tourists should expect to pay. This itself is not uncommon in tourism contexts in the Arab World. van der Spek (2011: 284-285) describes how Qurnawi souvenir sellers in Thebes would initiate tourists in open ended negotiations on price encouraging tourists to offer a price that they feel fair for an item. They phrase "as you like" is offered by the Qurnawi as a way of "encouraging uninformed foreigners to overestimate the value of goods and services". Interestingly, the phrase "as you like" is identical to that most often used by Bedouin donkey guides when avoiding putting a price on their guiding services, however, having watched tourists *increase* the price offered rather than try to haggle it down to each subsequent utterance of "as you like" only for the guides to refuse payment at the end of it all suggests to me that they are pushing to include the tourist in a transaction of hospitality rather than seeking an overestimation of payment.

Eventually, later in the evening, Atallah, Musa and I met the tourists again, near the Petra Moon Hotel (one of the places that will sell alcohol to the locals) just outside of the entrance to Petra. Faisal had gone home, he wasn't interested in going to the cave for drinks, and the American couple had also pulled out leaving only Atalla, Mousa, an American woman, the Danish woman and me. As it was after dark and Petra was closed, we went back into Petra via al-Madras, avoiding the *siq*. As we walked through al-Madras, now in the dark with only the moon and stars, and mobile phone torches, to light our way, the Danish woman nearly

stepped on a snake, then nearly jumped off a cliff trying to avoid it. Far from being worried, she seemed to be relishing the adventure of it all.

Atallah told the tourists that he wanted to show them something special and that they had to be very quiet so as not to be caught by the Tourist Police or the Petra night rangers¹³³. We continued back down the path we had come along earlier in the day but instead of heading back to the summit of Jabal Madhba Atallah led us off to the north into a rapidly deepening valley. Eventually we came to the head of a small ravine which we climbed down into. As the ravine widened, and its floor plummeted jaggedly away, we found ourselves on a ledge on a cliff face, only about a meter wide; and directly above the Khazneh on the southern side of the *siq*.

Possibly close to 60 meters or more below us we could see lights on in the Treasury Gift Shop and hear the muted voices of the night rangers as they chatted and drank tea on the seats in front of the shop, as well as the gentle sounds of an *oud*¹³⁴ that one of them was playing. We sat quietly for a while, our feet dangling over the ledge, the tourists tried to take some photos of the Khazneh without the flash of their cameras, so as not to alert the rangers below that we were up there, and were disappointed that the photos didn't work. Atallah explained that they weren't allowed there in the day much less the night due to a tourist having fallen to their death from that point years ago.

We eventually left, carefully walking back along the ledge, climbed back up out of the ravine, and made our way, once more, back through al-Madras to the entry to Petra. The tourists decided that they were too tired to visit the cave on Jabal Khubtha, or to have some

¹³³ He was really more worried about the Tourist Police. The night rangers are all Bedouin, one of whom is his brother, and though being caught at night with tourists in Petra would get him in trouble with them, the trouble would be confined to the Bedouin themselves and probably not escalate. If he were caught by the tourist police, or even the Bedouin Desert Patrolmen, however he would have gotten into real trouble, possibly even go to gaol.

¹³⁴ Lute.

drinks with Atallah and Mousa, it was well after midnight. Again, they asked me how much they should pay Atallah, Mousa and Faisal. I told them that the guys had told me they didn't really want payment; but, I told the tourists, they would probably accept it if they (the tourists) insisted. The three of them had given up a day of actually trying to earn some cash to spend the whole day with the tourists and show them around in Petra. Not really knowing how much I was supposed to tell them to give the Bedouin I ended up giving the tourists my estimate of what the guiding would have cost them had the Bedouin been working as per normal; possibly around 150 to 200 JD (substantially more if the tourism situation is good¹³⁵) for the entire day to be split among Atallah, Mousa and Faisal.

The tourists went over to the Mövenpick Hotel and withdrew some money from the teller machine in the lobby, they gave Atallah and Mousa 150 JD, 50 each and another 50 to be given to Faisal. While the tourists were in the hotel Atallah made a phone call to a friend to give the women a lift out to their hotel, the Seven Wonders Bedouin Camp near Little Petra. Atallah also insisted that I accompany the women back to the camp explaining that the camp is owned by farming people from Wadi Musa, Beni Layth, and that he had heard some unsavoury rumours about one of the managers¹³⁶; he wanted to see them safely to their hotel but as one of the Bedouin he couldn't go himself without possibly causing trouble.

The day and night I spent touring through Petra with Atallah, Mousa, Faisal and the tourists, and importantly the way they went about it, that they themselves didn't raise the subject of a

¹³⁵ With the continuing trouble in the region tourist numbers to Jordan kept falling. As tourist numbers fell so too did the prices guides charged for their services. Many guides didn't bother going to work and so allowed their children to take their donkeys to Petra to try their luck instead. The influx of child guides also drove prices down as the children would charge tourists ridiculously low prices, as well as out competing the adult guides with the "cute little kid with a donkey" factor as well, according to many of the adults.

¹³⁶ I never met the owners or managers of the Bedouin Camp Hotel at Little Petra and though I had heard some rumours from there as well, they were all coming via Bedouin and possibly just part of the back and forth slander between the two groups each aiming to undermine the integrity of the other. The camp does though add to the tension between the Beni Layth and Bedouin. The Bedouin reject any notion that the Beni Layth are Bedouin and so resent them having a *Bedouin* Camp Hotel accusing the owners and managers of appropriating Bedouin identity.

formal agreement to be the tourists' guide, didn't seek any payment and deflected the subject when brought up by the tourists, were all far from part of an isolated incident. As too was their blatant contravention of the rules and regulations that set out the parameters of tourism work in Petra; entering the park at night, taking tourists into off-limits areas like the ledge above the Treasury, offering tourists entertainment, food and drinks or accommodation in their cave, among other things. On many occasions when I went guiding with people, I observed similar, or identical, behaviour. Guides simply befriending tourists, showing them around all day and not bringing up the subject of payment, even deflecting the topic if tourists brought it up, and encouraging tourists to stay past closing time or to forego returning to Wadi Musa but coming to the village instead.

As noted, this way of operating is well known across the community, and though nearly everyone who works primarily in tourism does it to some extent, in various ways, there is some disagreement over the motivation, even among the Bedouin. For the more business minded, people like Taryk Mūwassa, the donkey guides especially, spending the day with tourists, who not only *don't* accept money for their guiding services, but even provide the tourists with meals and bottles of water, inviting them home for dinner with their family, and so *costing* themselves and their family money to play host to the tourists, are stupid and probably (according to Taryk) looking to form romantic relationships with female tourists. However, in all the time I spent with various donkey guides, roaming all over Petra, day and night, not once did I see any of the young Bedouin men behave in overtly salacious ways towards female tourists they were guiding¹³⁷ as though the tourists owed them more than money for their guiding services.

¹³⁷ I did however *hear* about a number of incidents where a couple of Bedouin men had behaved in sexually aggressive ways towards tourists. In cases where these incidents became public knowledge the men usually made themselves absent from the village for a time to avoid any punishment from other Bedouin. On the other hand romantic relationships do form, many of them last for months and even years (like the case of Faisal al-Jdelāt who was in 2011 married to a Norwegian woman roughly 30 years older than him and still is as of 2021),

Additionally, this behaviour is general among all working in tourism, even the hard-headed business like Taryk Mūwassa himself, would frequently give tourists gifts. Nearly all shopkeepers, who all day drink tea, would continually offer tea to the tourists; the only time I ever saw them take payment for it was when the tourist offered payment and insisted (this excludes the licenced shop/cafes in Petra, they all sell food and drink). Bedoul across Petra would continually do these things and slide into the position of host to the tourist guest, breaking down, at least for themselves if not always the tourist, the service provider-tourist relationship.

One of the most common things for Bedouin in Petra to do is to invite tourists home for a meal with the family. This is not something that Bedoul guides, shopkeepers and itinerant sellers would just do from time to time, but rather, is something that they relish and would try to do at the slightest opportunity. On countless occasions, after a day spent guiding tourists through Petra with Rashd and/or Abdallah Abu Mohammed for example, I saw them invite tourists home for dinner. Rashd and Abdallah would make a phone call to their wives and let them know they would have guests. Then Rakheyah and Tahani (Abdallah's wife) would then send the children off to the shop with a list of things to get; and get to cooking. The result was usually something that could be best characterised as a feast.

Friends of mine came from Australia to visit me while I was doing my fieldwork. They didn't want to miss the opportunity of having a place to stay while visiting Petra; they stayed in my apartment under the Abu Mohammed family home. When it was time for them to visit Petra Rashd offered to guide them; the tour was fairly standard with us all traveling by foot or

and there are also short term "hook-ups"; Ali al-Jdelāt, among others, is infamous for this. Many times I got the distinct impression that many of these occasions are as much initiated by the tourists as the Bedouin. One example comes to mind of a donkey guide, with a female tourist sitting behind him on his donkey who had decided that the best place to clutch onto him, so she wouldn't fall off the donkey, was his genitals. With a whoop he sent the donkey off at a gallop for the privacy of Wadi al-Sih, the place I was told that was preferred for many of these kinds of shenanigans.

donkey throughout Petra for the entire day. I served in something of an assistant guide capacity for Rashd. While wandering through Petra we had met and befriended a group of three young women traveling together, two were Indian, one of whom lived in India, the other in the UK, the third young woman was from Pakistan. They were all university friends and had come to visit Jordan and Petra together. We first met them up at the sacrificial high place on Jabal Madhba at Ali Abu Atallah's shop where he served everyone tea and we got to know them. Rashd offered to let them join our group, but they said they were happy to simply see Petra by themselves. We parted ways, they went theirs, and we went ours.

Eventually, we met the young women again in the café/shop near the monastery late in the afternoon and found that they were somewhat distressed. They were being relentlessly hounded by a drunken donkey guide called Marwan, who was making a fool of himself, insulting many of the male tourists who were going by and leering and making lecherous comments to many of the women. He had however singled out the three young women for especially sleazy treatment. In the shop one of his cousins had dragged him away from the young women a number of times, apologised to them on behalf of Marwan and his family, and sat Marwan down to try to sober up.

Unfortunately, when Marwan realised that Rashd, my friends and I had arrived he went on the offensive again. My friends, both women, came in for more of his sleazy treatment, and he came up to me and not realising that they were my friends, in Arabic, offered to include me in a scam: If I were to try to get my friends to buy things from the shop at double the price, he would split it 60/40 with me. I declined his offer and Rashd immediately pulled him aside to speak seriously with him; Marwan's cousin from the shop joined them. Rashd told Marwan, in no uncertain terms, that my friends were in Petra under his, and his family's, and by extension al-Jdelāt, protection and if he did anything to insult them, much less harm them, he would have serious trouble. This seemed to drift though Marwan's drunken, stupefied

state just enough to convince him he should seek out easier prey and his cousin assured Rashd that he wouldn't allow Marwan to interfere with our guests.

Deciding that my friends were better left alone Marwan went back to tormenting the three young women. Rashd immediately set about rescuing them. He approached the women and said, “so you got here before us, did you enjoy your climb [the stairs up Jabal al-Dayr]?” The young women were a little confused at first but caught on quickly and said that it was a nice walk and that when they got up to the café, they decided to wait for us there. Rashd continued telling them “once these guys [my friends and I] have had a rest I'll show everyone the best views over Wadi Araba from up here”. Then to Marwan, in Arabic, “these people are part of our group; you are not to give them any trouble either”.



al-Dayr (the Monastery)

Marwan however, even in his drunken state, saw through the ruse and told Rashd that he knew the three young women weren't part of his group¹³⁸ and were therefore none of his business. So, Rashd asked the women if they would like to join us, they replied that they would. Marwan was thwarted; he didn't like it at all, probably feeling as though he was losing face in front of some of his family members, and some of the hostile tourists around who had been subjected to his rudeness. But his family members from the shop, far from coming to his support, were sympathetic towards the tourists and Rashd, and probably unhappy with how his behaviour was reflecting upon them; he couldn't look there for support. Marwan decided to go off looking for his 'camel milk', his bottle of water mixed with arak¹³⁹. His cousin in the shop had already taken the opportunity to throw Marwan's 'camel milk' away while he was distracted, sending Marwan off on a wild goose chase.

We all left the gift shop/café before the monastery and made our way up to the lookout known as 'The End of the World' where Marwan Faqyra was at his shop. As we all walked along Rashd apologised to the three young women for Marwan's (the drunk donkey guide, not Marwan Faqyra) behaviour. He explained that drinking had become a major problem for many of the men in Petra and that while sober Marwan was actually a nice guy, but when he drank, he turned into an idiot; and that while most of the people working in the shop were his relatives, they were, to some extent, limited in how much they could control him¹⁴⁰. Rashd also told the tourists that now that he was their guide no one, including Marwan, would dare

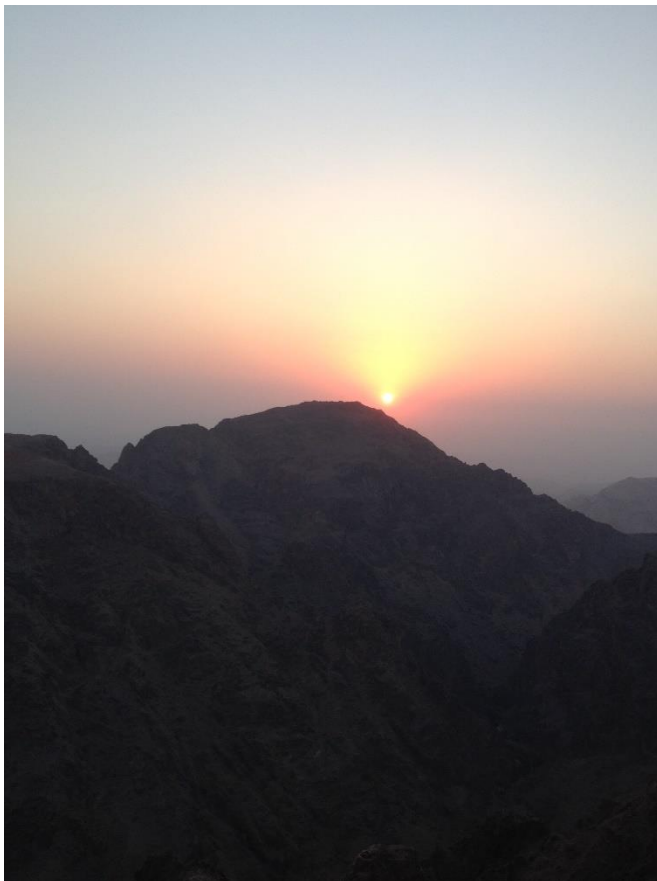
¹³⁸ Word spreads quickly via mobile phone throughout Petra among the guides what tourists are around, who they are being guided by, where they are going and what if any assistance the guides might need to meet the tourists' needs; it would be expected that Marwan probably would have known about the three young women traveling alone in Petra.

¹³⁹ Arak, a clear spirit made from aniseed, goes milky white when mixed with water, the typical way Bedouin in Petra drink it, Marwan was referring to it as camel milk.

¹⁴⁰ Whenever I saw people reduced to having no choice but to actually try to control family members they always had to resort to restraining them physically by tying them up or locking them in a room; it usually took about five or six people to do it and creates a scene; it is understandable that Marwan's relatives wouldn't have wanted to attempt this in front of tourists.

to interfere with them since they could then get in trouble with Rashd's entire family (sub-clan al-Jdelāt).

We watched the sunset from 'The End of the World'. The Shara Mountains stretched out jaggedly below us receding to the west and Wadi Araba like rows of teeth in a shark's mouth; through the gradually darkening haze of Wadi Araba's desert, we could just make out the mountains rising up out of Araba on the Israeli side. Rashd asked the three young women if they would like to come home to meet his family and have dinner at their house. The tourists said they didn't want to impose, however Rashd assured them that they were not imposing at all, and he and his family would love to host them for dinner; Rashd made a call to his wife Rakheyah and asked her to get dinner ready.



Sunset from The End of the World

The sun appeared to hang just above the horizon for a long time, then, seemingly quite suddenly, it sank behind the mountains far to the west and with its descent night's shadow descended upon the world. In the dark we began to make our way out of Petra, as we passed the shop in front of the Monastery Marwan came out, a little more sober than he was before, and sheepishly apologised to everyone. We

travelled back down the ancient Nabataean stairs and once back into the Petra Basin turned north up Wadi Turkamaniyah and followed the road up to the Village. Rakheyah had

prepared a feast indeed for the three young women, and my friends were invited to eat as well.



Rashd, my friends and the tourists he rescued from Marwan

We all gathered in the sitting room of Rashd and Rakheyah's home, some of Rashd's family members¹⁴¹ and friends came by to meet and chat with the tourists. Rashd, assisted by his two oldest daughters Marym and Hathra as

well as his eldest son Mohammed, spread plastic sheeting out on the floor in a corner of the room in front of the *farāshas* that lined the walls. Then Rashd brought out an enormous round steel platter mounded high with rice topped with *kabseh* made from chicken, Rakheyah brought out a tray covered with various different salads, tubs of thick yoghurt and *shrak* as well as *khubz* (both types of bread) while the children scurried back and forth from the kitchen with cans of soft drink and bottles of juice and water.

Once the food was presented to the tourists Rakheyah, Rashd-with his two youngest children joyfully climbing all over him, and the older kids all knelt or sat down a meter or so away from the tourists and asked them to eat. The tourists, and my friends, were all somewhat taken aback, they felt very self-conscious with the idea of eating the feast that Rakheyah had prepared with the whole family watching but not joining in to eat¹⁴². Rashd, in Arabic, told me to start eating and to encourage the tourists to do likewise so I did. One of the tourists asked me uneasily "are they not going to eat with us?" Rashd replied for me saying

¹⁴¹ All of Rakheyah's family live in another village and tents close to where the Desert Highway turns off onto the King's Highway, the road to Petra, about a 30-45 minute drive away.

¹⁴² And I didn't know if I was there in the capacity of family member or tourist and was unsure if I should eat or not.

“this is our way, our guests eat first; we will eat later”. Rakheyah, though she only spoke a word or two of English, understood what was being said and the guests’ awkwardness and said to Rashd that she would take the children into the kitchen and start cleaning up, that Rashd should stay and ensure that their guests had everything they needed.

We all ate, the tourists and my friends, still a little uneasy, insisted that Rashd should at least eat *something*, and since he had been in Petra from just after sunup to well after sundown without eating, he relented and picked at a little bit of salad and yoghurt with some bread¹⁴³. As he ate a little everyone seemed to relax and began to enjoy the food. As with the usual (and deliberate) way of Bedouin feasts there was far more food than the guests could eat. Once they had finished Rashd told them all to relax, Rakheyah brought out glasses and a pot of sweet tea for everyone to drink and Rashd took all the food into the kitchen, Mohammed, the eldest child, cleared away the plastic sheeting from the floor, and the family all gathered in the kitchen to eat dinner.

Once Rakheyah, Rashd and the children had eaten they returned to the sitting room and chatted with the tourists; Rakheyah would ask questions about the tourists, their families, their lives in the places they lived in Arabic and Rashd acted as interpreter. Likewise, the tourists asked both Rashd and Rakheyah about their life in the village and Petra, about their children and what it’s like working in the tourism industry. Eventually the three young women, exhausted from their day in Petra, said that they should be returning to their hotel; my friends were also tired and wanted to rest. Rashid made a phone call to a friend with a car; he had already organised the transport earlier in the evening¹⁴⁴, he just had to tell his friend it was time. The tourists got into the car once it arrived, saying their farewells; both Rashd and

¹⁴³ It is Bedouin custom, when invited to eat, to eat at least a mouthful of food even if not hungry, though usually this happens when you are the guest rather than the host.

¹⁴⁴ Rashd had had a car of his own however with the downturn in tourism at the time he was forced to sell it in order to pay household expenses and the water and electricity bills.

Rakheyah left the tourists with invitations to return to Umm Sayhoun and their house as guests, to forgo the hotels and stay with them next time. The three women had earlier tried to compensate Rashd for the cost of the meal and for him allowing them to join his little group. He utterly refused to accept any payment from them insisting that they were his guests.

Bedouin in Petra, of all ages, doing any number of different types of tourism work operate in similar, or the same, ways within their means. If there is a wedding on in the village many guides would invite numerous tourists to come along, even to weddings that they have no involvement in, aside from being guests themselves. Male tourists would typically be brought to the obligatory goat hair tent erected in front of the house and female tourists, though they may put in an appearance at the tent, would be taken into the house to join the women's part of the wedding festivities. And in addition to gifting things to tourists in Petra, inviting them home for a meal with the family or to a wedding, and, for the younger men, inviting tourists to spend the night in a rebuilt cave home in Petra¹⁴⁵, many Bedouin guides and shop keepers would often offer to take tourists on short, usually one to three day trips into the 'desert', usually Wadi Araba or the Dési area close to Wadi Rum where the Bedouin alHeymeyeh have a strong presence.

¹⁴⁵ Many young Bedouin men, mostly unmarried men, have begun setting up homes in caves through Petra. This usually consists of cleaning the cave out, possibly cementing the floor, furnishing the cave with mats, rugs over them, *farāshas* for lounging or sleeping on around the cave walls, putting up wall hangings around the walls of the cave and fitting a door of some sort into the cave's entrance. The motivation to do this comes from a few things: overcrowding in the village, strained relationships with families (parents or siblings), to avoid the continual surveillance that exists in the village, to entertain tourists; the reasons are manifold. There is also a very strong sentiment that they are reconnecting with their heritage. It is usually only young men, mostly born after the move to the village, who do this. Moving back into Petra is also illegal.



Diesi area close to Wadi Rum

These trips are usually organised in the hope of making a little extra money by guiding tourists outside the limits of the archaeological park, and so are of economic importance to Bedouin; however, they go beyond the parameters of standardised tourism practice. These ventures into the areas surrounding Petra follow customary practices of Bedouin hospitality too. As such they also provide important opportunities for Bedouin to perform the role of Bedouin host and protector to tourists as the tourists are positioned as guests in the Bedouins' domain of the 'desert', even if, strictly speaking, well outside the bounds of the Bedouin *dira*.



Rashd (left) guiding tourists from Petra through Wadi Araba and back again

From about the 1970s Tourism, slowly, almost insidiously, seeped into every aspect of existence in Petra. For Bedouin, their work in tourism, their lives in it, its all-pervasive presence in Petra, was something that appeared, and slowly grew in importance until it came to be an all-encompassing element of the organisation, and ideological construction/presentation of Petra and so an all-encompassing element of their own lives too. Though, as Shoup (1985: 282) notes, the Bedouin were slow to enter the growing tourism trade in relation to their Beni Layth neighbours who had gained an early monopoly on many aspects of tourism, the Bedouin did, gradually, move overwhelmingly into the tourism industry. However, they did not simply submit to it. The Bedouin took this imposition upon them and their home of Petra, they understood and continue to understand it in and on their

own terms and turn it back into the overarching structures of the tourism industry imposed upon them¹⁴⁶.

Bedoul Bedouin, in *their* practice of tourism have the rules and regulations of Petra's administration lain over them, as residents of Petra, as much as Petra has. Yet their *practice of tourism*, drawing from the ebbs and flows of tourism's implementation in Petra, crosscut the officially ordained rules of the place, and the rules of tourism work. Bedoul tourism practice meanders through these disciplinary schemas, picking from them what they need and discarding, or sometimes contemptuously rejecting, things they don't need or want, as much as the Bedouin themselves meander through Petra on their guiding journeys with the tourists.

In, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1988) seeks to understand the way consumers, "users-commonly assumed to be passive and guided by established rules-operate" (de Certeau 1988: xi). He goes on to state that this aim will be realised if ""ways of operating" or doing things, no longer appear as merely the background of social activity" (ibid); he thus puts out a call to take seriously the multifarious and mundane things that people actually do in their practice of life and see it as something beyond a passive result of the sociocultural milieu in which it is situated proposing that these practices of life stand as a quotidian appropriation of elements imposed by the "technologies of sociocultural production" (de Certeau 1988: xiv).

In doing this, de Certeau (1988: xii) argues for seeing these ways of operating, these ways of doing things, as productive, as a form of making. Yet they are ways of making that are hidden "because [they are] scattered over areas defined and occupied by systems of "production" (television, urban development, commerce, etc.)" (de Certeau 1988: xii); one might add

¹⁴⁶ To what degree the Beni Layth do the same I can't say as I did no research among them. I suspect they might do however Shoup (1985: 286) noted that they tend to maintain a "general hostility towards foreigners" and so maintain a stricter divide between themselves and tourists; so, it is possible that they keep a stricter separation between tourism business and hospitality.

tourism management and archaeology. de Certeau (ibid, emphasis original) carries on to note that “the steady increasing expansion of these systems no longer leaves “consumers” any *place* in which they can indicate what they *make* or *do* with the products of these systems”.

In Petra, i) the creation of the ruins as Lost City, ii) the elision of Bedouin history in Petra, iii) the touristic structuring of Bedouin identity, iv) the shaping of social relations in Petra along touristic lines, and v) the resultant apparently purely touristic nature of the current Bedouin presence in Petra, all constitute a strategic configuration of place emanating from the dominant field of social and cultural production in Jordan: the nation state and accompanying bureaucratic structures, archaeologically informed characterisations of what Petra can be and tourism and the capitalist market in general. These combine and conspire to cut off, *a priori*, any possible acknowledgement of Bedouin creativity in tourism in Petra. The archeologically/monument preservationist informed regulation of tourism work in Petra, and the needs of the tourism industry (and one assumes the presumed needs of the tourists) set the parameters of permissible tourism work in Petra which is then meant to be enforced by the Petra Authority. Most of what the Bedouin do, even in tourism work, is, technically illegal or at least unregulated.

Understanding Bedouin work in tourism without considering the systems of production in which it is couched, and the ways in which this shapes work, leads to the view of Bedouin work in tourism as a resulting in, and the Bedouin themselves as experiencing, a ‘loss of culture’ (as many tourists told me) or, as some researchers such as Sami Alhasanat (2010: 384) believe, a corruption of some true form of local culture and the adoption of “a ‘phoney’ culture which has arisen out of the adoption of ‘non-native’ manners”. In this way Bedouin working in tourism in Petra are represented as “passive and guided by [the] established rules” (de Certeau 1988: xi) of the Lost City and the tourism encounter (not to mention situating Bedouin in a presumed pristine past and constructing culture as a frozen-in-time thing rather

than understanding it more as shared process and interpersonal creativity- even between people from different cultures).

I argue that Bedoul tourism activity in Petra is not simply an example of a local people engaging in the market structures that shape their day to day lives, an example of people engaging in the tourism industry, as it confronts them, simply to get by. Nor are Bedoul the poor victims, and imitators, of the “immoral behaviour of some tourists” (Alhasanat 2010: 376). Indeed, I have argued in chapter 5 that such a perception of Bedoul tourism work, the apparently touristically bounded presence of the Bedoul in Petra, is partly responsible for opening and perpetuating the perceptual gap between the Bedoul and Petra and enables some, including many tourists, to assert/assume that Bedoul are in Petra for purely economically exploitative reasons. Nor does such a view of Bedoul tourism account for the many counterproductive (in economic terms) things that the Bedouin do while working with tourists every day. The Bedouin themselves follow a different set of rules that come from a social and cultural complex different from that which is dominant in Petra the Lost City today.

Bedoul tourism practice is a co-option of standard tourism practice which is then forged into something meaningful and useful to the Bedoul along multifarious lines which break it out of the purely economic. In the most basic terms tourism work is articulated with everything else the Bedoul do to earn a living. It stands as a component of the broader economy including pastoralism, fruit and crop production, and everything else they do. In this tourism is ordered along lines familiar to the Bedouin in terms of work. Yet tourism work is also highly relational and takes on symbolic and political meaning through hospitality; it establishes connections between people- Bedouin and tourists, Bedouin and members of the PA, Tourist Police, Desert Patrol, Bedouin and licenced outsider tour guides, and so on. In this way tourism practice for the Bedoul encompasses issues of hospitality, honour, reputation and

rights, all grounded in Petra, *their* vision of Petra, that tourism doesn't include in its standard rationalised, market oriented, format. It also facilitates the creation of host/protector to guest/protectee relationships with tourists in the Bedoul *dira* of Petra rather than the Archaeological Park/Lost City, even if many, or most, of the tourists are oblivious to it.

In these ways Bedoul tourism practice takes on dimensions that the creators of Petra the Lost City never intended. There were a very few allowances for the regulation of Bedoul tourism practice in Petra yet the Bedoul's "microbe-like, singular and plural practices which an urbanistic system [or rationalised tourism management organisation like the PA] was supposed to administer or suppress" (de Certeau 1988: 96) have appropriated tourism and created in it something much more meaningful. In following Bedouin like Rashd as he guides tourists and stands as their guide, host and protector all at once, or others like Atallah as he guides tourists through Petra at night, at high risk to himself and for no return, or even Qassem Eid al-Jdelāt attempting to seek financial help from a Japanese tourist to meet his responsibilities to kin

one can follow the swarming activity of these procedures that, far from being regulated or eliminated by panoptic administration, have reinforced themselves in a proliferating illegitimacy, developed and insinuated themselves into the networks of surveillance, and combined in accord with unreadable but stable tactics to the point of constituting everyday regulations and surreptitious creativities that are merely concealed by the frantic mechanisms and discourses of the observational organisation

(de Certeau 1988: 96).

As the Lost City and all associated with it, as capitalist market structures and their associated socioeconomic relations, and the tourists, flooded into Petra and appeared to displace the Bedoul and their old way of life Bedoul tourism practice seeped into the new configuration of place in Petra. Bedoul took the tourism foisted upon them and have turned it into something unique, something Bedouin. And it is under the cover of *their* tourism practice, a tourism practice that continually evades and/or challenges regulation and purely

economic rationality, that Bedoul continue to relate to Petra in ways that remain important and meaningful to themselves, and reinforce their claims to a place in Petra as the only local group that have the right to behave so in that space. Bedoul Bedouin in Petra are not in the allegedly dangerous position of 'losing their culture' that so many tourists seem to think they are in, nor do they simply succumb to and imitate the allegedly immoral practices of some tourists. Bedoul work in the tourism industry in the ways they do precisely because of the cultural equipment they have at their disposal, precisely because they are Bedouin; and Bedoul work in tourism is a reflection of the instinctual relationship they have with Petra.

As such, I argue that Bedoul do not operate in tourism (or anything else) in Petra tactically (de Certeau 1988: xix), they don't just take moment by moment what is available from the established order in the position of people with no socioculturally precedent alternatives. They operate from the vantage point of their own view of Petra, their place in it, and the culturally informed practical action they take (Sahlins 1976: 18) constitutes a strategic (de Certeau 1988: xix) approach to Petra and life there. The Bedoul demarcate Petra as proper, as their *dira*, in which they, and they alone, have the right to create meaningful, and political, relations with the outside world. Yet they do so within the bounds of the tourism industry, capitalism, bureaucracy and monumental presentations of place and people. They do so from a position of disadvantage and illegitimacy: apparently too Bedouin to belong in Petra, because they are there in a Nabataean Lost City, but because they don't conform to touristic Bedouin stereotypes, not Bedouin enough to be consumed as such. Their strategy *appears* tactical and they appear to be, again, losing their culture.

To assume that they either lose their culture or are corrupted by tourists is to make the mistake of thinking that the touristic representation of Bedouinness is real and so lock real living Bedouin into an idealised view of their past; it is to think that monumentalised Bedouin culture is lived and delegitimise Bedouin efforts to live in the present. Bedoul spurn such

affectations. Bedouin combine who they are and their connection to Petra with the tourism that confronts them and come up with something truly unique; and something that not only cannot be contained within the narrow parameters of a standard view of tourism but also seeks to challenge and break through those parameters.

Well after midnight at the front entrance to Petra where taxis waited for tourists during the day Atallah Abu Mohammed and Musa al-Jdelāt reluctantly, but thankfully, accepted the 150JD from the American and Danish tourists and bid them farewell; and the tourists, and I, climbed into the dual-cab Hilux Ute of Atallah's friend Khaldun. As we travelled out to the Bedouin Camp Hotel the tourists asked me why Atallah had insisted I accompany them to their hotel, so I explained the strained (often out-rightly hostile) relations between the Bedouin of Petra and their Beni Layth neighbours and that Atallah didn't trust the people who ran the hotel/camp. I explained that behind the tourism work in Petra, behind the ways Bedouin, and others worked in tourism and interacted with the tourists, there was a world of conflict, inter group hostility and competition to and for Petra, to tourism, and even to being a Bedouin. In Petra there is a struggle going on that is about more than earning a living while relating to place in meaningful ways; and it is through the medium of tourism that Bedouin carry out their fight for their rights in and to their homeland of Petra. Bedouin don't just *create* a uniquely Bedouin vision of tourism in Petra, but they also put it to highly political usage.

Chapter 7: Vernacular Politics.

Early one morning, maybe around 3am, after I had been in Umm Sayhoun for about a month I was awoken by banging on my bedroom door. The doors to most houses, particularly the old original houses, are usually made of steel, and given the combination of the concrete and porcelain-tiles of the house, and that the only furnished room in my house was my bedroom, the banging on the door seemed amplified as the sound bounced unimpeded off the walls, ceiling and floor. I dragged myself into consciousness and then to the door to open it and was confronted by two neighbours, Yusuf and his cousin Muhammed. Yusuf appeared frantic, speaking rapidly in hushed English, like he was in a hurry and being pursued by someone, or something. He was supporting Muhammed, who was barely conscious and had blood streaming from a gash over his right eye.

Yusuf asked me if I had any medicine that could help Muhammed, explaining that Muhammed had bumped his head and needed help. It was another instance of a curious pattern of behaviour that seemed to be, early on in my fieldwork, forming between the Bedouin and me - of them coming to me for all sorts of medical problems; however, I couldn't do anything beyond making a rough mental note of this at the time, and tried to help Muhammed. I asked what had happened and Yusuf again simply told me that Muhammed had fallen down and bumped his head. I told Yusuf he could bring Muhammed into my room and let him lie down but he said that he needed to get him home and that they just wanted some medicine. The only medicine I could think of possessing was some Panadol so I went looking for it only to discover that I didn't even have that; the best I could do was, rather lamely, to offer a few band-aids.

Worried about Muhammed's safety, confused as to why everyone was coming to me with their medical problems, half asleep and feeling like an idiot because the best I could offer was

a couple of band-aids (and not even a packet of band-aids, just a few loose band-aids I had in my toiletry bag at that), I stood there with said offending band-aids in hand outstretched towards Yusuf. Yusuf paused for a moment, with a look on his face as confused as I felt, with Muhammed standing swaying barely conscious in his arm, then, apparently resolving himself to action, said “thanks, that ought to do”, took the band-aids and shuffled Muhammed off into the darkness¹⁴⁷.

Later that morning I went into Petra to get to work and made my way up to the Treasury. I saw a group of guys, a cousin Salamah al-Jdelāt among them, sitting under the little ledge in the cliff face to the left of the Treasury’s façade. I wandered over and sat down to see how they were and what they were up to. Immediately they asked me if I had heard about the huge brawl that happened the night before; I hadn’t, but immediately the gash above Muhammed’s right eye from “falling down” started to make sense. As they related it to me, and this was no doubt through a lens favourable to the Bedoul, it was all caused by some police from Wadi Musa. The police, apparently locals of Wadi Musa (Beni Layth), were driving through Umm Sayhoun, either late that night or early in the morning, and stopped to talk to a group of ‘boys’ who were sitting out on the street passing the time. It’s common for people to sit out by the street until very early in the morning during the summer, talking and drinking tea (and often Arak too).

Apparently, the police started insulting the young men somehow, bad-mouthing them, and the Bedoul in general, so one of the young men got up and broke a wing mirror off the police car which was a dual-cab Toyota Hilux. Naturally the police did not appreciate this, so they attempted to arrest the guy who had broken the mirror, which provoked a confrontation

¹⁴⁷ It was only after a little while that I realised that for some reason, as I was telling people that I was a doctoral student (*talib doctorah* طالب دكتوراه), they somehow got the idea that I was a medical student (*talib tib* طالب طب). It still confuses me how people got mixed up as I said it in Arabic; I can only guess it’s because people routinely refer to medical doctors using the English word “doctor” rather than the Arabic *tabyb* طبيب.

between the whole group of young men and the police. There were only three or four police at that stage, and not many more young men, however as the ruckus got louder and people came to see what the noise was about, very quickly the police were severely outnumbered and getting a very bad beating. While a couple of police were trying to fight off the Bedouin, one policeman was knocked unconscious and dragged by one of the young men down the main street of Umm Sayhoun by his leg while the young man's sister beat him with a metal pipe; another of the police managed to lock himself in the police car and call for help over the two-way radio.

Police from Wadi Musa quickly came to Umm Sayhoun to try to get the situation under control, but, according to Salamah and his friends, they too were quickly outnumbered, and they had to call up police from Ma'an, about 35 Kilometres away. In the time it took police to arrive from Ma'an there was a huge brawl between the Wadi Musa police that had arrived and (it seemed from the way they told it to me at least) half the village. As Salamah and the others told me about the brawl Atallah Haroun came walking towards us through the crowd tourists, sauntering across the open space before the Treasury. He stopped as he approached, held up both arms and cheered at us and shouted, "there was a *HUGE* brawl with the cops last night, and *I* had nothing to do with it!" It seemed that the fact that he was uninvolved in the trouble was vindication against his reputation as a troublemaker; that or he was just thankful not to be caught up in trouble for once¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁸ Once he joined us in the crevice, he proudly told me that everyone blames him for all sorts of trouble, then this happens and he isn't even involved saying "I was passed out drunk at home, no one can blame me for this one". In the end it didn't stop someone blaming him anyway; when I saw him a few months later, once he got out of gaol, he explained that someone from the village who didn't like him informed the police that he was in the thick of it. Given his reputation and past dealings with the police they naturally assumed that if anyone was guilty it would be him... as did the judge.



Atallah Haroun cheering about not being involved in trouble for once

Atallah came and sat with us and the guys continued their tale: With the arrival of police from Ma'an the trouble was quelled. The Police from there are not Beni Layth, or simply outsiders to the tensions between the Bedouin and Wadi Musa, so according to Salamah the Bedouin were not willing to try to fight all of them as they hadn't been the ones insulting them; and they came in overwhelming force and so it seems as though the Bedouin who were able slipped away into the darkness. I told them about Yusuf dragging a barely conscious

Muhammed to my door that morning and they replied that while Yusuf wasn't involved in the fighting Muhammed was, and when Muhammed got hit hard by a police baton and went down Yusuf managed to make his way through the fighting and rescue him dragging him to safety.

While most of the Bedouin who were involved managed to get away, a few were arrested there and then. Once the commotion had abated and people started going about their business again, people in the village who disapproved of the trouble, or had scores to settle, started giving the police the names of those who were involved, and for about a week afterwards the police were watching the road between Umm Sayhoun and Wadi Musa and waiting for the suspects to go into town so they could arrest them away from the village; among them Atallah Haroun despite his innocence. When I got to speak with him again, once he was out of gaol, he told me that he had somehow gotten word that the police wanted to capture him too, despite having not been involved in the trouble. He was avoiding the road and wasn't even going to Wadi Musa through Petra; eventually though, when the need for a bottle of Arak

overwhelmed his feelings of self-preservation, he went to town and got caught by the police too.

This was probably the most extreme episode of this sort during the period of my fieldwork¹⁴⁹, however it was an example of the constantly simmering tension between the Bedoul, the Beni Layth locals of Wadi Musa as well as the police and the Petra Authority. Almost from the time I arrived in Petra, in the Bedouin village, I was regaled with stories of unfair treatment at the hands of the authorities, as well as the mutual dislike (for some bordering on hatred) between the Bedoul and the Beni Layth.

Politics in Petra.

Bedoul and Beni Layth.

The temporal depth of the trouble between the Bedoul and the Beni Layth appears to be very deep. Shoup (1985: 290-291) notes the ill feelings between the Beni Layth¹⁵⁰ on one side and the Bedoul and Amaryn on the other. And throughout the period of my fieldwork, I found that the majority of Bedouin throughout the Petra region regard the Beni Layth as *fālahyn*, not Bedouin, corroborating what Shoup (1985: 290) found in the early 80s, and they have varying attitudes towards them. Brand (2001: 965) notes the history of conflict between the Bedoul and Beni Layth and Kooring and Simms (1995: 2) argue that the tensions between the two groups is “a significant aspect of Bedul [sic] existence” adding that “this conflict, dating

¹⁴⁹ I was told of an earlier confrontation with the police, in the mid-90s, during which three people were shot, one fatally. The police oversaw the destruction of an illegally built house and a large number of Bedouin went to the police post at the rear gate to Petra at the western end of the village to protest. One of the police officers there, probably fearing for his life and panicking, opened fire on the crowd.

¹⁵⁰ Shoup uses the name Layathna for the Beni Layth. Both names are correct; when I was in Petra most Beni Layth seemed to favour the latter while Bedoul simply referred to them as *fālahyn* فلاحين when speaking Arabic or “the farming people” when speaking in English.

at least to the early 20th century, ensures there is little opportunity for Bedul participation in the Wadi Musa boom [the economic boom stemming from tourism development in the area]” (ibid). And McKenzie (1991: 140) notes that going back to the time of Burkhardt’s visit to Petra the Beni Layth, the Bedoul and the Amaryn were in competition for occupation of Petra, which strongly suggests that tensions between the groups go well beyond a struggle over who gets to benefit from tourism. Rather, it’s a struggle over all of the resources relating to possession of Petra, be those water, grazing, firewood, caves for shelter, undisturbed Nabataean graves all the way to tourism at *least* from the 1970s, probably much earlier.

During my time in Petra, I heard literally countless stories about how the Bedoul were constantly persecuted by the Petra Authority, the local government and the Beni Layth; the latter allegedly using the former two to undermine the Bedoul at every turn. Bedoul note numerous advantages that the Beni Layth have over them. One is numerical superiority, people (both Bedoul and Beni Layth) guessed for me that the Beni Layth must number about 30,000 people while the Bedoul number somewhere around 3 to 6 thousand (estimates vary depending upon to whom one speaks)¹⁵¹. Another advantage they have over the Bedoul is that they are the dominant group in Wadi Musa. This means they are better placed to take advantage of the tourism industry, something also noted by Shoup (1985: 282) and Kooring and Simms (1995: 2). This includes the ability to host tourists in hotels, feed them in restaurants, sell things to them in gift shops and offer services as tour guides.

¹⁵¹ Shoup (1985: 288 & 290) estimated that the Bedoul numbered about 1500 people and the Beni Layth about 2000 people. If the population estimates I was given are vaguely accurate it seems the Beni Layth rate of reproduction is many times that of the Bedoul. For the Bedoul at least, during my fieldwork I’d guess the average pair of parents must have an average of 4 to 6 children, sometimes 8; add that some, though not many, men have three wives each with as many children, thus some men may have as many as 12 to 18 children (one man allegedly has 32). Going back to Drebyah and Basma’s childhood mid 1940s to early 1950s, judging from kinship charts I took, at that time 2 or 3 children would have been average. Given that the Beni Layth have had longer, and probably more, economic advancement through tourism than the Bedoul, for years, it stands to reason that they would have been creating bigger families longer than the Bedoul have. Huge families are not particularly uncommon in Jordan. Even in Amman I have met people who joke about counting their children by how many football teams they can field.

These advantages also include those relating to various forms of development in the region. For example, two of the biggest gripes many Bedouin have about the Petra Authority and Beni Layth is the way that most if not all construction work in Petra goes to Beni Layth contractors¹⁵²: for example, the sandstone toilet block built not far from the Royal Tombs were, as I was told, awarded to a Wadi Musa contractor who was paid many times the actual cost of construction of the toilet block. And also, economic development initiatives like the Bedouin Woman's silver-smith workshop. It was supposed to provide work for Bedouin women in Umm Sayhoun through the production of silver jewellery. According to many Bedouin, particularly some of the women involved in its inception, this was to be set up in Umm Sayhoun but, when its implementation was handed over to the Petra Authority and local government, it was moved to Wadi Musa to the benefit of the Beni Layth.

Having access to tourists as soon as they arrive in Wadi Musa allows the Beni Layth an advantage in their ability to service tourists. They have the first chance at offering them all manner of services, such as those listed above. In terms of accommodation, during the period of my fieldwork there was no accommodation legally offered in Umm Sayhoun despite years of Bedouin attempts to have hotel development approved for the village¹⁵³. All tourist accommodation in the area was confined to Wadi Musa, or a few 'Bedouin Camps' that had been set up between Umm Sayhoun and the Amarny village of Bydha. The hotel sector in Wadi Musa is huge and ranges from a few lower priced 'Backpacker Hotels' through to high end internationally owned luxury hotels. Even where these hotels are not owned by locals, they tend to be predominantly staffed by locals of Wadi Musa. However, it is not uncommon to also employ Egyptian guest-workers in an effort to push down labour costs, something

¹⁵² To be fair to the Beni Layth here, it should be noted that as far as I was aware, there are no Bedouin construction contractors.

¹⁵³ In the years since my fieldwork this appears to be changing with the establishment (since around 2016/17) of a few hostel-like accommodations in Umm Sayhoun. Teams of archaeologists have, however, for many years been accommodated in the village.

noted by Shoup (1985: 281) to have been a very early development in tourism in Petra. The restaurant sector in Wadi Musa is largely an analogue of the hotel sector with low to high end restaurants, most of the latter being run out of the high-end hotels, and mostly staffed by Wadi Musa locals or Egyptian guest workers.

Gift shops in Wadi Musa are a little more uniform than the hotel sector, and a little more localised than the restaurant sector, they are, more often than not, owned by locals as well as run by them. Some of the large hotels, like the Mövenpick Hotel, have a souvenir/gift shop that stocks very high-quality items, even including Arab styled bone inlay furniture (items that also tend to be exceedingly expensive, at least from the point of view of a fiscally challenged PhD student), however, for the most part, souvenir shops tend to be a quite local affair. Gift shops also tend to get more numerous and bigger the closer to the entrance to Petra one gets.

In Wadi Musa there are also many officially licenced, and no doubt¹⁵⁴ many, many unlicensed tour operations that offer everything from guides for Petra, desert tours in the local region, horse and camel trekking as well as general tour services to destinations throughout Jordan. These tour businesses are a mix of locally owned and externally owned with external ownership mostly coming in the form of a collaboration between locals and Jordanians from outside the region or internationals, mostly from Europe and the US as far as I was able to ascertain in conversations with a few of the Beni Layth proprietors of these businesses. The combined effect of these tourism related enterprises concentrated in Wadi Musa and either owned, managed and/or staffed by Wadi Musa locals, is that the Beni Layth are able to cater to most of the tourists' needs before the tourists ever set foot in Petra. And

¹⁵⁴ At no time did I investigate this to any depth, given that the Bedoul not the Beni Layth were the focus of my research; however, I suspect that the Beni Layth are not only doing all the same tour related work as the Bedoul, but given their numbers and relatively advantageous position, they probably do it on an even bigger scale.

so, this also concentrates a lot of the tourist dollars that come into the region in Wadi Musa either in the form of profit or wages. However, this access to tourists is not only a financial advantage for the Beni Layth according to Bedoul.

One of the main complaints Bedoul have about the Beni Layth advantage in tourism relates to the prior access they have to tourists in terms of how they represent themselves (and through contradistinction the Bedoul) to the tourists. Bedoul would point out that tourists arrive in Wadi Musa, and so are on Beni Layth ground, before they ever get into Petra, something also noted by Shoup (1985: 286); and so, the Beni Layth are, from a Bedoul point of view, in a position to poison the tourists' minds against the Bedoul. Bedoul would constantly tell me about fearful tourists who had been told stories about how the Bedoul rob tourists, rip them off, sell them fake antiquities¹⁵⁵ and drug the tea served to tourists in order to perpetrate all manner of rapine and banditry upon them. Bedoul are condemned by the Beni Layth to the tourists for drinking alcohol, for engaging in sexual relations with tourists, for trying to form romantic relationships with female tourists allegedly in order to milk money from them, for dressing inappropriately; all manner of bad behaviour is laid at the feet of the Bedoul by the Beni Layth. Bedoul even have the temerity to commit the grievous sin of "allowing their women to work" and the unforgivable error of "allowing their women to ride donkeys!" according to one Hassanat Beni Layth person I became friends with¹⁵⁶.

Bedoul, on countless occasions, told me stories about how Beni Layth would fill tourists' heads with such stories, however I also heard it from plenty of tourist too. Often, I would sit

¹⁵⁵ Everyone from one end of Jordan to the other sells fake antiquities, from ancient coins to pottery and everything in between; it's actually highly illegal to sell genuine antiquities. However, everyone also sells real antiquities too. People simply tend to be marginally more cautious about trying to sell the genuine stuff.

¹⁵⁶ As I got to know more Beni Layth in Wadi Musa, they also told me all about the iniquities of the Bedoul. When I would point out that I hadn't seen any of it they would insist that the Bedoul were just keeping all the bad things hidden from me. It is possible I guess however, given some of what I did see, I suspect it would have to have been an unrealistically effective and well organised conspiracy, and given the level of competing motivations and ambitions *within* the Bedoul community next to impossible to carry off.

with tourists in shops throughout Petra, travel around with Donkey guides and their tourist customers, and have such tales reiterated by the tourists themselves (though not all tourists reported having this happen). Many would talk about how they had been warned by their licenced tour guides¹⁵⁷ (Beni Layth and others), by hotel workers in Wadi Musa, by people in gift shops, in restaurants, taxi drivers and so on, that the Bedoul were not to be trusted for the various reasons listed above. I even heard it myself from Amman to al-Aqaba and everywhere in between too (as I noted in chapter 5).

To what degree the people (Beni Layth and others) telling these stories about the Bedoul and their alleged involvement in all sorts of banditry actually believe them I don't know. Yet, all the same, if there is a doubt in their minds about the truthfulness of these tales it doesn't stop them repeating them to tourists. And the Bedoul at least claim that the effect of these stories is to give them a bad name, makes the tourists wary of the Bedoul from the outset and less likely to engage with them for legitimate business purposes; which all not only cost them business but also paints them as little more than a parcel of bandits.

Bedoul Bedouin resent the stories that Beni Layth, and others, tell tourists. They point out that in the end these stories not only misrepresent them, make them look like criminals, but also give Petra and Jordan in general a bad name. Yet, as many Bedoul often told me, once the tourists are in Petra, they can try to show the tourists that they are not the bad people that they have been made out to be. All the same though, under these conditions, oftentimes simply engaging with tourists can be a difficult prospect given the cumulative effects of the warnings many tourists have been given (not to mention that by the time they arrive in Petra many tourists are fed up with locals in every tourist attraction in Jordan trying to sell things to them). Bedoul would often say to tourists, in an only half joking way, "I'm a *Bedouin* not a

¹⁵⁷ Comparatively few Bedoul are officially licensed tour guides.

BAD-one”. However, the Beni Layth do something, before the tourist audience, that is much more worrying and aggravating for the Bedoul; they (the Beni Layth) claim that *they* are the real Bedouin of Petra, not the Bedoul, who they claim only arrived in Petra very recently.

For the Bedoul, this is probably the most troubling thing that they feel that the Beni Layth do to them. They see it as the usurpation of their identity by the Beni Layth. This is twofold; on the one hand it is the usurpation of Bedouin identity in general, something the Bedoul (and most other Bedouin in the area that I ever spoke with) flatly refuse to acknowledge the Beni Layth as being. On the other hand, they see it as usurpation of belonging in, and to, Petra. At some time in the past, it’s likely that the Beni Layth occupied at least part of Petra, and McKenzie (1991: 140) notes that they did have control of Petra at times, but it seems that the most consistent and most dominant presence in Petra, since at least the time Burckhardt visited, have been the Bedoul. For the Bedoul this is enough for them to see themselves as *the* Bedouin of Petra.

In addition to the Bedoul’s long period of habitation, is the residential distribution of where the Bedoul and where the Beni Layth lived. According to the territorial dividing lines I had described to me the limit to the Beni Layth habitation of Petra was the old Nabataean dam near the entrance to the *siq*. The Obelisk Tomb, the tomb that the Cave Bar is now in beside the Petra Guest House Hotel entrance, and others back towards Wadi Musa and around the Wadi Musa side of Jabal Khubtha were all occupied at least at some stage by Beni Layth; everything on the other side of the *siq*, actually *in* Petra, however, was occupied by the Bedoul. These are all the areas that each group to this day has the most access to for work. There is at least one Beni Layth that can come into Petra to work in a shop there and a few Bedoul who have horse numbers and work on the Beni Layth side of the border as horse

guides, and others who drive the horse drawn carts. But, when one group crosses, *en masse*, into the territory of the other a lot of trouble ensues¹⁵⁸.

It should be noted here that the Beni Layth, at least as far as I ever heard personally, never claim that they are *Bedoul* Bedouin; though plenty of Bedoul accuse some of the Beni Layth of doing so, particularly when they (Beni Layth) are taking advantage of tourists¹⁵⁹ in order to deflect blame onto the Bedoul. More so, Beni Layth will tell tourists, and me too on countless occasions, that they, the Beni Layth, are the *real* Bedouins, and they are the *real* Bedouins of Petra, and that the Bedoul are ‘Gypsies’ that the Bedoul simply showed up at some stage¹⁶⁰ and moved into Petra pushing the Beni Layth out. I find it likely that the majority of Beni Layth probably do really think of themselves as Bedouin, even if Bedouin through the region don’t, and indeed, given that at some point in the past they had at least partial habitation and/or control of Petra (McKenzie 1991: 140), I suspect that they probably could make *some* assertion that they are even Bedouin of Petra. What is entirely unbelievable however is that any Beni Layth, except perhaps children, could take seriously the assertions that the Bedoul only arrived in the region sometime in the last 70 or so years. As such I think these can only

¹⁵⁸ On one occasion in 2012 the donkey guides (all of whom are Bedoul) started agitating to receive part of the ticket money in the way people who have a horse number do. The horse guides (most of whom are Beni Layth) protested that if donkey guides get ticket money, then horse guides should be allowed to guide tourists through all of Petra, not just the entrance to the *siq*, and so they invaded Petra, as it were; the carriage drivers (also mostly Beni Layth) did the same. The donkey guides, in retaliation began guiding tourist all the way to the front gates, well into the horse guides’ turf; the camel guides (all of whom are Bedoul) did the same in solidarity with the donkey guides. By all accounts the entire situation led to chaos with horses, horse and carriages, donkeys and camels everywhere.

¹⁵⁹ I was, quite a number of times through email correspondence, told stories by female tourists who were taken advantage of (including two rapes) by Beni Layth tour guides/operators and that these guides told them that they were specifically Bedoul Bedouin from Petra. It is relatively easy however, when one has a name of a tour company hired in Wadi Musa, to get a fairly good idea of who the tour guides were; during my fieldwork no tour companies in Wadi Musa hired Bedoul guides.

¹⁶⁰ Estimates as to when the Bedoul allegedly arrived and supplanted the Beni Layth range anywhere from the 1950’s all the way through to the 1980’s. When challenged to account for the ability of the Bedoul, numbering so comparatively few to the Beni Layth, to achieve this people usually just mumble something about how the Beni Layth at the time were simply being nice and allowed the Bedoul to make a living, and that the Bedoul eventually took over; before trying to change the subject.

be interpreted as an entirely politically motivated device to undermine the Bedoul claims to Petra, something first noted by Kooring and Simms (1995: 3).

The sum of the ways in which the Beni Layth represent themselves, and the ways in which they represent the Bedoul, to tourists is that they sow seeds of doubt in the minds of many tourists about the Bedoul; possibly not enormously in terms of their status as Bedouin, since many tourists may not quite really know what a Bedouin is and possibly think that all Jordanians are Bedouins, but most certainly about Bedoul trustworthiness. Whether many tourists catch on to the dynamics going on in Petra between the two groups, or indeed that there even are two distinct groups, I have my doubts. Indeed, a possible partial explanation for each group so vehemently differentiating themselves from the other could be that the population of the whole Petra region is seen as a little tainted by Jordanians further afield. And given that it is the Beni Layth that have prior access to the tourists (Jordanian and foreign alike) they get to ‘tell their side of the story first’ as it were. However, from observing the ways in which many tourists interact with Bedoul Bedouin in Petra, in particular the donkey guides (all of whom, but one, are relatively youngish men), it seems to me that this ‘propaganda’ disseminated by the Beni Layth and others does have a deleterious effect on the Bedoul specifically.

Given that I doubt that many tourists ever have much of an idea about the political wrangling between the Bedoul and the Beni Layth, or indeed that they are distinct groups of people, I don’t think they are the primary *target* of it all, though they do tend to be the biggest audience for this intergroup politics. Some tourists do catch on that there are bigger issues at play than simply tourism, but given what I witnessed, and what I have read in tourism related internet forums since leaving Petra, it appears to me that more tourists are worried about the welfare of the Bedouins’ donkeys than they are about the welfare of the Bedouin themselves.

The primary targets for the messages disseminated by Bedoul and Beni Layth alike, I think, are the Petra Authority and regional, and even national governments in Jordan.

The Petra Authority.

As noted previously the Petra Authority is the government body charged with overseeing the management of Petra and the communities in the area. While it comes under the purview of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities it is now a mostly independent regulatory body¹⁶¹. Though independent it does however remain subordinate to the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities as well as, to some degree, the local government in the Petra area operated from Wadi Musa and the regional government based in Ma'an. The Petra Authority also has close relations with UNESCO based in Amman and necessarily must subject its management of Petra to UNESCO regulations and oversight in order to maintain Petra's world heritage status¹⁶². The Petra Authority is headed by a board of commissioners and a lead commissioner, with the last of whom I had some unpleasant dealings.

Within a few months of arriving in Petra, I had entirely alienated myself from the Petra commissioner and the Petra Authority in general. In line with my responsibilities as a researcher, adherence to human research ethics guidelines stipulated by the Australian National University and my responsibilities to my research community, I refused to feed the Petra commissioner information about the Bedoul, what they did in Petra, in Umm Sayhoun, and indeed (as he himself put it) what they were saying about him personally. I also refused to scrap my planned research and do the much shorter, quantitatively based, multi-sited

¹⁶¹ Though, when it suits people in the Petra Authority (when student anthropologists need to be brushed off for example) they can claim to receive all directives from the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities. This can lead to much time wasted traveling and staying in Amman only to be told that the PA is now independent and makes its own decisions.

¹⁶² Personal communication with people in UNESCO Amman.

tourism management focused research he demanded of me. I have no doubt that a more experienced fieldworker (or someone with a little more standing than a mere PhD student) might have managed the situation better. I however, naively, explained the reasons I could not comply with his demands and trusted that he would have the integrity to allow me to do the research that he, and the board of commissioners, had originally given me permission to do. Instead, he withdrew my permission to access Petra without paying the rather large ticket price stating that until I gave him what he wanted he would not give me what I wanted¹⁶³- access to Petra.

For about a month after my last meeting with the commissioner I endeavoured to contact and meet him again, but to no avail. With the help of many people in the Bedoul community I did manage to regain access to Petra through the head of the local government (for which I am eternally grateful) in spite of the Petra commissioner. Yet, unfortunately, all of my attempts to communicate with the Petra commissioner and others in the Petra Authority after that were entirely in vain. What this means for my research is a rather large gap in my understanding of the administration of Petra and the region with the bulk of my information coming from the perspective of the Bedoul Bedouin instead of a substantially more balanced view that includes the perspective of those working in the Petra Authority. Therefore, it must be understood that, as I present this partial situation here, it is indeed coming from the entirely one-sided perspective of those who feel themselves disenfranchised and pushed from their homeland, mainly, by the actions of the Petra Authority (as well as, rightly or wrongly, to some degree UNESCO). Nevertheless, I cannot simply dismiss the mass of data I gathered from the Bedoul about their interactions with the Petra Authority as people simply complaining without good cause.

¹⁶³ What he actually said to me rather angrily, in English, was, and this is a direct quote: "If you don't give me what the fuck I want, I'm not giving you what the fuck you want. Now get the fuck out of my office!".

Yet there is an added complexity to this issue, namely that, according to the Bedouin, the Petra Authority is overwhelmingly staffed by Wadi Musa locals- Beni Layth. Shoup (1985: 286) noted that this trend, of Beni Layth gaining government positions and so having “an input into the development of their district” (ibid), began to take hold as tourism became more important in the region and the Beni Layth village, which was formerly known as Eldji (McKenzie 1991: 139) grew into the town of Wadi Musa and the seat of the local government. Beni Layth had higher levels of education and higher rates of English language proficiency as well as understanding of the world beyond Petra (Shoup 1985: 286) and closer proximity to the growing local administration, and so were able to gain access to government employment opportunities.

Bedouin today certainly believe that the local government in Wadi Musa is little more than an extension of Beni Layth political power into the realm of government, indeed the head of the local government during my fieldwork was Beni Layth, as were the local representatives to the national government; but Bedouin also believe that the Petra Authority is a further extension of this phenomenon. Bedouin would point out that, while the commissioner himself is not Beni Layth and an outsider from another part of Jordan (I was told Karak), most of his staff are Beni Layth. And they believe that these Beni Layth staff members of the Petra Authority exercise undue influence on policy relating to the management of the Petra Archaeological Park. The alleged influence of Beni Layth on the Petra Authority was best brought home to me once by Abu Latif.

Arriving at his café one morning I found Abu Latif in a bad mood. Given how jovial he usually is, joking with tourists and Bedouin alike, for him to be in a bad mood something serious had to have happened; that there were no donkey guides hanging around the veranda of his café was also an indication of disquiet. As I walked up to the café Abu Latif was tidying things up, it looked as though a tour group had just left. He greeted me and I sat down

out on the veranda and started catching up on some field notes. When Abu Latif finished and joined me, he immediately began to tell me about the morning's trouble with the guards at the back gate into Petra.

It is typical for those who own and operate shops in Petra to drive in through the back gate with ute loads of food and drink with which to stock their cafes. Given that much of this food and drink needs refrigeration (cold drinks, ice-cream, frozen meat and so on) it is important to get it into a fridge at the shop as quickly as possible, particularly in the summer time. That morning however, when everyone began to arrive at the gate, with ute loads of merchandise, the guards barred their entry. Abu Latif, one of those affected, angrily told me that the Bedouin demanded to know why they were being stopped and said that a guard simply told them that motor vehicles were prohibited from entering Petra and so they could go no further. According to Abu Latif everyone was shocked. Petra was *their* land; it was inconceivable to them that some government official could stop them from going in. And they were indignant because they had been driving up to their shops and unloading their merchandise for almost three decades. The Bedouin had pointed this out to the guards who replied that they weren't stopping them from going into Petra, just stopping them from *driving* into Petra. They told the Bedouin that they had gotten word from PA management that morning that henceforth driving into Petra was prohibited. Everyone with a ute load of goods had to quickly call up everyone with a camel or a donkey so that they could load up the animals and have them carry the stuff to the shops.

Abu Latif said that it was absurd that the Petra Authority could simply prohibit them from driving to their shops. They were given no warning of any planned changes much less consulted about how such a decision would affect them; and besides, PA staff and police drove through Petra constantly. I asked Abu Latif why the PA would have simply changed the rules. He was convinced that it was because of Beni Layth pressure, and simply to make

their life hard. There was nothing special happening in Petra that day that should prevent them driving into the site; it was just an ordinary day like any other. He added that, tomorrow, it would all go back to normal, that the PA, and even the staff at the gate that day, would often change the rules about something one day then ignore the rule changes after that. Abu Latif went on to say that the Bedouin's dealings with the Petra Authority, and by extension UNESCO and even USAID, seemed to always follow the same pattern- plans about how Petra should be managed, as well as development initiatives, for which the Bedouin show some enthusiasm, only to have these plans changed with the Bedouin none the wiser about what plans had changed or why; the main point for the Bedouin is what they believe are the *reasons* for the changes.

This was something I had heard from many of the Bedouin and Abu Latif went on to document some instances of plans being made then changed. Abu Latif's list was long, but two examples, both of which I heard from numerous of the more politically minded Bedouin men and women, will illustrate how they see the influence of the Beni Layth in the Petra Authority. Abu Latif, to exemplify his points, told me about the silver workshop that was to be established in Umm Sayhoun to provide opportunities for Bedouin women in the 1990s. The idea was that a silversmith would teach Bedouin women silversmithing so that they could create jewellery to be sold to tourists. He also told me about how the various organisations involved in tourism and development consult and interact with the Bedouin when devising plans for the area.

Silver:

Silver jewellery manufacture has some cultural significance as traditionally Bedouin women tended to wear a lot of silver, especially that made from money, as a way as safeguarding a family's wealth against theft. In the old days, women were not meant to be interfered with

according to the etiquette surrounding raiding (Lancaster 1991: 141) and women's jewellery was also traditionally considered as something of a family bank account¹⁶⁴ (Lancaster 1991: 113). So, theoretically at least, anything in possession of women during a raid was safe, raiders could not steal it without bringing irreversible shame and dishonour upon themselves and their kin. Indeed, one of the reasons so much old-fashioned Bedouin jewellery consists of Ottoman era silver coins is because once people came into a little money it would be incorporated into jewellery for safe keeping (hence the family bank account part). So, while most of the Bedouin women in the village today are bedecked in a couple of thousand dinars worth of gold (ordinarily part of their bride wealth), silver does have some cultural significance to them, and they were looking forward to creating silver jewellery to sell in Petra.

Yet, as Abu Latif went on to say, the authorities, after consulting a number of elderly women in Umm Sayhoun capable of running it, gaining general support for the workshop, and even selecting a building as the place to set it up, simply didn't follow up on it. The Bedouin heard no more about the project.... until eventually they all learned that it had been set up in Wadi Musa for the benefit of Beni Layth women. The Bedoul, according to Abu Latif, demanded to know why the workshop had been set up for the Beni Layth and were simply told something about maximising the benefit for the largest number of people. Abu Latif told me that for the most part the Bedoul weren't really all that surprised, they saw it as another instance of Beni Layth exerting their influence through the Petra Authority and even local government in order to funnel benefit away from the Bedouin and towards their own community. Yet what really incensed the Bedoul (and still does) was the fact that the silver workshop presented signage that professes that it is there for the benefit of *Bedouin*

¹⁶⁴ Goats have traditionally, for the Bedoul, also been a way of storing capital. Early on in my fieldwork I once tried to ask Tufiq Abu Mohammed if he thought of goats like keeping money in the bank? He seemed confused and patiently explained to me that one can't keep their goats in the bank; my Arabic did improve in time.

women¹⁶⁵, the Bedoul categorically rejecting that the Beni Layth are Bedouin. They therefore see it as a further usurpation of Bedouin identity by the Beni Layth who then present themselves to tourists as though they are Bedouin.



Some fragments of old Bedouin jewellery made from Ottoman era coins

Consultation:

Given that instances like the silver workshop outlined above often involve bodies like UNESCO, USAID, and other governmental and non-governmental organisations

I asked Abu Latif whether or not these organisations know about the tensions between the Bedoul and the Beni Layth and that the Bedoul feel that the Petra Authority is used to benefit the Beni Layth, or even that things like the silver workshop were diverted from Umm Sayhoun to Wadi Musa (it seems) in the implementation phase¹⁶⁶. He replied that often these organisations do actually consult Bedoul when planning things for Petra or the village but in the end the PA and government just do whatever they want and ignore the entire consultation process and the Bedoul's wishes. The most glaring example of this to date is probably the design of the housing in the village already outlined in chapter 2. Or these organisations often think they are consulting representatives of the Bedoul community when they are actually talking to someone entirely different.

Abu Latif said that the Petra Authority will typically do one of two things when they need someone for stakeholder consultation. Firstly, they will go and find someone who is in reality

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.nooralhusseinfoundation.org/index.php?pager=end&task=view&type=content&pageid=59>

The Noor al-Hussein Foundation website gives a brief outline of the silver workshop under the subtitle *Wadi Mousa Silver Production Center* (sic).

¹⁶⁶ As an example of this I have personal correspondence from within UNESCO outlining how many organisations ordinarily might be involved in the planning stages of such initiatives however hand them over to either and/or the Petra Authority and local government for implementation; and that once in the implementation stage such organisations have little to no input or control of what happens.

Beni Layth and present this person as if they speak for the Bedoul. This is reasonably easy to do, particularly when they have local political representatives come and speak as they are overwhelmingly likely to be Beni Layth. These people are democratically elected and so appear, to people who don't know about the tribal politics in the region, to legitimately speak for the region as a whole when in fact (according to Bedoul) in reality they use that appearance of democratic legitimacy to speak in only Beni Layth interests. Such was the constant accusation directed at the regional member of the House of Deputies (Jordan's lower house of parliament) during my fieldwork, he was a member of the Hassanat Beni Layth and former employee of the Petra Authority. This can also be elucidated by an example from Alhasanat (2010) (the member of the House of Deputies in question) and Alhasanat and Hyasat's (2011) papers in which all inhabitants of the Petra region are conflated as "Petraians" and so eliding the social/cultural differences, as well as the different impacts upon, and interests of, the different groups in the region.

Secondly, if the PA or government actually do find a Bedoul Bedouin as a representative, they find someone who: a) speaks no English and so will need someone to translate for them, b) someone who has minimal involvement in tourism in Petra and who therefore doesn't really know what is at stake or really represent the interests of the Bedoul who do work in tourism in Petra, or c) as old and senile as they can and present that person as some sort of elderly sheikh. Abu Latif wryly added that mostly they get a combination of a, b and c, and ply the old guy with gifts and kind words until he is willing to nod his head and agree to anything. This ambiguity, and the possible damage done in instances when "family, clan and tribe are so important" (Brand 2001: 973), was noted by Brand (ibid) who warned that NGOs and governments must be very cautious when selecting representatives for stakeholder consultation. It appears, from what many members of the Bedoul community told me

ten/eleven years after the publication of her article, as though her warnings have not quite been heeded.

In laying out both of his examples of Beni Layth manipulation of the Petra Authority Abu Latif took an uncharacteristically sympathetic view of the PA commissioner. On the whole Abu Latif tended to be one of the harshest critics the PA commissioner had among the Bedouin that I spoke with on these issues. Yet, he pointed out that when the commissioner first arrived to take on the role, he was nice enough and reasonable to deal with but said that, being surrounded by Beni Layth all day working for him, assisting him, advising him, even serving him tea and cleaning his office, it is only to be expected that he would become hostile to the Bedouin. To emphasise the commissioner's current attitudes towards the Bedouin, Abu Latif pointed out a little boy, about 5 or 6 years old, trying to sell small pieces of sandstone out of an old aluminium plate near the creek bed opposite his café¹⁶⁷. He told me that only a few days ago the commissioner was walking through with some others from the PA and saw the little boy, grabbed his plate and threw it and the pieces of sandstone into the creek bed and told the boy to get lost. Abu Latif said that it's one thing trying to stop people selling the sandstone, that's reasonable since if everyone sold sandstone there wouldn't be much left of Petra after a while, but to treat the child as he did, leaving him in tears, that was entirely unreasonable. With that, Abu Latif's unusual sympathy towards the commissioner evaporated as he continued to recount other instances of unfair treatment by the PA, and the commissioner himself, and by extension, the Beni Layth.

¹⁶⁷ Quite a few children try doing this, probably to augment their parents' income. I suspect that they are not put up to it by their parents, but rather just try to help out and would rather be in Petra than school all day. Few Bedouin parents will force children to stay in school if they don't want to be there and lacking anything to sell, the children try to sell pieces of sandstone that they gather. The stone is often brightly coloured with contrasting layers. I can't recall ever seeing any tourists actually buy it.

Wasta.

Already suspecting the answer, I asked Abu Latif what he thought enabled the Beni Layth to exercise so much influence in the region. I had gotten essentially the same answer from most of the Bedouin that brought up these issues; Abu Latif's answer was "they have *wasta*".

Wasta is the same patronage system that enabled me to regain access to Petra without having to pay up to 60JD every three days for a ticket. *Wasta* is a system of patronage that runs throughout Jordan's bureaucratic system, at all levels, and is often how things actually get done; indeed it may be, has been, said (Al-Ramahi 2008: 36) that *wasta* "is entrenched in the tribal structure of the country" and "has had a long history in Middle Eastern societies" (Makhoul & Harrison 2004: 52) in general. Yet, *wasta* doesn't *strictly* refer to or mean patronage, nepotism or corruption, per se. The term *wasta* means middle (Al-Ramahi 2008: 37) and refers specifically to a person in-between two parties who are seeking to, perhaps, negotiate to some end, settle a dispute, come to a business arrangement, the list might be endless; it is the person who negotiates or intercedes as well as the act of negotiating and interceding and is an "institutional part of Jordanian society" (ibid; Cunningham & Sarayrah 1995: 29). *Wasta*, of the *mediatory* kind, benefits society, facilitating the peccable cohesion of families and communities (Cunningham & Sarayrah 1994: 29).

That said though, *wasta* certainly does contain elements of patronage that go beyond *wasta* being the facilitator and act of negotiation, veering into territory that can reasonably be considered patronage and even regarded as nepotism and corruption (considered so even by many Jordanians of all walks of life). As such, the term *wasta* means intercessor as well as intercession, equally as much as it does mediator and mediation (Cunningham & Sarayrah 1994: 29). This usually means a person using *wasta* connections for some form of personal benefit (Al-Ramahi 2008: 37; Mohamed & Hamdy 2008:1). This way of looking at *wasta* is

the way Bedoul primarily talk about it; a means to gain ends rather than a process of arbitration. It is seen as a thing (and or/person) you have that can get you what you want. It is often considered a bad thing leading to, for instance, the promotion of incompetence over expertise. For example Mohamed & Hamdy (2008:1) note how “a person with poor qualifications but strong *wasta* will be favoured [in a job application] over a person who is more qualified but does not have a *wasta*”, a common set of circumstances also noted by Makhoul & Harrison (2004: 52) as well as Cunningham & Sarayrah (1994: 29); and from conversations with, in particular, university educated people in Amman, I gathered the impression that that certainly appears to be their general opinion of it. Under circumstances where *wasta* (or at least the people recruited through *wasta*) operates with no quality control mechanisms there is even reasonable concern that *wasta* can lead to under/poor productivity, stagnation and decline on a national level (Cunningham & Sarayrah 1994: 29).

The Bedoul, on the other hand, seem to talk of *wasta* in morally neutral terms. I didn't once hear any of them making a sweeping statement to *wasta* being a bad thing in general the way I did university educated people in Amman. What the Bedoul see as negative about *wasta* is not the idea and action of *wasta* itself, but more that their Beni Layth neighbours have plenty of it while they have very little themselves. This, of the Beni Layth having *wasta* while the Bedoul have very little¹⁶⁸ is, when one understands the history of the Petra region and the workings of *wasta*, entirely understandable and to be expected. Shoup (1985: 286) noted years ago that Beni Layth, largely due to high levels of education and English Language proficiency (ibid) were able to gain various jobs in the local and national government and able to help steer the development of the region. That the PA as well as the local administration are situated in Wadi Musa no doubt helps too. As Cunningham and Sarayrah

¹⁶⁸ Another thing they constantly did while outlining *wasta* for me was talk of it in terms of volume, like it was something you can have a lot of or a little of, rather than it (or 'they' when talking about a *wasta*, a person) being strong or weak, which seems to be common in the literature on *wasta*.

(1994: 31) note, in countries like Jordan, the primary channel for the operation of *wasta* is family, a point reiterated by Al-Ramahi (2008: 38). They note numerous benefits from this, for instance, strengthening of family ties, integration of individuals into the economy and linking people to the nation as well as improvements to social stability (ibid). They note that “intercessory *wasta* is the societal norm. One uses a government position to take care of relatives so that the favour will be reciprocated by another in the family at one’s time of need” (Cunningham & Sarayrah 1994: 36). Al-Ramahi (2008: 39) describes this practice, of channelling benefits and government employment to people from an official’s kin group or home region, as being an integral part of the Jordanian bureaucracy from the beginnings of the country in the aftermath of the First World War that still thrives into the present. Having not done research among the Beni Layth, I can only go on my general observations during visits to Wadi Musa and conversations with Beni Layth friends there, and cautiously, from what the Bedoul told me of their experience of the converse side of the coin, but it certainly appears as though the Beni Layth benefit from their family integration into the local and national administration, and the enhanced *wasta* that it affords them as a community. And, according to the Bedoul, they turn this power to the advancement of their own ends, oftentimes at the expense of the Bedoul.

Some examples of *wasta* related to me by Bedoul might go something like¹⁶⁹: if I want to build a house, get a public service job or even gain a state funded construction contract, I might seek out someone to be an intermediary between myself and the people who decide on building permits, jobs or government construction contracts. If the intermediary has a good

¹⁶⁹ These are three examples I had related to me by three different people struggling with, respectively, gaining building permission, gaining public service employment and contracts to work in Petra. Another that constantly came up was gaining permission to operate hotels in Umm Sayhoun, something continually blocked because Bedoul *wasta* was insufficient (something that seemed to have changed sometime between about 2017 and 2020).

reputation, is influential or a family member (of myself or/and the decision makers) there is a good chance that they will be able to “pull some strings” and get me what I want.

In *wasta* there is also usually (but not necessarily always immediately, particularly when it is engaged within very close kin networks) a price of some sort to pay- *bakhshish* and will typically bind parties into a cycle of reciprocity of some sort. The price might be something like me helping the intermediary, or the decision maker, one day (as noted by Cunningham & Sarayrah (1994: 36)), above, or, most straightforwardly, it might even be payment of money. For example, according to Abu Latif (among many others) the way the contractors gained the contract for the toilet block in Petra was that they agreed to give a portion of the money they were paid to whoever it was who awarded them the contract (or the intermediary, depending on who was telling it). Generally, the *wasta* system, at least intercessory *wasta*, creates dependency (Makhoul & Harrison 2004: 26) of those in need on the powerful and Cunningham and Sarayrah (1994: 38) point out that “leaders appear as *wasta*-oriented as the rest of society, and profit most from the *wasta* system”; and so it ultimately serves to concentrate power- social, economic, political, all of the above- in the hands of people who already have positions of authority and power, as well as their kin networks.

However, people, people in bureaucratic positions of power/authority, even fairly low level positions, don’t just decide things based on who can gain access to them through *wasta* and pay whatever price they demand; they might also *stall* anything bureaucratically until an intermediary intervenes and or *bakhshish* is offered; or they might simply stall things because they can’t be bothered helping you if you haven’t made it worth their while, or if they simply don’t like you, or unbelievably, even if they are simply in a bad mood that day¹⁷⁰.

¹⁷⁰ I’m sure some of my dealings with the police in Wadi Musa relating to residency were much more unpleasant than they needed to be because of bad moods.

The latter case precipitated a fatal shooting by the police in the Bedouin village. A member of the al-Jdelāt clan had bought land and was intending to build a house. He submitted his application for a building permit to the relevant government body in Wadi Musa only to have it “go missing”. As I was told by his brother, he resubmitted his application for a building permit at least a couple more times, but this too came to nothing. He confronted the people involved, all Beni Layth bureaucrats, and was told they couldn’t find his applications and that he should submit yet another. By that stage he had gotten fed up, thinking that they were just stalling to cause him trouble, apparently, simply because he was Bedouin; so, he went ahead and built the house without building approval. The house (I wasn’t told just what state of completion it was in) was fairly quickly bulldozed by order of/by the police. A mass of Bedouin went to protest at the police post at the back of the village¹⁷¹ and three people were shot, the prospective homeowner fatally.

The *wasta* system operates through the bureaucracy and often informs how things *actually* work in relation to bureaucratic procedure. Usually, the bureaucratic procedure is applied or not applied (or selectively or partially applied) at the discretion of the bureaucrat involved who is going to work in their own self-interest. So, like in the example of Abu Latif and others being prevented from driving into Petra, it *may* be that the guards had gotten instructions to prevent the Bedouin from driving in to their shops; or it may have been that the guards simply felt like stopping them for the day just because they could, there wouldn’t be much the Bedouin could do about it. Or it is just as likely that there is in fact a rule against the Bedouin driving into Petra that is very rarely ever enforced and that the guards decided to enforce it for some reason; certainly, the next day the Bedouin were back to driving into

¹⁷¹ This is doubly unfortunate as the police who would have issued the destruction order, likely themselves on the orders of the Petra Authority and or the local government, would have been at the main police station at the top end of Wadi Musa not the small police post at the back of the village. The police at the police post would probably not have been involved in the decision making. They seem to have simply been the representatives of authority closest at hand for the Bedouin.

Petra. According to the Bedoul in general as well as Abu Latif, it is the fact that so many Beni Layth hold positions throughout the local government administration and the Petra Authority, that enables them to so effectively use these bodies for their own benefit and the *wasta* system is what enables them to get away with it. Far from being some serious form of corruption (which from an Australian point of view I'm sure it is) in Jordan, as well as many Arab countries generally, for better or worse, it is simply how things are done.

Wasta as opportunity.

If the *wasta* system hinders, I would argue that it also helps; a view shared by Al-Ramahi (2008: 53) who, while acknowledging the “dark features of *wasta*” notes “it is clear that *wasta* is a double-edged sword; some features enhance fairness by softening a ridged system or helping the disadvantaged” (ibid). Undoubtably, *wasta* is great if you have it, if you don't have it however it would be infuriating having normal things, like building permits stalled or forgotten, or job applications passed over in preference for others based solely on their connections. Many Bedoul, countless times, lamented to me that they “have no *wasta*”, meaning they have little influence, and few connections in influential positions in the local government and Petra Authority. Indeed, I experienced this first-hand when my *wasta* middle-man attempted to intercede on my behalf with the PA commissioner; ever so politely and in honied words he told my *wasta*, in front of me, that he was sympathetic to my needs but was simply unable to do anything to help me¹⁷². Thankfully my *wasta* had more pull further up in the local government, thanks mainly to a shared history of military service. And

¹⁷² The commissioner conveniently left out the part about me refusing to be his spy and feed him information about the Bedoul contributing to his “inability” to help me.

I heard many, many examples of how this lack of *wasta* inhibited the Bedoul ability to do various things that required bureaucratic approval.

However, this same *wasta* system also, to a fair degree, enables the Bedoul to continue doing much of what they do in Petra. As early as the 1968 USAID masterplan for Petra there were recommendations that the Bedoul's activities in Petra be prevented (Brand 2001: 964) and in the planning for Bedoul resettlement from the 1970s all Bedoul other than those with a permit to work in Petra were to be excluded from the site (Brand 2001: 965) as were any livestock that the Bedoul had as they were seen as especially destructive (Brand 2001: 964; Shoup 1985: 283). Yet, from the time after their move from Petra Bedoul continued to work in the Archaeological Park and in all forms of livelihood they had done previously. Additionally, Abu Latif among others told me, that originally most people selling souvenirs did so individually, it wasn't until the 90s that they were collectivised in the current large shops scattered through Petra. The people in these shops were officially supposed to be the only souvenir sellers working in the place. However, there are also many makeshift stalls¹⁷³ set up throughout Petra. I asked Abu Latif how it is that, if these makeshift shops are technically illegal, the PA doesn't just shut them down. Abu Latif gave me approximately the same answer that everyone else did when I asked this.

The PA, he told me, knows all about *most* of the illegal activity that Bedoul do in the park, but they also know that it is, particularly given the effects of the Arab Spring, the only source of income some people have and that if they enforced the actual letter of the law there would be people starving in the Bedouin village. He didn't go so far as to say that there would be

¹⁷³ One of the first things I did when beginning fieldwork was to do a survey of all shops in Petra, no matter how rudimentary. There were 110 in total. Only about 9 are officially authorised.

armed revolt against the PA as some of the younger guys had said¹⁷⁴, but he did say that it would cause the PA some headaches if they tried to close down the illegal shops.

I asked if the situation was the same for all the goats roaming around through Petra, and he replied that it is. Technically they shouldn't be in Petra, or at least not in the actual ruins; from his point of view as an experienced monument restoration worker, he thought that the goats in Petra-proper was a bad idea, if not necessarily in Wadi Farasa or the area out towards Ras Sabra and beyond to the south. Pointing at one of the donkey guides going by he said that the large numbers of donkey guides, and donkey guides just going anywhere they liked, was also a bad idea, as the donkeys caused damage to the monuments too; "not as much damage as the *maḥmya*¹⁷⁵ claim mind you, but they do cause damage" he added quickly. "But Petra is our land, so who are the *maḥmya* to tell people they can't have goats here? People will do what they have to do to make a living so of course they will keep goats in the park. Like the little old lady with the shop near the Roman Soldier's tomb; you know her? She has *always* had goats in Petra. How can the commissioner say she can't?".

Abu Latif explained that there are enough people in the PA and the local government who know that for many of the Bedouin life can be tough, and especially while there were so many fewer tourists coming to Petra. They turn a blind eye to things like the illegal shops, the goats, and to a fair degree the donkey guides too, as they know that without those streams of income people would be in even worse financial trouble than they already are, some people to the point of destitution. And given how very little some Bedouin appear to manage to survive comfortably with, destitution would be destitution indeed. What I interpret Abu Latif, and

¹⁷⁴ Originally I thought this was, generally, the hyperbole of young men, however in about 2016, after seeing, via friends in Petra's Facebook feeds, Bedouin barricading the road through the village with large stones and flaming garbage burners to prevent tourists being bussed from the back entry to Petra back to the visitor's centre, I began to suspect that the younger ones might actually consider such extreme action.

¹⁷⁵ Literally 'protected', but more accurately in this case "reserve", as in Petra Reserve محمية البتراء. Bedouin typically refer to the Petra Authority as "*The maḥmya*".

others who said similar, as saying is that while Bedoul may feel that they have “no *wasta*”, the *wasta* system seems to give at least some people in positions of authority the ability to find a space within the strict letter of the law and application of bureaucratic regulations to allow Bedoul to operate in the ways that they do.

This phenomenon is not only confined to the Bedoul and their relationship with officials in the Petra Authority and local government in Petra. Al-Ramahi (2008: 52) notes that in 2000 King Abdallah II declared that he considered that those who engaged in corruption, or ignored it, were his personal enemies and that the Jordanian government should establish mechanisms to work against *wasta*. Following on from this, through 2000 and 2002 the government established committees to fight corruption in the country and introduce transparency in social and economic spheres of life (ibid). By 2006 the government pushed for the introduction of an independent committee tasked to investigate anyone in the government suspected of corruption (Al-Ramahi 2008: 54). However, this was challenged by a number of members in the House of Deputies (ibid) who not only pointed out the mediatory functions of *wasta*, but also importantly, the ways in which it could be deployed to “help the poor and see that their rights are upheld” (ibid).

So, I argue that while *wasta* may enable some people in positions of bureaucratic power to stop them from driving into Petra, or ‘lose’ Bedoul building approval applications, and countless other injustices that the Bedoul see as the result of *wasta*, it also means that regulations are, for whatever reason, *not* always enforced assuming they are enforced at all if the officials involved have sufficient reason not to enforce them. There is a space in human action, in Petra, into which bureaucratic regulation has failed to insert itself, a space in which the substantive reason for action still dominates the instrumental application of Bureaucratic power. Al-Ramahi (2008: 58) speaking about Arab society and *wasta* more generally, puts it

another way, “those in the West know the primacy of law, Arabs know the primacy of interpersonal relations”.

I don’t intend to argue here that the regulations set out for action in Petra have no substantive basis, mostly they are about protecting irreplaceable monuments from degradation. I argue rather that the *blanket application* of such regulations with no consideration of the humanly felt consequences for little other reason than the sake of bureaucratic procedure, does not, generally speaking on a day to day basis, happen.

Wasta, therefore, can, like Al-Ramahi’s (2008: 53) double-edged sword, cut both ways. The Bedoul don’t have much of it in terms of prosecuting their economic or political aims, and this certainly circumscribes their range of political action and puts them largely at the capricious mercy of PA and local government officials, and by extension the Beni Layth. But at the same time *wasta* gives the Bedoul the room to continue with the business of life in Petra in ways that are not completely colonised by instrumentally rationalistic applications of bureaucratic fiat. And what I argue is, that given that the Bedoul operate within this agglomeration of capitalist market structures and bureaucratic regulation, on the one side, and tribal politics and *wasta* on the other, they also have the opportunity to challenge the creation of the Lost City and their ideological erasure from Petra through strategic (de Certeau 1988: xix) rather than tactical (de Certeau 1988: xiv) means. The Bedoul are not limited to turning the tools of bureaucracy and capitalism back onto them in the tactical manner of consumers outlined by de Certeau (1988: xiv) but rather use their pre-Lost City way of life, culture, understandings of place and rationales for going about life as a strategic answer to all that works to drive them out of Petra. They operate strategically through tourism, and it is the *wasta* system that opens the space in which to do it.

It is through work in tourism that they press their claim to, and belonging in, Petra.

Chapter 8: Conclusion.

Tufiq Abu Mohammed poured water into a large plastic tub and threw some barley and hay on the tiles for his mare and her foal. We were sitting at the back of the Abu Mohammed home on the tiled area right out the back door. Technically, while it was the back door, it was the only entrance to the house as the front was all a walled-in courtyard, so to actually get into any of the three houses in the two-story building, one needed to come around the back. Every morning and afternoon Tufiq would feed the mare and her foal on the tiled concrete landing at the back of the house; the foal, while not actually weaned yet was beginning to eat more food rather than drink milk. In the afternoons his dad, Drebyah Abu Mohammed, would sit and watch murmuring gently to the horses and telling Tufiq various things about horses and their welfare; Drebyah had a reputation as a skilled horseman when he was a young man. My little house on the ground floor of the building was to the left of the back door and whenever I was home, usually typing fieldnotes¹⁷⁶, when Tufiq and Drebyah, and the others that would come to chat with them, began congregating out the back I formed the habit of making a pot of tea and bringing it out for everyone¹⁷⁷.



Horses at the back of the Abu Mohammed family home

I had been in the village for exactly two weeks by this stage and was still learning how to fit in with life there. As we were sitting drinking tea and watching the horses a battered red dual-cab Toyota Hilux ute

¹⁷⁶ During the day, usually every second day when typing up and indexing fieldnotes, I had to pretend to be asleep with the door locked just to get the work done without a horde of people, typically younger guys and boys who hadn't gone to Petra for the day, crowding into my room to watch YouTube videos. I'm sure that people think I spent half my time in Petra asleep. By the afternoon however, with the work done, I could sit and drink tea with people.

¹⁷⁷ I learned to make tea from my uncle in Queensland (Richard) who was of the opinion if you couldn't stand a horseshoe upright in it, the tea wasn't strong enough. For quite a while I ended up tipping out more tea than people drank until I learned how to make it Bedouin style.

roared up to house and out of the rear driver's side door leapt Atallah Haroun. At that stage, I hadn't seen him since I was in Petra four years before. I recognised him immediately, though he was now a young man in his early 20s, and since he walked up and threw his arms around me, evidently, he recognised me too. He then said hello to everyone sitting around, said to me that people had told him I had returned to the village and asked if I wanted to go have a beer with him. In my naivety I thought, "why not", not realising that friends having a beer together after not seeing each other for years was done a little differently, and could have possible negative ramifications, in Jordan, in Petra, compared to Australia.

Atallah told me to jump in the front of the ute while he got back into the back seat. Once we were in the ute Atallah introduced me to his friend, Huweymel Taryk, sitting behind the wheel. The ute was Huweymel's, and he used it in his tourism business, one of a number of professional tour businesses run out of the village. Huweymel floored the accelerator and the ute lurched forward and I went flying backwards, quickly discovering that the front passenger seat wasn't actually bolted down to the floor of the ute. It was just beginning to get dark by that stage so most everyone had returned to the village from Petra, so the streets were fairly crowded as we trundled along. I righted myself in the seat as Atallah handed me a warm can of locally brewed Amstel which he fished out from behind the seat in the back. He explained to me that they had just returned from al-Aqaba and had bought heaps of duty-free alcohol and that since they typically get stopped at the border between the al-Aqaba duty free zone and the rest of Jordan and have the grog confiscated they need to stash it away behind the back seat¹⁷⁸. In hindsight I suspect the reason Atallah was sitting in the back seat was more for easier access to the beer rather than the lack of bolts in the front passenger seat; and as he explained to me that both he *and* Huweymel had been drinking beer non-stop the whole way

¹⁷⁸ I don't think they had any intentions of selling it illegally, just drinking it, but the sheer volume of it would have raised suspicions in the minds of customs officers at the border.

between al-Aqaba and Petra, it dawned on me for the first time since getting in the ute that Huweymel was near on blind drunk.

The ute lurched along the road around the back of the houses, careening left and right, barely missing cars, walls, houses, camels, donkeys, dogs and people. As he was swerving left and right Huweymel would hang out the window and shout at people in an upper-class English accent “why, excuse me good sir/madam” or “I say, that was a close call” and other cheeky remarks gaining howls of laughter from the people he had nearly run over. We eventually got out onto the main road as Atallah and Huweymel argued about our course of action. Huweymel swerved out onto the main road to the left arguing that we should go drink beer at the ‘elephant’, a weathered stone just outside the western end of the village that, viewed from the right angle, roughly resembles an elephant. While Atallah argued that we should turn around and go the other way, to the Petra Moon Hotel, and buy a bottle of whisky first. As they were arguing thus, we rolled past the house where a group of archaeologists from Brown University were staying. They were in Petra for their annual dig and living in the village for a couple of months. Atallah, who was working as a labourer on the dig demanded that Huweymel stop so he could talk to Nijmeh¹⁷⁹, one of the American archaeologists.

Huweymel slammed on the breaks nearly sending me out the front window of the ute and Atallah got out of the back and started shouting at the house asking to talk to Nijmeh. Eventually one woman and one man, both Americans, came out of the house; the man was dressed in a white *dishdāsh* with a red *mendeel* on his head. As Atallah started trying to convince Nijmeh (who it seems he liked quite a lot) to come for a drink with us Huweymel hung out the window and angrily shouted at the guy, Theo, “you’re a redneck aren’t you!” Theo tried to assure Huweymel that he wasn’t a redneck, but Huweymel just ignored him and

¹⁷⁹ Nearly everyone who spends a little time with the Bedouin are given an Arabic name, I never found out what Nijmeh’s usual name was.

turned to me and explained “all these American archaeologists, they are funded by Zionist organisations from the US, they are here to find evidence that Petra should belong to Israel”.

Huweymel turned back to Theo, who struck me as anything but a redneck, and asked “who do you work for?, the CIA or Mossad? I know what you’re all here for. Redneck!”

Huweymel turned back to me and continued to explain that America and Israel wanted to give Petra to Israel and that Christian groups in America were at least partly behind this¹⁸⁰, he added that this was also partly to do with the fact that there was plenty of oil under Jordan¹⁸¹ and if Israel got its hands on the oil it would make it much easier for the US to then have access to the oil¹⁸².

As it turned out, unsurprisingly, Nijmeh wasn’t interested in coming for a drink, so Atallah jumped back in the ute with another of the Bedouin guys, Ali, a donkey guide, who just happened to be walking down the street and Huweymel, muttering about the CIA, Mossad, and redneck archaeologists, proceeded to turn a three-point turn into an eight or nine point-turn, and got us headed back in the direction towards town. As we were about to go a Bedouin tour guide called out to Huweymel asking for a lift to town, the guide had a young Russian woman tourist with him who needed to get back to her hotel. Huweymel agreed to give her a lift into town for one dinar and they jumped into the tray of the ute and Huweymel tried to speed off towards the Petra Moon Hotel; but, given the general decrepitude of the Hilux that meant we hurtled along at about 40kl/h.

¹⁸⁰ This isn’t quite as farfetched as it might sound. There is a real fear among many in Jordan, not just people in Petra, that Israel might try to claim Petra and there is at least one American televangelist I watched on YouTube (though for the life of me I can’t remember his name) making claims that the Israelites hid in Petra during their exodus from Egypt and so Petra should belong to Israel.

¹⁸¹ This is a pretty common belief among many people in Jordan. They would argue that the government hasn’t exploited Jordan’s alleged oil reserves because its waiting for the oil to run out in the gulf states so that Jordan can get higher prices for its oil.

¹⁸² While plenty of Bedouin told me that Jordan secretly has oil reserves, not many of them went to the further extent of claiming there was a conspiracy on the part of Israel and the US to gain access to it through claims on Petra. They usually couched their ideas that Israel wanted to claim Petra on ideas about gaining access to land and the tourism industry in Petra.

As we headed towards Wadi Musa Huweymel swerved along the road (which had a hundred or more metre cliff on one side of it down into Petra) shouting in his upper-class English accent at the Russian tourist in the back “where’s my one dinar? I *want* my one dinar!” while said Russian tourist screamed, though I couldn’t figure out from terror or exhilaration; I was rolling about in the not-bolted down passenger seat trying to figure out the best brace position for the crash I thought we were inevitably destined for. We ended up getting to the Petra Moon Hotel in one piece, the tourist and Bedouin tour guide paid their one dinar and left; and it turned out that not only was the idea that we get a bottle of whisky but that I was to pay for it.

Eventually we got back to the village and sat on the curb on the main road across the street from the Mosque to have a few drinks. By then we had been joined by a number of other guys, and everyone was talking loudly as they started throwing back the whisky. A number of times through the evening Huweymel accused me of working for the CIA, Mossad or both and I had to point out that I wasn’t even American or an Israeli and so couldn’t work for them; so he accused me of working for an Australian intelligence organisation. Atallah helped assuage Huweymel’s fears that I was some sort of spy working to wrest Petra away from the Bedouin and Jordan in general. Gradually, I began to notice that the whole group of us were getting some pretty evil looks from others walking about so I decided that I might be better off not drinking anything at all despite shelling out for the whisky. It was getting late in the evening by that stage and all the Bedouin guys I was with were getting pretty drunk; someone had come and confiscated Huweymel’s ute and he had staggered off into the night to locate it. Eventually Atallah’s father Haroun arrived to drag him home. It was the first time I met Haroun, he sat with us for a while, explaining to me that what the boys were all doing was unacceptable, particularly as we were sitting right across the street from the mosque, and that at least when he was a youngster, they had enough sense to go find a cave away from any

of the inhabited caves in Petra when they wanted to drink. Young men sitting around drinking is by no means a new phenomenon in Petra.

Right from the start this experience, so early on in my fieldwork, set the tone for my research though I didn't know it at that stage. On the one hand, I became aware that I would have to be fairly selective when choosing people to associate with, as hanging around with people who habitually drank alcohol or caused mischief in the village (both of which I found out Atallah Haroun had a spectacular reputation for) would alienate me from many in the community. On the other hand, I gained the strong impression that since they moved out of Petra towards the end of 1984 (Shoup 1985: 283) the Bedoul have been fearful of being pushed further from Petra. They never really say it as such, but Bedoul are touchy about the subject and passionately reject the suggestion that the government *forced* them to move in the first place or that they would just passively move out of Umm Sayhoun and away from Petra in the future. Yet all the same, they are suspicious generally of archaeologists and the ends that archaeological knowledge might be put. Huweymel, even stone cold sober (which he was every other time I spoke with him), with a master's degree in Archaeology, was vocal on this point most times I spoke with him, but many others with no knowledge of archaeology or experience working on archaeological digs voiced similar concerns. Likewise, people who come to do research (like me), or indeed spend lengths of time in the community with no apparent reason¹⁸³, often raise suspicions of CIA or Mossad infiltration into the community.

Alas, the problem is much less conspiratorial and much, much more mundane. As the Bedoul moved out of Petra back in 1984 their change of residence cleared the way for a new

¹⁸³ I made myself very unpopular with the commissioner of the PA and the PA in general and so seemed to put people's fears about me to rest. The family of three American women (mother and two daughters) who seemed to simply live in the village with no explanation as to why other than that they liked living there were a never ending source of speculation about the CIA and spy networks monitoring the Bedoul and Petra. They simply lived in a house in the village, the daughters worked in some of the cafes in Petra, and were unwilling to give me any more information about the particulars of their residence there than any of the Bedoul were able to give- that they, and their mother, simply liked the place.

vision of Petra to take hold. For the Bedoul, for centuries, Petra was a domestic landscape, they had no highly elaborated framework for thinking of Petra as a monument, though they did know that it is a special place. They gave various monuments throughout Petra names that marked them as relating to the Egyptian Pharaoh that pursued the fleeing Israelites of the Book of Exodus; for example, al-Khazneh al-Farun (the Treasury of the Pharaoh), Qassar al-Bint al-Farun (Palace of the Pharaoh's Daughter) and the amusingly named Zib al-Farun (the Pharaoh's Dick), a stone column, maybe 5 or 6 metres tall, due south of Qassar al-Bint. The Bedoul have always known that Petra is something special. However, their use of the place, and overwhelmingly the way they understood it, wasn't geared towards framing it as something to be kept apart from life in general, or them and their occupation of the place in particular.



Qassar al-Bint

Petra for the Bedoul, while they named places for a pharaoh, took its *meaning* (for them and other groups in the socio-political landscape of the region more generally¹⁸⁴) *from* the fact

¹⁸⁴ Undoubtedly Beni Layth in Wadi Musa would reject this statement.

that *they* inhabited it; Petra was the Bedoul *dira*, their tribal homeland. As such, Petra was framed by Bedoul habitation, and their ability to hold onto it through the centuries. And as a domestic space, they carried on the ordinary process of life throughout Petra; they made homes, got married and raised families, made a living with their herds of animals and grew crops, among other things, Petra was the seat of social, rather than monumental, time, and a component of social life and identification. Just as Petra was framed as the Bedoul *dira*, the Bedoul are framed as the Bedouin of Petra. Still, whenever Bedoul go abroad and meet Bedouin elsewhere, especially in and around Wadi Rum, when they state they are simply Bedoul with no further qualification, invariably the question comes back “*Bedoul al-Heymeymeh am Bedoul al-Batra?*” (بدول الحميمة ام بدول البترا؟) (Bedoul of al-Heymeymeh or Bedoul of Petra?). Bedoul fit into the wider social-structural landscape of belonging among Bedouin as a subsection of the Howeitat and further break down based on whether they live in Heymeymeh or Petra. Petra and the Bedoul were mutually constitutive of identity.

But, Petra grew in importance as an archaeological site and a tourist attraction, and Bedouin were seen as nomads (Bocco 2006: 324), destructive to boot (Chatty 2003: 90), Petra became a Lost City (Bille 2012: 110) and the Bedoul came to be framed as destructive (Brand 2001: 964) nomads (USAID 2008: 23) and, therefore not having much if any legitimate connection to any fixed abode much less a Lost City like Petra. Aiding this process the archaeology of Petra focused squarely on the ruins left by the Nabataeans treating the material residue of Bedoul habitation as distortion to be scraped off and sifted out of the sedimentary context in which Petra’s ‘true’ Nabataean identity could be found in much the same way the archaeology of Thebes in Egypt focuses on the Ancient Egyptians so side-lining the modern Egyptian inhabitants (van der Spek 2011). Petra as the Bedoul understand it, as a domestic space of home and their *dira*, and indeed the Bedoul themselves, in archaeological terms

appear to exist as little more than squatters and a threat to the integrity of the archaeologically buttressed vision of Petra as a monument.

There was a combination of the Bedoul's move out of Petra and the removal of most of the materiality of their habitation and the ideological construction of Petra (as Lost City) and the Bedoul (as destructive/nomads). This has created in Petra something of a clean slate of little but the Nabataean ruins onto which the ironically modern vision of the Lost City could be written ideologically; there were no (or at least very few and out of the way) traces of Bedoul habitation left to contradict the imposition of Petra-as-monument. Drawing from Herzfeld (1991: 5) I argue that this marks a monumentalisation of Petra, a narrowing of the kind of place Petra can be as the domestic and social is overridden by the monumental creating a rift between the social-cultural life of the Bedoul and the ruins.

As such, the experience of the Bedoul in Petra, like the experience of the Qurni in Thebes (van der Spek 2011), and the locals of Rethemnos in Crete (Herzfeld 1991), serves as an indictment of archaeological practice just as it does tourism practice, in terms of the understandings of place that both systems of knowledge present as truth. Further, such understandings of place, as ancient ruins, as monument, as tourist attraction, must be critically examined in relation to the living people whose understandings of place: domestic, social, *home*, are smothered beneath such monumental impositions of place, be they in Rethemnos (Herzfeld 1991), Thebes (van der Spek 2011), Petra, or anywhere else that ordinary people have lived in the ancient ruins of civilisations long dead.

Archaeology, *and* tourism, must look beyond these locals as a danger, an inconvenience or cheap labour to dig at excavations or to serve tourists, and take seriously *their*, often centuries' deep habitation, knowledge about, and understandings of, these ancient places. As Abu Latif, Huweymel Tarik, and numerous others, told me, if the Bedoul didn't know how to

take care of Petra and the land from which it was hewn, Petra probably would have been ground to dust hundreds of years ago. I consider this more than some of the Bedouin simply trying to retrospectively frame their habitation of Petra as less destructive than it really is given that Abu Latif, like his father before him is an experienced monument restorer, and Huweymel has a master's degree in archaeology specialising in monument preservation. Neither are inexperienced or untrained bumpkins.

The narrowing and monumentalisation of Petra is mirrored in the way Bedouin have been folded into Jordanian discourses of nationhood and history as ideal types for Jordanianity and ancestor figures for Jordanian identity (Al-Mahadin 2007: 95) which has, as in the case of Petra, narrowed the existential possibilities for Bedouin to be little more than a caricature of what actual Bedouin existence is. Bedouin, in this configuration, are nomads, not connected to a particular place, certainly not a Lost City, stuck in the past and representative of the nation (and anachronistic); they, their (nomadic) way of life and their culture are, like Petra, monumentalised while any nuance of Bedouin life and history that does not fit the monumentalised image is rendered void.

In this monumentalised guise Bedouin ways of life in the present, not to mention the Bedouin that live them, are undermined at best, completely delegitimised and rendered fake at worst; certainly, the many tourists who told me that the Bedouin had lost their culture are a testament to the potency of this image particularly when coupled with tourism. The continuing Bedouin presence in Petra, and the ways in which they appear to be able to generate seemingly never ending ways of adapting to the conditions of tourism in Petra, and to absorb social and cultural trends from among the tourists, I can't help but demand, be taken seriously as the Bedouin not succumbing to a "phoney culture" (Alhasanat 2010: 384) as though they are dupes or impressionable children, but instead to see them as active participants in their own lives. It matters not whether what the Bedouin take on is alcohol (as if

people throughout the region haven't drunk alcohol for centuries¹⁸⁵), extra-marital sex, 'western' clothes (even if it is a tricorne hat to look even more like a pirate) as well as a host of economic activity outside the realm of pastoralism. Bedouin taking part in any or all of these things, and more, is rather a natural consequence and process of being a human imbued with culture, it is an argument to take culture as a process rather than a thing that one might lose down the back of the couch like a set of car keys.

Drawing from the work of Augé (1995) I argued that this structuring of Petra *and* the Bedouin undercuts the nature of Petra as an anthropological place as the Bedouin's connections to it, and Petra's to the Bedouin, are stripped away. Rather, Petra is created as an *Archaeological place* connected to the dead culture of the Nabataeans; indeed, it was Huweymel who told me that 'they' (PA, Jordanian government, archaeologists, UNESCO, USAID, tourism industry) were killing a living culture to save a dead one, and so giving voice to the archaeologically supported bias towards the Nabataeans and the ideological forgetting of the Bedouin and their history in Petra. All of these factors have conspired, I'm sure better than the CIA or Mossad could (despite what Huweymel might have thought, expressed, in a moment of drunkenness), to form a gulf between Petra and the Bedouin, granted, not for the Bedouin themselves, but for those who manage the Petra Archaeological Park, others throughout Jordan and the multitude of tourists that pass through each year.

And so, if Petra is turned into an archaeological place, by stripping away Petra from the *Bedouin's* construction of identity *and* narrowing the parameters of permissible Bedouin identity in tourism and nationhood, archaeological practice, tourism and discourses on national identity in Jordan both conspire to present a representation as though it is in actuality

¹⁸⁵ Here I don't mean to suggest that alcoholism isn't a potential problem, I suspect it is and I certainly had quite a number of Bedouin tell me that they thought it is too. I simply want to point out that these things that are not 'traditional', or not things 'real' Bedouin do are things that they have in fact done for a very long time even if some Tourism Management experts appear to swallow as real the representations that they themselves help to create and perpetuate.

that which it represents. *Of course*, no way of life or identity can live up to the idealised standards that are presented in such ideal-types as the ‘touristic Bedouin’. Likewise, living ways of life carry a world of nuance, complication, and continual process that cannot be contained in the ideal-type representation. When actual, living, people have such imposed upon them as the Bedouin do, the effect is to gut them of their complex humanity and turn them into a thing, a representation, a ‘non-people’ much as Petra is turned into a non-place.

Going further the Bedouin themselves make the fatal mistake of not conforming to the stereotypical image of the touristic Bedouin and do not embrace the monumentalisation of their culture and themselves; though the monumentalised image does bring about some measure of ambivalence about their Bedouinness in relation to their ancestors; after all, the Bedouin, like any other group of people in the world, tend to *experience* their culture as a thing rather than process, and when change comes as rapidly as it has for them, I think they can be forgiven for agreeing with the tourists who tell them they are losing their culture even if the two groups are talking about something different. The Bedouins’ sense of loss is for living in Petra and their old way of life, for the tourists it’s a mismatch between an image, a representation, and the reality that confronts them in Petra.



It is this problematisation of the Bedouin's relationship with Bedouin identity within discourses surrounding Petra, tourism, and the monumental version of Bedouin culture that causes them a great deal of consternation and sets the scene for their political action. But, to understand how they challenge their ideological separation from Petra, Petra's presentation as a Lost City and the undermining of their Bedouin identity, it is important to understand *how* they go about work in Petra.

As noted previously Petra has, according to the Bedouin, been their tribal homeland, their *dira*, for between four to around six hundred years (depending on whom one asks). They and their habitation of Petra, their *vision* of Petra, predate the existence of Jordan, tourism, archaeology, and so on, by hundreds of years¹⁸⁶. And they, as well as all of the other local groups, have a well-established and time-honoured way of organising life in relation to land,

¹⁸⁶ And many Bedouin do talk of these things in terms of hundreds of years, particularly where they are well educated as most between their 30s and 40s/50s were.

and each other *already operational*. Petra, as the Bedoul *dira*, is the exclusive territory of the Bedoul Bedouin.

Surrounding the Bedoul *dira* are the territories of others. Within each of these territories each group has fairly exclusive rights of resource use and residence. Historically, these rights needed to be maintained through use of force or negotiation, however once these rights to land were formalised in the 1920s by King Abdallah I (Kooring & Simms 1995: 2), those who could afford it paid tax and had their ownership recognised, the Bedoul couldn't afford to pay tax and so Petra was claimed by the crown which "[guaranteed their] traditional rights of occupation and use" (ibid); this arrangement appears to hold to this day. I couldn't communicate with the PA in order to verify this (they wouldn't talk to me). However, many of the Bedoul themselves told me that they maintain their hold on Petra thanks mostly to King Abdallah II and his father, King Hussein, before him; also with quite a lot of help from the Howeitat Bedouin leadership. If this is indeed accurate, all of it places their hold on Petra firmly in the realm of the interpersonal rather than the bureaucratic/legalistic and hence the importance of *wasta* even if the Bedoul feel they don't have any. Considering the ascendancy of bureaucracy vis-à-vis interpersonality and *wasta* as the Jordanian state seeks to clamp down on corruption, this also might go a step towards giving another reason for the Bedouls' collective sense of unease and feelings of beleaguerment.

What this all means is a convergence of two things that have become crucial for the Bedoul. These are age old tribally based ways of framing people and place and official, on a national level, understanding and guaranteeing of rights and by extension the bureaucratic structures set out to manage place and peoples' relationship to it. This set up means, in relation to work the tourism industry within Petra, is that it is the Bedoul who have unfettered access to Petra for work and the Bedoul alone. Further, and importantly, the type of work they do and how

they organise it, follows a format and framework meaningful to them beyond its meaning in terms of the tourism industry and capitalist market economics more generally.

Yet, not only do Bedoul incorporate tourism into their traditional, pre-tourism, ways of operating, more importantly, they operate *in* tourism in ways that are important, and attribute to it meaning, that extends *from* their pre-tourism modes of operation. Bedoul, no strangers to hardship, know that work is for survival, and work in tourism is no different. But work is not about survival *only*; and just because PA management, international and Jordanian tourism operators and even tourists might understand tourism to operate in terms of the capitalist market structures in which it resides, doesn't mean the Bedoul do, even as they do try to make a living from it. As Sahlins (1976: 19) notes, it is the cultural logic that frames the meaning of the resources available to people, it's not the resources that dictate cultural meaning. And as tourism infiltrated Petra and Bedoul life the Bedoul didn't simply put aside the cultural logic that guided their lives to that point and all follow a capitalistic directive to maximise profit every day that they went to work in Petra. However, they were confronted with a whole new strategic (de Certeau 1988: xix), bureaucratically imposed and regulated and instrumentally rational framework for operation overlain on Petra and their operation within the city.

Bedoul didn't see this as an enormous setback, I think, but rather as a whole new set of resources open to their exploitation. And while the imposition of the Lost City vision of Petra has increasingly marginalised the Bedoul *vision* of Petra, the Bedoul didn't simply need to make a tactical (de Certeau 1988: xiv) appropriation of all these resources that bureaucracy, capitalism and the tourism industry had dumped upon them. Compared with the working-class masses of the developed world that have, for going on for a few of hundred years had the social structures that shaped their lives before the ascendancy of capitalism eroded and replaced (nuclear family, alienation from land and land closures, wage labour etc.), so

reducing them to the moment to moment tactical response to bureaucratically ordered grids of discipline (de Certeau 1988: xiv) imposed upon them, the Bedoul have an ace in the hole. They have their own overarching and unified sociocultural framework still fully operational, as well as their vision of Petra, within which to absorb the Lost City and all that it entails.

Tourism, bureaucratic organisation, regulation and capitalism all may be *overlain* upon Petra and on the Bedoul, Petra and the Bedoul (as Bedouin) may be made into a monument and have the parameters of their possible existences ideologically/discursively circumscribed, but the Bedoul, and how they go about the business of life, in the words of Huweymel Taryk, “are a reality on the ground”, and it is there, on the ground in Petra, their *dira*, where they continue to work in ways that are meaningful to themselves. The Bedoul, fold tourism into *their* pre-tourism (incidentally pre-Jordan) cultural frameworks for organising work and relations with outsiders. In a word, the Bedoul, by virtue of the continual operation of their social and cultural frameworks and systems of meaning that have not been stripped back and colonised by capitalism, mount a strategic (de Certeau 1988: xix) defence of their place in Petra and Petra’s belonging to them.

Deploying action that has been meaningful to them for centuries (if not millennia) the Bedoul constantly move from the position of tourism service provider (to the degree that they ever actually think of themselves as such in the first place¹⁸⁷) into the position of host. Likewise, they constantly invite tourists to assume the role of guests, rather than customers. Bedoul activate sentiments salient in Bedouin and Arab culture generally: generosity, kindness, hospitality, sharing, mutual care and protection; and they offer these to the tourists not only for free, but often at the expense to themselves personally, and even the expense of their families. Granted, on occasion the Bedoul might reach out to these tourists turned guests

¹⁸⁷ I suspect that this kind of idea might be more prevalent among those who operate licensed tour agency’s out of the village rather than the donkey/camel guides or the souvenir vendors.

for aid on occasion (only a handful that I know of), but for the most part the relationship does appear to become one of friendship¹⁸⁸.

I argue that this signals that Bedoul work in tourism is about much more than just money or profit, about more than just making a living and survival, and given that, according to the traditional Bedouin system of land ownership, within Petra it is *only* the Bedoul who have the right to play host and to be the protectors of guests (whatever some within the state might argue, as might many of the Beni Layth), taking the role of host and treating tourists as guests is a *statement of belonging and ownership*. It is a statement that it is the *Bedoul* who are the owners of Petra, and it is the *Bedoul* who belong in Petra; and it is Bedoul who are *Bedouin*. Bedoul work in Petra is a form of vernacular political struggle.

But none of this happens in a vacuum and the Bedoul have powerful opposition¹⁸⁹ to their presence in Petra, mainly in the form of their Beni Layth neighbours in Wadi Musa. There are many across Jordan who seem to resent the presence of the Bedoul in Petra. With an early head start gaining jobs within government in the region (Shoup 1985: 286) the Beni Layth have managed to position themselves well in terms of regional politics and economy, and certainly in the present, the Bedoul at least, believe that the Beni Layth now have near total control of the local government bodies that manage Petra. Aside from steady incomes for a good portion of the population this also gives the Beni Layth in general an advantage over the Bedoul in relation to the decision-making processes relating to Petra; this advantage takes two forms: bureaucratic and through *wasta*.

¹⁸⁸ For example, I met at least two families that Rashd had befriended (both from Europe) who were always sure to come and spend some time with he and Rakheyah. Rashd never sought anything from them other than friendship that I was ever made aware of. Likewise, Atallah Haroun's father had similar friendly relations with numerous foreigners who would occasionally visit. There were numerous examples of this across the community. Many tourists indeed were successfully and lastingly converted from tourists to guests in ways that drew them out of capitalistic relations.

¹⁸⁹ After some, occasionally heated, discussions with Beni Layth friends in Wadi Musa I would say 'enemies' would *not* be an inappropriate adjective.

In Jordan, where the ordinary government/bureaucratic systems are crosscut with the *wasta* system, having a government job, where one is responsible for awarding contracts, approving applications for various things (including jobs), and being responsible for deciding on, implementing and enforcing regulations, puts one in a position of considerable power and influence that extends past the limits of the job itself. *Wasta* opens the possibility for people in administrative positions of influence to make use of that position for their own gain and that of their family, kin networks and friends.

Wasta might also give one the ability to either enforce regulations or not, or enforce them selectively. Bedouin think of *wasta* in terms of whether or not one has it. And Bedouin overwhelmingly think of themselves as having either very little *wasta*, or none at all. However, countless times when I spoke with people, they would give me examples of areas in which government officials would turn a blind-eye towards things that Bedouin do in Petra.

In a realm of strictly enforced adherence to regulations, with little option for officials other than to apply them to the letter, arguably there would be no room for the local government or the Petra Authority to turn a blind-eye towards much of what the Bedouin do when operating in Petra, whatever their reasons for doing so. Where *wasta* might allow officials to take advantage of their position of power for their own gain, or that of their families or friends, I argue that it also allows them to, in some measure, *not* regulate Petra to the letter of the law. In a situation in which much (or even all) of the economic development input in the region that is supposed to provide incomes for the Bedouin in lieu of all that they lost in the creation of the Petra Archaeological Park has never been provided (Brand 2001: 965) the ability of those in power to avoid enforcing regulations enables the Bedouin to survive.

Yet, just as importantly, this mixture of bureaucracy and *wasta* also allows the space in-between in which the Bedouin can deploy and make a case for their vision of Petra and their

right to it by inviting tourists to be more than just tourists, inviting them to be guests. It allows them the space to relate to Petra, through their work in the tourism industry, *as* their *dira* rather than only as the Petra Archaeological Park and a Lost City. This allows them the room they need to attempt to break the tourists out of tourism and turn them into guests, something only the Bedoul have the right to do according to the old system of land tenure.

By acting as hosts, rather than tourism service providers, to guests, rather than tourists, the Bedoul set forth their strategic defence, on their home ground, through pan-Arab culturally significant avenues, to what they regard as the Beni Layth takeover of the local government, the Petra Authority, and even Petra itself; and they do so as *Bedouin*, and so defend their identity as such against those who call them ‘gypsies’. They weave together economics, politics, kinship networks, work and hospitality and move through the discursive layers shaping visions of the kind of place Petra is, can be, moving between the Bedoul *dira* and the Lost City at will, for purposes entirely their own. Only the Bedoul Bedouin of Petra have the right to act so in Petra; and by so acting they use tourism as a weapon in their political struggle to hold on to Petra and their Bedouin heritage against all that would seek to dislodge them. They have little direct access to national, even regional, democratic processes, and little voice on that score. What they do have is their work in Petra and they use it as a form of vernacular political struggle to fight for their place and right in Petra.

Finally, as I finally draw this to a close, what is left to be done? Alas, much. In setting out what I believe to be where many Bedoul sought to lead me, I only hope I have to some degree justified their confidence in me, not to mention the effort they put into me and my research, of which the community was overwhelmingly supportive once they knew what I was there to do. But, with the mistakes I made through fieldwork and the subsequent write up of my research (all of which are obviously entirely my own) there is undoubtedly much work left.

This last not least exacerbated by the duration of time which has elapsed between my fieldwork and now, mainly caused by my own health; time waits for no one.

From what I can observe online, happening in Petra, at thousands of kilometres distance here in Canberra, there appears to be some small growing recognition and acknowledgement of the Bedouin history and place in Petra. It's hard to tell but it looks as though some elements of Bedouin history and culture are beginning to be displayed in Petra, such as women weaving, churning milk in a goatskin on a tripod and a few other things. Whether this is encouraged by officialdom, or something of the Bedouin's own making I can't tell; yet, this doesn't only signal that there *might* be some recognition of the Bedouin in Petra, but that the official bodies overseeing the place might, just might, after all these years, be changing their attitude to helping the Bedouin too, I hope so; perhaps it took the near collapse of the tourism economy with the continuing trouble in Syria and then COVID. But then, there is also a new commissioner heading up the now PA too.

I noted in the introduction and at various points throughout, my own poor relationship with the Petra Authority, and that I was essentially ignored by other official bodies with a stake in the place. This I feel is a large gap in my work here. I think it was probably not something confined to myself entirely. Having a conversation with another anthropologist (a grown up anthropologist, not a PhD student) who was doing some short-term comparative research between Bedouin in Wadi Rum and Petra, I got the impression that the Commissioner (at the time, not the new official) was hostile to any research with the Bedouin. She had to have people from Irbid University AND the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities intervene on her behalf to force the then commissioner to allow her research. But whatever the reasons, it is a large gap in this thesis, one that needs filling.

Likewise, another glaring hole is the place of the Beni Layth. I have said throughout that I was there to do research with the Bedoul, not the Beni Layth, one of the things that got me in trouble with the then Petra Commissioner. Indeed, had I gone in at the time trying to walk a fine line between the two I suspect I'd have not been able to do justice to either; I doubt they'd have trusted me. That said though, I did get to spend a reasonable amount of time with a few people in Wadi Musa, as I did people of all walks of life in many parts of Jordan, to gauge how they saw the Bedoul. All the same though, their voice is indeed muted herein and there appears to be as scant literature about them as there is specifically about the Bedoul, perhaps even less so.

Again, as noted in the introduction, a balanced gender perspective is also most likely lacking in this thesis. Given my status as a single man, and the Bedoul community being a reasonably committed Sunni Muslim one, for me to spend much, if any, time in the private domestic realm of the home with anyone outside of the immediate Abu Mohammed family was impossible. While I did attend various politically motivated meetings, both in terms of the Bedoul's place in Petra and their response to pressure from the outside, and localised inter-Bedoul issues, they were all attended only by men. Yet I know from what I observed from home life that many Bedoul women are not only strong, even formidable, personalities but they appear to all but run the average Bedoul home and family, including finances. I find it highly unlikely that they would not also have a strong input into most decisions that appear, from the outside, to be entirely made by men. Indeed, the one area I could see this in action was in the 'de-brief' following bride-wealth and marriage negotiations for Huweymel Abu Mohammed. Back at the Abu Mohammed home after the negotiations it was Basma, rather than Dreybeyah, who appeared to take a prominent part in follow up decisions being made.

Likewise, I did get to spend a reasonable amount of time with many women, mostly elderly, throughout Petra, and while not all were overtly politically oriented, most did feel just as

strongly about the place of the Bedoul in Petra, the ways that they felt treated by the forces arrayed against them, and what they should do about it, as any of the men I spoke to. So, this considered, I find it doubtful that women in the community are not just as politically engaged as they are economically. Given all this, I think there is much work to be done, that I was not in a position to do assuming that I was even capable of it, in relation to gender relations among the Bedoul.

The day to day activities surrounding the management of households, families and (I suspect) a large portion, if not the bulk, of family finances, from what I could observe, is the domain of female family-heads. I think, in large measure, much of the political/economic and logistical activity surrounding marriage in particular but of pan-kinship network businesses as well, would also fall within the purview of women too. I wasn't really able to get at much of this. And what I could see was often through the lens of what men told me about it. And, typically, when it came to their mothers, men tended to quite proudly tell me that their mother was the rock upon which all these issues in the family rested; when it came to their wives however, of course it was they, the men, who 'wore the pants' so to speak. These issues need a researcher placed so as to be able to investigate them.

Such are the glaring holes herein to my mind, though undoubtedly, there are many, many, more. But, then, any research project will have parameters drawn around it either by virtue of the natural configuration of the personalities involved (like mine as a single male in a Sunni Muslim community re-gender) or by virtue of conscious decision of the researcher or indeed the research community (like Bedoul making it certain to me that their relationship with Petra was of concern to them, not marriage practices or economics in and of itself, or likewise myself deciding that minimising my contact with the "naughty" young men in the village, or indeed the Beni Layth, was advisable if I wanted to spend time with as broad a cross section of the Bedoul community as I hoped. And so, there are gaps, as inevitably there must be.

But, so then, what have I achieved here? The original research question that sprang to mind in 2007 when I visited the community -of how the Bedouin go about articulating their pre-tourism economic activities with their work in tourism. Then, what this says about identity given the tension between the realities of Bedouin life and how they are represented in tourism and thought of by tourists. I think this has been covered, but I now, so many years later, I find that original question somewhat naïve. What I hope I have achieved here is to transcend some idea of cordoned off domains of life. Bedouin work to survive, and I don't think they really make particularly strong divisions between tourism and non-tourism work. They certainly see the pastoralism/farming work as 'more Bedouin' and their tourism activities as 'not really Bedouin', yet as I found, they reasonably easily move between the two, they tend to engage in both kinds of work, either individually or across kinship networks and they definitely turn the tourism work to ends that are entirely meaningful in terms of Bedouin identity. Tourism itself stands as another set of resources for the Bedouin to capture and use rather than something that comes in and quashes their existing way of life.

That said though, a whole new disciplinary framework has come, part and parcel with tourism, and archaeology, not to mention the encroachment of bureaucracy in Petra and made its weight felt not only on what Petra is but also what a Bedouin is. These have, whether by accident or design, had the effect oftrying to?, quash the Bedouins' way of life in Petra. The trying, it should be obvious, is not an effect of these things themselves but rather of the human agents that direct and staff such things as the Petra Authority and, according to the Bedouin, that the Beni Layth see these things as an extension of their political power in their struggle against the Bedouin. It is this that I hope my original research question grew to answer. A contextualisation of the work that the Bedouin do but, more importantly, an explication of the *meaning* of that work for them and the ends to which they put it. Essentially, Bedouin attempt to challenge the autocratically imposed vision of the kind of

place Petra is, the Lost City. Not to mention the just as autocratically imposed view of what Bedouin are and the kind of relationship they can have to somewhere like Petra.

As the sun sets on another day in Petra people start going home. Through the darkening twilight the camel guides return up Wadi Turkamaniya, the donkey guides, mostly up the shorter route of Wadi Mataha then the steep and slippery side of Umm Sayhoun. The camels and donkeys are loaded with any of the Bedouin reduced to walking and unable to catch a lift in someone's ute. And the utes, donkeys and camels also carry a good number of tourists, or rather tourists who have been drawn out of tourism and are passing into a Bedouin view of tourism and Petra. These tourists have become guests.

Back in the village, they all share meals, drink and tell stories of the day. They talk about the funny things they saw during the day, tourists that were good, bad and just plain ugly. The Bedouin introduce their guests to their families and friends in the village and all tell their guests about Petra, about the Bedouin and their lives in such an amazing place. And their guests tell their stories of life in the different countries they come from. After a meal and an evening spent with the Bedouin most of these guests return to their hotels in Wadi Musa where they become tourists again, but a few spend the night with the Bedouin in Umm Sayhoun. Some of them, usually the most adventurous, even ditch their plans and spend a few days traveling through the region with the Bedouin who hastily throw together a trip through the desert for their new friends. These are the tourists, the guests, who get to see the real hospitality for which Jordan and its Bedouin are famous. In Petra, the *dira* of the Bedouin, it is only the Bedouin who can turn tourists into guests, it is only the Bedouin who can be hosts and protectors; only they have the right.

Only the Bedouin of Petra.



Ali Abu Huweymel Mūwassa

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